

Studia Varia

from the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 2



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Studia Varia

from the J. Paul Getty Museum Volume 2

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Mark Greenberg, *Editor in Chief*

Project staff:

Editors: Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, and Mary Louise Hart,
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Manuscript Editor: Benedicte Gilman

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Photographers, photographs provided by the Getty Museum:

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COPPE IONICHE IN ARGENTO

Pier Giovanni Guzzo

Al J. Paul Getty Museum di Malibu sono pervenute due coppe in argento: si tratta dei seguenti oggetti.

1. Inv. 77.AM.68 (figg. 1a-b). Coppa a vasca profonda, con sagoma arrotondata; labbro teso svasato all'esterno; basso piede saldato a profilo concavo. Anse a sezione circolare, saldate orizzontalmente sulla massima espansione della vasca, con leggero rialzo alla curva. L'imposta delle anse è mascherata da borchiette di lamina, a forma circolare e a sezione sferica, decorate all'esterno da incisioni radiali.

Il margine del piede non è perfettamente circolare; la saldatura alla vasca non sembra completamente antica.

In rapporto ad un'ansa, sulla superficie interna del labbro, è inciso un segno verticale rettilineo di cm 0,5.

Su una metà della superficie esterna della vasca sono diffuse corrosioni.

Altezza cm 10,3; diametro superiore cm 16,2; diametro inferiore cm 7,3; peso gr 362,71.

2. Inv. 77.AM.69 (figg. 2a-b). Coppa a vasca notevolmente profonda, con sagoma arrotondata; labbro teso svasato all'esterno; basso piede a profilo concavo. Anse a sezione circolare, saldate orizzontalmente sulla massima espansione della vasca, irregolarmente rialzate.

Il margine del piede presenta una piccola deformazione. In rapporto ad un'ansa, sulla superficie interna del labbro, è incisa una serie di segni, tra i quali uno rettilineo. All'interno del piede è inciso un punto.

Nella parte bassa della vasca, all'interno, si osserva chiaramente un restauro antico, eseguito saldando alla parete una laminetta d'argento di forma rettangolare (cm 2,7 x 0,91) e, su questa, divaricata di circa 15°, una seconda simile (cm 3 x 0,91).

Superficie ben conservata.

Altezza cm 7,5; diametro superiore cm 10,8; diametro inferiore cm 5,7; peso gr 192,12.

La sagoma documentata da questi due recipienti riporta alla diffusa classe delle "coppe ioniche", delle quali finora erano conosciuti pochi esemplari in bronzo¹, oltre ad uno in argento, ma con decorazione figurata sbalzata all'interno².

Nonostante le differenze reciproche più sopra segnalate, le due coppe Getty appartengono alla sagoma A distinta nello studio iniziale su questa classe³; fra gli esemplari metallici si accostano a quello da Cales⁴, salva la forma del piede. Quest'ultima è costruita in maniera più angolosa nella coppa da Campovalano t. 84⁵. La vasca della coppa qui n. 1 è da confrontarsi con l'esemplare da Amatunte⁶, priva del piede. Le borchiette in lamina che mascherano la saldatura delle anse nella stessa coppa si riscontrano anche nella coppa, sempre in argento, a Baltimora⁷, che ha tuttavia una sagoma complessiva più compressa.

I due nuovi esemplari, da un punto di vista tipologico, aumentano la conoscenza di coppe a vasca profonda pertinenti alla sagoma più antica (A) delle "coppe ioniche". La sagoma è quella che è rappresentata nel frontone figurato da Phigareto di Corfù⁸. Ne è pertanto proponibile una datazione entro l'inizio del VI secolo a. C.

Da un punto di vista costruttivo, le due nuove coppe in argento offrono elementi non inaspettati. Già la coppa a Baltimora documentava l'uso del metallo prezioso, sia pure ulteriormente impreziosito dalle figurazioni a sbalzo. La diffusione e la familiarità della sagoma A delle "coppe ioniche" sono accertate dalla grande frequenza con la quale se ne effettuano ritrovamenti in argilla: così che era solamente la casualità delle conoscenze che ci permetteva, finora, diretta esperienza



Figura 1a. Coppa ionica in argento. Fronte. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AM.68.



Figura 1b. Retro di figura 1a.



Figura 2a. Coppa ionica in argento. Fronte. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AM.69.



Figura 2b. Retro di figura 2a.

della parallela produzione in metallo. Ad oggi, se ne conoscono sei esemplari in bronzo⁹ e tre in argento¹⁰: il reciproco rapporto 1 : 2 per l'uso del metallo non si ritiene affatto corrispondente alla realtà antica, ma semplice caso dovuto alla parzialità della conoscenza. Anche se, ovviamente, il metallo meno nobile sarà stato adoperato più di frequente¹¹.

Le particolarità tecniche delle due coppe Getty ci presentano sagome dei piedi che appaiono differenti da quelle già note, mentre le anse sono da confrontare a Perachora, Amatunte, e a Baltimora: per quest'ultima si ricorda la già segnalata presenza delle borchie di mascheratura della saldatura. Tale ripetizione potrebbe sembrare caratteristica esclusiva delle coppe in metallo prezioso: tuttavia, oltre alla mancanza dell'elemento nella coppa qui n. 2, fra la coppa qui n. 1 e quella a Baltimora si è osservata una differenza di sagoma generale, che indurrebbe a ritenere le due coppe prodotte da due diverse officine ed in due diversi momenti. Si ritiene, infatti, non discriminante sotto questo aspetto la presenza, o meno, della decorazione figurata a sbalzo, dalla quale, per mancanza di confronti sugli altri esemplari conosciuti, non si possono trarre elementi di giudizio a proposito dell'unicità, oppure del rapporto, delle relative officine produttrici.

Lo stato delle conoscenze a proposito di "coppe ioniche" in metallo, di pregio oppure no, non sembra avere ancora permesso di affermare la produzione comune di qualcuno degli esemplari ad oggi noti.

Ambedue le coppe Getty presentano elementi di conservazione che ne permettono di ricostruire alcune delle vicende attraversate.

La coppa n. 1, di proporzioni maggiori, conserva la metà della sua superficie esterna con notevoli segni di corrosione: non è di certo possibile sapere se questi sono dovuti ad una lunga esposizione all'aperto, oppure ad una conservazione al chiuso in presenza di agenti corrosivi.

La coppa n. 2, di proporzioni minori, presenta un rilevante restauro antico, resosi necessario per ovviare ad una lacuna prodottasi nella vasca. La causa di essa è, ovviamente, ignota. Sembra arduo intenderla come prodottasi nella fase di costruzione, mentre è preferibile supporre che l'antico restauro indichi un periodo d'uso della coppa abbastanza lungo e, inoltre, il pregio che essa rivestiva, tale da indurre alla riparazione¹².

Sulla faccia interna del labbro di ambedue le coppe, nella stessa visibile posizione in rapporto ad un'ansa, sono segni incisi. La coppa n. 1 ne presenta uno solo, chiaramente intenzionale; la coppa n. 2, invece, una se-

rie, fra la quale è un segno simile a quello della n. 1. Tali presenze indicano, ulteriormente, la durata d'uso delle coppe: ma appaiono troppo poco indicativi per supporre un unico destino.

Il peso delle due coppe le pone in reciproco rapporto di circa 1 : 2. Ma questo elemento sembra troppo approssimativo per dedurre la compresenza in un unico servizio da simposio: tanto più che, mancando conoscenza dell'area culturale di originaria utilizzazione, diventa impossibile ricostruire la composizione dell'intero servizio, ed al suo interno il reciproco rapporto dei singoli recipienti.

In quanto l'elemento ponderale documentato dalle due coppe non permette di rivolgerci, con qualche sicurezza, verso nessuna area culturale arcaica. Infatti, se si divide il peso attuale delle due coppe per i più abituali standards ricostruiti per il periodo arcaico si ottengono valori che non sembrano corrispondere a parametri definiti (cfr. tabella 1).

Tabella 1.

STANDARD	COPPA N. 1	COPPA N. 2
Darico di gr 8,37	43,33	22,95
Siclo di gr 5,58	65,00	34,43
Siclo di gr 6,70	54,13	28,67
Dracma eginetica di gr 6,16	58,88	31,18
Dracma attica di gr 4,36	83,19	44,06
Statere euboico-attico di gr 8,72	41,59	22,03
Peso da Mazzola di gr 8,79	41,26	21,81
Statere etrusco-calcidese di gr 5,85	62,32	32,84

Si sono utilizzati: A. Segré, *Metrologia e circolazione monetale degli antichi* (Bologna, 1928); D. Ridgway, *L'alba della Magna Grecia* (Milano, 1984), pp. 108-9.

Una ricerca seguendo il criterio del valore ponderale è, inoltre, resa assai difficoltosa dalla generale carenza di dati al riguardo. Manca ampia base documentaria su corredi di recipienti in argento che possano con sicurezza essere considerati come componenti di un unico, originario servizio.

Presso il Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York si conservano numerosi recipienti in argento che si suppongono essere di provenienza greco-orientale. Fra di essi si distingue una coppia di phialai, identiche fra loro anche per il peso¹³ di gr 232.

Una valuatazione ponderale secondo lo standard

del darico, corrispondente a gr 8,37, ne sembra legittima: ne risulta che le due phialai corrispondono a 27,71 darici.

Nella stessa collezione si conservano due ulteriori gruppi, ognuno composto da cinque phialai, riferibili allo stesso ambiente di produzione¹⁴. Una analogo valutazione ponderale in darici ne fa risultare (cfr. tabella 2) valori incerti per il primo gruppo, anche se le prime tre phialai si dispongono intorno ai 30 darici, leggermente superiore a quanto risulta per le due precedenti. Per il secondo gruppo, invece, la valutazione fa risultare tre casi rapportabili al peso di 25 darici, un quarto è di valore doppio, mentre un ultimo è a sè.

Tabella 2.

MMBULL 42.1 (1984)	PESO IN GR	PESO IN DARICI
n. 20 inv. 68.II.64	271	32,37
n. 21 inv. 1970.II.16	302,3	36,11
n. 22 inv. 69.II.10	265	31,66
n. 23 inv. 67.II.17	161	19,23
n. 24 inv. 68.II.9	206,9	24,71
n. 25 inv. 1980.II.13	210	25,08
n. 26 inv. 68.II.8	205	24,49
n. 27 inv. 1970.II.15	409	48,86
n. 28 inv. 66.II.19	210,5	25,14
n. 29 inv. 66.II.20	154	18,39

Non sfuggirà che la coppa Getty n. 1 potrebbe corrispondere a circa 30+15 darici, mentre quella n. 2 a circa 25 darici: in ambedue i casi per difetto. Ma non sfuggirà, altrettanto, la generale incertezza dell'approccio.

Altrettanto vago è l'aspetto dei segni incisi, dai quali sarebbe illusorio attendersi precise informazioni al riguardo dell'area di produzione e/o d'uso.

Mancano, inoltre, informazioni per ricostruire la situazione di ritrovamento delle due coppe. Degli esemplari finora noti completi di informazioni sul rispettivo ritrovamento, solamente quella da Perachora proviene da un santuario¹⁵: tutti gli altri sono stati ritrovati in sepolture. Ma, ove anche si potesse definire la finale funzionalità delle nostre coppe, non se ne potrebbe dedurre l'area di produzione e provenienza.

Le due coppe, pertanto, aumentano le nostre conoscenze quantitative al riguardo della produzione metallica di "coppe ioniche" attestate anche in materiale prezioso, ma non ci consentono passi in avanti nel campo della critica storica.

Soprintendenza Archeologica
di Pompei

NOTES

Abbreviazione

Guzzo, 1984 P. G. Guzzo, "Altre coppe ioniche in metallo", *RM* 91 (1984): 417-23.

Ringrazio Marion True, curatore delle antichità, per la cortese autorizzazione allo studio; e John K. Papadopoulos, assistente, per gli aiuti prestatimi.

1. P. G. Guzzo, "Coppe ioniche in bronzo," *MEFRA* 85.1 (1973): 55-64; Guzzo, 1984.
2. Guzzo, 1984: 419-21 n. 3.
3. G. Vallet e F. Villard, in *MEFRA* 77 (1955): 14-34.
4. Guzzo, 1984: 418 n. 2, fig. 1.
5. Guzzo, 1984: 417-18 n. 1, tav. 135.1.
6. Guzzo, 1973 (supra, nota 1): 55.4, fig. 4.
7. Guzzo, 1984: 419 n. 3, tav. 136.1.
8. Guzzo, 1984: 421-22 n. 4.

9. Da Perachora, Alfedena, Amatunte, a Karlsruhe (Guzzo 1973 [supra, nota 1], da Campovalano e da Cales (Guzzo, 1984: nn. 1-2).

10. A Baltimora (Guzzo, 1984: n. 3) e queste due coppe al Getty.

11. È da ricordare che da più di 20 anni è segnalata, ma non ancora pubblicata, una coppa in argento da S. Severino Marche, con piede a profilo concavo e rosetta a sbalzo sul fondo interno: Guzzo 1973 (supra, nota 1): 58, da informazioni gentilmente comunicate da Giovanni Scichilone.

12. Sulla natura dell'incidente che ha prodotto il danno sarebbe inutile dilungarsi: sappiamo di certo che i simposi non erano solamente destinati alle discussioni filosofiche.

13. *MMBull* 42.1 (1984): nn. 16-17.

14. *Ibid.*, nn. 20-24 e 25-29.

15. Nei luoghi di culto, ma anche nelle sale per simposi, le coppe in argento erano conservate negli appositi kylikeia: cfr. *Athenaios* 4.148a; 5.199c, f; 5.201d; 5.202f; 11.460d-f; 11.480b. Il termine è attestato almeno dal v secolo a. C. La documentazione archaeologica del mobile è assicurata da pitture funerarie etrusche:

alla tomba tarquiniese Querciola 1 (G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* [Londra, 1966], pp. 81-84) occorre aggiungere quella dei Vasi Dipinti, un po' più antica (*Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*, a cura di S. Steingraber [Tokyo e Milano, 1984], n. 123, pp. 357-58). Il kylikeion è rappresentato in contesti "laici" (cfr. S. Steingraber, *Etruskische Möbel* [Roma, 1979], pp. 47-

48, 168) e se ne può seguire uno sviluppo formale, dal tipo più semplice ad un piano (come nelle documentazioni etrusche e nella Tomba poseidoniate del Tuffatore: M. Napoli, *La Tomba del Tuffatore* [Bari, 1970], tav. 33) a quelle, di epoca ellenistica, con alzata posteriore (cfr. Richter, *Furniture*, cit.). Ringrazio Emanuele Greco che ha attirato la mia attenzione su questo argomento.

LIFE AND DEATH AT THE HANDS OF A SIREN

Despoina Tsiafakis

The Siren published here, a bronze askos in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (figs. 1a–g), was presumably used to hold expensive scented oils.¹ The name of the artist is unknown, though there is no doubt that the askos was made by a South Italian workshop. Features of the face and the head as well as the musculature of the figure of the male youth that serves as the handle date the Siren to the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. The piece is of great importance both because it is an early Classical bronze of fine quality and because it provides valuable insight into bronze-casting techniques. Metal vessels in the shape of a Siren are extremely rare. The few parallels related in type to the Getty Siren-askos all belong to the Archaic period, predating the Getty vessel by as much as a century. The Getty bronze askos is the only known example from the early Classical period.

In his account of Odysseus's adventures, Homer provides the earliest extant reference to Sirens, without, however, giving any description of them: they are creatures "who beguile all men who come to them. Whoever in ignorance draws near to them and hears the Sirens' voice, his wife and little children never stand beside him and rejoice at his homecoming."² As human-headed birds, Sirens represent both chthonic and demonic powers closely related to music and the world of the dead.³ Famous for their musical abilities, they used their skills to charm men and to keep them away from home forever. With the exception of Orpheus and Odysseus, no mortal heard the Sirens' song and lived to tell about it. Orpheus overcame the Sirens' voice with the power of his own music (fig. 2), and Odysseus did so by having himself strapped to the mast of his ship, while his companions plugged their ears with wax so they could not hear the song.⁴

According to the literary tradition, Sirens lived on a mythical island called Anthemoessa, somewhere close to Italy,⁵ even though their actual home was Hades. Their number varies from two to three,⁶ and they are usually known as daughters of a Muse and the river god Acheloös.⁷ Two different groups each of three names are given in the literary sources: Thelxiepeia, Aglaope, and Peisinoë are the names of the Sirens of mainland Greece; the Sirens of South Italy are known as Parthenope, Ligeia, and Leukosia.⁸ In South Italy, in the Sorrentine Peninsula, the three Italiote Sirens were worshiped in a temple dedicated to them by the fifth century B.C.⁹ Each Siren had her own individual cult in the part of South Italy where she was supposedly buried. Thus Parthenope's grave was somewhere close to Naples, that of Leukosia in the Chersonese of Sorrento, and Ligeia's grave was in Terina in Calabria.

Egyptian human-headed birds, the Ba birds, have served as the models for the representation of the Greek Sirens.¹⁰ The earliest Greek Sirens appear in the East Greek workshops, and from there they spread all over Greece. It is probably through Rhodes and via the Peloponnese that they arrive in South Italy and Sicily.¹¹ The earliest surviving representations of human-headed birds in Greek art are dated near the end of the Geometric period, and they occur mostly on vase-painting or as attachments on bronze vessels.¹² Sirens are often represented among other animals in the very popular animal friezes on sixth-century Greek vases.¹³ The inscription *ΣΙΡΕΝ* next to human-headed birds on two different Attic vases of the sixth century B.C. verifies the identification of these creatures.¹⁴

The earliest Greek Sirens could be either male or female,¹⁵ as is also the case with representations of the



Figure 1a. Bronze askos in the shape of a Siren. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.ac.5.



Figure 1b. Front of askos, figure 1a.

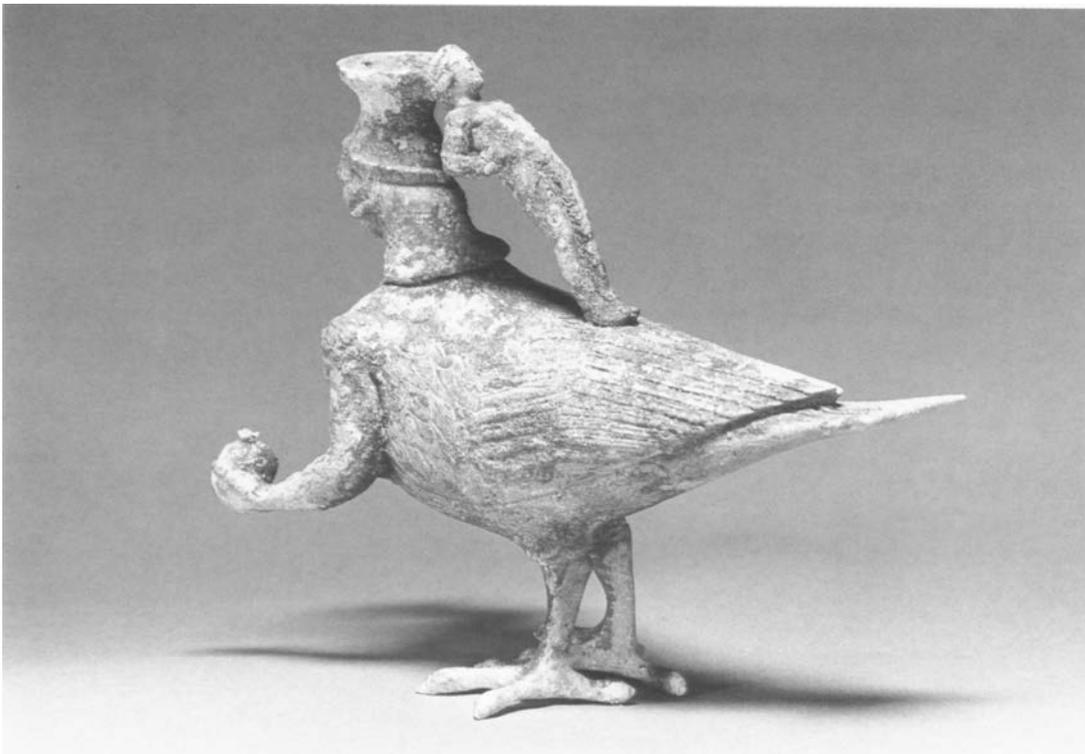


Figure 1c. Side of askos, figure 1a.



Figure 1d. Front of head of askos, figure 1a.



Figure 1e. Side of head of askos, figure 1a.



Figure 1f. Back of askos, figure 1a.



Figure 1g. Handle of askos, figure 1a.



Figure 2. Orpheus and the Sirens. Terra-cotta with polychromy. Height 104–140 cm. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AD.11.

Sphinx. The belief that every being needs both sexes, male and female, to survive is possibly the reason behind this double representation of *Mischwesen* at the beginning. An inscription from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos¹⁶ mentions a male Siren, but without giving any further details. Bearded Sirens are depicted by most Greek workshops,¹⁷ even though the vast majority are female. By the fifth century B.C. the bearded males have disappeared, and only female Sirens are represented. A limestone Siren from Cyprus, now in the Louvre, is among the latest known bearded examples of the species (figs. 3a–b).¹⁸ Sirens usually have the feet of a bird, although there are at least two known Attic

examples with human feet, both of the sixth century B.C.;¹⁹ a third example, which dates to the early fifth century B.C., is the product of a West Greek workshop.²⁰ The presence of human hands is a common feature on Sirens. The Ba birds in Egypt, for instance, are sometimes depicted with hands,²¹ and this appears to be adopted in Greek representations of Sirens.²² Sirens usually hold in their hands a musical instrument or, less often, a wreath or a pomegranate, like the Getty Siren (see figs. 1a–b).²³ Sometimes, however, they hold nothing as, for instance, on a so-called “Melian” amphora from Rheneia²⁴ and on a terra-cotta example in the British Museum.²⁵ On the latter example the hands of



Figure 3a. Limestone Siren. Louvre MNB 407.



Figure 3b. Side of Siren, figure 3a.

the Siren are painted and lie on the front part of the body, one on top of the other. The human part of the Siren is strengthened through them. It is not until the fifth century B.C. that the human part of the Siren dominates over the bird part. From the fourth century B.C. onward, Sirens look more human than birdlike (fig. 4).²⁶ The almost life-size terra-cotta Sirens at the Getty Museum are good representatives of this new type (see fig. 2).²⁷ They are rendered as women with only the legs, feet, and tails of birds.

The Siren askos discussed here has the head of a woman, but body, legs, and feet of a bird and folded wings with incised feathers (see figs. 1a–c). Her arms are human; in her outstretched right hand she holds a syrinx and in the left a pomegranate. She stands composed, calm, and still, without any indication of movement. The heavy eyelids, straight nose, and tightly closed lips with no hint of a smile further suggest the lack of any movement (see fig. 1d). Her long hair is parted in the center of the forehead and pulled to the sides beneath two swags that fall over the ears, completely hiding them (see fig. 1e). Here the hair is wavy and rendered with incisions, in contrast to the back, where it is a solid, heavy mass (see fig. 1c). A simple band-shaped diadem decorated with a row of incised upright spirals sits upon the head (see fig. 1d). The dia-

dem is surmounted by a plain polos, which serves as the neck and the rim of the vessel (see fig. 1e). The Siren wears a plain necklace, rendered with two parallel incisions, but no pendant (see fig. 1d).

The human aspect of the Siren extends to the chest, which is rendered with female breasts beneath a peplos with overfall (see fig. 1b). The cloth of the garment is thick and heavy, with few folds. It is worth noting that the peplos ends just above the waist, and that the lower part of the body is covered with feathers. The lower edge of the peplos signifies the end of the Siren's human part, below which the figure is a bird. Both the body and the wing feathers have been executed carefully and precisely (see figs. 1a, c, f). They are individually depicted with a central rib from which incised lines emanate in herringbone fashion. The plumage of the lower part of the body and the forward upper part consists of parabolas resembling ovules overlapping one another. The feathers on the wings are longer, though they are similar to those of the rest of the body. The tail, long and well distinguished from the rest of the body, is rendered with carefully incised flight feathers.

The handle of the vessel is made in the shape of a nude male youth (see figs. 1c, f, g). Most known examples of this type of handle depict the youth with his



Figure 4. Apulian red-figured loutrophoros by the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148. Detail. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.680.

hands on the rim of the vase as if supporting it. Our kouros does not follow this rule. His hands are on his hips, while his head is attached directly to the rim of the vessel, and his feet are firmly placed on the back of the Siren. Because of this pose the vessel looks lighter than it otherwise might have. Around the left arm of the kouros is a large bronze ring, once part of the chain attached to the now-missing stopper of the vessel. His hair is shown in an elaborate style, shaped like a cap and detailed with slight incisions; it is parted in the center and drawn back on either side into thick curls that hang over the ears. The upper part of the hair is pulled down from the crown and rolled up around a band. The expression on his face is similar to that of the Siren. The narrow almond-shaped eyes are framed by heavy lids, and there is no hint of a smile on the closed lips.

The bronze vessel is virtually intact and in exceptionally good condition, without any indication of modern repair or restoration. Even fragile parts of the figure that might have broken off, such as the bird feet, are intact. The only area that has suffered some damage is the lower half of the right wing, which is dented. The dent is evidently ancient, for the cuprite oxide as well as some of the carbonate patina continue into the dent. The corrosion layer on the surface is stable and

preserves the more subtle aspects of the decorative elements of the object.²⁸ Because of the corrosion it is not possible to determine fully the manufacturing techniques, but at least six or seven separate pieces attached to one another can be distinguished.²⁹ The main body of the Siren is hollow cast, as is the head. The arms and the birdlike feet are separate solid-cast elements. There are no signs of added decoration by way of inlay in another metal or some other inorganic material. The decoration of the surface stems from the casting, which was later engraved for sharpness. It is unclear whether the handle is made separately or cast together with the head of the Siren, but of these two possibilities, the second seems more likely.

The musculature of the body of the youth and his long thighs recall early Classical examples.³⁰ The head of the kouros and the way his hair is rendered recall South Italian bronzes of the first half of the fifth century, particularly the head of a draped man in the museum at Reggio (figs. 5a–b).³¹ They have similar hairstyles, with the thick curls over the ears and the upper part pulled straight down from the crown and rolled up around a band. Their facial features also look alike, with the straight nose and the closed lips with no hint of a smile. The similarity suggests that the two objects are contemporary, and since the draped male



Figure 5a. Mirror handle in the form of a draped man, from Locri. Bronze. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 4490. Photos: Soprintendente Archeologico di Calabria.



Figure 5b. Detail of bronze mirror, figure 5a.

from Reggio is a well-known distinguished example of the Severe style,³² the youth on the Getty Siren should be dated to the same period.

The head of the Siren (see fig. 1d) is also close to early Classical works from South Italy and Sicily.³³ The serious expression of her face recalls the well-known terra-cotta reliefs from Locri.³⁴ The heavy Doric peplos with the few folds and the triangular-shaped opening (see fig. 1b), characteristic of the Severe style,³⁵ occurs on the same reliefs, too. The way her hair is rendered with the incisions in the frontal part is also close to the reliefs from Locri and to other South Italian works of the early Classical period.³⁶

Another piece that connects the Getty Siren with South Italy and the Severe style is a bronze Siren that serves as the handle of a mirror (fig. 6).³⁷ This mirror

was made at Locri in the middle of the fifth century B.C. and was found in a grave in the same area. Here the Siren is standing with her wings open and her hair upright as if blown by the wind, a representational device that makes her look apotropaic. Although there are differences between the Getty and the Lokrian Siren, the style and execution of the feathers on the latter provide a good parallel for the former. The expression on the faces is close, particularly the heavy eyelids, the straight nose, and the tightly closed mouth (cf. figs. 1a–b and 6).

Also close to the Getty Siren is a terra-cotta statuette in Hanover, which is twice the size of the Getty example (fig. 7).³⁸ Although this Siren is made of another material and the lower part of her face is broken, there are nevertheless some similarities. Both



Figure 6. Bronze mirror with a handle in the form of a Siren. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 4496. Photo: Soprintendente Archeologico di Calabria.

Sirens have thickened eyelids and the same heavy style of the hair on the forehead; their peploi are also similar. The Hannover Siren is dated around 460 B.C., about the same time as the examples mentioned above. The previously noted features of the Getty Siren with the figure of the youth as handle all belong to the Severe style and suggest a date contemporary with the Siren in Hannover. Moreover the stylistic similarities may indicate that both Sirens come from the same area. The Hannover Siren is said to have been found in the region of Taras but looks closer to the Locrian workshop. The folds of her peplos recall the garments on the reliefs from Locri,³⁹ and her chiton is similar to some bronze drapery from the same area. Close to this, for example, is a bronze mirror handle, now in the British Museum,⁴⁰ in the form of a woman, the upper part of



Figure 7. Statuette of a Siren. Terra-cotta. Hannover, Kestner Museum 1976.61.

which is a close parallel to the Hannover Siren with regard to the style and the execution of the folds of the chiton.

The similarities between the Getty Siren and the comparanda mentioned above place it within the Severe style and suggest a date around 470–460 B.C. Moreover there is little doubt that the Siren was made by a South Italian workshop, like the one at Locri or somewhere close to this area, such as Medma.

BRONZE ASKOI IN THE FORM OF SIRENS

Plastic terra-cotta Sirens and Siren vases appear already in the seventh century B.C.,⁴¹ and although they are numerous, there are very few surviving metal vessels in the same form. According to the literary sources, Sirens made of precious metals were used as votive



Figure 8a. Bronze askos in the form of a Siren, from the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas in Kynouria. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18805.



Figure 8b. Side of bronze askos, figure 8a.

offerings in sanctuaries, such as the silver Siren offered by Perinthiers at Hera's sanctuary on Samos, as an inscription of 580/570 B.C. informs us;⁴² and Polemon saw another silver example in the Treasury of the Byzantians at Olympia.⁴³

The earliest extant Greek bronze vase in the form of a Siren, however, is much simpler than the Getty Siren. Dating to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C., it served, together with a bronze plastic vessel in the form of a horse, as a votive offering at the Sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas in Kynouria⁴⁴ in the Peloponnese (figs. 8a–b). The form of this early example is closer to a bird than to a human being, especially since there are no human features on it except for the female head with long hair and the necklace. There is, for example, no indication of female breasts or of a garment. Sirens with garments occur in the early examples,⁴⁵ though they are more common after the fourth century B.C. Clothing is a human element through which the artist emphasizes the human part of the Siren. The Siren from Kynouria has the body of a bird, wide and strongly stylized without any rendering of feathers or feet. The upper part of the head, with a trefoil rim, is the mouth of the vessel; the now-missing handle originally extended from the mouth of the vessel to the middle of the Siren's back. There is no indi-

cation of what form the handle may have had, but it seems possible that it was plain, in keeping with the rendering of the body. Around her neck is a necklace with a small round pendant in the middle, perhaps a pomegranate.

A similar necklace with a pomegranate pendant, a product of a South Italian workshop, is found on a Siren from the region of Crotona (figs. 9a–b), now in Reggio Calabria.⁴⁶ The two Sirens have similar hair; in both the hair in the front is divided into cross-corrugated strands. The only difference is that the Siren from the Peloponnese has strands all around her head, whereas the Crotona Siren has just two locks that fall forward over her shoulders, while the rest of the hair is rendered as a solid mass.

In contrast to the Kynouria Siren, whose bird body was completely stylized, the Siren from Crotona has incised feathers. The opening underneath the body indicates that she has had feet, which are now broken off. A diadem with a polos decorates her head. It is a simple band-shaped crown like the one on the Getty Siren, and the polos similarly forms the spout of the vessel. The human part of the Crotona Siren is emphasized by the peplos she wears, which is decorated with two meander zones; her breasts are distinguishable under the peplos. The Getty Siren wears a peplos as



Figure 9a. Bronze askos in the form of a Siren, from the region of Crotona. Side view. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 6713.



Figure 9b. Front of bronze askos, figure 9a.

well, but hers is plain and undecorated, not elaborate like the garment on the Siren in Reggio. Another common element between the two Sirens is the human form of the handle (see figs. 1c and 9a). The handle on the askos in Reggio begins at the rim of the polos and ends almost at the end of the body of the bird; the handle has the form of a kore clad in chiton and himation.⁴⁷ From the broken now-circular hole on her right arm hung the chain attached to the now-missing stopper of the vessel. Both kouros and kore make nice decorative details standing on the backs of similar Sirens.

The style of the Siren and the kore on the askos from Crotona belongs to the second half of the sixth century B.C., about half a century later than the Peloponnesian example. A third vessel in the form of a Siren dates to the period between the previous two earlier examples (fig. 10).⁴⁸ Although it is of Etruscan manufacture, its presentation here is relevant because of the limited number of surviving metal Sirens. This Siren has the body and legs of a bird and a female head; the latter is the only human element. There is no indication of breasts, nor of a garment. The Etruscan Siren is, however, considerably larger than the Greek examples and was probably used as an oinochoe, as its trefoil mouth indicates.⁴⁹ Although large terra-cotta

vases in the form of Sirens occur in Etruria, they are not common in Greece.⁵⁰ There is a bucchero vase in the shape of a Siren in the Metropolitan Museum in New York;⁵¹ it is likewise an oinochoe with trefoil mouth, and it is almost the same size as the bronze example in the British Museum.⁵² On the former piece the artist has attached two swans to the Siren, one on each side, with the result that the Siren and the swans have common wings. This combination recalls the Potnia Theron grasping an animal with each hand and could be an invention of the artist⁵³ that did not find imitators. A similar parallel is the case of the Lasa wings on the Clusium group duck-askoi.⁵⁴ Two more bucchero oinochoai are known in the form of a Siren,⁵⁵ both similar to the one in New York, but without the attached swans. All three are contemporary with the bronze Siren in the British Museum, around the middle of the sixth century B.C.

An interesting aspect of the Siren in the British Museum is her handle, which is made of two separate parts (see fig. 10). The main part is undecorated, but above it is a secondary, smaller handle in the form of a female athlete who bends backward to touch two rams with her head and hands. The reason for such a double handle is the size of the vessel; the main part of the handle was used when the vessel was full of liquid and



Figure 10. Etruscan bronze askos in the form of a Siren. London, British Museum GR 1965.7–26.1. © Copyright The British Museum.

the smaller when the oinochoe was empty. The handle of the human form is not unlike that on the Siren-askos from Crotona, but the latter is in the form of a kore and not of a female athlete.

The Getty Siren can now be added to this short list of extant metal vessels in the form of a Siren, although it is later than the others. Indeed the Getty vessel is the only known Greek bronze askos in the shape of a Siren from the early Classical period.

ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM

The rendering of the Getty Siren is in keeping with the iconography of Sirens in the Archaic and Classical periods. She holds a syrinx in her right hand and a pomegranate in her left (see fig. 1b). As we have seen, pomegranates occur in association with two of the Greek bronze Sirens of the sixth century B.C., namely, the Siren from the Peloponnese and the one from Crotona,⁵⁶ but in both cases the fruit hangs around the neck as a necklace. Whether in the hand or around the neck, the pomegranate is a symbol closely related to the world this human-headed bird represents. Both the Siren and the pomegranate are connected with

Persephone's kingdom, and Sirens were well-known as Hades' musical birds. Plato relates that their home is the underworld, and they often occur on graves or funerary scenes.⁵⁷ They participate in mourning for the dead, and they are frequently interpreted as omens of death. Their song, however, is melodic and consists of a hopeful message for life after death; it promises to tell people how they will be remembered.

The red juice of the pomegranate is suggestive of blood and the fruit itself is the symbol of Plouton and Persephone. According to the myth, when Hades raped Kore, he gave her some seeds of this fruit to eat, by which means he kept her one-third of the year with him in the underworld.⁵⁸ Moreover the relation of the pomegranate with chthonic cult is indicated by its frequent presence as a votive offering in graves and its depiction on grave reliefs and in vase-painting.⁵⁹ It is at once a symbol of death and of rebirth; its numerous seeds symbolize fertility and life. Pomegranates are very often represented in art, especially in South Italian tomb-painting,⁶⁰ particularly in Campania and Lucania,⁶¹ together with other fruits, such as apples, as well as eggs—all symbols of the cult of the dead.

Despite their symbolic relation with the world of the dead and its deities, Sirens with pomegranates are not often depicted in Greek art. There are two known examples from Magna Graecia: the Getty and the Crotona Sirens; and two more from mainland Greece: the Peloponnesian Siren and a terra-cotta one from Boeotia.⁶² The latter has a clearly rendered red painted fruit hanging from a necklace around the neck and a polos on the head. The provenance of the terra-cotta, combined with the fruit and the polos, connect the Siren with Hera, as a chthonic goddess.⁶³ According to Müller,⁶⁴ the goddesses who mostly wear polos are Kore and Demeter; Hera usually has a polos decorated with palmettes and flowers, such as that on the Boeotian Siren. In contrast, the Getty Siren has a plain polos, such as that worn by Demeter and Persephone.⁶⁵

The polos on the Getty Siren further emphasizes her relation with Hades. The polos has been considered a symbol of fertility and rebirth, on the one hand, and of death, deities of the underworld, and demons, on the other.⁶⁶ In this respect its symbolism is similar to that of the pomegranate. Sirens and sphinxes often have a polos on their heads⁶⁷ because of their relation with chthonic goddesses such as Hera and Persephone. Hera's relationship to Sirens is hinted at by Pausanias, who relates that the cult statue of Hera in Koroneia held a Siren.⁶⁸ The Siren Polemon mentions in the Treasury of the Byzantians at Olympia⁶⁹ could also be connected with Hera. It is unfortunate, however, that Pausanias does not elaborate on the reason for the presence of the Siren in Koroneia. This is suggested by an inscription from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos,⁷⁰ where it is mentioned that a silver Siren was offered to the goddess there.

In contrast to Hera, Persephone's relation with Sirens is easier to explain. The close relation the Siren has with the underworld connects her with the queen of Hades.⁷¹ According to later literary sources, Sirens not only tended Demeter's daughter, but also sang for her.⁷² It is stated that they wept over the loss of Kore, and they tried to find her when Hades took her away from her mother.⁷³ Their connection with Kore is emphasized by earlier writers; in Euripides, for example, Helen calls upon Sirens as the companions of Persephone to accompany her weeping for her sorrows.⁷⁴ This last reference provides a further important detail; Helen does not simply call the Sirens, she specifically asks them to bring their musical instruments for the mourning, including flutes and panpipes. The syrinx held by the Getty Siren (see figs. 1b, d) brings

to mind Persephone's companions, even though the bronze vessel is earlier than Euripides' drama. The pomegranate in the left hand of the Getty Siren makes the connection with Hades' wife even stronger.

Sirens holding musical instruments are common in Greek art. Already by the seventh century B.C. there are representations of Sirens with a kithara and krotala.⁷⁵ Sometimes they hold two musical instruments, mostly flutes and lyre.⁷⁶ The literary sources, however, rarely mention any specific musical instruments; Euripides' *Helen* is the earliest source that gives such information,⁷⁷ especially the syrinx mentioned by Helen. Lyre, kithara, and aulos are the instruments the Sirens are usually depicted playing,⁷⁸ but panpipes are not included among them. This fact makes the Euripidean information even more interesting and important.

Flutes and lyre are the most common musical instruments in antiquity, and because of this popularity their frequent presence in the hands of a Siren is quite easy to explain. There are no indications in art or in literature that the instruments the Sirens hold have any particular meaning, or that they are to be connected with any specific deity.⁷⁹ They merely emphasize the connection of the Sirens with music. Of the four bronze vessels in the form of a Siren, the Getty example is the only one holding any musical instrument. The syrinx she holds is not commonly rendered with these mythical creatures, and as far as I know this is the only Greek Siren with a syrinx. The few other such depictions come from other regions, such as the sixth-century-B.C. bearded Siren of limestone from Cyprus (see figs. 3a-b).⁸⁰

The latter is the earliest known Siren holding panpipes, and it is only some centuries later that this feature occurs with other Sirens. A group of almost thirty Etruscan cinerary urns of the Hellenistic period show Odysseus's adventure with Sirens, exclusively female.⁸¹ The urns depict Odysseus tied to the mast of the ship, with three Sirens, represented as totally human, sitting at the left of the scene playing their musical instruments (fig. 11).⁸² It is worth noting that in all these cases, the Siren in the middle plays pipes, while her two sisters hold, respectively, a kithara and an aulos.

The syrinx is an instrument closely associated with Pan and shepherds,⁸³ but apart from the fact that both Pan and Sirens are *Mischwesen*, there is no obvious connection between the two.⁸⁴ One plausible connection, however, is the seductive qualities and erotic character combined with the funeral tone and mourning that come from the sound of the syrinx.⁸⁵ Another



Figure 11. Etruscan cinerary urn. London, British Museum D 54. © Copyright The British Museum.

possible connection between the Siren and the syrinx is through the Muse Calliope, who in one version is the mother of the Sirens,⁸⁶ and who seems to be related to the syrinx. On the well-known François Vase in Florence,⁸⁷ Calliope is represented playing the pipes, and this musical instrument is considered her attribute.

Because of the Sirens' relation to Hades, their death was a welcome event for humans. Almost all the extant stories concerning Sirens present them as dying.⁸⁸ Although famous for their song and music, the Sirens lost all the literary contests they took part in. Pausanias states that Sirens competed with the Muses in singing;⁸⁹ the Sirens lost, and the Muses plucked the feathers out of the Sirens and made crowns for themselves. Most humans were charmed by the Sirens, but they were unable to beguile Odysseus and Orpheus. This human victory over Sirens could be symbolic of human victory over death.

Be that as it may, Sirens were very popular on human graves already in the sixth century B.C. Furthermore, numerous vases in the form of a Siren are found in graves. This popularity cannot be explained if Sirens

were considered only the unpleasant omens of death. Their connection with the underworld makes them a hopeful aspect of this horrible event, since through their charming music Sirens can accompany the dead into their graves. They are the Muses of life after death,⁹⁰ an interpretation supported by the presence of the pomegranate. Life and death are bound together in both of them, and this double meaning is carried by the Getty Siren. Its symbolism makes it an appropriate gift for the journey to Hades, with the accompaniment of the syrinx.

The numerous examples of South Italian terracotta vases in the form of a Siren show how strong the belief was that these human-headed birds were the escorts of the mortals into Hades. Their music represented hope and promise for life after death. The South Italian terracotta Sirens date mainly from the second half of the sixth century through the end of the fifth century B.C. The majority belong to the early Classical period,⁹¹ contemporary with the bronze Siren-askos in the Getty Museum. Many of them come from Locri Epizephyrii, and some were found in

Manella, where there was a sanctuary of Persephone; others were found in graves in South Italy and Sicily. The exceptionally good condition of the Getty Siren suggests a grave as the most likely source for her as an offering.

Although it is unknown whether this vessel was a votive offering at a sanctuary or a grave, the Siren is nevertheless connected with Persephone's kingdom. Life, death, fertility, and music are synchronically held together by a Muse *des Jenseits*.

Malibu

The J. Paul Getty Museum

NOTES

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Abbreviations

Buschor, <i>Musen</i>	E. Buschor, <i>Die Musen des Jenseits</i> (Munich, 1944).
Hofstetter, <i>Sirenen</i>	E. Hofstetter, <i>Sirenen im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland</i> (Würzburg, 1990).
Kunze, "Sirenen"	E. Kunze, "Sirenen," <i>AM</i> 57 (1932): 124-41.
Weicker, <i>Seelenvogel</i>	G. Weicker, <i>Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst: Eine mythologisch-archäologische Untersuchung</i> (Leipzig, 1902).

1. Inv. 92.AC.5. H.: 15.3 cm, L.: 18.7 cm, W.: 8.5 cm, Weight: 1155.24 g. The vessel is said to have been found in Murgie di Strongoli in the region of Crotona in South Italy: "Museum Acquisitions," *GettyMusJ* 21 (1993): 104-5, no. 5; D. Buitron-Oliver and B. Cohen, "Between Skylla and Penelope: Female Characters of the Odyssey in Archaic and Classical Greek Art," in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. B. Cohen (New York, 1995), pp. 32-33, figs. 5-6; L. Breglia Pulci Doria, "Immagini di Sirene nella Crotoniatide," in *I Greci in Occidente. Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria* (s.l., 1996), pp. 239-40. R. Spadea, "Askos a forma di Sirena," in *ibid.*, p. 241, no. 4.3. *LIMC* 8 (1997), p. 1097, no. 38, s.v. "Seirenes" (E. Hofstetter).

2. *Od.* 12.38-39. Sirens are mentioned in *Od.* 12.158ff., 12.197-200, and 23.326 (The Loeb Classical Library, transl. A. T. Murray). The earliest extant literary sources that describe Sirens are much later than the representations of Sirens in art. Apollod. *Epit.* 7.18-19; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.893-99; Aelian, *NA* 17.23; Heraclitus *De incredibilibus* 14; Tzetzes on *Lykophron*, 653, 720; Suidas s.v. "Seirenes." For the Sirens in ancient literature, see *RE III A*, 1 (1927), pp. 290ff., s.v. "Sirenen" (Philipp); Roscher² (1965), 4: 602-17, s.v. "Seirenen" (Weicker); Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 37-84; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 13-32; *LIMC* 8 (1997), pp. 1093-94, s.v. "Seirenes" (E. Hofstetter). For the etymology of the name Siren, see also O. Lagercrantz, "Sirene," *Eranos* 17 (1917): 101ff.

3. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 1ff.; Kunze, "Sirenen," 130-33; Buschor, *Musen*, passim; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen*

Religion (Munich, 1955), 1: 228-29; E. Peifer, *Eidola und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989), pp. 267-80.

4. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.905-9; *Od.* 12.39-46 and 158ff.; O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes Odysseens dans l'art antique* (Paris, 1968), pp. 145-90.

5. Ps.-Arist. *De mirab. ausc.* 103; Strabo 6.252; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 39-40.

6. *Od.* 12.39-46, knows only two Sirens in contrast to later authors, such as Apollod. *Epit.* 7.18, who gives, for example, three names.

7. There is no disagreement in the literary sources about their father, but there are several different names for their mother, including the Muses Terpsichore, Melpomene, and Kalliope; another is Sterope, the daughter of Helios. See Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 67-68; *RE III A*, 1 (1927), pp. 294-95, s.v. "Sirenen" (Philipp); Roscher² (1965), 4: 604, s.v. "Seirenen" (Weicker).

8. Apollod. *Epit.* 7.18. For the names of the Sirens, see Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 61; *RE III A*, 1 (1927), pp. 291-92, s.v. "Sirenen" (Philipp); Roscher² (1965), 4: 602-3, s.v. "Seirenen" (Weicker).

9. Strabo 1.22ff. and 5.246ff.; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 61-65; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 16-17; *RE III A*, 1 (1927), pp. 296, s.v. "Sirenen" (Philipp); Roscher² (1965), 4: 606-7, s.v. "Seirenen" (Weicker); E. Pais, "The Temple of the Sirens in the Sorrentine Peninsula," *AJA* 9 (1905): 1-6; G. Gianelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia: Contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in occidente* (Florence, 1963), pp. 131-32, 173-74.

10. Buschor, *Musen*, pp. 11ff.; J. D. Cooney, "Siren and Ba, Birds of a Feather," *BClevMus* 55 (1968): 265-67; Touchefeu-Meynier (supra, note 4), pp. 179-88. The Greek artists adapted the general type for their own needs. The musical Sirens, such as the ones in Homer, do not occur in Egypt; see G. Jacopi, "Un askos di bronzo con figurato da Crotona," *ArchCl* 5 (1953): 10-22, esp. 17.

11. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 110; B. Heldring, *Sicilian Plastic Vases* (Utrecht, 1981), p. 12, no. 23; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 251, 297.

12. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 33, 42, 85ff., 98ff., 130-34; Kunze, "Sirenen," pp. 124-25, dates the earliest Sirens in Greek art before the middle of the eighth century B.C. The fragment from Praisos, which Kunze dates to the eleventh century B.C., is actually from the Oriental period; see D. Levi, "Gleanings from Crete," *AJA* 49 (1945): 280-93; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 280-81, no. v 1. On Cycladic vases Sirens occur for the first time at the beginning of the seventh century B.C.: see Ph. Zappeiropoulou, *Problematika tes Meliakis Angeiographias* (Athens, 1985), pp. 59-60. For human-headed birds as attachments on bronze vessels, see R. D. Barnett, "Sirens and Rephaim," in *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development*, ed. J. Vorys Canby et al., pp. 112-30 (Madison, 1986); H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der Orientalisierenden Zeit. Olympische Forschungen*, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 27-113; M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine*

Arts, Boston (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), pp. 279–80, no. 402; W. Gauer, *Die Bronzegefäße von Olympia*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1991), pp. 15, 168; R. Spadea, “Il Tesoro di Hera,” *BdA* 88 (1994): 16–18, no. 21, pl. v.e–g; R. Spadea, “I Greci in Occidente,” in R. Spadea, ed., *Il Tesoro di Hera*, exh. cat. (Milan, 1996), pp. 64–65. The latter function appears to be very popular during that period, since other *Mischwesen*, such as griffins and sphinxes, have the same decorative part. Sirens as supports of handles in vessels or mirrors are very common in the Archaic and Classical periods as well. For representations of Sirens in Greek art, see also *LIMC* 8 (1997), pp. 1097–1104, s.v. “Seirenes” (E. Hofstetter).

13. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (College Park, Md., 1931); D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley, 1988); Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 81–84, 102–9.

14. On the Attic black-figured hydria of the Archippe Group (Louvre E 869) there is the inscription ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ next to a bird with female head. *ABV* 106.2; *Paralipomena*, p. 43; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 11; *CVA Louvre* 2, pl. 12.1 and 3, pl. 13; Buschor, *Musen*, p. 44, fig. 34. An inscription ΣΕΠΕΝ is next to a similar figure on a Attic black-figured band-cup by the potter Neandros (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 61.1073). *Paralipomena*, p. 69; *MuM Auktion* 22 (1961), no. and fig. 125.

15. The earliest representations of human-headed birds in Greek art could be bearded or unbearded: see Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 42; Buschor, *Musen*, pp. 19–23; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, passim. Beardless Sirens are considered females, while bearded ones are males. As for the latter, they were interpreted as the souls of men by Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 36, an idea that has since been discarded. It is more likely that the earlier Sirens and sphinxes had no specific gender; their representation both in art and in literature verify this. Particularly interesting is the presence of a double-headed Siren in profile on a late Corinthian aryballos in Athens, National Museum 281: one head is female, the other bearded and hence male. This variation is probably an invention of the artist, who had in mind both male and female Sirens. See Payne (supra, note 13), 1: 242; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 58, 62, no. κ 89; D. R. West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses and Female Daemons of Oriental Origin* (Kevelaer, 1995), p. 182, no. 13.

16. Buschor, *Musen*, pp. 22, 41. This inscription is published by G. Klaffenbach, “Archaische Weihinschrift aus Samos,” *MdI* 6 (1953): 15–20, esp. pp. 18–19 for the Siren. See also M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* (Rome, 1967), 1: 267f., no. 8, fig. 120; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Die antike Stadt Samos* (Mainz, 1969), p. 89, fig. 49.

17. Most Greek workshops represent Sirens with a beard. It is from Clazomenian, South Italian, and Sicilian workshops that we have no bearded Sirens; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 114–15; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 233–35, 249–80.

18. See infra, note 80.

19. The Siren under the kline of the Attic black-figured pinax in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 27.146) with prothesis scene: see W. Zschietzschmann, “Die Darstellung der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst,” *AM* 53 (1928): 39, no. 28, Beilage 10; J. Boardman, “Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis,” *BSA* 50 (1955): 59, no. 5; H. Gropengiesser, “Sänger und Sirenen,” *AA*, 1977, 593, fig. 15. The second Siren is likewise on an Attic black-figured pinax (Berlin-Charlottenburg 31 332): Buschor, *Musen*, p. 30, fig. 19; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 101, no. A 147.

20. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 250, 253, no. w 7.

21. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 119, fig. 43; Kunze, “Sirenen,” p. 127; Cooney (supra, note 10), p. 266, fig. 10.

22. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 95, 99–101, 119ff.; Buschor, *Musen*, p. 15, fig. 4.

23. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, passim.

24. Mykonos Museum 1287: Kunze, “Sirenen,” p. 127, Bei-

lage 31; Gropengiesser (supra, note 19), p. 590, fig. 10; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 211–12, no. Ky 3. This vase is one of the earliest known examples in Greek art of Sirens with hands; it dates to the third quarter of the seventh century B.C. The hands are strongly stylized, without separate rendering of the fingers, although the thumb is clearly indicated. The way the hands are depicted on this amphora suggests that it is a scene of conversation; see G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965), p. 10.

25. British Museum GR 68.1–10.767. The vase, dated around 600 B.C., was found in Kythera and is probably made by a Laconian workshop. Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 122, fig. 47; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1959), 2: 44, no. 1677, pl. 30; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 207, no. L 14.

26. The Siren on a red-figured Apulian loutrophoros by the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148 in the Getty Museum, inv. 86.AE.680, is a good example; see also Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pls. 1–36.

27. Inv. 76.AD.11: A. Bottini and P. G. Guzzo, “Orfeo e le Sirene al Getty Museum,” *Ostraka* 2 (June 1993): 43–52; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 260–61, no. w 24. Attic statues of Sirens from fourth-century-B.C. graves also look more like women than like birds; see, for example, Kerameikos Museum P 761: K. Gebauer, “Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos,” *AA* 57 (1942): pp. 253, 256–57, figs. 31–33; U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt a.M., 1985), pp. 68f., 103, 277, no. s 7a, figs. 43, 47, 51; cf. a marble statuette of a weeping Siren in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.757, also from the fourth century B.C.: L. D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), pp. 97–98, no. 44.

28. The condition report was prepared by Jerry Podany, Conservator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum. According to his report, “there are no signs of active corrosion occurring on this object. The relatively voluminous corrosion product layer is composed of various copper carbonates and oxides. This layer preserves many of the finer details of the object’s surface.”

29. For bronze techniques, see P. C. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik* (Munich, 1985); C. C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); eadem, *Classical Bronzes: The Art and the Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996).

30. B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), passim; R. Ross Holloway, *Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Louvain, 1975), passim.

31. Bronze hand-mirror with a handle in the form of a draped man, Reggio Calabria 4490, from Locri; see P. Orsi, “Locri Epizephyrii,” *NSc*, Suppl. (1913): 13–16, figs. 15–16; U. Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Großgriechenland und Sizilien* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 4, 12–17, no. 39, where it is catalogued as a female figure; E. Langlotz, *L’Arte della Magna Grecia* (Rome, 1968), p. 285, no. 91; Ridgway (supra, note 30), pp. 67–68, fig. 110; F. Cameron, *Greek Bronze Hand-Mirrors in South Italy* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 5–6, no. 7, figs. 22–23, with earlier references.

32. Cameron (supra, note 31), pp. 13–14, examines the Reggio 4490 mirror handle in greatest detail and makes comparisons with other works of sculpture.

33. Langlotz (supra, note 31), passim; Ross Holloway (supra, note 30), passim.

34. H. Prückner, *Die Lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz, 1968), which are also assigned to the Severe style.

35. For similar examples, see R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren, Originale* (Mainz, 1980), passim.

36. Ross Holloway (supra, note 30) especially some of the heads from Medma. See also E. Lattanzi, *Il Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria* (Rome, 1987), pp. 118–26.

37. Reggio Calabria 4496; see Orsi (supra, note 31), pp. 17–19, fig. 18; Jantzen (supra, note 31), pp. 22–26, no. 53; Langlotz (supra, note 31), pp. 283–84, no. 89; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 263–64, no. w 33, inv. number omitted; Cameron (supra, note 31), pp. 23–26, no. 14, where the figure is interpreted as a Harpy rather than a Siren. Although human-headed birds have been interpreted in the past as Harpies, like those on the so-called Monument of the Harpies from Xanthos in Lycia, there is no literary reference that proves this name for other mythological beings but Sirens. The human-headed birds on the monument from Xanthos, now in the British Museum B 287, are Sirens and not Harpies. See Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 32–33, n. 3; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 243–44, no. o 61, with further bibl. for the monument. For Harpies, see *LIMC* 4 (1988), pp. 445–50, s.v. “Harpyiai” (L. Kahil), and esp. p. 446, no. 3, for the Monument of the Harpies in Xanthos.

38. Hannover, Kestner Museum 1976.61. K. Deppert, “Jahresberichte Kestner Museum 1973–1976,” *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*, n.f. 30 (1976): 287–89, no. 18; Vedder (supra, note 27), p. 138, figs. 38–39; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 255, no. w 19.

39. Deppert (supra, note 38), p. 287.

40. British Museum 550: Jantzen (supra, note 31), p. 5, no. 28, pp. 12–17, pl. 4.17; Langlotz (supra, note 31), p. 277, no. 64; L. O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece* (Mainz, 1982), pp. 229–30, no. 7. Even though it is not known where this bronze-mirror handle was found, it is generally accepted that it was made in Locri.

41. E.g., Siren aryballos from Rhodes, now in the British Museum A 1135 (GR 60.4–4.30); J. Ducat, *Les Vases plastiques Rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite* (Paris, 1966), p. 155, pl. 23.3–4. See also M. I. Maximova, *Les Vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1927), pp. 145–48.

42. See supra, note 16.

43. L. Preller, *Polemonis Periegetae Fragmenta* (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 50, fig. XXII.

44. H.: 7 cm, L.: 8.5 cm. The Siren used to be in the museum in Astros but is now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, inv. 18805; K. A. Rhomaios, “Ereunai en Kynouria,” *Prakt* (1911): 273–74; Jacopi (supra, note 10), p. 13; P. V. Phaklares, *Archaia Kynouria* (Athens, 1990), p. 175, pl. 78g–d. According to M. Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (Münster, 1986), pp. 62, 121, no. κ 157, the Siren was made in Peloponnese, probably by a Laconian workshop. I would like to thank Dr. E. Zervoudaki, Curator of Ancient Greek Pottery at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, and A. Panagiotopoulou for permission to study the vessel.

45. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 182, n. 873.

46. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 6713, H.: 9 cm, L.: 10 cm. H. Fuhrmann, “Archäologische Funde,” *AA*, 1940, p. 531, fig. 53; Jacopi (supra, note 10), pp. 10–22, pls. IV–VI; G. Foti, *Il Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria* ([Cava dei Tirreni], 1972), p. 75, no. 43; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 266, no. w 37; Breglia Pulci Doria (supra, note 1), pp. 239–40; R. Spadea (supra, note 1), p. 241, no. 4.1. I would like to thank Dr. E. Lattanzi, Soprintendente Archeologico della Calabria, Italy, for the photographs and permission to study the bronze askos. The Crotonian Siren is dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C. by Jacopi, op. cit. p. 20, whereas Foti dates it to the end of the sixth century B.C. The Siren was found in Catanzaro in the area of Crotona, but there is no further information about the exact place or context. It would have been somewhere in the area of Crotona. Most of the South Italian terra-cotta Sirens of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. come from Locri and mostly from the Sanctuary of Persephone. See Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 249ff., catalogue of the Western Greek Sirens. The workshop in Locri, as well as those in Crotona and Medma, seem to be possible places of manufacture for this bronze askos; Jacopi, op. cit., p. 21.

47. Vessels with handles in the shape of a kouros or a kore occur very often in Greece and especially in the Peloponnese during the sixth century B.C. This motif is popular also in Magna Grecia and Etruria; see N.M. Verdalis, “Chalki Tefrodochos Kalpis ek Trikalon,” *AE*, 1953–1954, pp. 189–99; L. Politis, “Chalki Hydria ex Eretrias,” *AE*, 1936, pp. 166–74; C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes* (London, 1986), p. 144; S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* (New York, 1985), p. 253; Comstock and Vermeule (supra, note 12), pp. 285–86, nos. 410, 411. It is not known whom these kouros- and kore-shaped handles represent. In the absence of literary sources there are many interpretations for their symbolism. Among others the korai have been interpreted as servants of a goddess. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 266, no. w 37, accepts this as the possible meaning of the kore on the Siren of Crotona. For the interpretation of the kore-shaped handles, see Congdon (supra, note 40), pp. 13–18, with earlier references.

48. British Museum GR 1965.7–26.1, thought to be the work of a Vulcian workshop, according to Haynes (supra, note 47), pp. 253–54, no. 23.

49. H.: 32.5 cm. The Siren from the Peloponnese is only 7 cm high and that from Crotona 9 cm. The former likewise has a trefoil mouth.

50. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, passim, does not mention any Greek example of this size. G. Camporeale, “Vasi plastici di bucchero pesante,” *ArchCl* 25–26 (1973–1974), p. 116, mentions three exceptionally large, Greek terra-cotta Siren-shaped vases from the second half of the sixth century B.C., even though they are not askoi or oinochoai but rather aryballoi. They were found in Manella at Locri and are now in the Archaeological Museum in Reggio Calabria, inv. 512, 5765, and 5774.

51. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 18.145.25; G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* (New York, 1940), p. 40, fig. 126; Camporeale (supra, note 50), pp. 115–19, no. 2, pl. xxx. I would like to thank Dr. J. Mertens, Curator of Greek and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, for permission to study the Siren.

52. The terra-cotta Siren in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (supra, note 51) is 29.1 cm high.

53. Camporeale (supra, note 50), p. 117.

54. See J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 113–22; M. Harari, *Il “Gruppo Clusium” nella ceramografia etrusca* (Rome, 1980); M. A. Del Chiaro, “A Clusium Group Duck-Askos in Malibu,” *Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986), pp. 139–42; idem, “Two Etruscan Vases in Japan,” *RM* 96 (1989): 293ff.

55. The first is in Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 1609, and the second in Orvieto, Museo Faina, without inv. number. For both vases, see Camporeale (supra, note 50), pp. 115–19, nos. 1 and 3. For the vase in Berlin, see also H. Jucker and M. Pallottino, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, exh. Cologne, April 29–July 15, 1956 (Cologne, 1956), p. 94, no. 163, fig. 6. Both of these vases are very similar to the Siren in New York, but they are a little shorter than it.

56. The bronze Siren in Reggio, inv. 6713 (supra, note 46), and possibly the Siren in Athens, inv. 18805 (supra, note 44).

57. Pl. Cra. 403.D. Statues of Sirens standing on graves occur from the first half of the fourth century B.C.; see Vedder (supra, note 27), pp. 65–78. Their connection with the funerary lament occurs as early as the sixth century B.C., such as on the terra-cotta pinax in Boston (supra, note 19). For Sirens as omens for death, see Gropengiesser (supra, note 19), pp. 593ff.

58. *Homer. Hymn. 2 to Demeter* 370–74, 393–413; *Ov. Met.* 535ff.

59. For the pomegranate, see F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel: Symbol des Lebens in der alten Welt* (Fribourg, 1982), passim, but esp. pp. 77–92, with references. For eighth- and seventh-century-B.C. examples, see N. Kourou, “ROA GLYKEIA,” in L. Kastrianke

et al., eds., *Eilapine: Tomos timetikos gia ton kathegete Nikolao Platona* (Iraklion, Crete, 1987), pp. 101–16; S. A. Immerwahr, “The Pomegranate Vase: Its Origin and Continuity,” *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 397–410.

60. See F. Weege, “Oskische Grabmalerei,” *Jdl* 24 (1909): 99–162, pls. 7–12; A. Maiuri, *La Peinture romaine* ([Geneva], 1953), pp. 15ff.; P. C. Sestieri, “Tombe dipinte di Paestum,” *RivIstArch* 5/6 (1956/1957): 65–110; Muthmann (supra, note 59), pp. 86–89, figs. 73–75.

61. Wall-painting with a pomegranate between two eggs, from a tomb in Paestum (Naples, Museo Nazionale 9351); tomb-painting from Cumae (Naples, Museo Nazionale) with a woman and a maid and pomegranates on the walls; both date to the second half of the fourth century B.C. Weege (supra, note 60), pp. 100–101, no. 1, and p. 117, no. 30.4; Maiuri (supra, note 60), pp. 22f., 78; Muthmann (supra, note 59), p. 87, fig. 73, and p. 88, fig. 75.

62. Würzburg H 694: F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (Berlin, 1903), I: 30, no. 4; E. Simon et al., *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), p. 56; Muthmann (supra, note 59), pp. 56–58, fig. 42; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 196–98, no. B 32, pl. 20.1.

63. According to Philostratos *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.28, the pomegranate is the only fruit that is grown in honor of Hera. Decorated polos with rosettes, volutes, and pomegranates have been interpreted as ceremonial objects related mostly to weddings, fertility, birth, death, and funerary rituals; see Muthmann (supra, note 59), pp. 57–58; P. Devambe, “Autel creux en terre-cuite,” in M.-L. Bernhard, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 367–73; E. Simon, “Hera und die Nymphen: Ein Böötischer Polos in Stockholm,” *Études de céramique et de peinture antiques offertes à Pierre Devambe*, 2 = *RA* 23 (1972): 205–20.

64. V. K. Müller, *Der Polos: Die griechische Götterkrone* (s.l., 1915), p. 9.

65. Prehellenic Hera is considered the Mistress of Life and Death, and she was worshiped as a chthonic goddess; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 13; Simon (supra, note 63), p. 210; Müller (supra, note 64), p. 68; B. Snell, “Hera als Erdgöttin,” *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 158f.; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*³ (Munich, 1985), pp. 54–59 and 103, 162, 245 for Demeter, Aphrodite, and Artemis with polos.

66. For polos, see Müller (supra, note 64), passim; Devambe (supra, note 63); Simon (supra, note 63).

67. Müller (supra, note 64), p. 80; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, passim.

68. Paus. 9.34.3. See Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 24, for the different interpretations that have been given for the presence of the Siren on the cult statue.

69. See supra, note 43.

70. See supra, note 16.

71. Buschor, *Musen*, p. 9.

72. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.896–97.

73. Dositheos, 56; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, pp. 61, 72–73; *RE* III A, I (1927), p. 299, s.v. “Sirenen” (Philipp).

74. Eur. *Hel.* 168–78.

75. F. Poulsen and Ch. Dugas, “Vases archaïques de Délos,” *BCH* 35 (1911): 410, no. 76, fig. 68; Kunze, “Sirenen,” p. 133, pl. v.5.

76. O. Waldhauer, “Ein Askos aus der Sammlung Chamenkow in Kiev,” *AA* 44 (1929): 247, 253–66, fig. 14; Heldring (supra, note 11), p. 28, no. 4; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 250, no. w 5, pl. 31.3.

77. Supra, note 69; Apollod. *Epit.* 7.18 also mentions the musical instruments.

78. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, passim; Vedder (supra, note 27), pp. 276–83.

79. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 118–19, suggests that lyre and aulos connect Sirens with Apollo, Athena, and Hermes.

80. Louvre MNB 407: M. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art Grec* (Paris, 1911), p. 19, fig. 2; Buschor, *Musen*, p. 38, fig. 29; A. Hermay, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre: Sculptures* (Paris, 1989), p. 466, no. 969; Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, p. 281, no. v 3. For Roman examples of a Siren with syrinx, see *LIMC* 8 (1997), p. 1097, no. 43, s.v. “Seirenes” (E. Hofstetter).

81. B. Candida, “Ulisse e le Sirene: Contributo al definizione di quattro officine Volterrane,” *RendLinc*, serie 8.26 (1971): 214–15, no. 7, pl. 11, fig. 1; Touchefeu-Meynier (supra, note 4), p. 174, no. 332; *LIMC* 6 (1992), p. 975, no. 93, s.v. “Odysseus/Uthuze” (G. Camporeale).

82. Etruscan cinerary urn in London, British Museum D 54: Candida (supra, note 81), pp. 199–235; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), pp. 21–52, esp. 47–48; *LIMC* 6 (1992), pp. 975–76, nos. 92–115, s.v. “Odysseus/Uthuze” (G. Camporeale); D. Buitron and B. Cohen, *The Odyssey and Ancient Art* (Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., 1992), pp. 110–11; the latter discuss the problem of the prototypes.

83. M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949), pp. 58–60; idem, *Musik und Tanz* (Göttingen, 1968), p. 19; D. Paquette, *L'Instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1984), pp. 63–71, esp. 65 for the symbolism of the Siren; G. Haas, *Die Syrinx in der griechischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1985), passim. For the myth and the invention of syrinx, see Ph. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 79–83.

84. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 168–78.

85. *Epidaurus Hymn* (IG, IV 12, p. 130.; D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* [Oxford, 1962], p. 936); *H. Hom. Pan* 14–16; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 5.5–6; Borgeaud (supra, note 83), pp. 82–83, 86, 118–21.

86. *Servii in Vergilii Georgica* 1.8; *Servii in Vergilii Aeneidem* 5.864; *Myth. Vat.* 1.42 = 3, 11, 9; Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 68; Roscher² (1965), 4: 604, s.v. “Seirenen” (Weicker).

87. Attic black-figured volute-krater by Kleitias and Ergotimos, Florence 4209: Paquette (supra, note 83), p. 66, no. 51; M. Cristofani et al., “Materiale per servire alla storia del vaso François,” *BollArte*, serie speciale 1 (1981); A. M. Esposito, ed., *Vasi Attici: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Antiquarium* (Florence, 1993), p. 22, fig. 10, for Calliope with a syrinx.

88. Centaurs are the only mythical creatures who were easily charmed by the Sirens and driven to death by their song; Lycoph. *Alex.* 672; Ptolemaeus Chennos *Nov. Hist.* 5 (Phot. Cd. 190); *RE* III A, I (1927), p. 299, s.v. “Sirenen” (Philipp); Roscher² (1965), 4: 616, s.v. “Sirenen” (Weicker); Weicker, *Seelenvogel*, p. 69.

89. Paus. 9.34.3.

90. Sophocles, frg. 852.

91. Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, pp. 249–55.

Τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις: AN EXCEPTIONAL PAIR OF TERRA-COTTA ARULAE FROM SOUTH ITALY

Gina Salapata

Small portable altars, known as arulae, were a very common and characteristic product of South Italy and Sicily from the second quarter of the sixth century down to the Roman period.¹ Arulae have been found also in Greece—they are quite frequent in Corinth and Olynthos²—and as far away as the Black Sea.³ They have been unearthed in a variety of contexts, primarily in sanctuaries, but also near and inside graves and at habitation sites.

Arulae were most often made of terra-cotta but occasionally also of stone.⁴ Most are square or rectangular, but some have concave sides or an hourglass shape.⁵ Their dimensions vary considerably, from 8 to 55 cm in length and from 9 to 50 cm in height.⁶ The main criteria for calling altar-shaped objects arulae appear to be their portability and their relatively small size—too small to allow them to be used for animal sacrifices.⁷ They commonly have moldings on the top and base, and the vast majority are decorated with moldmade painted reliefs,⁸ usually on the front side but occasionally on three or even all four sides.⁹

The two terra-cotta arulae acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1986 (acc. nos. 86.AD.598.1 and .2) are exceptional in their large size, their excellent state of preservation, and the high artistic quality of their relief decoration (fig. 1a). They are so far unique in that they form a pair, as is made clear not only by the similar form and dimensions but also by the complementary decoration on the two pieces, which in fact forms a unitary scene. The arulae preserve important information about their use, and their iconography offers valuable clues regarding religion and cults in South Italy.

MORPHOLOGY AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS

Reconstructed from many fragments, the Getty arulae are ninety percent complete. The few missing areas have been filled by the conservators of the Getty Museum with a synthetic material to which terra-cotta powder has been added to achieve a texture similar to the original.¹⁰ The condition of the relief decoration is remarkably good, with fine, sharp details preserved.

The two arulae are rectangular in shape and almost identical in dimensions, approximately $42 \times 34 \times 29$ cm.¹¹ They taper somewhat toward the top, and all sides are slightly concave. The cornice and base are decorated on all four sides with pronounced egg-and-dart moldings. An enigmatic feature is found on the facing sides of the arulae (figs. 1b–c): a narrow, rectangular vertical groove starts near the middle of the top surface and runs through the upper molding.¹² The grooves were made before firing and before the white slip was applied, for traces of it are visible inside the grooves. Since they have destroyed part of the molding of the upper cornice, they were probably not part of the original design, but were judged necessary.

Such grooves are unparalleled on terra-cotta arulae and even on full-sized altars. The only other possible instance may be on a small (H.: 9.5 cm) stone arula of the Archaic period from the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinus, which appears to have a thin groove running down one side.¹³ I suspect that the uniqueness of this feature must have something to do with the Getty arulae's forming a pair. An additional thin element must have been slotted into the grooves to connect the two arulae side by side; this connection would have emphasized their complementary decoration.



Figure 1a. Pair of arulae. Terra-cotta. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AD.598.1 (left) and .2. (right).



Figure 1b. Right side of Arula 1, figure 1a. The front is on the left side of the photo.



Figure 1c. Left side of Arula 2, figure 1a. The front is on the right side of the photo.

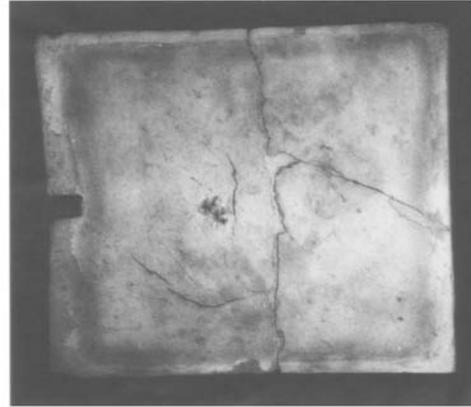
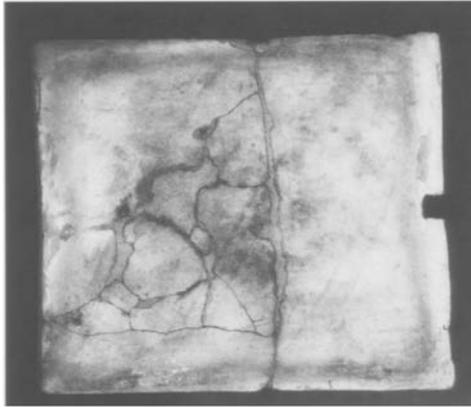


Figure 1d. Tops of Arula 1 (left) and Arula 2 (right), figure 1a. Infrared photography.

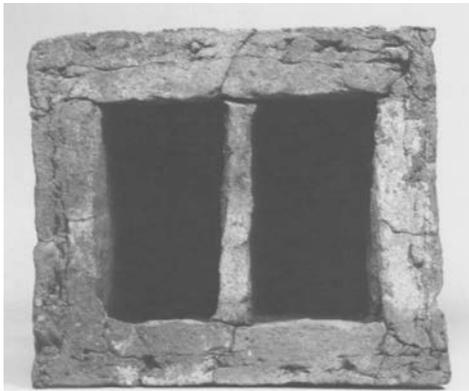


Figure 1e. Bottom of Arula 1, figure 1a.

Figure 1f. Bottom of Arula 2, figure 1a.

Pairs of arulae are uncommon.¹⁴ The only other example from the West I know of dates to the sixth century and is completely different from the Getty arulae in both form and decoration.¹⁵ That pair, allegedly found in a Sicilian grave, has been identified as sides of a table supporting a horizontal slab on which offerings to or belongings of the deceased were placed.¹⁶ The decoration is also very different from the narratively unitary scene depicted on the Getty arulae (see *infra*, pp. 30–31); they each depict a single figure, a Gorgon and a sphinx, with no interaction between them.

Like the majority of arulae, the top surfaces of the Getty arulae are flat and plain, but they preserve a unique regular pattern of discoloration on the white slip (fig. 1d). The discoloration forms a rectangle just inside the edges, bending slightly to avoid the groove cuttings. This suggests that metal trays (bronze or even silver) were originally placed on the arulae and slightly bent to avoid obstructing whatever was inserted into the slots; these firepans, when heated by the fire or the

coals, must have caused the discoloration of the slip. Support for this suggestion can be derived from vase-paintings and a few three-dimensional representations: a fire pan (*epipyron*) is often seen on top of regular-sized stone altars in order to contain the fire and protect the surface from calcination.¹⁷ The high artistic quality of the Getty arulae and their large size would justify the addition of firepans to protect their surface from burning.

METHOD OF MANUFACTURE

The clay used for the Getty arulae is reddish-brown and has many impurities; the gray core indicates uneven firing, which did not allow complete oxidation of the center.¹⁸ Both arulae are hollow with an opening at the bottom (figs. 1e–f). They were put together from five separately made slabs, each of which consisted of one layer of clay. In Arula 2, however, a few additional patches can be discerned, presumably to correct gaps left during the rolling out of the slabs.



Figure 1g. Front of Arula 1, figure 1a.



Figure 1h. Front of Arula 2, figure 1a.

The four side panels were assembled while still soft and joined together with liquid clay.¹⁹ A partition wall was added to the interior of each arula.²⁰ By this method, used also in other large arulae,²¹ the top would be reinforced so that any sagging or collapse while the clay was still soft would be avoided. After the addition of the dividing wall, patches of clay were pressed onto the interior and against the upper surface, presumably to reinforce it even further. The coroplast's fingers created a swirl pattern when they smoothed over the additions to achieve a better attachment. The rest of the interior bears further traces of impressions of fingers and a flat-edged tool. Additional strips of clay were worked separately and then added to the top and bottom of the exterior to create the cornice and base moldings (see figs. 1e–f).

Made of more refined clay than the panels, the reliefs were constructed separately and attached to the background; a combination of techniques is likely to have been used, which involved both casting in a variety of molds and freehand work.²² The process of molding was similar to the one used in the manufacture of terra-cotta figurines and plaques. First the coroplast created the prototype freehand and then the mold; the cast was produced in it by applying several layers of clay. The first (outer) one was quite thin and fine to guarantee perfect adhesion and maximum copying of the details. One or more layers would then be applied to fill in the mold completely, and the surface would be smoothed by hand or with a broad tool. Due to the shrinkage of clay during drying and firing of both the mold and the cast, the final product was smaller than the prototype. The degree of shrinkage depended on the type of clay, the duration of the firing, and the kiln temperature.²³

The reliefs on the Getty arulae are quite low, and each figure has been carefully worked over after molding; the intricate details, for example, in the hair and drapery were incised by the artist freehand (figs. 1g–h). The efficient work of the coroplast is shown in the profile heads of the three women on Arula 1 and in the left-hand figure on Arula 2 which, though they appear different, were clearly all cast in the same mold. The variations in the hair are created by the freehand incising and the different tilting of the heads.

After the completion of the details, a slip of fine dilute clay of yellowish-green color was applied to smooth out the surface, followed by a white slip. Traces of this white slip both at the bottom and in the hollow interior of the arulae indicate that they were actually

dipped into the liquid substance rather than having it painted on with a brush. Originally the details were picked out in paint, traces of which can be seen mostly in the folds of the garments and the creases of the hair. On Arula 1 there is red on the hair and yellowish-brown on the drapery of the left-hand woman, and green on the instrument held by the middle woman and on the drapery of the right-hand woman. On Arula 2 there is red on the hair of the seated man and of the woman seated on the chest, and green on the peplos of the woman seated in the middle.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEFS

The scenes on the Getty arulae form a unitary composition. On Arula 1 (see fig. 1g), three women move in an orderly row to the right on rocky ground, shown as rough lumps of clay separated with engraved lines.²⁴ They are well dressed in similar ungirt peploi with long overfolds, and two of them wear hoop earrings. Their hair is arranged differently: the middle one wears a *sakkos*, while the short, curly hair of the other two flies loose.²⁵ All three faces are in profile, with the woman to the left raising her head slightly and the other two having theirs lowered. Their lower bodies and legs are in three-quarter view and overlap. The legs are fully modeled through the cloth, which clings to the body to reveal the forms beneath. The folds fall in a V-shaped pattern between the breasts and gather between the striding legs. The folds are deeply carved against the thighs and calves and flutter back in a series of parallel curving patterns that broaden toward the bottom forming “omega” shapes at the hemline.²⁶ The woman on the left has her right arm by her side and rests her left hand on the shoulder of the middle woman. This one is holding a ladder-shaped instrument, presumably in her invisible left hand, and plays it with her right. The woman to the right places her right hand on the shoulder of the middle one and holds with the other hand a tympanon shown in perspective.²⁷ We may safely assume that the women are making music and dancing.²⁸ Expressions are calm and reserved, while movement, convincingly conveyed by the sweeping curved patterns of folds, is smooth and graceful.

The composition on this arula is monodirectional and needs a complement to the right, which is indeed provided by the scene on the companion piece, Arula 2 (see fig. 1h). This scene, by contrast, is treated as a self-contained unit, though the similar rocky ground makes it a continuation of the scene on the first arula. The focus here is an embracing couple seated next to each

other on rocks. The woman is seated to the left but with her upper body frontal and her head slightly turned to the right. Her long, wavy hair is gathered in a topknot (*lampadion*),²⁹ with curls hanging down. She wears sandals (with straps originally painted on) and a fine peplos so transparent that even her navel is indicated. The peplos, pinned only on the left shoulder and thus leaving her right breast exposed, envelops her legs and is tucked underneath her. Her right arm lies on her leg, while with her left hand she embraces the waist of the young man seated next to her. Facing left, he sits in a pose similar to the woman's—their right legs bent behind—but faces forward with his head inclined in three-quarter view and his mouth slightly open. His long hair with curly locks running down his back is bound with a ribbon.³⁰ His body is soft, plump, and quite effeminate, with overdeveloped breasts. He is covered only from the waist down with a himation, which is tucked underneath and brought up from behind to cover his head. His right arm is placed around the shoulders of the woman, while his left is brought up to his head to hold the himation.

Two women flank the couple. The one on the left faces them, with head in profile and body in three-quarter view. She is coiffed, jeweled, and dressed similarly to the women on Arula 1 and holds a tympanon in her lowered right hand, apparently from a short handle attached to the frame. She must therefore be associated with the dancers on the first arula, even though she has stopped dancing. With head bowed she makes a special gesture, pulling the edge of the overfold of her peplos over her short hair like a veil,³¹ a movement that leaves her left breast exposed (see *infra*, p. 39). The curly hair of the woman to the right is bound with a headband (*sphendone*); she has no earrings. She sits facing left on a rectangular casket of a simple form, with a narrow recessed band on the side and short plain rectangular feet.³² Her head is downcast in a pensive, melancholy expression, and she is totally absorbed in her own thoughts; her hands are clasped about her right knee with the leg brought behind like those of the couple. She appears to wear a different type of dress, still sleeveless like the peplos, but thicker than the others and without overfold, unless this was originally rendered in paint alone.³³ The bunch of fabric beneath her cannot be explained.

The scene on Arula 1 is dynamic, with motion lines and agitated curved folds in the garments creating the impression of forceful, rapid movement. The atmosphere on Arula 2 is entirely different. Here we

have a static, quiet, and introspective scene accentuated by the straight tension folds in the garments. Some emotion is expressed through the slightly open mouth of the youth and the downcast head of the woman seated on the casket. The composition is carefully balanced and more complex, with a wider variety of participants, poses, and gestures, which draw the eye gradually from one person to the next. Another point of difference between the scenes on the two arulae is the linearity in the composition of Arula 1 and the greater sense of depth of Arula 2, with figures placed in the fore- and background and disposed on different levels. Noticeable is the position of the standing woman, whose legs are hidden behind the rocky ground and lower body is overlapped by that of the seated woman.³⁴ Arula 2 then well reflects the preoccupation of South Italian artists with the problems of space and perspective.³⁵ Despite their differences, the two arulae form a single scene connected not only through the common landscape but also through the leading dancer who has stopped in front of the seated couple, an arrangement that illustrates progression in time.

STYLE AND DATE

Lacking contextual evidence, the Getty altars can be dated only on stylistic grounds, which point to the first half of the fourth century, and more likely its first quarter. Poses are elegant, comfortable, and flowing; only the right hand of the woman embracing the youth appears slightly awkward, and the right arm of the woman seated on the casket is rendered unsuccessfully. The dancing women bear a striking similarity to the woman on an Apulian bell-krater by the York Painter, dated around 370;³⁶ she wears a belted peplos with long overfold and, holding a tympanon in her left hand, moves to the right behind Dionysos.

The seated youth is of a physical type similar to Apollo on a fragmentary Apulian calyx-krater of 400–380, as shown by the same nonchalant gracious pose in three-quarter view with head bent and right arm extended; his features, which include a beautiful rounded face and long curly hair; and his contemplative expression.³⁷ A similar pose, with the addition of the gesture of binding a fillet around his head, is assumed by the youth on an Attic volute-krater by the Meleager Painter dated around 390–380 (fig. 2):³⁸ his body is covered up to the same point, his legs are crossed and arranged similarly, and his left hand, which is brought up to tie the fillet, is rendered in exactly the same way.



Figure 2. Volute-krater by the Meleager Painter. Neck. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93.



Figure 3. Marble head of a woman with the back of her head covered by a veil. Private collection. After P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris, 1939), pl. VII.4.

The long curly locks of the youth on Arula 2 resemble those of a female head on a fourth-century antefix from Taras.³⁹

The face of the woman seated next to the youth finds close parallels in fourth-century sculpture from Taras. The similarities with a marble female head are especially marked: although the two heads have different hairstyles, they have the same fleshy face, eyes, eyelids, forehead shape, and hair radiating from the hairline (fig. 3);⁴⁰ they furthermore share the same serious, reserved expression characteristic of Tarentine coroplasty during the early fourth century.⁴¹

There is a clear influence on the Getty arulae from Greek mainland art, especially Attic, which was indeed the principal source of inspiration in the art of South Italy during the late fifth and early fourth centuries, reflecting increasing Athenian political influence on Taras.⁴² Thus the general atmosphere of the scene is very close to that of the Meidias Painter and his group, which favored soft youths in idyllic settings involved in love scenes.⁴³ The hairstyle of the attending women, in particular, rendered as a mass with individual short curly locks, and that of the youth with much longer tresses, resemble and are probably inspired by the work of the Meidias Painter or his imitators in the West. The long overfolds associate the arulae with a group of Apulian vase-paintings—the Group of the Long Overfalls—dated between 380 and 365.⁴⁴ The relatively small size of the tympanon also supports a date earlier in the Apulian artistic production when influence from Attic art was still strong,⁴⁵ while the short handle is a characteristic of fourth-century representations of tympana.⁴⁶ The presence of the ladder-shaped musical instrument also supports a date in the fourth century, as will be shown later (see *infra*, p. 39).

The arrangement of the folds and hemline in the dancing women, especially the groove in the middle of the “omega” fold, recalls the rendering on the Dexileos stele of 394 and the Bassai frieze carved at the end of the fifth century;⁴⁷ similar folds, with thick parallel ridges and areas that cling in between, are found also in the South Frieze of the Nike Temple.⁴⁸ But the best parallel for the drapery style is offered by the dancing figure on a terra-cotta impression found at Kerameikos and taken from a metal vessel dated to the first quarter of the fourth century.⁴⁹ In addition to the striding pose, other similarities include the folds that cross the front leg, the thin folds between the legs that widen at the bottom to form “omega” folds, and the isolated fold billowing behind the leg.

Regarding Western parallels for the arrangement of the folds, the work of the Lecce Painter, dated between 380 and 360, is the closest.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the schematized, stylized execution of the curved, almost parallel, folds against the legs of the dancing women bears some similarities to the folds of the female winged figure who draws the chariot of Aphrodite on a Tarentine arula, dated in the early fourth century.⁵¹ The folds on the Getty arulae, however, are not as stiff, but more varied and lively.

In general, therefore, some late fifth-century traits persist—such as the serene, idealized faces of the standing women and the transparency in the garments⁵²—but the poses, the *lampadion* hairstyle, the drapery with long overfolds, and some expression of emotion in the figures on Arula 2 are in keeping with the style of the early 400s. It is especially the lively drapery style with its calligraphic rendering of the windblown folds that tend to become schematized, and the strong shadows cast by deep relief that support a date in the first quarter of the fourth century. Admittedly, the egg-and-dart molding of the arulae, with nearly orthogonal eggs placed close to each other, is not typical of the fourth century, which favored ovoid eggs further apart. But the “old-fashioned” molding occurs again on the Derveni krater, generally dated after the middle of the fourth century.⁵³

INTERPRETATION OF THE SCENE

We may now consider the identity of the figures on the Getty arulae. The scene as a whole shows a pair of lovers surrounded by five women, four of whom are making music and dance. The presence of the musical instruments, the dancing, and the elegant garments and jewelry give the scene a character of festivity. The general atmosphere of the occasion, however, appears sad or at least solemn, as indicated by the poses and gestures of the two women flanking the couple on Arula 2, imbued as they are with reserved melancholy. But why are these women sad in front of a happy, united, erotic couple? Why is there dancing and music at the same time as grieving? Who are the embracing lovers? The most likely reading of the scene is that the embracing couple is the goddess Aphrodite and her mortal lover Adonis, while the attending women are the goddess’s entourage, most likely Nymphs. The emphasis is on the union of the lovers presented as a joyful celebration, as happened during the first phase of the Adonia festival; but their eventual separation, ritually lamented in the second phase of the festival, is fore-

shadowed in the grieving poses of the two women closest to them. Before I proceed to a detailed examination of the iconography in order to justify this interpretation, a discussion of the mythical and cultic background of Adonis seems appropriate.

The Myth and Cult of Adonis

Adonis was born from the incestuous union of Myrrha and her father, variously identified as Theias, king of Assyria, or Kinyras of Cyprus, according to the two main versions of the story.⁵⁴ The passionate love of the daughter was invoked by the wrath of Aphrodite because the girl was not interested in the goddess's charms. Persecuted by her furious father, whom she had tricked, Myrrha was eventually transformed into the eponymous tree, out of which Adonis was born, assisted by the Nymphs.⁵⁵ The baby, of extraordinary beauty, was taken by Aphrodite, hidden in a *larnax* (coffin, casket, chest),⁵⁶ and entrusted to Persephone; but the queen of the underworld, charmed by the beauty of the boy, later refused to give him back to Aphrodite. Zeus intervened as arbitrator between the two foster mothers and decreed that Adonis should spend a third of the year with the heavenly Aphrodite, a third with the underworld Persephone, and stay the remainder by himself. Adonis chose to live his share of the year again with his beloved Aphrodite. Later literary sources say that Adonis died a violent death, mortally wounded by a boar while hunting on Mount Lebanon near Byblos, or in Cyprus.⁵⁷ In general, his love affair with Aphrodite and his premature death, in the prime of youth, are the main themes in his myth.

Adonis is at home in Semitic Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus, but specific features in the myth and rites betray his Mesopotamian origins.⁵⁸ He was especially identified with Tammuz, the consort of the great goddess Astarte, whose death was celebrated every year by women lamenting on the roofs of their houses, a ritual that survived well into Roman imperial times.⁵⁹

The cult of Adonis must have spread to Greece during the seventh century and most likely through Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite.⁶⁰ The rituals were probably imported by resident aliens, immigrants and traders, as was the case in other foreign cults. The deity was easily accepted into the polytheistic religion of Greece but never lost his connection with the East in the Greek version of the myth,⁶¹ even though his foreignness is not emphasized in either literary or artistic sources.⁶² As modifications are inevitable in a new cultural environment, the new cult changed focus and

meaning.⁶³ Adonis lost the divine status he enjoyed in the East and was demoted to a demigod of ambiguous status, which resembled that of a hero.⁶⁴ As such, he did not have a cult statue or a sanctuary for the practice of a regular cult. He may, however, have been worshiped in conjunction with Aphrodite and have received offerings and sacrifices in her sanctuary, as was the case in the East.⁶⁵

The agricultural and fertility connections of the cult were also lost.⁶⁶ The ritual lament, however, which in the Eastern vegetation cult of Adonis accompanied the harvesting of the crops,⁶⁷ was preserved, albeit devoid of its agricultural character.⁶⁸ Its *aition* lies in the decision of Zeus that Adonis share his life between this world and the underworld.⁶⁹

The lyric poet Sappho was the first to lament the death of Adonis in what appears to have been a hymn composed for a ritual performance, taking the form of a dramatic re-enactment of scenes from Adonis's myth.⁷⁰ The surviving fragment is a dialogue between Aphrodite and her attendants, most likely Nymphs, at the moment of Adonis's death, when Aphrodite instructs the young women to lament him by beating their breasts and tearing their tunics.⁷¹ The context of the performance could have been a local festival for Adonis during which Aphrodite's mourning on the mythical level would have been reflected in the women's mourning on a ritual level.

Literary and iconographical sources from the mid-fifth century onward talk about yearly festivals honoring Adonis, celebrated exclusively by women in several places of Greece, Athens and Argos being those with concrete evidence.⁷² We hear about nocturnal festivities, held by private groups of neighbors and friends, which included both respectable women and courtesans.⁷³ The women's rites in Athens took place throughout the city in private houses⁷⁴ and at least partly on rooftops, but in Argos they were held in a special building in the agora.⁷⁵ The women danced, chanted, and celebrated for at least one and maybe more nights. In view of the informal character of the activities—the Adonia was neither mentioned in the official religious calendar of Athens nor supported by the state—we should expect variations in details from place to place and period to period; thus duration and even format may have been defined by the participants themselves.⁷⁶

Most of the available information comes from Classical Athens and Hellenistic Alexandria,⁷⁷ and indeed, even though we cannot assume that the cele-

bration of the Adonia was performed in exactly the same way in the two areas, some patterns do seem to emerge.⁷⁸ The most important is the two distinct phases of the festival, one characterized by revelry and ritual joy and another, apparently predominating, by grief, mourning, and lamentation.⁷⁹ The dual nature of the rites is a clear reflection of the conflict between love and death, represented on the mythical level by the dispute between the two goddesses.

The festival began with a cheerful celebration of the union of the divine lovers, with the women joining in the joy of Aphrodite following Adonis's periodic return from the underworld (*anodos*) as decreed by Zeus.⁸⁰ They recreated the erotic and sensual aspects of that reunion, which took the form of a wedding celebration,⁸¹ even though it was not exactly a *hieros gamos*.⁸² As in real weddings, there was merrymaking, drinking, singing, and dancing,⁸³ in Athens to the accompaniment of a special Eastern instrument, an aulos called *gingras*.⁸⁴ Fruits, nuts, and cakes were offered as wedding gifts,⁸⁵ and perfumes and incense must also have played an important part.⁸⁶

When incense was offered to the gods in general as a form of sacrifice, it was totally consumed and did not simply produce smoke and fragrance as in incense burners.⁸⁷ Incense played an important role in the cult of Aphrodite, who was often shown holding an incense burner, and by extension was used in erotic and nuptial contexts.⁸⁸ The mythological association of Adonis with incense and perfume—myrrh in particular—was very strong since he was born from Myrrha and was anointed with myrrh by the Nymphs.⁸⁹ This association may have been reflected also in the ritual, even though there are no specific literary references to that effect except for the mention of Syrian myrrh in Theokritos's *Idyll*.⁹⁰ But even if there was no direct relationship with Adonis, it is very likely that, because of its erotic and funerary associations, some form of incense was burnt in a festival with a dual aspect such as the Adonia.

Two important features of the ritual, at least in Athens and Alexandria, were the use of effigies and the sowing of little gardens. Plutarch refers to small images of Adonis prepared by the Athenian celebrants of the Adonia, which must have been made of wax or terra-cotta.⁹¹ This accords with evidence from the second-century-A.D. author Alkiphron, who writes about some women who bring to an Adonia party statuettes along with little gardens.⁹² At Alexandria an elaborate couch was set under an arbor of greenery, on which were laid the embracing images of Adonis and

Aphrodite accompanied by little Erotes flying above.⁹³ In Alkiphron's letter the implication is that a larger image was also used at some stage, since one of the women was going to "decorate the lover of Aphrodite."

Literary and iconographical⁹⁴ sources from Athens indicate that some days before the festival women planted seeds of quick-sprouting plants, like fennel and lettuce and possibly also wheat and barley, in composted soil in broken pots⁹⁵ and exposed them on the roofs of their houses,⁹⁶ where they soon withered in the bright summer sun.⁹⁷ These gardens, which grew fast but also withered quickly, acquired a proverbial meaning in ancient Greece, stressing their short life, superficiality, and infecundity.⁹⁸

The agricultural origins and associations of the garden ritual in the East are generally accepted today. This agricultural meaning, however, appears to have been lost in the Greek world;⁹⁹ the gardens in fact represented the opposite of proper agriculture by being cultivated at an inappropriate time of the year and with the wrong technique, and finally destroyed.¹⁰⁰ The young tender seedlings could have symbolized the youth of Adonis¹⁰¹ or may simply have provided a nice decor for the festival as well as an appropriate setting for the images during the nuptial phase.

Aristophanes and Menander refer clearly to the noise, turmoil, amusement, and fun during the celebrations, which must have formed part of this first phase. Sexual licence is specifically implied in the *Samia* (lines 41–42), while the Dionysiac, orgiastic aspect of the festival is obvious in *Lysistrata* (lines 387–98), with references to wine drinking and ecstatic music and dancing.

This cheerful aspect contrasted with the next phase, the ritual mourning, when women re-enacted the death and burial of Aphrodite's lover,¹⁰² following the pattern of the women in the East.¹⁰³ The lament was performed by the women who in a way imitated Aphrodite in her mourning for her dead lover.¹⁰⁴ Symbols and decorations from the previous wedding celebration would have been destroyed and replaced by death symbols or transformed into such.¹⁰⁵ Thus the marital couch would have become the funerary bier;¹⁰⁶ perfumes and incense used for the wedding would now have been used for the dead Adonis; the greenery, by recreating the ambience of a garden, would still have provided an appropriate setting for the funeral, compatible with the Oriental origins of Adonis, since Oriental kings were buried in gardens;¹⁰⁷ and special wedding songs, such as the *hymenaios*, would have given way to dirges and laments.¹⁰⁸

The celebrating women would have imitated traditional funerary rituals. Thus first came the funerary wake (*prothesis*), customarily taking place at night and accompanied by weeping and wailing and gestures of grief associated with the dead, such as beating of breast and pulling, perhaps even cutting, of hair.¹⁰⁹ Then came the procession (*ekphora*), early the following day to escort the image, together with the miniature gardens, to its watery place of disposal, which in Alexandria is specified as the sea.¹¹⁰

But as Aphrodite's joy was short-lived, her mourning would be temporary, for Adonis would come back the following year to renew their love.¹¹¹ In Alexandria the women invited Adonis to return through a special ritual formula.¹¹² Therefore, the sequence of the ritual, reflecting that imposed by Zeus in the myth, was return-union-departure-expectation for return;¹¹³ and Adonis indeed returned every year to die again and be mourned ritually.¹¹⁴

In late fifth-century Athens the Adonia was well known and popular enough to be included in the list of the festivals promised by the Aristophanic Trygaios to be celebrated in honor of Hermes.¹¹⁵ Adonis and his cult were indeed fashionable themes in the theater during the late fifth and especially fourth centuries, as shown by the attested titles for one tragedy and at least five comedies¹¹⁶ and Menander's play. His popularity extended in the West, as shown by the tragedy entitled *Adonis* written by Dionysios I, tyrant of Syracuse.¹¹⁷

The Adonia festival was a semiprivate opportunity for women to break their isolation, get together and bond with female friends, away from men and the routine of everyday life.¹¹⁸ The erotic atmosphere of the festival and the range of emotions that were expressed during its celebration must have contributed to its popularity among women. Through the dancing, singing, and lamentation they must have gone beyond themselves and reached a state of trance similar to that of the maenads.¹¹⁹ They would have shared an emotional experience in their exhibition of sympathy for Aphrodite and perhaps also the expression of their own sexual fantasies evoked by the handsome young god.¹²⁰

Iconography

The absence of inscriptions makes any identification of the figures on the Getty arulae debatable, but there are several elements, I believe, that make the identification of the seated couple with Aphrodite and Adonis very plausible. Admittedly, nothing particularly characteristic identifies the couple except for their youthfulness and

the expression of love seen in their mutual embrace. They cannot be mistaken, however, for an erotic mortal couple, an iconographic scheme created at the end of the fifth century,¹²¹ not only because of the inherently religious function of the arulae, but also because of the presence of the surrounding women, who attribute a cultic character to the scene.

The most likely candidates for the embracing divine couple are Dionysos with his consort Ariadne or Aphrodite with one of her lovers, primarily Adonis. Both were popular themes in Attic and South Italian vase-painting of the late fifth and fourth centuries.¹²² Ancient authors point, indeed, to the close relationship between the figures of Dionysos and Adonis, which is confirmed by iconographic similarities during this period;¹²³ the correspondence extends to the figures of Ariadne and Aphrodite and the schemata that include their consorts.¹²⁴ Dionysos is often portrayed like the man on the Getty arula, that is, as a gracious youth with a soft body, lying usually on a couch and often making the same gesture, but he is easily identified by the presence of satyrs and maenads and his wine cup or a thyrsos.¹²⁵ On the Getty scene, by contrast, there is nothing characteristically Dionysiac that would justify an identification of the youth as Dionysos, nor, by extension, the identification of the woman as Ariadne. Further support for recognizing Aphrodite in the consort of the youth is offered by the feature of the exposed breast, which emphasizes the goddess's sexuality.¹²⁶

The lack of precise characteristics and identifying attributes for Adonis makes it difficult to distinguish him from other beautiful youths. He is especially confused with Phaon, another favorite of Aphrodite, who is depicted in a very similar manner on Attic vases of the late fifth century. Both Adonis and Phaon are shown as idealized beautiful young men, with long curly hair and a plump, almost effeminate body, as was the trend at the time. They may hold a lyre (as an attribute of educated young men) and have their hair bound by the Dionysiac headband, but they have no other distinguishing attribute. They are usually surrounded by a retinue of women and Erotes.¹²⁷

Adonis, however, was much more popular as a subject in the art of this period, both in mainland Greece and in the West,¹²⁸ where he in fact lived on through the Roman period. The Adonis iconography was also richer in South Italian art, especially Apulian vase-painting, than in the art of the Greek mainland in its representation of different events of the myth. Thus, for example, scenes of the dispute between the two



Figure 4. Hydria by the Meidias Painter. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81948. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence.

goddesses are depicted in South Italian art, but they never appear in Attic art, which seems to favor specific representations of the Adonia festival¹²⁹ and mythical scenes imbued with erotic overtones, focusing on the couple of Aphrodite and Adonis.

Most of the mythical scenes, which feature also in South Italian art, show the lovers in an outdoor setting, involved in their amorous embrace and surrounded by females, just as on the Getty arulae.¹³⁰ These *symplegmata*, with either Aphrodite seated on Adonis's lap, or the two seated side by side, or one leaning against the other, highlight the beauty of Adonis, which not even Aphrodite could resist, and accentuate the love they shared.¹³¹ One of the most beautiful scenes is depicted on the well-known hydria by the Meidias Painter in Florence (fig. 4).¹³² Adonis has abandoned his lyre on the ground and receives Aphrodite's embrace while he leans back between her knees in erotic ecstasis. The

scene is witnessed by Erotes and female personifications as the goddess's attendants.

In other cases Adonis is shown reclining on a luxuriously furnished couch, recalling the one set for his image at the Alexandria Adonia (see supra, p. 35) and as in that case perhaps alluding to both his marital and death beds. Thus on the volute-krater in the Getty Museum (see fig. 2), the reclining youth, almost certainly identified as Adonis, raises both hands to tie a fillet around his head. He is flanked by two groups of three women, with the two seated ones having been persuasively identified as Aphrodite and Persephone.¹³³ On the main scene of a mid-fourth-century Apulian pelike in Naples the inscribed Adonis lies once more on a couch, his arms brought to his head, which is again adorned with a headband (fig. 5).¹³⁴ The lack of a wound does not support the interpretation that Adonis is dying.¹³⁵ Rather than suggesting his failing strength



Figure 5. Apulian Pelike. Detail of Adonis. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale SA 702. Photo: DAI, Rome, neg. no. 70.1532.

and imminent death, pose and gesture in this context assume an erotic meaning indicating openness, willingness, and readiness for love.¹³⁶

The couple of Aphrodite and Adonis was especially popular on engraved Etruscan mirrors, reflecting their general popularity in the West.¹³⁷ As in Greek vase-painting, where the accent was on the love the couple shared, they are most commonly shown embracing, and again without a hint of the youth's death and their imminent final separation. By contrast, on Roman paintings and sarcophagi, although the lovers are still often shown embracing, it is their final embrace that is intended, with the wounded Adonis apparently dying in his beloved's arms.¹³⁸

The pose and general appearance then of the youth on the Getty arula perfectly suit an Adonis fig-

ure.¹³⁹ His languid pose and especially the gesture of bringing his hand up to his head, although assumed by other youthful figures, seem very appropriate for Adonis, as suggesting erotic repose and anticipation of his union with his favorite goddess.¹⁴⁰ The Dionysiac headband is also very pertinent, since it was worn by gods and heroes in their effeminate aspect.¹⁴¹ The himation covering Adonis's head is harder to explain since it was used in that fashion mainly by female or older male figures. It is possible that its role here was to reinforce the nuptial theme by suggesting the bridal veil,¹⁴² in which case Adonis's gesture would be the typical *anakalypsis*.¹⁴³ In this particular myth, however, there is a reversal of roles: the place of the bride, who normally is a younger woman seduced by and submitting to an older man, has been taken by Adonis.¹⁴⁴ His embrace

with the goddess is a clear illustration of the love that bound the two and may also foreshadow the tragic death of the youth, who died in Aphrodite's arms.

We come now to the attending women.¹⁴⁵ Apart from a few minor differences in hairstyle and headgear—variations, as I believe, to relieve the monotony¹⁴⁶—not much in external characteristics differentiates the four dancing women from each other. They could then be considered together as a female thiasos. The gesture, however, of the woman facing the couple, bringing the overfold of her peplos over her head as a veil, is quite unusual and must bear particular meaning. As with pulling the himation over the head, using the overfold as a head covering is usually considered a solemn or grieving gesture,¹⁴⁷ and it is reminiscent of that of female mourners in prothesis scenes.¹⁴⁸ In other contexts it may suggest ritual or even express fear.¹⁴⁹

The baring of the facing woman's breast may have been caused by frantic dance, as often happened to the maenads,¹⁵⁰ but since it occurs on the figure closest to Aphrodite, who likewise has one breast exposed, it may also indicate the woman's assimilation with the goddess.¹⁵¹ It is clear therefore that the four women are shown dancing in the outdoors; having approached the seated couple, who appear as a sort of epiphany, the leading woman has stopped in awe and respect, as suggested by the special gesture she makes, which may even be tinged with sadness. It is interesting to note here that the attending women do not look directly at the couple but either above or below them, as if the couple is not presented at a certain moment but has assumed a permanent symbolic value. Even the lovers themselves, although turned toward each other, do not exactly exchange glances, as if lost in their individual thoughts.

The element of music is stressed by the inclusion of three musical instruments. Percussion instruments, such as the tympana held by two of the women, were principally used in mystic and orgiastic cults and ceremonies of Asiatic origin, especially those of Dionysos and Cybele.¹⁵² Being the feminine instruments par excellence, tympana were characteristic attributes of maenads, but were carried also by Aphrodite and by the Nymphs in her retinue.¹⁵³

The ladder-shaped musical instrument held by the middle woman on the first arula is often depicted on South Italian vases, mainly Apulian, starting in the fourth century.¹⁵⁴ Notably, its appearance on the Getty arula is, if not the earliest, one of the earlier occurrences. Found in nuptial and funerary scenes together

with other objects associated with feminine pursuits, it is usually placed in the hands of female figures. It is associated also with Eros and Aphrodite, and therefore with the realm over which they preside, that is, erotic and wedding scenes. This instrument, unknown in mainland Greece, had a long tradition in Italy, as shown by the discovery of bronze forerunners from the eighth century, which were in turn derived from Near Eastern prototypes.¹⁵⁵ The old traditional instrument may have been revived and modified during the fourth century, which would explain its popularity in contemporary art.

Its ancient name is not known, but in scholarly literature it is commonly referred to as a "xylophone" or "Apulian sistrum." Since, unlike the modern xylophone, it has crossbars of equal length and lacks a soundbox, this instrument has so far been reconstructed as a sort of rattle, or sistrum, that produced monotone rhythmic sounds when shaken or struck.¹⁵⁶ On the Getty arulae, as in a few vase depictions, the Apulian instrument is found in association with tympana.¹⁵⁷ In combination with the rhythm provided by the low-pitched tympana, this high-pitched instrument would have created a tension leading to frenzy, as in a Dionysiac orchestra.¹⁵⁸ Both the tympanon and this special Apulian instrument would therefore fit well in a scene involving Aphrodite and Adonis; the former was very appropriate for the exotic cult of the Eastern divinity and the latter for Aphrodite and her realm.

Regarding the identity of the dancing women, it could be suggested that they are mortal worshipers dancing in honor of Aphrodite and Adonis, perhaps during the Adonia festival. Even though mythical elements could have been present in a ritual scene and the depiction of a divinity among his or her worshipers is not unknown,¹⁵⁹ there is nothing specific to suggest mortal activity in this scene. On the contrary, many features indicate that the scene belongs to the divine sphere. In particular, the similar size and close association of the women to the divine couple militate against an identification with mortal participants in a cultic ritual.

Lack of distinguishing attributes or inscriptions precludes an identification with personifications, as on the Meidias Painter hydria (see fig. 4). A chorus of Nymphs seems to be the most suitable identification for the attending women. They were Aphrodite's attendants but appropriate companions also of Adonis since they played a role in his myth by having delivered him from the tree his mother was transformed into and

having brought him up.¹⁶⁰ In addition to presiding over birth in general, they were associated also with marriage since they were honored by those about to marry.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the Nymphs, who varied in number, were accustomed to playing music and dancing in the countryside.¹⁶² It is quite likely, however, that the Nymphs' dance in honor of the union of the divine couple, accompanied by special musical instruments, reflects the actual ritual dance that was performed during the festival.¹⁶³

Let us turn now to the fifth woman in attendance, the one seated next to the couple. The casket, large enough to be used as a seat, has no place or apparent practical function in the wilderness, and must therefore have a symbolic value. Caskets, chests, and other containers belonged to the sphere of female activities in the indoor area of the home and symbolized stored possessions; they were used as containers for jewelry, textiles, toilet articles, and household utensils.¹⁶⁴ In addition to being essential household items, chests and caskets were used to store the dowry, wedding finery, and gifts, and as such appear in wedding scenes in both Attic and South Italian art.¹⁶⁵ A casket is often shown in the hands of a female companion being offered to the bride to be used for her adornment or as a gift during the *epaulia*.¹⁶⁶ On the divine level, Aphrodite may receive a casket from her favorite attendant, Peitho, as shown on a pyxis in New York.¹⁶⁷ As a dowry container, the casket or chest becomes an attribute of the properly endowed bride, who often sits on it, either facing a man or alone.¹⁶⁸

The motif of the woman seated on a chest first appears on the East Pediment of the Parthenon, where two goddesses, most commonly identified as Demeter and Kore, use two chests as seats.¹⁶⁹ The wedding connotations of the chest would indeed be appropriate for Kore, the bride of Hades,¹⁷⁰ but the fact that both goddesses are sitting on chests indicates that the motif was not restricted to brides but could be applied also to a relative or attendant of the bride.¹⁷¹ This is exactly what I consider the figure on the Getty arula to be: a special attendant of Aphrodite, perhaps Peitho, the embodiment of erotic persuasion; as a frequent companion of Aphrodite in wedding contexts, she has also here carried the bridal chest for the "wedding"¹⁷² and has now put it down to sit on. A direct parallel can be found on an Apulian pelike, where one of the women attending an embracing couple sits on a chest.¹⁷³

The posture of the seated woman, with downcast head and hands clasped around her right knee, is more

problematic. Seated figures with hands around one or both legs, often crossed, are found on both Attic and South Italian vase-painting.¹⁷⁴ They generally appear in a funerary context, the pose apparently denoting distress or sorrow.¹⁷⁵ This is the pose assumed by a maiden seated in front of her own stele and by Achilles mourning Patroklos on two white-ground lekythoi of the late fifth century; Elektra is likewise clasping her knee while seated by Agamemnon's grave.¹⁷⁶ Pausanias's interpretation of the similar posture assumed by Hektor in Polygnotos's *Nekyia* at Delphi as giving the impression of one who grieves¹⁷⁷ similarly places the motif in a context of sadness. In other cases, the pose may denote intense contemplation, inertia, or waiting, as in the case of Ares on the East Frieze of the Parthenon or of Odysseus in scenes of the Mission to Achilles.¹⁷⁸ It could be seen also as a relaxing pose, such as the one assumed by a Muse on an Attic volute-krater of ca. 420, who, having stopped playing her lyre, is listening to music; and by a maenad on a slightly later Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, who has apparently just stopped dancing.¹⁷⁹

I think that the special pose of the woman, in combination with her sadly downcast face, commonly found on white-ground funerary lekythoi,¹⁸⁰ contrasts with the bridal casket on which she sits. The pose constitutes a prophetically mournful attitude, which may signify both the futility of the seemingly happy union, which is destined not to last, and the woman's inability to do anything to avoid the tragic end; in other words, the pose can be seen as the visual rendering of the expression "hands tied."¹⁸¹ The casket, however, may have multiple meanings, alluding also to the *larnax* in which Aphrodite hid Adonis before entrusting him to Persephone (see supra, p. 34).¹⁸² Thus on a late fifth-century Etruscan mirror in the Louvre, a very similar casket supposedly containing Adonis appears in the scene of Zeus's arbitration between Persephone and a very distressed Aphrodite.¹⁸³

To recapitulate the iconographic analysis of the scene, the emphasis is on the divine couple involved in their amorous embrace. This fits very well the late fifth- and early fourth-century spirit in art with its increased interest in beautiful decoration; graceful, sensuous figures; and scenes imbued with discreet eroticism. As in the festival, the couple's reunion is presented as an actual wedding by the presence of the chest and probably also by Adonis's gesture.¹⁸⁴ Music and dancing are also appropriate for the nuptial context and may have been modeled on the ceremonies during the

Adonia; if so, the naked breast of the attendant could refer also to the erotic character of the festival. Unlike Athens, where singing took place to the accompaniment of the aulos *gingras*, in South Italy preeminence was given to another instrument of Eastern origin.

Although there is no indication that Adonis is dying, the avoidance of real eye contact may point to the imminent separation of the lovers. More suggestive of the future are the grieving poses and gestures of the two women closest to the couple, foreshadowing the mourning that will accompany the death of the youth and reflecting the passage of the women from one emotional state to the other during the Adonia festival. The same approach was taken in the unusual *Adonis Song* in Theokritos's *Idyll*, with its combination of hymeneal and funereal parts. The first section (lines 127–31), which like an epithalamion referred to the marital bed and praising of the groom, turned into an *ialemos* (lines 132–42), thus anticipating the second phase of the festival on the following day by giving a preview of the laments.¹⁸⁵

PROVENANCE

The place of manufacture of the Getty arulae cannot be determined with certainty. There are several indications that they may have been made in the area of Taras or in another area heavily influenced by it. This is because Taras, from the second half of the fifth century onward, not only exercised a very strong influence in the political and cultural realm but also played a primary role in transmitting artistic trends to the entire Italian peninsula.¹⁸⁶

During the same period, Taras became one of the most important centers of terra-cotta production in the West.¹⁸⁷ In particular, production and export of high-quality terra-cotta arulae, which reached their peak during the fourth century, exerted influence in other regions of the peninsula.¹⁸⁸ The iconography of Tarentine arulae reflects that of Apulian vase-painting,¹⁸⁹ which was in turn influenced by Attic art. Although this influence is particularly strong on the Getty arulae, there are still several stylistic and iconographic affinities with Apulian art, as well as peculiar local attributes such as the ladder-shaped instrument. A scene depicting Aphrodite and Adonis would fit very well into a Tarentine environment, since many different kinds of monuments from Taras, including several arulae, show scenes from the realm of Aphrodite; there is furthermore epigraphical evidence for the cult of Aphrodite in Taras already in the Archaic period.¹⁹⁰

USE

Arulae are similar to altars in form, ornamentation, and decoration, but they differ in material, dimensions, and findspot. The inherent cultic purpose of the arulae, however, does not necessarily mean that they were used in the same way as full-size altars.¹⁹¹ Scholarly debate on the exact function of arulae has focused on technical characteristics, type of decoration, and findspot.¹⁹²

Because of their generally small size, arulae would have been inappropriate for animal sacrifices. Some, however, could have carried a small fire or coals for burning small offerings, in particular incense and aromatics. Such a use may be supported by the occasional traces on the upper surface of burning or provisions to contain a fire, such as depressions, holes for the positioning of a vessel, molded rings, or even small basins.¹⁹³ Since, however, these features are present in relatively few cases, such a function cannot be generalized.¹⁹⁴

The repertory of decorative scenes, especially in the Western arulae, is very extensive, from animals and single human figures to mythological scenes with several participants. There seems to be some evidence that decoration of some arulae relates to the cultic context in which they were used. The decoration of arulae from tombs generally alludes to underworld scenes, while arulae found in sanctuaries have more complex mythological scenes that sometimes relate to the local divinity. In many cases, however, the scenes are general enough to be applied to many contexts.¹⁹⁵

In contrast to altars, which are found primarily in sanctuaries and were thus for public use, arulae were related mostly to the private sphere, having been found primarily in habitations and, in South Italy, in cemeteries, both near and inside graves;¹⁹⁶ they were also often used in minor sanctuaries located in residential areas, and in extra-urban sanctuaries.¹⁹⁷ This variety of contexts, especially notable in South Italy, implies that arulae assumed different functions and were used flexibly.

The most commonly held opinion today is that these small portable altars were indeed used in ritual, primarily in the domestic cult.¹⁹⁸ Most of them may have been used as “offering tables,” for the placement of small offerings of food and the pouring of libations, as must have been those with one or more holes.¹⁹⁹ Others, especially very small examples, could have been dedicated to sanctuaries simply as votive offerings.²⁰⁰ Since specific vessels—*thymiateria*—existed for burning aromatics and incense, it is only exceptionally that arulae would have been used for that purpose.²⁰¹ The few arulae deposited in graves could have been possessions of

the deceased accompanying them in the other life or reproductions of a household object.²⁰² They could also have been offered as part of the funerary equipment of the deceased, especially in cases where the decoration is funerary in character or refers to the symbolic journey of the soul.²⁰³ Some, especially those found around graves, could have been used in ceremonies in honor of the dead, which included libations and food offerings.²⁰⁴

The excellent state of preservation of the Getty arulae, shown in their surface detail, their almost complete state, and their discovery together as a pair, points to a grave as their original findspot. This, however, may not have been their primary destination.²⁰⁵ Although portable, they are large enough to support a sacrificial fire or hot coals, and the traces of discoloration left by the metal fire pans indicate that they were indeed used for burning offerings. It is likely that they were used specifically for burning incense, which played an important role in the cult of Aphrodite and at wedding ceremonies, or even myrrh in particular,²⁰⁶ which was also very appropriate for Aphrodite's lover, the son of Myrrha. Their being a pair implies that one arula was used for offerings to the goddess and the other to her lover; their physical connection, on the other hand, through the element slotted into the side grooves, shows that the two arulae were used and placed together. Since they are quite light, they could easily have been carried, for example by a lady and her maid, to the location where the Adonia was celebrated, which may have varied from year to year.

CONCLUSIONS

Terra-cotta arulae are often of quite careless workmanship. The Getty arulae, however, are of exceptional quality, great artistic merit and sophistication, and might well have been a special commission.²⁰⁷ They depict a mythological scene appropriate to South Italian taste of the early fourth century. The identification of the erotic couple as Aphrodite and Adonis accompanied by Nymphs and perhaps also by Peitho accords well with the nature of the divinities and the rituals performed in their honor, as recorded in the Athenian and Alexandrian Adonia.²⁰⁸

The depiction on the arulae is the annual reunion of Aphrodite and Adonis, an important phase in the cult. Their embrace indicates the great love that bound together the goddess and her mortal lover. This union is accentuated by the twin nature of the arulae and the connecting segment. The casket characterizes the scene as belonging entirely to the female sphere and, as a

common motif in wedding scenes, attributes specific nuptial connotations.²⁰⁹ The chorus of Nymphs, who dance and play special musical instruments, acts as the divine prototype of the mortal celebrants and evokes the ritual dimension of the cult.

As in Theokritos's *Adonis Song*, performed during the first phase of the festival but containing a foreboding of the mournful next day, the celebration of the union of the lovers is imbued with the foreshadowing of the tragic death to come, implied in the expressions and body language of the attendants. In that way the scene is projected beyond the particular moment of the union to the future, thus reflecting both phases of the festival.

I would like to suggest, therefore, that the Getty arulae were used by a South Italian, perhaps Tarentine, lady in the Adonia festival to burn offerings, especially aromatic substances, in honor of the two divinities. If that was indeed the case, the decoration of the arulae would reflect perfectly their cultic purpose.²¹⁰ The twin arulae could later have been placed in the woman's grave as a valued possession. Their unique iconography would have made the arulae very suitable for a final funerary destination. The close association between love and death has repeatedly been expressed in Greek literature, and images of marriage are often found on funerary monuments, highlighting the close connections between marriage and death, wedding and funeral.²¹¹ In particular, Aphrodite's associations with death and the world of the dead were very strong in the West,²¹² where they owed more to local characteristics and the influence of indigenous cults than to the qualities of the traditional Greek Aphrodite.²¹³

The funerary symbolism of the Getty arulae would accord with the preoccupation of South Italian artists with the life hereafter, as shown by the predominance of funerary motifs, especially on Apulian vases. The specific divinities depicted could have been perceived to have further eschatological connotations. Just like the myth and cult of Adonis, which carry allusions to the rhythmic descent to Hades and ascent to life every year,²¹⁴ the use of such a scene in a funerary context would have carried a message of hope or consolation: either a yearning for immortality²¹⁵ or at least a hope for palliation of the finality of death through a myth that mitigated the absolute opposition between life and death.

The Getty arulae are notable for their careful construction, exceptional in terms of preserving traces

of their use, and so far unique in forming a pair with complementary decoration. They are artistically and iconographically important in their depiction of a beautiful and fascinating scene, which can be added to

the corpus of the iconography of Adonis and Aphrodite. Finally, they are also very significant because they contribute to the rising evidence for the celebration of the Adonia in the West.

Massey University
New Zealand

NOTES

Abbreviations

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1. Van der Meijden, who has published the most comprehensive study of South Italian and Sicilian terra-cotta arulae as a class, has emphasized their local importance as cult objects and as vehicles of an iconography reflecting Greek prototypes; see also Ricciotti. On arulae in general, see Yavis, pp. 137–38, 171–75; and Rupp. Unless otherwise stated, all dates refer to B.C.

2. Yavis, pp. 172–75. On Corinthian terra-cotta arulae, popular in the late sixth and fifth centuries, see Rupp, pp. 377–515; C. K. Williams, 11, "Corinth, 1978: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 48 (1979): 105–44, esp. pp. 136–40. For a recent find of a Late Classical or Hellenistic arula from Corinth, see A. Banaka-Dimaki, "Πηλίως βωμός Διοσκουρίων από την αρχαία Κόρυθος," *ArchDelt* 39A (1984): 68–76, esp. pp. 72–76. On Olynthian arulae, see D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, part 8: *The Hellenic House* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 322–25. Arulae have also been found in Thera, Delos, Perachora, Crete, and Kos (Banaka-Dimaki, *supra*, this note, p. 69). For bibl. on Greek arulae, see J. S. Rusconi, "Arule fittili di Aquileia," *ArchCl* 29 (1977): 86–113, esp. p. 87 n. 6.

3. See, e.g., a Hellenistic example from Pantikapaion: S. Finoguenova, "Les petits autels en terre cuite au nord de la mer noire," in R. Étienne and M.-T. Le Dinahet, eds., *L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l'antiquité*, Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient, Lyon, 4–7 juin 1988 (Paris, 1991), pp. 131–34, esp. p. 133, pl. xxxviii.

4. M. Paoletti ("Arule di Medma e tragedia attiche," in M. L. Gualandi, L. Massei, and S. Settis, eds., *ΑΠΙΛΑΡΧΑΙ: Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P. E. Arias* 1: 371–92, esp. p. 371 n. 3 [Pisa, 1982]) objects to a distinction between terra-cotta and small stone arulae, even though he admits that their significance and use may have differed.

5. The cylindrical shape, in particular, gained in popularity during the Hellenistic period: Ricciotti, p. 7.

6. The considerable variation in form, material, and size of arulae corresponds to the variety encountered among full-size altars. Only in a few cases is there a clear analogy between arulae and altars, for few types of altars were imitated in the small arulae (Van der Meijden, pp. 7–9).

7. Thus Yavis, pp. 137, 170–71, has distinguished between arulae (which are small and portable) and "full-sized rectangular terra-cotta altars." Arulae are too small to hold a fire for animal sacrifices

but adequate to burn incense or receive symbolic offerings and libations; altars were for proper animal sacrifices.

8. Arulae with solely painted decoration are common in Corinth.

9. Ricciotti, p. 6.

10. M. Elston, "Technical and Aesthetic Considerations in the Conservation of Ancient Ceramic and Terracotta Objects in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Five Case Studies," *Studies in Conservation* 35 (1990): 69–80, esp. pp. 75–76; her fig. 9 shows the arulae before restoration. They appear to have been thoroughly cleaned in recent years, but traces of the white slip and the original polychromy remain: see *supra*, p. 30.

11.

	ARULA 1	ARULA 2
Height	41.5 cm	41.9 cm
Width (at base)	34 cm	33.5 cm
Width (at top)	31.6 cm	31.5 cm
Depth (at base)	29.2 cm	28.7 cm
Depth (at top)	26.9 cm	27.9 cm

12. W.: 2 cm (Arula 1), 1.7 cm (Arula 2); depth: 1.6 cm (Arula 1), 2.7 cm (Arula 2). On Arula 2 a shallow groove made by the finger of the coroplast continues about half the way down the side.

13. Only a drawing of this arula has been published: E. Gabrici, "Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte," *MonAnt* 32 (1927): 203, fig. 109; Yavis, pp. 132, 137, and fig. 38, where it is wrongly referred to as made of terra-cotta. This arula was most likely a votive offering copying the full-sized altar of the deity.

14. Pairs of full-sized altars are also extremely rare and known only from literary sources: Ath. 5.197; Pind. *Ol.* 5.5. A twin altar was found in the precinct of Zeus Meilichios located in the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinus; the low altar is divided into two unequal parts, evidently dedicated to two chthonic divinities, Meilichios and his consort: Gabrici (*supra*, note 13), pp. 103–4, fig. 62; Yavis, pp. 134, 199, fig. 49. According to Yavis, pp. 134–35, this fourth-century altar was preceded in the sixth century by another set of twin altars. Two Corinthian arulae have two shallow circular depressions on their top surface, an arrangement implying that a single altar had been dedicated to two divinities: Rupp, pp. 486, 504.

15. Pairs of arulae are reported from three houses at Olynthos (Yavis, p. 174), but are again unlike the Getty examples in both shape and decoration.

16. T. Fischer-Hansen, "Some Sicilian Arulae and Their Significance," *AnalRom* 8 (1977): 7–18, esp. pp. 13–15, figs. 5–6, with the reservation that they could have served a cultic function as altars during the funerary procedures.

17. Yavis, p. 132; D. Aktseli, *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie* (Espelkamp, 1996), pp. 7, 18. E.g., vase-paintings: Yavis, p. 136, fig. 39, and p. 165, fig. 44; *LIMC* 7.2 (1994), s.v. "Peleus," no. 174; *ibid.*, s.v. "Pandion," no. 6; E. De Miro, "Nuovi contributi sul pittore di Kleophon," *ArchCl* 20 (1968): 238–48, esp. pls. LXXXV and LXXXVIII; J.-P. Vernant, ed., *La cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984), p. 52, fig. 77, where the firepan is clearly seen in perspective. That the firepan was not always rendered does not necessarily mean that its use was not common; it must have depended on the painter whether he depicted such details or not; the Berlin Painter, e.g., always paints it on his altars: Aktseli (*supra*, this note), p. 21. Three-dimensional examples: Malophoros arula (see *supra*, p. 25) with a rectangular tray between the altar barriers; terra-cotta triglyph arula from Syracuse with a

projecting band between the volutes (not a tray, for the arula is open on top), which must imitate the metal tray of stone altars; it has been suggested that a separate removable tray was placed on the top for small sacrifices or offerings (B. D. Wescoat, ed., *Syracuse, the Fairest Greek City* [Rome, 1989], pp. 95–96, no. 16).

18. On the technique of arula manufacture in general, see Ricciotti, pp. 8–13; Van der Meijden, p. 10; Banaka-Dimaki (*supra*, note 2), p. 70.

19. Cf. Van der Meijden, p. 10; O. Belvedere, "Tipologia e analisi delle arule imeresi," in N. Allegro et al., eds., *Secondo Quaderno Imerese*, pp. 61–113, esp. p. 65 (Rome, 1982). This is the way most large-size arulae were made. Arulae of smaller dimensions were constructed out of a solid block of clay made hollow by extracting clay by hand (*ibid.*, p. 65); some arulae of very small size were, of course, left solid (Rusconi [*supra*, note 2], p. 102; Ricciotti, p. 5 and n. 5).

20. The partition wall of Arula 1 (around 2.5 cm thick) consists of one layer of clay, while that of Arula 2 has two layers, bringing its thickness to 3–4 cm.

21. See Rupp, pp. 468–69; Van der Meijden, p. 10. The interior of the front of an arula from Medma has a vertical ridge, around 1 cm wide, but wider at the base, which served to reinforce the plaque; it was perhaps one of originally two: Paoletti (*supra*, note 4), pp. 377–78 and fig. 2. Another arula from Medma has three reinforcing ridges, almost equidistant (Paoletti [*supra*, note 4], p. 378). Arulae without dividing walls will have required supports, presumably of wood, for the construction of the upper surface before all sides were joined together: Ricciotti, p. 9, n. 21.

22. Thanks are due to Maya Elston for her technical advice. Cf. Banaka-Dimaki (*supra*, note 2), p. 72; Van der Meijden, p. 13. On the production of the whole front panels in molds, see Rupp, pp. 465–68. Few molds for arulae have been found: Van der Meijden, p. 138.

23. E. Jastrow, "Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik," *OpArch* 2 (1939): 1–28, esp. pp. 2–4.

24. This recalls metalworking techniques: cf. a terra-cotta model for a bronze relief of the end of the fifth century: L. Bernabò-Brea, "I rilievi tarantini in pietra tenera," *RivIstArch*, n.s. 1 (1952): 5–21, esp. p. 15, fig. 8.

25. Cf. the hairstyle of a maenad holding a tympanon on a Tarentine bell-krater of the late fifth century: M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), pl. 32.

26. Cf. the Dexileos stele: A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), fig. 480. For an account of the rendering of the peplos in the late fifth century, see B. S. Ridgway, "The Fashion of the Elgin Kore," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 29–58, esp. pp. 47–49.

27. The membrane of the tympanon must originally have been decorated in paint: cf. A. M. Di Giulio, "Iconografia degli strumenti musicali nell'arte apula," in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini, eds., *La musica in Grecia* (Rome, 1988), pp. 108–20, esp. pp. 111–12.

28. Cf. an inscribed relief with three dancing Nymphs and Pan, dated 410–400, where the one to the left places her left hand on the shoulder of the one in the middle: I. N. Svoronos, *Τό ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικόν Μουσείον* (Athens, 1903), pl. 44.

29. Common on statues of Apollo, this style was not worn before the fourth century: E. Abrahams, "Greek Dress," in M. Johnson, ed., *Ancient Greek Dress*, pp. 1–134, esp. p. 109 (Chicago, 1964).

30. This headdress, often identified as the *mitra* (N. P. Bezan-takos, *Ἡ Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική Μίτρα* [Athens, 1987], pp. 55–83), is usually worn by Dionysos; since, however, it is not restricted to him, it cannot on its own identify the figure as the god: Cassimatis, pp. 78–79.

31. Cf. Polyxena's grave stele from Boeotia (late fifth century): B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton,

1981), pp. 148–49, fig. 108; the fleeing Niobid (ca. 430): *ibid.*, pls. 31–32.

32. Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966), pp. 75–77; Brümmer, p. 46, figs. 11c–d and 32a.

33. From the middle of the fifth century onward it is hard to differentiate between chiton and peplos because of the increasing transparency of the latter and the occasional appearance of short overfolds in the former; chitons, however, still have sleeves: Ridgway (*supra*, note 26), p. 47; Stewart (*supra*, note 26), p. 77. The peplos was probably worn by more matronly women (e.g., Demeter as opposed to Persephone, who wears chiton and himation): Ridgway (*supra*, note 26), p. 47. Ridgway (*supra*, note 31), pp. 49–50 n. 17, disagrees with E. B. Harrison (“Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon,” *AJA* 71 [1967]: 27–58, esp. p. 43), who calls figure E’s garment on the East Pediment of the Parthenon a chiton with short overfold and figure F’s garment a peplos. She argues that even if E’s dress is thin over the feet, it must be a peplos since it is sleeveless, unless, of course, the carver forgot to make sleeves for a chiton worn under the peplos.

34. The different groundlines and hidden parts of the body reflect the Polygnotan innovations; cf. the work of the Meidias Painter: Burn 1987, p. 5.

35. Bernabò-Brea (*supra*, note 24), pp. 15–16.

36. York, City Art Gallery 19: A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, vol. 1, *Early and Middle Apulian* (Oxford, 1978), p. 94, no. 210.

37. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.196: M. E. Mayo and K. Hamma, *The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia* (Richmond, Va., 1982), pp. 84–86, no. 15.

38. J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93: Burn 1991, p. 117 and fig. 7b.

39. P. Willeumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris, 1939), pl. XXXIX.4.

40. Willeumier (*supra*, note 39), p. 286, pl. VII.4; cf. also a terra-cotta head on p. 409, pl. XXXII.5.

41. H. Herdejürgen, *Die tarentinischen Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Antikemuseum Basel* (Mainz, 1971), p. 22.

42. This influence may have arrived in one of two ways: either directly through imported artworks, mainly pottery, esp. during the fifth century; or indirectly through local works, esp. Apulian, in the course of the fourth century when Attic imports had greatly diminished: cf. Van der Meijden, pp. 86–87, 189. Burn (1991, p. 117) suspects that the Attic influence on South Italian vases may have been even stronger than assumed today.

43. Burn 1987; the Meidias Painter and his followers are dated to the late fifth and early fourth centuries (*ibid.*, pp. 7–8).

44. Trendall and Cambitoglou (*supra*, note 36), pp. 15, 79–86.

45. Cf. Di Giulio (*supra*, note 27), pp. 111–12.

46. West (*supra*, note 25), p. 124.

47. B. S. Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison, 1997), p. 15; C. Hofkes-Brukker, *Der Bassai-Fries* (Munich, 1975), p. 65, pl. H10–520. On the close associations of the Bassai style with Tarentine art in general, see Bernabò-Brea (*supra*, note 24), p. 10.

48. Ridgway (*supra*, note 31), p. 92 and fig. 56.

49. A. Schöne-Denkinger, “Terrakottamodel aus Bau γ am Heiligen Tor (Kerameikos),” *AM* 108 (1993): 151–81, esp. pp. 163–65, pl. 33; see also a fourth-century bronze appliqué from Taras: Willeumier (*supra*, note 39), p. 323, pl. XVI.5. The only difference is that on the Getty arula, instead of continuous long folds, there are interrupted ones, broken by the shorter hemlines.

50. Oxford 433 and British Museum F 168: Trendall and Cambitoglou (*supra*, note 36), pl. 40.3 and 5; cf. also the work of the Chequer Painter (end of fifth/beginning of fourth century):

A. D. Trendall, “New Vases by the Chequer Painter,” in H. Froning, T. Hölscher, H. Mielsch, eds., *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, pp. 301–5, esp. p. 301 and pl. 66.1 (Mainz am Rhein, 1992).

51. Jastrow (*supra*, note 23), p. 27, fig. 12; cf. pl. va; Willeumier (*supra*, note 39), p. 433, pl. XLI.5; Van der Meijden, pp. 92–93, 305, and pl. 56.

52. The transparent type of peplos with rich folds is one of the two types popular at the end of the fifth century: Ridgway (*supra*, note 26), p. 49.

53. Ca. 330–320 by E. Youri, “Ο κρατήρας του Δερβενίου (Athens, 1978); molding shown on pl. 93 there.

54. The first is given by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.14.3–4), drawing on the mid-fifth-century poet Panyassis, a relative of Herodotus; the other version is given by Ov. *Met.* 10.298–739; Pseudo-Hesiod (fr. 139 Merkelbach–West) makes him a son of Phoenix. The myth of Adonis was told also by Antimachos of Kolophon (fr. 102), almost a contemporary of Panyassis, and it figured in the epic poetry of the fifth century. For the genealogy of Adonis, see Atallah, pp. 33–39. For the myth in general, see P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale* (Cambridge, 1953), and Servais-Soyez, p. 222. Despite variations, his origin is certainly in the East.

55. For representations of the miraculous birth, see Servais-Soyez, nos. 2a–4.

56. On the various meanings of *larnax*, see Brümmer, pp. 12–13. For containers where mythological figures were hidden, see F. Lissarrague, “Women, Boxes, Containers: Some Signs and Metaphors,” in E. D. Reeder, ed., *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Baltimore, 1995), pp. 91–101, esp. pp. 91–93; Brümmer, pp. 104–7. Placing a child in a container signifies ritual adoption by a deity, according to C. Sourvinou-Inwood, “Reading” *Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 173–74 (cf. Erichthonios).

57. On Adonis’s death, see Atallah, pp. 53–91.

58. For the myth in these regions see Robertson; H. Adra, *Étude mythique: Le mythe d’Adonis* (Beirut, 1985); W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 106–11.

59. Burkert (*supra*, note 58), p. 106.

60. Or via Asia Minor: Atallah, pp. 24, 312.

61. See S. Ribichini, “Per una riconsiderazione di Adonis,” *RStFen* 7 (1979): 163–74, esp. pp. 164–65. In this publication and in *idem*, *Adonis: Aspetti “orientali” di un mito greco* (Rome, 1981), Ribichini explores the Eastern connections of Adonis and esp. the Eastern connotations his myth carried in Greece, where the concept of the effeminate, ineffective man represented the opposite of the ideal Greek male self-image.

62. Reed, p. 342. He is never, e.g., depicted in Oriental dress.

63. Scholars such as Atallah, Detienne, Piccaluga, Ribichini, and Winkler have approached the Adonis myth and cult in the Greek world from various angles by employing different methodologies.

64. Reed, p. 321; Ribichini 1979 (*supra*, note 61), pp. 171–72.

65. Atallah, pp. 256–57; Will, pp. 104–5; B. Servais-Soyez, “Musique et Adonies: Apport archéologique à la connaissance du rituel adonidien,” in *Adonis*, pp. 61–72, esp. pp. 62–63; M. Torelli, “Les Adonies de Gravisca: Archéologie d’une fête,” in F. Gaultier and D. Briquel, eds., *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes*, Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17–19 novembre 1992 (Paris, 1997), pp. 233–91, esp. p. 268 and n. 153. B. D. Meritt (“Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 4 [1935]: 573–74) has associated the Adonia with the festival of Eros celebrated in the sanctuary on the north slope of the Acropolis, identified by O. Broneer (“Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis,” *Hesperia* 1 [1932]: 31–56; “Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis,” *Hesperia* 2 [1933]: 329–417) as that of Aphrodite in the Gardens. For the Adonia celebrated in the sanctuary of

Aphrodite in Byblos, see Lucian *Syr. D.* 6; for a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Adonis in Amathous, Cyprus, see Paus. 9.41.2. Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. "Adonia" = feast for Aphrodite; *IG II²*, nos. 1261 and 1290.

66. Detienne, pp. 101–10; Burkert (supra, note 58), pp. 100–101.

67. Robertson, esp. pp. 348, 354, who argues that the lament was later attached to the Byblian dying god worshiped in spring who personified a vicarious sacrifice.

68. Burkert (supra, note 58), pp. 107–8; S. Ribichini, "Introduzione: Adonis tra ieri e domani: Prospettive e metodi di ricerca," in *Adonis*, pp. 11–15, esp. pp. 12–13. An agricultural connection appeared again in Roman times: Reed, p. 320.

69. Simon, p. 479.

70. Atallah, pp. 94–95; J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 57. Sappho may also have sung about the happy union of the lovers: Atallah, p. 95. The myth of Adonis was closely connected to poetry since its appearance, because singing was very important in his cult: H. Tuzet, "Essai pour dégager les constantes et la fonction d'un mythe: Adonis," in *Mythes, Images, Représentations, Actes du XIV^e Congrès de Littérature Générale et Comparée* (Limoges, 1977), pp. 51–59, esp. p. 54.

71. Fr. 140a; cf. the ritual refrain "O woe for Adonis" in fr. 168. In the mid-fifth century another lyric poetess, Praxilla of Sikyon, composed a *Hymn to Adonis*, of which only three verses survive (fr. 747 *PMG*); they refer to the most pleasant things Adonis misses while in the underworld: Atallah, p. 234; Weill, p. 679; Reed, p. 334.

72. For the continued worship of Adonis in Roman times, see the dedication by Philon: *IG IV*, no. 582. Robertson, pp. 340–42, argues unconvincingly for an official celebration of the Adonia in Corinth, on the basis of the name of a month, Phoinikaos.

The abundant literary information about the celebration of the Adonia contrasts with the scant archaeological evidence. But see recently the evidence for the cult of Adonis at Gravisca, in Etruria, modeled on the specific requirements of the Greek ritual, albeit on a public scale: M. Torelli, "Il santuario greco di Gravisca," *PP* 32 (1977): 398–458, esp. pp. 443–44, and idem (supra, note 65); for another Adonia at Pyrgi, see *ibid.*, pp. 265–68.

73. Cf. Men. *Sam.* 35–38. As is clear from Ar. *Lys.* 387–98, all classes of women took part in the Adonia, including respectable citizens' wives. Detienne, pp. 65–66, is certainly wrong in assuming that it was a festival predominately celebrated by courtesans.

74. Torelli (supra, note 65), p. 256 and n. 85, p. 274, argues that the cult of Adonis took on a more public character in later periods.

75. Paus. 2.20.6. The lamentation did not take place inside the Temple of Zeus the Savior, as J. J. Winkler (*The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* [London, 1990], p. 235 n. 2) and Reed (p. 319 n. 8) say, but in a special building nearby.

76. Ribichini 1979 (supra, note 61), p. 170; Winkler (supra, note 75), p. 193; Reed, p. 319. The period of the year for the celebration may have varied as well. It is generally agreed that it took place in late July when Seirios, the Dog Star, rose, signaling the hottest time of the year when all vegetation dried up: Weill, pp. 675–98. On the discrepancy between Plutarch (*Alc.* 18.4–5; *Nic.* 13.10–11), who associates the Adonia with the departure of the fleet for Sicily in midsummer (Thuc. 6.30), and Aristophanes (*Lys.* 387–98), who places it at the same time as the spring deliberations in the assembly about the expedition, see J. Servais, "La date des Adonies d'Athènes et l'expédition de Sicile," in *Adonis*, pp. 83–93.

77. Theoc. *Id.* 15. The Adonia at Alexandria as described by Theokritos are principally Greek in character and could have been modeled on those of Athens or Argos: A. S. F. Gow, "The Adonia-

azusae of Theocritus," *JHS* 58 (1938): 180–204, esp. pp. 191–92; Atallah, pp. 134–35; Robertson, p. 344. Cf. Bion's late Hellenistic poem *Lament for Adonis*, on which, see most recently F. Manakidou, "Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen Dichtung und bildender Kunst: Bions Klage um Adonis und Theokrits 15. Idyll," *Prometheus* 20 (1994): 104–18. For a Pseudo-Theocritian poem entitled *To the Dead Adonis*, see J. Labarbe, "Le sanglier amoureux," *AnnPhilHist* 12 (1952): 263–82.

78. Weill, p. 692; Will, pp. 96, 100. The celebration in Alexandria, sponsored by Queen Arsinoë II, was much more spectacular and flamboyant. Reed, pp. 322–23, cautions that the use of later authors should take into account the context in which they were writing, their purpose, as well as their audience.

79. Out of ritual necessities it appears that the return and death of Adonis were celebrated at the same annual feast instead of celebrating the second a few months after the first: Atallah, p. 139. While Theokritos focuses on the union of the lovers, Bion laments their separation, thus bringing out the tragic side of the story: Manakidou (supra, note 77), p. 112.

80. Weill, pp. 674, 691; Atallah, pp. 270–73; E. Simon, "Aphrodite und Adonis: Eine neuerworbene Pyxis in Würzburg," *AntK* 15 (1972): 20–26, esp. p. 23; A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, vol. 2, *Commentary* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 264; R. P. de Vaux, "Sur quelques rapports entre Adonis et Osiris," *RBibl* 42 (1933): 31–36, esp. pp. 51, 53–54.

81. On the literary portrayal of Paris and Helen's union as a marriage, even though it was adultery, see R. Seaford, "The Tragic Wedding," *JHS* 107 (1987): 106–30, esp. pp. 123–27.

82. That not every divine sexual union can be called a *hieros gamos* has been shown by A. Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of Greek Religion* (Bern, 1991).

83. On the association of dancing with the wedding celebration, see Oakley and Sinos, pp. 14, 24–25. Music is an essential part of the Adonis myth because his father, Kinyras, is closely associated with it: C. Grottanelli, "Da Myrrha alla mirra: Adonis e il profumo dei re siriani," in *Adonis*, pp. 35–60, esp. p. 41. On the role of music in the Adonia ritual, see Servais-Soyez (supra, note 65).

84. On which, see West (supra, note 25), p. 92.

85. Theoc. *Id.* 15.111–17; Gow (supra, note 80), p. 298, argues for a bridal feast being prepared for the lovers at Alexandria.

86. Cf. the offering of incense on rooftops to Baal, which parallels the Greek ritual and shows its Eastern origins: Burkert (supra, note 58), p. 106. On the offering of incense in the context of the Adonia, see H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1951), pp. 96–99, and Detienne, pp. 64–66, 114–16.

87. Paus. 5.15.10 reports on special sacrifices at Olympia performed according to an ancient manner: on the altars they burn incense together with wheat mixed with honey. On incense, see *RE* suppl. 15 (1978): 700ff., esp. pp. 752f., s.v. "Weihrauch" (W. W. Müller); Grottanelli (supra, note 83), p. 40; Detienne, pp. 37–59.

88. Ath. 12.510d; N. Himmelmann, *Reading Greek Art* (Princeton, 1998), p. 127; H. Lohmann, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen* (Berlin, 1979), p. 80; Metzger (supra, note 86), p. 97; C. M. Edwards, "Aphrodite on a Ladder," *Hesperia* 53 (1984): 59–72, esp. p. 68 n. 60. Incense sacrifices to Aphrodite Ourania ("Queen of Heaven") were also offered in the Semitic world: Jer. 44.17–19.

89. Ov. *Met.* 10.514; Aphrodite sprinkled him with perfume (*Anth. Pal.* vi.275) and anointed him with myrrh after his death (*Bion Lament for Adonis* 77–78). On myrrh, see A. Lucas, "Notes on Myrrh and Stacte," *JEA* 23 (1937): 27–33. The defining characteristic of Adonis—his perfume—was preserved in the oral tradition of the eastern Mediterranean. In modern tales he is an artificial man fabricated by a princess out of perfumes and spices: see A. Angélopoulou, "Muscambre, fils de l'inceste," *Homme: Revue*

française d'anthropologie 28.1 (1988): 49–63. Reed, p. 329, argues that Adonis's birth from the myrrh tree was a Greek addition based on their knowledge that myrrh came from the East.

90. Theoc. *Id.* 15.114; cf. Bion *Lament for Adonis* 77–78; Grottanelli (supra, note 83), p. 55. The importance of myrrh in the Adonis myth and cult, stressed by Detienne, has been played down by several scholars (G. Piccaluga, “Adonis e i profumi di un certo strutturalismo,” *Maia* 26 [1974]: 33–51; Servais-Soyez [supra, note 65], p. 61 n. 3; Robertson, p. 352; Reed, p. 329), though the use of aromatics as in other Greek cults has not been excluded.

91. *Alc.* 18.5. There is no reason to suspect, as Robertson, p. 355, does, that the images mentioned by Plutarch belonged to his time rather than to fifth-century Athens. The images were not a Greek addition since they were known also in Byblos, Etruria (Pyrgi), and even Spain: Robertson, pp. 355–57.

92. *Letters of Courtesans* 4.14.8 (Alkiphron's letters reflect fourth-century Athenian society); cf. Hesych. s.v. Ἀδωνίδος κήποι; *Suda* 517; *Amm. Marc.* 19.1.10–11 (for fourth-century-A.D. Antioch); Weill, pp. 683, 692; Will, p. 98. L. Leurini (“Il corallo, le statuette e Adone: A proposito di Alciphron. iv.14.8,” *AnnPerugia* 24 [1986–1987]: 31–40), on the basis of the discovery of coral in the sanctuary of Adonis at Gravisca (for which, see Torelli [supra, note 65], p. 254 and fig. 21), interprets the word *korallion* used by Alkiphron as coral. Conflating the evidence from two completely different areas of the ancient world seems to me not only risky but unnecessary, since different auxiliary elements could have been used in the two areas.

93. Gow (supra, note 80), p. 265. Gow, p. 298, believes that the couch was for the wedding banquet, while Will, pp. 98–99, believes it was for the consummation of the wedding. The two events, however, are not mutually exclusive.

94. For a list of vases related to the Adonia, see Atallah, pp. 177–207 and 211–28; L.E. Roller, “Foreign Cults in Greek Vase Painting,” in J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, pp. 506–15, esp. pp. 506–9 (Copenhagen, 1988). See also A. P. Zarkadas, “Μία παράσταση τῶν Ἀδωνίων στὴ λήκυθος 6471 τοῦ Μουσείου τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως,” *Horos* 7 (1989): 137–43, and E. J. Stafford, “A Wedding Scene? Notes on Akropolis 6471,” *JHS* 117 (1997): 200–202, for two alternative interpretations of a late fifth-century lekythos in Athens. Many of these depictions are controversial, esp. those that show women in connection with incense burners and ladders: Atallah, figs. 44–47; Edwards (supra, note 88), pp. 67–68 and n. 58; Servais-Soyez, nos. 48–49. These have been associated by several scholars with the Adonia (Metzger [supra, note 86], pp. 97–98; I. Wehgartner, “Das ideal massvoller Liebe auf einem attischen Vasenbild,” *Jdl* 102 [1987]: 185–97, esp. p. 194 n. 41), with the ladders being used for the installation of the gardens up on the roofs. Contra: Edwards (supra, note 88), esp. pp. 64–72, and A. Neppi Modona (“ΑΔΩΝΙΑ Ε ΑΔΩΝΙΔΟΣ ΚΗΠΟΙ nelle raffigurazioni vascolari attiche,” *RendPontAcc* 27 [1951–1954]: 177–87, esp. pp. 185–86), who interpreted these depictions as wedding ceremonies and related them to the realm of Aphrodite Ourania. Even if this is so, the ladder in these scenes may still have alluded to the union of Aphrodite and Adonis, or specifically to the *anodos* of Adonis from the underworld.

95. Theoph. *Hist. pl.* 6.7.3; Hesychios and *Suda* (supra, note 92). In the more flamboyant royal festival at Alexandria, silver pots were used to contain the gardens: Theoc. *Id.* 15.113–14.

96. Men. *Sam.* 45, on which see S. Weill, “La fête d'Adonis dans la Samienne de Ménandre,” *BCH* 94 (1970): 591–93. Cf. the cityscape paintings from the villa at Boscoreale with plants growing inside broken pots placed on the roofs: Atallah, pp. 222–24, fig. 65; Lehmann (supra, note 54), pp. 125–28, pl. xxx. Gardens and rooftop celebrations are also attested in Syro-Palestine: Robertson, p. 346; cf. E. D. P. Balestrazzi, “Il giovane di Mozia: Una nuova

ipotesi interpretativa,” *NumAntCl* 24 (1995): 133–72, esp. pp. 160–61, for gardens in a Phoenician/Punic context in Sicily.

97. On Adonis gardens in general, see Atallah, pp. 211–28.

98. *Suda* 517 and 807; *Plut. Mor.* 560b–c; *Theoph. Hist. pl.* 1.12.2; *Pl. Phdr.* 276b; Detienne, pp. 102–4. It is commonly assumed that Plato's reference gives an antiagricultural character to the rite. The reference here, however, is not to the festival but to potted plants as contrasted with serious planting: Reed, pp. 338–39.

99. Reed, pp. 320, 327.

100. Detienne, in his famous structural analysis of the myth, contrasted the worship of Adonis, representing short-lived pleasure, with that of Demeter and long-term, fruitful work. He thus considered Adonis the symbol of unfruitful sensuality and seduction to be set against the marriage and reproduction celebrated at the Thesmophoria. Detienne's study, however, has been criticized by several scholars for its rigid and selective handling of the sources, which results in distortion of the evidence (e.g., Piccaluga [supra, note 90]; Winkler [supra, note 75], esp. pp. 198–202; Reed).

101. Gow (supra, note 80), p. 295; Reed, p. 328.

102. One of the Adoniazousai could have played the role of the mourning Aphrodite and the rest her entourage (Weill, p. 673 n. 2), but all the women may have identified themselves with the goddess at a certain level (E. Stehle, “Sappho's Gaze: Fantasies of a Goddess and Young Man,” *differences* 2.1 [1990]: 88–125, esp. p. 105).

103. Ezekiel 8.14–15. For the cult of Adonis in Byblos during the Hellenistic and Roman times, see B. Soyez, *Byblos et la fête des Adonies* (Leiden, 1977); for the significant differences between the Greek and the Byblian Adonia, see Ribichini 1979 (supra, note 61), p. 173.

104. The annual ritual of mourning was instituted by Aphrodite in remembrance of Adonis's death: *Ov. Met.* 10.725–27.

Cf. Bion's text, which focuses on the suffering of Aphrodite as much as on that of Adonis: V. A. Estévez, “Ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις: A Description of Bion's Refrain,” *Maia* 33 (1981): 35–42, esp. p. 37.

105. Similar preparations for a funeral can be detected in Theoc. *Id.* 15.100–44 and Bion *Lament for Adonis* 68–98: see Estévez (supra, note 104), pp. 40–41, and Manakidou (supra, note 77), pp. 111–12.

106. Will, pp. 98–99; R. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 130; cf. Bion *Lament for Adonis* 70–74.

107. Balestrazzi (supra, note 96), p. 160; Ribichini 1981 (supra, note 61), pp. 104–7. Cf. the Alexandrian Adonia, which also takes place in a garden inside the palace precinct. The gardens have attracted different interpretations that range from fertility charm to sexual joke: de Vaux (supra, note 80), p. 34; Atallah, p. 323; Weill, p. 696; Winkler (supra, note 75), esp. pp. 204–6; G. Pilitsis, “The Gardens of Adonis in Serres Today,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1985): 145–66, esp. pp. 152–53. The withering of the plants may not have been a deliberate part of the festival enacting the sudden and violent death of the youth but what simply happened naturally at the end of the festivities: Reed, pp. 324–25, 338.

108. Cf. the *ialemos* sung by the singer at the Alexandrian Adonia the year before, and probably Bion's poem: Atallah, pp. 112–13; Estévez (supra, note 104), p. 36.

109. Cf. Bion *Lament for Adonis* 4 and 81.

110. Theoc. *Id.* 15.133; Gow (supra, note 80), p. 301; Will, p. 100. Presumably something similar happened in Athens during the *ekphora*: *Plut. Alc.* 18.5; cf. *IG* II², no. 1261. The place of disposal in Athens may be either the sea (*Eust. ad Od.* 11.590, p. 1701.45) or springs (*Zen.* 1.49).

111. Weill, p. 691; Atallah, p. 265.

112. Theoc. *Id.* 15.143–44.

113. De Vaux (supra, note 80), p. 54; Will, p. 101; U. Bianchi,

"Adonis: Attualità di una interpretazione *religionsgeschichtlich*," in *Adonis*, pp. 73–81, esp. p. 76.

114. The culmination of these rites to the resurrection of Adonis was only added in the imperial period, and with certainty only in Alexandria. Influenced by the contact and syncretism with the myth and cult of Osiris, the cult now assumed a soteriological character, offering the hope of resurrection to his worshipers: P. Lambrechts, "La 'résurrection' d'Adonis," *AnnPhilHist* 13 (1953): 207–40, esp. p. 237; de Vaux (supra, note 80), esp. p. 54; Servais-Soyez, pp. 222, 229. Will, pp. 100–104, rejects the resurrection phase even for the Roman period.

115. Ar. *Peace* 420.

116. *Adonis* or *Adoniazousai*: Atallah, pp. 101–3; Winkler (supra, note 75), p. 190. For Plato's comedy, see G. Berger-Doer, "Adonis," *AntK* 22 (1979): 119–25, esp. p. 124. Phaon was also a popular subject for comedies: Burn 1987, p. 42.

117. Fr. 1 *TrGF*, as quoted in Ath. 9.401f; W. Suess, "Der ältere Dionys als Tragiker," *RhM* 109 (1966): 299–318, esp. pp. 313–17; Atallah, pp. 70–72; Simon, pp. 480–82.

118. Even in Alexandria, where the festival had a more public character, the emphasis is on women, as shown by the sponsor, Queen Arsinoë II, the narration through the eyes of two women, and the singer who is also female: Grottanelli (supra, note 83), p. 57. In Theokritos's poem, the glamour and romance of the idealized myth are emphasized and contrasted with the mundane life of the real women, as their feelings toward Adonis are set against those toward their husbands: F. T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court*, Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica Batave, suppl. 5 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 116–19.

119. J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1994), p. 80.

120. Roller (supra, note 94), p. 508. The public display of emotion, however, and the disorderly behavior of the women during the festival appeared undignified in the eyes of Athenian men, who may have perceived it as a threat to social order; they thus made disparaging comments about the indecency and disorder and in general presented a negative view of the festival through their literature (Ar. *Lys.* 387–98; Plut. *Alc.* 18.4–5; Plut. *Nic.* 13.10–11). Reed, p. 339, rightly suggests that the male aversion to this exotic festival could also have been connected with xenophobia. For recent attempts to distinguish the female perspective of the Adonia but also to understand how men dealt with this exotic divinity, see Reed; Winkler (supra, note 75); G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (London, 1992); and Stehle (supra, note 102).

121. On amorous couples in South Italian vase-painting, see Cassimatis. For an ideal representation of erotic couples based on divine couples, esp. those of Dionysos with Ariadne and Aphrodite with Adonis, see Cassimatis, esp. pp. 76–77, 83–84. Her schema A (pp. 77–80), showing embracing couples in a bed or chair with the woman in ecstatic pose, is particularly close to the Getty couple.

122. Metzger (supra, note 86), pp. 101–54, 59–99. Cf. a Pompeian painting (Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 8996), almost certainly a copy of a Greek original, depicting the seated Perseus and Andromeda in a similar embrace: J.-P. Descoeudres, *Pompeii Revisited* (Sydney, 1994), p. 97, fig. 61.

123. Plut. *Symposiaca* 4.3b; Burn 1991, p. 122.

124. Youri (supra, note 53), p. 19; Cassimatis, p. 77.

125. Burn 1991, pp. 118 and 122; see also Metzger (supra, note 86), p. 119, no. 23, pl. XIV.2a; *LIMC* 3 (1986), s.v. "Dionysos," nos. 719, 720, 835.

126. For bibl. on the history of this motif, often depicted in Apulian art, see I. S. Mark, "The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *Hesperia* 53 (1984): 289–342, esp. p. 296 n. 35; *LIMC* 2 (1984), s.v. "Aphrodite," nos. 243, 244, 246.

127. Wehgartner (supra, note 94), p. 187; Burn 1987, pp. 40–44, pls. 27–29.

128. As also shown by Dionysios's tragedy (see supra, p. 36).

129. Servais-Soyez (supra, note 65), pp. 64–65. For examples of scenes of the dispute, see Torelli (supra, note 65), pp. 272–73 and n. 181.

130. Contrast a bronze Corinthian mirror of ca. 300, where Aphrodite and Adonis are each seated on a rocky outcrop facing each other: Servais-Soyez, no. 13; see also an Attic relief oinochoe of the end of the fifth century in the Hermitage (inv. no. 108k) with Aphrodite sitting across from Adonis (E. A. Zervoudaki, "Attische polychrome Reliefkeramik des späten 5. und des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *AM* 83 [1968]: 1–88, esp. p. 32, no. 59, pls. 3, 4, 3; Servais-Soyez, no. 9); the presence of Peitho and the distance between the partners may indicate that this is an early stage in the love affair.

131. Servais-Soyez, pp. 228–29. See, e.g., a relief lekythos in Berlin: Atallah, p. 171 and fig. 34; a bronze relief mirror from Corinth: Servais-Soyez, no. 12.

132. Florence, Mus. Arch. Naz. 81948: Atallah, pp. 202–3; Servais-Soyez, no. 10; Burn 1987, pp. 40–44, pls. 22–25a.

133. Burn 1991, pp. 118–19.

134. Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. SA 702: Servais-Soyez, no. 5. At the head of Adonis are Myrrha and a nurse (Simon, p. 481) or Aphrodite and Persephone (Berger-Doer [supra, note 116], p. 123). On the scene above, Aphrodite and Persephone appeal to Zeus.

135. As Berger-Doer (supra, note 116), p. 123; Burn 1991, p. 119; and Simon, p. 481, believe; Simon relates it to Dionysios's tragedy.

136. Cf. J. R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 68–70; cf. Torelli (supra, note 65), p. 272, suggests that it denotes contemplation.

137. J. D. Beazley, "The World of the Etruscan Mirror," *JHS* 69 (1949): 1–17, esp. pp. 10–12; Atallah, figs. 36–38; Torelli (supra, note 72), pp. 443–44; idem (supra, note 65), pp. 233–34.

138. Atallah, p. 84; Servais-Soyez, nos. 38–39; M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 37–41, esp. p. 40; cf. also a recently discovered Hellenistic figurine from a grave in Veroia, in which a naked Aphrodite embraces the dying Adonis, who is lying on a bed, with a female mourner in attendance: K. Tzanavari, "Πήλινο ταφικό σύμπλεγμα από τη Βέροια," in *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ* (Thessaloniki, 1987), 2: 861–70. Other standard themes on sarcophagi include the farewell between the lovers and the fatal hunt itself, see Koortbojian (supra, this note), esp. pp. 18–61. Representations of the death of Adonis during the hunt do not appear before the second century, which accords with the later date of the appearance of the motif in literature; the earliest reference to a boar hunt, successfully ended with the death of the animal, is found in the few surviving lines of the tragedy of Dionysios (see supra, p. 36). The death scene is especially popular on Roman sarcophagi, where it provided a heroic model and assumed a symbolic meaning since, with his triumph over death, Adonis gave his worshipers hope for resurrection: Atallah, p. 77 and figs. 11–16; Koortbojian (supra, this note), p. 22.

139. Cf. an inscribed Adonis on an Etruscan mirror, similarly seated on a rock and draped in the same fashion: Servais-Soyez, no. 20.

140. Cf. the same pose on the relief oinochoe in the Hermitage (supra, note 130), where the identity of the youth is inscriptionally secure.

141. V. Sabetai, "Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology," in J. H. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia, eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters*, pp. 319–35, esp. p. 328 and nn. 51–52 (Oxford, 1997); Bezantakos (supra, note 30), pp. 57–58, 66, 84–117.

142. Cf. Edwards (supra, note 88), pp. 61–62; Oakley and Sinos, pp. 16–20.

143. Oakley and Sinos, p. 30; see, e.g., fig. 118.

144. On a late Apulian volute-krater by the Baltimore Painter, a standing Adonis lifts his himation with his left hand in a gesture similar to that on the Getty arula: Geneva, Sciclounoff coll.; A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: A Handbook* (London, 1989), fig. 251.

145. For women attending an erotic couple, see Cassimatis, esp. pp. 77–83; for another scene with the divine couple depicted together with attendant women who are performing ritual acts, see Zarkadas (supra, note 94), esp. p. 141.

146. Cf. Burn 1987, p. 33, on the Meidias Painter's liking for variety in hairstyles; see also a scene with the Muses on a chous by the Eretria Painter: A. Lezzi-Hafter, "Offerings Made to Measure: Two Special Commissions by the Eretria Painter for Apollonia Pontica," in Oakley, Coulson, and Palagia (supra, note 141), pp. 353–69, esp. p. 358, fig. 10.

147. Berger-Doer (supra, note 116), p. 123. A woman (Elektra?), her head covered by her himation, approaches the grave stele of Agamemnon (ca. 440): *LIMC* 3 (1986), s.v. "Elektra" 1, no. 34; cf. Mayo and Hamma (supra, note 37), pp. 116–17, no. 38.

148. See a mid-fifth-century terra-cotta relief from Melos: A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 41, III 1.1. For prothesis scenes, see H. A. Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *AJA* 95 (1991): 629–56.

149. Ridgway (supra, note 26), p. 48.

150. J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London, 1989), fig. 294.

151. Cf. Koortbojian (supra, note 138), p. 21. For examples of a bridesmaid making gestures usually associated with the bride, see V. Sabetai, "The Washing Painter: A Contribution to the Wedding and Genre Iconography in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C." (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Cincinnati, 1993), p. 101 n. 398.

152. M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949), p. 65; A. Bélis, "Musique et transe dans le cortège dionysiaque," in *Transe et théâtre*, Cahiers du GITA, no. 4 (Dec. 1988): 9–29, esp. pp. 13–19; D. Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1984), pp. 205–6; West (supra, note 25), p. 124. On the Apulian tympanon, see Di Giulio (supra, note 27), pp. 110–13.

153. Wegner (supra, note 152), p. 65; E. Greco, *Il pittore di Afrodite* (Benevento, 1970), p. 15; L. Lepore, "Il sistro italico: Strumento, attributo, oggetto di culto," *Imago Musicae* 8 (1991): 95–107, esp. p. 101 and figs. 7–8 (I owe this reference to Yiorgos Polyzos); cf. Ar. *Lys.* 388, where the tympana mentioned in association with Sabazios may also have referred to the Adonis celebrations.

154. The most comprehensive studies on this instrument are: G. Schneider-Herrmann, "Das Xylophon in der Vasenmalerei Süd-Italiens," in J. S. Boersma et al., eds., *Festoen A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta*, pp. 517–26 (Groningen, 1976); eadem, "Die 'kleine Leiter': Addenda zum Xylophon auf italischen Vasen," *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978): 265–67; P. Zancani-Montuoro, "Francavilla Marittima A) Necropoli," *AttiMGreca*, n.s., 15–17 (1974–1976): 9–106, esp. 27–40; E. Keuls, "The Apulian 'Xylophone': A Mysterious Musical Instrument Identified," *AJA* 83 (1979): 476–77; Lepore (supra, note 153). For the most recent summary, see West (supra, note 25), pp. 126–28.

155. Zancani-Montuoro (supra, note 154), pp. 27–40 and pls. 1X–XI.

156. In another paper I discuss an alternative reconstruction in which the metal crossbars might produce notes of different pitch. See "The Apulian 'Sistrum': Monotone or Melodic?" in E. Hickmann and R. Eichmann, eds., *The Archaeology of Early Sound: Origin*

and Organisation, Proceedings of the 10th Symposium of the International Study Group on Music Archaeology, Foundation Kloster Michaelstein (forthcoming).

157. Lepore (supra, note 153), pp. 101–3 and fig. 9; H. R. W. Smith, *Funerary Symbolism in Apulian Vase-Painting* (Berkeley, 1976), pl. 25d; A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily, Third Supplement* (London, 1983), p. 237 and pl. xxvii.5–6.

158. Bélis (supra, note 152), pp. 19–20. The association of these two instruments may reflect the religious syncretism between Aphrodite and Dionysos that took place in the West during the fourth century: Lepore (supra, note 153), p. 103; Greco (supra, note 153), p. 15.

159. Cf. H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, vol. 1, *Ter Unus* (Leiden, 1990), p. 148.

160. Simon, pp. 479–80. In the surviving lines of Dionysios's tragedy the hunter, almost certainly Adonis, is dedicating the claws of the boar to the Nymphs, his helpers at birth. Cf. the attending women on the Apulian pelike in Naples (here fig. 5) identified by Simon, p. 481, as Nymphs. Simon also suggests that in Dionysios's tragedy the chorus consisted again of Nymphs; cf. also Sappho's fragment (see supra, p. 34). The Nymphs lament Adonis in Bion's *Lament for Adonis* 19. For Nymphs as assistants in the birth and care of children, see F. G. Ballentine, "Some Phases of the Cult of the Nymphs," *HSCP* 15 (1904): 77–119.

161. Ballentine (supra, note 160), pp. 97–106.

162. On Nymphs in general, see *LIMC* 8 (1997), supp., s.v. "Nymphai," pp. 891–902 (M. Halm-Tisserant and G. Siebert).

163. Cf. the Meidias Painter hydria (here fig. 4), where Pannychis, evoking the nocturnal celebrations of the Adonia, beats the tympanon for Eros to dance: Burn 1987, p. 43.

164. Lissarrague (supra, note 56); Harrison (supra, note 33) 43; Brümmer, pp. 94–168.

165. H. Lohmann, "Das Motiv der *mors immatura* in der griechischen Grabkunst," in H. Froning, T. Hölscher, and H. Mielsch, eds., *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, pp. 103–13, esp. pp. 110–11 (Mainz am Rhein, 1992); Lissarrague (supra, note 56), pp. 98–99; Brümmer, pp. 109–12 and 134–51. J. Reilly ("Many Brides: 'Mistress and Maid' on Athenian Lekythoi," *Hesperia* 58 [1989]: 411–44, esp. pp. 417, 421) and Brümmer (pp. 144–49) have shown that chests and caskets do not appear in simple scenes of the *gynaikieion* but in those related specifically to weddings.

166. Oakley and Sinos, pp. 39, 45.

167. *ARV*² II, 1328: Brümmer, fig. 35d.

168. Lohmann (supra, note 165), p. 111 with references in n. 87; Brümmer, pp. 112, 135–38. E.g., a hydria by the Jena Painter with Paris and Helen seated on a chest: Boardman (supra, note 150), fig. 362. By analogy with wedding imagery, a woman sitting on a chest in grave monuments and vases indicates the deceased who is properly equipped, in this case with real gifts or ceremonies: Brümmer, p. 154 and figs. 11c, 15b, 33c.

169. Richter (supra, note 32), fig. 387; Harrison (supra, note 33), esp. pp. 42–43; O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden, 1993), p. 20.

170. Ibid. In a forthcoming catalogue of terra-cottas in the Getty Museum, Maria Lucia Ferruzza will argue that the woman seated on the chest is indeed Kore. The daughter of Demeter, however, like brides in general, commonly wears a chiton and himation and bears distinguishing attributes such as a torch: see *LIMC* 7.2 (1994), s.v. "Persephone." For the dress of the bride, see L. J. Roccas, "The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art," *AJA* 99 (1995): 641–66, esp. p. 655 n. 106 (based on pictures in Oakley and Sinos).

171. On late fourth-century vases youths, gods, or satyrs sometimes sit on chests: Brümmer, pp. 135, 138 and fig. 33d.

172. For caskets in scenes related to Adonis, see Berger-Doer

- (supra, note 116), pl. 38.2 (being opened by a woman), and Burn 1991, p. 118 and fig. 7a (used by one of the attending women to put her foot on). Peitho, identified by an inscription, stands between Adonis and Aphrodite on the relief oinochoe in the Hermitage (see supra, note 130). On the close association of Peitho and Aphrodite and Peitho's presence in nuptial contexts, see Burn 1987, p. 33; H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Zurich, 1993), pp. 186–207; Oakley and Sinos, p. 17; R. G. A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Peitho* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 31–48.
173. Cassimatis, p. 78 and fig. 2; cf. *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. "Helene," no. 118. See also a Muse sitting on a trunk: Brümmer, p. 150 n. 717 and fig. 35b.
174. On the motif and its development, see T. Dohrn, "Gefaltete und verschränkte Hände," *JdI* 70 (1955): 50–80.
175. M.-C. Tzannes, "Kraters, Libations and Dionysiac Imagery in Early South Italian Red-figure," in O. Palagia, ed., *Greek Offerings: Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, pp. 145–58, esp. p. 151 and n. 45 (Oxford, 1997).
176. Maiden: W. Riezler, *Weißgrundige attische Lekythen* (Munich, 1914), pl. 64; Achilles: *LIMC* 1 (1981), s.v. "Achilleus," no. 479, pl. 107.2; Elektra: *LIMC* 3 (1986), s.v. "Elektra," no. 6, pl. 543.3.
177. Paus. 10.31.5; cf. the krater by the Niobid Painter: Boardman (supra, note 150), fig. 4.2.
178. K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen, 1967), p. 168; Phaidra is also seated in this pose, with a sad expression because of her suffering and hands tied because she does not know what to do: *LIMC* 7.2 (1994), s.v. "Phaidra," no. 11. Ares' pose has been associated with an attempt to magically inhibit an action: A. M. Nicgorski, "Gentlemen Don't Hug Their Knees: Quarrelsome Ares and Some Hostile Postures," *AJA* 99 (1995): 316.
179. Muse (but not with downcast head): Ferrara T.127; F. Berti, *Il museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara* (Bologna, 1983), p. 113 and fig. 61; maenad: Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. H 2411 (inv. 82922); Tzannes (supra, note 175), p. 150, fig. 11.
180. See, e.g., D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford, 1975), pls. 38.2 and 44.1.
181. Victoria Sabetai suggested to me that the woman seated on the casket may instead be a deceased mortal bride, saddened over her own premature death (personal communication 1999).
182. Cf. Burn 1991, p. 119; Harrison (supra, note 33), p. 43.
183. Louvre 1728; Atallah, pp. 290–92, fig. 72; Servais-Soyez, no. 6.
184. For the use of wedding imagery in scenes of union other than real weddings, see Oakley and Sinos, pp. 12–13.
185. Hunter (supra, note 106), pp. 127–30; Hunter also notes the great difference of this song from songs performed at real Adonis festivals.
186. Bernabò-Brea (supra, note 24), pp. 5, 7.
187. H. Herdejürgen, *Götter, Menschen und Dämonen: Terrakotten aus Unteritalien* (Basel, 1978), p. 14.
188. P. Wuilleumier, "Brûle-parfums en terre-cuite," *MÉFRA* 46 (1929): 43–76, esp. pp. 49–61; Wuilleumier (supra, note 39), pp. 432–36; Van der Meijden, pp. 144–45, 187; see also his table 6 (p. 377) with a catalogue of fifty-eight Tarentine arulae.
189. Van der Meijden, p. 187.
190. E. Lippolis, S. Garaffo, and M. Nafissi, *Taranto, Culti greci in Occidente*, vol. 1 (Taranto, 1995), 170–72; Van der Meijden, pp. 186–87; Wuilleumier (supra, note 188), p. 53 and figs. 2–3; Wuilleumier (supra, note 39), pp. 493–94.
191. On the relation between altars and arulae, see Van der Meijden, pp. 155–57.
192. On the use of arulae in general, see Ricciotti, pp. 13–15, and Van der Meijden, pp. 153–83.
193. Yavis, pp. 171–72; Rupp, pp. 464, 484–85; Williams (supra, note 2), p. 138; Belvedere (supra, note 19), pp. 105–7, with a late fifth-century arula from Himera illustrated on pl. xxv.1, 3; see also the one from Pantikapaion, supra, note 3; Van der Meijden, pp. 154, 167–69.
194. P. Orlandini, "Arule arcaiche a rilievo nel Museo Nazionale di Gela," *RM* 66 (1959): 97–103, esp. p. 102; Wuilleumier (supra, note 188), p. 48. Van der Meijden, p. 164 n. 986, argues that the absence of traces of fire does not exclude the use of arulae for the burning of offerings, since hot coals do not leave such traces on terra-cotta surfaces.
195. Ricciotti, p. 15; Fischer-Hansen (supra, note 16), p. 7. Van der Meijden, pp. 154, 189–90, concludes, albeit with reservations, that there is no concrete relationship between decoration and function, or decoration and findspot; cf. Paoletti (supra, note 4), p. 372.
196. Van der Meijden, p. 157; for arulae found in residential areas, see pp. 169–77; for arulae found in cemeteries, see Orlandini (supra, note 194), p. 102; Van der Meijden, pp. 177–80.
197. Van der Meijden, pp. 167–68.
198. Williams (supra, note 2), pp. 137–40; Van der Meijden, pp. 169, 189.
199. Williams (supra, note 2), p. 138; Van der Meijden, p. 154. On offering tables, see Yavis, pp. 224–25, with bibl.
200. Yavis, pp. 171–72; Orlandini (supra, note 194), p. 102; Ricciotti, pp. 13–14 with bibl.; cf. Rupp, p. 292, on the similar use of small stone altars.
201. Williams (supra, note 2), p. 138; Van der Meijden, p. 169; *thymiateria* were mostly closed vessels, often pierced; they were typically placed on top of tall stands. The most recent study is by C. Zaccagnino, *Il thymiaterion nel mondo greco: Analisi delle fonti, tipologia, impieghi* (Rome, 1998).
202. Van der Meijden, p. 180. Paoletti (supra, note 4), pp. 375–76, cautions against using cases of reuse of arulae in areas of cemeteries as evidence of their funerary use.
203. D. Ricciotti, *Roma medio-repubblicana: Catalogo della mostra* (Rome, 1973), p. 74.
204. Orlandini (supra, note 194), p. 102; Rupp, pp. 504–5; Van der Meijden, pp. 179–80, 189.
205. Unless, of course, the seated woman represents a mortal bride in whose funerary rites the arulae were used (see supra, note 181).
206. For myrrh as usual perfume for the bride and bridegroom, see Oakley and Sinos, p. 16.
207. Terra-cotta, rather than marble, may have been preferred not only because of the lower cost but also to ensure the portability of the arulae; terra-cotta would have been a suitable option in an area with excellent terra-cotta artists.
208. The protagonists of the *Idyll* are Syracusans; Theokritos himself was born in Syracuse around 315. Thus the Alexandria Adonia may reflect practices also current in South Italy and Sicily.
209. On nuptial motifs taken from wedding scenes and applied to other scenes to which they bestow nuptial connotations, see Sabetai (supra, note 141).
210. Cf. Fischer-Hansen (supra, note 16), pp. 8, 13.
211. Burn 1987, p. 19; Reilly (supra, note 165), p. 431.
212. Wuilleumier (supra, note 188), p. 53; Lepore (supra, note 153), p. 104; Metzger (supra, note 86), p. 89 n. 1.
213. H. Cassimatis, *Le lèbès à anses dressées italiote*, Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard, no. 15 (Naples, 1993), p. 135 n. 10. For caution needed to avoid conflating the evidence from different areas in order to be able to distinguish between the local and panhellenic divine personality of a deity, see Sourvinou-Inwood (supra, note 56), pp. 147–88.
214. Cf. Bion *Lament for Adonis* 98; J.-M. Moret, "Les départs des Enfers dans l'imagerie apulienne," *RA* 1993: 293–351, esp. p. 340.
215. Tzanavari (supra, note 138), p. 870.

IMAGES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN THE GETTY MUSEUM

Janet Burnett Grossman

Thirty-five objects in the Antiquities collection of the Getty Museum bear a likeness of Alexander the Great. Artifacts made in a variety of media are represented, including stone sculptures, bronze statuettes, a terracotta relief, engraved gems, and silver coins. While some of the pieces have been published previously, others are unpublished, and they have never before been brought together as a group. The impetus for treating them as such comes from a small exhibition on images of Alexander the Great in the collections of the Departments of Antiquities and Manuscripts.¹ Lay and scholarly audiences alike demonstrate a continuing interest in the Hellenistic ruler as evidenced both by other recent exhibitions and by a sizable annual volume of books and articles.²

In addition to the thirty-five portraits of Alexander in the Getty Museum there are five objects in the collection that have characteristics either influenced by or resembling Alexander the Great.³ Some may, in fact, also be portraits of the Macedonian king. The forty objects are presented below in two categories, the first being those that can definitely be identified as portraits of Alexander, and the second being Alexander-like images.

PORTRAITS OF ALEXANDER

I. Portrait Head (figs. 1a–d)

Greek, said to be from Megara, about 320 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble, analyzed in 1989 as Parian; H.: 27.5 cm; chin to hairline: 20 cm.

73-AA.27

Bibliography: B. Fredricksen, *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), pp. 26–27; *Guidebook*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 3rd edn. (Malibu, 1976), pp. 47–48; *ibid.*, 4th edn. (Malibu, 1978), pp. 29–30; Frel 1979a, p. 7, no. 20; M. Andronikos, K. Rhomiopoulou, and N. Yalouris, *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition* (New York, 1980), p. 101, no. 6, pl. 2; C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Art: Sokrates to Sulla* (Boston, 1980), pp. 55, 59, 126, fig. 71A; Frel 1981, pp. 68–69, no. 19; C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Malibu, 1981), p. 132, no. 101; Frel 1984, p. 81, no. 23; *Handbook*, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1986), p. 32; *ibid.* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 23; L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur römischen Republik* (Frankfurt, 1986), pp. 153–55, pl. 34; Smith 1988, pp. 47, 67, 158, no. 16, pl. 12.6; A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 191–92, fig. 576; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, vol. 1, *The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison, 1990), pp. 116, 134–35; Stewart 1993, pp. 43, 66–67, 116–21, 209–14, 284, 336, 438–39, pl. 2, figs. 16, 146–49; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Antiquities* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 61.

The slightly larger than life-size head belongs to a probably commemorative monument composed of several figures, including Alexander's companion Hephais-tion.⁴ The fragments of the monument are carved in a manner consistent with late Classical Attic sculpture.⁵ The head itself bears signs of secondary carving: the left ear is carved into the hair, the right locks in front of the ear are shortened, individual hair strands and the lower eyelids are redrawn, and the face is polished.⁶ An indentation encircling the head also appears to be a secondary cutting, probably made to hold a metal wreath or royal diadem.

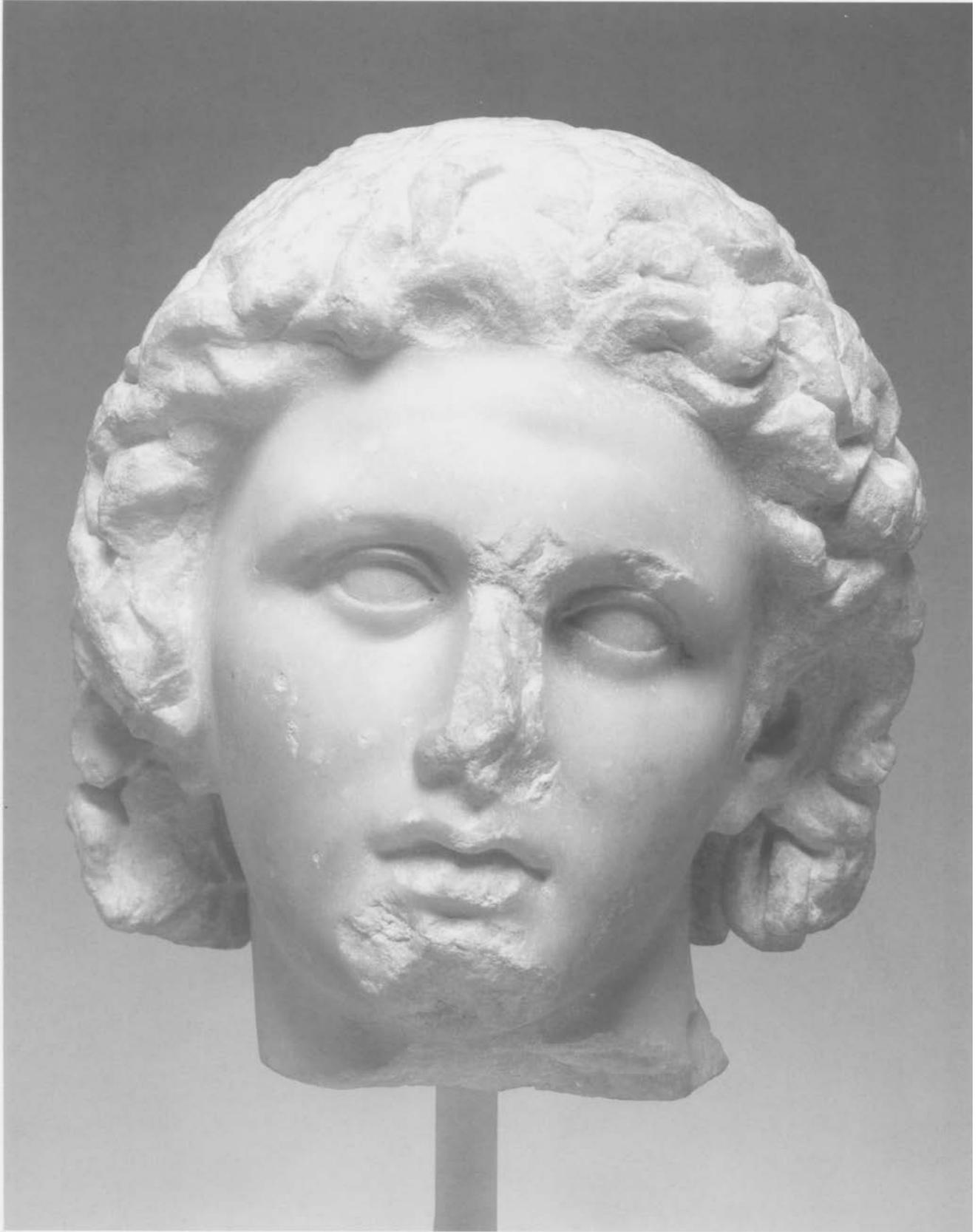


Figure 1a. Portrait head of Alexander the Great. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.27.

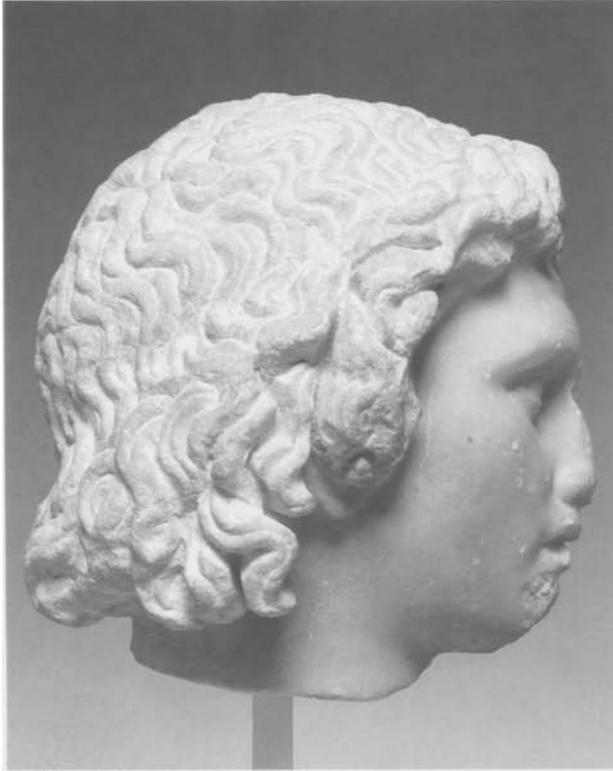


Figure 1b. Right side of portrait, figure 1a.

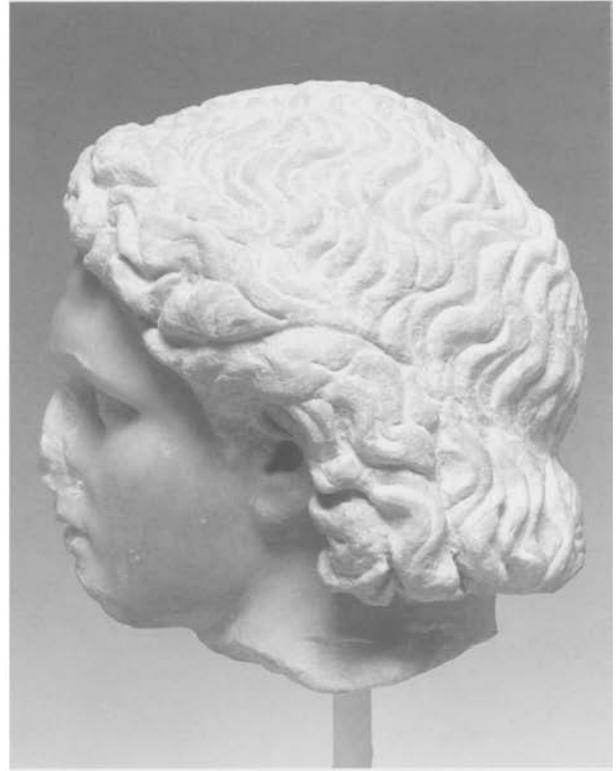


Figure 1c. Left side of portrait, figure 1a.

None of the fragments shows signs of weathering, indicating that the monument to which they belonged was covered. Stewart reconstructs a multfigured sacrificial scene comparable to those seen on Attic votive reliefs.⁷

While this head portrays Alexander as youthful, the portrait undoubtedly was not carved until after his death at the age of 32. The portrait type combines elements of Alexander's actual appearance with features of ideal representations of gods and heroes.⁸ While the head shows a vague resemblance to other singleton portraits, such as the head from Yannitsa in Pella, no copies of this portrait are known.⁹

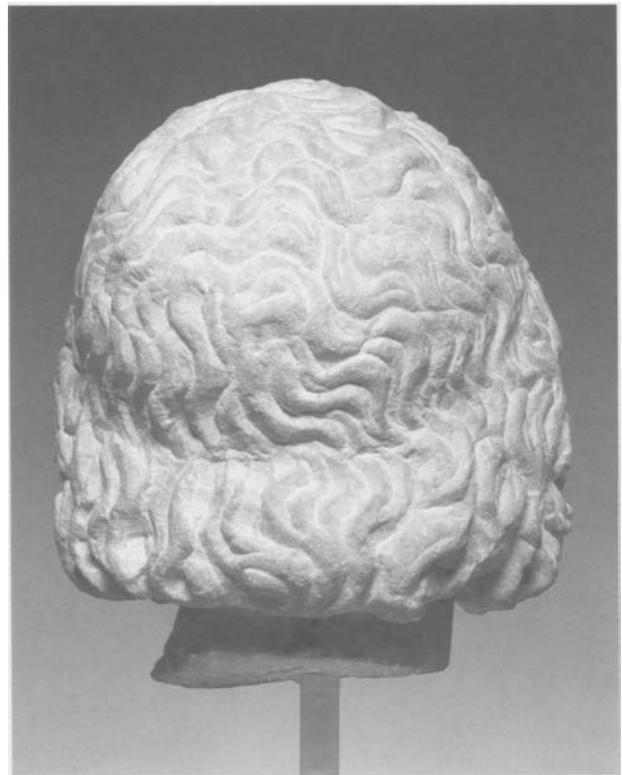


Figure 1d. Back of portrait, figure 1a.

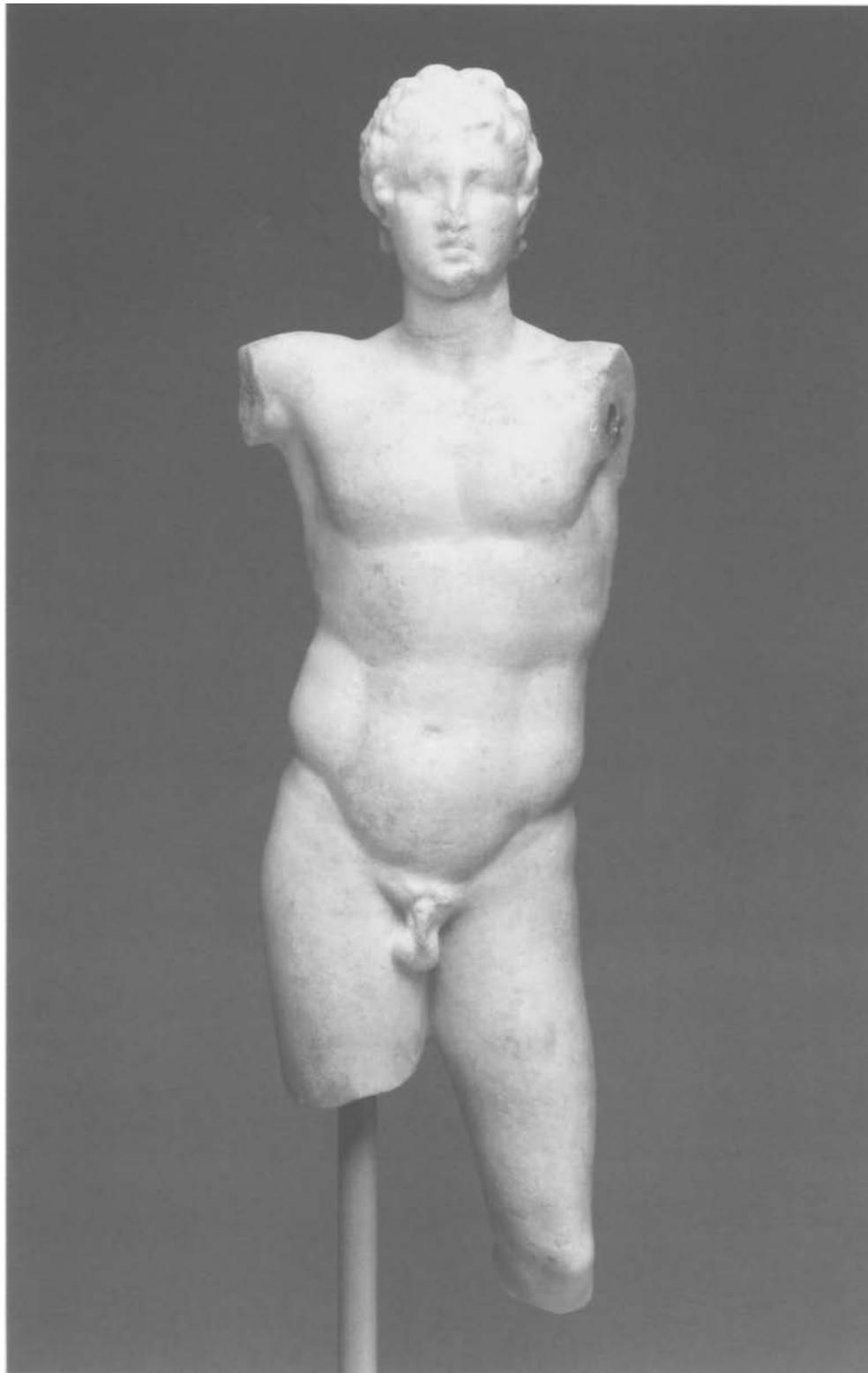


Figure 2a. Statuette of Alexander the Great holding a lance (arms and lance now missing). Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.17.

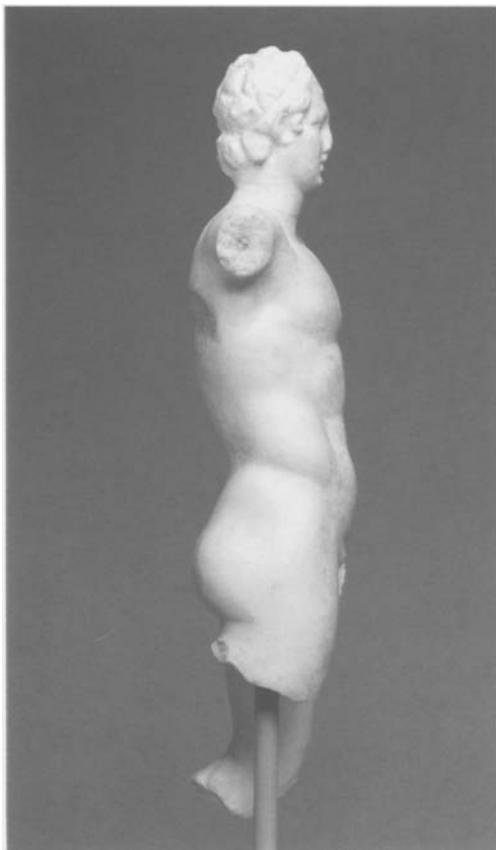


Figure 2b. Right side of statuette, figure 2a.



Figure 2c. Back of statuette, figure 2a.

2. Statuette of Alexander Holding a Lance (figs. 2a–c)

Greek, second century B.C.

Fine-grained white marble; H.: 31.5 cm.

73.AA.17

Bibliography: J. Frel, *The Getty Bronze* (Malibu, 1978), p. 22, pl. 7; *ibid.*, rev. edn. (Malibu, 1982), p. 52, fig. 76; Frel 1979a, p. 26, no. 102; Frel 1979b, addendum, p. 44, no. 102; Frel 1981, pp. 70, 113, no. 21; P. Moreno, "Opere de Lisippo," *RivIstArch* 6–7 (1983–1984): 43; Frel 1984, p. 85, no. 30; Frel 1987; Stewart 1993, p. 425.

Alexander stands nude, his weight on the right leg, his right arm originally holding an upright spear or lance, the left hanging at his side. The right arm is broken off; the left arm, now lost, was worked separately and attached by means of a pin. The head has been broken

off and reattached. The left side of the abdomen was slightly recarved to allow the fitting of the reattached left arm. The pose of this figure is the reverse of the Fouquet Alexander type, of which five copies are known.¹⁰

According to ancient literary sources, when Alexander was about twenty-five years old, the sculptor Lysippos created several life-size bronze statues of him.¹¹ At least one of those statues was probably a nude portrait of Alexander holding a spear. In spite of the fact that no ancient source expressly names such a statue, both the survival of numerous statuettes of Alexander holding a spear and an oblique literary reference support the idea.¹² The weapon specifically refers to Alexander's conquest of the Near East and India, which was called "spear-won land" (Diod. 17.17.2). In this small-scale marble version of those statues, the missing right arm held the upright spear. The pose—a nude man leaning on a spear held with raised hand—became symbolic of kingship and was adopted as a statue type by many subsequent rulers.¹³



Figure 3a. Portrait head of Alexander the Great. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.317.



Figure 3b. Left side of portrait, figure 3a.

3. Portrait Head (figs. 3a–b)

Greek, second century B.C.

Medium-grained white marble (Thasian?¹⁴); H.: 9.9 cm; (chin to hairline): 6.7 cm.

78.AA.317

Bibliography: Frel 1979b, p. 4, no. G6; Frel 1981, pp. 71, 113, no. 23.

The head is small and broken off from a statuette. The marble is weathered, but the bulk of the full, curly hairstyle typical of many Alexander portraits is preserved, as is the twist of the head. The eyes are large with thick upper and lower lids. The nose and lips have been recut. A hole on top of the head appears ancient. The portrait shows a general resemblance to the Erbach portrait type.¹⁵



Figure 4a. Portrait head of Alexander the Great. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.3.



Figure 4b. Left side of portrait, figure 4a.

4. Portrait Head (figs. 4a–c)

Roman, from Alexandria, first–second century A.D.

Fine-grained white marble; H.: 28 cm; (chin to hairline): 20 cm.

77.AA.3

Bibliography: Frel 1979b, p. 5, no. 610; Frel 1981, pp. 71, 113, no. 22; Frel 1987, p. 78.

The badly battered head depicts a portrait of Alexander, possibly as Helios. Eleven holes drilled in the hair encircle the head for the attachment of a crown. This feature is seen on portraits of Alexander-Helios, such as the head from Kyme in Aeolis, now in Istanbul. In its present state of preservation the Getty portrait does not, however, have the overt divinization typical of those images.¹⁶ The portrait appears based on the Azara type.¹⁷ The short hair with a center part is swept back from the face. The nose, mouth, and chin are broken off. The eyes are narrow with thick upper lids. The eyelids have been recut.

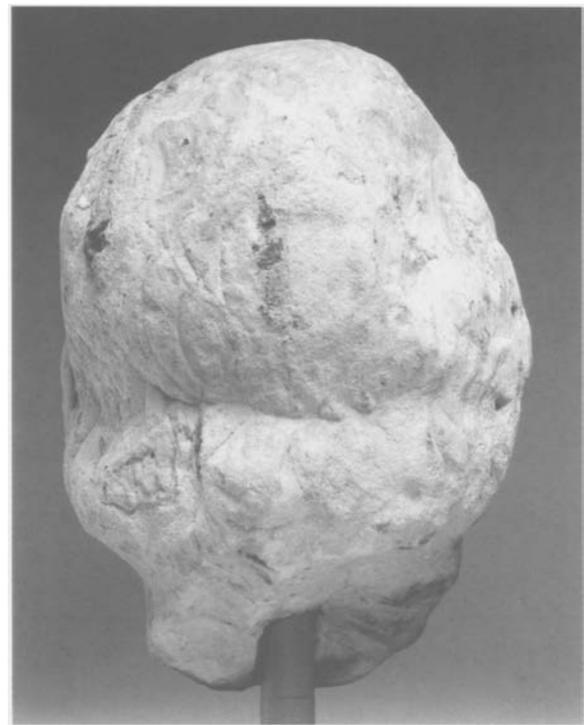


Figure 4c. Back of portrait, figure 4a.



Figure 5a. Architectural element with Alexander the Great as the Gorgon Medusa. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.10.



Figure 5b. Left side of architectural element, figure 5a.

5. Architectural Element (figs. 5a–b)

Etruscan, early third century B.C.

Tufa limestone; H.: 51 cm; W.: 39 cm.

78.AA.10

Bibliography: Frel 1979b, p. 19, no. v20; M. Del Chiaro, "A Monumental Etruscan Medusa Head," *GettyMusJ* 9 (1981): 53–58, figs. 1–2.

Alexander's portrait is here combined with features of the Gorgon Medusa.¹⁸ Alexander is depicted with his characteristic hairstyle swept up off the forehead. The snakes and wings of the Gorgon have been added on top of his head. The tip of the nose is broken off, and the chin slightly abraded. A portion of the left side and back of the block, including most of the Medusa wing, is missing.

The face has the deepset eyes, broad nose, slightly parted lips, fleshy lower jaw, and prominent chin of the Erbach Alexander portrait type.¹⁹ Del Chiaro published the head as a Medusa, but noted its unusual character in Medusa iconography.²⁰ In describing its stylistic character as more Lysippan than Skopian, he compared the image to an Etruscan votive figure now in the Getty Museum whose features are modeled after those of Alexander.²¹

The fame of Alexander spread quickly in antiquity; numerous images of the legendary ruler have been found outside the boundaries of his empire, such as this one from Etruria. The shape of this sculpture indicates that it served to crown the gable of a small, templelike building such as a shrine or funerary monument. The porous stone from which it is carved is common to parts of Etruria.



Figure 6a. Statuette of Alexander the Great as *Agathodaimon*. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AB.66.



Figure 6b. Left side of statuette, figure 6a.



Figure 6c. Back of statuette, figure 6a.

6. Statuette of Alexander as *Agathodaimon* (figs. 6a–c)

Roman, from Alexandria, second century A.D.

Bronze; H.: 12.3 cm.

81.AB.66

Bibliography: Frel 1981, pp. 70–71, 113, no. 24bis²²; Frel 1987, p. 78.

This small solid-cast bronze depicts Alexander in the guise of an *Agathos Daimon*.²³ The head of Alexander, beardless with luxuriant hair, is crowned with the modius and lotus-leaf headdress of Agathodaimon. The figure wears a short mantle wrapped to leave the right arm, shoulder, and chest bare. The feet are sandaled. He holds a palm branch in his left hand, while the right hand held a now-missing attribute, probably a scepter, to judge from the hand position. Human representations of Agathodaimon are heavily bearded and hold a cornucopia instead of a palm branch.²⁴



Figure 7. Terra-cotta votive plaque. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AD.255.

7. Votive Plaque (fig. 7)

Greek, from Asia Minor, third–second century B.C.

Terra-cotta with polychromy; Diam.: 18.8 cm.

71.AD.255

Bibliography: *Münzen und Medaillen*, A.G., auction, May 6, 1967, lot 67; J. Frel, *Selected Works from the Ancient Art Collection of the John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California* (Pennsylvania State Univ., 1971), no. 69 (misidentified as a bust of Athena).

A Medusa head with the facial features of Alexander the Great projects from the center of this moldmade round plaque.²⁵ The hair is parted in the middle and swept back from the face in the style associated with

Alexander; the locks become very snakelike at the ends. An aegis surrounds the projecting head. Besides the likeness of the facial features to portraits of Alexander the Great, the projections from the head most approximate the ears of the elephant-skin cap adopted by Alexander and associated only with his iconography.²⁶ The top of the head is smooth as though covered with a cap, and the projections are slightly concave on their front surfaces, suggesting ears rather than the wings of Medusa. The elephant-skin cap was an emblem of divinity and a reference to Alexander's conquest of India.

The combined image of Alexander and the Gorgon Medusa must have served as a powerful protective device. Two holes in the top of the plaque were for its suspension, probably in a shrine or sanctuary.²⁷ The fact that Alexander is depicted as a divine being suggests that the plaque may originally have hung in a place connected with his cult.



Figure 8a. Ring with gem engraved with a portrait of Alexander the Great. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AN.124.



Figure 8b. Impression of engraved gem, figure 8a.

8. Ring with Engraved Gem (figs. 8a–b)

Roman, from Asia Minor, first century B.C.

Gold and ruby-red carnelian; about 22 × 13 × 3 mm;
greatest Diam. of hoop, 28.2 mm.

85.AN.124

Bibliography: Spier 1992, p. 92, no. 218.

The miniature portrait of Alexander engraved on this gemstone was executed by a highly skilled artisan. Alexander looks upward in a manner associated with gods and heroes. Tied around his characteristically long, flowing hair is a diadem, symbolic of kingship.²⁸ Gemstones with portraits of Alexander were popular even before the young conqueror's death and continued to be so well into Roman imperial times. The ring recalls one decorated with Alexander's image that was used by the Roman emperor Augustus.²⁹



Figure 9. Cameo gem with a portrait of Alexander the Great. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AN.989.

9. Cameo Gem (fig. 9)

Roman, from Asia Minor, late first century B.C.—
early first century A.D.

White and gray sardonyx; 16 × 13 × 8.8 mm.

84.AN.989

Bibliography: Spier 1992, p. 155, no. 431.

The image of Alexander on this cameo is rather crudely cut. The portrait shows the *anastolē* and upward gaze associated with Alexander. A diadem is tied about the full, curly hair. The lower edge of the gem is broken away, but otherwise its condition is good.



Figure 10a. Gem engraved with a portrait of Alexander the Great. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AN.990.



Figure 10b. Impression of engraved gem, figure 10a.

10. Engraved Gem (figs. 10a–b)

Roman, first half of the first century A.D.

Carnelian; 13.1 × 11.3 × 3.9 mm.

84.AN.990

Bibliography: Sternberg, Zurich, auction 11, 1981, lot 1118; Spier 1992, p. 96, no. 225.

Engraved on the gem is a diademed head of Alexander the Great facing left. The portrait shows a high, curved brow, a full lower jaw and prominent chin, a large eye, and the *anastolē*. The hair is carefully carved, with individual strands indicated and locks curling on the neck. About a quarter of the carnelian is broken away, and there are further chips from the back.

11. Tetradrachms of Lysimachos

Greek, 299–281 B.C.

Silver.

Obv. Head of Alexander III wearing a diadem and ram's horn.

Rev. Inscribed *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ*. Athena seated with spear and shield, holding Nike.

Twenty-five tetradrachms in the Museum's collection date to the reign of Lysimachos (323–281 B.C.).³⁰

During his visit to Egypt in 331 B.C., Alexander traveled to the oracle of the Egyptian god Ammon (whom the Greeks identified with Zeus) at Siwa in the Libyan desert.³¹ There he was greeted by the priests as the "son of Ammon," and soon after he assumed divine status for the first time. Following that visit, Alexander's portraits often showed him adorned with the ram's horns of Zeus Ammon.³² After Alexander's death, his general and successor in northern Greece, Lysimachos, honored the deceased king by placing the image of Alexander with horns on his own coinage. By doing so, Alexander's likeness was transformed into a portrait of an inspired god.



Figure 11.

11.1. Tetradrachm (fig. 11)

297/296–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 16.95 g.

Rev. to left, the monogram \boxtimes inner left.

Lysimachia.³³

80.NH.152.18



Figure 13.

11.3. Tetradrachm (fig. 13)

297/296–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.07 g.

Rev. to left, the monogram \boxplus inner left; herm outer left. Lampsakos.³⁵

80.NH.152.17



Figure 12.

11.2. Tetradrachm (fig. 12)

297/296–ca. 282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.05 g.

Rev. to left, bee with ear of grain inner left. Sestos.³⁴

80.NH.152.13



Figure 14.

11.4. Tetradrachm (fig. 14)

297/296–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 16.94 g.

Rev. to left, the monogram \boxplus inner left; herm outer left. Lampsakos.³⁶

80.NH.152.21



Figure 15.

11.5. Tetradrachm (fig. 15)
297/296–282/281 B.C.
Weight: 17.05 g.
Rev. to left, the monogram ΓP inner left; crescent to left in exergue. Lampsakos.³⁷
80.NH.152.32



Figure 18.

11.8. Tetradrachm (fig. 18)
297/296–282/281 B.C.
Weight: 17.07 g.
Rev. to left, griffin's head outer left; the monogram ΓP inner left. Abydos.⁴⁰
80.NH.152.25



Figure 16.

11.6. Tetradrachm (fig. 16)
297/296–282/281 B.C.
Weight: 17.14 g.
Rev. to left, griffin's head outer left; the monogram ΓP inner left. Abydos.³⁸
80.NH.152.14



Figure 19.

11.9. Tetradrachm (fig. 19)
297/296–282/281 B.C.
Weight: 17.13 g.
Rev. to left, griffin's head outer left; the monogram ΓP inner left. Abydos.⁴¹
80.NH.152.28



Figure 17.

11.7. Tetradrachm (fig. 17)
297/296–282/281 B.C.
Weight: 16.98 g.
Rev. to left, griffin's head outer left; the monogram ΓP inner left. Abydos.³⁹
80.NH.152.23



Figure 20.

11.10. Tetradrachm (fig. 20)
297/296–ca. 287 B.C.
Weight: 17.02 g.
Rev. to left, the monogram ΓP outer left; Δ and branch in exergue. Sardis.⁴²
80.NH.152.20



Figure 21.

11.11 Tetradrachm (fig. 21)
 299/298–297/296 B.C.
 Weight: 17.05 g.
 Rev. to left, the monograms PE outer left, K inner left. Sardis.⁴³
 80.NH.152.24



Figure 24.

11.14. Tetradrachm (fig. 24)
 297/296–282/281 B.C.
 Weight: 17.02 g.
 Rev. to left, race torch inner left; meander in exergue.
 Magnesia.⁴⁶
 80.NH.152.34



Figure 22.

11.12. Tetradrachm (fig. 22)
 297/296–ca. 287 B.C.
 Weight: 17.07 g.
 Rev. to left, the monograms PE outer left, \triangle in exergue. Sardis.⁴⁴
 80.NH.152.26



Figure 25.

11.15. Tetradrachm (fig. 25)
 288/287–282/281 B.C.
 Weight: 17.64 g.
 Rev. to left, a club in exergue. Herakleia.⁴⁷
 80.NH.152.33



Figure 23.

11.13. Tetradrachm (fig. 23)
 297/296–ca. 287 B.C.
 Weight: 16.99 g.
 Rev. to left, the monograms PE outer left, \triangle in exergue. Sardis.⁴⁵
 80.NH.152.27



Figure 26.

11.16. Tetradrachm (fig. 26)
 288/287–282/281 B.C.
 Weight: 16.9 g.
 Rev. to left, the monograms \triangle inner left, \times in exergue. Amphipolis.⁴⁸
 78.NB.329.2
 Bibliography: Superior Stamp and Coin Co., *The Miguel Munoz Collection*, Los Angeles, sale, June 12–15, 1978, p. 230, no. 3170.



Figure 27.

11.17. Tetradrachm (fig. 27)

288/287–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 16.73 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms $\overline{\text{M}}$ inner left, $\overline{\text{A}}$ outer right. Amphipolis.⁴⁹

80.NH.152.16



Figure 30.

11.20. Tetradrachm (fig. 30)

288/287–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.02 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms $\overline{\text{M}}$ inner left, $\overline{\text{AP}}$ outer right. Amphipolis.⁵²

80.NH.152.36



Figure 28.

11.18. Tetradrachm (fig. 28)

288/287–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.24 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms $\overline{\Delta}$ inner left, $\overline{\text{K}}$ outer right. Amphipolis.⁵⁰

80.NH.152.22



Figure 31.

11.21. Tetradrachm (fig. 31)

286/285–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.12 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms $\overline{\text{AP}}$ inner left, $\overline{\text{AV}}$ inner right. Pella.⁵³

80.NH.152.15



Figure 29.

11.19. Tetradrachm (fig. 29)

288/287–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.20 g.

Rev. to left, caduceus inner left; the monogram $\overline{\text{K}}$ outer right. Amphipolis.⁵¹

80.NH.152.31



Figure 32.

11.22. Tetradrachm (fig. 32)

286/285–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.05 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms $\overline{\text{AP}}$ inner left, $\overline{\text{AV}}$ inner right. Pella.⁵⁴

80.NH.152.19



Figure 33.

11.23. Tetradrachm (fig. 33)

286/285–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 17.01 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms Λ outer left, K in exergue. Pella.⁵⁵

80.NH.152.29



Figure 35.

11.25. Tetradrachm (fig. 35)

ca. 283/282 or Posthumous.

Weight: 17.56 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms H over the joined foreparts of two horses inner left, T in exergue. Perinthos(?).⁵⁷

80.NH.152.30



Figure 34.

11.24. Tetradrachm (fig. 34)

286/285–282/281 B.C.

Weight: 16.95 g.

Rev. to left, the monograms Λ outer left, K in exergue. Pella.⁵⁶

80.NH.152.35



Figure 36a. Statuette of a man. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AB.37.

ALEXANDER-LIKE IMAGES

1. Statuette of a Man (figs. 36a–d)

Etruscan, early third century B.C.

Bronze; H. (excluding casting tangs): 31.6 cm.

96.AB.37

Bibliography: True and Hamma 1994, pp. 175–77, no. 81 (with additional bibliography).

The pose and hairstyle of this figure are based on portraits of Alexander the Great created by Lysippos.⁵⁸ An Etruscan inscription preserved on the cloak of the figure reveals that this statue was dedicated by a



Figure 36b. Right side of statuette, figure 36a.



Figure 36c. Left three-quarter view of statuette, figure 36a. Photo © Bruce White.

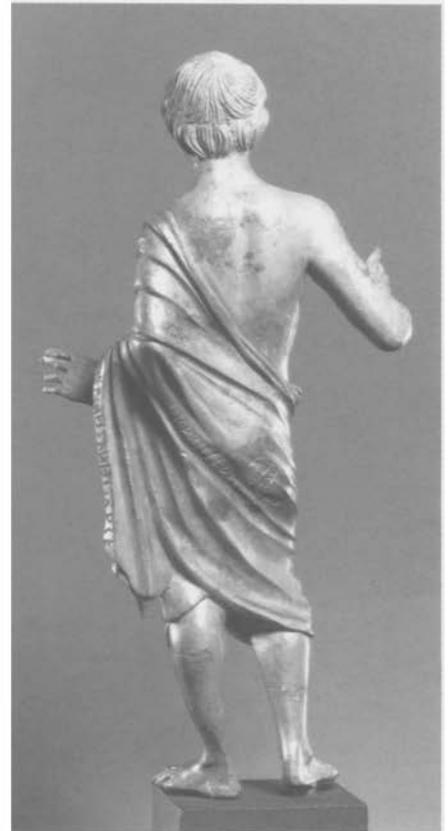


Figure 36d. Back of statuette, figure 36a.

man named Vel Matunas as a sacred gift to the god Lur, a local Etruscan divinity in the area of Volsinii. Vel is a common Etruscan name; Matunas is the name of a noble South Etruscan family that is known from other inscriptions found in Cerveteri and Tarquinia.

The standing youthful male figure wears a short semicircular mantle wrapped around his waist and draped over the left shoulder and arm. Both arms are bent, the right raised a little from the body; the hands, which are large but delicately modeled, spread in a gesture thought to be of prayer. Deep folds on the

right side of the neck emphasize the turn of the head upward and to the right. Face and hair are well modeled, with large, deep-set eyes with iris and pupil indicated under a furrowed brow, with broad cheeks and full, fleshy lips. The hair, which covers the ears, is parted in the center and ends in sickle-shaped clusters of short striated locks of which a symmetrical pair rises prominently above the center of the forehead. The expression of the face and the studied twist of the head are clearly inspired by portraits of Alexander the Great.



Figure 37a. Statuette of a Hellenistic ruler. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AB.153.



Figure 37b. Back of statuette, figure 37a.

2. Statuette of a Ruler (figs. 37a–b)

Late Hellenistic, late second–first century B.C.

Bronze with silver; H.: 17.5 cm.

96.AB.153

Bibliography: True and Hamma 1994, p. 215, no. 106.

The portraits and statues of Alexander created by Lysippos strongly affected artistic styles for centuries. That influence is seen in the pose, upswept hairstyle, and heroic nudity of this statuette. The facial features are not strongly individualized; the figure could represent either a Hellenistic ruler or a god. The military cloak slung around his arm emphasizes the heroic nature of the pose, as would the spear or scepter he once held in his upraised hand. The eyes of the figure have been enhanced with silver, and his pupils are incised. A figure in the Ortiz collection resembles this statuette.⁵⁹



Figure 38a. Statuette of a Hellenistic ruler. Front. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AB.167.



Figure 38b. Back of statuette, figure 38a.

3. Statuette of a Ruler, possibly Alexander the Great (figs. 38a–b)

Roman, second century A.D.

Bronze; H.: 9.3 cm.

71.AB.167

Bibliography: Parke-Bernet, New York, auction, December 4, 1969, lot 148; J. Frel, *Selected Works from the Ancient Art Collection of the John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California* (Pennsylvania State Univ., 1971), no. 42; Frel 1979b, p. 13, no. 642; Frel 1981, pp. 71, 113, no. 24; Frel 1987, p. 78.

The robust figure of a nude man stands with his weight on the right leg, the head turned to the right. The right arm is extended with the hand broken off; the left arm is lowered and extended slightly in a gesture consistent with holding a small shield, now missing. An attachment hole is preserved in the left hand. A cloak is bunched on the left shoulder and wrapped once around the left arm just below the elbow. The surface of the solid-cast bronze figure is worn. The facial features are obscure, but the man is beardless and has the full hair characteristic of Alexander portraits. As Frel noted, the statuette reproduces the stance and type of the life-size bronze from Agde.⁶⁰



Figure 39. Terra-cotta antefix. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AD.28.

4. Antefix (fig. 39)

Roman, first century B.C.–first century A.D.

Terra-cotta; H.: 21.6 cm.

82.AD.28

Bibliography: Unpublished.

A frontal face is at the center of a volute-and-palmette design on this antefix. The figure has curly hair parted in the middle with an *anastolē*, fleshy lower jaw and prominent chin, and a horizontal crease in the forehead. The face and hairstyle bear a general resemblance to the Alexander portrait head from Pergamon.⁶¹ Remnants of the original painted surface are preserved.



Figure 40. Tetradrachm of Alexander the Great. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.NB.329.3.

5. Tetradrachm of Alexander the Great (fig. 40)

Greek, 310–275 B.C.

Silver; Weight: 17.64 g.

78.NB.329.3

Bibliography: Unpublished.

Obv. to right, head of Herakles with lion skin. Rev. to left, enthroned Zeus with eagle, inscribed *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*, outer right; *ΑΠΛΥΣΤΡΕ*, outer left.⁶²

According to Plutarch, Alexander descended on his father's side from the Greek hero Herakles through

Karanos, the reputed ninth-century founder of the dynasty to which Alexander belonged.⁶³ Alexander affirmed this mythical ancestral bond with Herakles by adopting the head of the hero wearing a lion scalp as the image on the front of his coins. Symbolic of Herakles' first labor, the killing of the ferocious Nemean lion, the lion skin came to be incorporated into Alexander's personal iconography.

Whether the coins depict a portrait of Alexander in the guise of Herakles or a Herakles with a face that vaguely resembles Alexander portraits has been debated.⁶⁴ In that regard, it is important to bear in mind that portraiture on royal coinage was introduced only after Alexander, by his successors, the Diadochoi.

Malibu
The J. Paul Getty Museum

NOTES

Abbreviations

- Frel 1979a J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist: Sculpture*, vol. 1, *Greek Originals* (Malibu, 1979).
- Frel 1979b J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist: Sculpture*, vol. 2, *Greek Portraits and Varia* (Malibu, 1979).
- Frel 1981 J. Frel, *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981).
- Frel 1984 J. Frel, "Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculpture at Malibu," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 73–92.
- Frel 1987 J. Frel, "Alexander with the Lance," in *Lysippe et son influence*, Hellas et Roma, vol. 5, ed. J. Chamay and J.-L. Maier, pp. 77–79 (Geneva, 1987).
- Smith 1988 R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988).
- Spier 1992 J. Spier, *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1992).
- Stewart 1993 A. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley, 1993).
- Thompson 1968 M. Thompson, "The Mints of Lysimachus," in *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, ed. C. M. Kraay and G. K. Jenkins, pp. 163–82 (Oxford, 1968).
- Thompson 1986 M. Thompson, "The Armenak Hoard (ICGH 1423)," *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31 (1986): 63–106.
- True and Hamma 1994 M. True and K. Hamma, eds., *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman* (Malibu, 1994).

1. The exhibit, titled "Alexander the Great: The Making of a Hero from Antiquity to the Renaissance," was co-curated by the author and E. C. Teviotdale, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, and ran from October 22, 1996, through January 5, 1997. It celebrated the publication of a monograph by Scot McKendrick, *The History of Alexander the Great* (Malibu, 1996), on a fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript in the Getty Museum of Vasco da Lucena's French translation of the biography of Alexander by Quintus Curtius, *Le Livre des fais d'Alexandre le grant* (Lille and Bruges, 1468–1475) = Ms. Ludwig xv 8.

2. Exhibitions include "Alessandro Magno: Storia e mito," Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome, December 21, 1995–May 21, 1996, and St. Petersburg, Fl.; "The Mythical Quest: In Search of Adventure, Romance and Enlightenment," The British Library, London, June 14–September 29, 1996; and "Alexander the Great in European Art," Thessaloniki, September 22, 1997–January 11, 1998. The problem of keeping abreast of the volume of modern literature on Alexander is addressed by J. Carlsen, "Alexander the Great (1970–1990)," in *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth*, ed. J. Carlsen et al., pp. 41–52 (Rome, 1993). He presents a selective survey of the research on Alexander the Great published between 1970 and 1990, listing 219 citations. A conference titled "Alexander the Great: History and Romance" was held in Newcastle, Australia, in 1997; it was devoted

to recent research on Alexander the Great; the proceedings, edited by A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham, were published as *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford, 2000).

3. Smith 1988, p. 59, discusses the problem of Alexander-like images, namely, that the image of Alexander became so well known that it became part of divine and mythological iconography. See also Stewart 1993, pp. 42–46.

4. There is a total of thirty-one fragments in the group. See Stewart 1993, pp. 116–21; 209–14; 438–51. On pp. 42–43 Stewart notes that the identification of the head is based on probability.

5. Cf. the monument of Nikeratos and Polyxenos (known as the Kallithea Monument after its findspot) in Piraeus, B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, vol. 1, *The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison, 1990), pp. 31–32. C. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* (Kilchberg, 1993), Intro. vol. p. 187, does not include the Kallithea Monument in his corpus, identifying it instead as a heroön.

6. Stewart 1993, pp. 116–17; Frel 1979a, p. 7.

7. Stewart 1993, p. 213. For the multifigured composition, cf. the votive reliefs in Paris, Louvre Ma 756, M. Hamiaux, *Les sculptures grecques* (Paris, 1992), p. 216, no. 224; and Athens, NM 3076, G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 47, 65, pl. 25a.

8. The Apollo-Dionysos component, according to Smith 1988, p. 61.

9. Stewart 1993, pp. 430–31 (with additional bibl.), fig. 97.

10. Paris, Louvre B 370. Stewart 1993, p. 425, no. 1.

11. Plin. *HN* 34.63; Plut. *Mor.* 335A–B. On Lysippos as the sculptor of portraits of Alexander, see most recently, B. R. Brown, "Alexander the Great as Patron of the Arts," in C. Mattusch, *The Fire of Hephaistos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 86–103, esp. pp. 96–97.

12. Plut. *Mor.* 360D. See Stewart 1993, pp. 161–71, for a full discussion of the Alexander Doryphoros.

13. Smith 1988, pp. 32–33.

14. Determined only by visual examination, which is unreliable, as noted in L. Moens et al., "Scientific Provenance Determination of Ancient White Marble Sculptures Using Petrographic, Chemical, and Isotopic Data," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 111–24, esp. p. 112 (Malibu, 1990). But the marble, being pure white and medium to large grained, exhibits all the characteristics of Thasian marble.

15. Smith 1988, pp. 60–61, 155–56, cat. no. 2.

16. Stewart 1993, pp. 426–27, figs. 137–38.

17. Smith 1988, pp. 60–61, 155, cat. no. 1.

18. The assimilation of Alexander to the Gorgon Medusa may be a reference to his emulation of the hero Perseus. Plut. *Mor.* 332A. See also O. Palagia, "Imitation of Herakles in Ruler Portraiture: A Survey, from Alexander to Maximinus Daza," *Boreas* 9 (1986): 137–51.

19. *Supra*, note 15.

20. M. Del Chiaro, "A Monumental Etruscan Medusa Head," *GettyMusJ* 9 (1981): 56.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 56 n. 18. The statuette is acc. no. 96.AB.37; it is included *infra*, pp. 71–72, no. 1, figs. 36a–d.

22. Identified as a figure of Alexander as Sarapis; subsequently H. Kunckel recognized the statuette as an *Agathos Daimon*, which Frel 1987, p. 79 n. 14, accepts.

23. *LIMC* I (1981), pp. 277–82, s.v. "Agathodaimon" (F. Dunand).

24. Cf. a Hellenistic marble relief from Delos, *ibid.*, p. 278, no. 2.

25. For the form of the portrait, cf. terra-cotta portrait medallions in Athens, G. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* (London, 1965), 3: 256, no. 7, fig. 1739.

26. R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London, 1991), p. 20.

27. C. Grandjouan, *Hellenistic Relief Molds from the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia Supplement* 23 (1989), pp. 32–33.
28. Smith 1988, pp. 34–38.
29. Plin. *HN* 37.10.
30. The standard reference for Lysimachos remains the article by M. Thompson (Thompson 1968). Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, former Curator of Greek Coins at the American Numismatic Society, is working on a general study of the Lysimachi.
31. Strabo 17.1.43.
32. Smith 1988, p. 40.
33. Closest to Thompson 1986, p. 76, no. 647, a tetradrachm from Lysimachia.
34. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 170, no. 31, a tetradrachm from Sestos.
35. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 171, no. 50, a tetradrachm from Lampsakos.
36. Cf. *ibid.*
37. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 171, no. 47, a tetradrachm from Lampsakos.
38. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 172, no. 70, a tetradrachm from Abydos.
39. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 172, no. 75, a tetradrachm from Abydos. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.25, no. 11.8.
40. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 172, no. 75, a tetradrachm from Abydos. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.23, no. 11.7.
41. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 172, no. 75, a tetradrachm from Abydos.
42. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 173, no. 84, a tetradrachm from Sardis.
43. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 173, no. 89, a tetradrachm from Sardis.
44. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 173, no. 86, a tetradrachm from Sardis.
45. Cf. *ibid.*
46. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 174, no. 112, a tetradrachm from Magnesia.
47. Closest to Thompson 1968, p. 178, no. 177, tetradrachms from Herakleia.
48. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 179, no. 213, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis.
49. Closest to Thompson 1968, p. 179, no. 199, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis, but the inner left monogram is not cut over a caduceus as is the example in Thompson. Cf. Thompson 1986, p. 86, no. 916.
50. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 179, no. 212, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis.
51. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 178, no. 191, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis; Thompson 1986, p. 86, no. 904.
52. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 179, no. 200, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis; Thompson 1986, p. 86, no. 918.
53. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 181, no. 243, a tetradrachm from Pella. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.19, no. 11.22.
54. Cf. Thompson 1968, p. 181, no. 243, a tetradrachm from Pella. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.15, no. 11.21.
55. Closest to Thompson 1968, p. 181, no. 249, a tetradrachm from Pella. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.35, no. 11.24.
56. Closest to Thompson 1968, p. 181, no. 249, a tetradrachm from Pella. Obv. die link with 80.NH.152.29, no. 11.23. Doublestruck.
57. Closest to Thompson 1968, p. 182, no. 256, a tetradrachm from Perinthos. That coin does not have the monogram, but Perinthos appears to be the only mint of Lysimachos that used the symbol of joined foreparts of two horses.
58. For the face and hairstyle, cf. the Schwarzenberg portrait head of Alexander: Stewart 1993, p. 429, figs. 40–41. There is a bronze statuette very similar to this one in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3003, E. Richardson, "The Types of Hellenistic Votive Bronzes from Central Italy," in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*, ed. R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott, pp. 283–84, fig. 2 (Hannover and London, 1993).
59. G. Ortiz, *The George Ortiz Collection* (Berne, 1994), no. 168.
60. Frel 1987, p. 79 n. 15; J. Charbonneau, "Une statue de bronze découverte à Agde," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1966): 1–4.
61. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1138; Stewart 1993, p. 428, figs. 128–29.
62. Cf. M. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus* (London, 1991), p. 170, no. 861 (= Müller no. 281), a tetradrachm normally attributed to Greece, but probably of Asia Minor.
63. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 2.1–2.
64. Price (*supra*, note 62), pp. 33–34, states that it is unlikely that Alexander intended to depict himself with the attributes of Herakles on the coinage; Palagia (*supra*, note 18), p. 141, seems to leave open the possibility that Alexander was shown in the guise of Herakles before his death, even on his coinage.

HELLENISTISCHES GOLD UND PTOLEMÄISCHE HERRSCHER

Michael Pfrommer

Hellenistisches Geschmeide wie der Schatz des J. Paul Getty Museums (s. Abb. 17) gehört zu den Highlights der Museumswelt¹. Doch wie bei jedem Komplex ohne gesicherte Provenienz stellt sich auch hier die Frage der archäologischen Wertung. Handelt es sich um ein antikes Ensemble, oder müssen wir mit Kunsthandelszusätzen rechnen? Fassen wir das Inventar eines herrschaftlichen Grabes, einen in größter Not verborgenen Schatz oder antikes Plünderergut?² Haben wir Geschmeide einer oder mehrerer Personen vor uns? Und auch wenn die zeitliche Homogenität des Ensembles durchaus naheliegt, ist doch zu fragen, ob unser Komplex überhaupt vollständig erhalten ist? In jedem Fall gehört jedoch die Herkunftsfrage zu den größten Herausforderungen. Bei dem Getty-Gold kommt uns allerdings die ptolemäische Ikonographie zu Hilfe. Das Lagidenreich konfrontiert uns nicht nur mit dem komplexesten Religionssystem der hellenistischen Welt, wir treffen auch auf eine religiös hinterfütterte Staatsideologie. Erhärtert sich die ägyptische Option, so wäre uns nach dem 1905 geborgenen Schatz von Tuch el-Karamus endlich ein weiterer, repräsentativer Schmuckfund des Ptolemäerreiches erhalten³.

DIE TYCHE DER PTOLEMÄER

Ungeachtet der prachtvollen Stephane (s. Abb. 6a) und des nicht minder qualitätvollen Haarnetzes (s. Abb. 15a) sind es vor allem zwei Fingerringe, die den kulturhistorischen Kontext sichern. Zwar sind sie formal nicht völlig identisch, doch repräsentieren sie beide den schweren Ringtypus des ausgehenden 3. und früheren 2. Jhs. v. Chr. (s. Abb. 1b, 5b)⁴.

Der erste Ring ist aus Goldblech gearbeitet und

trägt einen ovalen Chalzedon mit dem Bild einer stehenden Tyche (Abb. 1a–b)⁵. Die Fassung ist in vier Stufen getrieben. Legt man den Abdruck zugrunde, so stützt sich die Schicksalsgöttin mit dem linken Arm auf einen schlanken Pfeiler, ein Motiv, das sich gerade auf hellenistischen Gemmen häufiger findet⁶. Tyche steht auf ihrem rechten Fuß mit stark ausschlagender rechter Hüfte. Trotz des Miniaturformats und einer leichten Beschädigung sind die lange spitze Nase und das überdimensionierte Auge unverkennbar. Die Haartracht folgt der klassischen Krobylos-Frisur, doch sitzt über der Stirn eine niedrige Stephane, wie sie vor allem auf Münzporträts hellenistischer Königinnen erscheint (Abb. 2a, 3).

Die Göttin trägt einen langen, auf beiden Schultern geschlossenen Chiton, den sie hoch unter den relativ kleinen Brüsten gegürtet hat. Er fällt in langen Falten auf ihre Füße. Um ihre Hüften hat sie nach hellenistischer Manier einen eleganten, dreieckig drapierten Mantel gezogen, der am oberen Saum zusammengedreht zu denken ist. Obwohl die linke Hand völlig entspannt ist, hält Tyche doch ihr Himation mit dem Unterarm und Handgelenk auf dem Pfeiler. In Zickzackfalten fällt es als schmale Stoffbahn vor der Stütze herab. Wie im Falle des Artemis-Rings handelt es sich nicht um die offene Seite des Chitons (s. Abb. 5a–b). Die langen Falten im Bereich der Beine gehören wohl zum Chiton und nicht zum Mantel.

Aus kulturhistorischem Blickwinkel höchst faszinierend ist das ptolemäische Attribut der Schicksalsgöttin. Sie präsentiert in der ausgestreckten Rechten einen "Dikeras", ein doppeltes Füllhorn mit Diadem oder Tänienschmuck. Dieses spezielle Attribut wurde



Abb. 1a. Ring mit dem Bild einer ptolemäischen Tyche. Gold und Chalzedon. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.9.



Abb. 1b. Tyche. Umzeichnung von dem Abdruck des geschnittenen Steins und dem Profil des Rings, Abb. 1a. Zeichnung: Peggy Sanders.

im Auftrag Ptolemaios' II. eigens für seine Frau und Schwester Arsinoë entworfen. Wir kennen sogar ein Gedicht, in dem der König bei seinem Erscheinen von Theaterleuten mit einem Dikeras begrüßt wird⁷. Die enge Verbindung des Doppelhorns mit Arsinoë II. bezeugen nicht nur die Ptolemäerkannen, sondern auch zahllose Münzen mit Porträtbüsten der Königin auf der Vorder- und einem Doppelfüllhorn mit diademartiger Tānie auf der Rückseite (Abb. 2b)⁸. Kallixenos beschreibt das göttlich-königliche Attribut bereits unter den Exponaten der großen Pompé Ptolemaios' II., die der König kurz nach seiner inzestuösen Eheschließung im Rahmen des Ersten Syrischen Krieges veranstaltete⁹. Der Dikeras war derart charakteristisch für die Königin, daß es auf Ptolemäermünzen nahezu ausschließlich mit Arsinoë II. verbunden wurde, während andere Königinnen einfache Füllhörner bevorzugten. Eine höchst bedeutsame Ausnahme findet

sich allerdings auf eher bescheidenen Bronzemünzen Kleopatras VII.¹⁰. Auf der Vorderseite dieser kyprischen Prägungen erscheint die Königin mit der schmalen Stephane im Haar und dem schwebenden Zepter hinter der Schulter. Dargestellt ist sie wohl als kyprische Aphrodite mit einem Erosknaben im Arm, allem Anschein nach eine Anspielung auf die altherwürdige Aphroditedeifizierung Arsinoës II.

Angesichts des Doppelhorns käme bei unserem Ring allerdings auch eine Verbindung mit dem seleukidischen Kreis in Betracht. Dort erscheint der Dikeras im 2. Jh. v. Chr. auf Prägungen verschiedener Könige. Zu nennen sind etwa Demetrios I. (162–150 v. Chr.), Alexander II. Zebina (128–123 v. Chr.), Antiochos VIII. (121–96 v. Chr.) und vor allem Münzen Kleopatra Theas, die in ihrer flamboyanten Karriere zwischen 150 und 121 v. Chr. gleich mit drei Seleukiden verheiratet war. Bei den drei letztgenannten ist die Ptolemäer-



Abb. 2a–b. Dekadrachme mit dem Bildnis Arsinoës II. Gold. Auf der Vorderseite Porträtkopf der Königin, auf der Rückseite Doppelfüllhorn. Trier, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität OL 1995.18.



Abb. 3. Oktodrachmon mit dem posthumen Bildnis Arsinoës III. Gold. Diameter 2.6 cm (1 in.). Glasgow, Hunterian Museum (G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* [Glasgow 1905], 3: 381, no. 22). Photo: The University of Glasgow.

bindung offensichtlich¹⁴: Die berühmte Kleopatra Thea war selbst eine ptolemäische Prinzessin, Alexander II. wäre ohne die Unterstützung Ptolemaios' VIII. gar nicht denkbar und Antiochos VIII. war gar Sohn und Mitregent Kleopatra Theas.

Was spricht bei unserem Ring also gegen eine seleukidische Deutung? Zunächst trägt unsere Tyche nicht die charakteristische Frisur Kleopatra Theas, und die Ringtypologie widerrät ohnehin einem Ansatz im mittleren und späteren 2. Jh. Sodann unterstreicht die Ikonographie der übrigen Schmuckstücke ganz ent-

schieden die ptolemäische Option. Zudem kennen wir eine stehende Tyche mit Doppelfüllhorn nahezu ausschließlich bei Arsinoë II. Zu nennen sind hier vor allem die Ptolemäerkannen. Dort erscheint Tyche zwischen einem Altar und dem charakteristischen Pfeilermonument. Auf den Fayencekannen trägt die Göttin ihr Füllhorn allerdings stets in der linken Armbeuge, und auch der statuarische Typus ist nicht mit unserem Ringbild zu vergleichen. Die Vaseninschriften nennen explizit Arsinoë II., die Schwestergemahlin des zweiten Ptolemäers, lesen wir doch unter anderem: *Agathés*

*tyches Arsinoës Philadelphou Isios*¹². Unser Ring zeigt also die Tyche der Ptolemäer.

Arsinoë II. war für den Kult der Ptolemäerinnen von höchster Bedeutung. Als die ominöse Frau auf der Flucht vor ihrem zweiten Ehemann und Halbbruder, Ptolemaios Keraunos, in den frühen siebziger Jahren des 3. Jhs. Ägypten erreichte, gelang es ihr nur allzu bald, die legitime Gattin Ptolemaios' II. zu verdrängen. Diese wurde nach Koptos exiliert. Danach ehelichte Arsinoë II. in dritter Ehe ihren leiblichen Bruder in "heiliger Hochzeit"¹³. Später "adoptierte" sie anscheinend sogar seine Kinder aus erster Ehe, darunter den späteren Ptolemaios III. Euergetes, der in der Folgezeit stets als Sohn Arsinoës II. bezeichnet wurde¹⁴. Sie und ihr Bruder gingen als "Geschwisterliebende Gottheiten" (*Theoi Adelphoi*) in die Geschichte ein. Arsinoë wurde bereits vor ihrem Tod im Jahre 270 v. Chr. deifiziert und wie so viele Königinnen mit Isis gleichgesetzt. Damit nicht genug, divinisierte man sie auch als Aphrodite¹⁵. Dies hatte weitreichende Folgen, drängte doch das neue Paar Aphrodite-Isis im Laufe des Hellenismus die altehrwürdige Gleichung Demeter-Isis in den Hintergrund.

Sobald man das Ringbild unter ägyptischem Blickwinkel betrachtet, zeigt sich, daß die so griechisch wirkende Tyche durchaus auch ägyptische Vorstellungen transportiert. So fungierten die makedonischen Lagiden zugleich als Pharaonen, und als Pharaonen waren sie aus ägyptischer Sicht in überaus komplexer Weise für Wohl und Wehe ihres Landes verantwortlich. Dies galt nicht nur für Krieg und Frieden, sondern auch für Hungerkatastrophen und die Nilflut. "Tyche" umschreibt also in überaus glücklicher Weise die schicksalhafte Verantwortlichkeit ptolemäischer Könige.

Dürfen wir somit unsere Tyche primär als Königin oder eher als Personifikation schicksalhafter Kräfte begreifen? Nun trägt die Göttin nicht nur das Füllhorn Arsinoës, der Künstler zitierte auch ungeachtet des winzigen Maßstabs "Porträtzüge" der Monarchin. Das übergroße Ptolemäerauge war bereits zu erwähnen, und auch die lange Nase, ja selbst Mund- und Kinnpartie entsprechen durchaus Porträttypen Arsinoës II. Mit Münzbildern zu verbinden ist die Stephane und das charakteristische Zepter, das förmlich hinter der Göttin schwebt. Lange, stabähnliche Zepter sind normalerweise auf Götterbilder beschränkt, doch signalisieren sie auf Münzen den göttlichen Status der Lagiden¹⁶. Der schlanke Stab trägt eine kleine Kugel am unteren Ende und eine Bekrönung, die im ersten Augenblick wie eine Knospe wirkt. Vergleicht man die Bekrönung

jedoch mit dem Schlangenzepter Arsinoës II.¹⁷, dann wird die Absicht des Gemmenschneiders unschwer deutlich. Die untere Verdickung repräsentiert einen kleinen Kelch, auf dem eine Uräusschlange drohend die gespreizte Haube hebt. Der kleine Strich auf der Zepterspitze steht für den eigentlichen Schlangenkopf, die darunter angegebene Verdickung wohl für die gespreizte Haube der königlichen Natter. Auch das für Arsinoë II. so charakteristische Uräuszepter spricht also unbedingt für eine Verbindung mit der Königin. Man kann davon ausgehen, daß der Gemmenschneider mit seiner königlichen Tyche nicht allein die schicksalhaften Qualitäten Arsinoës personifizierte, sondern die Königin als Tyche porträtierte.

Aufgrund der jahrhundertlangen Geschichte des Dikeras bietet das Füllhorn nicht mehr als einen *terminus post* von 275–270 v. Chr., dem Zeitrahmen für die Heirat der Philadelphinen. Sowohl der Ringtypus wie auch der Stil der Gemme sprechen jedoch für eine deutlich spätere Entstehungszeit. Den Unterschied zu statuarischen Typen des mittleren 3. Jhs. verdeutlichen nicht nur die Ptolemäerkannen, er zeigt sich auch im Vergleich mit dem in dieser Zeit entstandenen Typus der Isis von Ras el-Soda¹⁸. Die eponyme Statue zeigt uns wohl Arsinoë II. selbst und zwar als Isis mit der ägyptischen Isiskrone und der Stephane. Die Königin trägt bereits einen Mantel mit dreieckig drapiertem Überschlag, doch steht sie hoch aufgerichtet und ohne die geschwungene Körperkontur ihrer Standbeinseite. Das Original des Ras-el-Soda-Typus ist entwicklungsgehistorisch älter als unser Gemmenbild. Der statuarische Typus wurde nicht nur in römischer Zeit kopiert, wir kennen auch eine Adaption des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.¹⁹. Es zeigt sich also, daß man die Standbilder der großen Königin noch nach Jahrhunderten zitierte und neu interpretierte.

Die überdeutliche Betonung der Hüfte findet sich bei Gewandstatuen nicht vor dem späteren 3. und dann vor allem im 2. Jh. v. Chr. In seiner bewegten Kontur verweist das Ringbild bereits auf Entwicklungen des 2. Jhs., doch entspricht es in Details noch nicht dem antiken Barock. So fehlen etwa die im 2. Jh. so beliebten überlangen Gewänder mit den auf dem Boden schleifenden Falten. Die schlanken Proportionen unserer Tyche und ihre relativ schmalen Schultern entsprechen einem Schönheitsideal, das wir bereits im mittleren 3. Jh. v. Chr. auf Gemmenbildern nachweisen können²⁰. Vergleichbar schlank ist auch die Artemis auf einem delischen Bronzerelief, das anscheinend aus einem Heiligtum der vergöttlichten Königin



Abb. 4. Relief aus Delos mit Artemis und zwei Satyrn. Bronze. Delos, Museum A 1719. Photo: EFA, Athen.



Abb. 5a. Ring mit dem Bild einer Artemis-Aphrodite. Gold und Chalzedon. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.8.



Abb. 5b. Artemis. Umzeichnung von dem Abdruck des geschnittenen Steins und dem Profil des Rings, Abb. 5a. Zeichnung: Peggy Sanders.

stammt (Abb. 4). Faßt man zusammen, so entstand unser Ring aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im ausgehenden 3. oder frühesten 2. Jh. v. Chr.

EINE KÖNIGLICHE ARTEMIS

Der zweite Getty-Ring trägt einen rotbraunen Chalzedon mit dem Bildnis der Artemis (Abb. 5a–b)²¹. Aus typologischem Blickwinkel gehört das Schmuckstück ebenfalls in das spätere 3. oder frühere 2. Jh. v. Chr. Es ist geringfügig größer als der Tyche-Ring und stammt definitiv aus anderer Hand. Es handelt sich nicht um regelrechte Pendants. Zahlreiche Details des Artemis-Bildes sind schärfer geschnitten, andere Faltenpartien zeigen wiederum eine größere Flexibilität der Linienführung, auch wenn beim Motiv der aufgestützten Göttin oder dem Schönheitsideal die Verwandtschaft beider Schmuckstücke nicht zu leugnen ist.

Das Artemis-Bild wirkt auf den ersten Blick eher

unspektakulär. Bogen, Köcher und Hirsch sichern die Deutung. Die Göttin scheint ihre Hand nach dem Tier auszustrecken, ohne es direkt anzusehen. Man könnte beinahe von einem Zeichen verhaltener Zuneigung sprechen. Der Hirsch ist weit eher lebendes Attribut denn Jagdbeute. Die Komposition charakterisiert Artemis also nicht primär als Jägerin, sondern eher als Herrin der Tierwelt.

Obwohl sich Artemis auf einen Pfeiler stützt, ist das statuarische Motiv komplexer als bei unserer Tyche. Die linke Hüfte wurde noch stärker betont. Die Göttin steht auf dem verhüllten linken Bein. Das rechte ist entspannt gekreuzt, ein beinahe manieristisches Motiv. Artemis trägt einen Chiton, der hoch unter den Brüsten gegürtet und auf der rechten Schulter geschlossen ist. Das Gewand ist allerdings von der linken Schulter gegliedert und entblößt die Brust, für die jungfräuliche Artemis eine extravagante Attitüde. Der Steinschneider

wählte auch hier ein tief drapiertes Himation mit dreieckigem Umriß. Der aufgestützte Unterarm fixiert den Mantel auf dem Pfeiler, die schmal herabfallende Stoffbahn ist an den Zickzackfalten unschwer auszumachen. Unterhalb des Mantels fallen die Falten des Chitons über die Beine.

Aufmerksamkeit verdient vor allem das Antlitz der Göttin mit der langen, scharf gezeichneten Nase. Das weit offene Ptolemäer-Auge spricht auch hier für eine ägyptische Konnotation. Wie Tyche trägt auch Artemis eine niedrige Stephane, doch entschied sich der Artemis-Meister für eine modische Melonenfrisur mit kleiner Kranzflechte, wie sie in der Diadochenzeit und später bei Arsinoë II. und ihren Nachfolgerinnen bestens bezeugt ist²². Anders als bei Tyche erkennen wir am Hals unserer Artemis zwei Venusringe, ein Detail, das sofort an das Aphrodite-Medaillon erinnert (s. Abb. 15d).

Des weiteren erkennt man auf der rechten Schulter und hinter dem Hals ein schmales Band, das abrupt über der Schulter endet, zweifellos das Ende eines Diadems. Die scheinbare Inflexibilität ist auf den ersten Blick ungewöhnlich, doch beseitigt ein Vergleich mit den süperben Münzporträts Arsinoës III. alle Zweifel (s. Abb. 3)²³. Bei der Schwestergemahlin des vierten Ptolemäers ist das königliche Symbol in ganz analoger Weise arrangiert. Angebracht scheint hier zunächst eine Bemerkung zum Begriff des Diadems im Rahmen der Frauentracht. Bei Männern bezeichnet das Diadem mit seinen im Nacken fliegenden Enden durchweg den regierenden Monarchen²⁴. Bei Königinnen hat man sich jedoch daran gewöhnt, bereits eine Binde im Haar als Diadem zu bezeichnen und zwar auch dann, wenn im Nacken keine freien Enden erkennbar sind. Hier ist meines Erachtens Vorsicht angebracht. Zunächst ist festzuhalten, daß Tänien bereits in vorhellenistischer Zeit zu zahlreichen Frauenfrisuren gehörten. Solange die Bänder nicht frei im Nacken schwingen, sind wir nicht berechtigt, sie als Insignien einzustufen. Zudem sollte man sich vor Augen halten, daß auch rein staatsrechtlich der Begriff *basilissa* keineswegs als reines Äquivalent zum *basileus* zu verstehen ist. Regierende Frauen waren in hellenistischer Zeit extrem selten.

Andererseits sind uns aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten tatsächlich einige Königinnen überliefert, die die Geschicke ihres Reiches mehr oder weniger eigenverantwortlich lenkten oder zumindest als regierende Monarchinnen und nicht nur als königliche Gemahlinnen begriffen wurden. So führte etwa Arsinoë II. den nur in raren Ausnahmefällen bei Frauen beleg-

baren Titel "Königin von Ober- und Unterägypten"²⁵. Als Analogie wäre keine Geringere als Hatschepsut zu nennen. Festzuhalten ist jedoch, daß grundsätzlich keine Ptolemäerin ohne einen männlichen Partner regierungsfähig war. Dies galt selbst für die berühmteste von allen: Kleopatra VII. Leider hat Arsinoë II. auf ptolemäischen Münzen stets den Mantel über den Hinterkopf gezogen, so daß wir nicht wissen, ob sie analog zu ihrer ägyptischen Titulatur tatsächlich ein gräko-makedonisches Diadem trug. Definitiv Diademe mit freien Enden erkennen wir allerdings auf posthumen Porträtmünzen Arsinoës III. (s. Abb. 3) oder auf Prägungen Kleopatras VII.²⁶

Die staatsrechtliche Bedeutung so mancher Königin wird vor allem durch das Faktum unterstrichen, daß einige in hieroglyphischen Texten Horusnamen führen²⁷. Aus religiöser Sicht ist dies eine Absurdität, da Horus-Apollon natürlich stets männlich zu denken ist. Die herausgehobene Stellung einiger Ptolemäerinnen verdeutlicht ein kurzer Blick auf das Palastschiff Ptolemaios' IV. Dort war der *oikos* der Königin zwar kleiner als der ihres Brüdergemahls (zwanzig gegenüber neun Klinen), jedoch mit gleichem Prunk ausgestattet. Zudem gelangte man aus den Gemächern der Königin zu einem Rundtempel Aphrodites, während das Kultgemach des Männertrakts ohne freistehenden Tempel konzipiert war. Wir fassen hier eine geradezu ideologische Architekturkonzeption. Man sollte deshalb zögern, den Frauentrakt einfach als *gynaikonitis* im Sinne eines griechischen Privathauses zu begreifen. Die repräsentativen Aufgaben der Ptolemäerin waren offenbar bedeutend. So ist für Ptolemaios IV. und seine Schwester Arsinoë III. vor der Schlacht von Raphia sogar eine Ansprache an das multiethnische Lagidenheer überliefert, die offenbar nicht zuletzt die ägyptischen Kontingente zu äußerster Tapferkeit begeisterte²⁸.

Bei der königlichen Artemis des Getty-Rings haben wir somit eine Ptolemäerin vor uns. Handelt es sich auch hier um Arsinoë II. oder doch eher um die dritte Arsinoë, vor deren Regierungszeit die Ringe nicht entstanden sein können?

DAS GETTY-GOLD UND DER KULT DER PTOLEMÄERINNEN

Die Vergöttlichung einer Königin kennen wir bereits bei einer als Aphrodite deifizierten Gattin des Demetrios Poliorketes²⁹ und später bei einer reichsweit verehrten Gemahlin Antiochos' III. von Syrien³⁰. Im Gegensatz zum ptolemäischen Ägypten war die Vergöttlichung der Monarchin allerdings keine allgemeingültige Tendenz

des hellenistischen Herrscherkults. Im Lagidenreich können wir demgegenüber eine konsequente Divinisierung belegen—angefangen von den ersten Versuchen einer göttlichen Beiordnung bis hin zur vollständigen Gleichsetzung mit einer Gottheit. Bereits Theokrit sah die Mutter des zweiten Ptolemäers als *synnaos* im Tempel Aphrodites. Die Göttin selbst hatte die entrückte Königin in ihren Tempel versetzt, um ihr Anteil zu geben an ihrer Würde³¹. Derselbe Dichter feierte Ptolemaios II. für sein Verdienst, als erster seinen verstorbenen Eltern regelrechte Tempel mit gold-elfenbeinernen Götterbildern errichtet zu haben³².

Arsinoë II. wurde schließlich in aufwendigster Weise in das gräko-ägyptische Pantheon integriert. In ihrem Tempel auf dem Kap Zephyrion westlich von Alexandria verehrte man die Königin als Arsinoë—Aphrodite und als Schutzherrin der Seefahrt³³. Wie bereits angesprochen, fungierte sie zugleich als Isis, die ewige Gattin des Osiris und Mutter des Pharaos. Der ideologische Hintergrund liegt klar auf der Hand. Die Einbindung der Isis sollte ägyptische Untertanen mit dem fremden Königshaus versöhnen—zumindest in der Theorie. Der Titel *Thea* wurde zu einer Standardmetapher ptolemäischen Herrscherkults, und die berühmtesten Königinnen erhielten sogar eigene Priesterschaften, die noch nach Generationen ihren Dienst versahen. Neben der Vergöttlichung der Königspaare setzte sich auch die Aphrodite-Angleichung durch. Sie ist im mittleren 3. Jh. offenbar bereits für Berenike II. bezeugt³⁴ und kulminierte schließlich im ausgehenden 2. Jh. bei Kleopatra III., die als *nea Isis kai nea Aphrodite* apostrophiert wurde³⁵. Der Titel „Neue Isis“ findet sich schließlich auch bei Kleopatra VII., die in der Öffentlichkeit nicht nur als lebende Isis, sondern auch als Aphrodite in Erscheinung trat³⁶.

Im Gegensatz zu Isis oder Aphrodite gehörte aber Artemis nicht zu den konventionellen Deifizierungsformen ptolemäischer Königinnen. Dies schwächt allerdings nur auf den ersten Blick die ptolemäische Deutung unseres Rings, finden wir doch gerade im Falle Arsinoës II. einige höchst bemerkenswerte Kultverbindungen zur Göttin der Jagd. Als Arsinoë im früheren 3. Jh. noch mit Lysimachos verheiratet war, gründete der alternde König Ephesos aufs Neue. In der Folgezeit emittierte die Stadt eine Reihe von Bronzemünzen. Sie tragen allem Anschein nach den Kopf der Königin mit Melonenfrisur und dem Schleier über dem Hinterkopf sowie die Legende *Arsi*, während auf der Rückseite Bogen und Köcher erscheinen³⁷. Diese Attribute beziehen sich fraglos auf die weithin gefeierte

Artemis von Ephesos. Die Verbindung von Gottheit und Monarchin liegt also klar auf der Hand, vor allem da auf verwandten Prägungen der Kopf der Königin durch einen Artemiskopf ersetzt wurde.

In späterer Zeit begründete der ptolemäische Nesiarch Hermias mit den Philadelphiea auf Delos Feierlichkeiten zu Ehren des ägyptischen Königspaares, auch wenn das Fest wohl erst nach dem Tod der Königin inauguriert wurde. Im Rahmen dieser Festivitäten wurde Arsinoë ausdrücklich mit Apollon, Artemis und Leto assoziiert. Die Frage ist allerdings in welcher Rolle? Die Königin ist hier offenbar nicht nur ein *synnaos* der Götter³⁸. Für das zweite Ptolemäerpaar mußte eine Verbindung mit Apollon und Artemis vieführerisch sein, handelte es sich doch um göttliche Geschwister. Darüberhinaus fand Apollon auf ägyptischer Seite sein Gegenstück in Horus, dem jungen König Ägyptens und Sohn von Isis und Osiris. Der Sohn war als *harendotes* dazu bestimmt, alle an seinen Eltern begangenen Verbrechen zu bestrafen. Wir kennen in der Tat eine ganze Reihe von Darstellungen des königlichen Apollon im Kampf mit unterliegenden Barbaren³⁹. Kein geringerer als Kallimachos feiert Ptolemaios II. als neuen Apollon⁴⁰, und auch wenn der Dichter die Horus-Angleichung übergeht, schwingt doch die ägyptische Bedeutungsebene im Hintergrund mit. Wenn Hermias auf Delos seine Philadelphiea etablierte, dann war die Verbindung von Arsinoë mit Apollon nicht nur eine Referenz an den Herrn der Insel, sondern auch eine Huldigung an Horus-Apollon, den ewigen König Ägyptens.

Nun beobachtete René Vallois bereits im Jahre 1921, daß ein rares Bronzerelief präzise in maßgleiche Einarbeitungen zweier delischer Stelen paßte (s. Abb. 4)⁴¹. Das Relief zeigt Artemis in Begleitung zweier Satyrn vor einem Altar. Die Stelen standen nach einem Inventar der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. im Prodromos des Tempels der Agathé Tyche, den die Forschung mittlerweile mit dem inschriftlich überlieferten Philadelphieion gleichsetzt. Eine Stele trägt eine Inschrift des früheren 2. Jhs. Man folgerte, daß es sich um eine für die Philadelphiea des Hermias errichtete Anlage handelte, die dem Kult von Arsinoë, Apollon und Artemis gewidmet war. In späteren Generationen, als die ptolemäische Vorherrschaft über die Ägäis längst Geschichte war, mag das Heiligtum durchaus dem Kult der Agathé Tyche gedient haben, die im ptolemäischen Denken ohnehin eng mit Arsinoë II. verbunden war.

Hinter dem delischen Kult von Artemis, Apollon sowie der als Isis-Aphrodite verehrten Arsinoë könnte

zunächst die ephesische Tradition gestanden haben. Nicht minder bedeutsam scheint hier allerdings Herodot. Zwar identifizierte er Isis mit Demeter, doch überliefert er andererseits, daß Isis als Mutter von Artemis und Apollon zu betrachten sei⁴². Isis schlüpft hier in die Rolle Letos. Diese Legende ermöglichte nun in beinahe perfekte Weise die Integration Arsinoës in eine Kultgemeinschaft mit Artemis, Leto und Apollon. Arsinoë als Emanation von Isis konnte unschwer als "ägyptische Mutter" Apollons und seiner Schwester begriffen werden. Die Philadelphieai des Hermias waren also wahrscheinlich Apollon, Artemis und den "Müttern" der beiden Götter gewidmet.

Sobald man die fackeltragende Artemis Soteira unserer delischen Bronzeplatte (s. Abb. 4) mit ptolemäischen Augen betrachtet, erklärt sich auch ein seltsamer Zug des Reliefs, sehen wir doch Artemis in Gesellschaft zweier Satyrn. Ihre Gegenwart bedarf eines dionysischen Hintergrunds, und der läßt sich aus ptolemäischer Sicht auch unschwer finden. Nach ägyptischer Lesart waren Isis und Osiris die Eltern des neuen Königs Horus-Apollon, und nach Herodot war Osiris kein anderer als Dionysos. Auf diese Weise erklärt sich nun ganz zwanglos, wie Mitglieder des Thiasos in das Gefolge von Artemis kommen, war doch Artemis (-Arsinoë) die Tochter von Isis und damit natürlich auch eine Tochter von Osiris-Dionysos. Auf dem Relief sehen wir Artemis im dionysischen Kreis ihres "Vaters", Osiris, eine Perspektive, die sich erst auf ägyptischem Hintergrund erschließt.

Es ist also keineswegs erstaunlich, daß man sich bei den Gesichtszügen der delischen Artemis seit langem an Arsinoë II. erinnert fühlte. Mit Blick auf unseren Artemis-Ring erklärt sich nun auch das Diadem, dessen dreigefranstes Ende auf dem Relief zwischen der oberen Fackel und der rechten Schulter sichtbar wird. Auch hier haben wir wohl Artemis-Arsinoë vor uns, eine königliche Gottheit. Die königliche Artemis unseres Fingerrings fügt sich also problemlos in dieses Kultgeflecht. Daß Artemis auf dem Ring auch die für Arsinoë II. so charakteristische Melonenfrisur trägt, kann nun kaum noch überraschen.

Beachtenswert bleibt darüberhinaus der über Schulter und Brust herabgleitende Chiton. Es handelt sich fraglos um ein aphrodisches Motiv, um die Zurschaustellung weiblicher Schönheit. Unser Steinschneider integrierte in seinem Artemisbild somit nicht nur Charakteristika Arsinoës, er zitierte mit dem herabgleitenden Chiton und den Venusringen auch die

Aphrodite-Deifikation der Königin. Zudem sollte man nicht vergessen, daß auch Isis des öfteren mit entblößter Brust dargestellt wurde, wie sie ihren Sohn Horus-Harpokrates stillt. Auch aus ägyptischem Blickwinkel wäre die entblößte Brust also durchaus stimmig. Interessanterweise handelt es sich bei Arsinoë-Aphrodite nicht nur um eine seebeherrschende *Euploia*, sondern auch um eine kyprische Aphrodite⁴³. Als "Kypris" schließt sie sich eng an Astarte und an die Große Mutter Kleinasiens an, zu deren Familie ja auch Artemis Ephesia zu rechnen ist. Der kyprische Hintergrund bringt uns nun zu den bereits zitierten Münzen Kleopatras VII. Die hier als Aphrodite erscheinende Kleopatra benutzte auf Zypern ganz folgerichtig die Attribute Arsinoë-Aphrodites.

Unser Ringbild kann also unschwer als Artemis-Aphrodite verstanden werden, als eine Aphrodite-Kypris, die sich eng an Artemis-Astarte anschließt, an die große Muttergottheit Kleinasiens. Auf diesem Wege erklärt sich vielleicht auch, daß der Steinschneider hier eher die Herrin der Tierwelt und nicht die Jägerin porträtierte. Die alte ephesische Kultverbindung Arsinoës fügt sich vorzüglich in dieses Muster, zumal bei unserem Artemis-Ring der Aphroditeaspekt natürlich nur im Hintergrund mitschwingt. Analog zu Arsinoë-Tyche würde ich das Ringbild als Arsinoë-Artemis-Aphrodite deuten.

Diese komplexen Ikonographien sind sicher keine Erfindung der Gemmenschneider. Eher wird man annehmen, daß sich die Künstler auf allseits bekannte Skulpturen oder Gemälde bezogen, so daß uns mit den Ringbildern auch ein Reflex großer Ptolemäerkunst erhalten ist. Zugleich demonstrieren die Ringe, daß der Kult der vergöttlichten Arsinoë keineswegs mit dem Tod ihres Bruders im Jahre 245 v. Chr. erlosch, sondern noch Generationen später gepflegt wurde. Diese ungebrochene Popularität unterstreicht ihre zentrale Rolle für den ptolemäischen Herrscherkult. Dabei ist festzuhalten, daß sich nicht erst Kleopatra VII., sondern auch so manch andere Ptolemäerin in den Bildnissen wie im Kult Arsinoës spiegelte. So ist es sicher kein Zufall, daß Arsinoë III. auf dem Palastschiff des vierten Ptolemäers einen eigenen Aphroditetempel besaß, bei dem man sich überlegen kann, ob er dem Kult der vergöttlichten "Großmutter" oder ihrer eigenen Aphrodite-Deifikation gewidmet war. Zudem besteht auch bei dieser im Jahre 204 v. Chr. ermordeten Monarchin eine Verbindung zu Artemis. So stiftete sie vor der Schlacht von Raphia im Jahre 217 v. Chr. ihre Locken in einen Artemistempel, eine Wahl, die sicher

nicht ohne die Kulte Arsinoës zu verstehen ist⁴⁴. Dies zeigt schon die berühmte "Locke der Berenike", die bei Ausbruch des Dritten Syrischen Krieges im Jahre 245 v. Chr. von Berenike II. im zephyritischen Tempel Arsinoë-Aphrodites "allen Göttern" geweiht wurde⁴⁵.

Angesichts unseres dynastischen Bildthemas stellt sich die Frage nach der einstigen Besitzerin des Getty-Rings. Wer siegelte mit dem Bildnis einer königlichen Göttin? Da sich unter dem Getty-Gold keine Königsinsignien finden, besteht auch keine Notwendigkeit, in der Eigentümerin zwingend ein Mitglied des Königshauses zu sehen, auch wenn dies natürlich möglich wäre. Wir haben hier allem Anschein nach eine Angehörige der ptolemäischen Oberschicht vor uns, vielleicht sogar eine "Verwandte der Könige". Man erinnert sich unwillkürlich an das dreisprachige Dekret von Kanopus, das im Jahre 238 v. Chr. unter dem dritten Ptolemäer erging. Der in mehreren Kopien erhaltene Text inauguriert unter anderem eine neue Klasse dynastischer Priester, die man an ihren Fingerringen erkennen sollte⁴⁶. Die Bedeutung derartiger Ringe beleuchtet darüberhinaus Polybios mit seiner Schilderung der Thronwirren nach dem Tode Ptolemaios' IV. Einer der eifrigsten Anhänger des Usurpators Agathokles nannte nicht nur seine Tochter Agathokleia, er ließ sich auch einen Ring mit dem Bildnis des neuen Machthabers fertigen⁴⁷.

Faßt man zusammen, dann gehören beide Ringe in das spätere 3., allenfalls in das früheste 2. Jh. v. Chr., und somit in die Regierungsjahre des vierten Ptolemäers oder seines Nachfolgers. Zudem unterstreicht die einander ergänzende Ikonographie ihre ptolemäische Konnotation. Der Stil ist ausschließlich griechischen Vorbildern verpflichtet, auch wenn sich die religiöse Botschaft gelegentlich erst auf ägyptischem Hintergrund erschließt. Daß diese Ringe vorzüglich zu einer dynastischen Priesterin passen würden, steht außer Frage.

DER KOPFSCHMUCK EINER PRIESTERIN?

Die Stephane gehört zu den bedeutendsten Stücken des Ensembles (Abb. 6a–d)⁴⁸. Das Schmuckstück mit seinem zentralen Heraklesknoten und den zwei rahmenden Fackeln wurde über der Stirn seiner Trägerin nur scheinbar von dem Knoten zusammengehalten, da dieser über Scharniere fest mit den Seitenteilen verbunden ist. Verschlössen wurde die Stephane wie das Haarnetz: auf dem Hinterkopf der Trägerin und zwar wohl mit Hilfe einer Haarnadel. Die aus Goldblech gearbeiteten Fackeln sind separat gefertigt und jeweils

mit drei Goldstreifen fixiert. Alle Teile sind reich mit gedrehtem Golddraht, Spulendraht und Granulation verziert. Der zentrale Knoten war wohl einst mit weißlicher Glaspaste inkrustiert (s. Abb. 6c). Es handelt sich um das früheste mir bekannte Beispiel eines "farbigen Knotens", der nicht wie bei dem Knoten des Haarnetzes Karneole oder andere Ziersteine trug (s. Abb. 15c). Die Stephane besaß zudem ursprünglich acht Quastenanhänger, von denen jedoch nur fünf erhalten blieben.

Die Funktion unseres Schmuckstücks verdeutlicht eine Terrakotte mit großem Heraklesknoten über der Stirn⁴⁹. Verwandt ist auch das Bildnis Berenikes II. auf den Wandgemälden von Boscoreale, obwohl die Stephane der Königin mit einem Medaillon und nicht mit einem Heraklesknoten geschmückt wurde⁵⁰. Interessanterweise erscheint ein Schmuckstück mit steifem Reif als Oberschenkelschmuck bei einer hellenistischen Terrakottastatue Aphrodites, doch ist diese Verwendung realiter selbst bei festlichem Anlaß so gut wie undenkbar⁵¹.

Der antike Terminus für unseren Kopfschmuck ist bisher nicht zu sichern. In der modernen Literatur werden vergleichbare Stücke meist als Diadem bezeichnet. Dies ist jedoch ein reichlich unglücklicher Begriff, da das Diadem in der Antike durchweg als Königssymbol begriffen wurde und letztlich aus einer schmalen Tanie bestand. Man sollte unser Schmuckstück deshalb vielleicht eher als *Stephane* bezeichnen. Der Begriff fällt nicht nur mehrfach beim Festzug des zweiten Ptolemäers⁵², er findet sich auch anlässlich des Kapitulationsangebots Kleopatras VII. So übersandte sie Octavian ihren Thron, das Zepter der Königin und die Stephane der Göttin⁵³. Es handelte sich wohl um das niedrige, sichelförmige Schmuckstück, das die vergöttlichten Ptolemäerinnen auf ihren Münzen tragen (s. Abb. 2a, 3).

Das Heraklesknoten-Motiv bietet eine reiche typologische Entwicklung, auch wenn nicht jedes Detail chronologische Relevanz besitzt⁵⁴. So finden sich für die antithetischen Palmetten im Knotenzentrum über Generationen hinweg immer wieder Parallelen⁵⁵. Nach gegenwärtigem Kenntnisstand erscheinen goldene Prunkknoten in den letzten Dekaden des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., und es ist schwerlich Zufall, daß in dieser Zeit Alexander der Große und seine Makedonen ihre Herkunft explizit auf Herakles zurückführten⁵⁶. Die Knotenmode steht somit vor allem für ein herakleisches Zeitalter, in dem nahezu alle Dynastien ihre Legitimation mit Alexander und der makedonischen Herrschaft verknüpften.



Abb. 6a. Stephane mit Heraklesknoten und Fackeln. Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.2.



Abb. 6b. Seitenansicht der Stephane, Abb. 6a.



Abb. 6c. Detail des Knotens der Stephane, Abb. 6a.



Abb. 6d. Detail des Fackels der Stephane, Abb. 6a.

Konsequenterweise spielten makedonische Elemente im ptolemäischen Ägypten immer wieder eine herausragende Rolle⁵⁷.

Bei der Trägerin eines Heraklesknotens muß es sich allerdings keineswegs um eine Makedonin handeln. Der Knoten zeigt nur, daß sich die Besitzerin an den herrschenden Modeströmungen hellenistischer Fürstenhöfe orientierte. Ein politisches *Statement* ist also denkbar, jedoch nicht zwingend. Der Knoten selbst erscheint bereits als apotropäisches Symbol bei Herakles. Plinius

kannte ihn als Beschützer der Schwangerschaft, während er bei Dionysos die göttliche Vereinigung bezeugte⁵⁸.

Das mittlere 3. Jh. v. Chr. sieht den Aufstieg der "farbigen" Knoten, die in der Regel mit Schmucksteinen verziert sind, während die älteren Beispiele aus Goldblech gearbeitet wurden. Daß es sich bei beiden Getty-Knoten eher um frühe Beispiele der "farbigen" Gruppe handelt, bestätigt ein technisches Detail. So wurde die Glaspaste ursprünglich von schmalen Gold-



Abb. 7. Kopfschmuck mit Heraklesknoten, erworben in Pantikapaion/Kerch, etwa 300 v. Chr. Gold und Karneol. Durchmesser 23 cm. München, Antikensammlungen St. 589.

blechstreifen fixiert. Diese Bänder mit ihrem winzigen Zungendekor müssen als transitionelle Form zwischen der Frühphase der "farbigen Knoten" und späten Beispielen begriffen werden, bei denen die Ziersteine nahezu durchweg von Zackenbändern gehalten werden (Abb. 7). Zu der Frühphase ohne Zackenbänder gehört auch der "farbige" Knoten unseres Haarnetzes (s. Abb. 15c).

Von großer chronologischer Bedeutung ist auch das Aufkommen der Manschetten, mit denen die vormals offenen Knotenbänder zusammengeschnürt wurden. In unserem Fall sind die Manschetten beider Knoten noch ohne Ziersteine gearbeitet, während im 2. Jh. v. Chr. die Tendenz zu farbigem Schmuck deutlich hervortritt. Zudem bevorzugte man in der Frühzeit einfache Rechteckmanschetten wie an dem Haarnetz, während sich später trapezoide Spielarten durchsetz-

ten, die im Laufe des 2. Jhs. sogar die Form von Pfeilerkapitellen annahmen⁵⁹. Diese späte Variante ist in unserem Ensemble noch nicht vertreten.

Die im Kreise der "farbigen Knoten" relativ frühe Stellung zeigt sich auch in der relativ zögerlichen Verwendung von Ziersteinen. So sind die Diademarme mit ihren Fackeln und auch die Knotenmanschetten ausschließlich aus Goldblech gearbeitet. Allein die Quastenanhänger tragen farbige Perlen, eine Tradition, die sich spätestens im mittleren 3. Jh. herausbildete⁶⁰. Jeder Anhänger bestand im oberen Teil ursprünglich aus einem mit Glaspaste gefüllten, scheibenförmigen Element und daran hängender Perle, die jeweils aus vier Lagen zusammengesetzt war. Die eigentliche Quaste setzt sich aus vier Kettenanhängern zusammen. Die Gehänge tragen Perlen aus weißlichem Cabochon(?), blaugrünem Glas, Mondstein(?) und einer Perle unbe-

kannter Art, die heute bei allen Anhängern fehlt. Die steigende Beliebtheit farbiger Elemente bietet nur einen vagen *terminus post* nach dem mittleren 3. Jh. Die Verwendung kleiner Runderlemente (s. Abb. 6c) über den obersten Quastenperlen steht jedoch typologisch zwischen den frühen Quasten ohne vergleichbare Ziermotive und den späten Exemplaren des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. mit aufwendigeren Schmuckelementen (s. Abb. 7)⁶¹.

Die Knoten der Stephane und des Haarnetzes gehören somit zur frühen "farbigen" Stufe, die nicht vor der Mitte des 3. Jhs. angesetzt werden kann. Andererseits sind Exemplare des 2. Jhs. in der Regel weiter entwickelt. Die Malibu-Knoten datieren somit nach gegenwärtigem Kenntnisstand in das ausgehende 3. oder allenfalls in das frühere 2. Jh. v. Chr. Sie entsprechen damit präzise der typologischen Stellung der Fingerringe. Die chronologische Koinzidenz unterstreicht die Homogenität des Ensembles.

Ehe wir den Heraklesknoten verlassen, lohnt ein Blick auf den Schmuck der Scharniermanschetten. Der Goldschmied entschied sich für einen Rapport sechsbältriger Rosetten und kreuzförmiger Elemente. Das Dekorsystem war in der griechischen Welt weit verbreitet, obwohl es einem achämenidischen Typus folgt⁶². Aus chronologischer Sicht hat das Motiv keine Bedeutung, doch gehört es zusammen mit dem orientalischen Zinnenfries des Haarnetzmedaillons (s. Abb. 15d) zu einer ganzen Reihe achämenidischer Reminiscenzen im ptolemäischen Kunsthandwerk⁶³. Mit der Stephane wäre der Rapport hier allerdings zum ersten Mal im ägyptischen Raum belegt.

Das bemerkenswerteste Motiv sind jedoch die beiden mächtigen Fackeln (s. Abb. 6b, d). Daß es sich tatsächlich um Fackeln handelt, lehren ihre in Segmente untergliederten Schäfte, die sich an vielen Fackeldarstellungen nachweisen lassen. Vergleichbarer Fackelschmuck ist vor allem aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten überliefert⁶⁴. Von besonderer Aussagekraft ist dabei die Fackel im Arm einer ägyptischen Terrakotta-Statuette. Es handelt sich um Baubo, eine Gefährtin Demeters (Abb. 8)⁶⁵. Die Bezüge zu Demeter zeigen sich auch in dem Schwein in Baubos rechtem Arm. Sogar der blütenähnliche Kelch am Fackelkopf der Statuette entspricht durchaus unseren goldenen Beispielen. Auf der Stephane steigen aus den Kelchen noch zusätzlich konische Gebilde aus zusammengedrehten Goldstreifen, die wir sicher im Sinne flackernder Flammen und aufsteigenden Rauchs begreifen dürfen.

Die Fackelschäfte sind sicher als zusammengeschnürte Stengel zu deuten, die in einigen Segmenten

parallel verlaufen, während sie sich in anderen Abschnitten sogar naturalistisch spreizen. Wieder andere sind ornamental verziert und tragen Palmetten- oder Rautenschmuck, Schuppenmuster und Schraffuren sowie unter dem bekrönenden Kelch ein Arrangement von Efeublättern. Der Efeu ist auch das einzige Element mit religiösem Hintergrund, galt doch die Pflanze als heiliges Symbol des Dionysos.

Fackeln als Kopfschmuck sind meines Wissens bislang unbekannt. Erhalten sind neben Stephanen mit Rankenschmuck zwei Beispiele von der Krim und dem Kuban, bei denen die seitlichen Arme als Wulstbinden oder Girlanden gestaltet sind (s. Abb. 7)⁶⁶. Sie entsprechen dem *stemma*, dem Kopfschmuck antiker Priester. Fackeln lassen sich natürlich nicht mit einem spezifischen Kult verbinden. Wir kennen sie bei Hochzeitzereemonien, in den Händen von Eroten (s. Abb. 9a) oder als Attribute Demeters und sogar bei Artemis (s. Abb. 4). Im Falle des Getty-Goldes scheint angesichts der Efeublätter eine Verbindung mit Dionysos wahrscheinlich. Ganz generell darf man jedoch von einer priesterlichen Funktion der einstigen Besitzerin ausgehen, eine These, die sich ja auch angesichts der Fingerringe aufdrängte. Daß dynastische Priester Fackeln benutzten, zeigt sich vor allem in der Etablierung einer neuen Priesterschaft unter Kleopatra III. (116–106/105 v. Chr.). Die Königin firmierte als "Neue Isis" und "Neue Aphrodite", während ihre Priester als Fackelträger (*phosphoroi*) bezeichnet wurden⁶⁷.

Die Fackeln der Stephane werden jeweils von Blütenranken gerahmt. Diese Rankenvariante kam im Laufe des 4. Jhs. auf, gewann im Hellenismus an Popularität, ehe sie sich zur beherrschenden Form römischen Baudekors entwickelte⁶⁸. Unser Goldschmied erweist sich als souveräner Kenner griechischer Ornamentik. So folgt er mit seinen zierlichen Reben nahezu durchweg dem Typus der in Italien beliebten "Begleitranke", bei der die Blütenstiele den zentralen Rankenstrang noch eine Strecke begleiten, ehe sie sich zu Blüten entwickeln. Bester Tradition entspricht auch der rhythmische Wechsel der Blütenformen. Jedes Rankenpaar steigt aus einem kleinen Akanthuskelch am rückwärtigen Ende der Seitenarme. Das ganze Arrangement rahmt schließlich noch ein Laufender Hund⁶⁹. Nicht zu übersehen ist allerdings, daß die Fackeln teilweise die Ranken verdecken, so daß wohl davon ausgegangen werden muß, daß sich der verantwortliche Künstler schlicht verrechnete.

Unser Kopfschmuck datiert somit in das ausgehende 3. oder frühe 2. Jh. v. Chr. Fackeln und Fingerringe



Abb. 8. Statuette der Baubo. Terrakotta. Aus Alexandria/Ägypten. Alexandria, Griechisch-Römisches Museum. Photo: DAI Kairo, Neg. Nr. I 39657. Photo: D. Johannes.

sprechen für eine sakrale Funktion der anonymen Eigentümerin. Der Efeuschmuck der Fackeln insinuiert zudem einen dionysischen Hintergrund. Angesichts dieser Vorgaben könnte auch dem normalerweise eher insignifikanten Knoten tiefergehende Bedeutung zukommen, galten doch Herakles und Dionysos als Stammväter der Lagiden.

EROTEN MIT FACKELN

Mit dem Ensemble erwarb das Museum nicht weniger als vier Ohringe mit Antilopenköpfen und zwei

Ohrgehänge mit Eroten. Die Gehänge bestehen aus je drei Elementen, die sämtlich an einem goldenen Häkchen aufgereiht sind (Abb. 9a–b)⁷⁰. Unmittelbar am Ohr der Trägerin saß ein Stierköpfchen. Es ist aus zwei Hälften zusammengelötet und mittels eines Kragens an einer echten Seeperle befestigt, ein wahrhaft exquisites Motiv. Darunter fixierte man Rosettenmedaillons aus Goldblech und schließlich die beiden Erosfigürchen. Auch die Eroten bestehen aus jeweils zwei getriebenen Hälften, während die winzigen Bandoliers, Fackeln und Flügel separat gearbeitet wurden.



Abb. 9a. Ohrgehänge mit Eroten. Gold und Perlen. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.5.

Angesichts der Stephane und der Arsinoë-Fingerringe ist man natürlich versucht, auch die Ikonographie der Gehänge zu hinterfragen, zumal die Königin selbst als lebende Aphrodite galt. Die Gehänge erweisen sich bei näherer Betrachtung zunächst als überaus seltene Mixtur bekannter Typen: Eroten-Ohrgehänge mit Rosettenmedaillons und Stierkopf-Ohringe. Sogar die aufrechte Position der Stierköpfe erinnert noch an die Orientierung eines angelegten Ohrings. Eine in etwa verwandte Komposition bieten Eroten-Ohrgehänge aus einem Tarentiner Grab⁷¹.

Auch hier sind die winzigen Figürchen an Tierkopf-Ohringen befestigt. Die schematisierten Tierköpfe sind wohl als Löwen zu deuten. Die Bestattung datiert in das späteste 3. Jh. v. Chr. und wurde wohl noch vor der römischen Zerstörung des Jahres 209 angelegt. Der Zeithorizont harmoniert somit mit unseren chronologischen Vorgaben. Ein noch bescheideneres Paar ähnlichen Zuschnitts stammt aus der Nekropole von Metapont⁷².

Die bekrönenden Medaillons mit ihren sechsblättrigen Rosetten bestätigen den relativ frühen Ansatz.



Abb. 9b. Stierkopf mit Perle. Detail der Erosen-Ohrgehänge, Abb. 9a.

Zunächst sind isolierte Rosetten ohne rahmende Pflanzenornamente in der Regel nicht mehr klassisch oder frühhellenistisch⁷³. Auf der anderen Seite vermißt man die vor allem seit dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. so außerordentlich populären Schmucksteinintarsien. Dies stellt die Malibumedaillons in eine transitionelle Phase zwischen der frühhellenistischen Stufe und späthellenistischen Beispielen, so daß uns auch die Rosetten am ehesten in das spätere 3. Jh. oder frühere 2. Jh. führen.

Die Stierköpfchen über den Rosettenmedaillons entsprechen formal dem Typus des Stierkopf-Ohrings⁷⁴. Zusammen mit Greifenkopf-, Widderkopf- oder Luchskopf-Ohringen erweiterten sie seit dem mittleren 3. Jh. die Formenpalette, während sich die frühhellenistische Goldschmiedekunst vor allem auf Löwenköpfe

konzentriert hatte. Im mittleren 3. Jh. erscheinen dann auch zum ersten Mal die Ohringe mit Antilopenköpfen (s. Abb. 10a–b).

Die Verbindung eines Tierkopfes mit einer goldenen Perle findet sich vor allem bei Stierkopf-Ohringen, so daß unser Paar in diesem Punkt nicht aus dem Rahmen fällt, auch wenn unser Goldschmied anstelle von Goldperlen echte Perlen bevorzugte. Rein formal ist die Seeperle nichts anderes als der Ersatz eines goldenen Elements durch farbige Steine, eine Tendenz, die sich spätestens seit dem mittleren 3. Jh. abzeichnet. Unser Paar stellt sich somit zu der begrenzten Zahl entsprechender Tierkopf-Ohringe mit farbigen Perlen⁷⁵. Unter den erhaltenen Exemplaren finden sich drei Varianten: Zuerst eine Spielart mit einer goldenen oder bunten Perle in der Kopfmanschette,

Beispiele mit zwei Perlen und schließlich eine perlenlose Gruppe. Eine präzise regionale Aufgliederung ist nicht möglich, doch läßt sich die mehrperlige Spielart vor allem in Syrien fassen, während die anderen Varianten vordringlich in Kleinasien, Zypern oder Ägypten belegt sind⁷⁶.

Die Eroten folgen dem hellenistischen Puttotypus. Ihre vorderasiatischen Hakenflügel sind allerdings eher ungewöhnlich. Der östliche Typus ist auch im ptolemäischen Ägypten faßbar⁷⁷. Chronologisch ist das Detail nicht zu verwerfen, doch spricht die ungewöhnliche Form für eine Region, in der noch im Hellenismus vorderasiatische Traditionen gepflegt wurden.

Eine Bemerkung verdient schließlich noch der Eros mit Fackel. In römischer Zeit konnte ein Eros mit gesenkter Fackel sogar sepulkral verstanden werden⁷⁸. Daß bereits im Hellenismus verwandte Darstellungen bekannt waren, zeigt etwa eine Silberpyxide des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.⁷⁹. Der sepulkrale Hintergrund ist allerdings noch nicht zu fassen. Dies gilt selbst angesichts der Tatsache, daß die überwiegende Mehrzahl entsprechender Schmuckstücke aus Gräbern stammt, da Goldschmuck primär in Gräbern erhalten blieb. Da aufwendiges Geschmeide kaum je für Bestattungszwecke angefertigt wurde, sollte man bei hellenistischen Eroten mit Fackeln eher an Feste oder Hochzeit denken. Dies zeigt auch der heute verschollene "Kantharos Rothschild" aus Tarent. Dort erscheinen unter den hohen Henkeln zwei Eroten, der eine mit Weinamphora, der andere mit Kranz und Fackel⁸⁰. Wein, Kranz und Fackel sprechen weit eher für die heilige Hochzeit von Dionysos und Ariadne, findet sich doch der Pokalkantharos in hellenistischer Zeit oftmals in der Hand des Dionysos. Zudem enthielt der Rothschildische Tempelschatz zwei Schalen mit Büstenmedaillons⁸¹. Die küssenden Paare sind wohl als Dionysos und Ariadne zu deuten.

Die Datierung unserer Eroten-Ohrgehänge paßt vorzüglich zu den bisher diskutierten Schmuckstücken. Die Verwendung von echten Perlen ist allerdings irritierend, verbindet man Perlen doch bisher mit späthellenistischen Goldarbeiten. So erscheinen in Rom die ersten Beispiele in der Zeit Jugurthas (112–106 v. Chr.)⁸². Berühmt waren auch die Perlenohrringe Kleopatras VII., von denen eine Perle allein zehn Millionen Sesterzen wert gewesen sein soll⁸³. Die Schmuckstücke hatten sogar ihre eigene Legende. So wettete die Königin einst mit Mark Anton, daß sie allein ein Abendessen dieses Wertes verzehren könne, und der Römer nahm die Herausforderung lachend an. Daraufhin löste die Königin angeblich eine der Perlen in Essig auf und trank die

Flüssigkeit. Der zweite Ohrring zierte später als Kriegsbeute eine Venusstatue im Pantheon von Rom. Die Wahl fiel dabei sicherlich nicht zufällig auf eine Venus, verstand sich doch auch Kleopatra als lebende Aphrodite. Begreift man die Getty-Ohrgehänge als genuinen Bestandteil des Ensembles, dann wäre uns hier einer der frühesten Belege für die Verwendung echter Perlen erhalten.

War bei den Fingerringen die herrscherkultliche Bindung noch überdeutlich, so läßt sich dies bei den Ohrgehängen nicht mit gleicher Sicherheit postulieren. Zwar würden Eroten vorzüglich zum Kult einer als Aphrodite verehrten Königin passen, doch war der Schmucktypus weit verbreitet⁸⁴. Selbst im Falle der Getty-Gehänge kommen wir schwerlich über Spekulationen hinaus. Sucht man jedoch erst einmal nach einem ptolemäischen Zusammenhang, so eröffnet die Vergesellschaftung von Eros und Stier einen weiten Raum für Hypothesen. Dabei ist es durchaus reizvoll, entsprechende Optionen genauer durchzuspielen, verdeutlichen sie doch, wie problemlos Herrscherkult und "normale" Religion vereinbar waren. Ginge man etwa davon aus, daß Eros in unserem Fall als Sohn einer als Aphrodite verehrten Ptolemäerin zu begreifen sei, dann wäre der Liebesgott automatisch ein Äquivalent für Horus, den Sohn der Isis und jungen König Ägyptens. Die Basis bietet die bekannte Ptolemäer-Gleichsetzung der Isis mit Hathor-Aphrodite. Auf diese Weise erhielt der normalerweise völlig unpolitische Eros gelegentlich Attribute des königlichen Horus. So kennen wir etwa Harpokrates mit Erosflügeln und dem Dikeras Arsinoës II. oder Harpokrates-Eros mit Isiskrone⁸⁵.

Zudem identifizierten die Griechen interessanterweise den Apisstier aus dem ägyptischen Memphis mit Epaphos⁸⁶. Als Sohn von Zeus und Io war Epaphos einer der mythischen Pharaonen. Sein Vater entspricht damit dem Stammvater der Ptolemäer, so wie es die Inschrift von Adulis formuliert⁸⁷: "Abstammend von Dionysos, dem Sohn des Zeus". Und Io, die Mutter von Epaphos, ist wiederum eine der Deifizierungsformen Arsinoës II., womit sich unsere Mythenzirkel in willkommener Weise schließt. Arsinoë erreichte Ägypten ganz wie Io als Flüchtling und "gebar" nach höfischer Fiktion wie Io einen Pharaon: Ptolemaios III. Euergetes⁸⁸.

Natürlich existiert keinen Beweis, daß unsere einigermaßen singulären Ohrgehänge so interpretiert werden sollten, doch muß man sich fragen, ob einem gebildeten Untertanen bei derartigen Schmuckstücken nicht ganz automatisch entsprechende religionsideologische Konstrukte in den Sinn kamen?

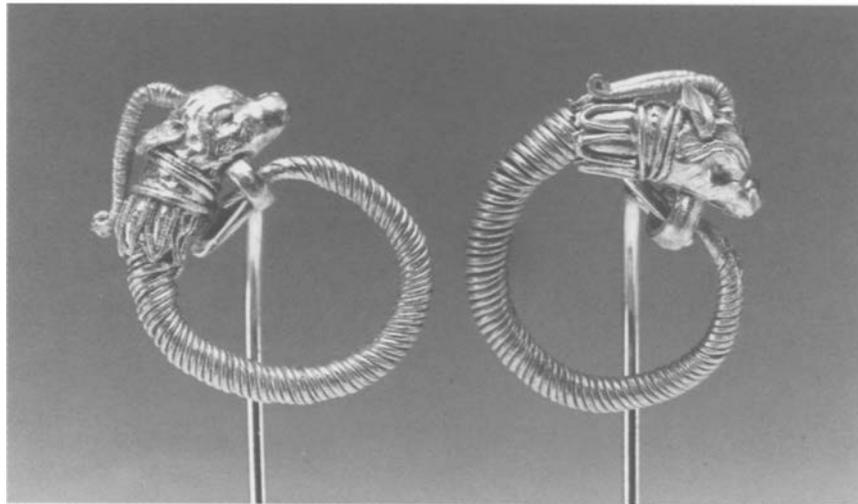
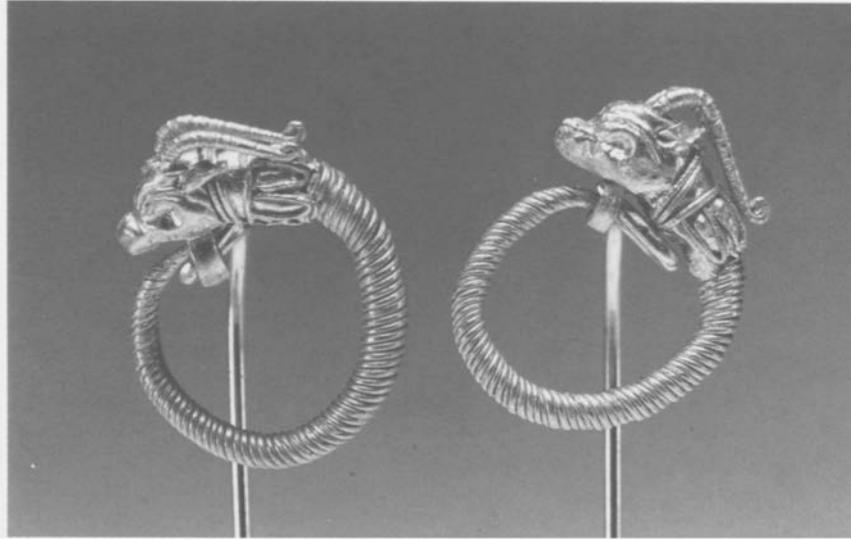


Abb. 10a–b. Antilopenkopf-Ohrringe. Zwei Paare. Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.3–.4.

OHRRINGE MIT ANTILOPENKÖPFEN

Zu unserem Ensemble gehören auch vier goldene Antilopenkopf-Ohringe (Abb. 10a–b)⁸⁹. Die Ringbügel sind aus gezwirbeltem Golddraht, die Tierköpfe aus zwei Hälften zusammengesetzt. Der Typus läßt sich nicht in engen Grenzen datieren. Zusammen mit der Stierkopf-Variante wird er seit dem mittleren 3. Jh. faßbar⁹⁰. Die Laufzeit deckt zumindest noch das 2. Jh. v. Chr. ab, so daß sich uns allenfalls ein *terminus post* bietet. Die Verbreitung konzentriert sich im Wesentlichen auf das östliche Mittelmeer mit besonderen

Schwerpunkten auf Zypern und in Ägypten, so daß einer ägyptischen Provenienz nichts im Wege steht⁹¹.

DIE SCHLANGENARMREIFEN

Unser Schatz enthält nicht weniger als vier vorzüglich gearbeitete Schlangenarmreifen. Ungeachtet ihrer technischen wie stilistischen Verwandtschaft gehören beide Paare jedoch nicht nur zu unterschiedlichen Typen, auch die Durchmesser divergieren um etwa einen Zentimeter. Das größere Paar (Abb. 11a–b) besteht aus je einer einzelnen Schlange und könnte als



Abb. 11a. Schlangenarmreifen mit der Darstellung je eines einzelnen Reptils. Paar. Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.6.



Abb. 11b. Rückseite und Verschluss der Schlangenarmreifen, Abb. 11a.



Abb. 12. Schlangenarmreifen mit der Darstellung je zweier Reptile. Paar. Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.7.

Oberarmschmuck gedient haben⁹². Die etwas kleineren Doppelschlangen-Armreifen ließen sich hingegen als Unterarmreifen interpretieren (Abb. 12), wenn man nicht gleich von zwei verschiedenen Besitzerinnen ausgehen will, oder von Schmuckstücken, die gar nicht gleichzeitig getragen wurden⁹³.

Bei dem größeren Paar sind die Reptilien aus fünf Goldstreifen zusammengesetzt, während die Doppelschlangen-Armreifen aus je sechs Goldstreifen gefertigt wurden. Die Tierkörper sind an der Außenseite gewölbt und an der Innenseite abgeflacht. Im Bereich der Reife endet jede Schlangenwindung in verzierten Goldblech-Manschetten mit Steckverschluß. Eine der Kupfernadeln ist noch heute erhalten (s. Abb. 11b, links). Die Manschetten selbst ziert ein Zungensaum und gegenständiger Schlaufenschmuck. Alle Tierleiber wurden mit dem Hammer geformt und an zahlreichen Punkten verlötet. Der in der hellenistischen Schmuckkunst üblicherweise als flexible Spirale gestaltete Schlangenreif ist hier zugunsten einer starren Konstruktion aufgegeben, eine äußert ungewöhnliche Technik. Das gleiche gilt für die Verschließbarkeit der Schmuckstücke. Die Konstruktion der Verschlüsse läßt sich auch an zwei Armbändern des 2. Jhs. nachweisen, die mit west-syrischer Provenienz im Kunsthandel erschienen⁹⁴.

Das überaus rare Konzept eines versteiften Schlangenreifs findet sich auch bei einem winzigen Fingerring des späteren 3. Jhs. aus einem angeblich in Tarent gefundenen Komplex⁹⁵. Auch dieses Stück ist als Doppelschlangenreif ausgelegt. Zwar kann man den Ring nicht öffnen, doch entspricht er in der Komposition durchaus unserem Doppelschlangen-Paar. Andererseits trägt der Fingerring bereits Granatintarsien in den Schlangen-

windungen, eine im ausgehenden 3. Jh. aufkommende Mode, die sich besonders im 2. Jh. größerer Beliebtheit erfreute. Aus diesem Blickwinkel folgen unsere Malibu-paare sogar noch einer konventionelleren Formtradition.

Bei den Schlangenarmreifen orientieren sich allein die Windungen unterhalb der Tierköpfe und die Schwänze an konventionellen Typen hellenistischen Schlangen-Armschmucks, und dies ermöglicht ihre typologische Klassifizierung⁹⁶. Generell läßt sich beobachten, daß die Tierkörper immer stärker mäandrieren, bis zum Teil mehrfache Überschneidungen entstanden. Dies gilt vor allem für barocke Beispiele des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. Einschränkend ist allerdings zu sagen, daß die formal älteren Entwicklungsstufen auch noch in jüngeren Horizonten gefertigt werden⁹⁷. Das aus einzelnen Schlangen konzipierte Paar vermittelt entwicklungs-geschichtlich zwischen den einfacheren Exemplaren der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. und den barocken Armreifen des 2. Jhs. Bei dem Doppelschlangen-Paar wird man bereits an die barocke Stufe erinnert, doch stellt sich die Frage, ob die ineinandergewundenen Körper nicht nur aufgrund der Vereinigung zweier Reptilien zustande kamen. Angesichts der typologischen Stellung darf man beide Paare unseres Ensembles im ausgehenden 3. Jh. oder frühen 2. Jh. ansiedeln.

FRAGMENTE VON HALSSCHMUCK?

Wie bereits angesprochen, fehlen in unserem Schatz die im Hellenismus so beliebten Tierkopf-Halsketten. Vorhanden ist jedoch eine eher bescheidene Kette goldener Kauri-Muscheln, die wohl als Halsschmuck zu deuten ist (Abb. 13)⁹⁸. Sie besteht heute noch aus zwölf Muscheln, die mittels Golddraht verbunden sind. Da



Abb. 13. Kettenfragment aus goldenen Kaurimuscheln. Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.11.



Abb. 14. Zierperlen, goldene Kettenglieder und Ohrschmuck(?). Gold, Smaragde, Karneole und Amethyste. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.10.

ein Verschluss fehlt, ist die Kette auf jeden Fall unvollständig. Aus chronologischer Sicht sind die Muscheln wenig ergiebig. Sie dokumentieren vor allem, daß dieser pharaonische Typus noch im Hellenismus verwendet wurde⁹⁹. Zugleich bestätigt die Kette die ägyptische Affinität unseres Ensembles.

Außer dem mutmaßlichen Kollier erwarb das Museum auch eine Reihe von Perlen aus Halbedelsteinen und Edelsteinen (Abb. 14)¹⁰⁰. Das abgebildete Arrangement ist modern. Das "Kollier" besteht aus drei hellgrünen Smaragden, fünf rot-orangen Karneolen, fünf purpurnen Amethysten und acht hohlen Perlen aus Goldblech. Daneben finden sich auch acht Kettenglieder, die aus je zwei Reihen kleiner Goldperlen zusammengefügt wurden. Die Smaragde sind eher unregelmäßig, die Goldperlen hingegen in etwa hexagonal. Die Amethyste sind beinahe symmetrisch geschliffen. Die Steine könnten tatsächlich zu einer Kette gehört haben, doch entsprechen sie definitiv nicht dem konventionellen Typus griechischen Halsschmucks¹⁰¹.

Angekauft wurde auch ein rötlich-oranger Karneol(?) in Pilzform (s. Abb. 14, Mitte). Das kleine Loch im "Stiel" könnte für Ohrschmuck sprechen, auch

wenn das Schmuckstück dafür etwas massiv wirkt. Vergleichbare Beispiele ägyptischer Provenienz sind in der Regel zierlicher¹⁰².

EIN GOLDENES HAARNETZ UND SEINE GÖTTER

Das prachtvolle Haarnetz ist als flexible Kuppel gestaltet (Abb. 15a–b)¹⁰³. Konstruiert ist es aus goldenen Kettchen und acht Bändern, die wieder aus je drei Reihen spulenförmiger Zierglieder zusammengesetzt wurden. Das Kuppelzentrum schmückt ein goldenes Medaillon mit dem Büstenbildnis Aphrodites. Auf ihrer Schulter zerzt ein kleiner Eros am Gewand seiner Mutter. Die kleine Kuppel wird am unteren Rand von einem schmalen Goldband offengehalten, in dessen Zentrum ein Heraklesknoten plaziert ist (Abb. 15c). Wie bereits im Fall der Stephane (s. Abb. 6a) ist auch hier der Knoten rein dekorativ. Das goldene Band wurde an der Rückseite mit Hilfe zweier Goldschlaufen geschlossen und mit einer Nadel festgesteckt, von der jedoch allein das Quastengehänge erhalten ist.

Das Aphrodite-Medaillon ist aus Goldblech getrieben und auf einem größeren Goldrund befestigt (Abb. 15d). Gerahmt wird es von einem Rundstab, von dem



Abb. 15a. Haarnetz mit Aphrodite-Medaillon. Gold und Granaten. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.1.

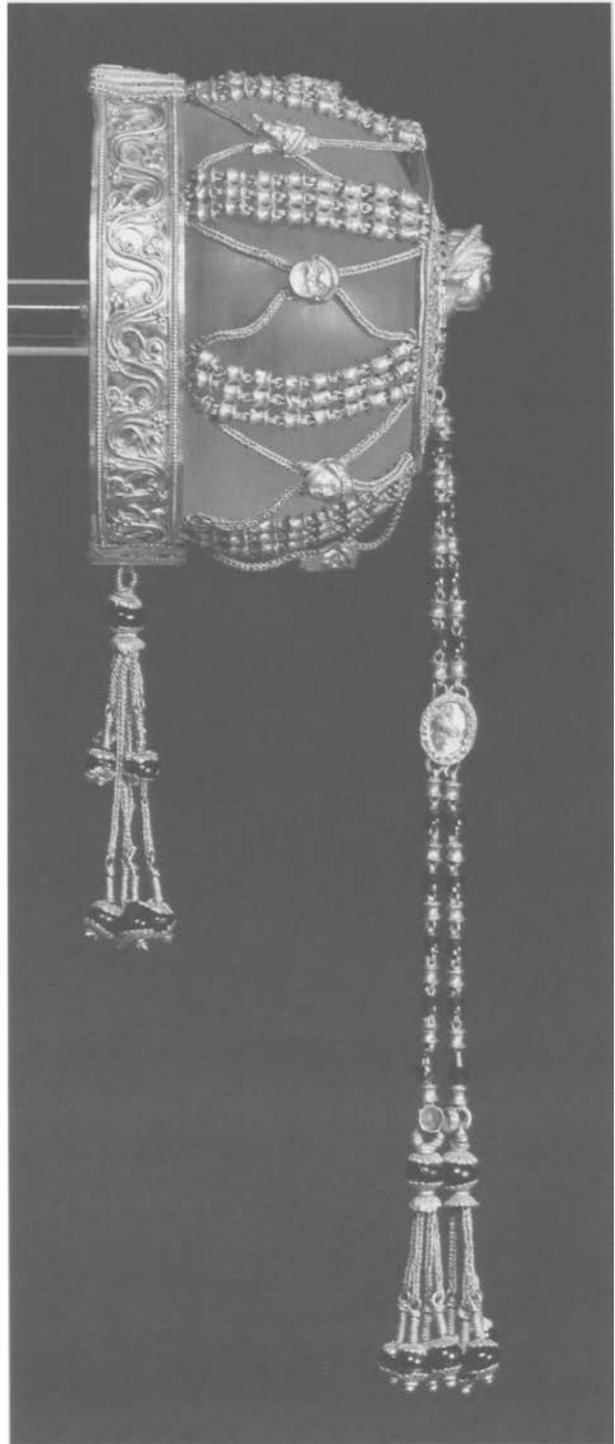


Abb. 15b. Seitenansicht des Haarnetzes, Abb. 15a.

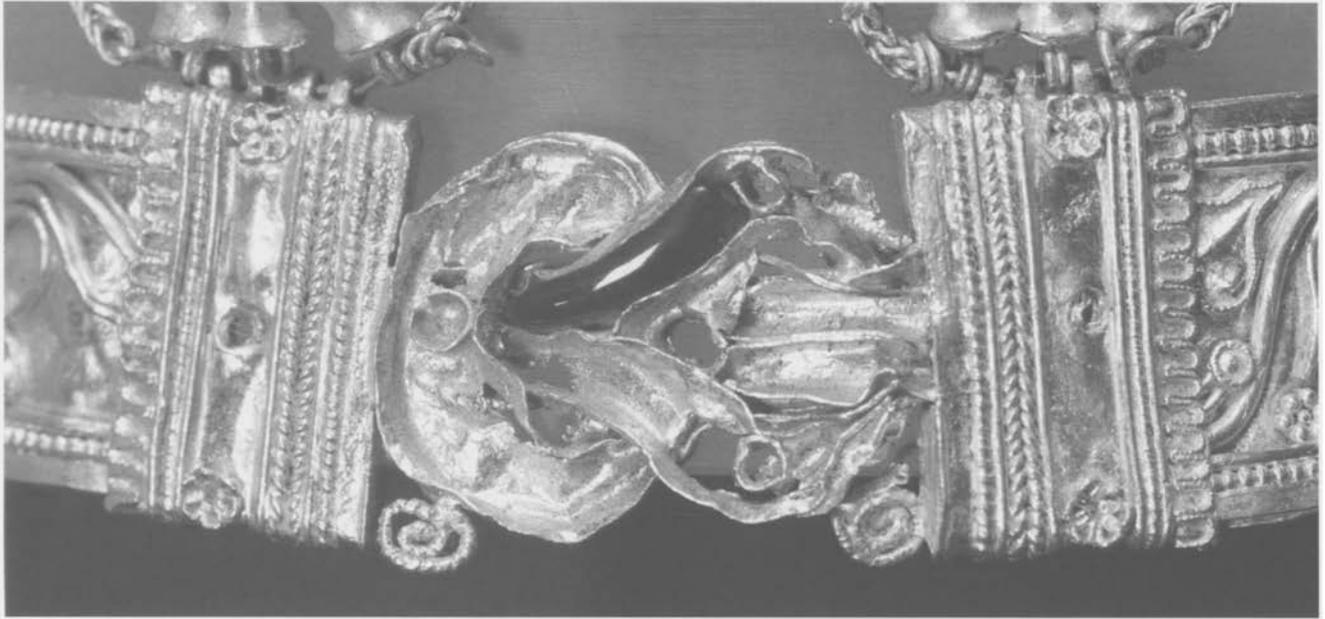


Abb. 15c. Heraklesknoten. Gold und Karneol. Detail vom "Diademband" des Haarnetzes, Abb. 15a.

jedoch nur die winzigen goldenen Röhrchen erhalten blieben, während die einst aus Glaspaste oder Halbedelsteinen gearbeiteten Elemente verloren sind. Das Schmuckglied erinnert unmittelbar an ägyptische Ornamentik¹⁰⁴. Zum Rahmen gehören auch zwei dekorative Friese: innen ein ionisches Kymation und außen orientalische Stufenzinnen¹⁰⁵. Das Zinnenmotiv ist außerhalb des Vorderen Orients relativ selten. Im Lagidenreich gehört es in den Kreis achämenidischer Reminiszenzen. Auch das ionische Kymation bietet eine kunstlandschaftliche Perspektive. So verzierte der Künstler die rein zweidimensional dargestellten Ovoli mit feinen Palmetten. Diese Variante erfreute sich seit der Archaik im Bereich der ägäischen Inselwelt beträchtlicher Beliebtheit¹⁰⁶, und man sollte nicht vergessen, daß viele dieser Inseln im 3. Jh. unter ptolemäischer Kontrolle standen. Die Kenntnis dieses Motivs kann also in einer ptolemäischen Werkstatt nicht weiter überraschen.

Die acht Spulenbänder der kleinen Kuppel sind mittels feiner Goldkettchen verbunden, die acht Theatermasken tragen (Abb. 15e–g). Der Künstler bevorzugte dreifach geflochtene Ketten, doch ist in einem Fall auch eine doppelte Goldkette verwendet, vielleicht ein Hinweis auf eine antike Reparatur. Die Spulenglieder zeigen sich zum ersten Mal in einem Kunsthandelskomplex, der angeblich mit einer Münze des

dritten Ptolemäers (245–222 v. Chr.) vergesellschaftet war¹⁰⁷. Auch an griechischen Goldarbeiten des 2. vorchristlichen Jhs. sind sie hinlänglich belegt¹⁰⁸.

Unmittelbar unter der Büste hängt an zwei goldenen Schlaufen ein etwa sechzehn Zentimeter langer Quastenanhänger (s. Abb. 15b). Er besteht aus zwei Strängen spulenförmiger Perlen, die alternierend aus Granaten und Gold gefertigt sind. Etwa in der Mitte werden sie von einem kleinen Medaillon zusammengehalten, das einst wohl eine Gemme trug. Jede der Ketten endet in einer sphärischen Granat-Perle(?) und bildet dann jeweils eine vierteilige Quaste, die ihrerseits wieder in Granatperlen endet. Die Quaste bestätigt letztlich die Verwendung des Netzes als Haarschmuck, kann sie doch nur am Hinterkopf in annähernd horizontaler Lage des Netzes frei nach unten hängen. In dieser Position ist auch das Medaillon gut zu erkennen. Das aufwendige Schmuckstück wurde also auf einem Haarknoten befestigt.

Eine technisch und stilistisch überaus verwandte Quaste gehörte wohl ursprünglich zu der Haarnadel des Netzes. Sie hing offenbar unmittelbar auf dem Hinterkopf der Trägerin. Wie bereits bei der Stephane sind auch die Quastenanhänger des Netzes ohne ein zusätzliches Zierelement unter der Aufhängung gearbeitet. Da die aufwendigere Variante in Komplexen des 2. Jhs. reich vertreten ist, während die einfachere



Abb. 15d. Medaillon mit einer Büste Aphrodites des Haarnetzes, Abb. 15a.

Spielart in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. bevorzugt wurde¹⁰⁹, bestätigt sich auch hier der chronologische Rahmen im späteren 3. oder früheren 2. Jh. v. Chr. Eine Datierung in das 4. oder frühere 3. Jh. scheidet aus, da bei frühen Quastengehängen nahezu ausschließlich goldene Perlen verwendet wurden. Den späten Ansatz bestätigen auch die "bunten" Ketten aus Gra-

naten und Gold, die seit dem ausgehenden 3. Jh. v. Chr. immer wieder nachzuweisen sind¹¹⁰.

Wie bereits angesprochen, wurden Haarnetze unseres Typs auf einem Haarknoten getragen. Die Haartracht selbst ist bereits in der Klassik reich bezeugt, doch kennen wir keine Darstellungen entsprechender Netze¹¹¹. Andererseits können Haarnetze anderen Typs

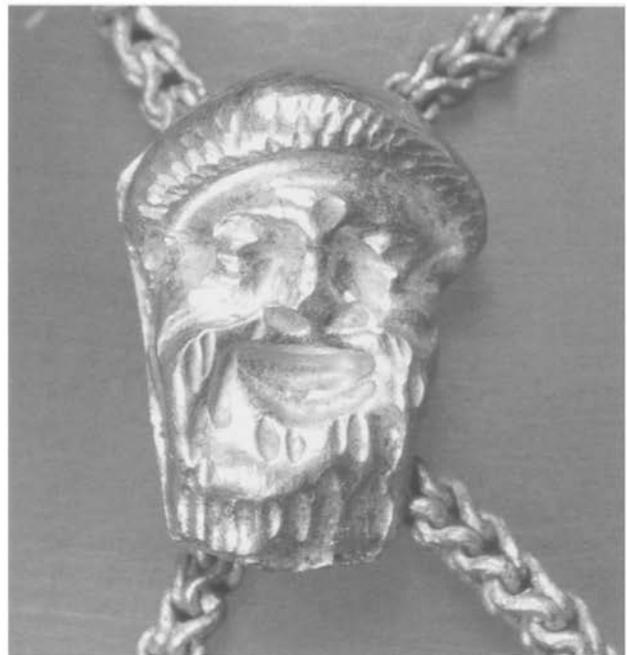


Abb. 15e–g. Masken des Haarnetzes, Abb. 15a.

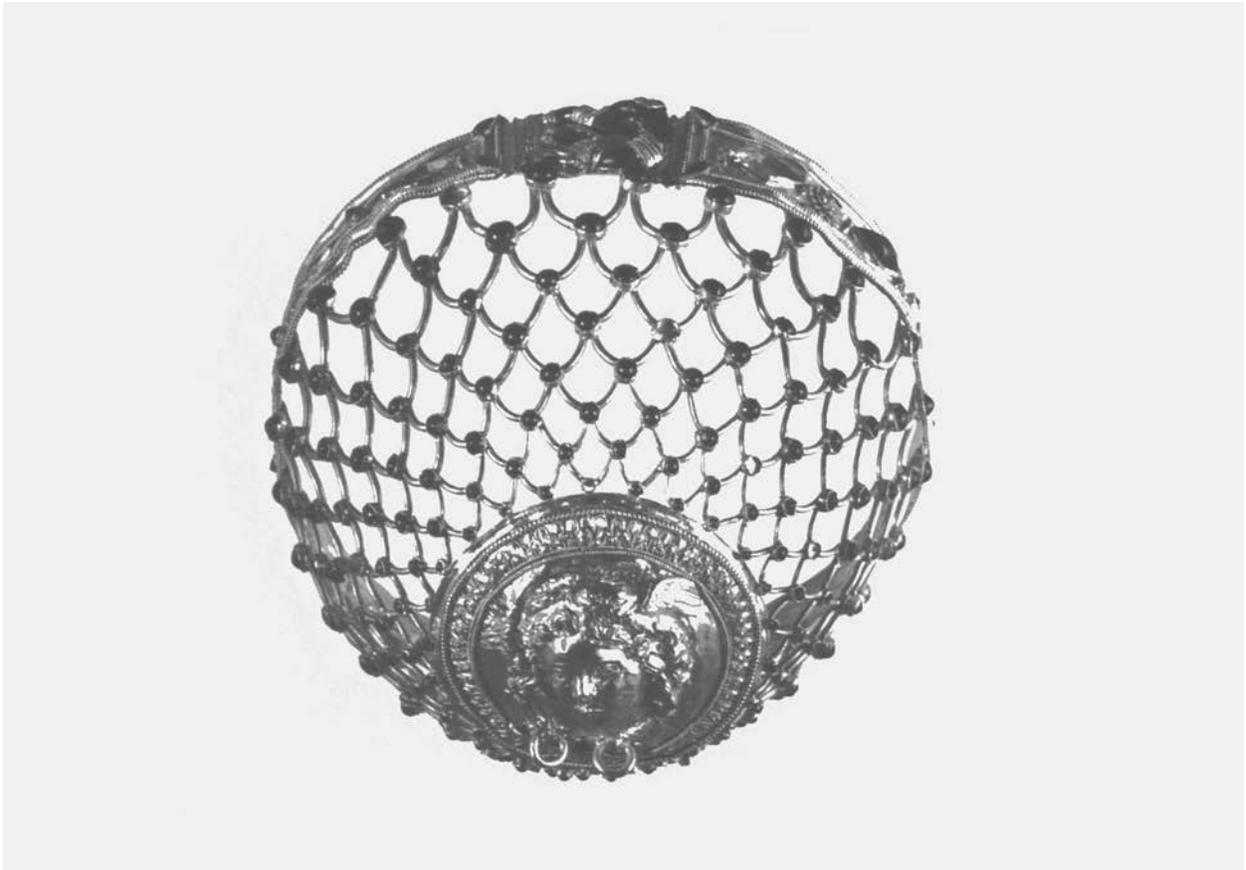


Abb. 16. Haarnetz mit einem Eros-Medaillon. Gold und Granaten. Angeblich aus Tarent. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung 1980.22. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.

im griechischen Raum auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken, auch wenn klassische Vorläufer bisher nur auf Darstellungen bekannt sind¹¹². Die antike Bezeichnung läßt sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit eruieren¹¹³.

Eines der frühesten hellenistischen Netze gehört zu dem bereits angesprochenen Berliner Inventar aus Tarent (Abb. 16), das wohl noch vor der römischen Zerstörung von 209 v. Chr. unter die Erde kam¹¹⁴. Auch wenn es sich in der Machart von unserem Netz unterscheidet, so verbindet beide das diademartige Band. Dieses Konstruktionsprinzip war keineswegs allgemeinverbindlich, so fehlt es etwa an den Netzen des thessalischen Carpenisi-Komplexes¹¹⁵. Der Verfasser hat bei dem Berliner Fund bereits an anderer Stelle auf die Möglichkeit alexandrinischer Bindungen hingewiesen. So besaß auch das Berliner Netz einst ein Gehänge, das an zwei Ösen unter dem bekrönenden Medusenkopf befestigt war. Ein ähnliches Arrangement ist auch für ein

New Yorker Netz zu erschließen, das angeblich aus Ägypten, vielleicht sogar aus Alexandria stammen soll¹¹⁶.

Die Nacken-Anhänger erinnern im ersten Augenblick an einen kurzen Zopf, doch war diese Mode in Griechenland ungebräuchlich. Wir kennen allenfalls lose, aus einem Haarknoten "herausgezogene" Haarsträhnen, die im Nacken frei herunterhingen¹¹⁷. Lange Zöpfe trug man hingegen im achämenidischen Kreis, doch ist eine Verbindung mit den weit kürzeren hellenistischen Ketten-Gehängen höchst zweifelhaft. Ein kurzes Gehänge am Hinterkopf findet sich allerdings bereits auf einem gräko-persischen Relief des früheren 5. Jhs. aus dem lykischen Xanthos¹¹⁸. In späterer Zeit erkennt man bei Frauenköpfen mit Melonenfrisur im Nacken mitunter eine Art Schlaufe, die gelegentlich mit einem Kopftuch verbunden wurde¹¹⁹. Die auf Klappspiegeln erhaltenen Darstellungen datieren überwiegend in das 4. und frühere 3. Jh. v. Chr., auch wenn sie

in Ausnahmefällen noch in späthellenistischem Kontext geläufig waren. Es wäre immerhin denkbar, daß die Idee zu den kurzen Gehängen auf vergleichbare Anregungen zurückging.

Das Malibu-Netz bietet uns eine bemerkenswerte Kombination von Gottheiten und göttlichen Attributen. So verzierte der Goldschmied das goldene Band zu beiden Seiten des Heraklesknotens mit einem Efeuzweig (s. Abb. 15b). Daß hier tatsächlich eine dionysische Anspielung vorliegt, bestätigen auch die goldenen Theatermasken. Wir erkennen neben Dionysos, Silensköpfe und anscheinend Satyrn. Ein Frauenkopf entspricht eher dem Hetärentypus (s. Abb. 15e–g).

Das Büstenmedaillon mit Aphrodite und Eros ist auf hellenistischen Goldarbeiten bestens bezeugt¹²⁰. Aphrodite ist reich gekleidet: Chiton, Himation sowie im Ausschnitt eine schärpenartige Bandolierkette, die vielleicht mit einer Biene geschmückt war. Zumindest finden sich auf beiden Seiten des Bandoliers flüchtige Gravierungen, die als Flügelkonturen eines Insekts verstanden werden könnten. Die etwas nach links gewandte Göttin trägt eine Melonenfrisur und darüber die auf Ptolemäermünzen belegte Stephane (s. Abb. 2a, 15d). Im Gegensatz zur normalen Melonenfrisur mit Kranzflechte am Hinterkopf flutet das Haar frei über Schultern und Rücken. Im Nacken offenes Haar, allerdings ohne Verbindung mit einer Melonenfrisur, kennen wir vor allem vom Großen Altar von Pergamon oder von der Florentiner Niobe¹²¹. Die Verbindung beider Frisuren ist allerdings höchst ungewöhnlich. Offenbar insinuierte der Künstler mit Melonenfrisur und Stephane Bezüge zum ptolemäischen Königsporträt, ohne auf die Lockenpracht eines idealen Götterbildes zu verzichten. Zudem ist festzuhalten, daß wir auch bei einigen Ptolemäerporträts frei fließende Locken nachweisen können¹²². Der Goldschmied unterstrich somit die dynastische Konnotation seines Aphroditebildes. Nun ist das Medaillon zu klein, um eine sichere Porträtzweisung zu wagen, doch zeigt ein Vergleich des leicht dreieckigen Antlitzes mit mutmaßlichen Bildnissen Arsinoës III. (222–204 v. Chr.) durchaus verwandte Züge¹²³.

Wie schnell eine Darstellung Aphrodites in den Bereich des Herrscherbilds hinübergleiten konnte, lehren nicht zuletzt die kyprischen Bronzemünzen Kleopatras VII., auch wenn die Komposition von Münze und Medaillon nicht identisch ist. Auf den Münzen charakterisieren Frisur, Stephane und Zepter die göttliche Königin, die in Tarsos tatsächlich als lebende Aphrodite auftrat¹²⁴. Im Falle Kleopatras kann man den Baby-Eros an ihrer rechten Schulter unschwer

mit Ptolemaios Kaiser (Kaisarion) verbinden. Der unglückliche Sohn Iulius Caesars fungierte später offiziell als Mit-Herrscher. Da die Königin als Aphrodite dargestellt wurde, konnte der „kleine Caesar“ konsequenterweise nur in die Rolle des Eros schlüpfen. Auch bei unserem Haarnetz scheint eine dynastische Deutung intendiert.

Faßt man zusammen, so feiert das Haarnetz mit Dionysos und Herakles die dynastischen Götter der Lagiden und mit Aphrodite die beliebteste Deifikationsform ptolemäischer Königinnen. Die Göttlichkeit der Dynastie manifestiert sich in Monumenten wie der heute verlorenen Inschrift von Adulis, in der Ptolemaios III. nicht nur seine göttlichen Ahnen herausstellt, sondern auch gleich noch im Stile einer achämenidischen Reichsinschrift die Grenzen seines Reiches auslotet:

Der große König Ptolemaios, der *basileus megas*, der Sohn des Königs Ptolemaios und der Königin Arsinoë, der „Geschwistergottheiten“, ihrerseits Kinder des Königs Ptolemaios und der Königin Berenike, der „Rettenden Gottheiten“; väterlicherseits abstammend von Herakles, dem Sohn des Zeus, und mütterlicherseits von Dionysos, dem Sohn des Zeus. Nachdem er von seinem Vater das Königreich Ägypten, sowie Libyen, Syrien, Phönikien, Zypern, Lykien, Karien und die Kykladen, geerbt hatte, machte er sich auf zu einem Zug gen Asien¹²⁵.

Die asiatische Kampagne ist der Dritte Syrische Krieg, der gemäß höfischer Fiktion den dritten Ptolemäer als alexandergleichen Eroberer Asiens sah. Alexander war nach ptolemäischer Lesart ohnehin ein Halbbruder Ptolemaios' I.¹²⁶. Angesichts des aufwendigen Dynastiekultes ist auf unserem Haarnetz die Vergesellschaftung von Aphrodite, Dionysos und Herakles schwerlich Zufall. So ist mir bis heute kein anderes Schmuckstück mit einem Heraklesknoten und einer Aphroditedarstellung bekannt, auch wenn festzuhalten ist, daß im Knotenzentrum des öfteren Eros dargestellt wurde¹²⁷.

Durchaus unüblich ist auch die Verbindung eines Heraklesknotens mit einer Efeuranke. Wir kennen allerdings einige Knoten mit Satyrmasken aus Kleinasien, Unteritalien und Ägypten, die diese rare Verbindung herakleischer und dionysischer Motive wiederholen¹²⁸. Auch bei diesen Beispielen finden sich mitunter interessante Aspekte. So zeigt ein nach Kunsthandelsangaben aus Westkleinasien stammendes Knotenpaar im Zentrum Thyrsos-schwingende Erosen. Der dionysische Bezug wird zudem von einer winzigen Silensmaske unterstrichen. Zu allem Überfluß enden die Knotenbän-

der in Frauenköpfen mit Melonenfrisur. Faßt man all diese Elemente zusammen, dann kann an einem ptolemäischen Bezug kaum gezweifelt werden, zumal die kleinasiatische Westküste im 3. Jh. ohnehin zu erheblichen Teilen unter ptolemäischer Kontrolle stand.

In welchem Ausmaß Geschmeide auf herrscherkultliche Vorgaben Bezug nehmen konnte, zeigt auch ein Armreif gänzlich anderen Stils. Er gehört zu einer im ausgehenden Hellenismus verbreiteten Gruppe, die durch ihre Ikonographie auf ägyptischem Hintergrund zu sehen ist. Die aus dickem, mäandrierenden Draht hergestellten Schmuckstücke mit Heraklesknoten erinnern sofort an Reptilien. Über den Knoten erscheinen Göttergestalten wie Isis, Serapis oder Thermutis, die teilweise sogar aus den stilisierten Schlangen wachsen¹²⁹. Bei einem New Yorker Armschmuck steht auf dem Knoten eine winzige Aphrodite und neben ihr Tyche mit einem Steuerruder und dem goldenen Korb (*kanoun*) Arsinoës II.¹³⁰. Der dynastische Bezug wird schließlich noch von zwei rahmenden Uräen unterstrichen. Wie bei den zitierten kleinasiatischen Knoten, so müßte man auch bei dem New Yorker Armreif oder unserem ikonographisch so außergewöhnlichen Haarnetz selbst ohne die Hilfe der assoziierten Fingerlinge auf einen ptolemäischen Hintergrund schließen. Aus ptolemäischem Blickwinkel erklären sich selbst Details wie die winzigen Theatermasken. So wissen wir, daß kein geringerer als Ptolemaios II. und seine Schwestergemahlin ganz wie Dionysos als Patrone des Theatervolks firmierten¹³¹. Es erstaunt also nicht weiter, daß bereits Ptolemaios IV. wie später auch Ptolemaios XII. Auletes als "Neuer Dionysos" verehrt wurde¹³².

Die Dionysos-Osiris-Angleichung umfaßte zudem auch politisch-ideologische Aspekte, da man beide Götter im Sinne Alexanders als mythische Indiensieger begriff¹³³. Konsequenterweise erhoben mehrere Ptolemäer im Sinne ihrer göttlichen Ahnen auch Herrschaftsansprüche über Asien. Diese Fiktion zeigte sich nicht nur im mittleren 3. Jh. auf dem Monument von Adulis, sie manifestierte sich sogar noch im Jahre 34 v. Chr. in den Tagen Kleopatras VII.¹³⁴. Angesichts dieses politischen Hintergrunds darf man sich fragen, ob es wirklich Zufall ist, daß unser Goldschmied sein Aphrodite-Medaillon mit einem vorderasiatischen Zinnenfries rahmte?

Wie man diese Details auch immer wertet, die göttlichen Signale unseres Haarschmucks verbanden sich eng mit den Vorgaben dynastisch-ptolemäischer Kulte. Wie bereits angesprochen, macht das die Trä-

gerin nicht notwendigerweise zu einer Prinzessin, oder gar zu einer Königin, doch wird man nicht fehlgehen, unser Haarnetz als Loyalitätserklärung in Gold zu begreifen.

DAS GETTY-GOLD—ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Wie bei den Einzelanalysen dargelegt, ist die ptolemäische Affinität des Geschmeides nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Angesichts der Ausdehnung des ptolemäischen Machtbereichs im ausgehenden 3. Jh. v. Chr. muß dies nicht zwingend für einen ägyptischen Fundort sprechen, doch sollte man bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils von einer ägyptischen Provenienz ausgehen.

In dem Haarnetz mit seinen Göttern spiegeln sich somit die Vorgaben ptolemäischen Herrscherkults. Aphrodite war eine der gängigsten Deifizierungsformen ptolemäischer Königinnen, während Herakles und vor allem der Asiensieger Dionysos als Stammväter der Lagiden galten. Die ausschließliche Konzentration auf griechische Ikonographie entspricht dabei den Vorlieben der gräko-makedonischen Oberschicht. In den Gemmen der Fingerringe manifestierte sich dann eine noch intimere Kenntnis ptolemäischer Ideologie. Dies gilt sowohl für Arsinoë-Tyche mit dem Doppelfüllhorn wie auch für unsere Arsinoë-Artemis-Aphrodite. Angespielt ist dabei stets auf Arsinoë II., auch wenn die Ringe etwa zwei Generationen nach ihrem Tod entstanden. Angesichts der Ringbilder und der Stephane mit ihren Fackeln wird man der einstigen Besitzerin priesterliche Funktionen zubilligen dürfen. Der Gedanke, Siegelringe mit dem Bildnis göttlicher Potentaten zu schmücken, ist als Loyalitätsbekundung einzustufen.

Der Typenschatz des Schatzes folgt dem Repertoire des ausgehenden 3. und früheren 2. Jhs. v. Chr. Dabei ist festzuhalten, daß dies nicht notwendigerweise ein Vergrabungsdatum im 2. Jh. impliziert. Im Gegenteil, der Komplex könnte ebensogut kurz vor 200 v. Chr. unter die Erde gekommen sein. Der Verfasser ist nur der Ansicht, daß der gegenwärtige Kenntnisstand keine Differenzierung zwischen dem späten 3. und dem beginnenden 2. Jh. erlaubt. Die zeitliche Homogenität des Ensembles impliziert nicht, daß alle Schmuckstücke zu ein- und derselben Zeitpunkt in Auftrag gegeben wurden oder gar in einem einzigen Atelier entstanden. Man könnte sie durchaus auf mehrere Jahrzehnte verteilen. Dennoch spricht die zeitliche Nähe unbedingt für ein antikes Ensemble (Abb. 17). Eine wesentliche Verfälschung durch moderne Zusätze ist nicht festzustellen, auch wenn einige der kleineren Objekte,

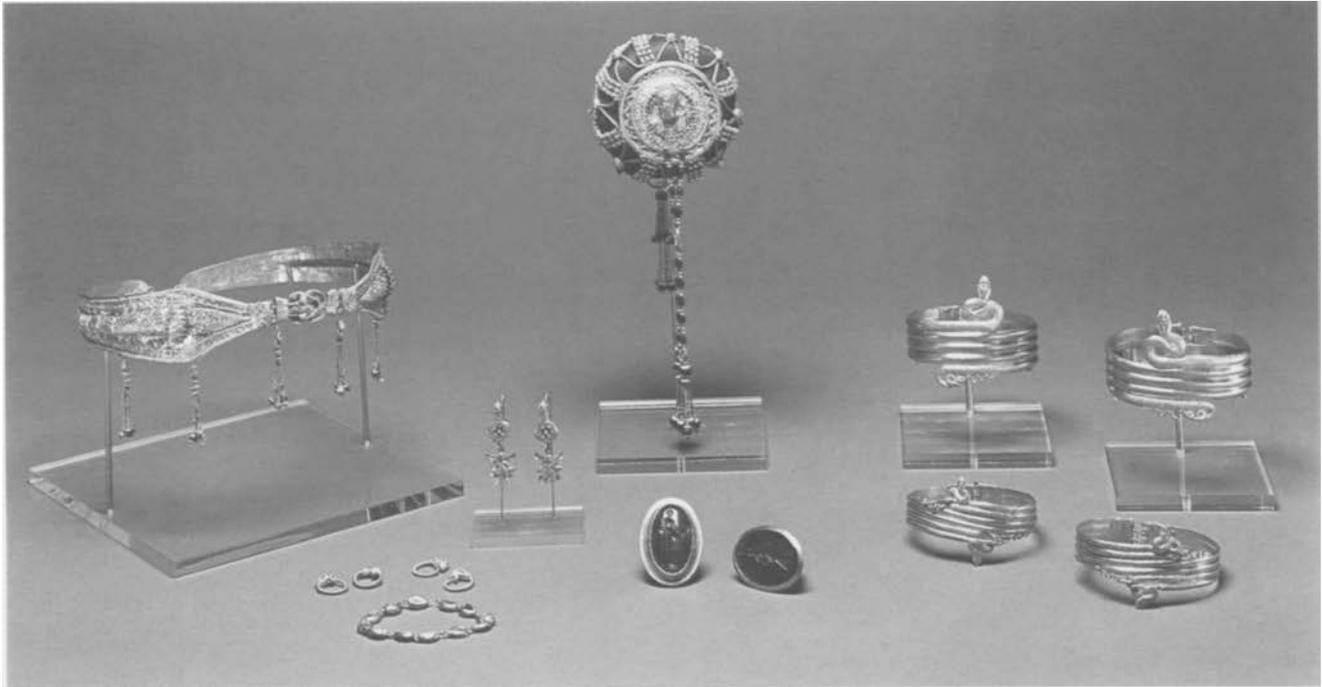


Abb. 17. Ensemble hellenistischer Schmuckstücke aus Gold. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.

wie etwa die Kaurikette oder die Tierkopf-Ohringe, dem Vernehmen nach später in Privatbesitz erschienen.

Das formale Repertoire bestätigt in vollem Umfang die vom Verfasser in seinen *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks* entwickelte Chronologie¹³⁵. Auch die Studien W. Heilmeyers und E. Formiglis zum Tarentiner Gold kamen zu ganz ähnlichen Ergebnissen¹³⁶. Nun fußte das seinerzeit vom Verfasser vorgestellte Chronologiemodell größtenteils auf außer-ptolemäischen Funden, da hochhellenistisches Ptolemäergold damals kaum bekannt war. Es ist also mehr als bemerkenswert, daß sich der Getty-Schatz so nahtlos in das Entwicklungsmodell fügt. Dies beweist zunächst die Existenz einer hellenistischen *koine*. Andererseits läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß einige Formen landschaftlich differenzierbar sind. Diese These bezieht sich allerdings nicht auf alle Schmuckformen der fraglichen Periode, sie konzentriert sich eher auf Ohringe oder Schlangearmschmuck. Auch in diesem Punkt entspricht das Getty-Gold dem seinerzeit entwickelten Konzept. Hierbei ist nochmals zu betonen, daß es bei einer landschaftlichen Differenzierung niemals um Exklusivität geht, sondern nur um

eine Präferenz, die sich in einer besonderen Fundhäufung niederschlägt.

Die Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Fundcharakter muß zwangsläufig hypothetisch bleiben, doch spricht das vorliegende Geschmeide für einen Schatzfund und gegen ein Grabinventar. Zum einen sind so außergewöhnlich reiche Grabfunde höchst selten¹³⁷, zum anderen sind einzelne Formen wie der Ohrschmuck oder die Schlangearmreifen mehrfach vertreten. Selbst reichen Verstorbenen gab man in der Regel nur ein einziges Schmuckset ins Grab. Zudem ist unser Ensemble nicht einmal vollständig. So fehlen nicht nur hellenistische Halsketten, sondern auch die Nadeln. Andererseits ist das Ensemble keinesfalls reich genug, um zwingend auf mehrere Eigentümer zu schließen. Es scheint sich also um den Inhalt einer Schmuckschatulle zu handeln, die von der einstigen Besitzerin in höchster Not vergraben wurde. Ihr Tod sicherte das Gold für die Moderne.

Ägyptische Provenienz und ein Vergrabungsdatum im ausgehenden 3. oder früheren 2. Jh. v. Chr. bieten eine zwanglose Erklärung für die Existenz eines so prachtvollen Schatzes. Nach dem Tode Ptolemaios' IV. wurde Ägypten von einem Staatsstreich und einer

jahrzehntelangen Unsicherheit erschüttert. Den Lagiden entglitt mitunter sogar die Kontrolle über weite Landesteile¹³⁸. Selbst die überaus beliebte Gattin des vierten Ptolemäers fiel gegen 204 v. Chr. einem Attentat zum Opfer, und wir wissen, daß die Gefährtinnen Arsinoës an der Familie eines Attentäters

grausame Rache übten. Angesichts der Fingerringe sollte man die anonyme Eigentümerin in einem vergleichbaren Umfeld suchen, in jenem Zirkel, aus dem sich auch die Mehrzahl der dynastischen Priesterinnen rekrutierte. Zählte unsere Dame zu den "Verwandten" der Könige?

Archäologisches Institut
Universität Trier

Abkürzungen

- Formigli und Heilmeyer E. Formigli und W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Tarentiner Goldschmuck in Berlin*, Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Nr. 130/131 (Berlin, 1990).
- Fraser, *Alexandria* P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Bd. 1-3 (New York, 1972).
- Grimm, *Alexandria* G. Grimm, *Alexandria: Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz, 1998).
- Hoffmann und Davidson H. Hoffmann und P.F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (Brooklyn, 1965).
- Pfrommer, *Alexandria* M. Pfrommer, *Alexandria: Im Schatten der Pyramiden*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz, 1999).
- Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck* M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks*, Istanbuler Forschungen, Bd. 37 (Tübingen, 1990).

1. Für die generöse Publikationserlaubnis und die vorzüglichen Arbeitsbedingungen im J. Paul Getty Museum ist der Verfasser Marion True zu ganz außerordentlichem Dank verpflichtet. Dies gilt auch für alle Mitarbeiter des Stabes. Zu nennen sind vor allem Benedicte Gilman für ihre Mühe bei der Drucklegung sowie Mary Louise Hart, Elana Towne-Markus und John Papadopoulos. Jerry Podany gilt mein besonderer Dank für zahllose technische Belehrungen, und Lisbeth Thoresen für die Bestimmung der Steine.

2. Daß ein Schatz durchaus Besitztümer mehrerer Einzelpersonen enthalten kann, zeigt etwa der sog. Carpenisi-Komplex im Athener Nationalmuseum: P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, Bd. 1, *Les bijoux antiques* (Straßburg, 1953), 97ff.; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 215-20, FK 21. Denkbar wäre, daß es sich hier um Plünderergut handelt.

3. Zu dem Gold von Tuch el-Karamus: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 208-9, FK 6; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 40-43, Abb. 47-48, 74-76.

4. Zur Typologie: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 226-29, Abb. 42, besonders Nr. i-k.

5. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.9. Maße des Rings: 4,46 × 3,26 cm; Maße der Gemme: 3,5 × 2,1 cm; Bügeldurchmesser: 1,8 × 1,1 cm; Gewicht: 35,59 g. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 126-28, Abb. 171-72b.

6. Als Beispiele seien zitiert: J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings: Greek Etruscan and Eastern, from a Private Collection* (London, 1975), 19, 92, Abb. 56, und Farbtaf. S. 17. Von der Kuban-Halbinsel: *Gold und Kunsthandwerk vom antiken Kuban*, Ausstellung Mannheim, Reiss-

Museum (Stuttgart, 1989), 145, Nr. 173, Taf. 32 (wiederverwendet in einer Fibel des 1. Jhs. v. Chr.).

7. D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of Ruler-Cult* (Oxford, 1973), 32-33, 54 mit Bezug auf Athenaios 11.497b-c. Thompson betont überzeugend, daß es sich bei der Passage nur um den Dikeras handeln kann. In diesem Sinne auch: D. Berges, *Rundaltäre aus Kos und Rhodos* (Berlin, 1996), 38-41, Taf. 1-3, 6, 7.3-4 usw.

8. Als Beispiel für viele vgl. man: Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 63, Abb. 77b.

9. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 62-68; Kallixenos von Rhodos bei Athenaios 5.197c-203b.

10. R. S. Poole, *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (1883; Nachdruck, Bologna, 1963), Taf. 122.2-3; H. Heinen, *Historia* 18 (Wiesbaden, 1969): 189-90 (47-44 v. Chr.).

11. Demetrios I.: A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton* (New York, 1983), 10, Nr. 165-66, Taf. 10. Alexander II. Zebina: P. Gardner, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (1878; Nachdruck, Bologna, 1963), 82, Nr. 7, Taf. 22.3; Houghton, 19, Nr. 306-7, Taf. 17. Antiochos VIII.: Gardner, 99, Nr. 11, Taf. 26.6; Houghton, 22, Nr. 350-51, Taf. 19. Kleopatra Thea: Gardner, 85, Nr. 1, Taf. 23.1; Houghton 27, Nr. 407, Taf. 22 (versehentlich Nr. 408) und S. 80, Nr. 803, Taf. 47.

12. Für diese Kannen vgl. Thompson, *Oinochoai* (o. Anm. 7), 20, 171-73, Nr. 142, 144, 146, Taf. 50.

13. Zur heiligen Hochzeit des Paares vgl. zuletzt Grimm, *Alexandria*, 70.

14. vgl. etwa die Inschrift von Adulis (s. Anm. 87).

15. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 239, sah in einer Formulierung "Königin-Arsinoë-Aphrodite" wohl zu Recht einen Hinweis auf eine Deifikation zu Lebzeiten.

16. H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Archäologische Forschungen, Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1975), 103, Taf. 88 (Arsinoë III.); R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 91, Taf. 75.8 (Arsinoë III.); Poole (o. Anm. 10), 42-44, Taf. 8 (Arsinoë II. und spätere Ptolemäer; Rückseite mit doppeltem Füllhorn), 67, Taf. 15.6 (Arsinoë III.; Rückseite mit einfachem Füllhorn) und 122, Nr. 2, Taf. 30.6 (Kleopatra VII.; Rückseite mit doppeltem Füllhorn).

17. Zu dem Zepter: W. Cheshire, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982): 105-11, Taf. 4.

18. Zum Typus: G. Grimm und D. Wildung, *Götter Pharaonen* (Mainz, 1978), Nr. 149 mit Abb.; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 138-40, Abb. 21.5, Taf. 23.1.

19. *Alexandria*, Griechisch-Römisches Museum 23840: A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie A, Bd. 2 (Palermo, 1961), 37-38, Nr. 145, Taf. 72, Abb. 237; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 139.

20. Fingerringe aus Izmit/Kleinasien in Istanbul, Archäolo-

gisches Museum: N. Firath, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 11/12 (1964): 213–14, Taf. 45.3; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 239, FK 67. Neben dem Schönheitsideal ist allerdings auch der Stil unterschiedlich.

21. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.8. Maße des Rings: 4,23 × 3,1 cm; Maße der Gemme: 3,8 × 2,6 cm; Bügeldurchmesser: 2,2 × 1,6 cm; Gewicht: 40,31 g. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 127–28, Abb. 172a, 173. Zu weiteren Artemisdarstellungen mit königlichem Hintergrund vgl.: G. Platz-Horster, *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1995): 9–25.

22. I. N. Svoronos, *Ta nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion*, Bd. 1 (Athen, 1904), Taf. 15; P. R. Franke und M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, 2. Aufl. (München, 1972), 165, Nr. 802, Taf. 219.

23. o. Anm. 16.

24. vgl. generell: H.-W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (München, 1965). Nach dem Zeugnis antiker Quellen übernahm Alexander das Diadem aus dem Insignienschatz der Großkönige. vgl. auch M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Komposition des Alexandermosaiks auf antiquarischer Grundlage*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia, Bd. 8 (Mainz, 1998), 36, 58, 190–91, 197. Bezeichnend auch eine Notiz bei Polyainos (11.8): "Darius stieß sein Zepter in die Erde und warf seine Kandys [Mantel], seine Tiara und das königliche Diadem darüber".

25. S. Albersmeier und M. Minas, in *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years*, Bd. 1, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta, Bd. 84 (Leuven, 1998), 6–7.

26. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse* (o. Anm. 16), 124–25, Taf. 107.1–4.

27. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 43, 85, Anm. 132; Grimm, *Alexandria*, 80.

28. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 106–7 (Polybios 5.83).

29. Als Beispiel für eine Deifizierung vgl. man Athenaios und seine Bemerkungen zu Phila, der Gattin des Demetrios Poliorketes: Athenaios 6.254a (Aphrodite Phila bei einem Trinkspruch); Athenaios 6.255c ("... erbaute einen Tempel und stellte Statuen in Tria auf, die als Aphrodite-Phila bezeichnet wurden. Sie benannten auch einen Ort Philaeum nach Phila, der Frau des Demetrios"); vgl. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 41, Anm. 63.

30. H. H. Schmitt, in J. Seibert, Hrsg., *Hellenistische Studien: Gedenkschrift für Hermann Bengtson*, Münchner Arbeiten zur alten Geschichte, Bd. 5 (München, 1991), 75–86.

31. Theokrit *Id.* 17.49–50; Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 666–67; 2: 391 Anm. 403 und 934 Anm. 390.

32. Theokrit *Id.* 17.121–22.

33. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 239, mit Verweis auf Poseidippos; A. S. F. Gow und D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965), 1: 169–70, Nr. 12, Zeile 3110–19; 2: 491–92.

34. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 240.

35. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 244.

36. Plutarch *Ant.* 26 (als Aphrodite), 54.6 (als Isis). M. Grant, *Kleopatra* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1977), 228.

37. Svoronos (o. Anm. 22), 1: 133, Taf. 26.11–12, 14; (Athen, 1908), 4: 136.

38. Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris, 1970), 528–30; G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (Darmstadt, 1994), 98, 304.

39. vgl. H. Kyrieleis, "Katháper Ermés kai Hóros", *Antike Plastik* (Berlin, 1973), 12: 133–47, Taf. 45–48.

40. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 657–58 (mit Verweis auf Kallimachos und seinen *Hymnus an Apollon*).

41. Delos, Museum A 1719. Wahrscheinlich aus dem Tempel der Agathé Tyche: M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961), 153, Abb. 651; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris, 1969), 214, Taf. 39, A 1719.

42. Herodot 2.156. In dieser Legende fungiert Leto nurmehr als Amme von Apollon und Artemis.

43. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 239.

44. Epigramm des Demagetos: Fraser, *Alexandria* 2: 329, Anm. 35; Thompson, *Oinochoai* (o. Anm. 7), 61.

45. Grimm, *Alexandria*, 79; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 33 (Kallimachos *Aitia* 4.7).

46. A. Bernard, *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1992), 1: 22, Zeile 18.

47. G. Grimm, *Antike Welt* 28 (1977): 454 (Polybios 15.31).

48. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.2. Durchmesser: ca. 15,2 × 16,7 cm; Länge der seitlichen Arme jeweils: ca. 25 cm (bei 1,2 cm Dicke); größte Breite: 4,0 cm; geringste Breite: ca. 1,2 cm; Länge des Heraklesknotens mit Manschetten, jedoch ohne Scharniere: ca. 3,7 cm; Höhe des Knotens: 1,6 cm; Höhe der Manschetten: 1,4 cm. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 131–32, Abb. 175.

49. München, Antikensammlungen SL 246; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 72–73, Taf. 14.1–2 (mit Parallelen). vgl. weiterhin Terrakotten aus Gräbern des mittleren 2. Jhs. v. Chr.: *The Search for Alexander*, Ausstellung, Washington, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco (New York, 1980), 174, Nr. 143–44, mit Abb. (aus Veria).

50. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 03.14.5; M. L. Anderson, *BMAA* 45.3 (1987/1988): 28, Abb. 34; M. Pfrommer, *Göttliche Fürsten in Boscoreale: Der Festsaal in der Villa des P. Fannius Synistor*, 12. Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm (Mainz, 1993), 19–21, Taf. 2, 3.1–2.

51. vgl. Hoffmann und Davidson, 7, 211, Abb. C–D; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 7–8.

52. Der Terminus wird vor allem auch für Kränze verwendet: Athenaios 5.197–98, 198a–b, 199b, 200d–e, 201d–e, und 202b.

53. Cassius Dio 51.6. 5.

54. Zur typologischen Entwicklung und zu Parallelen: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 4–80.

55. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 55, Abb. 13, Taf. 2.2–3, 4.2–3.

56. Zu dieser gut bezeugten Genealogie vgl. N. G. L. Hammond und G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford, 1979), 2: 3–4, 13, 16–17.

57. Zur Bedeutung makedonischer Elemente im ptolemäischen Ägypten vgl. Fraser, *Alexandria*, 3: 49 (Index s.v. Macedonia). Zur makedonischen Garde vgl. Fraser 1: 80; Grimm, *Alexandria*, 103; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 23, 142, Abb. 33–34 (mit Verweis auf Plutarch *Ant.* 54). Weiterhin: J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires d'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris, 1911), 2–5; G. Gagsteiger, *Die ptolemäischen Waffenmodelle aus Memphis*, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Nr. 36 (Hildesheim, 1993), 62. Zu makedonischen Elementen in ägyptischer Architektur vgl. M. Pfrommer, in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, Acta of the International Symposium, The J. Paul Getty Museum 1993 (Malibu, 1996), 178–79, Abb. 9–10; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 72–73, 98–101.

58. Plin. *NH* 28.63. Zu weiteren Deutungen des Knotens vgl. *LIMC* 4 (1988), 729, s.v. "Herakles" (J. Boardman).

59. Zu typologischen Details vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 36–43, Taf. 8, 9.1–3 (frühere Goldknoten mit rechteckigen oder bandförmigen Manschetten, mit oder ohne Zungenbänder aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.; 63–66, Taf. 10–11 (frühere farbige Knoten mit rechteckigen Manschetten der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.); 66–72, Taf. 12–13 (Knoten des fortgeschrittenen 2. Jhs. mit Kapitellmanschetten) und 14, Abb. 2.1–5 (Layout früherer und späterer Knoten). Das Bänderlayout entspricht früheren "farbigen" Knoten: ebenda 64–66, Taf. 11.

60. vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 18, Taf. 3.2–4.

61. Zur späteren Entwicklung von Anhängern vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 262, Anm. 2249 (bei Nadeln) und 69–71, Taf. 12.3 (Heraklesknoten des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.). Als dekorative Elemente finden sich nicht nur kleine Scheiben, man verwendete auch Efeublattförmige Intarsien oder kleine Blattkelche.

62. Zum achämenidischen Rapport vgl. M. Pfrommer, *IstMitt* 36 (1986): 59–76, Taf. 20–22.

63. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 37–40, 43–48.
64. vgl. besonders ägyptische Terrakotten: C. Ewigleben, *Götter, Gräber und Grottesken*, Bilderhefte des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Nr. 52 (Hamburg, 1991), 32, Abb. 72 (Athena-Neith), Abb. 79 (Eroten). Fackeln auf alexandrinischen Lampen: Grimm und Wildung (o. Anm. 18), Nr. 156–57 mit Abb. (“Lichterhäuschen”).
65. Die Statuette ist frühestens späthellenistisch. Zur Baubo vgl. LIMC 3 (1986), 87–88, s.v. “Baubo” (T. Karaghiorga-Stathacopoulou). Zu Schweinen als Götterattribut bei ägyptischen Terrakotten: H. Rubensohn, *AA*, 1929: 195–204. Für Photo und weitergehende Hinweise bin ich G. Grimm zu großem Dank verpflichtet.
66. Eine goldene Stephane in Form eines *stemma* aus Kerch, München, Antikensammlungen SL 589 (“Diadem Loeb”): Hoffmann und Davidson, 51–55, Abb. 1a–e; B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck* (Mainz, 1985), 275, Abb. 212, Taf. 28–29; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 65, 68, 73, HK 144 (erste Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr.). Überaus verwandt ein Beispiel aus dem Artuchov-Kurgan 1 auf der Kuban-Halbinsel. St. Petersburg, Eremitage Art 1: Hoffmann und Davidson, 54, Abb. 1f; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 52–73, HK 99.
67. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 221, 225 (männliche oder weibliche Priesterschaft?).
68. Zur hellenistischen Blütenranke: M. Pfrommer, *Metalwork from the Hellenized East*, Catalogue of the Collections, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1993), 26–30.
69. Ebenda, 39.
70. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.5: Länge: 4,5 cm; Breite: 1,6 cm; Gewicht: 4,2 cm; Durchmesser der Perle: 0,34 cm. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 132, Abb. 177.
71. Grab 5 in Rione Solito, Tarent, Museum 119.352/3. T. Schojer, in *Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica*, Hrsg. M. De Juliis, Ausstellung Mailand 1984–1985 (Mailand, 1984), 186–87, Nr. 119, Abb. 119 (frühes 2. Jh. v. Chr.); Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 145, 153, OR 201, Taf. 30.21.
72. Metapont, Museum: J. C. Carter. *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropolis* (Austin, 1998), 2: 815–17, Abb. 20.18 (gegen 200 nach Parallele Tarent).
73. Zum konventionellen Typus vgl.: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 201–5, Taf. 27.1–4. Die einzige zeitgenössische Ausnahme bildet eine einfache Rosette: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 251 (mit Parallelen).
74. Zu Tierkopf-Ohrringen und ihrer Entwicklung vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 143–96.
75. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 164, Taf. 30.5, 17–18, 39, 42, 49 usw.
76. Zur Verbreitung jetzt auch meine ergänzenden Bemerkungen in D. Williams, Hrsg., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 79–84, Abb. 1–6, 10.
77. M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik*, Archäologische Forschungen, Bd. 16 (Berlin, 1987), 31, 33.
78. Zu Eros mit Fackel vgl. LIMC 3 (1986), 881–82, Nr. 366–87, Taf. 628–29 (A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis und R. Vollkommer); ebenda, 974–77, 1047, Nr. 146–71, Taf. 688–90 (N. Blanc und F. Gury).
79. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984.11.3. Zu dem Ensemble vgl. D. v. Bothmer, *BMAA* 42 (Sommer 1984): 54–59.
80. P. Willeumier, *Le trésor de Tarente* (Paris, 1930), 43, Taf. 5; Pfrommer, *Studien* (o. Anm. 77), 11–22, Taf. 31c.
81. Willeumier (o. Anm. 80), 34–40, Taf. 3.4; Pfrommer, *Studien* (o. Anm. 77), 163–64, Taf. 34a–b.
82. vgl. J. Ogden, *Jewellery Studies* 7 (1996): 37ff.
83. Plin. *NH* 9.119–21.
84. Zitiert seien hier nur einige Beispiele: New York, Brooklyn Museum L 67.11.2: A. Oliver, *Antiquities from the Collection of Ch. G. Bastis* (Mainz, 1988), 304, Nr. 181 mit Abb. (ohne Provenienz). Amsterdam, Sammlung Zintilis 449: St. M. Lubsen-Admiraal und J. Crouwel, *Cyprus and Aphrodite* (‘s Gravenhage, 1989), 92, 184–85, Nr. 260, Abb. 92 rechts; S. 185 (3. Jh.; möglicherweise aus Zypern). London, British Museum: F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (1911; Nachdruck, London, 1969), 205, Nr. 1888, Taf. 32. Ehemals Luzern, Sammlung Kofler-Truniger: K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel-Stuttgart, 1960), 310, Nr. 371 mit Abb. Athen, Benaki Museum: B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten, Museum Benaki Athen* (Athen, 1938), 67, Nr. 65, Taf. 22 (ein Eros mit Lyra, der andere mit einer Fackel).
85. Bronzestatuetten eines Harpokrates mit Erosflügeln und Doppelfüllhorn aus Qaryat al-Fau: A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia* (Riad, 1982), 24–25, 104–5, Abb. 1–3; K. Parlasca, in *L’Arabie préislamique*, Akten eines Symposions in Straßburg 1987 (Straßburg, 1988), 286, Tafelabb. 11; Ders., *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 11 (1994/1995): 121, Abb. 6. Terrakottastatuetten eines Harpokrates-Eros mit Isiskrone aus Myrina in Athen, Nationalmuseum 4925: G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, JdI Ergänzungsheft, Nr. 15 (Berlin, 1942), 245, Taf. 46b; K. Parlasca, in *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brüssel, 1983), 102.
86. In der Ptolemäerzeit mußte der Apisstier nicht immer mit Sonnenscheibe dargestellt werden (Hinweis S. Nakaten). Man vgl. etwa die Stele eines Traumdeuters in Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum CG 27567: G. Grimm, in Grimm und Wildung (o. Anm. 18), Nr. 106 mit Abb; *La gloire d’Alexandrie*, Ausstellung Paris, Petit Palais, 7 Mai–26 Juli, 1998 (Paris, 1998), 101, Abb. 101.
87. E. R. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy* (Chicago, 1968), 192–93; Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 203, 208; 2: 344, Anm. 106.
88. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 32–34.
89. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.3–4. Durchmesser: ca. 2,0 × 1,4 cm; Gewicht: 1,8–1,9 gr. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 132, Abb. 176.
90. Zum Typus vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 168–72; zur Verbreitung 171–72, Abb. 31. Zu unserem Malibu-Paar: M. Pfrommer, in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (o. Anm. 57), 182, Abb. 18.
91. Zur Verbreitung, M. Pfrommer, in D. Williams, Hrsg., *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith* (London, 1998), 79–84, Abb. 2 (Antilope) und Abb. 1 (Stier).
92. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.6.1–2. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 132, Abb. 179. Durchmesser (geschlossen): ca. 7,6 × 6,9 und 7,1 × 6,7 cm; Höhe ohne Kopf- und Schwanzende der Reptilien: 2,3 cm; Breite der Tierkörper: ca. 3,8 mm; Dicke: ca. 1,9 mm; Höhe einschließlich der Reptilien: 5,8 und 6,0 cm; Gewicht: 177,6 bzw. 178,9 gr. Als Beispiel für eine Statue mit einem Schlangenumarmreif unter einem Mantel am Oberarm vgl. man eine Statue in Venedig: L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik* (Berlin, 1957), 4: 117–19, Taf. 50.
93. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.7.1–2: Pfrommer, in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (o. Anm. 57), 182, Abb. 17; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 132, Abb. 178. Durchmesser (geschlossen): ca. 6,9 × 6,6 und 6,8 × 6,7 cm; Höhe ohne Kopf- und Schwanzende der Reptilien: 1,4 und 1,5 cm; Breite der Tierkörper: ca. 5,0 mm; Dicke: ca. 2,3 mm; Höhe einschließlich der Reptilien: 4,0 und 4,2 cm; Gewicht: 88,7 bzw. 89,0 g. Als Beispiel für Statuen mit Schlangenumarmreifen am Unterarm vgl. etwa Grabskulpturen aus Kyrene: L. Beschi, *ASAtene* 47/48, N. S. 31/32 (1969/1970): 253, Nr. 46, Abb. 80; S. 274–77, Nr. 95, Abb. 93; S. 281, Nr. 105, Abb. 96; S. 291, Nr. 124, Abb. 100.
94. Chicago, The Oriental Institute A 29788: Hoffmann und Davidson, 159–60, Nr. 56, Abb. 56a–d (“perhaps Alexandrian”); Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 289, FK 173, Anm. 2728.

95. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 1980.21: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 132–33, 136, 231, Abb. 17, 18, Taf. 22.3; Formigli und Heilmeyer, 58–60, Abb. 35–37.
96. Zur typologischen Entwicklung vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 126–38, Abb. 18; Pfrommer, in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (o. Anm. 57), 182, Abb. 16.
97. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 129–32 (konservative Armreifen).
98. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.11. Länge der Kette: 12,2 cm; Länge der Muscheln: 1,0 cm; Gesamtgewicht: 7,74 gr.
99. Zum Typus vgl. Pfrommer, *Studien* (o. Anm. 77), 159, KTK 92, Taf. 30b (aus Tuch el-Karamus).
100. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.10.
101. Zu einer Gazellenkopfkette des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. mit "farbigen" Perlen weit bescheideneren Zuschnitts vgl. man etwa ein Kollier aus dem Artiuchov-Kurgan. St. Petersburg, Eremitage Art. 5: M. I. Maksimova, *Artichovskij Kurgan* (Leningrad, 1979), 57, Nr. 4, Art. 5, Abb. 11; Farbabb. S. 28. Zur Bestattung vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 89–90, 92, 262, Anm. 594, FK 121, TK 10.
102. vgl. etwa: *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.* (Boston, 1982), 230–31, Nr. 298 mit Abb.
103. J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.1: *GettyMusJ* 21 (1993): 108–9, Nr. 12, Abb. 12; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 128–31, Abb. 174a–c. Höhe der Kuppel: ca. 6,5 cm; Unterer Durchmesser der Kuppel: ca. 8 cm; Höhe des Diadembandes: 1,45 cm; Heraklesknoten: 1,9 × 1,4 cm; Länge der Manschetten: 1,0 cm; Durchmesser des Aphrodite-Medaillons: ca. 2,5 cm; Höhe des Medaillons: ca. 0,9 cm; Durchmesser des ionischen Kymations: ca. 4,1 cm; Durchmesser der Stufenzinnen: ca. 5,9 cm; Länge des Anhängers: ca. 16,5 cm; Durchmesser der Gemmenfassung des Anhängers: 1,2 × 0,9 cm; Länge der Quastenkette: ca. 4,25 cm bzw. 5,5 cm.
104. Als Beispiel für viele vgl. etwa den rahmenden Rundstab eines Reliefs Sethos' I. im Tal der Könige bei Theben: K. Lange und M. Hirmer, *Ägypten* (München–Zürich, 1967), Farbtaf. XLVI. Das Motiv findet sich an Möbeln (ebenda, Taf. 226–27) und selbst am Krümmstab des Pharaos (ebenda, Taf. 233).
105. M. Pfrommer, *Metalwork* (o. Anm. 68), 39 (mit Parallelen).
106. vgl. als Beispiel das Propylon Ptolemaios' I. auf Samothrake: A. Conze, A. Hauser und O. Benndorf, *Neue archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* (Wien, 1880), 2: Taf. 29.
107. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: C. R. Clark, *BMMA* 30 (1935): 162–64, Abb. 2 oben.
108. T. Schojer, in *Ori di Taranto* (o. Anm. 71), 166–70, Nr. 80, 84–86 mit Abb.
109. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 34, 47, 65, 67–68, 70–72, 194, 262, 264, 278–79.
110. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 66, 91, 94, 210, 216, Taf. 9.5, 10.2; Formigli und Heilmeyer, 46–48.
111. Zu einer hellenistischen Terrakotte vgl. Formigli und Heilmeyer, 85, Abb. 69.
112. Zu syrakusanischen Münzen vgl. P. R. Franke und M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, 2. Aufl. (München, 1972), 52, Taf. 41–43 (412–407 v. Chr.).
113. Formigli und Heilmeyer, 74 (Tarantinidä); D. Williams und J. Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewellery of the Classical World*, Ausstellung London, British Museum (London, 1994), 254 (Kekryphalos); *Ori di Taranto* (o. Anm. 71), 45 (Sakkos).
114. Berlin 1980.22. Formigli und Heilmeyer, 66–78, Abb. 48–68; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 60–66, 69, 218, 231, HK 39. Meine Vermutung, daß das Netz teilweise modern sein könnte, ist hinfällig.
115. o. Anm. 2.
116. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987.220: Williams und Ogden (o. Anm. 113), 254, Nr. 197 mit Abb. (mit weiteren Parallelen); Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 11, Abb. 5. Zu alexandrinischen Bezügen des Berliner Ensembles: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 232.
117. vgl. etwa Frauenköpfe auf Klappspiegeln: R. A. L. Scheurleer, *AA*, 1922: 223, Abb. 8; B. Segall, *Zur griechischen Goldschmiedekunst* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 4, 18, Taf. 1. Ein hellenistisches Beispiel, angeblich aus Tarent, London, British Museum: D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), 103, Taf. 29B.
118. F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum I.I* (London, 1928), 143–44, B 310, Taf. 29.
119. vgl. Spiegel in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7496a–b: M. Comstock und C. Vermeule, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1971), 258, Nr. 371 mit Abb. Aus Hermione in Athen, Nationalmuseum 14326: W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, JdI Ergänzungsheft, Nr. 14 (Berlin, 1942), 82, KS 129, Abb. 112. Berlin, Privatbesitz: Züchner, 84, 205, KS 139, Abb. 109 (mit Kopftuch). Sehr ähnlich ein Beispiel in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.992a–b: Züchner, 83–84, KS 138, Taf. 32 (angeblich aus Kleinasien oder den vorgelagerten Inseln); Comstock und Vermeule, 259, Nr. 372 mit Abb. Spiegel aus Kreta in Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum 4736: Züchner, 83, 205, KS 136, Abb. 110, und in London, British Museum: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1899), 376–77, Nr. 3211, Taf. 32 rechts. Eine angeblich aus Olympia stammende Terrakotta-Imitation in St. Petersburg, Eremitage 10099: Züchner, 109, TKS 13, Abb. 53.
120. U. Axmann, *Hellenistische Schmuckmedaillons* (Berlin, 1986), 169, Nr. 1, Taf. 7.2; S. 178, Nr. 7, Taf. 7.4; S. 187–88, Nr. 13–14, Taf. 3.3; S. 196–98, Nr. 19–20; S. 204–6, Nr. 24–25, Taf. 6.1–2; S. 210–11, Nr. 28, Taf. 6.4; S. 224, Nr. 35; S. 235–36, Nr. 43, Taf. 7.1; S. 240, Nr. 46; S. 279, Nr. 75.
121. E. Schmidt, *Le grand autel de Pergame* (Leipzig, 1962), Taf. 17, 26, 33, 35, 57, 58; G. A. Mansuetti, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculpture* (Rom, 1958), I: 110–11, Nr. 70, Taf. 70b.
122. Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 33, Abb. 55, 112.
123. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8207: Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse* (o. Anm. 16), 104–12, 181, L 1, Taf. 89.
124. Plutarch *Ant.* 26. Grant, *Kleopatra* (o. Anm. 36), 163. vgl. die Aphrodite von Boscoreale, Neapel, Nationalmuseum: B. Andreae, in B. Andreae und H. Kyrieleis, Hrsg., *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (Recklinghausen, 1975), 71–83, Abb. 62; Pfrommer, *Göttliche Fürsten* (o. Anm. 50), 4, Abb. 2; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 91–92, Abb. 120–21.
125. o. Anm. 87.
126. Theokrit 17.12–33. Fraser, *Alexandria* I: 45, 215.
127. Zu Beispielen vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 15, 18, 24, 31–34, 37, 52–54.
128. Fingerring des früheren 3. Jhs. mutmaßlich ägyptischer Provenienz mit einem Silenskopf (Satyrkopf?) im Knotenzentrum. London, British Museum 1917.5–1.913: Williams und Ogden (o. Anm. 113), 253, Nr. 196, mit Abb. (ca. 300 v. Chr.); Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 11, Abb. 7. Armreif derselben Periode, mutmaßlich aus Westkleinasien. Privatbesitz: Hoffmann und Davidson, 152–55, Nr. 54, Abb. 54a–h; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 18–19, 59–60, 239, HK 63, Taf. 29.5. Einzelne Goldknoten der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs., angeblich aus Reggio di Calabria, mit Silensmasken als Anhänger. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.234.6: C. Alexander, *Jewelry: The Art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times* (New York, 1928), 7, Nr. 27 mit Abb.; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 9, 36, 63, HK 45, Taf. 7.3. Kollier mit sieben Knoten des späten 4. Jhs. v. Chr. In den Knotenzentren Silensköpfe. Ohne Provenienz. Athen, Nationalmuseum: Amandry (o. Anm. 2), 216, Nr. 151, Abb. 120, Taf. 33; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 52, HK 166. Stephane nicht ganz zweifelsfreier Authentizität, möglicherweise des späteren 3. Jhs., mit einem Dionysosmedaillon zwischen zwei Knoten. Ohne Provenienz: Athen, Benaki Museum 3743–55: Axmann (o. Anm. 120), 11, 71, 111, 116, 171–73, Nr. 4, Taf. 5.1–2; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 61, Anm. 448.

129. Athen, Benaki Museum 104/4: Segall (o. Anm. 84), 118–20, Nr. 180, Taf. 39. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 20428: F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le basin oriental de la Méditerranée* (Leiden, 1973), 3: 322, Taf. 15. Berlin, Antikemuseum, Misc. 30219, 523: A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, Bd. 2, *Einzelstücke* (Berlin, 1975), 76, Taf. 57.8, 10. London, British Museum 1814.7–4.1183: F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (1907; Nachdruck, London, 1968), 42, Nr. 244, Taf. 6. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1458 und 23.2.1: N. E. Scott, *B MMA* 22 (1963/1964): 229, Abb. 15. vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 300, 305, 315–17, HK 11 (mit Parallelen).

130. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1458 und 23.2.1: Scott (o. Anm. 129), 229, Abb. 15. vgl. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, 300, HK 11.

131. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 203 (“Die Techniten des Dionysos und der Theoi Adelphoi”).

132. Fraser, *Alexandria* 1: 204–5; 2: 347, Nr. 117. Ptolemaios IV. ließ sich gar ein Efeublatt eintätowieren (ebenda, 1: 204).

133. Diodor 1.19.1–5 und Arrian *Indika* 5.5; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 49–52.

134. vgl. etwa Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, 66.

135. Die von St. G. Miller, *AJA* 97 (1993): 580–81, und teilweise auch von B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Gnomon* 65 (1993): 751–53, geäußerten Zweifel und teilweise sogar grundsätzliche Kritik an der Methodologie des Verfassers sind durch das Getty-Ensemble weitestgehend entkräftet.

136. Formigli und Heilmeyer, *passim*.

137. Auch bei dem Tarentiner Gold in Berlin (Formigli und Heilmeyer) könnte es sich durchaus um ein in Notzeiten verstecktes Ensemble handeln.

138. Grimm, *Alexandria*, 90–117; vgl. Polybios 15.25–35.

TWO BRONZE PORTRAIT BUSTS OF SLAVE BOYS FROM A SHRINE OF COBANNUS IN GAUL

John Pollini

In 1989 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two exceptional bronze portrait busts of two adolescent males (figs. 1–4).¹ These sculptures, along with other bronze objects, were said to have been found before World War II in some Transalpine area, possibly in the vicinity of ancient Vesontio (Besançon, France).² If so, the hoard would have been buried in the territory of the Sequani, that is, in the eastern part of France, not far from the Swiss border. It is clear from inscriptional evidence, style, and method of manufacture that all the bronzes from this cache are products of Roman Gaul, although both Getty busts are of rather high quality by comparison with the vast majority of bronze objects made in that area.³

All the bronze items from this cache appear to have been associated in some way with a provincial shrine to an otherwise unknown local syncretistic Celto-Roman war god identified as Cobannus in the dedicatory inscriptions on votive warrior-god figures from this group and on a bronze situla, or *olla extaris*. The inscription on this vessel mentions the dedicator as coming from a locale in the *civitas* of Augustodunum, in the territory of the Aedui, which lies to the immediate west of the territory of the Sequani. Therefore, it is likely that the postulated Shrine of Cobannus from which the hoard derives was either in the *civitas* of the Aedui or in that of the Sequani, the region of the rumored findspot. It is, of course, also possible that the hoard ended up where it did quite by chance, as a result of having been hastily buried while it was in transit to another location. Because of limitations of time and space, I shall focus only on the two portrait busts from the hoard, which I was invited to publish in this volume. These two bronze busts are of particular

interest because of not only their unusual style and method of manufacture but also the sort of individuals they portrayed. The relationship of these busts to the other bronzes from the Cobannus cache will be dealt with in a more comprehensive work that I am preparing for publication.⁴

The most distinguishing feature of both Getty portraits is the unusual hairstyle: the hair of both is parted from ear to ear over the top of the head (Bust A: figs. 1b–c, 3; Bust B: figs. 2b–c, 4), with hair brushed forward and backward from this part. Separately fashioned missing sections of long bronze hair locks were once attached along the hairline at the nape of the neck (see figs. 7–10c). This distinctive femalelike, or “feminized,” hairstyle is characteristic of a certain type of slave boy.⁵ Because of their beauty and youthfulness, these slave boys, sometimes called *delicati*, were often their master’s cherished “pets.” Their duties might include gratifying their master sexually, serving him at table, and assisting him in carrying out sacrifices. In scenes of public and private sacrifices in Roman relief art, such slave boys are usually shown carrying various cult paraphernalia, such as *acerrae* (incense boxes), *lances* (trays), *gutti*, *urcei* (pitchers), and *paterae*, often with a *mantele* (woolly and/or fringed towel) over their left shoulder.⁶ In past literature, such a servile priestly assistant has often been called a *camillus*, a term that generally refers to a freeborn priestly assistant. A more appropriate name for a servile priestly assistant would be *minister* (ministrant), since this term is used with reference to slaves.⁷ Internal and external evidence provided by the Getty busts themselves, as well as by the other objects from the Cobannus cache, suggest that both these adolescents may have acted as priestly



Figure 1a. Portrait A, bronze bust of an adolescent. Front view. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AB.67.1.



Figure 1b. Right profile of Portrait A, figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Left profile of Portrait A, figure 1a.



Figure 1d. Back of head of Portrait A, figure 1a.



Figure 2a. Portrait B, bronze bust of an adolescent. Front view. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AB.67.2.



Figure 2b. Right profile of Portrait B, figure 2a.



Figure 2c. Left profile of Portrait B, figure 2a.



Figure 2d. Back of head of Portrait B, figure 2a.



Figure 3. Top of head of Portrait A, figure 1a.

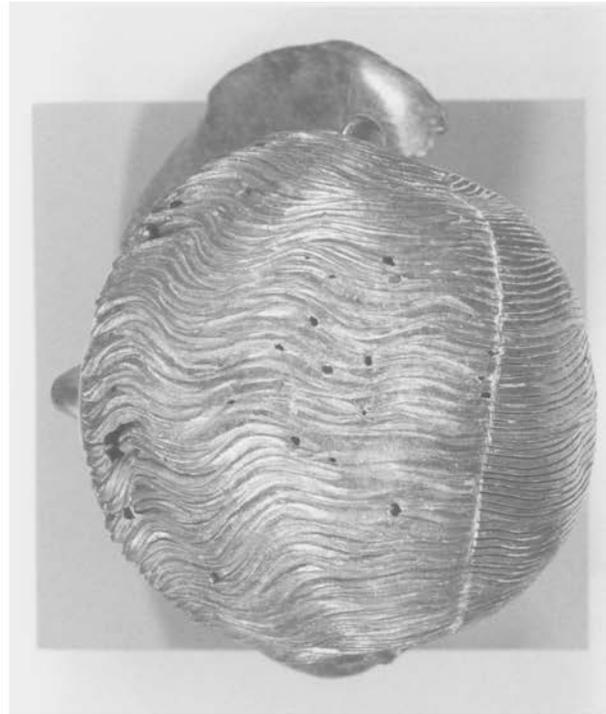


Figure 4. Top of head of Portrait B, figure 2a.

ministrants in the cult of Cobannus. Inscriptional and other evidence further indicates that this cult was associated with the so-called imperial cult, which in turn may have been connected with a protomilitary youth organization commonly known as the *iuventus* that is found in the colonies and municipalities of the Roman West.⁸

The striking resemblance between the two adolescents represented in the Getty portraits might suggest that these individuals were closely related, even brothers, one slightly older than the other.⁹ However, this apparently “fraternal” resemblance may be misleading. It may simply be the result of the provincial idealization of the portraits of two youths close in age and with similar iconographic hairstyles. To differentiate the two busts, I have designated the adolescent with the decorative acanthus-leaf attachment as Portrait (or Bust) A (figs. 1a–d, 5a); the other, without the acanthus ornament (now lost), as Portrait (or Bust) B (figs. 2a–d). Despite the strong resemblance of the busts to one another, it is likely that they were actually created by two different artisans. Because there are notable differences in composition of the bronze, in casting methods, and in artistic approach, the two portraits may have been produced in two different workshops and at two

slightly different dates.¹⁰ As we shall see, stylistic, iconographical, and other considerations suggest that both Getty busts date from the late Claudian–earlier Flavian period (ca. A.D. 50–80), or perhaps more narrowly to the late Neronian period, based on comparisons with Nero’s later hairstyles.

ANALYSIS OF THE GETTY PORTRAIT BUSTS

Portrait A: acc. no. 89.AB.67.1
(see figs. 1a–d, 3, 5a–e, 7, 9)

- Total height of portrait: 40 cm (ca. 15¾ in.)
- Height from top of head to chin: 17.5 cm (ca. 6⅞ in.)
- Height (at center) of acanthus attachment: 8.2 cm (ca. 3¼ in.)
- Width of acanthus attachment: 25.1 cm (ca. 9⅞ in.)
- Thickness of bronze: 2–6 mm (ca. ⅙–⅓ in.)
- Average thickness of bronze: ca. 5 mm (ca. ⅜ in.)

Portrait A is well preserved. Casting imperfections are evident in the irregular hole at the base of the hairline on the right side of the nape of the neck and in the vertical crack in the shoulder at the base of the bust below the left side of the back of the neck. An elon-



Figure 5a. Acanthus calyx of Portrait A, figure 1a. Photo: Author.

gated oval fracture on the upper right side of the back of the head and a zigzag, horizontal hairline fracture running across the middle of the right side of the back of the head (not readily visible in the photo) resulted from the process of making the cast.¹¹ The oval shape is a “hot repair,” as indicated by drip marks on the interior of the head. Among the repairs to the bronze surface after casting are the numerous small rectilinear patches on the forehead, the lower part of the face, the neck, and the right side of the chest.

The rim of the “plastron”—the bib-shaped part of the bust—has been hammered over on the back side (figs. 5b–c). The separately cast trefoil acanthus calyx-leaf decoration on the lower part of the plastron is attached by means of two bronze rivets (see figs. 1a, 5a–c [holes 4a and 3b]). A rough patch, approximately 3.3 cm long (ca. 1¼ in.), located at the base of the central leaf of the acanthus attachment but slightly to the right of its central axis, is probably a result of the casting process (see fig. 5a). Seven small round holes, ranging in size between about 4 mm and 5 mm in diameter, were drilled in a fairly distinctive pattern in the plastron of the bust (see figs. 5a–c). Five of the holes—three on the left side of the back of the plastron (see fig. 5c,

holes 1a, 3a, 4a) and two on the right (see fig. 5c, holes 1b and 3b)—are near the margin of the plastron, while the remaining two holes (one on each side) are further away from the margin (see fig. 5c, holes 2a and 2b). Two of the lower holes on the left side of the plastron are covered by the acanthus attachment (see fig. 5c, holes 2a and 3a). As we shall see, the pattern of holes and the use of two rivets (in holes 4a and 3b) suggest that there were at least two phases in the production of this bust.

On the upper back between the shoulders of Portrait A the surface of the bronze is somewhat concave, suggesting that hammering caused this deformation. Also located here is a single square hole about 7 × 7 mm (fig. 5d).¹² Such holes, usually considerably smaller than this one, generally indicate the use of “chaplets,” or suspension pins, in the casting process. In antiquity chaplets were square pins that were pushed through the modeled wax “skin” into the clay core at several points.¹³ After this clay core with its overlying modeled wax “skin” was encased within a clay “investment,” the chaplets served to keep the inner clay core suspended within its outer clay investment after the intervening wax lining was melted out (the *cire perdue*,



Figure 5b. Back of plastron of Portrait A, figure 1a. Photo: Author.

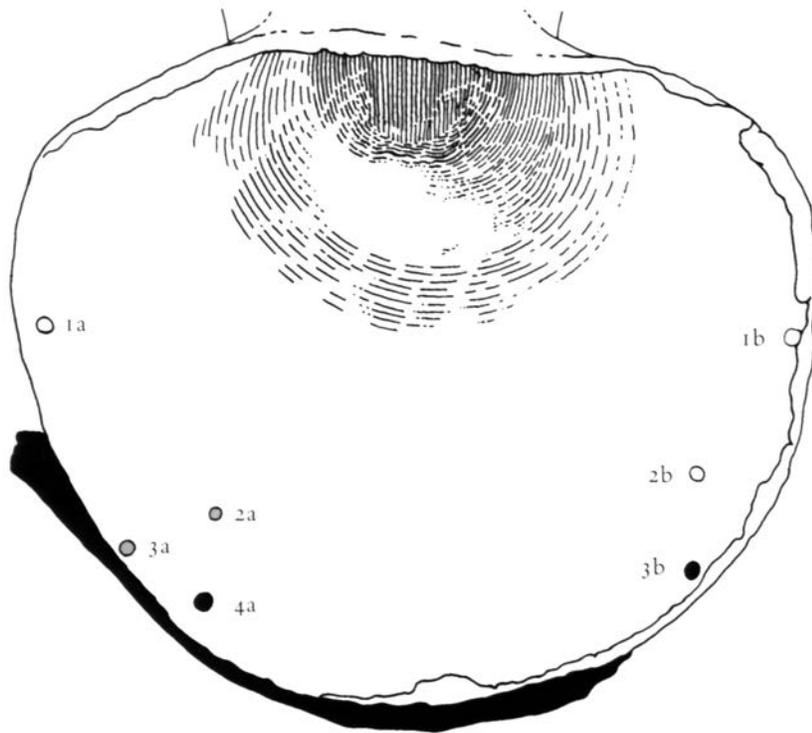


Figure 5c. Back of plastron of Portrait A, figure 1a. 4a and 3b are rivets; the other numbers are holes. 2a and 3a are covered on the front by the acanthus leaf. Drawing: Peggy Sanders, based on a drawing by the author.

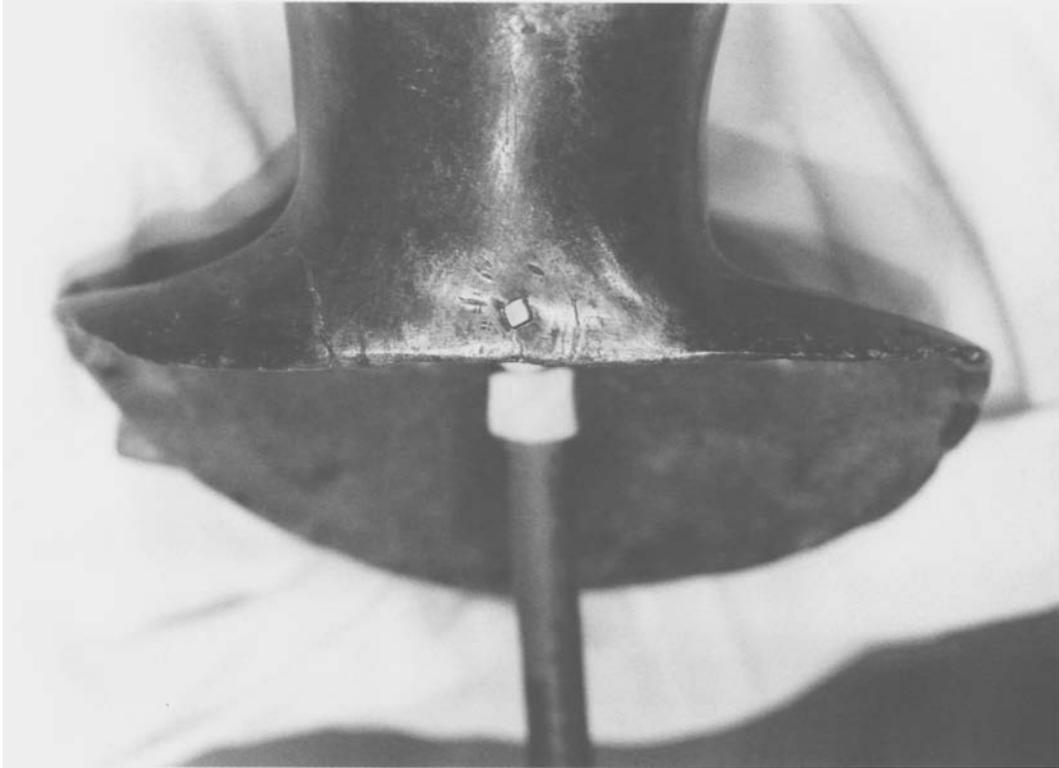


Figure 5d. Square hole in the back of Portrait A, figure 1a. Photo: Author.

or “lost-wax” process) and the molten bronze poured in. After the casting of the sculpture, the chaplets were plugged or patched to conceal the holes.¹⁴ One telltale sign of a chaplet hole is a slight rise or flange around the hole on the inside surface of the bronze resulting from the bronze pin being pushed through the wax skin covering the core. In the case of Getty Portrait A, however, the square hole lacks any signs of a flange on the interior surface of the bust.¹⁵ The inner walls of this hole appear to have been cut through wax with a sharp, pointed instrument before the bust was cast. Sometimes round holes were drilled in this position behind the bust for mounting the plastron on a herm.¹⁶ However, the number of small drilled holes in the plastron for mounting would make this square hole rather superfluous, unless the square hole were made first, and it was later decided to drill holes in the plastron for the mounting. There may also have been another explanation for the square hole. As we shall see, this hole may have been employed for the attachment of a square bronze pin that would have served to support a separately cast section of hair locks attached to the back of the head.

A careful examination of the interior and exterior surfaces did not reveal the use of chaplets in casting the head. The number of chaplets necessary to suspend the core in its encasement during the casting process varies in such busts. We would expect at least three chaplets to have been used for such a bust.¹⁷ These may once have been located where the nostrils are now hollow, leaving no signs of the use of chaplets. Also, the clay used for the outer investment filled the hollows of the eyes, so that the clay in these hollows acted like chaplets.¹⁸ The square hole between the shoulders in the upper part of the bust of Portrait A would also have been filled with clay, so that it, too, functioned like a chaplet, although this does not seem to have been the primary use of this square hole. As for the interior of Portrait A, the surface of the head is rather uneven and lumpy, with a network of radiating “flashings” (fig. 5e). These distinctive flashings on the inside surface of the bronze are not traces of seams resulting from the joining together of sections of wax, but were caused by the seepage of molten bronze into cracks in the core during the casting process. Wax drip lines on the interior surface (see fig. 5e) provide some evidence that the

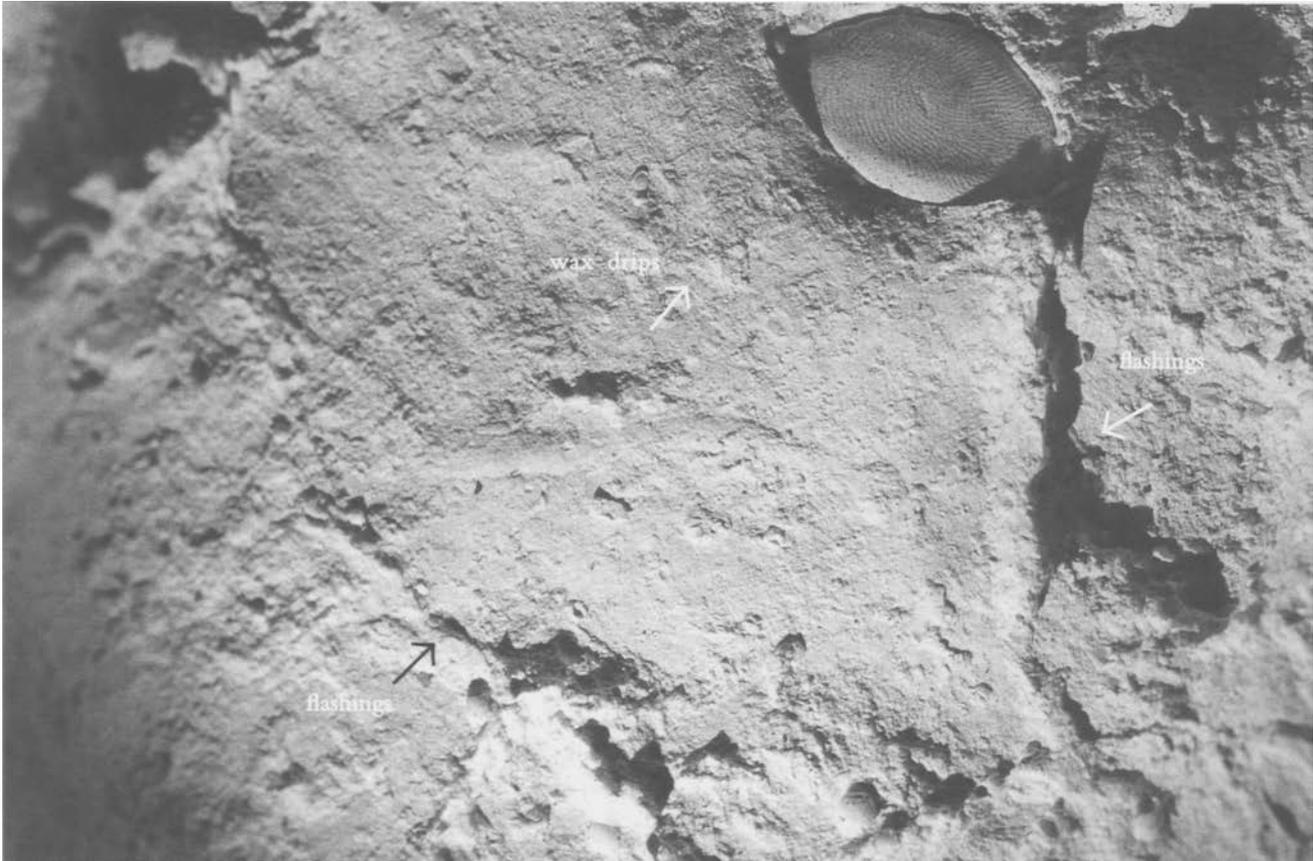


Figure 5e. Flashings and molten wax drips in the interior of head of Portrait A, figure 1a. Photo: Antiquities Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum.

indirect rather than the direct method of casting was used for this portrait.¹⁹

Portrait B: acc. no. 89.AB.67.2
(see figs. 2a–d, 4, 6, 8, 10a–c)

Total height of portrait: 40.5 cm (ca. 16 in.)
Height from top of head to chin: 18.5 cm (ca. 7¼ in.)
Thickness of bronze: 2–6 mm (ca. ¼–⅓ in.)
Average thickness of bronze: ca. 5 mm (ca. ⅜ in.)

Portrait B is only slightly less well preserved than Portrait A. A jagged missing section on the right lower front edge of the plastron of the bust was the result not of a break but of cracking during the casting process. There are cracks also on the right side of the bust, a large jagged section missing on the back of the right shoulder, and a horizontal crack on the mass of hair locks over the left eye. Small irregular casting holes resulting from porosity in the casting process are found

on top and at the back of the head (see figs. 2d, 4), areas that would not have been readily visible. Six small chaplet holes are evident on the head and face, as well as one on the upper back between the shoulders (see fig. 10c). There are dents on top of the head, on the right side over the right ear, and at the back. This denting indicates that the head sustained damage at some point, most likely as the result of a fall. The lack of repairs on the lower part of the front of the plastron, where there are numerous casting holes and irregularities, suggests that this area was to be concealed by an affixed decorative ornament. The lack of rivets and the high concentration of lead along the lower front part of the chest clearly indicate that leaded tin solder was used for the attachment of an ornament, most likely an acanthus calyx similar to that affixed to Portrait A. There are numerous small rectilinear patches on the bust just below the juncture of the neck and chest. On the interior surface of Bust B are traces of drips of molten wax, as well as fingernail marks and

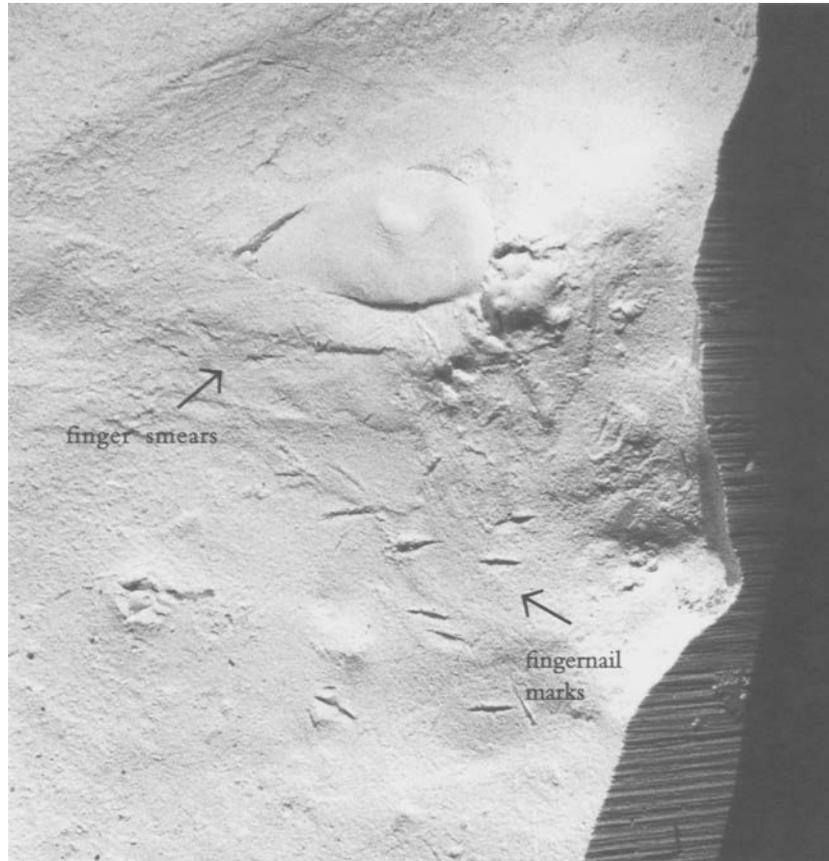


Figure 6. Fingernail marks and finger smears around the eye on interior of Portrait B, figure 2a. Photo: Antiquities Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum.

finger smears around the eyes (fig. 6), resulting from pressing sections of wax into place in the molds. All these traces are clear signs of the indirect method of casting.

CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO BOTH PORTRAITS

The patina of both portraits is generally dark green except for the interior and underside, which support carbonate corrosion products (malachite and azurite) as well as some copper oxides and copper sulfides. Traces of these same corrosive products and the numerous fine scratch marks on the exterior surfaces indicate that both busts were thoroughly cleaned with abrasives at some point after their discovery.²⁰ The uncorroded bronze surface appears originally to have been a brass color. After being cast and cleaned, both busts were “cold-worked” through a process of chasing and incising.²¹ The percentages of alloys employed in both portraits are consistent with those of known Roman alloy

compositions (ca. 75% copper, 8–10% tin, and 14–18% lead) and support a date in the first century A.D.²²

By comparison with the more plastically rendered hair patterns of the front half of the head, the hair at the back of the head appears very linear and artificial. Long, parallel, slightly curving vertical lines were scored in the wax before casting. Thin incisions were made to indicate individual strands of hair, while thicker incisions were made at roughly equal intervals to suggest larger divisions, or skeins, of hair. These hair patterns were further incised during the cold-working process following the casting. Across the entire back of the head where the cap of scored hair overlaps the neck, a zigzag pattern was cut in the wax (cf. Portrait A, fig. 7, and Portrait B, fig. 8). In the case of Portrait A, traces of chisel marks during cold-working can be seen along the base of the hairline on the far left side of the head. Leaded tin residue along the zigzag hairline of both portraits indicates that sections of hair locks were cast separately and attached by means of soldering (see



Figure 7. Zigzag cuts in hairline of Portrait A, figure 1a. Photo: Author.



Figure 8. Zigzag cuts in hairline of Portrait B, figure 2a. Photo: Author.

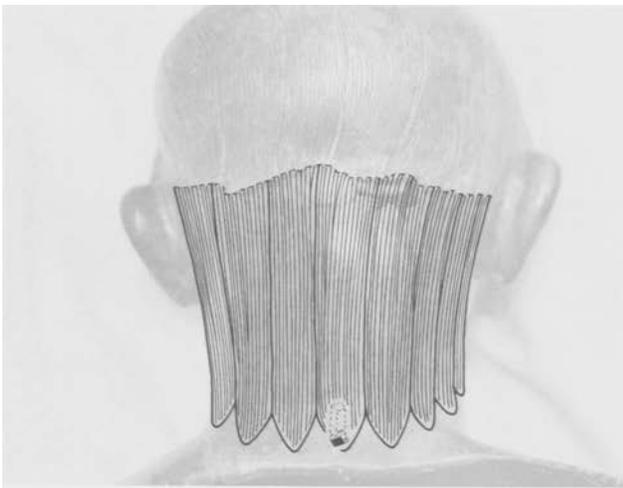


Figure 9. Reconstruction of postulated section of back hair locks of Portrait A, figure 1a. Drawing: Peggy Sanders, based on a drawing by the author.

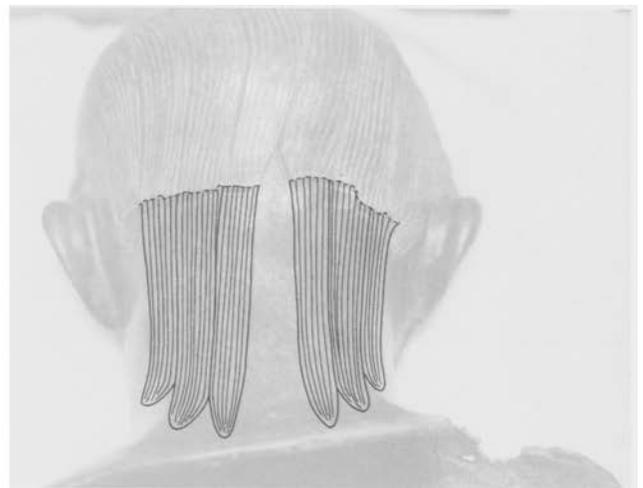


Figure 10a. Reconstruction of postulated section of back hair locks of Portrait B, figure 2a. Drawing: Peggy Sanders, based on a drawing by the author.

reconstructed drawings: Portrait A, fig. 9; Portrait B, fig. 10a). Because of the nature of these iconographical hairstyles, the now-missing hair locks would have been long. These locks undoubtedly reached but were not affixed to the shoulders, for there is no evidence on the shoulders for the soldering on of individual hair locks. The parting of the hair from ear to ear over the top of the head (see figs. 3, 4) is a feature of the hairstyle, not the result of the way the heads were manufactured;

that is, the front and back sections of the heads were not cast separately and pieced together, leaving a seam from ear to ear over the top of the head, as is the case with a figure of a Celtic warrior from Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée in the Musée Départemental de l'Oise (see fig. 14).²³

In both Getty portraits the neck is elongated, tapering down unnaturally to where the neck meets the shoulders. This feature appears to be in keeping



Figure 10b. Cold-working of hair behind left ear of Portrait B, figure 2a. Photo: Author.

with abstracting tendencies in provincial works of art.²⁴ The comparatively thicker upper part of the neck, a feature apparent only in the profile views, would have been masked by the attached section(s) of hair locks at the back of the head. The inside parts of the ears of both portraits are hollow, while the entire pinnae (ear rims) are solid bronze.²⁵ The eyebrows are incised in a feathery herringbone pattern. The now-missing eyes, probably once framed by copper eyelashes, were most likely fashioned out of different-colored materials and attached (from behind) to the hollow eye sockets that were cut out in the wax model.²⁶ Although there is less evidence in the case of Portrait A, drip lines and other traces on the interior surface of the two bronze busts indicate, as already noted, that both were produced by the more complicated indirect method of casting rather than the simpler direct casting method.²⁷

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PORTRAIT BUSTS

The surface of the interior of Bust B is more even than that of Bust A. On the interior of B is other evidence for indirect casting besides drip lines, most notably the

finger nail marks and finger smears around the eyes (see fig. 6) resulting from wax having been pressed into a mold. No chaplets are evident in Portrait A, while at least six were found on Portrait B. In Portrait A the sinuous pattern of hair locks over the forehead and the large sidelocks curling forward in front of the ears (especially evident in front of the left ear) are treated more naturalistically and are more finely incised than in Portrait B. The individual hair strands of B are thicker, with more rounded ends. The thick flat skeins of hair at the back of the head are different in number and detail: in Portrait A there are ten individual skeins of hair, while in B there are only eight. In A the incisions dividing the hair mass into sections are generally deeper and more distinctive than in B. Cold-worked incisions at the end of the hair skein behind each ear of Portrait B are made directly onto the neck (see, e.g., figs. 8, 10b), a feature absent in Portrait A. The pattern of zigzag cuts along the hairline at the nape of the neck differs somewhat in the two portraits (cf. figs. 7 and 8), with the zigzag line being cut more diagonally in Portrait A. In B there is a distinct forking of the locks to the left and right of the center of the hairline (see



Figure 10c. Chaplet hole in the back of Portrait B, figure 2a. Photo: Author.

figs. 8, 10a), a feature absent in Portrait A. The part from ear to ear over the top of the head of B (see fig. 4) is further back on the head than in A (see fig. 3). In B, the division of this part is narrower and more sharply cut, while in A it is wider with a rounded contour.

The face of Bust B is somewhat longer and wider than that of A, and the individual features are slightly larger and less subtly modeled. The hollowed eyes of Portrait B are slightly wider (by ca. 2 mm) than those of A and the eyelids are thicker. The herringbone pattern of the eyebrows of B is more deeply incised, while the incision work on A is more delicate and refined. The nostrils of A are hollowed out, while those of B are not. Bust B's mouth is slightly wider (by ca. 2 mm) than that of A, with lips that are more protruding and more sharply defined. The corners of B's mouth are deeper and less well executed. The slightly longer ears of B are less carefully articulated, especially in the area of the inner structure of the ear. In addition, the earlobes of Bust A are clearly articulated, while those of B are not. Portrait B's collarbone is unnaturally rounded,

whereas that of A is rendered in a fairly naturalistic fashion. The shoulders of B are more rounded and cupped than those of A. The ornamental attachments at the front were affixed differently in each portrait: that of A was riveted on the base of the bust, while the missing ornament of B was once soldered on. Unlike A, Bust B lacks any holes in its plastron or at the base of the neck. The rim of the plastron of A is hammered over on the back side, a feature absent in B. And, finally, the ca. 7-mm hollow square hole between the shoulders at the back of the bust in Portrait A (see fig. 5d) appears to have been cut in the wax, while the ca. 3-mm filled square hole in the corresponding location at the back of Bust B (fig. 10c) is a chaplet hole.

PRELIMINARY TECHNICAL CONCLUSIONS

Given the differences in the physiognomy and proportions of the facial features, the Getty portraits were evidently not meant to represent the same individual.²⁸ Furthermore, these and other differences, such as the position of the hair part from ear to ear over the head

(cf. figs. 3 and 4), clearly indicate that the same mold was not used for both portraits.²⁹ However, in view of the overall similarity in size, bust form, hairstyle, and facial features, either the same model was used for both, with alterations introduced to suggest different individuals,³⁰ or the higher-quality Portrait A served as the basic model for Portrait B. In the case of both portraits, the back of the head was not meant to be seen, since there is a great contrast between the more careful and more organic treatment of the hair at the front and the less detailed, more linear treatment of it at the back.³¹ For this reason, both Getty busts were most likely meant to be set against a wall or in a niche.

The great similarities in appearance between Busts A and B suggest that they were produced either contemporaneously or within a few years of each other. However, the subtle differences in detail and quality of the two works indicate that they were created by two different sculptors. Furthermore, the percentages of trace elements in the alloys of the two busts are not sufficiently close to establish that they were produced from the same batch of bronze and hence in the same workshop.³² In fact, the quite different approaches and techniques employed in casting the two busts strongly suggest that they were produced in different workshops. It would have been highly unlikely for one workshop to employ such different methods and approaches in bronze casting, especially if the busts were produced just a short time apart,³³ as is clearly indicated by their iconographic and stylistic similarities. Moreover, the different manner of attaching the acanthus ornament and the introduction of small drill holes in the plastron of Portrait A, but not in B, would also be easier to explain if the two portraits were produced in different workshops.

Based on the associated finds and the internal evidence of the busts themselves, there are various ways to interpret the production and display of the two Getty portraits. From the holes in the plastron of Portrait A, as well as their pattern (see figs. 5b–c), we may postulate that this bust originally could have been affixed by nails to a wooden herm.³⁴ Because it is apparent that the finds in this cache of bronzes are from Roman Gaul, a wooden herm would be understandable, given the great abundance of wood and the lack of local sources of marble or other high-grade stone in Gaul in the first century A.D.³⁵ At a somewhat later date (possibly at the time Portrait B was commissioned), Portrait A may have been removed from its herm in order to add an acanthus calyx ornament: two holes (see fig. 5c: 2a

and 3a) are covered by the acanthus decoration and would have served no purpose unless one or both had been used for affixing the bust to a herm before the acanthus ornament was added.

Two sets of holes in the plastron line up horizontally: 1a–1b and 3a–3b, while a roughly symmetrical pattern is formed by 1a–2a and 1b–2b, as well as by 1a–2a–4a and 1b–2b–3b. Four holes would certainly have been sufficient to affix the bust to a wooden herm; six holes, more than enough. Why, then, are there seven holes? We can only postulate various scenarios. If only four holes (1a, 2a, 1b, 2b) were used to affix the bust to a wooden herm, an additional two holes would have been made to attach the acanthus ornament to the plastron. At that time 3a and 3b may have been drilled. However, hole 3a would not have been used in the end for a rivet, possibly because the decorative ridge of the acanthus is rather thick at this point. There may also have been a weakness or a slight casting crack at the back of the acanthus leaf where it was to be joined with hole 3a in the plastron. If there is a crack behind the leaf here, it can no longer be seen, although there appears to be a hairline fracture on the front of the acanthus leaf at this very point. In either case, a seventh hole, 4a, would then have been drilled to take the rivet.

Alternatively, if six holes had originally been drilled for attaching the bust to a wooden herm, the pattern would have been 1a–2a–4a and 1b–2b–3b or 1a–2a–3a and 1b–2b–3b. If the original pattern were 1a–2a–4a, then hole 3a might have been drilled parallel to 3b to give support at the outer edge of the acanthus, before taking into account the problematic thickness of the acanthus leaf at that point. But if the original pattern were 1a–2a–3a, then 4a would have been drilled for the rivet because of the same problem involving hole 3a and the thickness of the decorative ridge of the acanthus.

After the attachment of the acanthus ornament, Portrait A may have been mounted or remounted on a wooden herm. The two uppermost holes, 1a and 1b, and possibly 2b, could have served for fastening the bust to such a herm. The other holes could not have been used to affix the bust to a wooden herm in the second phase, since holes 2a and 3a are covered over by the acanthus ornament, while 4a and 3b have rivets in them.

As noted earlier, Bust B has no holes in its plastron for attachment with nails, as we might expect if it were attached to a wooden herm. The rounded and

cupped shoulders of B may have helped hold the bust in place. But whether it were attached to a wooden or stone herm, we would expect some sort of fixative such as pitch or plaster to have been used. If such a fixative were used, it has completely disappeared over the centuries.

Although the two exposed drill holes in the plastron of Portrait A may have been used to mount it on a wooden herm, this bust may also have been affixed to a stone herm. A portrait bust of C. Norbanus Sorex from the Iseum at Pompeii, now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples,³⁶ provides evidence for just such a bust with holes in its plastron being affixed to a stone herm. This portrait of Sorex, an actor and (later) *magister* of the *pagus* of Augustus Felix Suburbanus, has been dated to the last two decades of the first century B.C.³⁷ Three large holes were made in the plastron of Sorex's portrait: two at the level of the shoulders and one at the base of the plastron. No nails, however, were used to attach the bust to its cipollino-marble herm, only a cementing agent. It is therefore conceivable that this bust was originally set on a wooden herm and later remounted on its present marble herm.³⁸ However, the use of such holes in the plastron of a bust might also be explained as standard practice if this portrait were to have been replicated in sufficiently great number, so that it was left to the purchaser to decide whether he wanted the bust on a wooden or stone herm. This may indeed have been the case with Sorex, who appears to have been a popular actor: Not only does the inscription on his herm indicate that his bust was officially set up in a designated place,³⁹ but two other headless herms with the name of Sorex have come to light—one from the Eumachia at Pompeii,⁴⁰ the other from the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi in Latium.⁴¹ Unlike the portraits of Sorex, the Getty busts would in all likelihood not have been replicated in any great number, since the individuals represented were, as we shall see, slave boys. Furthermore, we would expect Portrait B to have had holes in its plastron if it were a replicated bust.

Another technical element that may be pertinent, at least to the display of Portrait A, is the square hole on the upper back between the shoulders (see fig. 5d). Life-size busts that were meant to be mounted on herms sometimes have a single hole on the upper back between the shoulders. Normally, this would have been a round drilled hole, as in the case of a bronze bust of an unknown boy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁴² In other cases, no such hole was drilled



Figure 11. Back of bronze bust of “Rimini Matron” (Empress Livia). H., with base: 24.1 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1952, 52.11.6.

either at the back of the bust or in the plastron, as we know in the case of other bronze portraits, like that of an unknown man in the Cleveland Museum of Art,⁴³ or of the so-called L. Caecilius Iucundus from Pompeii, now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples,⁴⁴ the latter still affixed to its stone herm.

In a few approximately half life-size portrait busts decorated with an acanthus ornament and mounted on bronze bases, one or two round holes are found on the upper back between the shoulders: one round hole, for example, in the bust of an unknown woman from Rimini (fig. 11) in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, whom I shall call the “Rimini Matron;”⁴⁵ and two round holes in the bust of another unidentified woman from ancient Alesia (figs. 12a–b) in the Musée Alesia, Alise-Sainte-Reine (Dijon), whom I shall call the “Alesia Lady.”⁴⁶ In his discussion of these two



Figure 12a. Bronze bust of the "Alesia Lady." Front view. Total H. of bust: 22.5 cm. Alise-Sainte-Reine, Musée Alesia 912 98 0001.



Figure 12b. Back of bust of the "Alesia Lady," figure 12a.

female portrait busts, Hans Jucker postulated that the holes were for the attachment of wires that would have secured the bust to the back wall of a niche or a wooden *aedicula*.⁴⁷ He hypothesized further that the use of wires in this manner would have prevented the bust from either falling over or being stolen. Neither suggestion, however, seems likely. First, the busts are not top-heavy, so there was little risk of their being toppled, nor do the majority of other small bronze portraits have such holes. Second, these two busts are not in precious metals, so there was little need to secure them by wire to a wall. In the case of the Rimini Matron, the single hole may have served for the pin of a supporting armature at the back of the bust. The bottom of the plastron of this bust is not soldered to its acanthus calyx but slips into a concave groove in the upper part of the acanthus ornament. To support the

bust, some sort of thin, straplike metal armature might have been employed behind the bust both to give it greater stability and to allow it to lean back, so that the face would be in a more upright position than it appears in old photos. This postulated ancient armature may have looked somewhat like the modern one now used to support the figure on its unsoldered base (see fig. 11). This modern armature consists of a thin, straplike vertical metal element ending in a pin that curves back and passes through the hole in the base of the neck.⁴⁸ A curving, straplike metal element (not seen in the photo) is joined at the top of the vertical support to form the horizontal arm of a cross. In the case of the Alesia Lady, a heavy concentration of solder is used to secure the bust to the acanthus calyx. Although probably not needed because of the ample use of solder, the two holes on either side of the plaited braid of



Figure 13. “Chatsworth Apollo.” Note the attached sections of locks at back of the head. London, The British Museum 1958.4-18.1. Photo: Author.

hair at the back of the Alesia Lady may have been intended for two pins of some sort of (bifurcated?) supporting armature before it was decided to solder the bust to its acanthus ornament. The only other explanation for the two holes at the back of the Alesia Lady is that they may have been for the attachment of some necklace in gold or silver, in which case the two holes might have been a security measure.

As for the square hole at the back of Bust A (see fig. 5d), such a hole would not have served for the attachment of some neck ornament, for slave boys of this sort did not wear such adornments.⁴⁹ It is also unlikely that the plastron of Portrait A would have slipped into a concave groove of a separate acanthus ornament such as that used for the half life-size bust of the Rimini Matron, since several of the drill holes in the plastron of Bust A, which obviously predated the

present attached acanthus ornament, would have been more than sufficient to secure the bust to some sort of postulated wooden herm. There is another more likely use for the square hole in the upper back of Portrait A. Such a hole may have been used for a now-missing short, square bronze rod that would have supported a separately cast section of long hair locks that was once attached to the zigzag cut along the baseline of the hair at the nape of the neck (see figs. 9 and 10a). Neither in Bust A nor in B do the zigzag cuts correspond neatly to the vertical skeins of hair (see figs. 7–8). Rather, the cuts occur in the middle of them, suggesting the attachment of a large section or sections of hair locks, rather than several individually cast skeins. The so-called Chatsworth Apollo from Tamassos on Cyprus, now in the British Museum (fig. 13), provides a good parallel for the addition of long locks not touching the

shoulders. These locks were soldered onto the hairline at the back of the head as separately cast groups or clusters rather than as individual hairlocks.⁵⁰ As in the case of both Getty portraits, the baseline of the hair at the back was cut in a somewhat irregular fashion rather than in a perfectly straight line.

Why might the artists who produced the two Getty portraits have created zigzag cuts along the baseline of the hair? I would propose that these zigzag patterns were made in order to facilitate the positioning and steadying of one large, separately cast section of hairlocks in the soldering process. In short, the zigzag cuts served as an interlocking device. Only in the case of Portrait B is there a distinct forking of the locks to the left and right of the center of the hairline (see fig. 8). On the two hair sections several vertical skeins, probably ending in points, would have been delineated (cf. reconstruction: see fig. 10a). In Portrait A, the lack of any forking of the hair along the baseline at the nape of the neck (see fig. 7) suggests that one large curving section of hair with delineated vertical skeins of hair was cast separately and attached (cf. reconstruction: see fig. 9). If one large separately cast section of hair was added in this fashion, then the centrally positioned square hole on the upper back between the shoulders of Bust A (see fig. 5d) might have been used for the attachment of a short bronze rod that in turn would have supported the added cast hair section. If, as I have postulated, Portrait A were made before Portrait B, the artist who produced the latter might have decided to divide the fringe of long locks at the back into two separate sections so as to obviate the need for a short supporting rod. As we shall see, such a forking of the hair at the back was not a distinctive iconographic feature of this particular hairstyle.

In light of the fact that the Rimini Matron is mounted on a bronze base, as was the Alesia Lady, could the two Getty busts likewise once have been placed on bronze bases rather than wooden or stone herms? In order for them to have been attached, there would have to have been a vertical tang projecting from the base of the decorative attachment that was added to the bottom of the plastron. In the bust of the Alesia Lady, the acanthus calyx, which is soldered onto the base of its plastron, has a tang with a vertical slot. Most likely, some sort of flat wedge or bolt was once inserted through this slotted tang to fix the bust to its base.⁵¹

The bust of the Rimini Matron gives us an idea of how the bust of the Alesia Lady would have looked with its attached bronze base. However, both these

busts are significantly smaller than the life-size Getty portraits. Unfortunately, we have very little comparative evidence for large bronze busts with some sort of tang cast as part of the plastron itself or as part of some sort of ornamental floral attachment soldered onto the plastron,⁵² and none has an extant bronze base. The only other life-size bronze portrait bust known to me with any sort of ornamental floral attachment is a portrait of an unknown man from Laus Pompeia (Lodi Vecchio) in the Museo Archeologico of Milan.⁵³ In this bust, however, the crudely fashioned acanthus ornament was cast as part of the plastron. Because there is no evidence for a tang, the Laus Pompeia bust was most likely set on a stone herm.

A rare use of a tang for a life-size bronze bust is found in a portrait of Juba II of Mauritania from Volubilis in the Musée de Préhistoire et d'Antiquités Classiques, Rabat.⁵⁴ In this case, a short, thick metal tang was not part of a floral ornament at the base of the bust but was cast as part of the plastron. Either another now-missing, flat, straplike metal element in the form of a right-angle bracket was soldered onto the back of the tang with the end of the upright arm of the bracket supporting the back of the plastron,⁵⁵ or the short tang was set in a corresponding metal slot that was fused with lead into the top of a heavy marble base. In the case of the Getty portrait busts, there is an approximately 3.3-cm-long (ca. 1¼ in.) rough patch at the base of Portrait A's acanthus calyx (see fig. 5a). However, because of the shortness and narrowness of this rough patch and the lack of any deformation of the metal in this area, it is highly unlikely that there was once a vertical tang of sufficient thickness to support the bust on a bronze base or stand. Moreover, there is no evidence on the back of the plastron of either bust for the attachment of any kind of right-angle bracket. In conclusion, it is highly unlikely that either Getty bust once had a tang (or bracket) support or was set on a bronze base. The busts were, therefore, most likely set on some sort of herm, possibly with the names of the individuals inscribed.⁵⁶

Why an acanthus calyx ornament might have been added some time after the manufacture of Bust A remains something of a puzzle. The use of acanthus motifs to decorate portraits was especially popular in Greco-Roman Egypt and Roman Gaul.⁵⁷ Moreover, acanthus motifs, which can be found already on Classical Greek grave stelai,⁵⁸ were common in funereal contexts. Such usage is understandable, since acanthus appears to be an Apolline and Dionysiac symbol of

regeneration and immortality.⁵⁹ Because of the limited nature of our information about the Getty bronzes, we cannot establish definitively—nor rule out—a funereal association. The individual represented in Portrait A might have died in his youth, with the acanthus ornament's being added in recognition of his death. If so, the presumed acanthus attachment for Bust B would probably have conveyed the same sentiment. In general, death at an early age was a far more common occurrence in preindustrial societies than it is today.⁶⁰ Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the adopted sons of Augustus, are examples of two individuals who died in their youth within two years of one another.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the acanthus ornament on Portrait A (and presumably on B) need not signify that the individual represented is deceased, since acanthus was also used purely decoratively.⁶² In view of the association of these busts with objects of clear cultic significance from the same bronze cache, it is even possible that the acanthus ornament had some sacral significance, since acanthus was believed to have potent apotropaic powers.⁶³

PROVINCIAL PORTRAITURE AND WORKSHOP STYLES

The physiognomic similarity between the two Getty portraits, as well as their general Julio-Claudian look, pairing, apparent closeness in age, and high quality of workmanship for provincial products might at first glance suggest that the busts represent youthful members of the Julio-Claudian family.⁶⁴ In the case of provincial works, it is at times difficult to know whether certain portraits do represent the *princeps* or members of his family, for provincial workshop styles do not always accurately follow Rome portrait models. There will often be divergences in both physiognomic features and hairstyles from the Rome models, as we know both from ancient literary evidence and from extant provincial works themselves.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the iconographic hairstyle of the Getty portraits is so distinctive as to preclude the possibility that either represents a member of the imperial family. As we shall see, the hairstyle of both is characteristic of young males of servile status.

Notwithstanding the provincial nature of the Getty portraits, their hairstyles are essentially Roman, not Celtic, as is evident from comparison with a typically Celtic hair fashion such as that worn by the figure of a Celtic warrior from Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée in the Musée Départemental de l'Oise (fig. 14).⁶⁶ In this warrior figure, the front and back sections of the head were pieced together, so that the seam over the top of

the head is not a true hair part from ear to ear like that on the Getty busts. The hairstyle of the Celtic warrior also lacks the vertical skeins at the back of the head seen in the Getty portraits. In short, we are to understand the long hair of the warrior figure as being pulled straight back from the forehead to the back of the head in a fashion described as Celtic by Diodorus Siculus (5.28). The treatment of the hair of the Celtic warrior figure has a linear emphasis characteristic of artistic products of both higher and lower quality from northern Italy and the western/northern provinces, Gaul in particular.⁶⁷ In many other works from these same areas, the mass of hair takes on the appearance of an artificial cap, with individual strands of hair schematically delineated in low relief.⁶⁸ In both Getty portraits there is a considerable difference between the linear, but still organically treated long, sinuous hair strands over the front of the head and the inorganically rendered hair at the back of the head. To be sure, the hair at the back of the head of Roman portraits was often treated more summarily and linearly than that at the front because the backs were generally not meant to be seen.⁶⁹ Unlike the majority of portraits in bronze or marble, both Getty portraits display a great difference between the organically delineated hair of the front half of the head and the abstractly linear treatment of the hair of the back half of the head.⁷⁰

Although fairly well articulated, the organic forms of both Getty portraits have been somewhat simplified and abstracted. Frontally, the faces appear slightly mask-like, an impression that contrasts with the more personalized appearance of the facial features in profile view. This variance between frontal and profile views also creates a different impression of the individuals' relative ages; that is, in the frontal (optimum) view Portrait A seems younger than Portrait B, while in profile view, the opposite is true. The penchant for abstracting organic form, which is typical of Gallo-Roman workmanship, is particularly evident in the formation of the collarbone of both, although the artist who fashioned Portrait A showed relatively greater skill in attempting to articulate natural forms. In its more abstractly constructed collarbone, Portrait B shares certain affinities with other provincial works such as a Trajanic-Hadrianic bust of Ceres(?) from Colonia Augusta Raurica (Augst, Switzerland),⁷¹ and with a mid-first-century-A.D. statuette of Mercury from the same site.⁷² In the latter example, the abstraction of the collarbone is even more pronounced than in Portrait B. The hollowed-out eyes of both Getty portraits, once



Figure 14. Head of a Celtic warrior, from Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée, Oise. Sheet brass, first century A.D. Beauvais, Musée Départemental de l'Oise. Photo from S. Moscati et al., *The Celts*, p. 330.

filled with colored glass paste and/or colored stone, appear somewhat large. This tendency to enlarge the eyes is a trait shared with other works of provincial manufacture, especially from Italy and the provinces of the Roman West.⁷³ Many of these provincial works, often with unnaturalistically large eyes, abstract natural forms even more than do the Getty portraits.⁷⁴

Provincial works, especially from the Roman West, can often be difficult to date,⁷⁵ particularly if they depended on a “Romacentric” concept of stylistic “evolution.” Such a view has led, for example, to the misidentification and/or misdating to the late Antique period of the portrait bust of Marcus Aurelius from Avanches (Aventicum Helvetiorum).⁷⁶ In dating the

Getty portraits, therefore, we must take into consideration not only the general stylistic treatment of the works but also other elements such as the distinctive hairstyle and bust form. One of the closest parallels for the style and treatment of the hair as a whole is a marble portrait head of an unknown young girl in the Museo Civico in Cremona, dated to the later Julio-Claudian period (figs. 15a–b).⁷⁷ However, unlike the Getty portraits’ coiffure or any other feminized male hairstyle, that of the Cremona girl has a hair braid running from the forehead to the crown of her head. The back of her head also lacks the larger divisions, or skeins, of hair that characterize the hairstyle of the Getty portraits.

As far as dating the Getty portraits on the basis of the bust form is concerned, the style, shape, and size of the bust (relative to the proportions of the head and neck) find close parallels in the Alesia Lady (see figs. 12a–b), which dates to the Neronian–early Flavian period.⁷⁸

Numbers of general stylistic and technical similarities between the Alesia Lady⁷⁹ and the two Getty busts suggest that the former may have been created by one of the workshops that produced the Getty busts, although not by either of the artists who created the Getty portraits. First of all, the quality of workmanship of the Alesia Lady is roughly comparable to that of the Getty bronzes. In all three portraits, there is a general similarity in the surface treatment, the shape of the face, and the long neck, as well as individual physiognomic features. The tendency to abstract forms is more evident in frontal view than in profile.⁸⁰ The nose, lips, philtrum (supralabial furrow), and eyebrows of all three portraits also share a strong, chiseled, angular quality. The eyebrows have been carefully incised in a feathery, herringbone pattern. Although the hair of the Alesia Lady is obviously treated far more plastically, there is in all three portraits a strong emphasis on decorative patterns, which is typical of Celtic and Gallo-Roman works in particular.⁸¹ As in the Getty bronzes, the hair at the back of the head of the Alesia Lady has a strongly linear emphasis and has been cold-worked.⁸² However, in the case of the Alesia Lady, the individual hair strands are organically delineated, with no additional sections of hair. As in the Getty busts, the Alesia Lady's hair is brushed forward and backward from a part running from ear to ear over the crown of her head. And finally, her partially preserved left eye and eyelashes give us some idea of how the now-missing eyes of the Getty portraits may once have looked. The preserved eyeball of the Alesia Lady is made of a hard, opaque material, while the shallow, circular depression in the eyeball was probably once set with dark stone or glass paste to form the iris and pupil.⁸³ Framing the eyes are thin copper sheets, the ends of which were cut to form eyelashes. The Alesia Lady and Getty Bust A show a general similarity in the form, relative size,⁸⁴ and style of the trefoil-shaped acanthus ornament that was cast separately and attached.⁸⁵ In both these busts, the stylized, spikelike stalk of the central leaf of the acanthus meets perpendicularly two other spikelike stalks of the half acanthus leaves forming a trefoil calyx. The plastic modeling of individual leaves with

their curling tops is on the whole naturalistic, although the quality of workmanship of the acanthus ornament attached to the bust of the Alesia Lady is higher than that of Getty Portrait A.

If the bust of the Alesia Lady were made in one of the workshops that produced the Getty bronzes, it would be difficult to establish which of the two it was because of the relatively close stylistic affinities of the Getty busts to one another. Unfortunately, there are no scientific reports analyzing the interior of the Alesia Lady or discussing any other technical matters related to its casting. Moreover, the percentages of the trace elements used for the alloys in the Alesia Lady are not close enough to establish that the bronze was from the same batch as either Getty bust—a highly unlikely circumstance, in any case.⁸⁶ Therefore, the trace elements of alloys used in the Alesia Lady cannot be used to establish a workshop attribution. Any final assessment of the possible relationship between the workshop that produced the Alesia Lady and those that created the Getty busts must await future scientific examination of the Alesia Lady. All that can be established is that three different artists produced the two Getty portraits and the bust of the Alesia Lady.

As far as the ancient town of Alesia itself is concerned, Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.162) tells us that it was a center for metalworking, or at least for a certain type of plating: Pliny speaks of a special type of white-lead plating (*incostilia*) that had been invented in Gaul to make bronze objects look indistinguishable from silver.⁸⁷ He then goes on to say that a similar plating process was further developed later on in Alesia⁸⁸ for various types of small decorative objects. Although there is no trace of plating on the Alesia Lady or the Getty portraits, Pliny's comments with regard to metalworking in the area are supported by a great deal of archaeological evidence. Bronze foundries, crucibles, numerous casting molds, and related smelting equipment have been found in an artisans' quarter southeast of the forum of Alesia.⁸⁹ Despite this evidence, it is not certain whether works of high quality comparable to the Getty portraits and the Alesia Lady were produced here. The bronze finds from Alesia, now in the local museum, are mostly small works of art of no particularly high quality and articles of everyday use, such as bronze fibulae.⁹⁰ Moreover, the fact that the Alesia Lady was found in Alesia does not necessarily mean that this sculpture was produced there. The Alesia Lady, as well as fragments of drapery and leg, may have been

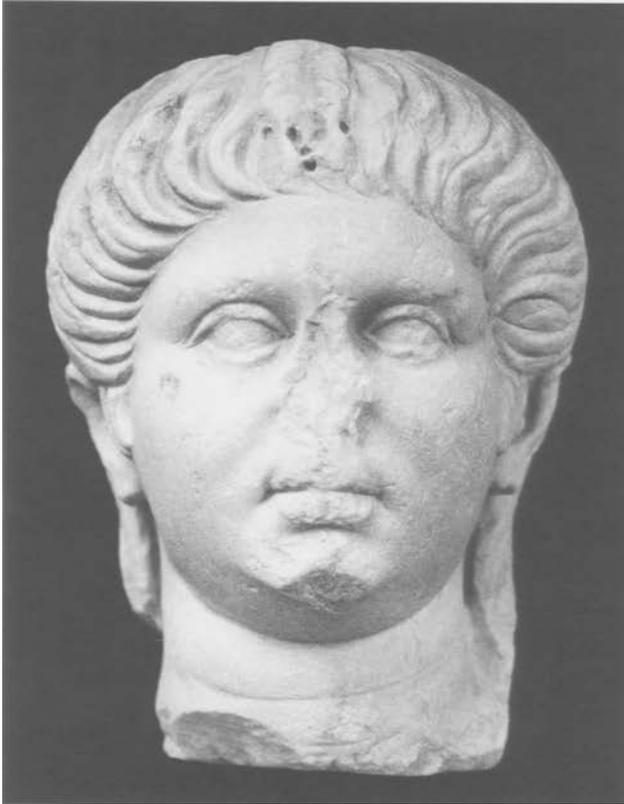


Figure 15a. Marble portrait of a girl. Front view. H.: 21 cm. Cremona, Museo Civico “Ala Ponzone,” inv. 237.

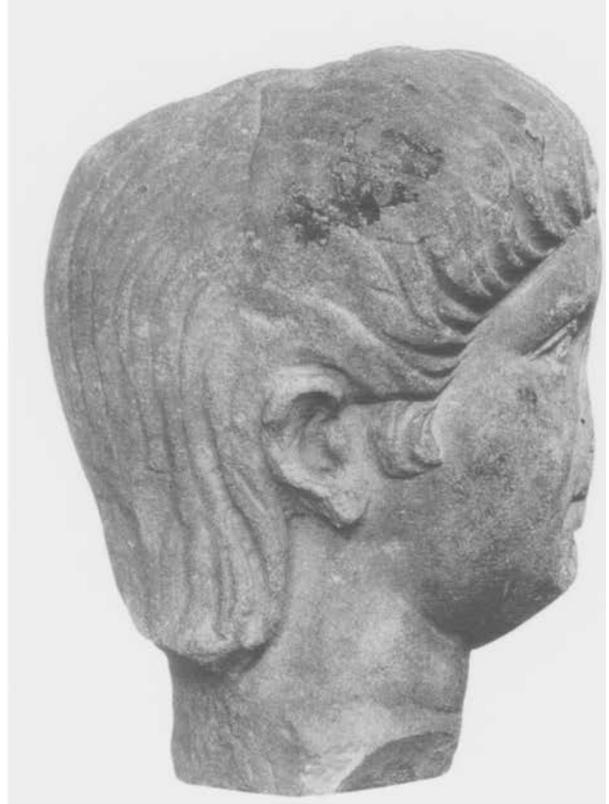


Figure 15b. Right profile of girl, figure 15a.

brought from elsewhere to be resmelted,⁹¹ a fate that befell many life-size and over-life-size bronze sculptures. Our impression that the number of high-quality bronze portraits created in the northern provinces was not particularly great may, indeed, be somewhat skewed because such bronzes were often melted down.

Works from the northern provinces were sometimes executed in a typically Greco-Roman style, with some pieces even being created by Greek artists. For example, Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.45–47) tells us that Zenodorus, one of the leading bronze sculptors of the mid-first century A.D., created a colossal bronze statue of Mercury in Gaul for the Averni. Because of the reputation he won in Gaul, Zenodorus was summoned to Rome to create the colossal bronze statue of Nero that stood in the vestibule of his *Domus Aurea*. Undoubtedly, the colossal statue of Mercury, which it took Zenodorus some ten years to complete, would have been produced in a Greek style, rather than a typically Greco-Roman style. However, it is clear from the sur-

living evidence that high-quality bronze portraits executed in a Gallo-Roman style were also created in the northern provinces. Three Gallo-Roman portraits may be cited as examples of this high-level Gallo-Roman artistry: the so-called Prilly Youth, dating from the Neronian to the Trajanic period,⁹² in the *Bernisches Historisches Museum*; and two male portraits of the Hadrianic period from Les Fins d’Annecy, now in the *Petit Palais*, Paris.⁹³ One technical detail common to the Prilly Youth, the Alesia Lady, and the two Getty portraits is the feathery treatment of the eyebrows, which are incised in a herringbone pattern. This manner of incising eyebrows links all these high-quality bronzes to working techniques also employed by Italian craftsmen. Particularly popular in Roman bronzes of the late Republic and earlier Principate, incised eyebrows in bronze portraits began to disappear after about A.D. 70.⁹⁴ There are other affinities between bronzes from northern Italy and those from southern Gaul, especially *Gallia Narbonensis*, where civilization had



Figure 16a. Bust of an adolescent. Front view. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 1914. Photo: D.A.I. Rome, neg. 77.352. Photographer: Rossa.



Figure 16b. Right profile of adolescent, figure 16a. Photo: D.A.I. Rome, neg. 77.354. Photographer: Rossa.

reached a level comparable to that of northern Italy.⁹⁵ For this and other reasons, determining on the basis of style alone precisely where various works of a provincial nature were actually produced remains rather difficult.

In the case of the Getty portraits, a dedicatory inscription on one of the cult objects associated with them mentions that the dedicant was from Augustodunum (Autun).⁹⁶ Another inscription with the name of the god Cobannus, now in the Musée de l'Avalonnais, was discovered in the early 1970s at the edge of the "Bois de Couan" on the outskirts of Fontenay-près-Vézelay, southwest of Vézelay.⁹⁷ This location lies on the northwestern extremes of the territory of the Aedui, bordering on the land of the Senones, approximately 50 Roman miles (ca. 75 km) northwest of Augustodunum. As noted at the outset, the Cobannus hoard was reportedly discovered near Besançon, although it cannot be established whether the presumed Shrine of Cobannus was also located in this area. Although by no means conclusive, a third inscription in Greek on a zinc tablet from Thormebodenwald (Engehalbinsel) just north of

Bern, Switzerland,⁹⁸ may also refer to the god Cobannus.⁹⁹ The name of the god in the inscription is given as *TOBANO[Σ]*. If this is the same god Cobannus, then the worship of this Celto-Roman god would have extended a little further to the east, into the territory of the Helvetii.

Since certain Celtic divinities were worshiped in a rather restricted geographical area, it is reasonable to conclude that one or more shrines of Cobannus were located in the general area of central eastern France, with the focal point of Cobannus's worship possibly being in the area of Augustodunum. The high quality of these and other figures from the same cache suggests that the workshop was in some major city or town in Roman Gaul, probably somewhere in east central Gaul, especially in the valleys of the Rhone, Saône, and Rhine, where not only industry and commerce were concentrated, but where the cult of the metalworker god Vulcan was also especially prevalent.¹⁰⁰ Located in the valley of the Rhone and Saône, Augustodunum or Lugdunum (Lyon) to the south, two populous cities of



Figure 17. *Ministri* on funerary altar. Detail. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 124514. Photo: D.A.I. Rome, neg. 37.715.

Gaul, are therefore likely candidates for the production center of the Getty portraits, as well as the bust of the Alesia Lady.¹⁰¹

IDENTIFICATION AND DATING OF THE GETTY PORTRAITS

As noted, the most distinctive feature of the two Getty portraits is the iconographic hairstyle, with the hair brushed forward and backward along a part running from ear to ear over the top of the head and with long, linear, vertical strands of hair at the back of the head further divided into more or less uniform skeins. In both portraits the zigzag cuts along the base of the hairline at the nape of the neck, and traces of solder in this area indicate that a separately fashioned section or sections of long hair locks were once attached there. Also noteworthy in both portraits are the large, forward-brushed sidelocks in front of the ears. Similar stylistic characteristics of the hair are found in a marble portrait of an adolescent male in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (figs. 16a–b), a work dating to the late Neronian–early Flavian period.¹⁰² The division of the hair into thick skeins at the back of the head finds a parallel in another marble adolescent portrait, formerly in the Heyl collection in Darmstadt.¹⁰³ These male portraits and others like them have in the past often been incorrectly identified as girls because of their feminized coiffures and androgynous appearance.¹⁰⁴ The feminized hairstyles of youthful males appear to

have been influenced in part by coiffures of female members of the *princeps*'s family. In true female coiffures, however, the hair is generally bound up at the back of the head in a bun, sometimes accompanied by one or two shoulder-length hair tresses behind the ears. Unlike males with feminized hairstyles, women are very rarely shown with long loose tresses across the back of the head, and when they are, their portraits are clearly identifiable as representing women.¹⁰⁵

Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence make it clear that youthful males with feminized hairstyles are of servile status.¹⁰⁶ Referring to a typical slave boy who serves wine (*alius vini minister*) at a master's banquet, Seneca describes in one of his letters (*Ep.* 47.7) an adolescent as “adorned in a womanly manner” (*in muliebrem modum ornatus*). Although this phrase does not specifically refer to the hairstyle, the Latin verb *ornare* is commonly used with both hairstyles and makeup. In his *De vita contemplativa* (48–52), written in the 30s–40s A.D., Philo of Alexandria distinguishes slave boys of three different age groups and comments on their appearance and functions at some of the more opulent banquets.¹⁰⁷ One of the three groups of slave boys appears to have worn their hair like the adolescents portrayed in the Getty busts. About these three groups of slave boys Philo says:

διακονικά, ἀνδράποδα εὐμορφότατα καὶ περικαλλέστατα, ὡς ἀφιγμένα οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φανέντα τὴν τῶν θεωμένων ὄψιν ἡδῦναι· τούτων οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔτι ὄντες οἴνοχοοῦσι, ὑδροφοροῦσι δὲ βούπαιδες λελουμένοι καὶ λελειασμένοι, [οἱ] τὰ τε πρόσωπα ἐν-τρίβονται καὶ ὑπογράφονται καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας εὖ πως διαπλέκονται σφηκούμενοι· βαθυχαῖται γὰρ εἰσιν ἢ μὴ κειρόμενοι τὸ παράπαν ἢ τὰς προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων εἰς ἐπανίσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς κυκλο-τεροῦς ἠκριβωμένον σχῆμα·

Those serving [at the banquet] are slaves of the most comely form and beauty, so that one might think that they have come not so much to serve as to please the eyes of their beholders by their very presence. Some of them who are still only boys¹⁰⁸ pour wine, while older “boys”¹⁰⁹ carry water, [the latter] having been washed and smoothly rubbed [with unguents¹¹⁰ and] with their faces smeared with cosmetics, their lower eyelids painted, and the hair of their head nicely plaited in some way being tightly bound up. For their long thick hair is either not cut at all or their forelocks alone are cut off at the tips to make them of equal length and of a pattern precisely arranged in an arcing line.¹¹¹



Figure 18. Warren Cup. Silver. Detail of Side B. London, The British Museum GR 1999.4-26.1. Photo Courtesy of the British Museum.

Some of the second group of slave boys described by Philo as *βούπαιδες* (i.e., adolescents about 12–15 years old) wear their hair long with a fringe of equally clipped hair locks forming an arc over their foreheads. These are the sickle-shaped locks that are worn by the pubescent boys in the Getty portraits, as well as by other slave boys commonly represented in Roman art.¹¹² One of our earliest visual documents for such a hairstyle is a funerary altar in the Museo Nazionale Romano (fig. 17)¹¹³ that has generally been dated to the Claudian era, probably more specifically to the early Claudian period, which roughly coincides with the time that Philo was writing. Appearing on two sides of this funerary altar are four slave boys, three of whom wear long, shoulder-length hair tresses with sickle-shaped bangs over their foreheads. Some of the objects that these boy ministrants carry are specifically used in public sacrifices, but in this case, they are connected with domestic worship.

Besides the visual evidence for long locks at the

back of the head, one literary source mentions the precise length of locks of a slave boy. At the infamous *cena Trimalchionis* in Petronius's *Satirica* (58), a fellow freedman of Trimalchio specifically mentions that the locks of Encolpius's slave boy Giton were two-thirds of a Roman foot (*besalis*), or about eight inches long: "I'll see to it that those precious eight-inch locks of yours, as well as your two-bit master, won't do you any good" (*curabo, longe tibi sit comula ista besalis et dominus dupundarius*). Interestingly, these locks would have been about the length of the separately fashioned bronze sections of hair locks that were once attached to the zigzag hairline at the backs of the heads of both Getty portraits. As noted, although there is no trace of solder on the shoulders of either portrait for the attachment of these sections of long locks, they may have been fairly long.

In Roman times, there seems to have been a close relationship between beautiful, long-haired slave boys for sex and for religious service, since it was customary



Figure 19. Mosaic with *paedagogiani*. Detail. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano. Photographer: Franco Cucciardi.

to have present at sacrifices that which was beautiful and pleasing to the gods. This sort of association is further borne out by an anecdote about Tiberius, who reportedly was so taken with the beauty of one of his priestly boy-assistants that as soon as Tiberius finished performing the sacrificial rites, he hauled off the boy and his brother—the flute player (*tibicen*) at the ceremony—and debauched both of them: *Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam captus facie ministri acerram praeferentis nequisse abstinere, quin paene vixdum re divina peracta ibidem statim seductum constupraret simulque fratrem eius tibicinem . . .* (Suet. *Tib.* 44.2).¹¹⁴

From Latin and Greek literature, we know that long-haired *delicati* served as their master's catamites, that is, passive male sexual partners, who were “pedicated,” or penetrated anally.¹¹⁵ The literary evidence is graphically supported by relief scenes of two older males pedicating two slave boys on an early imperial silver scyphus, known as the Warren Cup.¹¹⁶ The younger of the two pedicated boys on the cup (fig. 18)

is of particular interest because of his age and hairstyle. Apparently about 12–13 years old, he wears a coiffure typically worn by *delicati*: sickle-shaped bangs over the forehead, as described by Philo, with long, loose hair locks at the back of the head cascading onto the back. The artist also seems to have attempted to show a hair part running from ear to ear over the top of the head.

The preference of Roman males for androgynous-looking *delicati* explains to a large degree why these slave boys came to wear feminized hairstyles and were “dolled up” with makeup and finely dressed. A sex slave wearing such a feminized hairstyle would symbolize the passive, womanlike roles these boys normally played in sexual intercourse with their masters. As homosexual lovemaking became more socially acceptable and even fashionable in Roman society,¹¹⁷ some Roman men might psychologically have felt that having sex with another male was more acceptable if their boy lovers resembled women. It seems to me that there was also another, more practical reason for creating and



Figure 20. Marble portrait of Octavia, *Claudi f.*, from Baia. Baia, Castello. Detail. Photo: Author.

perpetuating this androgynous-looking *delicatus* type: namely, to distinguish clearly between slave and free-born boys because of taboos and even legislation against having sex with freeborn Roman males.¹¹⁸ There is ample testimony in the literary record about the concerns of Roman parents about their unsupervised sons being preyed upon by pederasts.¹¹⁹

From literature, we know that “connoisseur” pederasts preferred slave boys between the ages of roughly 12 and 17, whose bodies were still smooth and without the coarse facial and body hair associated with manhood. To prolong this hairless condition, masters often had their *delicati* depilated. A poet and connoisseur pederast by the name of Strato, who was a contemporary of Hadrian, provides evidence (*Anth. Pal.* 12.4) for the sort of homosexual love represented on the Warren Cup. Strato’s pederastic interests and preferences for 12–17-year-old boys are rather typical and part of a long-standing Greek tradition that continued in the Roman Empire.¹²⁰ The polarity of this 12–17-year age range appears also to be intentionally underscored in the representation of the older and younger pedicated boys on the Warren Cup.¹²¹ Epigraphical evidence, moreover, indicates that Strato’s 12–17 age range is precisely that of slave boys reared in the imperial *paedagogia*, or slave “schools,” which date back at least to the time of Tiberius.¹²² Homes of wealthy private citizens also had such slave schools.¹²³ These slave boys, who were sometimes called *paedagogiani*, and who were a

part of the extended family (*familia*) were generally taught various skills needed in the operation of the master’s home.¹²⁴

Especially significant for dating the two Getty portraits is a mosaic in the Museo Campano in Capua (fig. 19),¹²⁵ which shows a group of *paedagogiani* with their freedman teacher (or *paedagogus*), who appears as the tall, older figure in the center of the back row. A *terminus post quem* can be established for this mosaic because three or four of the boys sport a low beehive-bonnet hairdo similar to that first introduced in female portraiture of the Flavian period.¹²⁶ The most clearly depicted of these coiffures is that of the second boy from the right in the front row. Long hair tresses are visible at the back of his head, falling onto his shoulders. The earliest datable evidence for this particular type is the hairstyle worn by one of the imperial *paedagogiani* carrying a *tabula ansata* in the Spolia panel on the Arch of Titus, a monument that is generally thought to have been completed toward the beginning of Domitian’s principate.¹²⁷ The other boys depicted in the Capua mosaic wear feminized hairstyles that came into being in earlier periods.

The earliest of the servile hairstyles worn by the boys in the mosaic is the simple “classicizing” type,¹²⁸ based on female portraiture of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. This classicizing type is characterized by long hair parted in the middle and pulled back along either side to the back of the head, where it is bound up in a bun or falls in long tresses onto the shoulders. The bound-up style appears to be one of the two types mentioned by Philo as one worn by the *βούπαιδες* (adolescents); the other type had a row of arcing locks framing the face.¹²⁹ The type with the arcing locks over the forehead seems to appear first in the early Claudian period, as on the funerary altar in the Museo Nazionale Romano (see fig. 17). This particular hairstyle may ultimately have been influenced by the childhood hairstyle of Claudius’s daughter Octavia, as seen in her portrait from Baia (fig. 20), datable around the 40s A.D.¹³⁰ Octavia’s hairstyle also influenced that of other girls, as in the case of the portrait in the Museo Civico in Cremona noted above (see figs. 15a–b). The large, plastically carved locks of Octavia’s hairstyle also resemble Nero’s later “hair formed into steps” (*coma in gradus formata*) type, particularly his last portrait type, dating from A.D. 68,¹³¹ exemplified by a head in the Munich Glyptothek (figs. 21a–b).¹³² Reminiscent of these imperial hairstyles are the Getty portraits’ sinuous S-curve locks, which, however, form a low-rising wave

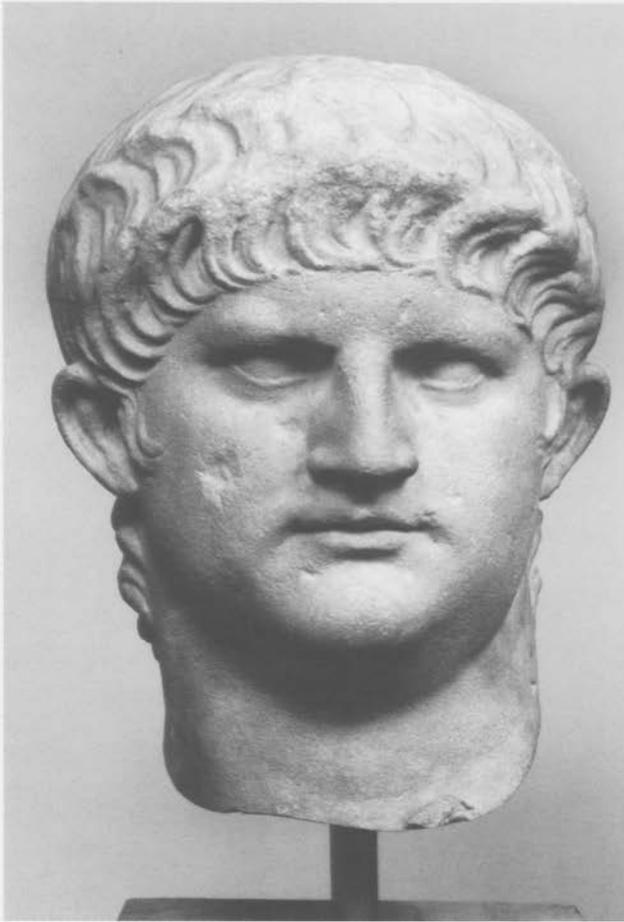


Figure 21a. Marble portrait of Nero. Front view. Munich, Glyptothek 321.

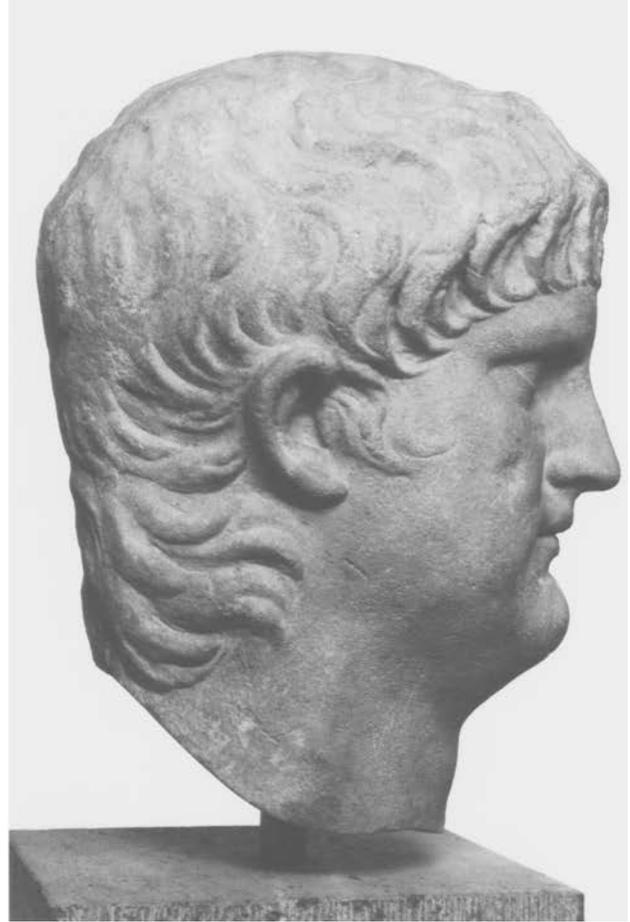


Figure 21b. Right profile of portrait of Nero, figure 21a.

over the forehead and are rendered in a low-relief, linear fashion, unlike what is found in the more plastically treated coiffures of Octavia and Nero. In this respect, the Getty portraits' wavelike bank of hair locks is more akin to what is seen in the Alesia Lady (see figs. 12a–b), a work dated to the Neronian–early Flavian period.¹³³

Two close stylistic parallels for the treatment of the long sinuous strands of hair over the front of the head and for the wave pattern of locks framing the face of both Getty portraits can be found in portraits of the later Neronian period that appear to have been influenced by Nero's later hairstyle: a marble herm portrait in the Museo Nazionale Romano of a charioteer (*auriga*) (fig. 22),¹³⁴ from a sacellum of Hercules in Rome,¹³⁵ and a little-known marble head of a boy in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Rome (figs. 23a–b).¹³⁶ Unlike the Getty portraits' forehead locks, which are comma-shaped, those of both the Museo Nazionale Romano

and the Galleria Doria Pamphilj portraits are reverse comma-shaped, a distinction that is of no significance for dating the Getty portraits. The Doria Pamphilj portrait's sideburns, which are not as large as the sideburns of the Getty busts, are nevertheless brushed forward in a similar manner. It has not previously been suggested that the Doria Pamphilj portrait may represent a slave boy, based on the long curly locks at the back of his head. The sculptor seems to have attempted to show a part running from ear to ear over the top of the head. Although the hairstyle of the Doria Pamphilj boy may ultimately have been based on that of the childhood portrait of Claudius's daughter Octavia, the direct influence of Nero's own hairstyle cannot be ruled out.

By far the closest parallels for the coiffures of the Getty portraits are those in the Capua mosaic of a *paedagogium* (see fig. 19) dating to the Flavian period. The long hair at the back of the head of two of these boys



Figure 22. Portrait of a charioteer. Front view. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 130. Photo: Author.

(the first from the right in the first row and the second from the right in the second row) is either bound up in a bun or perhaps gathered into one thick long tress that is obscured by the head. The third boy wearing S-curved locks over the front of his head (the second boy from the left in the first row) has shoulder-length tresses. A distinctive and interesting feature of the hair of both Getty portraits and of several of the slave boys in the mosaic, especially those with the S-curved locks over the forehead, are the large sidelocks curling forward in front of the ears, a feature we have already encountered in the portrait of the androgynous adolescent in the Uffizi (see figs. 16a–b).¹³⁷ In the case of the Uffizi adolescent, however, the stylized sidelocks take on a ram's-horn effect. Ultimately, it seems that

these large, forward-curling sidelocks were influenced by the thick, forward-curving sideburns found in some of the portraits belonging to Nero's last type, represented by the portrait in the Munich Glyptothek (see figs. 21a–b). It would appear, then, that the particular type of servile hairstyle worn by the adolescents in both Getty portraits dates these busts to the late Neronian–early Flavian period.

CONCLUSIONS

Although we do not know the context and circumstances in which the Cobannus cache of bronzes was found, we may postulate how busts of slave boys came to be associated with votive figures of divinities and other objects pertaining to the cult of the local syncretistic Celto-Roman god Cobannus.¹³⁸ The officiating priests in such cults were usually private individuals, who would generally have used their own slave boys to assist them in carrying out the sacrificial rites, as the *princeps* used slave boys from his own *paedagogia* in carrying out either private or state sacrifices. The expense of the relatively high-quality Getty portraits may be taken as an indication of how much these boys were loved by their master, who was undoubtedly the individual who commissioned the busts. If at one time the officiating priest of the cult of Cobannus were such a master, he may have installed the two portraits of his dearly beloved sacrificial assistants in the shrine.

The objects in the cache were found either in some unknown shrine of Cobannus or in some other area in which they had been intentionally buried to protect them at a time of crisis. A threat might have come from barbarian invasion or Christian fanatics intent on destroying the sacred images of non-Christian gods, as well as other objects found in association with them. Some priest or temple warden might have sequestered the items, which were not all dedicated by the same individual at the same time.¹³⁹ The intentional burial of valuable cultic objects, dinner services, and coin hoards, especially in times of crisis, was a common phenomenon in the ancient world.¹⁴⁰ Whatever the case, the two Getty portrait busts are exceptional works of Gallo-Roman art that provide valuable evidence not only for the nature and manner of production of high-quality provincial art but also for servile culture in the earlier Roman Empire.

University of Southern California
Los Angeles



Figure 23a. Portrait of a boy. Front view. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj. Photo: D.A.I. Rome, neg. 57.1157a. Photographer: Hitzel.



Figure 23b. Right profile of portrait of a boy, figure 23a. Photo: D.A.I. Rome, neg. 57.1157b. Photographer: Hitzel.

NOTES

I would like to thank Marion True for first introducing me to the two Getty portraits and for allowing me to publish them. Special thanks are owed to Carol Mattusch, Pieter Meyer, Jerry Podany, and Frank Willer who discussed many technical aspects of these works with me. I am grateful also to Rudolf Fellmann, Götz Lahusen, and Claude Rolley for useful suggestions and offprints. I would like to express my appreciation, too, to a number of others who assisted me in various ways: Kenneth Hamma, Mary Louise Hart, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, Annemarie Kaufmann-Heinimann, Christopher Lightfoot, Elana Towne-Markus, Catie Mihalopoulos, and Despoina Tsiafakis. And, finally, many thanks are owed to the editor, Benedicte Gilman, for her expert assistance in the preparation of this essay.

* All translations of Greek and Latin are mine.

Abbreviations

- Boucher (1976) S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* (Rome, 1976).
- Fless (1995) F. Fless, *Opferdiener und Kultmusiker auf stadtrömischen historischen Reliefs: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie, Funktion und Benennung* (Mainz, 1995).

- Jucker (1961) H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch: Geschichte und Bedeutung einer römischen Porträtform*, 2 vols. (Olten, 1961).
- Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming) G. Lahusen and E. Formigli, *Kunst und Technik: Römische Bildnisse aus Bronze* (forthcoming).
- Mattusch (1996) C. C. Mattusch, *The Fire of Hephaistos: Large Classical Bronzes from North American Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).
- Pollini (1999) J. Pollini, "The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver," *ArtB* 81 (1999): 21–52.
- Pollini (in progress) J. Pollini, *Gallo-Roman Bronzes and the Process of Romanization: The Cobannus Hoard*.

1. See "New Accessions: Antiquities," *GettyMusJ* 18 (1990): 165 (nos. 2.1–2). Except for brief catalogue essays, these two portrait busts have not been the subject of scholarly discussion: See Mattusch (1996), pp. 325–30, nos. 48–49, esp. p. 330 n. 18. See also Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. nos. 92–93; C. Rolley, "Les bronzes grecs et romains: Recherches récents," *RA* 2 (1997): 315. For excellent frontal views in color of both portraits, see *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Antiquities* (Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 110–11.

2. For two of the other objects from the hoard—a figure of Cobannus and a money chest—see J. J. Herrmann and A. van den Hoek, in *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Laurence Fleischman* (Malibu, 1994), pp. 310–16, nos. 162–63. For the money chest, see A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Götter und Lararien aus Augusta Raurica: Herstellung, Fundzusammenhänge und sakrale Funktion figürlicher Bronzen in einer römischen Stadt* (Augst, 1998), p. 176, fig. 127. In a recent article R. Fellmann, “Das Zink-Täfelchen vom Thormebodewald auf der Engehalbinsel bei Bern und seine keltische Inschrift,” *Archäologie im Kanton Bern* 48 (Bern, 1999): 137–38, reports a rumor that this hoard might have been found in the area of Besançon. There is no proof, however, of this rumor. I thank Rudolf Fellmann for sending me an offprint of this article.

3. For the question of the quality of Gallic and Gallo-Roman art, see Boucher (1976), pp. 65–66, 202, and *passim*.

4. Pollini (in progress).

5. Fless (1995) was apparently unaware of the Getty portraits, as she makes no reference to them in her recent work.

6. *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 15–31; Pollini (1999), pp. 33–34, and *idem* (in progress). For these sacrificial implements, see in general R. von Schaeuwen, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst*, *Archäologische Studien*, Heft 1 (Berlin, 1940).

7. Fless (1995), esp. pp. 43–50; see further Pollini (in progress).

8. The best and most recent critical treatment of the entire problem of these youth organizations is that of P. Ginestet, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident romain*, *Collection Latomus*, vol. 213 (Brussels, 1991), pp. 9–27. For a useful brief summary of the nature of the evidence and past scholarship on the *iuventus*, see M. Jaczynowska, *Les associations de la jeunesse romaine sous le haut-empire*, *Archiwum Filologiczne*, no. 36 (Wrocław, 1978), pp. 5–16. For the possible connection between this organization, the imperial cult, and the cache of eight bronzes from a shrine of Cobannus, see Pollini (in progress).

9. Cf. the somewhat analogous situation posed by two high-quality bronze portrait heads of males from Les Fins d'Annecy in the Petit Palais in Paris, which appear to represent either the same individual or closely related individuals. Although the fringe of locks over the forehead is somewhat different in the two portraits, their facial features are remarkably close to each other, suggesting that they quite possibly represent the same individual, perhaps at slightly different times in his life. Unfortunately, the published frontal views of the two heads were photographed at different angles and in somewhat different lighting, giving the contours of the faces a misleadingly different appearance. For the two portraits from Les Fins d'Annecy, see esp. J. Petit, ed., *Bronzes antiques de la collection Dutuit: Grecs, hellénistiques, romains et de l'antiquité tardive*, *Palais des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais* (Paris, 1980), pp. 114–15, no. 46, and 116–17, no. 47; Kaufmann-Heinimann (*supra*, note 2), pp. 206, 236 (GF 14), fig. 187; and Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. nos. 119–20.

10. I thank Jerry Podany, Head of Antiquities Conservation at the Getty Museum, for this suggestion. For a technical analysis of the two Getty bronzes, see also Mattusch (1996), pp. 329–30; for various technical aspects of producing bronze works, in general, see further H. Lie and C. C. Mattusch, in Mattusch (1996), pp. 164–76.

11. I owe this observation to Pieter Meyer, Head of Conservation of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

12. In her essay on the Getty busts, Mattusch (1996) does not mention this square hole.

13. For the process of bronze casting, see, e.g., D. Brown, “Bronze and Pewter,” in D. Strong and D. Brown, eds., *Roman Crafts* (New York, 1976), pp. 26–33; C. C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary: From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C.* (Ithaca,

1988), pp. 10–30; P. C. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik: Kunst und Handwerk antiker Erzbildner* (Munich, 1985), pp. 118–47.

14. See, e.g., Mattusch (1996), pp. 169–70, 338, fig. 51c (recess for missing patch over chaplet hole). Cf. also a bronze bust in Cleveland, in which all the chaplet holes were plugged rather than patched: *idem*, p. 322, fig. 47e.

15. Contrast this with the small chaplet hole with flange (seen on the underside) found in a similar location on Getty Bust B (see fig. 10c).

16. See, e.g., a portrait of a boy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 66.11.5; Mattusch (1996), pp. 318–21, no. 46, fig. 46b.

17. Cf. Getty Bust B, in which there is clear evidence of the use of at least six chaplets. See further *infra*.

18. I thank Jerry Podany and Carol Mattusch for discussing these aspects with me.

19. For a description of the differences between direct and indirect lost-wax casting, see C. Boube-Piccot, “Technique de fabrication des bustes de bronze de Juba II et de Caton d’Utique découverts à Volubilis,” *BAMaroc* 7 (1967): esp. 449–55; *idem*, *Les bronzes antiques du Maroc*, vol. 1, *Le statuaire, Études et travaux d’archéologie marocaine*, vol. 4 (Rabat, 1969), pp. 35–40; Mattusch (*supra*, note 13), pp. 16–22.

20. Their condition before cleaning may have been somewhat similar to that of the present surface of the interior of the busts.

21. Cold-working was more time-consuming than delineating the hair in the wax model. Hair locks or strands that were delineated in the wax model could be sharpened up or further delineated after the head was cast. Cf. A. Steinberg, in S. Doeringer, D. G. Mitten, and A. Steinberg, eds., *Art and Technology: A Symposium on Classical Bronzes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 174. For chasing and cold-working bronze, in general, see K. Kluge and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Großbronzen*, vol. 1, *Die antike Erzgestaltung und ihre technischen Grundlagen* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 122–60; D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Mainz, 1967), pp. 13–14; Bol (*supra*, note 13), pp. 138–47. For good detailed photos showing examples of cold-working, see also G. Lahusen and E. Formigli, “Ergebnisse der kunsthistorischen Analyse von zwei römischen Großbronzen in den Museen des Vatican,” *BMonMusPont* 8 (1988): 21–43; *idem*, “L. Cornelius Pusio Kommandant der XVI. Legion in Neuss,” *BJb* 190 (1990): 65–77; *idem*, “Die Bildnispaare von Brescia,” in *Modus in Rebus: Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 110–13.

22. These percentages are based on an alloy analysis carried out by the Getty Conservation Institute Department of Museum Services: I thank Jerry Podany for this information. For the percentages of the trace elements of the alloys used in these portraits, see *infra*, note 32.

23. *The Celts*, ed. S. Moscati et al., p. 330 (New York, 1999). See further *infra*, note 66.

24. Cf. the unusually elongated neck of a bronze statue of a private individual in the Vatican Museum, whose provenance is unknown: Lahusen and Formigli (1988: *supra*, note 21), pp. 22, 42, figs. 1–6. It is suggested that the neck may have been elongated in this case because the statue might have been placed on a high base and therefore seen from below.

25. Such ears are usually carved out of solid wax in the wax model, resulting in entirely solid bronze ears in the finished head. For another example of hollow-cast bronze ears, see the provincial head of Gordian III from Niederbieber in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn: G. Lahusen and E. Formigli, “Der Gordian von Niederbieber in Bonn,” *Akten der 10. Internationalen Tagung über antike Bronzen, Freiburg 18.–22. Juli 1998*, *Forschung und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg* 45 (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 257–58.

26. For the technique and use of different materials for eyes in Roman bronze portraits, see, in general, G. Lahusen and E. Formigli, "Der Augustus von Meroë und die Augen der römischen Bronzebildnisse," *AA*, 1993: 655–74.

27. See *supra*, notes 13 and 19.

28. For the sizes of individual facial features and distances from one feature to another, the comparative measurements given here are based on those taken by Mattusch (1996), p. 328 with notes:

Measurements in cm:

	Portrait A (89.AB.67.1)	Portrait B (89.AB.67.2)
Corner of right eye to right corner of mouth	5.8	5.9
Corner of left eye to left corner of mouth	5.7	5.9
From right earlobe to tip of nose	12	11.5
From left earlobe to tip of nose	12.5	12
Hairline to tip of nose	7.5	9.3
Max. length of right ear	5.9	5.9
Left nostril to left peak of upper lip	1.4	1.4
Height of mouth at center	1.3	1.3
Length of mouth	4.2	4.6
Left earlobe to bust	9	10
Max. width of bust	25.4	26.5
Circumference of neck	31.7	31.9
Length of opening for left eye	3.1	3.5
Length of opening for right eye	3.4	3.2
Height of opening for left eye	1.6	1.5
Height of opening for right eye	1.5	1.4

29. For an example of two portraits of the same individual produced from the same negative mold, cf. Lahusen and Formigli (1995: *supra*, note 21), pp. 110–11, figs. 1–8.

30. For the use of the same mold with alterations for the production of a series or group of similar statues, see C. C. Mattusch, "The Casting of Greek Bronzes: Variation and Repetition," *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, 1990), pp. 135–38, and eadem, "The Eponymous Heroes: The Idea of Sculptural Groups," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years Since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4–6, 1992, ed. Coulson et al., p. 80, *Oxbow Monograph* 37 (Oxford, 1994).

31. See further *infra*.

32. I thank Carol Mattusch for this information. Even bronze objects produced in the same workshop could show different percentages of trace elements of the alloys used, for each batch of bronze for a given casting would have its own percentages of trace elements as a result of using scrap bronze with somewhat different alloys. Carol Mattusch tells me that the trace elements in the alloys used in the two bronze "wrestlers" (in reality, a replicated figure of a runner) from the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum are quite different, indicating that the two statues were not cast from the same batch of bronze and, therefore, were made at different times. How far apart in time they were made cannot be determined. They might both have been commissioned at the same time, but cast at slightly different times, resulting in somewhat different compositions of alloys. Alternatively, a single statue of a runner might originally have been commissioned and then, later on, another figure of the same type was replicated and installed with the first to form a new com-

position, showing them as paired wrestlers facing off. For technical aspects of the metallic composition of bronze, as well as the casting and finishing of bronze sculpture, see the various articles in *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, 1990). I report here a comparison of the percentages of the trace elements in the alloys used in the two Getty busts:

	Portrait A (89.AB.67.1)	Portrait B (89.AB.67.2)
Cu EPMA	78.93%	75.31%
Sn EPMA	11.03	9.53
Pb ICP-MS	9.30	14.15
Zn ICP-MS	0.29	0.61
Fe EPMA	0.13	0.10
Sb EPMA	0.22	0.18
As EPMA	—	0.04
Ni EPMA	0.02	0.02
Ag ICP-MS	0.07	0.05
Ag EPMA	0.05	0.04
Au ICP-MS	—	0.01
Bi ICP-MS	—	—

33. I thank Jerry Podany for this information.

34. For the use of wooden herms, see Jucker (1961), p. 120.

35. Either raw marble or semifinished marble objects were generally imported into ancient Gaul.

36. Naples, Museo Nazionale 4991. A. De Franciscis, *Il ritratto romano a Pompei* (Naples, 1951), pp. 27–30, figs. 14–15, dates this bust to the last two decades of the first century B.C. The inscription on its base reads C. NORBANI / SORICIS / SEVNDARVM / MAG.PAGI / AVG. FELICIS / SVBVRBANI / EX.D.D. / LOC.D. (= *CIL* X.814). Cf. another inscription of the same individual from the Eumachia: De Franciscis, pp. 27–28 with n. 28; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompei* (Paris, 1964), pp. 47–48. Cf., however, more recently G. Granino Cecere, "Nemi: L'erma di C. Norbanus Sorex," *RendPontAcc* 61 (1990): esp. 139–40, fig. 6, who dates the Iseum herm of Sorex to the first half of the first century A.D. based on another herm of Sorex discovered at the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi. (I thank Götz Lahusen for the latter reference.) See also more recently S. De Caro, *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Naples, 1996), p. 134 (color photo); R. Bonifacio, *Ritratti romani da Pompei*, *Archaeologia Perusina*, vol. 14, Istituto di Studi Comparati sulle Società Antiche dell'Università di Perugia (Rome, 1997), pp. 28–31, no. 1, pl. 1.

37. De Franciscis (*supra*, note 36), p. 30. This *pagus* lay just outside the walls of Pompeii to the north. The inscription, which mentions the name of Augustus, provides a *terminus post quem* for the inscription of 27 B.C.—when Octavian took the name Augustus.

38. Perhaps this bust was remounted after the Iseum was damaged by the earthquake of A.D. 62. For the Iseum and bust of C. Norbanus Sorex, see Tran Tam Tinh (*supra*, note 36), p. 32 n. 9, p. 33 n. 1, and pp. 47–48. On the temple, see also more recently L. Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore, 1988), pp. 281–85.

39. See *supra*, note 36.

40. See De Franciscis (*supra*, note 36), p. 75 n. 28.

41. See Granino Cecere (*supra*, note 36).

42. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.11.5: This portrait can be dated to the late Julio-Claudian period based on the hairstyle: cf. Mattusch (1996), pp. 318–21, no. 46, fig. 46b (showing round hole).

43. The Cleveland Museum of Art 28.860. Mattusch (1996), pp. 322–25, no. 47, fig. 47b. This portrait can be dated to the early Augustan period on the basis of the hairstyle.

44. Naples, Museo Nazionale 110663. From the House of L. Caecilius Iucundus (v.1.26). See De Franciscis (supra, note 36), p. 31, figs. 17–20; and recently De Caro (supra, note 36), p. 207 (color photo); Bonifacio (supra, note 36), pp. 92–94, no. 36. Unlike past scholarship, Bonifacio takes this to be not L. Caecilius Iucundus but his father L. Caecilius Felix and dates this bust to the early Augustan period.

45. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.11.6: H. of bust: 24 cm (ca. 9½ in.); H. of head (chin to top of head): 10 cm (ca. 4 in.). See Jucker (1961), pp. 49–51 (B 2), pl. 13, with further bibl. Jucker dates this portrait to about A.D. 40–55. See further infra, note 48.

46. Musée Alesia 912 98 0001: H. of bust: 22.5 cm (ca. 8⅞ in.); H. of head (chin to top of head): 10.3 cm (ca. 4 in.). See E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues, et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1925), 9: nos. 7125, 7130, and 7131; J. Toutain, “Tête et buste en bronze découverts à Alésia en 1912,” *Mon Piot* 21 (1913): 81–87, pls. VII–VIII; idem, “Rapport sommaire sur les fouilles exécutées en 1912 par la Société des Sciences de Semur,” *BAC* (1913): 374–407; Jucker (1961), pp. 51–53 (B 3), pl. 14 (Neronian) with further bibl.; F. Beck et al., “Métallurgie des bronzes,” in *Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France, Recherches gallo-romaines*, vol. 1, *Notes et documents des Musées de France*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1985), esp. pp. 71–73, 96 (illus.), and 126; E. Rabeisen and M. Menu, “Métaux et alliages des bronziers d’Alésia,” *ibid.*, pp. 143–81; and Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 100. For a color photo: J. Le Gall, *Alésia: Le siège de la forteresse gauloise par César, la ville gallo-romaine, le culte de sainte Reine*, *Guides archéologiques de la France*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1985), p. 37, fig. XII. The coiffure of the Alesia Lady is similar to that worn by a woman in a marble portrait in the Louvre, except that in the Louvre portrait there is an additional row of small ring curls framing the face. See further Toutain (supra, this note), p. 86, fig. 1. Cf. Jucker (1961), p. 52; H.-P. Eydoux, *La France antique* (Paris, 1962), p. 67, fig. 71. For another coiffure similar to that of the Alesia Lady and the Louvre portrait, see a marble portrait head in the Vatican (Chiaramonti), inv. 1825; W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1903), 1: 567, no. 393a, pl. 59; K. Polaschek, “Studien zu einem Frauenkopf im Landesmuseum Trier,” *TrZ* 35 (1972): 185, no. 203; K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, vol. 3, *Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse Frauenporträts* (Mainz, 1983), p. 57, n. 8: the Chiaramonti head is compared to a bust in the Capitoline Museum (no. 75), p. 57, pls. 93–94, which is dated to the late Neronian–early Flavian period. Cf. also the hairstyles of two other female portraits in the Capitoline Museum dated to the late Flavian–Trajanic period: Fittschen and Zanker (supra, this note), p. 57, no. 76, pl. 95, and p. 58, no. 78, pls. 97–98 (only with regard to the multiple row of curls over the front of the head). For another interesting provincial interpretation of coiffures current in Rome, see the marble head of a woman from Itálica, now in the Museo Arqueológico de Itálica in Santiponce: A. García y Bellido, *Catálogo de los retratos romanos*, Museo arqueológico Provincial (Sevilla) (Madrid, 1951), pp. 11–12, no. 7, with figure of frontal view only (taken as male!). Cf. W. Trillmich, “Abhängigkeit und Entfernung des hispanischen Privatporträts vom Vorbild Roms,” *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato: Atti della II conferenza internazionale sul ritratto romano, 1984*, Quaderni de “La Ricerca scientifica” 116 (Rome, 1988): 532, figs. 6–7, who correctly recognized that the head represents a woman. In this portrait, which in my opinion dates to the later Neronian–earlier Flavian period, long linear locks rise up in multiple banks over the front part of the head, with a parting of the hair running from ear to ear over the crown of the head. The *coma in gradus formata* style at the front of the head recalls especially the hairstyle of Otho and the portrait of a

charioteer in the Museo Nazionale Romano (here fig. 22); on this charioteer, see further infra, note 134.

47. Jucker (1961), pp. 49, 119–20.

48. Cf. the photo of the back of the Rimini Matron (fig. 11) with the old photos of the bust in Jucker (1961), pl. 13 (bottom left). Jucker’s photos show the back of the bust before the present modern armature was added. In order to take these old photos, some sort of modern plaster(?) must have been used to keep the bust upright in the groove of the acanthus calyx. It cannot be determined now whether the modern armature, which is screwed into the back of the upright support of the acanthus calyx, was attached in a similar manner in antiquity, or whether some sort of horizontal metal band affixed at the base of the armature may have encircled the upright support of the acanthus calyx to hold the armature in place. Also, compare the use of metal straplike supports or brackets that were added in the eighteenth century to life-size busts from the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: *Delle antichità di Ercolano* (Naples, 1767), pp. 93, 99, 155, 193. (I thank Carol Mattusch for this latter reference.)

49. None of the representations of servile so-called *delicati* shows such neck ornaments. For these *delicati*, see further below.

50. British Museum 1958.4–18.1. These individual groups of hair locks were soldered onto the baseline of the hair, not riveted as Wace originally proposed: A. J. B. Wace, “The Chatsworth Head,” *JHS* 58 (1938): 90–95, esp. 91, pls. VIII–IX. As Haynes showed, however, in an article that corrected a number of Wace’s original findings, the copper rivets were modern additions: D. E. L. Haynes, “The Technique of the Chatsworth Head,” *RA*, 1968: 102–12, esp. p. 111, pls. 2–4. The Chatsworth head has been variously dated ranging from an early Classical Greek creation to a classicizing work of the Hadrianic period. The thick bronze walls and the absence of lead (found only as an impurity rather than as an alloy) in my opinion favor a dating of this work to the early Classical period (ca. 470–460 B.C.); see further *ibid.*, p. 104, appendix, and pls. 5–6. Based on its place of discovery, in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Tamassos, and on the description of the original statue, which, except for the head, was destroyed shortly after its discovery, this head appears to have belonged to a statue of Apollo. For the discovery of the original statue in 1836 and its subsequent destruction, see E. Gjerstad, “The Story of the Chatsworth Head,” *Eranos* 43 (1945): 235–42; and Haynes (supra, this note), pp. 102–4. In general, see more recently B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), p. 40 n. 8; L. Burn, *The British Museum Book of Greek and Roman Art* (London, 1991), pp. 58–59, fig. 46 (color); and C. C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary: From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C.* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), pp. 154–59 and *passim*, with further literature on the subject.

51. On this manner of attachment, see Jucker (1961), p. 51, who says, “In den senkrechten Schlitz konnte ein Metallkeil getrieben werden, der von unten gegen den Sockelboden anstand und den kleinen Absatz unter dem Blatt gegen diesen herabpreßte. Befestigung auf Holz scheint mir dieser Zurüstung wegen ausgeschlossen. Die Büste wäre dann etwas weiter nach vorn zu neigen als die Profilabbildungen sie zeigen, so daß der Zapfen senkrecht, der kleine Absatz waagrecht zu stehen kämen.” See also Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 100.

52. Most bronze busts seem to have been ca. 15–20 cm high (ca. 5⅞–7⅞ in.): Jucker (1961), p. 119 (B 1–3, 5–8, 10).

53. Milan, Museo Archeologico 229: H.: 41.5 cm (ca. 16⅝ in.); H. of head: 21.5 cm (ca. 8½ in.). The bust dates to the second half of the third century A.D.: Jucker (1961), pp. 60–61 (B 11), pl. 19. See also C. Albizzati, “Busto romano da Laus Pompeia,” *Rassegna d’arte antica e moderna*, 1918: 58–66, figs. 1–3 (best photos showing the acanthus ornament); K. Kluge and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Großbronzen*, vol. 2, *Großbronzen*

der römischen Kaiserzeit (Berlin, 1927), 47–48. There are, of course, many busts in marble or stone with such ornamental floral attachments: See the many examples in Jucker (1961), pp. 60–61 (B 11), pl. 19.

54. Rabat, Museum 146: total H.: 47 cm (18½ in.); H. of head: 32 cm (ca. 12½ in.). R. Thouvenot, "Bronzes d'art trouvés au Maroc," *CRAI*, 1945: 597–602, fig. 2; F. Poulsen, "Caton et le jeune prince," *ActaArch* 18 (1947): 132–36, fig. 15, pls. III–IV; R. Thouvenot, "Bronzes gréco-romains trouvés a Volubilis (Maroc)," *Mon Piot* 43 (1949): 75–79, pl. IX; Boube-Piccot (1969: supra, note 19), pp. 69–75, pls. 1–6; K. Fittschen, "Die Bildnisse der mauretanischen Könige und ihre stadtrömischen Vorbilder," *MM* 15 (1974): esp. 156–69, pls. 15a, 16a, 17a–b. This bust has generally been dated to the Augustan period.

55. Cf. the modern metal bracket with screw that appears to have been soldered onto the ancient tang with a vertical element to support the back of the bib: Boube-Piccot (1967: supra, note 19), pls. II–III, and (1969: supra, note 19), p. 74, figs. 2–3 (best published photos), says very little about this tang or how the bust might have been set up originally. In any case, from the angle of the ancient tang, it would appear that when the bust was set up in antiquity, the head would have inclined forward (see Boube-Piccot, fig. 3), as the tang would have been in the vertical position. Cf., e.g., the forward inclination of the head of the bronze bust of the "Rimini Matron" in the Metropolitan Museum (supra, note 45) mounted on its bronze base: Jucker (1961), pp. 49–51 (B 2), pl. 13.

56. As in the case of C. Norbanus Sorex (supra, note 36) and L. Caecilius Lucundus (supra, note 44).

57. Jucker (1961), p. 216; see also Boucher (1976), pp. 214–15.

58. J. Pollini, "The Acanthus of the Ara Pacis as an Apolline and Dionysiac Symbol of *Anamorphosis*, *Anakyklosis* and *Numen Mixtum*," in *Von der Bauforschung zur Denkmalpflege, Festschrift für Alois Machatschek* (Vienna, 1993), pp. 183–85 with n. 12 for further bibl.

59. See my discussion of the symbolism and use of the acanthus in Greek and Roman art: *ibid.*, pp. 181–217.

60. For child mortality in antiquity, see R. Saller, "Childhood in Imperial Rome," *JRA* 4 (1991): 241.

61. See J. Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* (New York, 1987), p. 2.

62. Jucker (1961), pp. 133–38 and *passim*.

63. This apotropaic, or prophylactic, aspect was most likely carried over from the wild variety, *Acanthus spinosus*, to the nonspiny, more decorative garden variety, *Acanthus mollis*: Pollini (supra, note 58), p. 184.

64. Cf. Mattusch (1996), p. 328.

65. For an overview, see P. Zanker, *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts, AbhMünch* 90 (1983). For a more detailed picture within the Augustan period, see Pollini (supra, note 61), pp. 8–17. Cf. also in the more than two hundred extant, three-dimensional images of Augustus the enormous range in physiognomy and oddities in iconographic hairstyles in some provincial works: D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus, Das römische Herrscherbild*, vol. 1.2 (Berlin, 1993); see also J. Pollini, review article on the portraits of Augustus, *ArtB* 81 (1999): 723–35.

66. Supra, note 23. Mattusch (1996), p. 329, thought that the hairstyle of the two boys may be Celtic based on a comparison with the hairstyle of this Celtic warrior figure. Unfortunately, the front and back views of this Celtic warrior figure, reproduced by Mattusch (her fig. 2), do not show this seam effect clearly.

67. See also Jucker (1961), p. 52; Boucher (1976), pp. 220–23, 243–44, and *passim*; and examples in note 53.

68. See, e.g., the following works of both higher and lower quality, which show to varying degrees abstraction of form, exaggeration of eyes, and linearity of hair patterns: Gallic god in bronze

from Avenches: A. Leibundgut, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz*, vol. 2, *Avenches* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 51–52, no. 33, pls. 38–39. Although executed in a rather "primitive" style, the back of this head shows a stiff, linear scoring of the bronze similar to that found in the Getty busts, which Leibundgut, p. 52, describes as typical of Roman provincial art. See also the bronze head of a beardless personage, perhaps a Gallic chief from near Lyon: Espérandieu (supra, note 46), no. 7055, and a sculptural bust of a woman from Weiden (Rheinland): Jucker (1961), pp. 89–90, St 35, pl. 34. For a high-quality work, see the so-called Prilly Youth, esp. the back of the head: A. Leibundgut, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz*, vol. 3, *Westschweiz: Bern und Wallis* (Mainz, 1980), p. 135, no. 183, pl. 164; Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 109. For the ubiquitous linear tendency in provincial Gallic portraiture, see, in general, various examples from different periods in R. Lantier, "Tête d'un jeune chef aquitain," *Mon Piot* 31 (1930): 23–38; L. Valensi, ed., *Bordeaux, capitale de l'Aquitaine: Un exemple de romanisation en Gaule* (Brussels, 1968); and Boucher (1976). For northern Italy, see the bronze head of a man from Bolsena: C. K. Blanton, in *Ancient Portraits: Ackland Art Center* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1970), no. 11; the marble head of a man in Este: G. A. Mansuelli, ed., *Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia* (Bologna, 1964), no. 78, pl. xxxviii. This style is commonly found in northern Italian funerary portraiture. See, in general, F. Poulsen, *Porträtstudien in Norditalienischen Provinzmuseen* (Copenhagen, 1928); G. Mansuelli, "Il ritratto romano nell'Italia settentrionale," *RM* 65 (1958): 67–99; F. Rebecchi, "Ritratto e iconografia romana: Aspetti del problema nell'Italia centro-settentrionale tra I sec. A.C. e II sec. D.C.," *ArchCl* 32 (1980): 108–30; H. Pflug, *Porträtstelen in Oberitalien* (Mainz, 1989).

69. This is true for some works produced in Italy, as well as those created in the provinces: see, e.g., Lahusen and Formigli (1988: supra, note 21), p. 38, figs. 7–12; Lahusen and Formigli (1990: supra, note 21), p. 71, figs. 1–6.

70. For other notable exceptions showing this sort of discrepancy, cf. the bronze portrait of the Prilly Youth (*infra*, note 92), two bronze portraits from Les Fins d'Annecy (supra, note 9), and a marble portrait of Germanicus and Drusus Minor from Béziers in the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse: E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues, et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1907), I: no. 528.8 (Germanicus), no. 528.9 (Drusus Minor); K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloß Erbach*, *Archäologische Forschungen*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1977), p. 44 n. 17 (Germanicus), p. 47 (no. 19: Drusus Minor); F. Salviat in collaboration with D. Terrer, "Neuf portraits de famille à Béziers," *Les dossiers de archéologie* 41 (1980): 66–68 with pls.

71. A.-K. Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Augst und das Gebiet der Colonia Augusta Raurica* (Mainz, 1977), pp. 76–77, cat. 77, pls. 84–86.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–41, cat. 35, pls. 28–33, esp. 33.

73. For the background on works of bronze and their dating in the Roman provinces of the West, see the comprehensive work of Boucher (1976), esp. pp. 225–40 for workshops. For a useful brief survey, see further Kaufmann-Heinimann (supra, note 71), pp. 7–13; F. Braemer, *L'art dans l'occident romain: Trésors d'argenterie, sculptures de bronze et de pierre* (Paris, 1963), esp. pp. v–x; G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1979), pp. 16–27; F. Braemer, "Bronzes romains—problèmes de géographie," in *Töretik und figürliche Bronzen römischer Zeit*, Akten der 6. Tagung über antike Bronzen 13.–17. Mai 1980 in Berlin (Berlin, 1984), pp. 63–86.

74. See esp. Boucher (1976), pp. 38, 40, 220–23, 243, and *passim*; M. Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London, 1989), pp. 206–23. Generally speaking, the tendency toward abstraction is esp. characteristic of the *Völkenskunst* tradition of the Roman Empire in all periods.

75. For problems in dating Hellenistic and Roman bronzes, in general, see F. Braemer, "'Bronzes hellénistiques' et 'romains': Problèmes de chronologie," *Bronzes hellénistiques et romains: Tradition et renouveau*, Cahiers d'archéologie romande, vol. 17 (Lausanne, 1979), pp. 31–42.

76. J. C. Balty, "Le prétendu Marc-Aurèle d'Avenches," in *Eikones, Festschrift für H. Jucker = AntK Beiheft 12* (Bern, 1980), pp. 57–63; and B. S. Ridgway, "The State of Research on Ancient Art," *ArtB* 68 (1986): 11 with n. 31. Cf., however, H. Jucker, "Marc Aurel bleibt Marc Aurel," *Bulletin de l'association pro Aventico* 26 (1981): 5–36, who correctly takes this as a provincial work of Antonine date. A similar problem exists in our assessment of Greek art as seen from an "Athenacentric" viewpoint. See B. S. Ridgway, who rightly points out in her article cited supra in this note that "our eyes are still trained on Athenian standards and we automatically, even unconsciously, judge everything else by them" (p. 22). Oddly, however, she does not recognize or allow for a similar phenomenon in Roman art (esp. Roman provincial art), which is often seen from a Romacentric point of view.

77. R. Amedick, "Die Kinder des Kaisers Claudius: Zu den Porträts des Tiberius Claudius Britannicus und der Octavia Claudia," *RM* 98 (1991): 388, pl. 102.

78. Supra, note 46. Jucker (1961), pp. 51–52, following G. M. A. Richter, dates this portrait to ca. A.D. 50–70. Based on the stylistic evolution of the acanthus decoration itself, Jucker would place the Alesia Lady (B 3) in time between the bust of the Rimini Matron (B 2), dating to ca. A.D. 40–55 on the basis of hairstyle, and a bust of Domitian (B 5), dating to ca. A.D. 90–100. See also Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 100. However, attempts to date closely on the basis of size and shape of bust forms are risky. See also the cautionary words of A. Motz, "The Development of the Size and Shape of the Roman Portrait Bust: A Reappraisal," *AJA* 96 (1992): 350. Remarkably little has been done on this problem since P. Bienkowski's very brief, but fundamental study at the end of the nineteenth century: "L'histoire du buste dans l'antiquité," *RA* 27 (1895): 293–97.

79. H.: 23 cm (ca. 9 in.); H. without tang: 20.5 cm (ca. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); H. of head alone: 11 cm (ca. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); W. of shoulders: 16 cm (ca. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.).

80. See Jucker (1961), pp. 51–52, with regard to the Alesia Lady.

81. See also the general characterization of Jucker: *ibid.*, p. 53 n. 10.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 51; Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 100.

83. Toutain (supra, note 46), pp. 82–83, describes the eyes of the Alesia Lady and suggests that the missing pupils, set in the hard matrix of the orbs, were probably made of some translucent material. Cf. Jucker (1961), p. 51. Recent photos of the Alesia Lady show only two hollow eye sockets; see my fig. 12a.

84. I.e., the size of the acanthus ornament relative to the size of the bust.

85. Jucker (1961), p. 51. The acanthus ornaments of Getty Portrait A and the Alesia Lady are far more like one another than are those decorating the many other portraits assembled by Jucker. The essentially trefoil shape of the acanthus, whether executed in a stylized or naturalistic fashion, is fairly common for such bust ornaments in both bronze and stone, as the many examples in Jucker show.

86. Cf. the analysis of the trace elements of the alloys used in the Alesia Lady as reported in Beck et al. (supra, note 46), pp. 126–27, as well as Rabeisen and Menu (supra, note 46), p. 178, with that of the two Getty busts (supra, note 32). For the problems in using percentages of trace elements of alloys as criteria to establish workshop, see also supra, note 32.

87. Pliny *NH* 34.162: "The plating of bronze works with white lead, so that they can scarcely be discerned from silver, was an invention of [the three] Gauls. Such objects are called *incotilia*. Later

on in the town of Alesia they began to plate with silver in a similar way ornaments, especially for horses, pack animals, and teams of oxen. The future glory [for this type of plating] went to the Bituriges [a people of Aquitania]" (*Album incoquitur aereis operibus Galliarum invento ita, ut vix discerni possit ab argento, eaque incotilia appellant. Deinde et argentum incoquere simili modo coepere eorum maxime ornamentis iumentorumque ac iugorum in Alesia oppido; reliqua gloria Biturigum fuit*).

88. Pliny here attributes its invention to Bordeaux (Biturigum).

89. Jucker (1961), p. 52: "Eine bedeutende Bronzeindustrie befand sich in Alesia selbst, wie aus Plinius' Mitteilung über die dort gehandhabte Heißversilberung hervorgeht und durch zahlreiche Funde von Gussformen bestätigt wird." The bronze workshops have been located in *insula H* and the east part of *insula F* [iron workshops in the west part of *insula F*]. For the archaeological evidence for the bronze workshops, see M. Mangin, *Un quartier de commerçants et d'artisans d'Alésia: Contribution à l'histoire de l'habitat urbain en Gaule*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1981), pp. 246–61, 388–90, and *passim*. For the Alesia Lady, see also Rabeisen and Menu (supra, note 46).

90. Jucker (1961), p. 52; Mangin (supra, note 89), p. 389.

91. So Le Gall (supra, note 46), p. 37 (fig. XII: Alesia Lady), p. 38 (fig. XIV: goddess).

92. Bernisches Historisches Museum 16.164 (originally from Prilly): see Leibundgut (1980: supra, note 68) and H. Jucker, "iv. Nachtrag zu W. H. Gross, *Bildnisse Traians*, Berlin 1940," *AJA* 61 (1957): 253, no. 38. As noted by Jucker, the "Franzenfrisur" is not restricted to the Trajanic period, but can be found as early as the Neronian period. See also recently Leibundgut (1980: supra, note 68), pp. 135–38, no. 183, pls. 164–69; and again A. Leibundgut, in H. Jucker, *Gesichter: Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*³ (Bern, 1983), pp. 114–15, no. 46; and Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. no. 109.

93. Leibundgut (1980: supra, note 68), p. 138 with n. 20 for further bibl. See also Petit (supra, note 9), p. 114, no. 46, and p. 117, no. 47; Braemer (1984: supra, note 73), p. 75, pl. IV, figs. 1–4, 5–8; G. Daltrop, "Ein neuerworbenes Bronzestückchen hadrianischen Zeit," *BerMus* 9 (1959): 32, figs. 3–4; and Lahusen/Formigli (forthcoming), cat. nos. 119 and 120.

94. On this technique and its dates, see esp. Jucker (1961), pp. 48–49 (B 1) and n. 3; Leibundgut (1980: supra, note 68), p. 137 with n. 12 for further examples.

95. Braemer (1984: supra, note 73), pp. 64, 67, and *passim*.

96. Pollini (in progress).

97. I thank Claude Rolley for bringing this inscription to my attention. See further C. Rolley, "Un dieu Gaulois près de Vézelay," *Bulletin de la société d'études d'Avallon* 74 (1993): no pagination; and *idem* (supra, note 1), p. 315; and *Année Épigraphique*, 1993: 340, no. 1198. As Rolley notes, the name of Cobannus probably survives in the name of "Couan" in the toponym Bois de Couan. This inscription will be further discussed in Pollini (in progress).

98. The authenticity of this inscription, found in 1984, had originally been questioned. Recent tests on the tablet, however, indicate that it is genuine. For this inscription, see R. Fellmann, "Die Zinktafel von Bern-Thormebodewald und ihre Inschrift," *Archäologie der Schweiz* 14 (1992): 270–73, and most recently *idem* (supra, note 2), pp. 133–75.

99. For a fuller discussion of the name of the god mentioned in the inscription from Thormebodewald and its relationship to Cobannus, see Pollini (in progress).

100. See further Boucher (1976), esp. p. 227. Bronze manufacture was popular in areas in which marble and other good sculptural stone were not readily available: Braemer (1984: supra, note 73), pp. 71, 73.

101. For Gallo-Roman ateliers in general, see Boucher (1976), pp. 225–40.

102. Galleria degli Uffizi 1914 (no. 57), see G. A. Mansuelli, ed., *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture* (Rome, 1961), 2: p. 69, no. 63. Mansuelli took this portrait as that of an unknown woman. Cf., however, V. Saladino, *Firenze. Gli Uffizi: Le sculture antiche* (Florence, 1983), p. 36, no. 13, who saw it as a young girl (Neronian-early Flavian); and E. Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben im Rom um die Zeitwende* (Munich, 1986), p. 119, fig. 157, who realized that the portrait represented a male, identified it as a *camillus*, or sacrificial assistant, and dated it to the time of Nero. See also Fless (1995), pp. 63–64, 66–67, pl. 31; Pollini (1999), p. 34; and idem, “Slave-Boys for Sex and Religious Service: Images of Pleasure and Devotion,” in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, ed. T. Boyle and W. Dominik (forthcoming).

103. The present location of the head is unknown. From the published photos, the portrait appears to have been in the form of a bust. See *EA*, nos. 3744–46; E. Langlotz and H. Bulle, *Sammlung Baron Heyl* (Darmstadt, 1930), p. 4, no. 23; P. Cain, *Männerbildnisse neronisch-flavischer Zeit* (Munich, 1993), pp. 252–53, no. 132; Fless (1995), p. 67, pl. 30.1–2; Pollini (1999), pp. 34–35, figs. 19–20.

104. For other examples, see Pollini (1999), pp. 29–36, with further bibl.

105. For a few of these more exceptional types, see Cain (supra, note 103), p. 69 with n. 163.

106. See, in general, Fless (1995) and Pollini (1999) with further bibl.

107. H. Szesnat, “‘Pretty Boys’ in Philo’s *De vita contemplativa*,” *The Studies Philonica Annual* 10 (1998): 87–107; Szesnat deals with Philo’s highly biased views on Greek and Roman sexual preferences.

108. I.e., prepubertal boys definitely under the age of 12, probably by several years.

109. Literally “big boys,” i.e., those who are just pubertal or postpubertal. Based on Strato *Anth. Pal.* 12.4, these were probably boys about 12–15 years of age. This age range was deemed the most desirable by most pederasts.

110. Most likely scented oil-based unguents. The Greek *λελειασμένοι* is sometimes translated “smoothly shaven” (see, e.g., Fless [1995], p. 59, *glatt rasierte*). However, *λεανίω* or *λειανίω* means to “polish” or “smoothly rub.” One of the reasons why these *βούπαιδες* (adolescents) were so sought after by pederasts was that they had not yet sprouted the coarse (ugly) facial hair (beard) associated with manhood.

111. The meaning of the phrase *τὰς προμετωπίδιους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων εἰς ἐπανάσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς κυκλοτεροῦς ἠκριβωμένον σχῆμα* has posed problems for translators. Based on known hairstyles, I would be inclined to interpret it to mean that the forelocks, which are cut to equal lengths, will form an arc corresponding to the natural arc of the hairline over the forehead. For examples and further discussion, see infra.

112. See further my discussion in Pollini (1999), pp. 29–36; idem (supra, note 102).

113. Museo Nazionale Romano 124514: P. Rendini, in A. Giuliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano*, vol. 1.1, *Le sculture* (Rome, 1979), pp. 260–64, no. 161, with further bibl. The hair is divided from ear to ear, sometimes over the apex of the head or sometimes further forward. In artistic representations of such servile hairstyles, the parting of the hair may or may not be clearly delineated. For the dating of this altar, see further Pollini (1999), p. 31, fig. 15.

114. Cf. also Philo *De vita contemplativa* 50, who speaks of the comeliness and beauty of these slave boys.

115. I derive this word from the Latin verb *paedicare*, or *pedicare*, meaning “to penetrate anally.”

116. For the Warren Cup, see J. R. Clarke, “The Warren Cup and the Contexts for Representations of Male-to-Male Lovemaking in Augustan and Early Julio-Claudian Art,” *ArtB* 75 (1993): 275–94;

J. R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 61–78 and passim; and Pollini (1999). Since acquisition by the British Museum, the Warren Cup has been published by D. Williams, *Minerva* 10.4 (1999): 33–35.

117. On the differences between homosexual love in Rome and Classical Greece, see my discussion with further bibl.: Pollini (1999), esp. pp. 22–28.

118. See esp. my discussion of the *lex sca(n)tinia* with further bibl.: *ibid.*, pp. 22–28.

119. See in particular A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*² (Oxford, 1992), pp. 223–26.

120. Erotic epigrammatic writing was known long before the period when the Warren Cup was created. The erotic world of Strato was, in fact, very similar to that of third-century-B.C. Alexandria. For similar erotic motifs, see S. L. Tarán, “*ΕΙΣΙ ΤΡΙΧΕΣ*: An Erotic Motif in the Greek Anthology,” in *Homosexuality in the Ancient World*, ed. W. R. Dynes and S. Donaldson, pp. 434–51 (New York, 1992). For a literary work that is roughly contemporary with the Warren Cup, see, e.g., A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds., *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (London, 1968), and W. H. Parker, trans. and ed., *Priapea: Poems for a Phallic God* (London, 1988).

121. For the reasons, see Pollini (1999), pp. 32, 34, 36–37, 39.

122. For the epigraphical evidence, see *ibid.*, p. 32 n. 115, and p. 134 with n. 130. The special care and pampering that some of the imperial *paedagogiani* received and such flattering designations as “distinguished boys of the *princeps*” (*pueri eminentes Caesaris*) suggest that there was some sort of hierarchy established within the *paedagogia*. Undoubtedly occupying the apex of this “servile pyramid” were the *delicati*, the pampered pets of the master.

123. Although the *paedagogia* of the wealthy could be quite large, those of the imperial house were undoubtedly the largest.

124. For the role of slaves in a *familia*, see F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, vol. 1, *Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im lateinischen Westen*, *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 14.1 (Wiesbaden, 1981), esp. pp. 57–78.

125. Fless (1995), p. 60, fig. 25.2. See also R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Storicità dell’arte classica*² (Florence, 1950), pp. 178–79, who incorrectly interprets this representation as a group of girls. For an excellent color photo of this mosaic, see M. Napoli, *Pittura antica in Italia* (Bergamo, 1960), p. 74, pl. 61.

126. For this low-style beehive-bonnet coiffure, cf., e.g., a portrait of Julia, daughter of Titus, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 8638: G. Daltrop, U. Hausmann, and M. Wegner, *Die Flavii: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Julia Titi, Domitilla, Domitia*, *Das römische Herrscherbild*, vol. 2.1 (Berlin, 1966), p. 118, pls. 42, 49b. For a late Flavian relief in the Vatican Museum with a slave-boy ministrant wearing a high Flavian beehive bonnet, influenced by the coiffure of Domitia, the wife of Domitian, see Pollini (1999), p. 34.

127. M. Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen* (Mainz, 1983), pp. 53, 74, pls. 54 and 62.2, fig. 11. Fless (1995), p. 42 (pl. reference incorrectly given as 22.1), p. 107, cat. 26, pl. 22.2. This hairstyle is worn also by three boys serving at table in a scene on the funerary altar of Q. Socconius Felix in the courtyard of the Palazzo Istituto Romano dei Beni Stabili in Rome: F. W. Goethert, “Grabara des Q. Socconius Felix,” *AntP* (Berlin, 1969), 9: pp. 79–86, figs. 1–11, pls. 50–56. Here, three servile boys wearing tunics and feminized hairstyles of the Flavian–Trajanic period serve a master and his wife a meal, which is to be taken as a ritual banquet of the dead because of the funereal context of this monument. For this and other examples, see Pollini (supra, note 102).

128. Pollini (in progress).

129. See supra, pp. 117–18.

130. For this iconographic hairstyle of Octavia as a child and for past bibl., see Pollini (1999), p. 30 with n. 101, fig. 14.

131. For these later types and Nero's iconography in general, see U. W. Hiesinger, "The Portraits of Nero," *AJA* 79 (1975): esp. 119–24; Jucker (supra, note 76): 287–88; M. Bergmann and P. Zanker, "'Damnatio Memoriae': umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts," *JdI* 96 (1981): 321–32; F. Johansen, "Portrætter af Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus," *MedKøb* 42 (1986), esp. 50–54.

132. Munich, Glyptothek 321: Jucker (supra, note 76): 287–88 (*Skizze* 6); Bergmann and Zanker (supra, note 131): 326–32, figs. 9a–d.

133. Supra, notes 46 and 78.

134. Museo Nazionale Romano 130. B. Di Leo, in A. Giuliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano*, vol. 1.9.1, *Le Sculture* (Rome, 1987), pp. 166–67, R 126; and recently Cain (supra, note 103), pp. 209–10, cat. 85, figs. 2–3 with further bibl. Cf. also the long, sinuous locks over the front of the head in another herm portrait of a charioteer from the same shrine (Museo Nazionale Romano 290): Di Leo, pp. 168–69, R 128; and recently Cain (supra, note 103), pp. 209–10, cat. 84, figs. 6–7 with further bibl.

135. For the sacellum, in general, and the busts of all the charioteers, see the monograph by L. Nista, *Sacellum Herculis: Le sculture del tempio di Ercole à Trastevere* (Rome, 1991).

136. Amedick (supra, note 77), p. 394, pl. 104.2.

137. See supra, note 102. In female portraiture, long sidelocks curling forward are rarely found. See, however, the very stylized large sidelocks in a late Julio-Claudian-early Flavian portrait known as "La Gitana" from Mérida, Spain: A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 71–72, no. 56, pl. 51; and more recently T. Nogales Basarrate, "'Imagines Emeritensium': Portraits privés d'Augusta Emerita," *RA*, 1995: 63, fig. 5.

138. For the association of slave boys with sex and religion in a broader sociological context, see Pollini (in progress).

139. *Ibid.*

140. See, e.g., the following recent monographs: F. Baratte, *Le trésor d'orfèvrerie romaine de Boscoreale* (Paris, 1986); A. Fol et al., *The Rogozen Treasure*, trans. from the Bulgarian (Sofia, 1989); H.-J. Kellner, G. Zahlhaas, et al., *Der römische Tempelschatz von Wießenburg i. Bay.* (Mainz, 1993); and esp. Kaufmann-Heinimann (supra, note 2).

TECHNICAL INVESTIGATION OF A PAINTED ROMANO-EGYPTIAN SARCOPHAGUS FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Maya Elston and Jeffrey Maish

In 1982 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired four wood sarcophagus panels (acc. no. 82.AP.75). One side panel depicts a banqueting scene, another an arched colonnade, an end panel has a circular design, and a narrower top panel has painted geometric designs.¹ One end panel and the bottom panel are missing.

The sarcophagus is a very rare document from a transitional period in Egypt when Roman, Egyptian, and Christian influences converged. Although no direct parallels to the object exist, comparisons may be found not only in some Fayum paintings but also in stone, wood, and lead sarcophagi from other locations in the eastern Mediterranean. The date of several elements of the sarcophagus as well as radiographic examination indicate reuse of the wooden components. The sarcophagus was constructed with dovetail joinery and the insertion of hardwood tenons, which, together with the cut of the wood, may have protected the panels from warping. Several pigments and binders were used in the final painting stage. Infrared analysis of the ground layer and polarized light microscopy used for the identification of pigments suggest the use of both animal and gum binding media. Pigments from a limited palette were mixed to achieve a range of tonalities and finer details. The result is a unique visual, historical, and technical document.

CONSERVATION AND ASSEMBLY

The wood panels of the sarcophagus are relatively flat and free of warping. Although the wood is in good condition, the painted surfaces are generally fragile. Their unstable state of preservation made it impossible to look at the panels in a vertical position, for the paint layer was flaking or detaching from the substratum in

several places. The condition of the panels was documented with graphic overlays. These included the condition of the wood; the location of textile strips used to repair the wood and fortify the corners of the sarcophagus; unsupported areas; missing ground layers; missing paint layers; areas stained from adhesive, paint, or mud; areas of detachment of the paint; and areas with water damage. The conservation treatment, which used highly reversible and stable materials such as paper pulp and glass microspheres (as fill materials) and methylcellulose (as a consolidant), was successful in stabilizing and aesthetically reintegrating the object.

Following the consolidation and re-adhesion of loose wood sections, all four panels of the sarcophagus were assembled without any use of adhesive between joints. This was made possible by constructing a system of metal supports for the individual panels, which reduced pressure on the wood. The system was designed to allow adjustments as well as complete disassembly of the sarcophagus if future study or conservation treatment made it necessary to observe the interior or to move a panel to a horizontal position. The metal support on which the panels are mounted succeeds in presenting the sarcophagus once again as a three-dimensional object (fig. 1a). The dimensions indicate that it was made for a small person.

ICONOGRAPHY

Decoration and the rendering of space on the sarcophagus were made exclusively by tempera painting. Each panel presents a different figural or decorative theme. The predominant colors are light and dark green, yellow and ocher, brown, dark pink, white, and dark red.

The banqueting scene represented on one panel

suggests that this may have been the main or front side of the sarcophagus (fig. 1b). This panel depicts a youth—possibly the deceased—reclining on a bed or couch while an attendant fans him. Facing the observer, the youth holds a dish or bowl in his outstretched right hand and a scroll in his left hand. An example of a similar pose of the same date is seen on the stele from Ternouthis in Lower Egypt, now in the Kelsey Museum

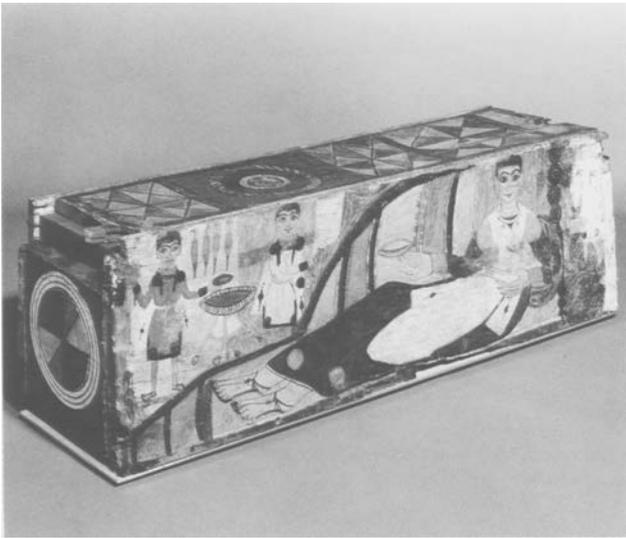


Figure 1a. Painted sarcophagus, after completed conservation treatment and assembly. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AP.75.

of Anthropology, University of Michigan. A large number of reliefs in that collection dating to A.D. 275–350 show the deceased in an attitude of repose.²

On the far left, another attendant serves food or drink from a large bowl resting on a tripod. On the far right a third attendant, barely visible because of water damage, holds a scroll in his hand. All attendants are depicted much smaller than the reclining figure. It is not clear, however, whether they are disproportionately smaller because of perspective or because of the Egyptian tradition of representing less significant persons in smaller sizes. Even if the latter suggestion is excluded (Parlasca discounts it),³ it still appears that the reclining figure, being the most important one, required space that could not be shared equally with the rest of the figures. Furthermore, the horizontal orientation of the sarcophagus does not allow much room for the depiction of standing figures.

The exaggerated length of the reclining figure's legs appears peculiar and seems dictated by the available space rather than by a specific style. Changing body proportions in order to fit them into a particular area is common even in the best paintings on Greek vases.⁴ On a contemporary funerary stele the legs of a reclining woman are shortened dramatically to fit into the available space (fig. 2).⁵

The two better-preserved attendant figures on the sarcophagus are dressed in short tunics, one white, the other dark pink, both accentuated with dark cuffs, hems, and collars. The reclining figure is more resplen-

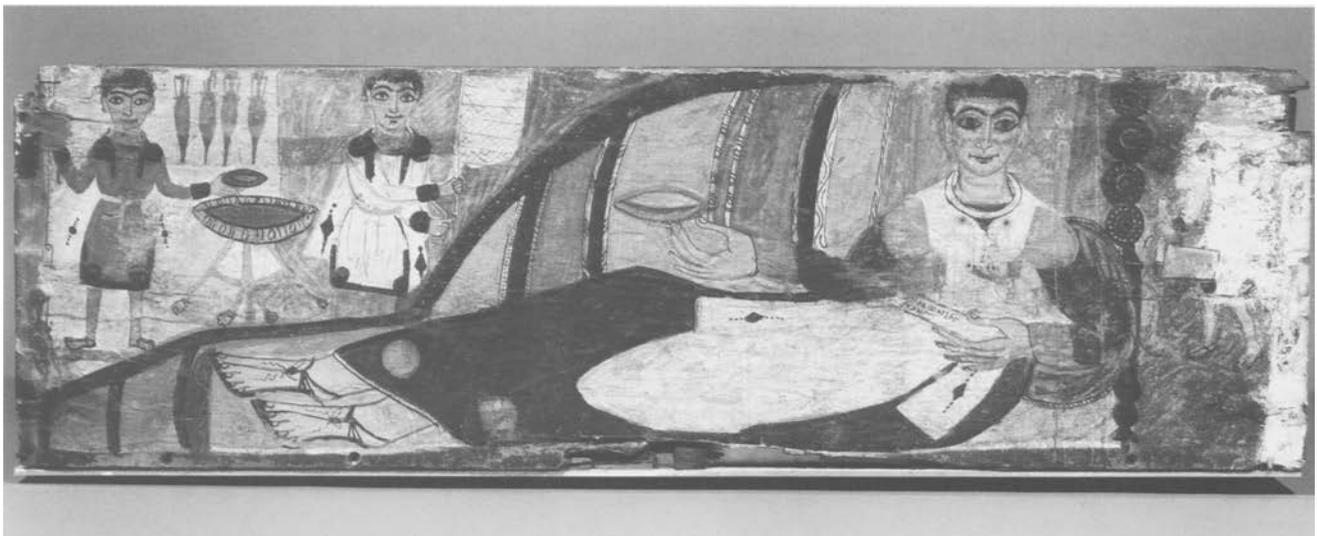


Figure 1b. Front of the sarcophagus, figure 1a, depicting the deceased and three attendants.



Figure 2. Funerary stele with a reclining woman. Sandstone. London, The British Museum EA 65337.

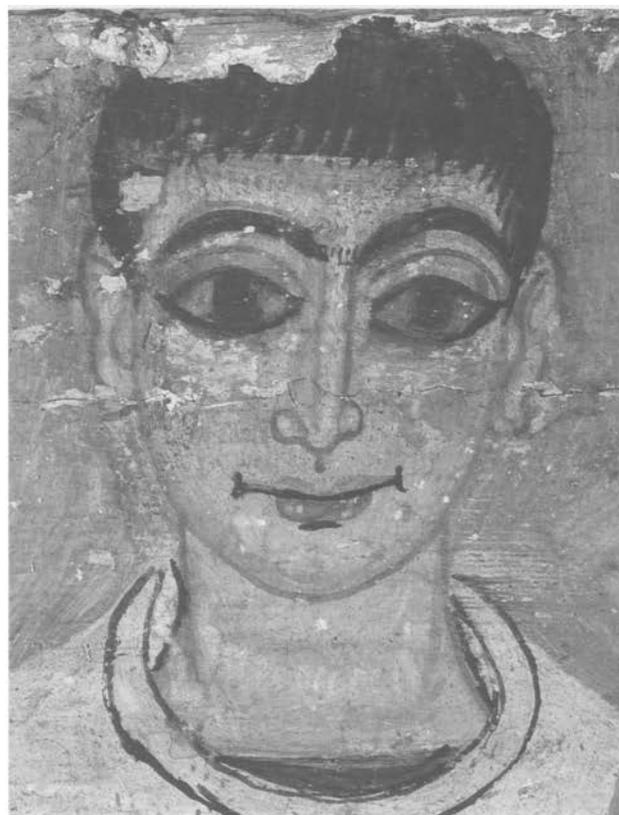


Figure 3a. Face of the reclining youth from the front panel of the sarcophagus, figure 1a.

dent in a long robe and yellow-colored necklace. He wears a light-colored tunic with a dark brown garment underneath decorated with two red circles near the lower hem. The sleeves, which are darker as well, must belong to the dark brown robe.⁶ His face is painted in the tradition similar to Fayum tempera portraits (fig. 3a). The unusually dark tonality of his sclera (white of the eyes) is due to alteration of the white lead pigment that was applied to accentuate that area. Similar color changes occurred elsewhere, where the same pigment was used to delineate ornaments.

The scroll in the reclining youth's hand is inscribed "[Amm]onios," suggesting that this was the name of the deceased. The depiction of a "death meal" and the complete absence of symbols associated with the pharaonic death cults suggest that the sarcophagus may have been made for a Christian family. The object may present one of the oldest examples of Christian funerary art from Egypt; close parallels for comparison have yet to be found.⁷

The many architectural elements in each panel could be regarded separately, or they could be seen as

more three-dimensional architectural representations. The general impression on the front panel is that the painting represents a room interior (see fig. 1b). The bed or couch is painted in large bands of dark pink, ocher, and green, which are further embellished with decorative elements. An area behind the bed is painted half in white, half in green. Four light brownish amphorae hang on the wall just above the tripod, adding more details of furnishings and suggesting the use of wine or oil for the ritual scene.

The architecturally inspired back panel shows a colonnade of four arches and half-round niches⁸ (fig. 3b). The panel is painted mostly in ocher, dark pink, white, and light green. The addition of darker colors such as brown, gray, and black is limited. Although there is a slight tilt of the architectural and decorative elements to the right, the design is quite symmetrical. The distribution of colors, however, is not: each section is painted differently. The top of each column has cursorily depicted capitals reminiscent of the Corinthian order. The arches on the wooden sarcophagus curiously frame geometric elements, in contrast to



Figure 3b. Back of sarcophagus, figure 1a.

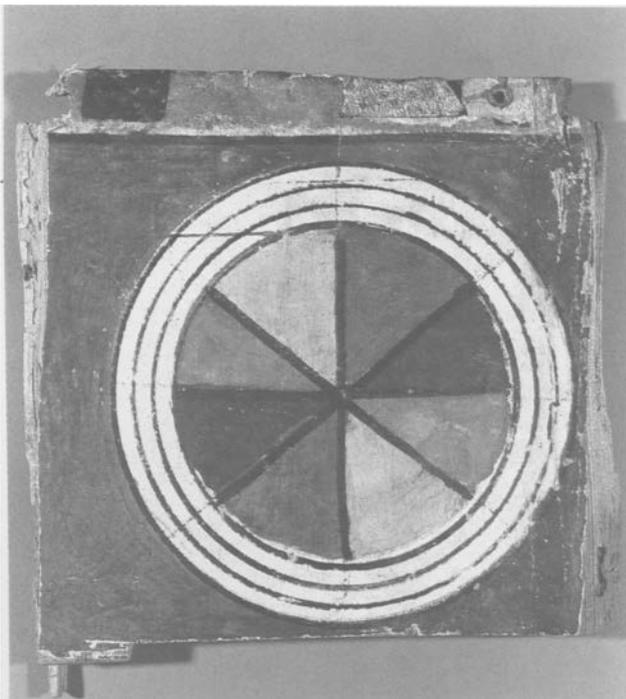


Figure 3c. End panel of sarcophagus, figure 1a.

numerous marble sarcophagi where the arches frame groups of figures.⁹

The principal decoration on the extant end panel consisting of a large circular element painted in green, yellow, dark pink, and brown on a dark green background may simply be an abstract geometric design (fig. 3c). This spoke pattern, however, is not without parallels, although interpretations may vary. The Getty end panel is strictly geometric and colored with a border of three concentric rings. If it is interpreted as a wheel, it may be an image associated with Ixion.¹⁰ However, the meaning of this image may have been lost through repetitive use so that it may have evolved into a simple geometric depiction. A Roman lead sarcophagus from Lebanon shows a similar division of space in the end panel. The crossed staffs on this sarcophagus have been associated with cult beliefs, and the inscribed rope pattern may symbolize the wish to bind the coffin in order to keep something from either entering or leaving it.¹¹ The division of space, at least in visual terms, is reminiscent of the Getty piece (figs. 4a–b).

The top panel of our sarcophagus is similar to the end panel in that it has geometric patterns (fig. 5a). Diamond shapes, much like those seen under the arches of the back panel, are the main motif. The circular floral design, placed off center in a rectangular area painted green, is bordered by a double circle and a circular twist design. The floral design echoes the early Christian designs of churches such as Kalota, Syria. Examples of simple and complex medallion designs from the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. are common in northern Syria.¹² The predominant colors on the top panel are green, yellow, brown, and red. While both side panels are painted in lighter tones and with color combinations that produce a vibrant impression, the top panel is darker, and its color harmony is clearly subdued. The absence of paint on strips of the wood suggests handle attachments (see fig. 5a).

IDENTIFICATION OF WOODS, DENDROCHRONOLOGY, AND DATING

The main body of the sarcophagus was constructed from Lebanese cedar (*Cedrus libani*), while the inserted tenons were made of a hardwood, carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*).¹³ The panel planks were crafted of imported wood, for local Egyptian trees could not provide timber sufficiently large for such a project. After Alexander's conquest of Egypt, cedar from Syria became more available throughout the Mediterranean,¹⁴ where it was used as an architectural timber. The number of tree rings on the cedar end panel indicates a tree more than 120 years old (see fig. 5g). Although a large number of rings are present, the Lebanese cedar dendrochronology, unfortunately, does not extend back to the early first millennium A.D., so this method of dating cannot be used.¹⁵

Cedar had a reputation in dynastic Egypt for its fragrance and durability. In Egypt and Mesopotamia it was considered a patrician tree because, unlike fir, it resisted rot and insects. It was appreciated by carpenters for its grain, aromatic scent, and ability to take a polish.¹⁶

Theophrastos mentions the use of cedar in shipbuilding in Syria and Phoenicia.¹⁷ In a fourth-century-A.D. treatise on naval affairs Vegetius mentions that four species were suitable for shipbuilding—fir, pine, cypress, and larch.¹⁸ By the Hellenistic and Roman periods papyri indicate that wood was very scarce.¹⁹ However, cedar continued to be the preferred wood for monumental doors in the Greek and Roman worlds.²⁰

Timber from the carob, or locust-bean, tree was most probably imported as well.²¹ Theophrastos states



Figure 4a. Roman sarcophagus from Lebanon. Lead. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum B 10280.



Figure 4b. End panel of sarcophagus, figure 4a.

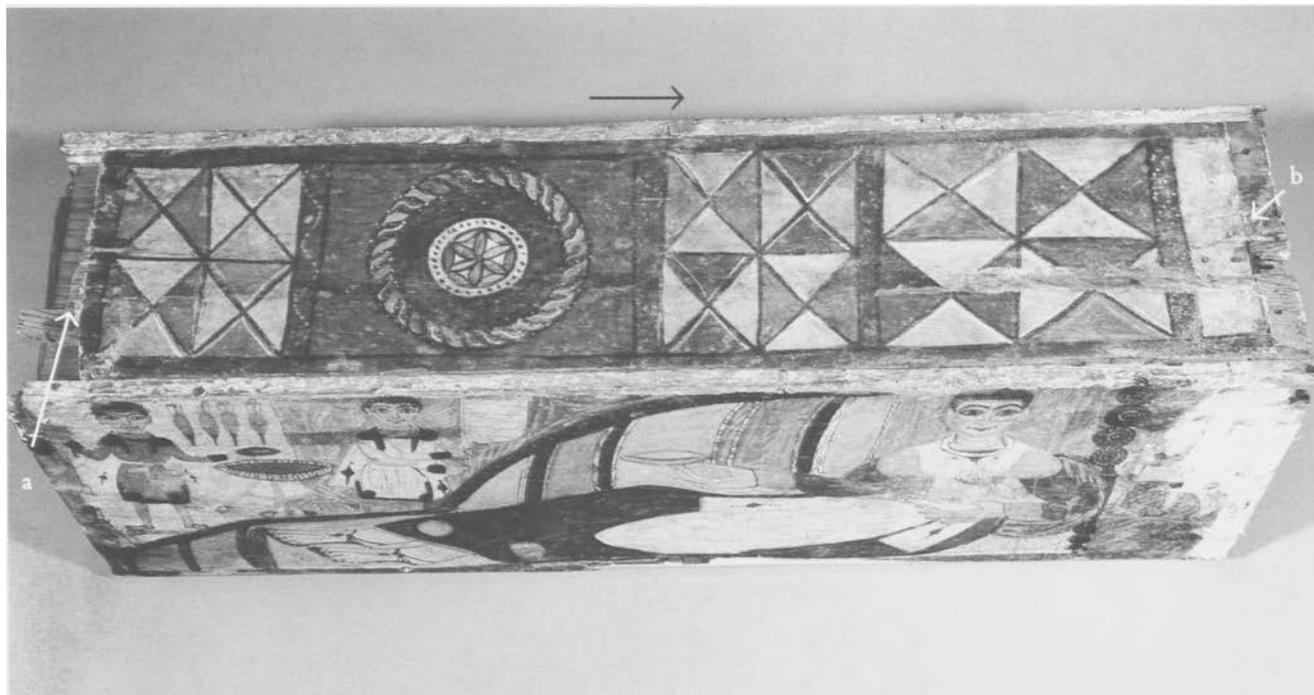


Figure 5a. Lid of sarcophagus, figure 1a. Arrow indicates sliding direction of the lid. *a* and *b*: possible locations of handles.

that the carob tree is incorrectly called Egyptian fig. According to him the tree did not exist in Egypt but in Rhodes, Syria, Ionia, and Knidos.²² Strabo reports it was common in Ethiopia.²³

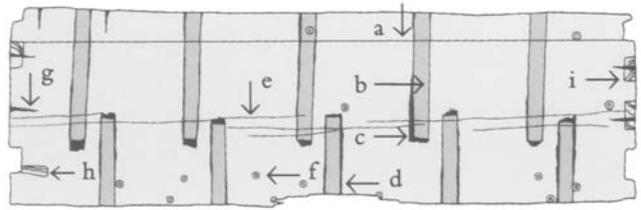
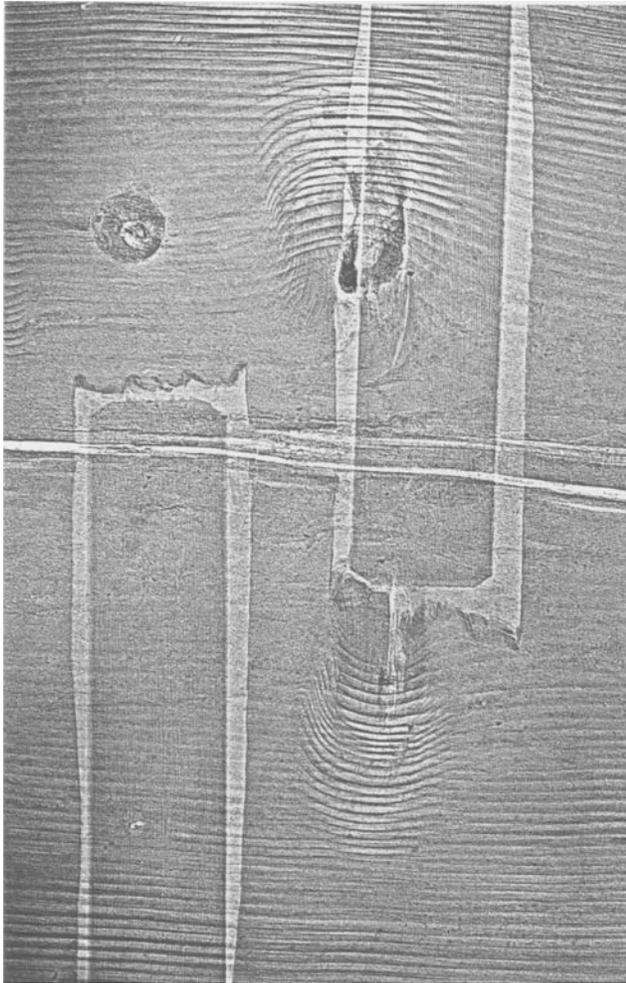
Radiocarbon dating of samples of wood and textile shows a difference between the age of the wood and the age of the textile, with the wood predating the textile by centuries. Results suggest that the textile (and sarcophagus) dates between A.D. 265 and 420, while the wood dates between 95 B.C. and A.D. 50.²⁴ The former dates place the date of manufacture of the sarcophagus between the late third and the early fifth centuries A.D.

SARCOPHAGUS STRUCTURE

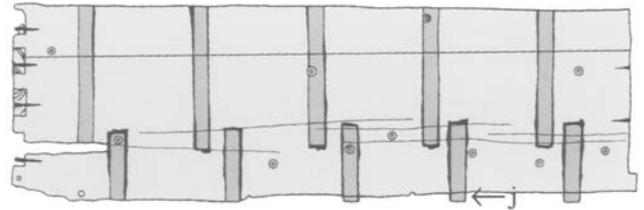
The wood construction of the sarcophagus undoubtedly reflects a wider woodworking tradition, which may have been used also in boat building and architecture. Roman plank joining is typified by mortise-and-tenon construction as found, for example, in shell-built boats.²⁵ Tenon construction was commonly used in dynastic Egyptian sarcophagi. The exterior of the sarcophagus lacks any wooden decoration, although the lid may have had two handles, and, like other sarcophagi, it may have been elevated on feet. The plain wooden surfaces in this piece contrast sharply with the greater use

of decorative wood elements in contemporary architectonic Roman sarcophagi from the Bosphorus area.²⁶

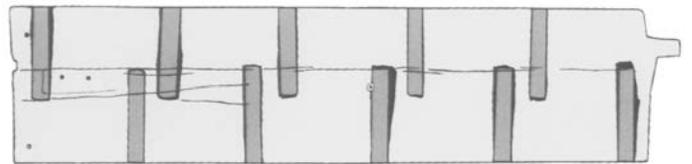
Radiographic examination and inspection of the wood grain indicates that each side panel was constructed from two planks of wood that were fitted together side by side. The outer dimensions of the panels are about 157 cm long, 49 cm high, and 2.5–3 cm thick. The panel configurations were traced from xeroradiographs²⁷ (fig. 5b) to further define the construction of the panels (figs. 5c–f). The planks, cut from near the center of the tree, were of high, warp-resistant quality (fig. 5g). The panel planks were joined by thin transverse tenons. Parallel holes were drilled across an approximately 4-cm width of a panel's edge, and chiseling cleared and connected the holes. The resulting slots along the edge of each panel then received the hardwood tenons (fig. 5h). Evidence for the drilling is visible along one panel edge as well as in radiographs. In the former case, the carpenter did not connect the outer holes, as the width of the inserted tenon would have been exceeded (fig. 5i). There are ten tenons on each panel—five inserted from the top, and five from the bottom. The distances between the side-panel tenons in both the upper and the lower register vary slightly, from 24.4 cm to 26 cm. The thick-



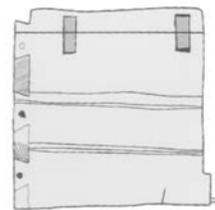
Front



Back



Lid



End panel

Figure 5b. Xeroradiographic image of tenons. Plugged hole is visible on upper left.

Figures 5c–f. Drawings of the internal structure of the panels of the sarcophagus, figure 1a (after xeroradiographic images). *a*, line representing the division between the upper and the lower plank. *b*, hardwood (carob) tenons inserted from the top. *c*, hollowed area for insertion of tenon. *d*, carob tenon planed flush with bottom edge of panel (from previous use of the wood). *e*, faults in the wood. *f*, plugged holes (possibly from previous use). *g*, iron nails. *h*, ancient repair of the wood. *i*, cross section of dovetail joinery. *j*, carob tenon protruding at break.

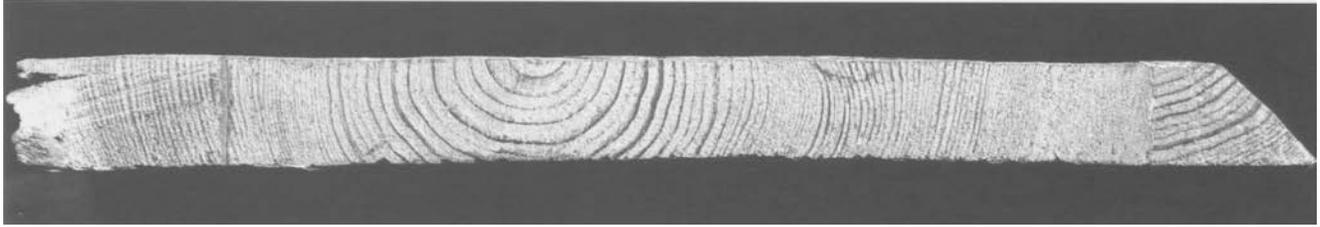


Figure 5g. View of ring structure of end panel of sarcophagus, figure 1a. Cf. figure 3c.

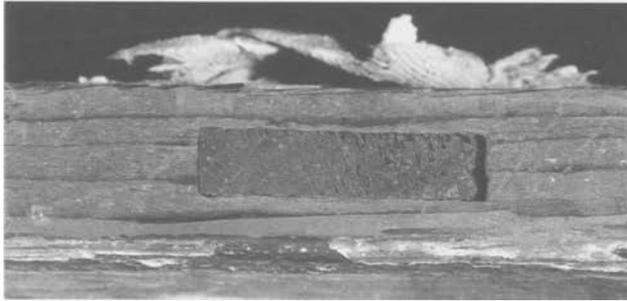


Figure 5h. Panel edge of sarcophagus, figure 1a, with inserted carob tenon.

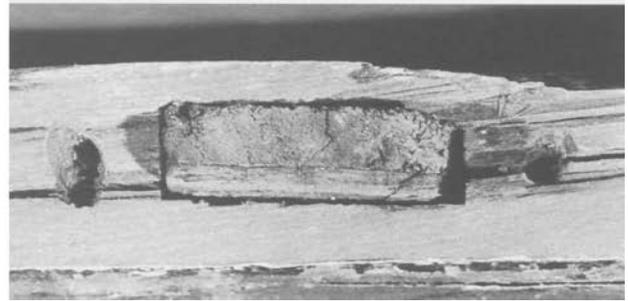


Figure 5i. Panel edge of sarcophagus, figure 1a, with unchiseled pilot holes (holes drilled in error) and correctly inserted tenon.

ness of the tenons is 1.2 cm, while their length is between 25.8 and 36 cm in the upper register and between 17.2 cm and 23.6 cm in the lower register. The width of the tenons is quite consistent on all panels, varying by only 2 mm (from 3.6 cm to 3.8 cm).

Brown crystalline adhesive residues taken from areas of protruding tenons were identified as animal glue.²⁸ The tenons were thus held securely in place not only by fit but also by adhesive. The adhesion of the tenons contrasts with other wood examples in which tenons were locked in place with dowels or pegs.²⁹ The tenons kept the planks aligned, strengthened the joins, and may also have served as a type of cradle by preventing the panels from warping. The adhesion of the two planks is remarkable; there is no sign of separation or pronounced warpage.

Radiographs of the panels also revealed filled holes that have no apparent connection to the existing sarcophagus structure (fig. 5j). Most of these holes are on the lower portion of the side panels. Their placement, however, appears random and does not indicate what they may have held during their previous use. In some instances radiographic images show wood end grain in the holes, suggesting filling with dowels. It cannot, however, be determined whether the dowels were meant simply to fill the holes, or whether they were in

effect part of the previous join. Although there were some sources for timber in Egypt, the need was mainly for wood of larger sizes and better grades.³⁰ The labor involved in transporting and hand finishing of the material most probably added greatly to its value, and reuse of wooden panels was probably not uncommon. Reuse is suggested in this case by the lack of a credible explanation for the function of these holes.

Radiocarbon dates confirm the probable ancient reuse of the wooden panels. There is, however, a question as to reuse of the assembled panels as opposed to the planks. The tenons inserted from the bottom are consistently shorter than those inserted from the top. Except for possibly keeping the wood plank from warping, the tenons inserted from the bottom have no function in the present assembly, as there is no evidence of joinery between the panels in that area. They must be remnants of the previous use of the board. This suggests that the bottom section of the panel may have been cut to produce the appropriate dimensions for the sarcophagus.

The origin of the panels is strictly a matter of speculation. Roman plank joining was typified by mortise-and-tenon joinery, but edge joining in ship-shell planking used tenons arranged in a regular pattern and dowels to keep them in place.³¹ The joinery meth-



Figure 5j. Plugged holes (arrows) in panel of sarcophagus, figure 1a, perhaps evidence of previous use of the wood.

ods also show an affinity with those used in earlier dynastic Egyptian sarcophagi. Although the Getty sarcophagus has what appear to be dowel holes, these do not align with the existing tenons. Seams between ship planks were often caulked and fixed with wax or tar, and the outer planking on a hull was protected with a coat of tar or wax. With no indication of any additional caulking or coating on the sarcophagus planks, it would seem unlikely that they come from a ship. There is, however, evidence of the use of a water-soluble adhesive to fix the tenons in place. The adhesive, combined with the insect-resistant wood and the lack of correlation of tenon slots with perpendicular dowel holes (as noted for ships), would suggest a more terrestrial origin for the planks. The purpose of the filled holes in the sarcophagus must remain a mystery from the planks' previous incarnation.

As discussed above, the interpretation of the character of the original panel structure is at best speculative, although it would necessarily have come from a large structural or architectural element. Some evidence suggests that the one short and two long panels may have been cut from a single larger panel. Radiographs reveal a fault in the midsection of the wood in a location consistent across the three panels, perhaps indicating that they were cut lengthwise from the same

wooden structure. This is further suggested by the slight angle of the panel join, which is not parallel with the bottom but inclines at an approximately 2-degree angle (see figs. 5e and f). If the two panels are placed end to end (allowing room for a pair of tenons that were removed during the construction of the sarcophagus), their combined length would be 3.37 m.

The lid is cut to a narrower size and consists of only one plank. As mentioned above, the same fault in the wood is characteristic in the central area of the lid. Therefore, if the lid was part of the original long panel, its overall size could increase to more than 5 m. By the same hypothetical approach, the width of the original panel could be about 66 cm (considering the length of the cut-down tenons on one side).

SARCOPHAGUS JOINERY

The side panels were fitted together with the end panels through dovetail joinery (fig. 5k).³² Before the wood was cut, the dovetails were marked with pencil-like black lines made by a pointed implement, possibly of lead (fig. 5l). Nails were used to secure the joins.³³ The bottom panel was secured to the side panels with countersunk nails. As in other areas of the sarcophagus, the nail holes were hexagonally countersunk with a chisel (fig. 5m). Iron nails, used for joining the bottom

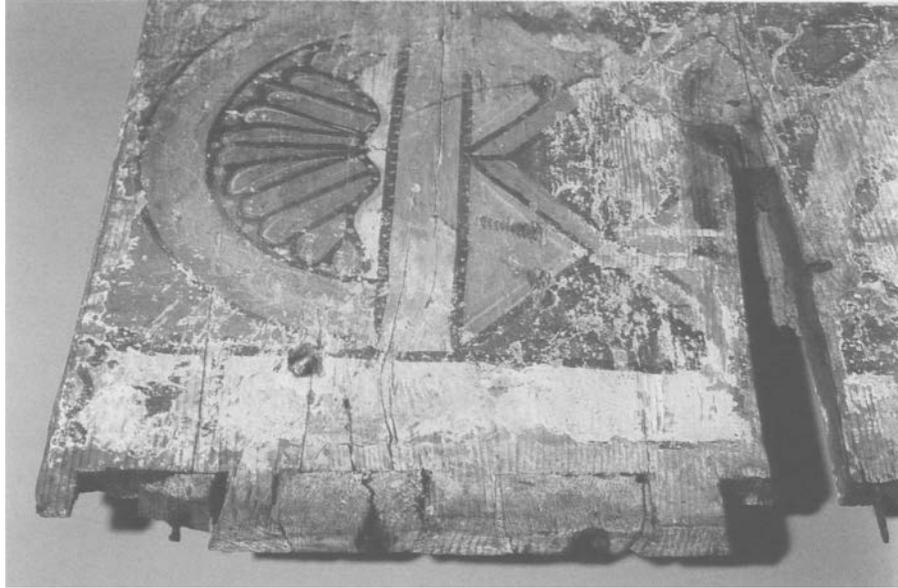


Figure 5k. End of a panel of sarcophagus, figure 1a, showing dovetail joinery.

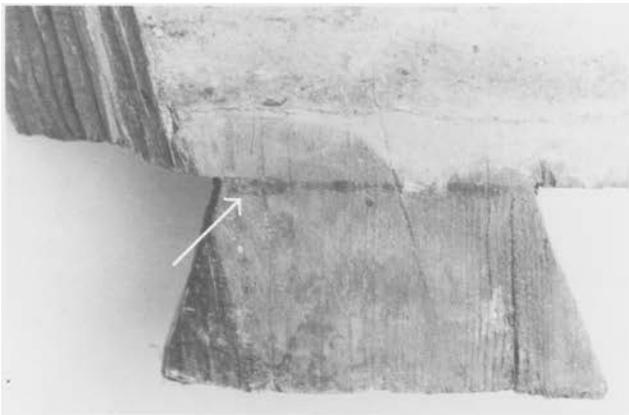


Figure 5l. Details of joinery of sarcophagus, figure 1a: line (arrow) indicates area of cutting.

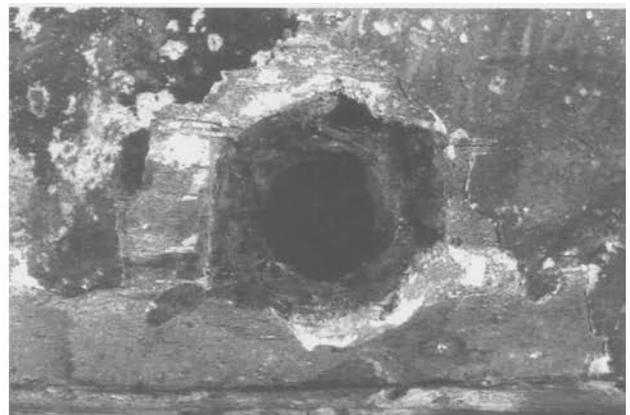


Figure 5m. Detail of joinery of sarcophagus, figure 1a: hexagonal countersink hole.

to the sides, were also used to repair one area and to reinforce the dovetail joins of the end panels. The nails were made in a manner consistent with early Roman forging and ironwork.

The lid, or top panel, of the sarcophagus could slide like the lid of a pencil box (see fig. 5a: the lid would slide out to the right). Horizontal slots were carved just below the top edge of each side panel to accommodate the lid. Due to some slight asymmetry, one edge of the lid was worked, possibly by planing, so that it would slide more easily. The sliding panel was possibly required by ritual practice, to assure direct

contact between family members and the deceased.³⁴ Sliding would have been facilitated by the attachment of functional or decorative handles at either end of the lid.³⁵ Although such elements are now missing, this hypothesis is supported by the presence of several holes where nails or pins were inserted for the attachment. Furthermore, the distribution of paint (or lack thereof) in that area indicates the exact location of a handle element as mentioned earlier (see fig. 5a). Except for being shorter, the tenons inserted into the top plank exhibit the same characteristic and spacing as those of the side panels. Since the bottom panel is missing, we



Figure 5n. Coarse textile applied as individual strips to conceal faults in the wood of sarcophagus, figure 1a.

can only speculate on the presence of any feet or elevating element on the lower surface of the sarcophagus.

GROUND LAYER AND TEXTILE REPAIR

After the sarcophagus was assembled in antiquity, damaged areas were reinforced with strips of textile. A yellowish white ground paint was then applied to the entire interior and exterior surfaces, probably in one layer. The somewhat coarse and textured paint concealed some faults in the wood. The ground layer was left unpainted on the interior of the sarcophagus. The coating of the wood probably contributed greatly to the long-term preservation of the sarcophagus. Analysis of the paint suggests that the binder was a protein or animal glue;³⁶ the analysis further identified several constituents, including gypsum, calcite, and small amounts of clay.³⁷

Areas of damage to the wood were repaired with both nails and textile (fig. 5n). Analysis of the adhesive indicates that animal glue was used to secure the textile strips to the wood.³⁸ The use of textile on the sarcophagus is largely limited to repairs on the exterior of the panels. Two types of woven fabric were used, both identified as linen fibers.³⁹ The finer fabric, which was used to repair a crack in the lid, was applied with a protein-based binder⁴⁰ before being covered with the ground paint. This fabric is brittle, yellowed, and darker

than the textile applied to the side panels. The weaving density is about twenty threads per cm in the warp and fifty-four in the weft (fig. 5o). More coarsely woven fabric was applied to smooth and conceal joinery at the corners and to conceal defects in the side panels. This textile is woven of fibers that are almost white and less tightly S-spun into thread (fig. 5p); the weaving density is eleven threads per cm in the warp and twenty-one threads in the weft. Although the textile has torn edges and undoubtedly came from scrap materials, it is generally very well preserved. The textile was applied to the sarcophagus not only to repair faults but also to provide a smoother painting surface in these sections. However, the textile pieces were not applied evenly; in some areas there is one layer of textile, while other sections are made of double or triple folds of irregularly shaped fabric.

PAINT LAYERS AND TECHNIQUE

The painting is executed in tempera, a technique that was highly developed in Egypt. In tempera painting the pigments are combined with a binder that stabilizes them when the paint dries. Egg, animal glue, and vegetable gums are frequently used as binders.⁴¹ Pigments were mixed together to obtain various nuances and shades. Some evidence suggests preliminary sketching in ocher. The paint was applied with some understanding



Figure 50. Enlarged view of textile in figure 5n showing weave pattern.

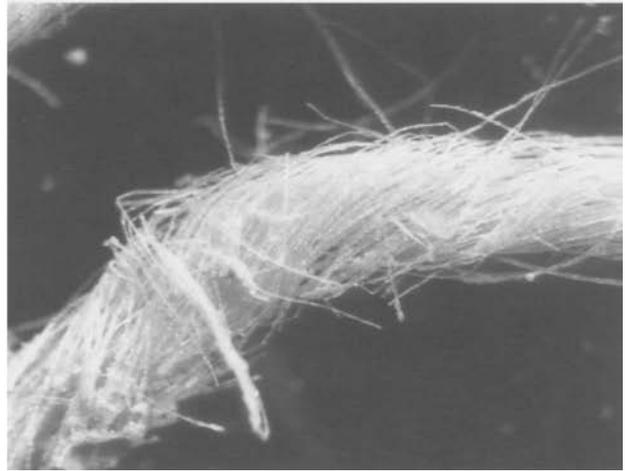


Figure 5p. Enlarged view of a fiber of the textile in figure 5o showing S-spun twist.

of color sequence. In general, colors were applied from light to dark; for example, yellow followed by red, red-brown, green, and finally black detailing.

In areas where drapery folds are depicted, there was an attempt to create highlights; there a lighter color was applied above the darker one; the same is seen in the treatment of facial features. Furthermore, as a final stroke, several decorative elements and selected details in the clothing were added in opaque lead white, including, as mentioned earlier, the sclera of the reclining young male (fig. 5q). Examination under the binocular microscope suggests that black was mixed with red to achieve a red-brown, and red-brown was mixed with white to achieve flesh tones. In general, the overlap of paint suggests that the figures were painted first, followed by the painting of ornamental detailing, and then the background. Ocher was applied in an effort to model the nose and eyes. Red highlights were added to the cheeks and lips. The hair was initially painted red-brown, followed by detailing in black.

It should be noted that the painting design and the style of rendering on all four panels seem simplistic and rapidly executed.

The surface of the sarcophagus bears some evidence of the tools used to create the painted images. Brush hairs are imbedded in some areas of the paint layers; drip marks suggest that the panels were upright when they were painted; compass holes indicate that mechanical instruments were used for marking the arch curvatures on the back panel. The geometric decoration on the end panel was laid out with a compass as

four concentric circles; the depressed compass center point is clearly visible; the concentric design was then split into pie-shaped wedges, and the shapes were outlined in black pigment. The eight divisions of the central circle were also laid out with line work prior to painting. Remnants of this preliminary work are visible in the ground along the exterior circles. Straps were painted at the corners to suggest or mimic metal reinforcing plates.

IDENTIFICATION OF PIGMENTS AND BINDING MEDIA

The binding medium was of plant origin, probably a water-soluble gum.⁴² A range of inorganic pigments was sampled and identified using a combination of polarized light microscopy and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.⁴³ The bright light-yellow pigment of the necklace and the highlights over the darker yellow were identified as a coarsely ground orpiment. The graininess is particularly evident because this was one of the last colors to be applied. Orpiment must have been imported as a raw material from Persia, Armenia, or Asia Minor, for it does not occur naturally as mineral in Egypt.⁴⁴

The yellow paint used generously on all the panels was made from a mixture of yellow ocher and calcite. In some areas orpiment and yellow ocher were mixed to obtain shades of yellow. Yellow ocher could be dug up in abundance around Cairo and the western deserts.⁴⁵ A sample of the green pigment, also used unsparingly, was found to be terre-verte (green earth),



Figure 5q. Xeroradiographic image of part of the front panel of sarcophagus, figure 1a. The design represents highlighted areas of the garment and the sclera of the reclining youth, all applied in white lead.

which must have been imported.⁴⁶ The third color used abundantly, a dull variety of red, was identified as sienna (iron oxide red). The dark purplish color of the young male's robes was identified as a combination of sienna and umber or raw umber and burnt umber. Burnt umber was the pigment used for the dark brown areas as well. The specific identification of the white lead pigment is still preliminary. The pigment appears to have a complex structure, and more study will be required for its complete identification.⁴⁷

The entire surface of the sarcophagus, inside and out, was coated with a pale yellow ground paint, followed by a second coat of white paint on the exterior

only. The white may have served as a background color that could be left unpainted in areas. Calcite has commonly been used for that purpose in Egypt since pre-dynastic times.⁴⁸ Variations of all shades of colors were produced by combining pigments such as terre-verte and charcoal to obtain dark green, sienna and calcite for pink, and calcite and charcoal for the greys.

CONCLUSIONS

Very few painted wooden objects remain from this period in Egypt, and the sarcophagus is undoubtedly a rich source for further observation and study. Examination of the materials provided a valuable opportunity to re-create the process of manufacturing of an unusual object. The technological investigation found the sarcophagus to be complex and intricate in its combination of a variety of materials, and it opens many questions about the reuse of the underlying wooden structure. No close parallels are known; it is hoped that the data and references presented here will contribute to the further understanding of ancient woodworking traditions, reuse of wood, ancient repairs, painting techniques, iconography, interpretation of architectural and decorative elements, and, finally, Romano-Egyptian funerary ritual customs during the early Christian period.

Malibu

The J. Paul Getty Museum

NOTES

1. The authors are most grateful for the invitation from the Antiquities Department of the J. Paul Getty Museum, especially to Marion True and Mary Louise Hart, to publish the findings of this unusual piece. We owe particular thanks to Jerry Podany for his constant support and encouragement.

2. E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspect from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (New York, 1992).

3. K. Parlasca, in *Alexandria and Alexandrism*, ed. K. Hama (Malibu, 1996), p. 161.

4. An example is side A of the Kyknos krater in the Leon Levy and Shelby White collection, New York, attributed to the Euphrosios Painter: the standing figures of Athena and Aphrodite are shortened by at least a quarter in order to fit into the available space; D. von Bothmer et al., *Wealth of the Ancient World*, exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, 1983), p. 58.

5. Cf. S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), pp. 152-53.

6. A. K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs, 332 B.C.-A.D. 642* (London, 1986), p. 69, mentions a similar type of tunic as being Roman in style. Parlasca (supra, note 3) has some discussion of the color differences in the tunics of the two attendants.

7. Klaus Parlasca, personal communication, 1991.
8. Similar niches may be seen in K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pl. 62: grave relief in Kansas City, W. Rockhill Nelson Gallery, inv. 55-42.
9. An example of a marble sarcophagus with similar elements is the "third Group" Sualen sarcophagus, dating from the first half of the third century (Rome, Museo Torlonia Lungara), which depicts a series of figures framed by arches along a colonnade with two reclining figures depicted on the lid. See C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs im Auftrage des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin, 1897-1919), fig. 126.
10. Ixion is associated with a rotating wheel on a Roman marble sarcophagus dating to the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Zeus tied Ixion to a perpetually rotating wheel in Hades surrounded by snakes; *LIMC* 1 (1981), p. 857. See also J. R. March, *Cassell's Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (London, 1998), p. 222.
11. D. White, "Coffins, Curses, and Other Plumbeous Matters: The Museum's Lead Burial Casket from Tyre," *Expedition* 39.3 (1997): 3-14.
12. R. Fernandex, in I. Pena, *Les Stylites syriens* (Milan, 1975), pp. 185ff.; G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du nord du II^e au VII^e siècle: Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'antiquité* (Paris, 1992), 1: 108ff., fig. 160B; A. Naccache, *Le décor des églises de villages d'Antiochène du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), 1: 238ff.; 2: pls. CCLXXIff.
13. Unpublished Forest Products Research Laboratory Report, University of California, Berkeley, 1989.
14. J. S. Morrison and J. F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 181.
15. Dr. Peter Kuniholm, Cornell University, personal communication.
16. R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), p. 55.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 408.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
21. P. V. Podzorski, N. C. Rem, and J. A. Knudsen, "Identification of Some Egyptian Wood Artifacts in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology," *Museum of Applied Science Center for Archaeology Journal* 3.4 (1985), identified Egyptian wood objects at the Lowie Museum, which included sycamore, acacia, ebony, tamarisk, cedar, and others.
22. Theophrastos *Enquiry into Plants* 4.2.4.
23. *Ibid.* 17.2.2.
24. Getty Conservation Institute, analytical report on ¹⁴C dating, 1990, unpublished.
25. P. R. V. Marsden, *A Ship of the Roman Period, from Blackfriars, in the City of London* (London, 1967).
26. M. Vaulina, *Bois grecs et romains de l'Ermitage* (Wrocław, 1972-1974).
27. Xeroradiography, a radiographic method, is suited to imaging low-density materials such as wood.
28. M. F. Striegel and D. Stulik, *High Performance Thin-Layer Chromatography for the Identification of Binding Media: Techniques and Applications* (Getty Conservation Institute, 1993). Results were confirmed with gas chromatography. See also M. Derrick, analytical report, Getty Conservation Institute, 1993, unpublished.
29. Morrison and Coates (*supra*, note 14).
30. A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn. (London, 1989).
31. K. Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 61.
32. Some information on wooden coffin joints may be found in W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915). See also Vaulina (*supra*, note 26).
33. For information on other types of tools available in this period, see J.-P. Adam, *La construction romaine: Matériaux et techniques* (Paris, 1984), pp. 91-109; Lucas and Harris (*supra*, note 30), pp. 448-52.
34. Parlasca (*supra*, note 3), p. 163.
35. Parlasca (*supra*, note 3), p. 157.
36. D. Stulik, "Infrared Analysis Report," analytical report, Getty Conservation Institute, 1989, unpublished. Derrick (*supra*, note 28).
37. R. Wolbers, unpublished analytical report and personal communication, 1990.
38. Derrick (*supra*, note 28).
39. McCrone Research Institute, analytical report, 1992, unpublished. Linen was traditionally regarded as a "clean" material and was used in traditional Egyptian burials: R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (Leiden, 1965), 4: 27.
40. Wolbers (*supra*, note 37).
41. Lucas and Harris (*supra*, note 30), pp. 3 and 5.
42. Derrick (*supra*, note 28).
43. Derrick (*supra*, note 28). For a further report of Egyptian pigment use in the third and fourth centuries, see S. Sack, C. Tahk, and T. Peters, "A Technical Examination of an Ancient Egyptian Painting on Canvas," *Studies in Conservation* 26 (1981): 15-23.
44. Forbes (*supra*, note 39), 3: 227.
45. Forbes (*supra*, note 39), 3: 226.
46. Forbes (*supra*, note 39), 3: 232.
47. A. Kosolopov, unpublished analytical report, identifies this white as cotunnite with additional potassium (or ammonium) lead chlorides.
48. Forbes (*supra*, note 39), 3: 223.

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