

**STUDIES IN ANCIENT ART  
AND CIVILIZATION**

**DE ANTIQUORUM ARTIBUS  
ET CIVILISATIONE  
STUDIA VARIA**

Pars XIV

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*Evdoxia Papuci-Władyka*

**STUDIES  
IN ANCIENT ART  
AND CIVILIZATION**

14

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Krakow 2010

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Scarab with a representation of a sphinx and the symbol of unification of Egypt on its base. From the collection of Princes Czartoryski Foundation in Kraków (inv. no. MNK XI-1117). Photo Jakub Śliwa, courtesy of the Foundation

Photo of Professor Joachim Śliwa on page 7 by Jakub Śliwa

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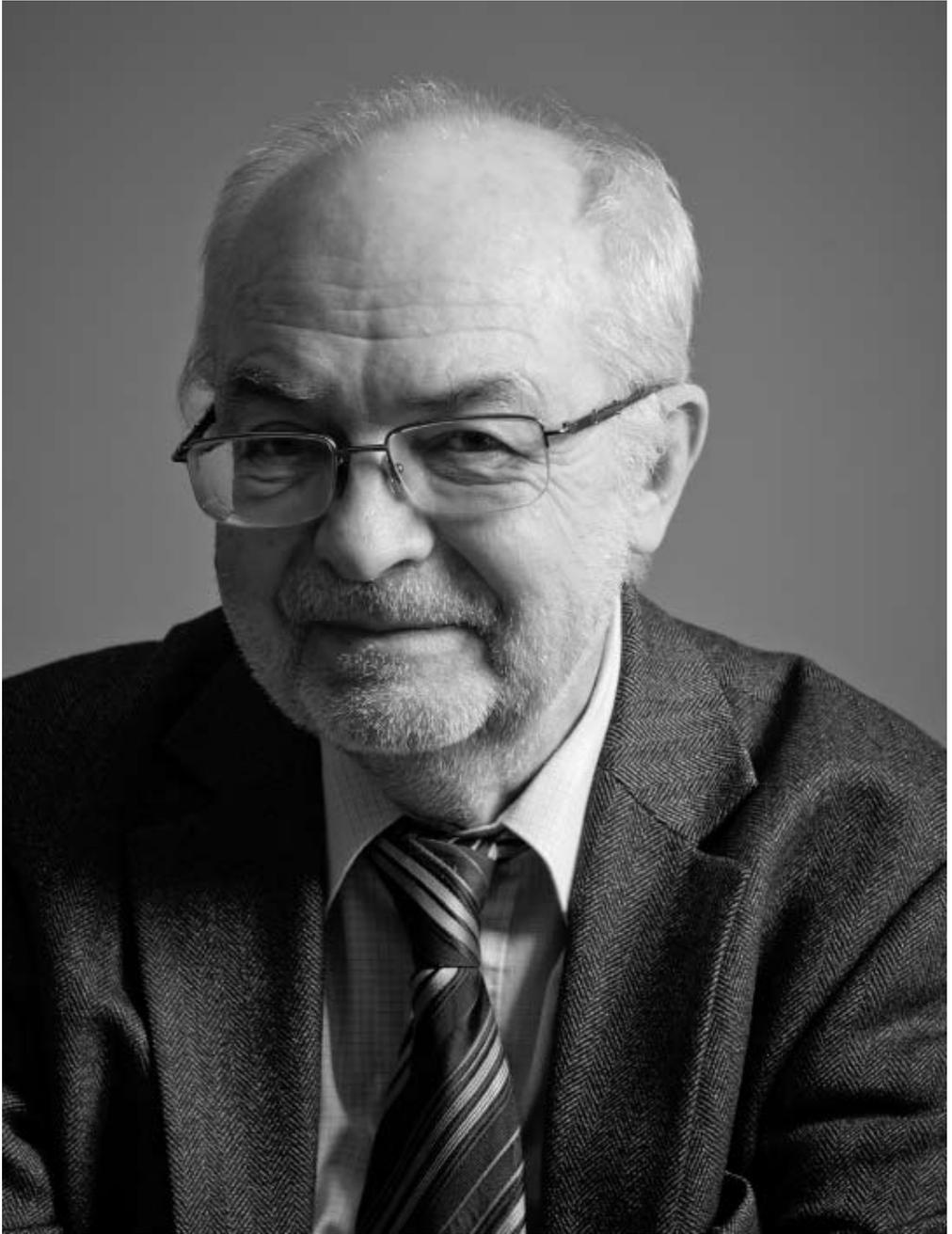
THE 14<sup>TH</sup> VOLUME OF *STUDIES IN ANCIENT ART AND CIVILIZATION*  
IS DEDICATED  
TO PROFESSOR JOACHIM ŚLIWA ON HIS 70<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY

The first issue of *Studies in Ancient Art And Civilization* was published in 1991. The initiator of the series, as well as its creator and the editor of 12 volumes, was Professor Joachim Śliwa. The 14th issue is intended by the current editors as a homage to Professor, and expression of thanks for his activity so far.

Professor Śliwa is an excellent expert on archaeology and art of ancient Egypt and Middle East, as well as a prominent scholar in the field of the history of collections of antiquities and Mediterranean archaeology in Poland; he is the author of numerous books and several hundred articles. His whole career, starting with the studies under the supervision of Professor Maria L. Bernhard, up to now is connected with the Jagiellonian University. He defended his doctoral thesis here in 1969, in 1975 presented his habilitation dissertation, and in 1988 received professor's title. For many years (since 1978) he had been head of the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology, and after the reorganisation of the Institute of Archaeology became head of the Department of Egyptian and Near Eastern Archaeology; the latter post he holds until now.

The scientific activity of Professor Joachim Śliwa comprises four main topics. The first covers research on ancient Middle East and Egypt. It was in the land of the Nile, where he went for the first time in 1966 on a scholarship funded by the Egyptian government, that he made his most important discoveries. The excavations which he conducted in Qasr el-Sagha (1979-1988) resulted in the discovery and investigation of a so far unknown workers' settlement dating to the time of the Middle Kingdom. The art and culture of Egypt and Middle East became the most important topics of Professor Śliwa's books, textbooks and scientific articles.

His teaching activity is connected with this research, and he became the tutor and example of academic excellence for many generations of graduate and doctoral students. He promoted countless master's theses, more than ten doctoral dissertations, and several of his students are today professors themselves.



Professor JOACHIM ŚLIWA

Professor Śliwa's third passion is the research on history of Mediterranean archaeology and collections of antiquities in Poland. Apart from numerous articles on this subject one should recall the book *Egipt, Grecja, Italia... Zabytki starożytne z dawnej kolekcji Gabinetu Archeologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (Kraków 2007), of which he was originator, editor, and for which he prepared the majority of texts. Thanks to his interest in the subject and Benedictine patience he restored the memory of many forgotten early researchers and collectors. He has always emphasized their achievements in the context of times in which they lived, and it would not be an overstatement to say that many of them owe their 'second lives' to the Professor.

The fourth area of Professor Śliwa's activity lies in the field of publishing. His first experience in this field was the editorial work for *Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej* published as part of *Prace Archeologiczne*. He had redacted for many years the *Recherches Archéologiques* series, which presents in the first place field research of the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University. Professor Śliwa also edited or co-edited many books, but *Studies in Ancient Art And Civilization* became his 'most beloved child'. This periodical is an important forum for the exchange of scientific ideas; it also provides Professor's many students, as well as other scholars beginning their career, with the opportunity to publish their first scientific papers. Being always a demanding editor, Professor Śliwa never refused anyone his help and advice.

For all this we owe Him our deepest gratitude.

Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz  
Janusz A. Ostrowski  
Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka

Kraków, October 2010

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*Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz*

Kraków

THE BOYS  
FROM TELL EL-FARKHA

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Excavations in Tell el-Farkha have been in progress since 1998. The site is composed of three *koms*, lying at the edge of the village of Ghazala about 120km to the north-east of Cairo. The mounds rise about 5m above the surrounding fields, occupying an area of more than 4ha.

The importance of the site in terms of gaining a new understanding of the processes leading to the emergence of the Pharaonic civilization has been unquestioned from virtually the first season on. The early art and architecture of ancient Egypt offers little in the way of parallels for both buildings and finds and the discoveries of the last few seasons are truly unprecedented. Interest has been spurred worldwide in a deposit of figurines of unmatched artisanship (Ciałowicz 2009a), crafted of hippo ivory and golden-sheet figures, depicting a Predynastic ruler and his son and heir, which are believed to be the oldest known from Egypt (Chłodnicki and Ciałowicz 2007).

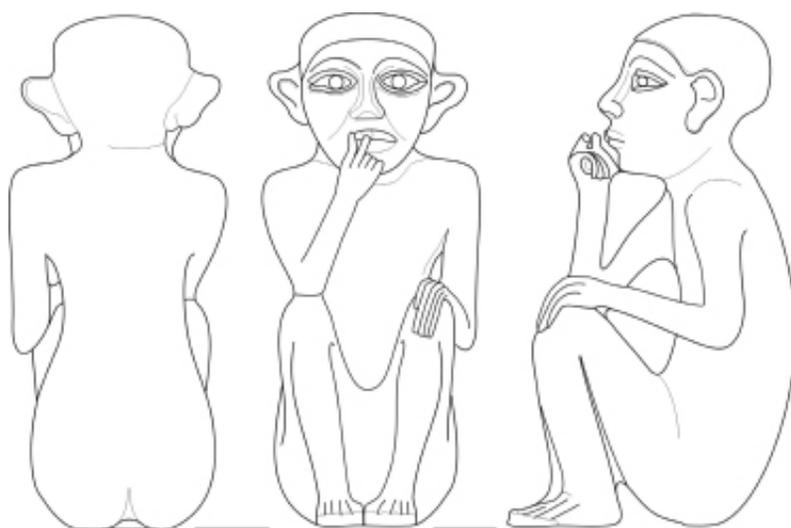
Among the figurines discovered in 2006 in a votive deposit in Room 211 there are a few different groups of characters: dwarfs, females, males, prisoners, boys as well as fantastic creatures and animals. The first two groups from this set have already been presented in earlier papers (Buszek 2008; Ciałowicz 2009b).

Among the best preserved ones are two figures depicting sitting boys, which are also extraordinary in terms of craftsmanship.

The first of them (Figs 1-4) is a slender figure with a distinctively rendered face. The eyes are large and almond-shaped but not identical, with clearly marked pupils. The ears are also large and stick out unnaturally. The mouth is relatively wide and thick while the nose is slightly snub. Above



Figs 1-2. Figure of a sitting boy found in a votive deposit in Room 211.  
Photo R. Słaboński



WD 06/39

Figs 3-4. Figure of a sitting boy found in a votive deposit in Room 211.  
Photo R. Słaboński, drawing A. Longa

the forehead the hairline is marked as going down to the ears. The knees are drawn up and spread while the feet, which have clearly modelled toes, are placed together. The left arm is bent at the elbow and the hand, which has disproportionately long and thin fingers, lies on the knee. The right elbow is placed on the right knee with the hand close to the mouth. Three fingers are joined, the thumb is drawn outwards and the index finger (partially preserved) originally touched the mouth. The figurine is cracked vertically and delaminated in various places. Hippopotamus tusk. H: 8.4cm. Inv. no. WD06/39 (Mendes, Register book-638).

The second boy is much more strongly built (Figs 5-8), but his face is similarly distinctively modelled. The eyes are large and almond-shaped. The ears are large and stick out unnaturally. The mouth is relatively wide and thick while the nose is large, wide and crooked. Above the forehead there is a hairline marked that falls down to the ears and is visible on the back of the head as well. The genitals are plastically rendered and the buttock line is also clearly stressed. The knees are drawn up and spread while the feet, which have plastically modelled toes, are placed together. The left arm is bent at the elbow and its hand, which has disproportionately long and thin fingers, lies on the knee. The right elbow leans against the right knee and the hand is at mouth level. Three fingers are together, the thumb and the index finger (partially preserved) originally touched the mouth. Hippopotamus tusk. H: 5.2cm. Inv. no. WD06/40 (Mendes, Register book - 639).

The same room/chapel also contained three fragments of a large clay figure, spread over a large area, most probably depicting a sitting boy (Fig. 9). Only the lower part of the object was preserved. On a fragment of a rectangular basis (height 1.4cm) the feet of a sitting figure with the heels pointing out are visible. Both the toes and the ankles have been distinctly modelled. The right leg is bent at the knee and is preserved to mid-thigh height while traces of a hand resting on the knee remain. The other leg is preserved to knee height. Clay. H. pres.: 18cm. Inv. no. W07/32 (Mendes, Register book-695).

A few dozen figurines, mainly made of faience and presenting children with fingers in their mouths, come from Elephantine. They are clearly distinguishable into two groups. The first group consists of standing characters (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 17-19). They are mainly depictions of girls with large heads and distinctly marked female characteristics. The left hand usually rests along the body, while a finger of the right hand (the right elbow is bent) touches the mouth. In a few examples the left arm is also bent while the left

hand rests on the bosom or the belly (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 19: 68, 70). Among the standing figurines, those depicting boys are quite rare. A particularly interesting example is a small figurine showing a boy (2.8cm; Dreyer 1986, Taf. 19: 67) whose left hand is resting along the body, while the right arm is bent at the elbow with a finger from the right hand touching his mouth. The genitals are distinctly marked. The face is very expressive for a faience work, causing the viewer's attention to be drawn to the distinctly modelled eyes, mouth and nose, and, above all, to the large, protruding ears. The boy's hair is painted black.

The second group of Elephantine child depictions are sitting characters (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 20-23). This group, contrary to the previously described one, only consists of depictions of boys. A typical character (e.g. Dreyer 1986, Taf. 20-21: 73-80) sits on the ground with drawn-up knees with the left hand resting on the left knee. The right hand (the right elbow is bent) reaches towards the mouth and in most cases the mouth is touched by the index finger. The facial features, as far as we can determine (taking into account the fact that the objects are considerably damaged), are usually expressive, with large almond-shaped eyes, a wide mouth, a distinctly marked nose and large protruding ears. In most cases the genitals are also marked. A few of the Elephantine boy depictions differ slightly (when considering the finer details) from the ones described above. For instance, the left hand may hold a shank instead of resting on the knee (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 22: 84-85) or may touch the head at ear height (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 22: 88; Taf. 23: 89). Another exception (Dreyer 1986, Taf. 22: 86) is that of a boy wearing a loin cloth, kneeling on the left knee – the remaining details are the same as in the basic type.

It is worth noting that most of the described figures of both types were quite broadly dated to a period between the Early Dynastic Period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom by their discoverers. This may clarify why, as most faience works of the time, they are not amongst the most significant achievements of art at that period. They were most probably a mass product made of the cheapest materials and available to all members of society. In the case of Elephantine it is also worth stressing that depictions of naked children probably represent the most numerous group discovered on the site; this may somehow be connected with the gods worshipped at an early chapel there.

Figurines depicting naked children are known from Abydos. The best from an artistic point of view – are statuettes made of stone. One of them is currently stored in the Brooklyn Museum (Needler 1984,



Figs 5-6. Figure of a sitting boy found in a votive deposit in Room 211.  
Photo R. Słaboński



WD 06/40

Figs 7-8. Figure of a sitting boy found in a votive deposit in Room 211.  
Photo R. Słaboński, drawing A. Longa



Fig. 9. Fragment of clay figure probably depicting a sitting boy found in Room 211.

Photo R. Słaboński

knees, with his left hand resting on his knee and his right hand touching his mouth. Despite the scraped-away surface, large almond-shaped eyes are visible, together with a distinctly modelled nose, a wide mouth and large protruding ears.

Yet another figurine from the same site is also of interest. It is made of faience and depicts a boy sitting on an object difficult to clearly determine, although it resembles a jar (Schlögl 1978, no. 87). An opening below the knees may suggest that the entire object (7cm in height) may have been a sort of pendant. The position of the body is typical and, despite a significant surface abrasion, both almond-shaped eyes and protruding ears are visible.

Three other figures depicting sitting boys from the Kofler-Truniger collection, most probably from Abydos, are made of faience (Schlögl 1978, no. 91-93). All are considerably damaged and have a significant surface abrasion. One of them (Schlögl 1978, no. 93) is the most interesting object. The body is depicted in the form of an almost square block from which

347). This limestone figure of a child (6.5cm high) is seated on the ground, with the right elbow and left hand resting on the drawn-up knee. The right hand is touching the mouth. Finer details – such as hands, feet and facial features – are hard to distinguish, but large and unnaturally sticking out ears are visible.

A few other figures from Abydos are part of the Kofler-Truniger collection (Schlögl 1978, 27-28). Amongst the best ones is a small stone figurine depicting a sitting boy (3.7cm; Schlögl 1978, no. 89). As a matter of fact, it is the only one that may be compared artistically to the figurines from Tell el-Farkha. The boy is depicted in a typical position, sitting on the ground with drawn-up

hands and legs stand out slightly. The genitals are strongly accentuated. The round head is visibly tilted to the right while the almond-shaped eyes and mouth have been emphasised during carving.

There is also one example of a faience figure of a child in the same set, of indeterminable sex, depicted in a standing position (Schlögl 1978, no. 90). Similarly to the Elephantine figures, the left hand rests along the body, while the right one is touching the mouth. In this regard, this faience statuette may be treated either as a depiction of an adult man or as a different iconographic type of child depiction.

Fragments of ivory figurines depicting sitting boys were also discovered in Abydos (Petrie 1903, Pl. III, Nos 19, 21). The publication state, however, renders a more detailed description impossible.

Similar figurines are also known from other sites. Among the most important examples is the one made of ivory (?) discovered in one of the Early Dynastic graves (no. 597 H5) in Helwan. It is the only Egyptian figure of this type known from a grave (Saad 1951, Pl. 24). A small figurine of a sitting boy comes from Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Petrie 1900, Pl. 18, No. 4). In this particular case, the initial publication does not allow for a more detailed description.

Among the latest discoveries a few similar representations from Tell Ibrahim Awad are worth mentioning (van Haarlem 2009, Pl. 2: 49-50; 54-57). One of the best preserved examples is a small faience figurine (Belova and Sherkova 2002, Phot. 38, Fig. 3; van Haarlem 2009, Pl. 2: 55). It depicts a sitting boy in a typical position with drawn-up knees, with his left hand resting on the left knee and a finger of the right hand touching the mouth. Yet another figurine from the same site, this time made of ivory (Belova and Sherkova 2002, Phot. 100) is not fully preserved. The right hand and leg as well as both feet are missing. It has been described by the discoverers as a depiction of a dwarf. Indeed, a slightly grotesque facial expression seems to justify this idea. On the other hand, the left hand rests on the knee and there is a visible mark from a broken off finger at the chin. It might come from the right hand with a finger pointing to the mouth. If we assume this possibility to be true the figurine in question should also be interpreted as a depiction of a sitting boy.

An interpretation of figurines depicting children is not easy, as is the case with most other early sculptures. Their presence in temple deposits seems to point to a connection with early cults. According to Schlögl (1978, 27) this type of figurine was intended to express a wish to have children or to be reborn after death. These interpretations seem highly probable.

It is worthy of note that depictions of dwarfs are the most common group in Tell el-Farkha (see: Buszek 2008), whilst figurines depicting children with their fingers touching the mouth are the most common group in Elephantine. This may point to the presence of developed local cults in particular regions of Egypt, continuing despite the considerable cultural unification.

While evaluating the boy figurines from Tell el-Farkha (mostly on the basis of both examples made of ivory) it should be pointed out that, although they show two different physical types of boys, in both the high skill of the artist is distinctly visible.

Like most of the figurines from Tell el-Farkha, the representations of boys are unique pieces of art, previously unknown from such an early period in Egyptian history. The level of observation, artistry and workmanship equals or exceeds anything previously known from Upper Egypt. Indeed, the unusual talent and perceptiveness of the artist is more visible among the representations of dwarves and boys. It is also likely that most, if not all, of the human figurines discovered on the Western Kom are the works of only one person – a master we might call the ‘Artist from Tell el-Farkha’. The style of the works indicates that all of them were created at about the same (rather short) period of time.

It is difficult to judge if the master artist worked at Tell el-Farkha or whether his products were imported to the site from one of the more important centres of Early Dynastic Egypt. The first possibility seems reasonable considering that we have the remains of an administrative-cultic centre at Tell el-Farkha and the idea of a resident artist connected with such a centre is quite plausible.

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TELL EL-FARKHA (2009 SEASON):  
GRAVE NO. 100

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Season 2009 was the 9th carried out on the necropolis in Tell el-Farkha. As a result, the total number of graves reached 108 (for details see Dębowska-Ludwin 2009). All the burials were spread over an area of c. 19 ares. The cemetery occupies the southern part of the Eastern tell, but unfortunately its range has not yet been fully defined. In general, burials from Tell el-Farkha have been divided into three main groups that reflect the successive phases of cemetery usage and are presently dated from Dynasty 0 to Old Kingdom times. It seems that particular groups of graves should be interpreted as activity remains of distinct and directly unrelated populations, although, all the people originated from the same cultural unit. Grave no. 100 (Fig. 1) – one of the most significant discoveries of the season – is from the oldest group of burials on the site.

### **Description of the grave**

#### *Architecture*

Grave no. 100 is a rather large (6.2 x 4.1m), mud bricked construction (regular in its form) of the mastaba type and therefore represents the oldest example of this kind of structure known from Lower Egypt. This massive construction was composed of a single burial chamber (2.7 x 1.6m) surrounded by thick walls of up to 2m wide built of numerous layers of standard shaped bricks interleaved with mats. The outer walls' surface was slightly sloping, plastered and from N, E and S decorated with niche facades. Four small niches were modeled in the northern wall,

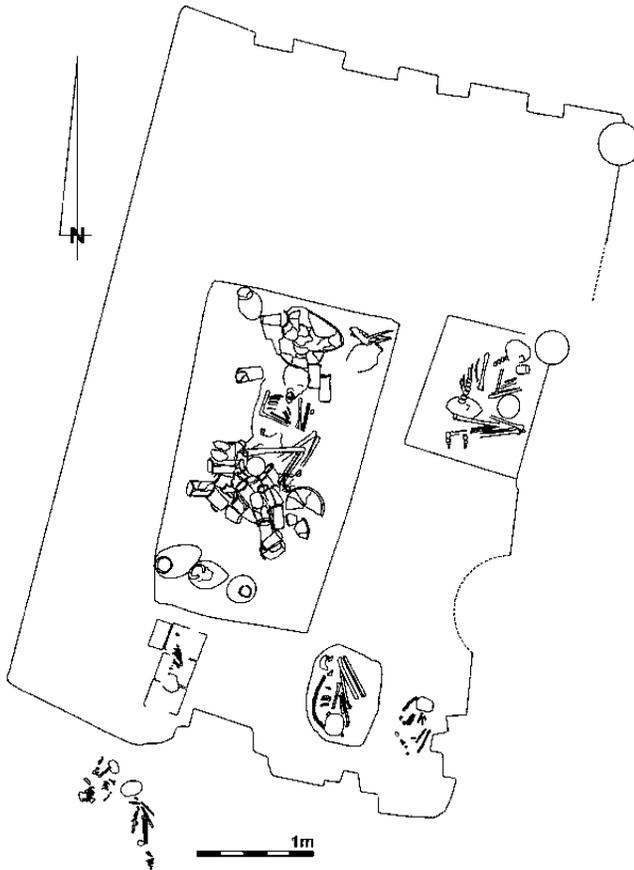


Fig. 1. Plan of grave no. 100. Tell el-Farkha Expedition Archive

with probably five (part of the facade was damaged by a younger grave) in the eastern and three in the southern one. From S and E the niches were more elaborate and were composed of two steps. Moreover, two postholes were found close to the NE corner of the structure. Since the area around the tomb has not yet been completely excavated, the preserved height of the mastaba is estimated at c. 3m. The construction was oriented along the NS axis with a small declination to E, which is typical for neighbouring graves from the site dated to the same period.

### *Burial*

The tomb belonged to a 30-35 year-old male who was buried in the contracted, left-side position with his head turned to N. The body had been left on a mat, surrounded and partially pressed with numerous

grave goods and covered with another mat. Traces of a sort of burial ritual were preserved as some orange ochre and pure sand was found spread over the grave. The deceased had been offered 35 pottery and six stone vessels, one pottery shovel (decorated with a reed design and most probably four lion figurines), one grinder and one bead of carnelian. The discovery of some animal bones also suggests a kind of food offering. The largest pots were arranged along the shorter walls, while small cylindrical jars were concentrated mostly over the lower body. Compared to the significant size of the construction and the space offered by the chamber, the set of objects seems rather disappointing. It had, however, been carefully secured by the depth of the chamber (1.9m) and a layer of greasy silt had been poured inside the grave. The operation appears to have been fully successful as robbers did not manage to break into the chamber but, on the other hand, all of the contents of the structure were exposed to higher groundwater penetration and thus were badly preserved.

#### *Subsidiary burials*

Another significant element of the tomb are four subsidiary burials. Small and very simple graves devoid of any objects were placed in between the layers of bricks which the southern wall of the mastaba was built of. The burials have been labeled 100A, 100B, 100C and 100D. The two first sub-graves belonged to children from five to six years old, the third one was burnt and therefore in such a bad condition that its identification was impossible, while the last one contained an older child left in an almost rectangular pit carefully inlaid and covered with mats. In general, the deceased were placed in the tightly contracted side position and wrapped in mats. The bodies were oriented along the main axis of the structure with their heads turned to N or S. It should be stressed that the case of subsidiary burials found within grave no. 100 is exceptional in many respects. Firstly, the location of the burials in between the bricks of the main structure wall is highly unusual. Secondly, it was not customary in early Egypt to bury such young people in subsidiary burials. Finally, the very early date of the small complex makes the examples in question the oldest known from Lower Egypt.

#### *Grave no. 108*

This burial was cut into the large structure with no. 100, too. However, in this case we are dealing with a grave that represents the younger, second group of graves from the site. Construction no. 108 is a rather small

(1.5 x 1.2m) pit grave lined with a row of hardly visible mud bricks. The body of an adult who was 30-40 years old was placed in the contracted left-side position with his head turned to N. The deceased was found on a mat and was covered from above by another one. Considering the size of the structure, the offerings represent quite a large set of objects: one pottery jar, two stone vessels and three game pieces made of bone.

The example of a large mastaba grave (no. 100) being intersected by a younger, rather small tomb (no. 108) is repeated in another impressive mastaba (no. 63), which is cut by a much smaller structure (no. 71). This observation – among others – could lead to the conclusion that the people who constructed the smaller and younger graves did not realize the presence of such impressive structures below. Situations in which a burial construction damaged another one are rare in Egyptian burial history and are mainly limited to some unintentional mistakes. Hence the idea that the more ancient population had left the site and, after a period long enough for the large and probably free-standing structures to be covered with new ground layers, another unrelated people settled there. They must have been strangers to the site since they had no memory of the old cemetery, but they most probably had the same cultural roots as they were looking for the same kind of location for their own burial place. What is more, the younger phase of the cemetery represents the next evolutionary step of the older tradition.

J. D.-L.

### **The pottery vessels**

The pottery assemblage of grave no. 100 comprises 35 vessels. Only a few of them were complete or almost complete. The others were very badly preserved, although in most cases it was possible to reconstruct the form of those pots.

Among the pottery vessels, the largest group (27 examples) consists of cylindrical jars with a decoration situated beneath the rim (Fig. 2: 1-2). In most cases (22 examples<sup>1</sup>), the decoration, composed of a cord impression (Petrie 1953, Pl. IX: 48s, t), was clearly visible. In several further examples (five jars<sup>2</sup>), although the surface of the pots was badly preserved, it seems

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<sup>1</sup> G100-6; G100-9; G100-10; G100-12; G100-13; G100-15; G100-17; G100-19; G100-20; G100-21; G100-22; G100-23; G100-24; G100-25; G100-26; G100-27; G100-28; G100-29; G100-30; G100-32 (It was found inside a cylindrical stone vessel G100-3k); G100-36; G100-37.

<sup>2</sup> G100-7; G100-11; G100-14; G100-18; G100-31.

that the same type of decoration was applied. These jars, in most cases, belong to the fine ware. The surface (yellow to cream, coated or uncoated) was very well smoothed: horizontally in the upper part and vertically or diagonally in the lower part (slightly below the cord decoration). The jars were generally made of fine Nile clay (or Nile clay mixed with marl clay?) with fine sand inclusions and a high amount of white particles (crushed limestone). The presence of conspicuous inclusions of the latter is quite characteristic of this fabric group. Moreover, small fragments of grog (crushed pot sherds) or unmixed clay may also occur in a small amount. Particles of very fine organic inclusions occur too, yet in a different quantity. Fabrics included in that fabric group differ from each other, mainly in the frequency of certain inclusions (e.g. crushed limestone) and the presence or lack of the others (e.g. grog and organic inclusions). Moreover, there is also a fabric of similar characteristics which contains less abundant inclusions of white particles (crushed limestone). In the case of jars made of coarser Nile clay fabric, the material contains coarse rounded sand grains and fine to medium organic inclusions beside the fine to medium sand. Limestone particles were uncommon in this type of fabric at that time.

Cylindrical jars with a decoration beneath the rim are generally dated to the Naqada III (Protodynastic) period (Petrie 1921, Pl. XXX; Petrie 1953, Pls VIII-IX; Kaiser 1957, Taf. 24) and a band of decoration resembling a cord impression occurs mostly in Naqada IIIB (Hendrickx 1996, 62, Tab. 7; Hendrickx 1999, 31, Fig. 9). At Minshat Abu Omar, cylindrical jars with a similar decoration occur in the graves of group III (Dynasty 0-Naqada IIIa-c1) (Kroeper and Wildung 1985, 60, 94-95, Abb. 173; Kroeper 1988, 14-16, Figs 86-88; Kroeper and Wildung 1994, 154: 340/2; Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 27: 881/1, 40: 866/20, 105: 109/9, 162: 415/6). However, it has been observed that in the earlier graves of this group<sup>3</sup> there were mostly cylindrical jars with a decoration (cord impression or other types of impressed or incised pattern). By contrast, in the later graves of the same group<sup>4</sup>, mostly cylindrical jars without any decoration occur (Kroeper 1986/87, 75-76, 80-81, Fig. 89; Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 27: 881/1-2, 40: 866/20-21). Therefore, considering the occurrence of only cylindrical jars with the cord impression in Tell el-Farkha grave no. 100 and the absence of cylindrical jars without decoration, it seems that the abovementioned grave is contemporary especially with these earlier graves included into Minshat Abu Omar group III (Kroeper 1988, 14-15, Figs 85-

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<sup>3</sup> Group 3b – according to: Kroeper 1988.

<sup>4</sup> Group 3c.

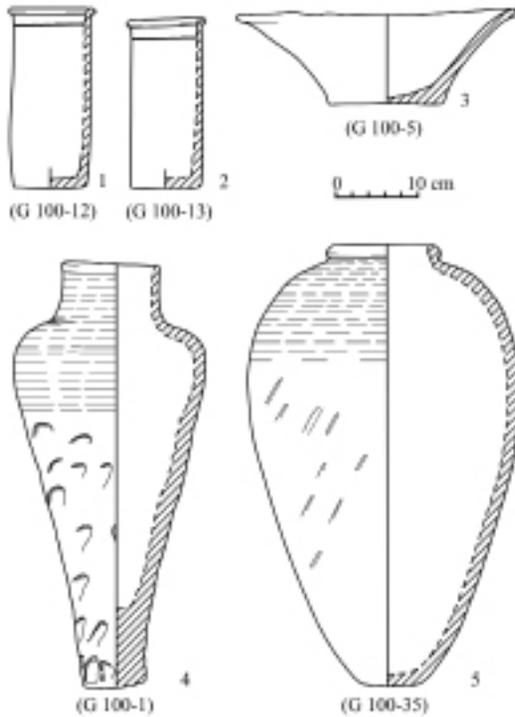


Fig. 2. Main pottery types from grave no. 100.  
Tell el-Farkha Expedition Archive

of Iry-Hor other types of decoration (a horizontal line and a wavy line) are dominant while other decorative patterns as well as undecorated examples occur rarely (Köhler 1996, Abb. 17-18). Although the occurrence of the cord impressed pattern has also been attested later – in the times of Ka, Narmer and Aha (together with other types of decoration, cylindrical jars without decoration and wine jars with three rope-bands) – it is rather uncommon (Kaiser 1964, 94; Köhler 1996, 55-56, Abb. 17-18). A similar observation was also made at Tell el-Farkha, where cylindrical jars with the cord impression (Jucha 2008, 71, Fig. 8: 1-2) occur quite rarely in later graves, excavated here previously (during the 2001-2008 excavation seasons), and dated to the end of Dynasty 0/beginning of the 1st Dynasty. In these graves (among them also two graves with the name of Iry-Hor), there are mostly cylindrical jars without decoration<sup>5</sup> and, less frequently, jars decorated with a straight line beneath the rim (Jucha 2002, Fig. 25; Jucha 2008, 71-74, Figs 8-9). The above justifies the dating of grave no. 100, as it contains cylindrical jars

115). Cylindrical jars with the type of decoration pattern described here were also found in the Protodynastic strata (IIIe-f) at Buto (Köhler 1998, 49). Fragments of jars with a decoration beneath the rim occur also in the settlement strata at Tell el-Farkha belonging to phases 4 (Naqada IIIA1-B; Naqada IIIa2-b) and 5 (Naqada IIIB-C1; Naqada IIIB/c1) (Jucha 2005, 59-60, Pls 99-100). Moreover, it seems that the discussed decoration pattern is rather more popular during the period before Iry-Hor. The examination of different types of impressed decorations which occur on cylindrical jars in Abydos clearly shows that in the time

<sup>5</sup> These jars occur together with wine jars with three rope bands.

with only the cord decoration and none of the other types of cylindrical jars or wine jars before the time of Iry-Hor.

Another group of vessels comprises five shouldered jars with a high neck, simple rim and flat, an irregularly formed base (Fig. 2: 4)<sup>6</sup>. These belong to the rough ware. The neck and shoulders were smoothed horizontally and the part of the vessel slightly below the maximum diameter was formed irregularly. These were made of medium Nile clay tempered with fine to medium straw and fine to medium sand as well as a small amount of coarser sand grains.

Such jars are known from the Protodynastic/Early Dynastic period (Petrie 1921, Pl. XLVII: L34C; Petrie 1953, Pl. XVII: 73f-s; Kroeper and Wildung 1985, Abb. 117, 119, 135; Hendrickx 1993, 91; Köhler 1998, Taf. 11: 2). At Minshat Abu Omar similar jars occur in graves of group III (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 104: 109/4) rather in the middle of that group<sup>7</sup>, together with cylindrical jars with decoration, bowls with concave sides and 'granary' vessels (Kroeper 1988, Fig. 99)<sup>8</sup>. At Buto the jars described above were found in Protodynastic strata IIIe-f (Köhler 1998, 46, Taf. 11: 2; Ihde 2000, 152-153, Abb. 8: 16, 18-19). Similarly, at Tell el-Farkha, fragments of such jars occur in phases 4 and 5 (Jucha 2005, 45, Pl. 35: 2-4) and were not found in the previously explored graves from the end of Dynasty 0/beginning of the 1st Dynasty.

Furthermore, two ovoid jars with a flat base (Fig. 2: 5)<sup>9</sup> belong to the pottery assemblage of the grave. The first of them belongs to fine ware. It was made of Nile clay with fine sand inclusions. A small amount of white particles (crushed limestone) and, quite sporadically, small particles of straw also occur. The surface was very well smoothed: horizontally above the maximum diameter and diagonally below. The other fine ware jar has no fresh fracture, although it seems that it was made of similar fabric. Likewise, in that case small white particles were also visible on the surface. It was smoothed in a similar way to the first of the abovementioned jars.

These jars show an affinity to examples coming from the graves included into Minshat Abu Omar group III (Kroeper and Wildung 1985, 52, 94-95, Abb. 147; Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 39: 866/14, 116: 126/4).

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<sup>6</sup> G100-1; G100-2; G100-8; G100-33; G100-34.

<sup>7</sup> Group 3b.

<sup>8</sup> For associated vessels see Kroeper 1988, Figs 86-88, 101, 106.

<sup>9</sup> G100-4; G100-35.

Rims probably belonging to such jars were also found in the settlement at Tell el-Farkha, where they occur in phases 4 and 5 (Jucha 2005, 43, Pls 27-29).

Only one example of a bowl with a flat base, a concave contour of divergent sides and a direct rim (Fig. 2: 3)<sup>10</sup> comes from that grave. It belongs to the medium rough ware with a slightly smoothed surface.

It was made of medium Nile clay, tempered mostly with fine to medium straw and fine to medium sand as well as a small amount of coarser sand grains.

Such bowls are generally dated to the Protodynastic period and occur less frequently in the Early Dynastic period (Petrie 1953, Pl. I: 3A-C; Emery 1961, 213, Fig. 122: 26; Klasens 1961, Fig. 3: J1; Kroeper 1988, Fig. 106; Gophna 1995, 73-74, Fig. 1; Köhler 1998, 25, Taf. 33: 2-7). They are known among others from Minshat Abu Omar, where they occur in graves of group III<sup>11</sup> together with the types of vessels described above (Kroeper and Wildung 1985, 55, 94-95, Abb. 155; Kroeper 1988, Fig. 106). At Buto, such bowls were also found in the Protodynastic-Early Dynastic strata (Köhler 1992, 14 - 15, Fig. 4: 1; Köhler 1998, 46, Taf. 33: 3). Similarly, at Tell el-Farkha, they were found in the settlement strata of phases 4 and 5 (Jucha 2005, 48, Pls 48: 5-8 and 49: 1). As in the case of the other types of vessels from the discussed grave, the type of bowl described here is also rather uncommon in the graves explored previously at Tell el-Farkha.

The pottery assemblage of grave no. 100 described above shows an affinity to the assemblage from most of the other graves discovered in the same year (2009). On the other hand, it shows strong differences compared to the assemblage of the graves explored at Tell el-Farkha during the previous seasons (2001-2008) and dated to the end of Dynasty 0 (Naqada IIIB-C1)-beginning of the 1st Dynasty (Naqada IIIC1-C2). It is even different from the pottery assemblage of two graves (grave no. 2, grave no. 69) where the name of Iry-Hor was found. This allows us to allocate that grave (as well as most of those explored in 2009) chronologically in the Protodynastic period, around Naqada IIIB (probably at its beginning, Naqada IIIB1 according to the chronology of W. Kaiser), and prior to Iry-Hor.

M. A. J.

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<sup>10</sup> G100-5.

<sup>11</sup> Group 3b.

## Stone vessels

As mentioned above, six stone vessels were found among the objects in grave no. 100 at Tell el-Farkha. All of the vessels were deposited in the southern part of the grave between the pottery. These vessels have forms typical for many such objects discovered in graves in Upper and Lower Egypt. However, besides the numerous standard forms, quite unique ones were also found, such as vessel GR100-4K made of diabase<sup>12</sup>. Most of the vessels, however, were made of travertine (an easily workable material) and basalt (hard rock). Stone vessels were considered luxury goods during the discussed period. The fact that they appear in graves and other places (e.g. settlements) indicates that the place they were deposited may be identified as special. In the case of graves we may also speak of the high social status of the deceased. A few dozen vessels deposited in grave no. 100 point to the fact that we are dealing with one such special burial. It is interesting, however, that the entire necropolis had relatively few graves so well equipped. Most probably the current state of research is insufficient and the research area is still too small to conduct a more thorough investigation and analysis.

Stone vessels from grave no. 100 may be divided into the groups below:

Group I: cylindrical vessels (two vessels: GR100-3K, GR100-5K).

Group II: cups (three vessels: GR100-1K, GR100-2K, GR100-6K).

Group III: large dish (one vessel: GR100-4K).

### *Group I*

Inv. no.: GR100-3K. Fig. 3: 1. Dimensions<sup>13</sup>: H: 10.7cm; RoD: 12.3cm; BtD: 11.7cm. Travertine.

Cylindrical vessel. In this case the rope-band pattern decoration beneath the rim is badly preserved. The rim is round. The walls are straight. The bottom is massive and flat.

Inv. no.: GR100-5K. Fig. 3: 2. Dimensions: H: 18.9cm; RoD: 10.9cm; BtD: 9.5cm. Travertine.

<sup>12</sup> Fragments of vessels made of basalt/diabase are still being mineralogically analyzed, information on these objects is subject to change.

<sup>13</sup> Basic measurements: H – vessels's height from the bottom's outer surface to the rim's edge; RoD – rim's outer diameter; BD – maximum body diameter; BtD – bottom's diameter.

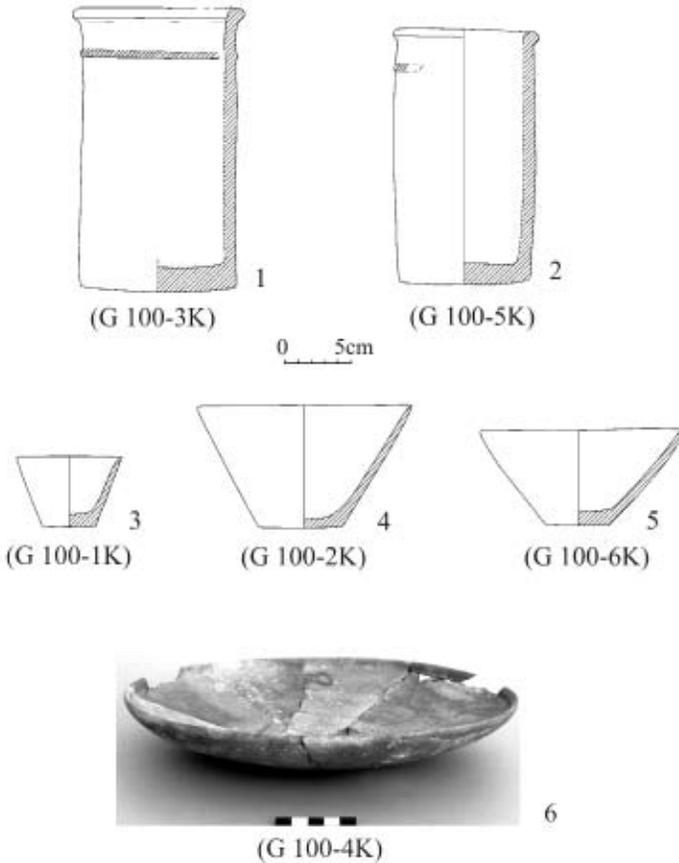


Fig. 3. Stone vessels from grave no. 100.  
Tell el-Farkha Expedition Archive

Cylindrical vessel. In this case the rope-band pattern decoration beneath the rim is badly preserved. The walls are straight. The bottom is massive and flat.

The cylindrical stone vessels from grave no. 100 are generally badly preserved. They were made of travertine, the soft stone which was very popular for making stone vessels (Shaw 2000, 59-60). The most interesting object in this group was the vessel with inv. no. GR100-1K. A pottery jar<sup>14</sup> was found inside it. Due to an unremovable attachment of cemented clay on the surface of GR100-1K no distinguishing designs or features could be identified. All of them feature a quite distinct decoration of rope-band

<sup>14</sup> Cylindrical jar: inv. no. G100-32.

patterns with diagonal incisions under the rim. Similar cylindrical vessels to those from grave no. 100 are typical and have been found at the Tell el-Farkha cemetery and other sites. Some examples have also been discovered in graves, e.g. in burial no. 55 dated to the end of the 1st Dynasty-2nd Dynasty (Pryc 2009a, 55-66) and no. 63 – dated to the end of Dynasty 0/beginning of the 1st Dynasty-middle of the 1st Dynasty (Pryc 2009b, Fig. 92: E08/48). A lot of examples in this case have concave walls. Fragments of clay jars with decorations below the rim also occur in the settlement strata of Tell el-Farkha (phase 4 and phase 5) (Jucha 2005, 59). Vessels with the rope-band pattern decoration below the rim are generally dated to Naqada III-1st Dynasty (Bevan 2007, 196). Due to their form and decoration they belong to Petrie's class 52b (S.D. 79) (Petrie 1913, Pl. XXXIX: 52b). Analogies for this group may be found in the Minshat Abu Omar cemetery graves (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, examples 137: 886/2, 137: 886/5-6, 192: 862/6, 203: 434/11, 862: 6 – in this case the decoration is slanting to the left; 886: 2, 886: 5-6, 434:11 – small size cylindrical vessels). All of them occur in the grave group dated to MAO III (Dynasty 0) (Kroeper and Wildung 2000, 34, 124, 169). A similar cylindrical vessel was found in a grave at Zawiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978, Z91: x1). Other examples of cylindrical vessels were discovered in a grave (dated to the 1st Dynasty) at the Tell Ibrahim Awad site (van den Brink 1988, 65-81). In this case the vessel is tall with slightly concave sides and the single rope band pattern decoration lies just below the external rounded rim.

### *Group II*

Inv. no.: GR100-1K. Fig. 3: 3. Dimensions: H: 5.2cm; RoD: 8.3cm; BtD: 4.2cm. Basalt/Diabase.

A small-size vessel of the cup type. The edge of the rim is rounded. The walls are straight with a flat thick base.

Inv. no.: GR100-2K. Fig. 3: 4. Dimensions: H: 10.0cm; RoD: 16.3cm; BtD: 6.6cm. Basalt/Diabase.

A vessel of the cup type. The edge of the rim is rounded. The walls are straight with a flat thick base.

Inv. no.: GR100-6K. Fig. 3: 5. Dimensions: H: 7.3cm; RoD: 15.3cm; BtD: 4.8cm. Basalt/Diabase.

A vessel of the cup type. The edge of the rim is rounded. The walls are straight with a flat thick base.

Vessels of this group were made of basalt/diabase (hard rock). The surfaces of the walls inside and outside were polished. This shape was very popular from the Naqada III period to the 5th Dynasty and also during the New Kingdom (Aston 1994, 110: form 47). Cups and bowls with straight walls and rounded rims generally date to S.D. 78 (Petrie 1938, 7, Pl. XIII). Those with a flat base also date to the S.D. 78 phase, but examples present during the S.D. 79 phase appear to have a base with small feet (Petrie 1938, Pl. XIII). Interestingly, the vessel with inv. no. GR100-1K, found in grave no. 100, was of a very small size, the form of which generally dates to the 1st Dynasty (Aston 1994, 110: form 48). Moreover, vessels of the type described above were discovered in Naqada – grave no. 1248 (Petrie 1896, 27, Tab. XII: S.44-84, No. 50). Other examples were discovered in Abusir in graves nos 10 and 11. Both burials date to the 1st Dynasty (Bonnet 1928, 7-53). Similar vessels come, for example, from grave no. 6 discovered in Tarkhan. They are made of alabaster. Inside there is a countersunk base. The burials date to the 1st Dynasty (S.D. 81) (Petrie 1913, 11, Tab. XXXII: 14b). One example has been discovered in tomb X at Sakkara (Emery 1949, tomb X 107, type X1 113). In this case it was Emery's class X1 of an oval-mouthed bowl (Emery 1949, type X1 113, Fig. 77: X1). Other examples have also been discovered in the Zawiyet el-Aryan graves, which also date to the 1st Dynasty (Dunham 1978, 10: grave 103: 21, 19: grave 124: 2, 21: grave 132: 11).

### *Group III*

Inv. no.: GR100-4K. Fig. 3: 6. Dimensions: H: 4.2cm; RoD: 38.8cm; BtD: rounded. Basalt/Diabase.

A large dish with concave walls. Rounded rim horizontally contracted at the top. The walls are thicker in the middle part. The surface of the walls inside and outside is quite well polished. The base is thin and slightly rounded. The vessel is incomplete, some parts of the rim and base are missing.

Dishes and bowls are very popular types of vessels with some variations of their own, such as the rounded base and the different shapes of the rim. In this case, the square or rounded rim which incurves was most popular. This type of rim is most common from the 1st Dynasty onwards (Aston 1994, 112-113, forms 52 and 54). The vessel (GR-1004K) from grave no. 100 at Tell el-Farkha with a straight vertical rim with a rounded edge is unique to the site and possibly from an earlier period (before the 1st Dynasty). Very few other examples of this type exist. One example similar in form

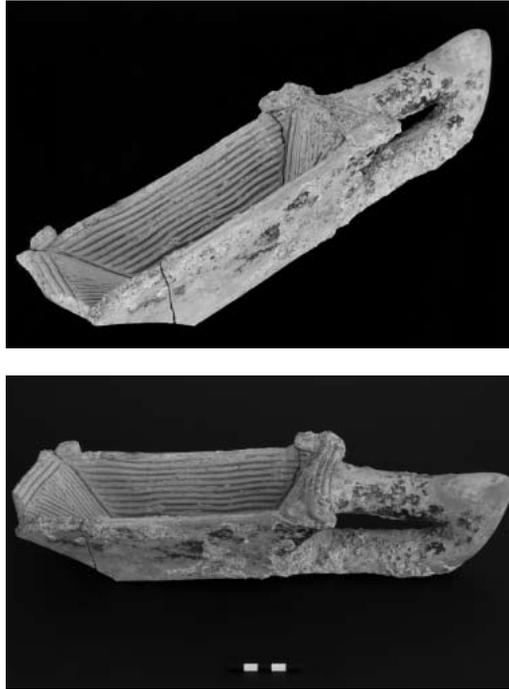
and in rim shape was discovered in a grave dating to the 1st Dynasty (S.D. 81) in Abydos (Petrie 1938, 7, Pl. XIX: 298). Other examples have been found in a grave also dating to the 1st Dynasty at Helwan (Köhler 2006, 74-75, Tab. 46: 4-5), but in this case the rim is slightly more incurved to the inside of the vessel than in the vessel from Tell el-Farkha. Similar pottery examples come from the settlement in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto. For example, a pottery dish, which is rounded and contracted at the top rim, was found in a context dating to the 1st Dynasty (Köhler 1998, Taf. 55: 8). With the stone vessels from grave no. 100 it is probably difficult to determine an absolute chronology. The forms and shapes of the stone vessels found in this grave were common from the beginning of Naqada III to the 5th Dynasty. Cylindrical jars with a decoration (e.g. rope-band pattern) below the rim are forms known from the Naqada III (Protodynastic) period (Petrie 1921, Pl. XXX). Decoration patterns on the pottery from this grave indicate that this type of decoration was rather more popular during the period before Iry-Hor<sup>15</sup>. Plain cylindrical stone vessels with straight walls date from the Naqada III period (Aston 1994, 99). This group of vessels is very well known from other sites. The described vessel is from an earlier date (Naqada III) in comparison to the incurve rimmed vessels which were very popular during the 1st Dynasty. After comparing the design features of the stone vessels with the closely similar decoration of the pottery assemblage from the same grave, we can establish its (grave) date to Dynasty 0 (Naqada IIIa2-IIIc2).

G. P.

### **The decorated shovel**

One of the artifacts found in grave no. 100 belongs to a small group of objects known from only a few examples. It is a kind of shovel made of clay with a length of 40cm. It consists of two parts: a scoop and a handle (Figs 4-6). The handle has a length of 19.5cm and is made of a clay-roll (circular in cross section) with a diameter of 3.5 to 6cm which is attached to the scoop in two places. The space between the arms of the handle does not allow for the insertion of a palm into the middle of the hole. This suggests the need to hold the entire handle in the course of any operation or possible exploitation. The dipper is constructed as a kind of rectangular dish measuring 26 x 13.7cm at the upper edge and 6.3 x 12.5cm at the bottom. It has four trapezoid walls and a bottom similar in shape to a rectangle.

<sup>15</sup> See above in the section on the pottery vessels.



Figs 4-5. Decorated shovel from grave no. 100.  
Photo R. Słaboński

Both the sides and the bottom are covered with longitudinal lines made of clay rollers (Fig. 7). The lines converge at the corners of the shovel and are also visible on the upper edge of the object and function as a kind of a frame. They are somewhat reminiscent of the braiding patterns characteristic for objects made of organic materials. The front wall is slightly tapered at the edge which probably helped with dipper filling during its hypothetical use. At the four corners of the scoop plastic figurines of animals lying down – most probably lions – with heads positioned supinely are visible on the outside (Figs 8-9). The two figurines near the handle are preserved in good condition while the one in front of the object under description is preserved fragmentarily. Such imaging of animals (lions) was typically used as an early-dynastic decorative motif and the Tell el-Farkha representations are very similar to other objects such as two monumental limestone lions from Koptos dating to the 1st Dynasty (Janssen 1982, 134).

We do not know many analogies to objects of this type. The closest analogy can be seen in a set of monuments made of wood and bones found at a Tarkhan cemetery. These include items interpreted as both dippers and trays as well as spoons of a cosmetic nature. The most similar

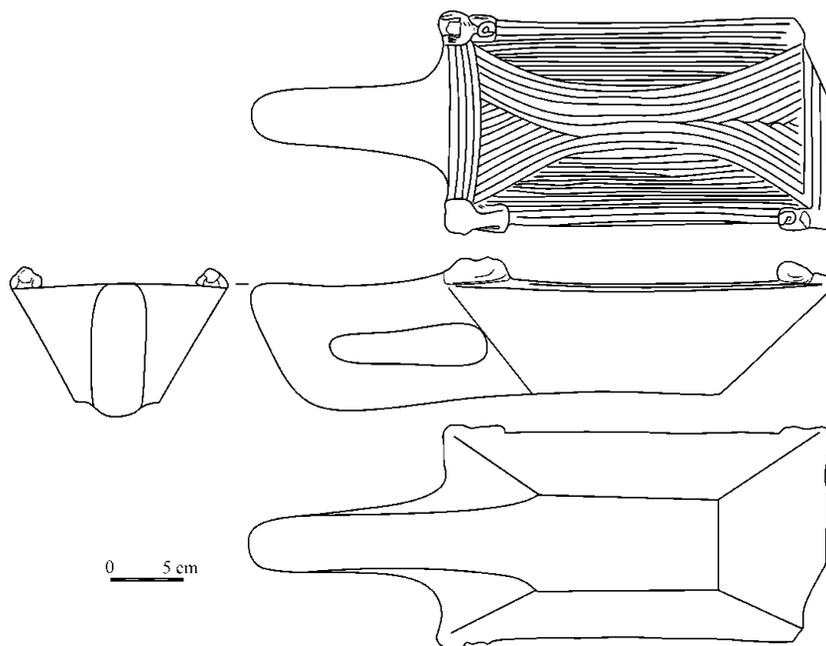


Fig. 6. Drawing of the decorated shovel from grave no. 100.  
Tell el-Farkha Expedition Archive



Fig. 7. Decorated shovel from grave no. 100 – longitudinal lines, made of clay rollers on the dipper part of the item. Photo R. Słaboński



Figs 8-9. Decorated shovel from grave no. 100 – figurines of lying lions.  
Photo R. Słaboński

is a wooden object from grave no. 144 (Petrie 1913, 25, Pl. XI: 26). It is close in size to the artifact from Tell el-Farkha. However, it is devoid of figural and geometric decoration. Due to the material of which it has been made, it has significantly less weight compared to the item from Tell el-Farkha, which probably made it easier to operate. It could have been used as a tool for scooping both liquid and granular products.

Another example of an item similar to that found at Tell el-Farkha is the kind of spoon made of bone discovered in grave no. 1023 (Tarkhan cemetery as well, Petrie 1913, 25, Pl. XIII: 1-6) with a scoop similar to the described object. It has a single handle decorated with a presentation of a couchant calf. Both the external walls and the bottom of the spoon dipper are decorated with a carved decoration consisting of five alternating strips depicting dogs and oryxes. This object, due to its size and delicacy, was probably used in cosmetic operations. The same applies to several other examples of even smaller items such as a spoon found in tomb 501 (Tarkhan cemetery as well, Petrie 1913, 25, Pl. XIII: 15). It is a small object made of bone with a dipper shaped similarly to the item from Tell el-Farkha and a long handle imitating a snake.

A wooden, undecorated object of unknown origin stored in the Petrie Museum (UC30703) should also be counted within this type. It is only partially preserved and has the dimensions of 8.5cm height and 47.5cm length.

It is also worth mentioning that objects with similar shapes of the dipper-part were already known in Badari culture (Ciałowicz 1999, 203). An interesting example seems to be the ivory spoon from Badari presently in the Petrie Museum (Drenkhahn 1986, Taf. XXVII: 6). Such items most probably had their roots in objects made from reeds or other organic materials which, of course, could only be used for scooping loose products such as cereal. The introduction of materials such as wood, bone, ivory and clay allowed them to be used for liquid materials. Decoration which suggests the imitation of organic materials (e.g. reeds) is also well known from other objects, for example from numerous stone vessels (e.g. Emery 1961, Pl. 39b).

Due to its weight, the material from which it was made and its delicate ornaments, the object from Tell el-Farkha appears to be less useful than similar objects made of ivory, bone or wood. Perhaps it was prepared as a model or as a symbol made only for funeral purposes, for instance to emphasize the rank or function of the deceased.

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MINERALOGICAL INVESTIGATION  
OF ORGANIC MATERIAL  
FROM GRAVES AT THE CEMETERY  
IN TELL EL-FARKHA, EGYPT

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### **Introduction**

The archaeological site of Tell el-Farkha is located in the Nile Delta not far from the modern city of Zagazig. The site is situated on the top of gezira and has three small elevations (Pawlikowski 2004; Pawlikowski and Wasilewski 2007). The site has been intensively explored by the Polish Archaeological Expedition to the Eastern Nile Delta since 1998 (Chłodnicki 2003; Chłodnicki and Ciałowicz 2003; Ciałowicz and Jucha 2003; Jucha 2005).

Morphologically the site is composed of a settlement and a cemetery. In the tombs of this cemetery, many interesting objects have been discovered such as stone and pottery vessels, jeweler's stones and beads, color pigments, copper harpoons etc. (Pawlikowski 2009).

### **Archaeological context of the discovery**

Graves nos 97 and 98 are from the oldest and the youngest group of burials known from the cemetery in Tell el-Farkha. Grave no. 97 was found on the very top of the Eastern Kom (the only sector of the site where any burials have been registered) c. 50cm below its present surface. The burial belongs to the youngest of the three groups of graves from the site and is dated to Old Kingdom (probably the 3rd and 4th Dynasties) times, based mainly on stratigraphy and a few pottery fragments.

The youngest phase of the cemetery is represented by simple pit burials with remains in the stretched and usually right side position with heads oriented to the West. Only very few graves were equipped with any objects (pottery fragments and small flints), so the rule seems to have been to leave the deceased with no goods for their afterlife. Graves assigned to the group were clustered in the highest part of the tell and are from the penultimate phase of its occupation.

The second group of graves in Tell el-Farkha is dated from the middle of the 1st Dynasty to the end of the 1st Dynasty or the early 2nd Dynasty. Burials from the cemetery phase were of both representatives of a rather wealthy middle class of society and of the poorest members of the community. That is why the group is the most diverse as it is composed not only of simple pit burials with no offerings, but also of more elaborate pit tombs lined with mud bricks, furnished with interesting objects and sometimes secured with brick superstructures. An impressive burial complex labelled no. 55 also belongs to the group. A burial took place here in a multi-chamber substructure. The complex was supplemented with a massive brick superstructure with two cult niches, a perimeter wall and possibly at least one subsidiary burial (Dębowska-Ludwin forthcoming).

The oldest group of graves at the cemetery is dated from Dynasty 0 to the middle of the 1st Dynasty. It is the most interesting and promising group and is composed of elaborate tomb structures of mud bricks that not infrequently resemble small mastabas in their remarkable form and niche decorated facades. The tombs belonged to a wealthy community that equipped its deceased with numerous goods arranged into diversified sets of objects and in a single case (grave no. 100) the main burial was even joined by four subsidiary ones. Although devoid of more sophisticated structural solutions, grave no. 98 is a good example of the high burial standard phase.

#### *Grave no. 97*

It represents a typical example of burials assigned to group 3. It was a very simple and shallow (c. 0.15m) pit burial with hardly recognizable edges (c. 1.75 x 0.40m in size). A 35-to-40-year-old male was buried in the straight right side position with his head pointed West. No specific objects (except for very few pottery fragments found in the pit filling and the examined cloth) that could be recognized as intentional offerings were discovered with the deceased. Since organic materials are hardly ever preserved in the site soil conditions, the most surprising find from the grave is the abovementioned



Fig. 1. Burial chamber in grave no. 98. Photo M. Czarnowicz

cloth fragment that was discovered just beneath the skull. The small size of the object (c. 4 x 3cm) does not give many hints that could lead to a precise explanation of its actual significance. The plain weave and the position of the discovery may suggest it is a preserved fragment of a shroud the body was originally buried in. If so, it could be evidence of a change in burial custom that favoured cloth over the previously popular mats. The change would have taken place in a period between the end of phase 2 and the beginning of phase 3. However, this is a hypothesis that at the present state of research is hard to be proved with certainty. The burial pit was secondarily damaged by later human activity on the site when a little and rather poor settlement structure was built over the grave.

#### *Grave no. 98*

It is a fully representative example of the oldest group of burials from the Tell el-Farkha cemetery. It was a relatively small structure, although it was very compact in its form and perfectly worked out. Its maximum measurements were 3.24 x 1.20m and 1.7m of preserved height. The tomb comprised of the actual burial chamber lined with bricks and of a superstructure that was severely damaged by another grave –

the hitherto mentioned enclosure (no. 55). The surviving superstructure part was built of mud bricks. It was rectangular (3.24 x 1.20m) and had massive walls (up to 1.10m thick) which were planted on a mat which the burial had been secured with. The mat's edges had been turned up over the substructure walls and marked the ground level of the time. The burial chamber was relatively deep (1.20m) but small (only 1.15 x 0.81m). Its walls were lined with a single row of mud bricks.

The burial was carefully secured with the relatively massive superstructure and deep chamber which was tightly filled up with mud. Beneath the thick cover there was a mat, then a thin layer of pure sand, greasy mud and finally the adult female with offerings for whom the structure was meant. The deceased was lying in the tightly contracted position on her left side, with the head turned North (Fig. 1). She was resting on another perfectly preserved mat surrounded by her grave goods: eight pottery vessels (a wine jar, a granary jar, and cylinder vessels with an impressed rope decoration), two stone vessels of alabaster and basalt, a rectangular cosmetic palette of schist with one matching grinder and beads of agate that most probably created a red-and-violet necklace (Fig. 2). The palette was found on the deceased's feet and the analyzed organic material was taken from this part of the burial.



Fig. 2. Grave no. 98 – agate necklace.  
Photo R. Słaboński

Although of insignificant size and partially damaged in its upper part, the whole structure forms an excellent example of burial custom rules popular at the time. The set of offerings, rather modest in number, was composed of beautiful and well made objects that had been arranged with visible

care. The structure, with its architectural form and interesting equipment, gives the impression of omnipresent order and peace. The tomb was relatively well preserved and the burial was found successfully secured and thus undisturbed. Ironically, the body was the worst preserved part of the discovery.

The total number of already excavated graves in Tell el-Farkha (more data in: Abłamowicz *et al.* 2004; Dębowska 2006; Dębowska 2008; Dębowska-Ludwin 2009) has recently exceeded 100 and the number will surely grow as a result of the further investigation of the Eastern Kom in future seasons.

It would seem that the three groups of burials belonged to three distinct groups of people who, in different periods, inhabited the settlement of Tell el-Farkha. Their presence on the site may have been during different periods of time, but their cultural origin was very close, if not the same. More detailed and interdisciplinary study of the materials collected as a result of archaeological fieldwork may throw new light on the numerous still unanswered questions.

J. D.-L.

## **Material and methods**

### *Sampling*

Fragments of material were collected at tombs nos 97 and 98.

### *Examination of samples*

Minerals were examined using complex methods.

### Digital microscope

In the first stage, the observation of the structures of mineralized materials and bones, as well as their mineralization and destruction, was performed under the digital microscope Interplay. The observed phenomena were documented with photos.

### Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM)

This method was used for the determination of the structure of the remains of materials as well as the structure and demineralization of bones. SEM Jeol 540 as well as FEI Quanta 200 F were used for the investigation. The tested samples were fixed to a special holder. Alongside the observation of structures documented by microphotographs, EDS chemical analysis was conducted.

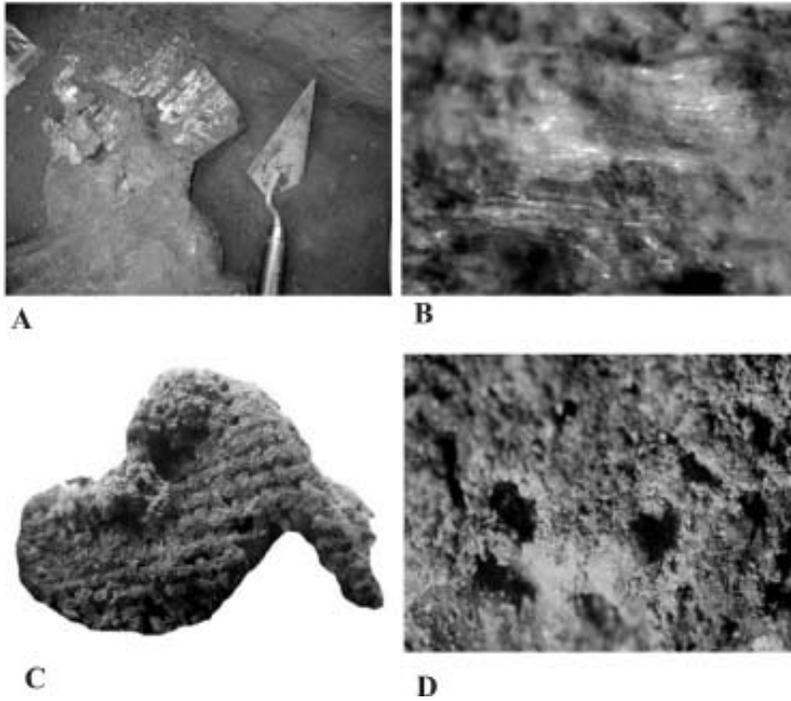


Fig. 3. A – Grave no. 98. Fragment of a human skeleton coated with a white mineral substance. B – Grave no. 98, fibrous white substance. Digital microscope, magnification 25x. C – Grave no. 97, bandage mineralized with Fe-oxides discovered under the head of the skeleton. Magnification 3x. D – Grave no. 98, fragment of bone mineralized secondarily with Fe-oxides. Digital microscope, magnification 60x

### X- ray examination

The investigation was focused on the determination of mineral phases present in the materials and damaged bones. The investigation was performed on natural samples (SEM), as well as powdered samples, using the DRON 2.5 diffractometer produced in Russia. The interpretation of X-ray patterns was done using the XRAYAN computer program. X-ray patterns are included.

### *Results of the investigation*

#### Mineralization of the mat

The mat used for body coating in the excavated tomb has mineralized in an interesting way. It is present mostly just on the body (now on the bones of the skeleton) (Fig. 3: A, B). The mat is mineralized mostly by silica and its type of mineralization has created the white color of the mat.

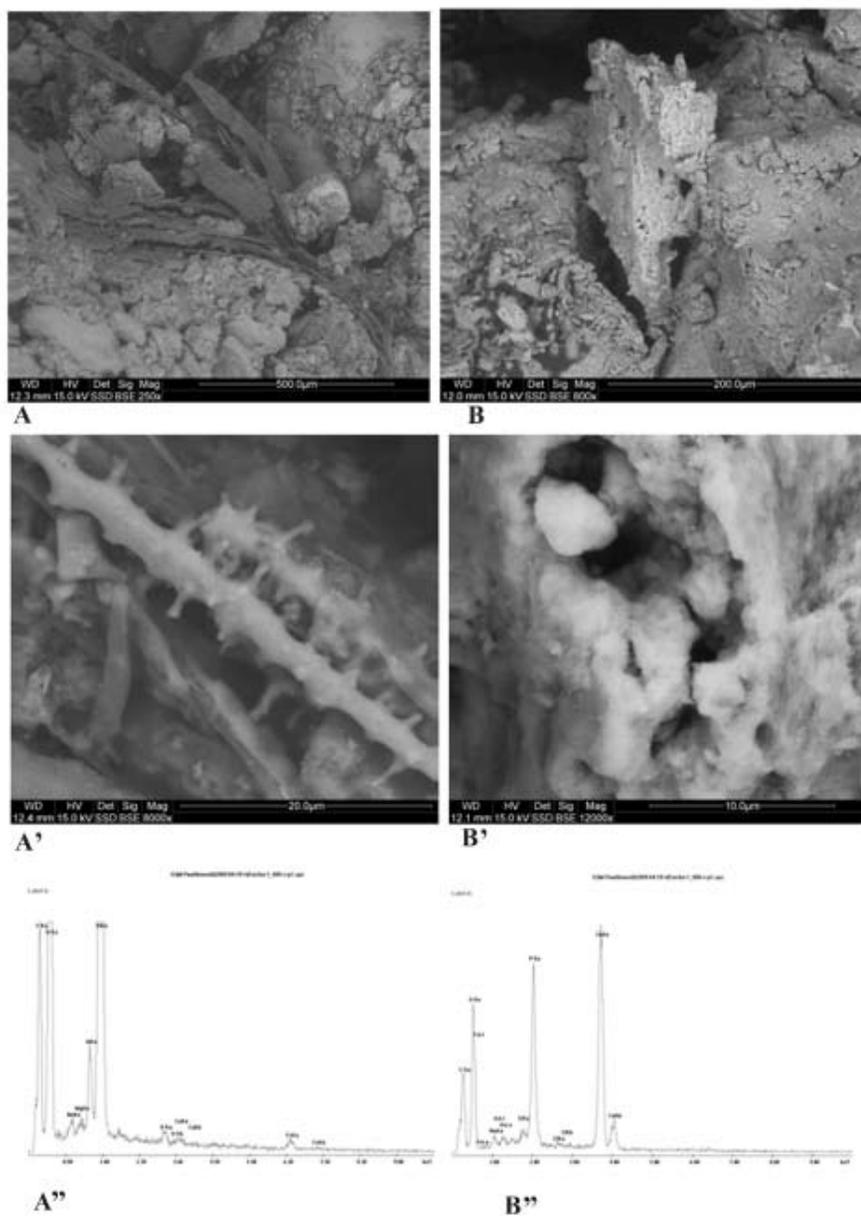


Fig. 4. Grave no. 98, A – fragment of sponge bone damaged by fungi, A' – element of fungi penetrating bone structure, A'' – EDX spectrum of fungi penetrating bone structure. B – structure of damaged bone tabecula, B' – internal structure of bone tabecula showing process of bone dissolution, B'' – EDX spectrum of bone tabecula showing advanced process of destruction. All photos SEM



Under the mat one can observe various types of fungal structure destroying the bones of the skeleton (Fig. 4: A, A', B, B').

Chemical analyses conducted using the EDS method document a high amount of silica in the fungal structures, too. The mentioned structures are additionally enriched with Ca and P (Fig. 4: A'', B'').

As well as the types of fungal structures already mentioned, other types of structure were also observed. These were present on the silicified mat (Fig. 5: A, B, C, D). Moreover, only silica was identified (using chemical methods) in this second type of structure (Fig. 5: C', D').

It is necessary to stress that the mineralization of the mat by silica is probably the effect of fungi activity which developed just under the mat structure, as well as the result of the advanced decomposition of the body buried in the tomb.

### Mineralization of the 'bandage'

Macroscopic observation as well as chemical analyses performed using the EDS method confirmed that the discovered fragment of the so-called bandage is now only its copy (substitute). Fibers of the bandage are fully mineralized with Fe minerals making the replica red in color (Fig. 3: C). This secondary mineralization is the reason for the preservation of the structure of the bandage. The fibers of the bandage (probably flax) have been substituted by minerals and only because of this process have the relics of the bandage been preserved.

Mineralization with iron oxides developed on the bones of the skeleton, too (Fig. 3: D). The presence of these minerals is the result of Fe migration into the bones of the buried body from sediments surrounding the tomb. The liberation of Fe from the minerals of the sediments is an effect of the chemical activity of the organic acids formed due to the decomposition of the buried body.

It is necessary to stress that the discovered fragment of mineralized cloth hints at the possible use of bandages or shrouds at burying ceremonies in Tell el-Farkha.

## Conclusions

The bodies of the deceased buried in the tombs of Tell el-Farkha were at least in part coated with so-called bandages. This phenomenon is confirmed by the discovery of small fragments of 'bandage' secondarily mineralized with Fe-oxides.

Another type of material was used at this time for coating the entire body, namely a mat made of grass or reed.

Under the fragments of the reed mat, well developed structures of fungi were discovered. Primary fungi had developed between the skin of the body and the mat. Now it is mostly present between the bones of the skeleton and the remains of the mat.

The EDX analysis which was performed confirmed that the remains of the mat and the structure of the fungi have been secondarily mineralized with silica making them white.

The silica-mineralized mat and the fungi are the product of the dissolution of silicates (present in natural local sediment) by the organic acids formed due to the decomposition of human tissue. These acids, which were formed secondarily during body decomposition, reacted not only with the sediment (leading to the formation of free silica) but also with the bones of the skeleton, too. These reactions led to bone demineralization and destruction, because bone hydroxyapatite is easily dissolved in acidic conditions. The bones of the skeletons were additionally damaged by fungi penetrating their internal structure.

Chemical reactions between the organic acids and the bones led to human skeleton damage and because of this they are now soft and difficult to explore or conserve.

Human skeletons, compared to animal bones from the same historical period, are usually preserved in a much worse condition. This phenomenon is the result of the fact that human bodies were buried with the tissue still intact, whereas animal tissue coating the bones was in most cases utilized. Because of this, due to the decomposition of tissue in human tombs, secondary organic acids were formed which damaged the skeletons. With animal skeletons this process did not develop.

Additionally, it is necessary to stress that the exploration of tombs (where we have discovered various types of fungi) should be done with special care, even using masks. Some types of fungi are dangerous for human health, especially for the lungs. This observation is a practical and useful result of the investigation we performed.

M. P.

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THE GREAT HUNT  
SOME REMARKS ON THE SYMBOLIC  
AND RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HUNT  
AND CHASE MOTIFS IN EGYPTIAN ART

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It is a known fact in archaeology that animals have played a significant role in various aspects of human life since the dawn of mankind. Yet rarely can a culture be found that valued them more highly than the ancient Egyptians. According to some authors, no other ancient civilization fostered a closer relationship with the animal world (Germond and Livet 2001, 11)<sup>1</sup>. Literally every aspect of Egyptian life was connected to animals – they were avatars of the gods and beloved household companions, they served as providers of both food and amusement and were also a part of the ritualistic, symbolic and magical customs of the people of the Nile. As early as the Predynastic period the hunt and chase were already major motifs in Egyptian art and they remained so throughout the entire Pharaonic rule, becoming one of the canonical subjects of wall decoration in both tombs and temples, but also appearing on smaller works of art. It is now clear that, apart from being a means of providing nourishment and a pleasant pastime, hunting – whether actually performed or merely depicted in art – was also a symbolic activity. Some Egyptologists tend to disagree, however, on where a distinction should be made between sport and ritual, while others suggest

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<sup>1</sup> It is hard to disagree with such statements, but we must remember that animals played an important role in every early civilization, yet due to different historical development and poorly preserved documentary sources it is not as clearly visible as it is in Egypt. For instance Mesopotamian animal art is quite abundant and symbolic, with neo-Assyrian ritualised prestige hunts closely resembling their Egyptian counterparts. The same may be said of Syro-Palestinian art, where animals play an important part in the ideology.

that in most cases such distinctions should not be made at all. A closer look at the spiritual mind of ancient Egyptians and their concepts and perception of symbols with regard to hunting themes, as presented within the article, tends to support the latter viewpoint. In order to discuss the abovementioned issue, a short recapitulation of hunting motifs in Egyptian art is necessary.

The relationship of humans and animals begins in Predynastic times and is documented by rock carvings present in both the Egyptian deserts and the upper Nubia. Unsurprisingly, the desert scenes attributed to the earliest hunters frequently consist of depictions of game pursued by hunters armed with bows and arrows, who are sometimes aided by apparently domesticated dogs. In most cases animals are depicted with such skill that we have no trouble identifying them – the most frequent are ostriches, giraffes, elephants, antelopes and sometimes crocodiles and hippopotamuses. Most of those scenes were probably connected with magical practices during which hunters attempted to conjure up the desired game or appease the souls of the killed animals<sup>2</sup>. Hunting scenes also appear on smaller examples of early Egyptian art – among them painted decoration on ceramic ware including both land and water game<sup>3</sup>. A curious hunt reference comes from a cylinder seal imprint discovered in Abydos and dating to the rule of Den. It shows the king fighting a hippopotamus in two scenes: the first with a harpoon and the second in a sort of wrestling battle (Ciałowicz 1999, 362, il. 207: 7). While the latter scene is quite unusual, the first one became a part of the royal hunt canon and has been depicted on numerous occasions throughout Egyptian history. Perhaps the most spectacular hunting scenes to be found in Predynastic art come from cosmetic palettes, ranging from very simple and rather crude compositions including just a few figures<sup>4</sup> to superbly carved complex scenes featuring multiple huntsmen and their game, such as the famous ‘Lion Hunt’ Palette. The latter depicts two groups

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<sup>2</sup> The limited volume of this paper does not allow for a more thorough description of early rock carvings, for detailed information and illustrations see: Winkler 1938-1939; Červíček 1986; Ciałowicz 1999, 367-372.

<sup>3</sup> Examples include Amratan vessels with depictions of a crocodile hunt and hunting dogs (Ciałowicz 1999, il. 162) and a decoration on the inside of a pottery bowl from cemetery B in Abydos with a hippopotamus hunt (Ayrton 1911, Pl. XXVII).

<sup>4</sup> For instance a Predynastic palette with a man in a boat harpooning a hippopotamus and a predator of some sort (hyena?) attacking a gazelle (Asselberghs 1961, Pl. XLVI: 70).

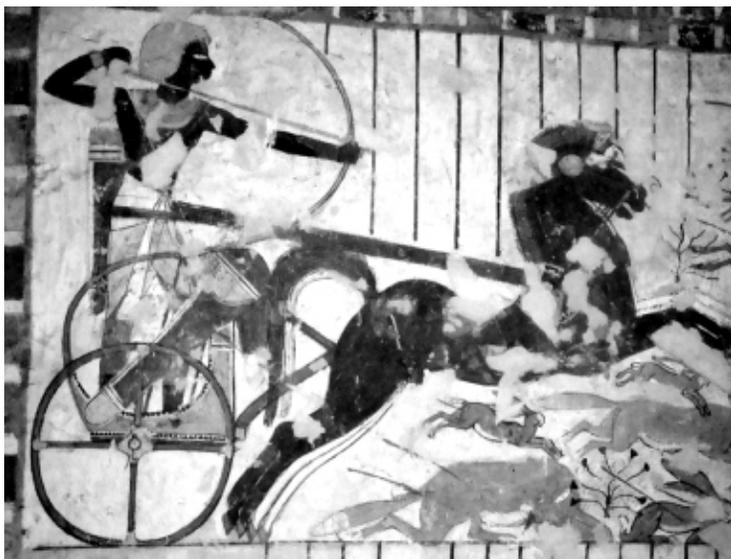


Fig. 1. Chariot hunting scene from the tomb of Userhet (TT56).

Photo K. Bodziony-Szweda

of hunters taking part in what seems to be a drive hunt intent on capturing gazelles, whilst at the same time trying to kill two attacking lions<sup>5</sup>.

The interest of Predynastic artists in portraying hunting scenes continued throughout Dynastic times and it is interesting to see how some of the motifs in those scenes remained completely unchanged throughout thousands of years of Egyptian history, while others, such as fowling in the papyrus thicket, were added to the canon. Already in Predynastic times hunting was no longer the primary means of providing nourishment in the Nile valley<sup>6</sup>. While it was no longer necessary to sustain human life on a mundane level,

<sup>5</sup> Earlier authors interpret this scene as symbolic war and defeat of enemies – while Legge (1909, 297-310) speaks of a Lion Tribe, Childe (1958, 81) is more specific and suggests victory over Lybians. More recently Ciałowicz (1999, 330) considers the scene to be simply an account of unusual hunting events, although he agrees it could have a symbolic significance.

<sup>6</sup> Hunting was no longer the primary source of food from the time Egyptians started growing grain and breeding livestock, but during the Old Kingdom hunting desert herbivores still provided a regular food supply. Instead of killing them for meat, though, they were often captured and held in captivity and fattened up to be consumed later – this was a practice falling between hunting and domestication according to Germond and Livet (2001, 40-41). It was not, however, a large-scale procedure during dynastic times, and game was never an important part of the Egyptian diet. Having said that, the Egyptians did enjoy meat in their meals – in fact, basic food stuffs included vegetables, bread, fish and fowl, with beef also available to the higher classes. For more information on the Egyptian social economy see: Brewer, Redford and Redford 1944, 11-22.

its symbolical and magical meaning remained unchanged. It now served a different purpose of proving the dominance of man over nature, hunter over animal and – on a symbolic level – of the physical world over the spiritual powers attributed to animals from the times of the early hunters. Some authors think that the ritual slaughter of domesticated animals in ancient Egypt was reminiscent of some ancient hunting traditions, with the animals bound and dissected as a reminder of the original hunt (Altenmueller 1975, 219-236).

Another important aspect of the hunt, or rather a successful hunt, was the legitimization of power. Pharaohs participated in this activity not only for pleasure, but to demonstrate their strength and courage. A superior hunter was in many cultures considered the person most fit to rule. Therefore, although the times when physical prowess was the means to obtaining power were long gone, it was still expected that the king should be an excellent huntsman – not only to prove his right to the throne, but also to protect his subordinates, subjugate the forces of nature and maintain order<sup>7</sup>. This resulted in hunting restrictions being imposed in the Old Kingdom, with the king having a monopoly on various hunting activities as well as specific species of animals – examples include hunting equipped with a bow and arrows and killing the wild bull and the lion, harpooning the hippopotamus, bird hunting with throwing sticks and fishing with spears (Altenmueller 2001, 130). This does not mean that no other people were allowed to hunt with a bow and that animals such as hippopotamuses enjoyed a hunter-free existence. In fact, during real hunting expeditions, we should hardly assume that the king performed so splendidly by himself – certainly a number of servants were employed to prepare the game for a killing blow dealt by the Pharaoh. It is clear from numerous depictions of hunting scenes in private tombs from the Old Kingdom that restrictions applied to members of the ruling class on the act of killing only, not on organising hunts. Many tombs show members of aristocratic households watching hunts, sometimes leading hounds or lassoing game, as long as they did not assume the symbolic position reserved for the ruler. Owners of tombs are usually only depicted

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<sup>7</sup> This aspect of the hunt will be further discussed in the next part of this paper, although a short explanation should be made here about the king's duty of protecting his land and preserving *maat*. *Maat* is the concept of truth, balance, order, law, morality and justice, continuously preventing the universe from returning to *isfet* (chaos, lies and violence). Maintaining *maat* through obeying the gods and performing rituals was an obligation of the king, while the people were in turn obliged to do the same by serving the ruler. In this way the king was personally responsible for the cosmic order. See also: Hornung 1967, 79-82; Teeter 1997.

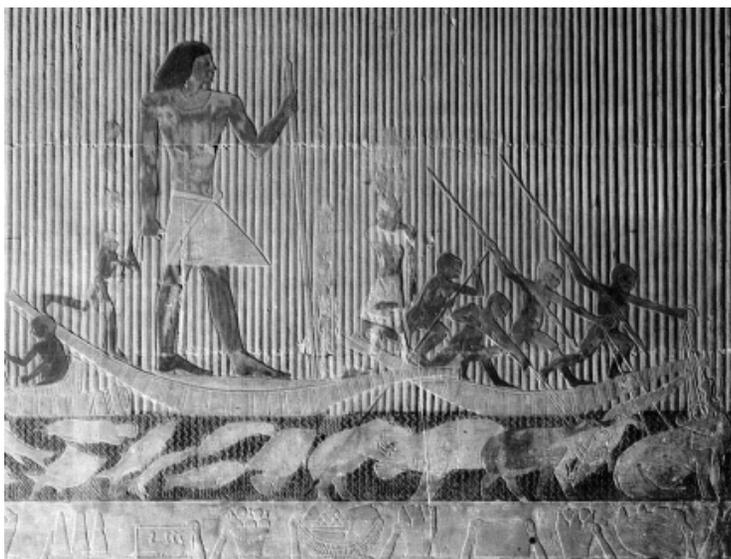


Fig. 2. Hippopotamus hunt from the mastaba of Ti, Saqqara.  
Photo K. Bodziony-Szweda

as spectators, watching their servants actually performing the killing. Only a few exceptions to this rule date to the Old Kingdom, the first ones discovered in the tomb of Khnumhotep and Niankhkhnum<sup>8</sup> (owner of the tomb actively hunting) and in the tomb of Ankhtifi (Vandier 1950) (owner of the tomb hunting with bow and arrows).

Many splendid hunting accounts portrayed on tomb walls from the Old Kingdom onward allow us to take a close look at hunting methods, tools, costumes and the favourite game of the ancient Egyptians. Clothes worn by hunters changed over time – from belts with animal tails depicted on the Hunters Palette, through to knee-length tunics favoured in the Old Kingdom, long skirts preferred in the Middle Kingdom and finally courtier costumes worn by New Kingdom officials riding to the hunt in their chariots. The favourite game, on the other hand, remained virtually unchanged, having more to do with the symbolic significance of various animals – and so the hippopotamuses, hyenas, lions, antelopes, gazelles, ibexes and ostriches were the most popular (aside from the wildlife of the Nile, birds were frequently hunted in the marshes, together with fish and occasionally crocodiles). One of the most famous hunting scenes comes from mastaba

<sup>8</sup> Both men shown hunting in a papyrus thicket on small papyrus boats. Khnumhotep is spearing two fish with a double harpoon while Niankhkhnum brings down flying birds with a throwing stick. For a detailed description see: Moussa 1977.



Fig. 3. Hippopotamus hunt from the temple of Edfu.

Photo K. Bodziony-Szweda

no. 64 in Saqqara, belonging to officials named Akhethotep and Ptahhotep and dates back to the 5th Dynasty. Ptahhotep is depicted standing in a hieratic position, watching his servants during desert hunts and fishing expeditions (Davies 1900, Pl. XXII). Another very famous image was painted much later in the Theban tomb of Nebamun, an official of the 18th Dynasty. Nebamun is also shown in a papyrus skiff holding captive herons and preparing to hurl his throwing stick at other birds, with a cat attacking other birds nearby (Parkinson 2008).

A closer look at hunting rituals may also be conducted on the basis of the hippopotamus hunt. The main method of killing this large mammal was to pierce its nostrils with a harpoon in order to prevent it from staying under the surface of the water<sup>9</sup>. The animal was further harpooned until killed with cleverly designed harpoons with detachable points connected to a rope – this enabled the hunters to find the animal even if it initially managed to elude them. A clear distinction was made between male and female animals and their religious and symbolic connotations differed greatly. Females were manifestations of Taweret, The Great Female, the goddess of maternity and childbirth, the protector of women and children. Males

<sup>9</sup> Hippopotamuses are able to submerge for a period up to six minutes due to their specially adapted nostrils which close when the animals dive under water.

on the other hand were seen in a completely different light – they were perceived as the embodiment of evil powers threatening the king, of untamed forces of nature and chaos and in later times they became animals of the god Seth<sup>10</sup>. As a result, hippopotamus hunts were perceived as an allegory of the eternal battle of Horus and Seth. Long before the Seth association, dating back to the 1st Dynasty, a religious feast called ‘the harpooning of the hippopotamus’ involved the king killing a large male of this species, and this was thought to be a protective ritual<sup>11</sup>. The hunt as an allegory for the mythical struggle of the gods became a part of some state festivals, most probably including the Sed Festival and other important occasions – it could have been either an actual hunting expedition performed by the king embodying Horus or just a symbolic enactment. The symbolic enactment was particularly interesting, as during these ceremonies a hippopotamus-shape cake was cut to pieces, symbolizing the destruction of Seth<sup>12</sup>. All these beliefs probably originated from the habits of hippopotamuses, which frequently ventured into the fields to eat crops, causing a lot of destruction and troubling the farmers, and also because of the threat they posed to fishermen. Thus the slaying of a hippopotamus not only allowed good to prevail over the forces of chaos and destroy evil lurking in the Nile, but also to act as Horus protecting his father from Seth, and at the same time to protect peasants from troublesome pests. All these symbolic connotations

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<sup>10</sup> As Plutarch reports ‘And the name ‘Seth’, by which they call Typhon [...] signifies “That which tyrannizes and constrains by force” [...] Manethos asserts that Typhon was called “Bebon”, and that the name signifies a “holding back”, and “hindrance” – implying that the power of Typhon stands in the way of things going on regularly and towards their proper end. For this reason, they gave him the most stupid of all tame animals as an attribute, namely the ass; and also the wildest and most savage animals, namely the crocodile and the hippopotamus [...] for which cause, when they sacrifice on the 7th of the month of Sybi (which they call “The Coming of Isis out of Phoenicia”) they stamp the figure of a hippopotamus bound upon the consecrated cakes’ (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 49-50).

<sup>11</sup> The first mention of this event can be found on the Palermo Stone, dating to the year x+8 of the rule of Den (Wilkinson 1999, 258). Hunting for a white hippopotamus during the Festival of the White Hippopotamus is another example of the ritual significance of this act (see: Pawlicki 1990).

<sup>12</sup> On hippopotamus hunts during the Sed festival see: Sellers 2007, 44. Hippopotamus shaped cakes were mentioned by Plutarch (see footnote 10), but the most interesting account comes from ‘the Triumph of Horus’ inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Edfu: ‘Bring in the hippopotamus in the form of a cake into the presence of Him-with-the-Upraised-Arm. I am the skilled butcher of the Majesty of Re who cuts up the hippopotamus, dismembered upon his hide. [...] Be annihilated, O Seth, be annihilated! You shall not exist and your soul shall not exist! [...] This is Horus, the protector of his father Osiris, who fights with his horns, who prevails over the Hippopotamus’. For the entire text see: Fairman 1974.



Fig. 4. Hippopotamus hunt from the temple of Edfu (detail).  
Photo K. Bodziony-Szweda

did not, however, stop the aristocracy from killing hippopotamuses for sport nor peasants from pursuing them to protect their fields. The hunts also had a practical aspect, as various hippopotamus products were used for purposes such as making medicine (rancid hippo fat was a well known remedy for hair loss<sup>13</sup>) or obtaining ivory (tusks).

Let us now compare two hippopotamus hunting images. One of the most famous and canonical of such hunting scenes comes from tomb chapel no. 60 in Saqqara, belonging to an official named Ti and dating to the late 5th Dynasty. Ti is depicted standing in a boat in a hieratic position, watching his servants during a hippopotamus hunt (Decker and Herb 1994, Taf. CCLXXI). Another depiction can be found in the Theban tomb of Antef, dating to the 18th Dynasty. Here, the owner of the tomb also stands on a boat, but he is aiming his harpoon at a fierce roaring hippo, which he has single-handedly engaged in battle (Säve-Söderberg 1957, Pl. XIVB). It is not difficult to see that by the end of the Old Kingdom some change occurred in the perception of the hunt and its symbolic significance and ritualistic meaning. From that time onward, owners of the tombs were frequently seen in various hunting scenes, both in the desert and also in papyrus thickets. Hartwig Atenmueller

<sup>13</sup> According to the Ebers Medical Papyrus the patient was to mix together ochre, collyrium, ht-plant, oil, gazelle dung and hippopotamus fat and rub the mixture on the head. For a translation of the Ebers Papyrus see: Ebbell 1937.

(2001, 130) claims that during the Middle Kingdom the rituals lost their meaning and the king and his noble officials went hunting for the first time as recreation, while before that time it was never considered a sport. It is hard to agree with such a definitive statement. Taking a completely different approach to this theory, Germond and Livet (2001, 41) suggest that while hunting might sometimes appear as a leisure activity, it is more likely that it was a form of magic. If we take a closer look at the perception of nature in ancient Egypt and at the symbolism and ritualism deeply pervading what we may call 'the Egyptian mind', it seems that in fact the hunt could embody both ideas at the same time.

'Symbolism has been described as a primary form of ancient Egyptian thought', as Richard H. Wilkinson (1994, 7) accurately points out. It is perhaps difficult nowadays to grasp to what degree Egyptian art was oriented to symbols and magic, and deciphering its message after thousands of years proves to be an even greater challenge, one that with certainty is subject to many misinterpretations. Yet it is quite unjustified to state that hunting rituals lost their meaning, especially at such a relatively early point of Egyptian history. In fact, the author of this paper believes that it was not the symbolism that changed, but the idea of kingship and the relationship between the aristocracy and the Pharaoh.

Countless studies have been conducted on the topic of whether the Pharaoh was in fact a god, a manifestation of the gods, a child of the gods or just their messenger. While this issue is of secondary importance in the case of our present considerations, we need to remember that the king was always a link between the mortals and the gods, representing men to the gods and the gods to men. As such he was endowed with special powers to protect his land, a duty which has been called 'the containment of unruleness' (Kemp 1991, 46-53)<sup>14</sup>. This was manifested in two ways – by executing enemies and by destroying or capturing hostile animals. However, by the end of the Old Kingdom important changes had occurred in the distribution of power and the centralizing forces which held the country together had become loose. For one hundred years the state was split into dual rulership with two separate dynasties. Although frequent succession on both thrones did not automatically result in equally rapid changes in the lifestyles

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<sup>14</sup> Kemp (1991) also provides an explanation to why such powers were bestowed upon the king. The need for the ruler to impose order originates in the times of Predynastic city-states waging wars over territories. As a state born in conflict, Egypt longed for order. This could only be provided by a strong ruler conquering malevolent forces – the hierarchical Egyptian mind believed in superiority rather than balance.

and beliefs of men, it may have been unclear as to who was the true Pharaoh, entitled to kingly privileges and burdened with the upholding of maat. Taking advantage of this situation, provincial centres of power flourished. As Detlef Franke (2001, 531) observes, ‘the provincial elite, deprived of the level of royal authority and capital administration, developed high aspirations and responsibility [...] Dignitaries went along with the attitude of a lesser king’. Lords of Egyptian domains, free from the tight grasp of the Pharaoh, quickly granted themselves some royal prerogatives and adapted some of the royal ideology. Provincial dignitaries started demanding items they couldn't previously rightfully claim – mummy masks, sceptres, crowns, inscribed coffins and splendid tomb decorations including scenes previously due only to the Pharaoh. All the above were adapted to non-royal tombs, but this certainly did not deprive them of their symbolic meaning – it was the royal symbols, after all, that allured provincial dignitaries and gave them a sense of grandeur.

Animals in ancient Egypt were always perceived as carriers of the divine aspect – whether good or evil. This did not stop the people of the Nile from employing them in various aspects of daily life and eating their meat; for instance cows were both symbols of the goddess Hathor and simply cattle while oryxes were considered both a tasty treat and a threat to the sun. Killing the fearsome lion, an aspect of the warrior goddess Sekhmet (the fiercest hunter known to the Egyptians), was a highly valued feat, especially if it was done single-handedly either on foot or from a chariot with a bow and arrows. Pharaohs often boasted of killing many of the large cats<sup>15</sup>, yet at the same time Sekhmet was seen as the protector of the king and led him in battles. In other words, it was not difficult for ancient Egyptians to perceive multiple aspects of the same object, to see it as sacred and temporal at the same time. Thus, when we see a hippopotamus hunt depicted on the walls of New Kingdom Theban tombs, we must assume that the tomb owner did not undertake this challenge for sport only (although it certainly is reminiscent of the thrilling and exciting sporting events that entertained New Kingdom officials), but also in order to perform a ritual slaughter to ward off enemies and evil forces. This can be shown by the fact that the composition of these scenes in the New Kingdom was clearly copied from the royal scenes of the hippopotamus hunt in the Old Kingdom (Säve-Söderberg 1953). As a matter of fact, the same may be said in reference to New Kingdom scenes of hunts with bow and arrows. Whether it's Tutankhamun

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<sup>15</sup> For instance Amenophis III claimed on his commemorative scarabs to have killed 102 lions in the first ten years of his rule (Śliwa 2003, 50-51).

hunting gazelles in the desert on his famous painted box (Davies and Gardiner 1962), or Userhat doing the same on the walls of his tomb in Gurna (Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987, 161), the symbolic meaning of this motif remains the same – to perform an act of valour and subdue the forces of nature. The magical function of those actions did not change in the eyes of the Egyptians and the ritual was not meaningless. It was the idea of kingship that had undergone changes, allowing aristocrats to perform some actions previously reserved for the Pharaoh.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE PROBLEM  
OF THE HORUS FALCON  
IDENTIFICATION

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The problem of possible identification of the sacred falcon of Horus with an actual bird species has been puzzling Egyptologists for a long time. Prior to focusing on more detailed considerations, it seems appropriate to recollect the main aspects of this bird's appearance in the ancient Egyptian iconography.

The representation of the falcon in Egyptian art displays, apart from some minor variations, amazing stability in the course of about two millennia, and this statement applies both to the squatting and hovering falcon. A classic shape of the former was invented as early as the 1st Dynasty, as testified by a fine example on the stela of King Djet (Fig. 1), and ever since a reposing falcon appeared in innumerable instances to the very end of the pharaonic Egypt, mainly as the crowning of the royal Horus name, as is the case of the rock relief of King Snofru from Wadi Maghara (Fig. 2), or as a hieroglyphic sign. Exquisite examples come from the New Kingdom. A painted falcon from the temple of King Thotmes III at Deir el-Bahari on block F 6639 (Fig. 3), according to the epithet *s3b šwt*, has the abdomen and part of the head cream-white, whereas the wings are bichrome, with blue speckles scattered on greenish background. The long tail feathers (always six in this temple) have identical colours, but their tips are red. Parts of the head and nape are adorned with a specific pattern of blue arrowheads and speckles on green background. The bird has a peculiar facial moustache. This entire combination of colours was of immense magical significance.

Another example of a monumental hieroglyphic falcon comes from the tomb of King Ramses IX (Fig. 4). Here again the wings, back and

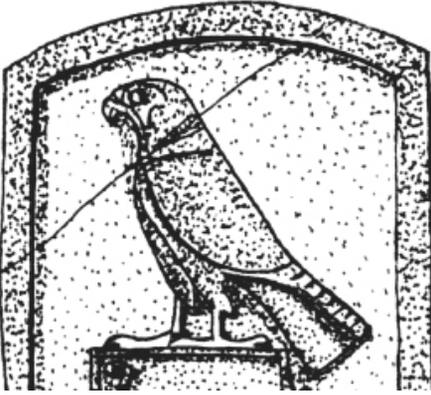


Fig. 1. Reposing falcon on the stele of Djnet. 1st Dynasty, c. 2870 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski

the dynamism of the scene. The falcon shows some archaic features, such as only four tail feathers and ten relatively short pointed primary feathers in the wings.

Hovering falcon was very often represented in the art of the Middle Kingdom, and a mature form of this depiction should be noted here, as it became the model for the images of this bird in the New Kingdom. Fine examples come from the temples of King Mentuhotep-Sankhkare from Armant and Abydos (Fig. 6).

The word for falcon as a bird in ancient Egyptian is *bik*. Nowadays in Egypt four falcon species can be found, which share the physical features with the Horus falcon known from iconography. Among them, the Eleonora's Falcon (*Falco Eleonora*) and the Eurasian Hobby (*Falco subbuteo*) are migrating birds, while the Lanner Falcon (*Falco biarmicus*) is a permanent resident in the Nile valley, the Delta and parts of the Western and Eastern Deserts, as well as the Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus*), which inhabits the area from Aswan, through Luxor and Fayum, to the Delta. Moreover,

tail are dominated by green, but the speckles are black. The top of the head and neck are blue, while the moustache is black. The tail consists of eight feathers, polychromed similarly to the wings.

The hovering falcon in its earliest classical form is known from the South Tomb in the complex of King Djoser (Fig. 5), where the bird protects the king during the ritual run which formed part of the *Sed* festival, and its presence emphasizes



Fig. 2. Falcon on Horus name of Snofru. 4th Dynasty, c. 2580 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski after M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian 1986, *Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo. Offizieller Katalog* 24. Mainz



Fig. 3. Falcon from the temple of Thotmes III at Deir el-Bahari. 18th Dynasty, c. 1450 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski

other residential or migrating species of falcon should be mentioned here, such as the Saker Falcon (*Falco cherrug*), the Merlin (*Falco columbarius*), the Common Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) and the Lesser Kestrel (*Falco naumanni*). All these species belong to the order of *Falconiformes* and *Falconidae* family.

French Egyptologist Victor Loret (1903, 1ff) tried to prove that the falcon of Horus was to be identified with the Peregrine Falcon, but the very concept of identification of any particular species with the sacred bird was approached with reservations by Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen

(1930, Tab. IV: 7) in his comprehensive and detailed study on Egyptian birds. Similarly, Samuel A. B. Mercer (1942, 96) remarks that there is no proof that ancient Egyptians distinguished precisely among the falcons of similar appearance. It should be also noted that Egyptological literature on this topic shows no consistency as far as terminology goes; in many English texts a general term hawk is used to describe falconiform diurnal birds of prey as distinct from eagles and vultures.

It should also be stressed that in the iconographical terms the falcon of Horus is greatly different from that of the kestrel (Fig. 7), the latter bird often found in the Nile valley, Delta, Fayum, in the vicinity of the Suez Canal and in the oases of Dakhla, Siwa and Kharga. The role of the kestrel was very different from that of the falcon, and a representation of this particular bird from the tomb of Sennedjem at Deir el-Medineh, shows Isis in the form of the kestrel, as a divine mourner (*drt*) guarding



Fig. 4. Falcon from the tomb of Ramses IX. 20th Dynasty, c. 1120 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski after Houlihan and Goodman 1986, Fig. 61

the mummy of the deceased with her sister Nephthys. The plumage of the kestrel in the painting is reddish-brown, while the speckles are dark brown. The kestrel was very well known to ancient Egyptians, since it was the most common bird species in the land, as well as the one which was most often mummified. Fine specimens of the kestrel come from the tomb of Queen Nefertari. It is worth mentioning that the kestrel was sometimes replaced by the Black Kite (*Milvus migrans*) in the role of a divine mourner.

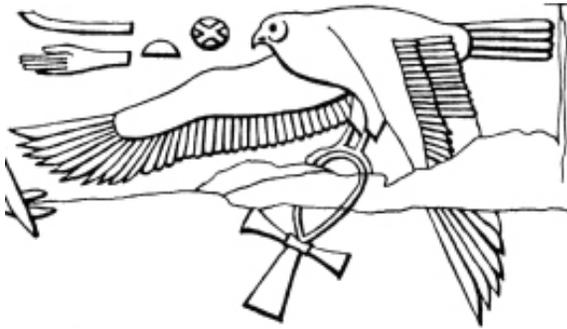


Fig. 5. Hovering falcon from the South Tomb at Saqqara. 3rd Dynasty, c. 2620 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski after C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell 1935. *The Step Pyramid II*, Tab. 42. Cairo



Fig. 6. Falcon from the temple of Mentuhotep-Sankhkare at Abydos. 11th Dynasty, c. 2005 BC. Reproduced from W. M. F. Petrie 1901. *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II*, Tab. XXV. London

The investigation of frequency of particular falcon species among the examined mummies of these birds leads to very interesting conclusions. According to the results published by F. Bodenheimer (1960, 127), the most commonly mummified falcon was the kestrel (72 cases for Upper Egypt and 24 for Giza and Saqqara), then the Lanner Falcon (five for Upper and one for Lower Egypt), while the Eurasian Hobby is attested twice and once respectively. The Peregrine Falcon is known from one case in Upper Egypt. Birds were massively mummified in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. There is also evidence that falconry was practised in Egypt (Keimer 1950, 52ff).

Most authorities on the subject agree that it may be impossible to identify the falcon of Horus with any particular bird species. It seems most likely that shape and plumage features of several species of large falcons native to Egypt were combined to form the ideal image of the falcon of Horus. The present author is inclined to share this view, but would like to point

out that apparently the characteristics of the Peregrine Falcon were pronounced most strongly. This similarity is well illustrated by the comparison of the actual bird (Fig. 8) with a magnificent specimen of Horus-falcon from the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Fig. 9). Indeed, his representation matches his name 'the Lofty One'.

One has to bear in mind that the portraying of the most characteristic features of the falcon in a synthetic and conventionalized way was of foremost importance for the Egyptians. Also, the colours used in the depictions had little in common with the actual plumage, since their function was predominantly magical. It is

an indisputable fact that the silhouette of a hovering falcon, known already from the South Tomb at Saqqara, remained basically unchanged, apart from very slight modifications, at least to the end of the New Kingdom. The same is valid for the reposing falcon, whose classical form as seen on the stela of King Djnet crowned the Horus name in the royal titulary to the end of the pharaonic state.



Fig. 7. Kestrel from the tomb of Sennedjem. 19th Dynasty, c. 1290 BC. Drawing T. Podgórski after Houlihan and Goodman 1986, Fig. 60



Fig. 8. Peregrine Falcon. Drawing T. Podgórski after *Birds of Prey. Wildlife Collection*, BBC Wildlife: [www.bbcwildlifemagazine.com](http://www.bbcwildlifemagazine.com)



Fig. 9. Horus-falcon from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. 18th Dynasty, c. 1465 BC. Photo T. Podgórski

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ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PTOLEMAIC  
QUEENS ON COINS:  
GREEK STYLE, EGYPTIAN IDEAS?

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The popular notion that the Ptolemies ruled in Alexandria without any consideration for the needs and mentality of their Egyptian subjects has long ago been abandoned; the concept of a far more syncretic character of the Greek rule in Egypt produced many views, from poorly documented hypotheses about an Egyptian aristocrat among the wives of Ptolemy Soter (Tarn 1929), to the recent stress on the blending of cultures (Koenen 1993; Ashton 2001; Stanwick 2008). Nowadays hardly anyone denies the importance of the Egyptian factor in the general image of the dynastic politics, art, and propaganda, but Ptolemaic coinage seems to be exempt from such treatment, mostly due to the entirely Greek means and style that it presents. A closer look at some aspects of monetary imagery, however, makes one wonder if this approach is substantiated, since several elements seem to be inexplicable within the Greek/Macedonian frame of mind only, and therefore must have originated elsewhere, which in turn implies that they were aimed at an audience other than Greek. In this paper I would like to analyse four types of coins, either issued in the names of the Ptolemaic queens or bearing a queen's portrait and/or name in the legend, in order to supply arguments for the thesis that coins, despite their general 'non-Egyptian' character, conveyed meanings understandable only when both Greek and Egyptian contexts were taken into consideration.

Unlike other major Hellenistic kingdoms Egypt had hardly had monetary tradition of its own before Alexander and subsequently the Ptolemies (Curtis 1957). In the wake of the royal rule of the Lagids, Ptolemy Soter changed the style of his coinage from the satrapal types that continued Alexander's

main issues to a more pronounced programme of emancipation of his kingdom and dynastic propaganda (Mørkholm 1991, 63-64). At first he chose Alexander, the *ktistes* of the new capital, as one of his protective deities, the other being Athena Alkidemos, but soon he abandoned these associations, placing on the obverse of dominant silver issues his own portrait, and on the reverse the symbol which had certain tradition in Macedonian imagery (Bellinger 1979, 27-29), but was to become the 'coat of arms' of the house of Ptolemy: an eagle standing on thunderbolt. The gold issues bearing similar imagery were short-lived, to be replaced one generation later by a new set of iconographic types, representing among others the royal ladies of the dynasty.

Around the year 278 BC Ptolemy Philadelphus married his own full sister Arsinoe, which resulted in a wide range of reactions from the Greeks. Theocritus, court poet to Ptolemy, praised this incestuous union by comparing it to the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) of Zeus and Hera in his Encomium of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (17.131-134), while another poet, Sotades, paid with his life for the open and vulgar criticism of the royal couple (Ager 2005, 5). Sotades went along the traditionally Greek lines: in spite of the example given by the highest Olympic gods, in both Greek *poleis* and kingdoms, including Macedonia, full sibling marriages were not practised, and in many cases regarded as heinous (Shaw 1992, 270-271).

Quite the contrary in the Egyptian tradition: here the king's marriage to his own sister had always been a common practice (Middleton 1962, 603-606), because it was perceived as the reflection of the divine union between two major deities, Osiris and Isis, the gods represented on earth by the royal couple respectively. In this context of particular interest is a note by a Theocritus scholiast on the verse 17.61, which erroneously states that Ptolemy Soter and Berenice I were also siblings (Hazard 1995, 3): either a notion that originated from an attempt to stress the holiness of the incestuous union, or a *per analogiam* attribution of the title of royal sister (*adelphé*) to an earlier generation. The question arises therefore at this point, what was the political meaning of such union in case of the Philadelphoi, since it apparently gained the king nothing in the eyes of his Greek/Macedonian subjects. The romantic aspect set aside, since it is impossible to assess its plausibility, the only answer lies within the local mentality: this move was directed at the Egyptian elites; the pharaoh married his sister in order to bring about the universal harmony represented by the goddess Maat, one of the aspects of the queen of Egypt (Troy 1986, 60-64). The Egyptians would not perceive ethnically foreign kings as unlawful, as long as they

complied in his actions with the ages-long traditions of royalty (Koenen 1993, 39), therefore one of the most pronounced elements of Ptolemaic propaganda which had in mind the legitimization of their rule, had to be this divine aspect of royal power.

Whatever the reasons for this marriage and reactions to it, Philadelphus made it the focal point of his propaganda mostly after Arsinoe's death c. 270 BC, by means of instant deification of his sister and wife. Some time earlier, as attested by Athenaios (5.197C-203B), and again Theocritus (17.121-125), he arranged for the apotheosis of both his parents, a deed with certain tradition in Macedonia, since we do have evidence of ancestral cult, and sources telling us about Alexander's plans of deification of both Philip and Olympias (Curt. 9.6.26 and 10.5.18). In Egypt, again, the notion that the deceased king became a god, united with his predecessors and Osiris himself, was fundamental for the understanding of pharaonic rule, therefore in this case Ptolemy combined two traditions, without seriously going against Greek mentality.

It is, therefore, of consequence that the first royal issues bearing the portraits of the queens appeared some time after the death of Arsinoe, when she became one of the central points of religious life in the kingdom, the *thea synnaos* with both Egyptian deities, and Alexander, perceived as the son of Ammon.

The two types that require detailed consideration are the so called 'dynastic issue' and the ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ type, both of them launched in the 260s BC (Mørkholm 1991, 102-104).

The 'dynastic' coinage (Fig. 1) shows jugate heads of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice I on one side, and Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II on the other, resembling a medal with no clearly indicated obverse and reverse, rather than an ordinary coin, unless a closer look at the legend is taken. First, very short issue of this series bore a legend ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ over the heads of the Philadelphoi, but it was very quickly replaced by a variety with the legend divided between the two sides: ΘΕΩΝ belonging to the Soteres, and ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ to the Philadelphoi. Much as this change might be ascribed to the artistic purpose of creating a more symmetric, harmonious image, it seems to bear a deeper meaning, especially since it goes very much against the Greek standards of placing the legend only on the reverse. This division of the inscription points clearly at the dynastic continuity; moreover, it stresses the descendancy of the ruling couple from the gods, or deified pharaohs. It also allows to distinguish between the obverse and reverse in compliance with the Hellenistic model:

the obverse bearing the image of the issuer, while on the reverse a protective deity is represented.

Dynastic continuity had certainly been important in Macedonia; after the extinction of the Argeads the Macedonian empire ceased to exist, and the kingdom under the Antigonids reverted to the state from before Philip's ascension; moreover, in the turmoil after Alexander IV's death it seems that it was the dynastic discontinuity rather than political differences which led to the decline of Macedonian power. The Argeads had been descendants of Heracles by his great grandson Temenos, therefore they could claim descent from Zeus himself; similar ancestry had now and then been hinted by the Ptolemaic propaganda (Theoc. 17.18-27), and the symbolism of the royal eagle corresponded perfectly with such pretensions. Of less consequence seem to be the alleged claims of Ptolemy to be the son of Philip, especially that the only sources for such rumours are the Roman historians (Curt. 9.8.33; Paus. 1.6.2). All such legends served the Lagids in the eyes of the Macedonian populace in Alexandria, but again the Egyptian factor in this case appears to be much more important.

One of the foundations of the Egyptian state, and therefore of the harmonious existence of the universe, was the unbroken sequence of royal power together with its divine sanction, combined with the notion that the new pharaoh by the act of 'rebirth' avenged in a symbolic way the god's death and re-unified the country (Myśliwiec 1993, 19). By issuing this coin, so untypical in terms of imagery, Philadelphus stressed the continuity of his line from the first pharaoh of the new dynasty, himself being – which had been also attested by the monetary programme – the direct successor of the god Alexander, proclaimed the son of Amun by the Oracle at Siwa, and regarded as liberator from the unholy Persian rule (Hölbl 2001, 77). The change in the placement of the legend implied the shift of meaning; the earlier issue would stress only the position of current rulers, while the later underlined the divine succession on the throne.

All this easily accounts for the presence of both kings on the coins, but there is one more element, so far not encountered in Greek monetary tradition: both rulers' portraits are accompanied by conjoined heads of their respective wives. Jugate heads on coins had been very rare so far, they became popular in the Hellenistic times, where they would mostly be the heads of the Dioskouroi or other deities. There is one earlier instance, of co-rulers, both of them male (Perdiccas and Balacros during the campaign

in Laranda c. 323, SNG France 2311), otherwise this representation is novel, and therefore of particular interest.

Royal women played substantial role in Macedonian politics and succession, to mention only Philip's mother, Eurydike, or Alexander's mother Olympias and his sister Cleopatra, who took part in the rule of both Macedonia and Epirus during Alexander's eastern campaign and after his death. Neither of these women, however, appears on coins, and there is very scarce archaeological, let alone iconographic, evidence that can be connected with any of them; moreover, the fact that Philip allegedly erected the statues of his mother and wife in Olympia, seems to have been regarded as inappropriate at some point, since according to Pausanias (5.20.9-10) they were relocated to the temple of Hera at a time unknown to us (Carney 2000, 24).

The concept of elevating royal women to divine status can have therefore originated to some extent from the recent Macedonian tradition, but it seems unlikely that this would be the only or main source for such idea, because it could not convey any genuinely important meaning to the Greek audience. If, however, we look into the Egyptian tradition, we find prominent and distinguished female figures ever since the first dynasty (Ciałowicz 1999, 149-151). Moreover, we very often see, especially in temple relief, either queens accompanying pharaohs, or goddesses standing behind their thrones and taking the rulers into their protective embrace. What is even more important, these protective goddesses are first of all Isis and Hathor, to great extent assimilated by the Hellenistic times, and associated in cult with Aphrodite (Witt 1971, 126), and therefore the very same deities, whose *synnaoi theai* became both Berenice and Arsinoe (Fraser 2001, 197).

The coins in question show the two couples in Greek attire, with the men wearing the *chlamydes* and royal *diademata* on their heads, and the women with veiled heads and *diademata*. In both cases the queens are shown behind their respective husbands, which on the political level may denote the actual model of power (in late 2nd century BC Seleucid coins of Cleopatra Thea and her male co-rulers this order is reversed, as if to stress the queen's political role), but can also be interpreted symbolically, as the divine power standing behind the ruler and protecting him. This interpretation gains greater plausibility if we assume that this issue was launched after Arsinoe's death and deification, which presently seems to raise no doubts among scholars. Thus Berenice and Arsinoe would become not only Isis/Hathor/Aphrodite but also the personifications

of Maat, universal harmony, which was very often represented by the figure of the queen in Egyptian art (Troy 1986, 64).

One more striking feature of this coin is that neither of the portrayed persons wear any attributes of divinity, despite the ΘΕΩΝ legend. The notion of monarchy could have been appealing for the Macedonians in Alexandria, but not necessarily so for the Greeks; moreover, if these images were addressed mostly at the Macedonians, it would have been enough to portray the king in the *diadema* to convey the idea of *basileia*, while the presence of the queens would do nothing to further the dynastic propaganda in these circles. The lack of divine attributes might in this context be a concession to the Greek mentality; Alexander's example showed that the Greeks were not very keen on accepting the deification of living or recently deceased people, considering it an act of excessive pride or *hybris*, and at best treating it contemptuously (cf. the famous anecdote about 'Let's agree that Alexander be called a god, if he so wishes'; for sources see Heckel 2006, 102). In Greek tradition the apotheosis of heroes always took place after their death, and the instances of women elevated to divine status were extremely rare; interestingly enough in all known cases, like for instance Ariadne, such elevation was possible only through a god's personal intervention. For the Egyptian public, on the other hand, the clear message of royalty and dynastic continuity implied divinity. The very presence of the queen at the king's side would strengthen this meaning of the image, because of the intrinsic interconnection of the complementary male and female elements in the notion of kingship (Robbins 1993, 42; Ashton 2008, 131).

This leads to a conclusion that the 'dynastic issue' was meant to convey first of all the ideas of monarchy, but even though all imagery and style is purely Greek, the understanding of royal rule seems to be rooted far more deeply in Egyptian tradition, in which the female factor, and duality in general, played a major role both in imagery and corresponding theology.

The possible meanings conveyed by the 'dynastic issue' are stressed and continued on the second type whose minting began a very short time later, and apparently corresponded with the establishment of Arsinoe's posthumous individual cult, separate from the cult of the Theoi Philadelphoi. The main ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ series (Fig. 2), consisting of large silver and gold denominations, struck with great care for the detail and relief, which in most cases is unusually high, became the most popular type for Ptolemaic gold coinage until the time of Ptolemy Auletes, and remained the only type

in gold long after such coinage was otherwise abandoned due to economic changes (Segrè 1942). Corresponding silver tetradrachms bear the same image on the obverse, and the standard Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse, which points at clear differentiation between ordinary denominations and the luxurious larger ones, which again resemble medals rather than everyday use coins.

The obverse of these coins bears the portrait of Arsinoe, again veiled but also endowed with a large repertory of insignia, these being the two crowns: royal *diadema* and divine *stephane*, a sceptre, and a ram horn symbolizing divinity. All these attributes, apart from the sceptre, can be traced to either Greek/Macedonian or Hellenized Eastern tradition. Whatever its actual origins, the *diadema* in the form of a fillet became one of the most popular royal insignia during Hellenistic times, and some kind of *diadema* is also attested in Macedonia (Ritter 1965, 31 and *passim*; Smith 1988, 35; Prestianni Giallombardo 1989). The elevated and decorated in carvings golden *stephane* is known both from cult oinochoai depicting Ptolemaic queens (these images ascertain us that the material of the *stephane* was gold, since they are always painted in yellow or gold; cf. Burr Thompson 1973, 28-29), and from earlier representations of goddesses, mostly Aphrodite (Smith 1988, 43<sup>1</sup>; for coin image cf. e.g. *BMC Cyprus*, Pl. XX: 10); the ram horn, well known symbol of Zeus-Ammon, became an element of Alexander iconography in the times of the Diadochoi, if not in the king's lifetime. It should be noted that it has been suggested (Burr Thompson 1955, 202-203) that Arsinoe's horns do not allude to Zeus-Amun but to Mendes-Pan; nonetheless, even if this notion might be correct for Egyptian statuary, it seems unlikely in monetary context. Finally, the sceptre is the only element which, while having very few analogies in Greek imagery: it is an attribute of Homeric Zeus, but otherwise is rarely encountered (Smith 1988, 34), does possess, however, great meaning in Egyptian royal and divine iconography.

The tip of the sceptre in question is atypical with its 'lotus-formed finial' (Mørholm 1991, 103); the artefact in its general form resembles to some extent the papyrus sceptres held by Hathor and Isis in temple reliefs (there is evidence that Arsinoe herself was represented with this attribute, e. g. the Tanis relief in the British Museum, EA 1056), but the tip – better visible on later coins of Arsinoe III, which will not be discussed

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, *loc. cit.*, has it wrong that the *stephane* was a posthumous attribute of deified queens, since we encounter it on Arsinoe III and Cleopatra VII lifetime issues, e.g. Svoronos 1904-1908, 1159 and *ibidem*, 1874 resp.

here in detail, because despite of their particular visual attractiveness, they do not contribute any new elements to the topic – consists of bead-like petals instead of a triangular leaf. Since, as we shall see, the reverse of the coin contains a symbol invented solely for the purpose of Arsinoe's cult, it seems not unlikely that the sceptre is likewise unique, and the fact that the lotus flowers as such were associated with Aphrodite would perfectly serve the purpose of associating the queen with the goddess. Moreover, a lotus shape resembling very much that of the finial, appears on Ptolemaic coinage in different context: as a symbol in the field of several series of bronzes from various reigns, attributed essentially to the Cyprus mint because of the obvious association with Aphrodite, and also other numismatic evidence, including the appearance of Aphrodite Cypria cult statue on earlier Ptolemaic coins (Lorber 2001, 39).

In approaching the subject of the origin and meaning of this particular sceptre one might also want to take into account the complex symbolism of lotus in Egyptian tradition, both as the emblem of Upper Egypt, and symbol of creation and rebirth, but this would require further analysis, which does not fall into the scope of this article<sup>2</sup>. What is worth taking note of here, is that this attribute is present solely on coins with portraits of the queens; in sculpture and relief the sceptres are either absent (for the Greek-style representations), or repeat the traditional Egyptian imagery of *wadj* or papyrus sceptre, and never for instance that of the lotus divinity Nefertum.

The reverse shows the image of a double cornucopia, the *dikeras*, which, according to our sources, was designed specifically for the needs of Arsinoe cult (Ath. 11.497b-c, quoting several contemporary writers). Coin evidence, however, makes this assumption questionable, because of an Asia Minor issue (Svoronos 1904-1908, 890-892) dated before her death: 280-271 BC, which is tentatively associated with Arsinoe, and bears a double cornucopia

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, even the detailed analyses of Ptolemaic royal imagery in sculpture basically ignore the sceptres. The images of queens on cult oinochoai include some kind of spear-like sceptres but in all cases the state of preservation does allow for identification of their tips (Burr Thompson 1973, 26). Stanwick (2008, 36), describes what he calls 'lily scepter' but the sculptural examples are different from the coin images both in appearance of the tip and shaft, and in the general composition: they invariably are held below the queens' breasts. A closer sceptre-like analogy that I have found so far is a flower, possibly water lily, held by one of the figures on a relief from pyramid Beg. N. 6 in Meroe (Myśliwiec 1993, 253, il. 93), which, however, dates to the 1st century BC. The shape of the finial might also resemble the emblem of Upper Egypt, as encountered in the *sema-tawi* unification symbol, but all these analogies demand a closer look and more detailed study.

on the reverse, with the only difference being that unlike on the main series it is not bound by the *tainiai* of the royal *diadema*. It is, of course, possible that some elements of cult were established during the queen's lifetime; we do have textual evidence for her being a major figure in the celebrations of her mother Berenice in connection to Aphrodite during the great feast of Adonia (Theoc. 15.106-108), as well as an extensive corpus of inscriptions pertaining to her religious activities (Quaegebeur 1998). Mysteriously enough, Arsinoe is completely absent from the Athenaios' description of the Ptolemaic *pompe* celebrated c. 275 BC (Foertmeyer 1988), which led scholars to speculations about the dates of both her death and lifetime vs posthumous introduction of her cult (Rice 1983, 28 and *passim*; Ashton 2001, 17). If an early date of addition of the cult of Theoi Adelphoi to the cult of Alexander-*ktistes* is accepted, this might explain the appearance of the *dikeras* at the same time.

Since, however, this attribute has not been so far otherwise attested in earlier imagery, one may assume that indeed it was designed at some point for Arsinoe, and gained popularity after her death, when her brother began a systematic propagation of her cult both in Egypt and abroad.

The primary meaning of this symbol leads us to Tyche, the deity/personification of enormous importance for the Hellenistic times, both as a philosophical notion discussed by historians, and a goddess protectress of cities, states, and rulers; in the case of the latter, partly because of her association with euergetism. In this aspect she is commonly referred to as Agathe Tyche, the good fortune, whose presence in Ptolemaic iconography and propaganda is attested by inscriptions, on the cult oinochoai and elsewhere (Burr Thompson 1973, 51-52). This goddess is further associated with Agathos Daimon, a protective deity worshipped in Alexandria, and influenced by both Greek and Egyptian tradition, and also a personal protective deity of the kings and queens (Whitehorne 2001, 193).

These interpretations do not, however, explain the presence of two cornucopiae, which must be interpreted in the broader context of Arsinoe's imagery. Duplicity is a recurrent motif in the queen's iconography; we encounter it also in Egyptian-style sculpture and relief, where the queen wears a crown with two royal uraei, which is not unheard of in earlier Egyptian art, but not very common, either. Earlier examples are limited to two influential queens of the 18th dynasty, Tiye and Nefertiti, and to one queen of the 19th dynasty, Meretatum, daughter and wife of

Ramesses II. Male representations wearing double uraeus belong solely to kings of the Kushite 25th dynasty of the Late Period (Ashton 2001, 40-41).

In the case of Arsinoe's uraei, however, we seem to deal with a 'reverse movement' to what is being discussed here; since the traditional interpretation of this headdress as attribute of the 'Mistress of the Two Lands' cannot be applied to Arsinoe, it must be interpreted as a strictly Egyptian element corresponding to other elements of iconography that were represented in Greek form, apparently stressing the unity of the Theoi Philadelphoi: the double portraits on the 'dynastic issue' and the double cornucopia on Arsinoe's coins. In recent scholarship the notion of double uraei being the representation of the queen's rule with her brother was challenged on the grounds that it lacks support (Ashton 2008, 69), but it appears that the monetary context, largely ignored in this debate, may provide evidence for such interpretation.

Most interesting in this context is the fact that an allusion to the queen's brother and husband appears even on a coin which is otherwise dedicated to her individual cult. The explanation of this fact can be very simple; if the cornucopia is associated with Tyche as the goddess of abundance and euergetism, it is clear that it must refer not only to the protective goddess – the deceased and deified queen – but also to the present ruler, who enjoys special protection of both Tyche and Arsinoe. One should also bear in mind the fact that the dualism in Egyptian thought denotes two elements that are complementary rather than opposite, and the union of the royal couple reflects the marital union of the gods, as well as the original unity of the male and female elements (Myśliwiec 1993, 15). Moreover, the symbolic marriage of the king and the goddess of good fortune and plenty means the blessing for the land.

Euergetism had become an important factor in the propaganda of many Hellenistic dynasties but in Egypt it had special meaning; ever since early dynastic times the prosperity of the land and the well-being of its citizens was associated with the virtue of the kings (Ciałowicz 1999, 150). Pharaohs were praised as good rulers when the floodings of the Nile were on the average which assured abundant crops and therefore wealth, without either drought or overflowing the land; the king was accordingly responsible for the natural disasters. Thus the *dikeras* may symbolize the union of the goddess of good fortune with her brother and husband, who appears here in a symbolic way as the ruler – benefactor of his people. Also the presence of the abovementioned *tainiai* around the *dikeras* suggests association of this attribute with royal symbolism, as well as the divine.

This coin's iconography combines, therefore, in a very complex way elements of Greek and Egyptian tradition, stressing in the first place the divinity of the queen, very much within the Egyptian frame of mind, but with the use of partly Greek symbolism, while the aspect of her political role of the king's consort is only suggested by the presence of the *diadema*. Also the title used for the legend refers in the first place to the cult of both the Theoi Philadelphoi and Arsinoe herself. This type, without any changes in iconography or legend, was continued until the time of Ptolemy Auletes and his wife Cleopatra V Tryphaena; it is disputable whether the distortion of facial features on the later issues is due to the portrait quality of these representations, which would mean that the successors of Arsinoe had been portrayed in the guise of the dynastic goddess, or should be ascribed to the stylistic deterioration, and it was always Arsinoe who appeared on the coins struck by later queens (Mørkholm 1991, 183).

Whatever the answer to this question, at present unanswerable because of lack of relevant evidence, the huge popularity of this type – statistically the second most popular of all types bearing a king's or queen's image, and invariably struck only in large precious metals denominations (since Ptolemy IV Philopator solely in gold) – shows how important from the point of view of dynastic propaganda were the actions taken by Ptolemy Philadelphus to establish the ruler cult based in many aspects on the Egyptian notions concerning royalty combined with divinity.

Surprisingly, therefore, the coinage struck by Arsinoe's direct successor, Berenice II Euergetis, shows a complete change of imagery (Fig. 3). The denominations were again large gold and silver, their engravings of great artistic value, and they were issued not just in the queen's lifetime, but at the time of her regency during Ptolemy's engagement in the Third Syrian War; a fact which may have been crucial for the choice of iconography.

The Euergetai were called in inscriptions progeny of Theoi Philadelphoi (Bingen 2007, 33), even though Berenice was only cousin of her husband, and neither of them was biological child of Arsinoe II, who, however, adopted formally her brother's children (White 1898, 249-250), and they are called gods in the time of their reign. Nevertheless the coins issued in the name of Berenice present an image completely devoid of any direct claims of divinity; on two types of three within this series there are stars or caps of the Dioskouroi flanking the cornucopia on the reverse, which, if we assume that these two issues were posthumous, may allude to the apotheosis of the queen, who was allegedly taken to heaven by the divine twins (Hazard 1995, 5); other hypotheses point at the importance



Fig. 1. AV octadrachm (Svoronos 1904-1908, 1247), obverse: Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II Philadelphus; reverse: Ptolemy I Soter and Berenice I (issued by Ptolemy V Epiphanes).  
British Museum  
1964,1303.3 (AN527253)



Fig. 2. AV octadrachm (Svoronos 1904-1908, 1011),  
Arsinoe II Philadelphus.  
British Museum 1868,0320.12 (AN143985)



Fig. 3. AR pentadrachm (Svoronos 1904-1908, 989),  
Berenice II Euergetis.  
British Museum 1841,B.3710 (AN141177)



Fig. 4. AE (Svoronos 1904-1908, 1874),  
Cleopatra VII  
British Museum 1844,0425.99 (AN144001)

of naval operations at the time of the Euergetai reign (Kyrieleis 1975, 95). Otherwise the queen herself is portrayed with just one royal attribute only, this being the *diadema* on her head under the veil. As on the coins of her predecessor, the *diadema* is repeated on the reverse, with the floating *tainiai*, and just as previously it is bound around a cornucopia, this time, however, a standard single horn of plenty. Interestingly, there is also a slight change in the content of the cornucopia; instead of conical cakes offered to the dead (Burr Thompson 1973, 32), characteristic for Arsinoe's *dikeras*, there is ear of corn, associated first of all with Demeter, but in Ptolemaic imagery also with Isis (e.g. Svoronos 1904-1908, 1384 and *passim*), who was assimilated

not only with Aphrodite but also with the goddess of crops. This is, in fact, the only clear hint at any deity on these coins; characteristically enough, the association here is on one hand again with Tyche, and on the other with the same Egyptian goddess as in the case of syncretic Isis/Aphrodite, but in her aspect of the goddess of wealth and abundance, which corresponds with the dynastic title of the royal couple: Euergetai.

It is not only the imagery as such, however, but also the legend which catches the eye in this case. It reads ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, employing only the title of 'queen' without any other dynastic or cult nomenclature, even though Ptolemy III and Berenice II used their dynastic name from the beginning of their reign. And it is exactly this title *basilissa* which is the most interesting element of this particular series of coins, because it comes to use only in the Hellenistic times (the earliest known inscription from c. 306 referring to Phila, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrios Poliorcetes; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 333, 6-7), and therefore does not form part of the Macedonian heritage. Moreover, in monetary context it appears for the first time on coins of Cyrene struck about the year 274 BC, during the revolt of Magas against Ptolemy II, showing Berenice I (Koch 1923, 74-75; Mørkholm 1991, 102); it is absent from coinage of Philadelphus himself, although appears in inscriptions concerning Arsinoe II during her lifetime (Burstein 1982, 199 note 7), and then reappears on the issues of Berenice II.

The question arises, why use a term, apparently not obvious for the Greeks, on the coins, which were allegedly a purely Greek means of propaganda. Our sources tell us quite clearly that the Macedonians were not eager to accept women's rule; Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* 68) quotes Alexander himself commenting on his sister's ambitions that 'Macedonians would not suffer a woman's rule', and Diodorus (19.11.9) ascribes a similar statement to Antipater. Moreover, despite the royal women's ambitions, influence and actions, as well as their actual role in governing the kingdom, they were never granted a formal recognition, let alone a title. The usage of both titles *basileus* and *basilissa* by the Macedonians received in-depth analysis, and it was suggested that its assumption by Alexander could have been dictated by the need to translate Achaemenid Persian official forms of address into Greek terms (Price 1991, 32-33; Carney 1991, 157-158). If so, one might assume that the use of *basilissa* is similarly derived from Eastern tradition, and receives special importance in Egypt, where the role of the queen had been originally far more pronounced than in Persia or any other Near-Eastern state.

Therefore, much as it was a common practice of the wives of the Diadochoi, and their successors, to assume a title corresponding to their husbands', in case of Berenice Euergetis it appears not only as a Hellenistic invention but also, and probably primarily, reference to local tradition; the usage of this title refers to full legitimization of the queen's rule in Alexandria during her husband absence from the city. Interestingly, the term as such, if considered from the linguistic point of view, seems to correspond with the female form of the title of pharaoh, attested in her case also in demotic sources (Hölbl 2001, 85) rather than any forms of traditional titulary used for a queen-consort, who usually was referred to as 'king's great wife', 'god's wife' and 'king's sister' (Ashton 2008, 61-62). *Adelphe*, indeed, became a title for Ptolemaic queens ever since Arsinoe II, which also agrees with the Egyptian tradition of queenship; *basilissa* therefore would be the term chosen to describe a royal woman who actually held political power of the pharaoh or his regent. Monetary evidence corroborates such notion: the only three queens who placed this legend on their coins were Berenice II who acted as regent during her husband's absence, Cleopatra I Syra who ruled in the name of her son Ptolemy VI, and Cleopatra VII who assumed more actual power than any other woman of the dynasty. If any women were close to formal pharaonic status in Ptolemaic Egypt, these were the three.

The BEPENIKHΣ BΑΣIΛIΣΣHΣ series forms in fact a perfectly balanced message, understandable both for the Greeks and Egyptians, with elements that would satisfy both audiences; a method resembling the one employed for the 'dynastic' issue. The queen is not shown directly as a goddess: the only allusions at divinity appear on the reverse of the coins; the title used does not exceed contemporary Hellenistic practice and yet it points very clearly at the political tradition outside Greek experience. Within Macedonian tradition this coin is a great step forward: it attests the queen's formal position within the state, which was unattainable even to the royal women of the last Argeads. What makes it possible to such extent and in such splendid way – again we deal with large denominations in precious metals, which remind us more of decorative medals than money – is both the Persian tradition adopted by Alexander, and the long-lasting Egyptian custom exploited by the Ptolemies. Interestingly, the only queen to repeat this kind of propaganda on her coins before Cleopatra VII was Cleopatra I Syra, who struck coins bearing the legend ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΒΑΣIΛIΣΣHΣ during her regency for her son, Ptolemy VI; the most interesting type in this respect is a British Museum coin (inv. no. 1978-10-21-1), which shows the young

king on the obverse, and his mother's portrait with the abovementioned legend on the reverse. The queen's attire resembles Arsinoe's to great extent, with the omission of the ram horn only: the clearest and most obvious symbol of divinity.

The last coin which draws attention in this context comes from the very last decades of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt, and was struck in Cyprus by Cleopatra VII (Fig. 4). It is a small bronze denomination with exceptionally high relief, and carefully sculptured details, which may point at the coin's importance as a message-bearer, and not only financial value. On the obverse it bears the portrait of the queen wearing both the *diadema* and the *stephane*, as known from ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ type, and with a sceptre behind her back, resembling in all details that of Arsinoe III, which, in turn, is a better compositionally rendered sceptre of Arsinoe II. This indicates that unlike on her other types, Cleopatra styled herself here as a goddess rather than a queen, which is further emphasized by two more elements: the child on the obverse, and the *dikeras* on the reverse.

The child is usually identified as Cleopatra's son with Julius Caesar, Ptolemy XV Caesarion, and the issue is therefore dated to 47 BC (Hazard 2000, 152-153), but from the iconographic point of view he is Eros, or, more precisely Horus, because the scene of the goddess suckling the child is far more popular in representations of Isis than of Aphrodite. The case for Cleopatra in the guise of Isis is furthered by the fact that one the queen's titles was Nea Isis, and by the existence of sculptural evidence (e.g. stele E 27113 in the Louvre) for her either being portrayed as the goddess with the child or as the pharaoh worshipping Isis with Horus. We should assume that this particular coin image is of a syncretic divinity, Aphrodite/Isis, especially that attributes belonging to the two goddesses are present. Moreover, the double cornucopia on the reverse, the *dikeras* of Arsinoe II, stresses this double association. It is also worth noting that it is one of the very few occurrences of this particular attribute on coins apart from the continued ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ types, and the only one on a coin whose legend (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ) refers directly to another queen. All other Cypriote mints which show analogous female busts on the obverse, and the *dikeras* on the reverse, bear legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (Svoronos 1904-1908, 1160); some of these were, therefore, attributed by Svoronos to Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, but the hairstyle and facial features, the fact that the coins are small bronzes, and also archaeological evidence, make this attribution questionable (Kreuzer 2004, 41-44).

This raises a question whether the abandoning of the ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ type by Cleopatra was an act of emancipation of the queen's coinage, or was dictated only by the economic situation; ever since the time of Berenice II the ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ types were struck exclusively in gold, even when such denominations became extremely rare in Ptolemaic monetary system, and from the time of Ptolemy VIII until the reign of Ptolemy XII they had remained the only types still struck in gold. Due to economic reasons Cleopatra struck no gold coinage, either with any of her brothers, or with Mark Antony, therefore the appearance of *dikeras* on her bronze coin, which at this time plays major role in both the monetary system and the propaganda, may be an attempt at recalling the dynastic tradition of associating all later queens with deified Arsinoe II, and therefore at pointing at dynastic – and divine – continuity, so important for the Egyptian subjects.

Such programme appears as even more plausible if we consider the fact that Cleopatra VII was the first Ptolemaic ruler who assumed the title of Philopatriis, suggesting clearly her intended close bond with the land – a trait characteristic for the Egyptian pharaoh rather than for the Hellenistic king-conqueror who ruled over the *ge doriktetos* (Hammond 1993, 20-21; Bingen 2007, 61-62). On the other hand, such title has also strong Greek connotations, since it was traditional in the Greek world to be identified by the patronime and deme of origin; the titles Cleopatra Philopator Philopatriis could be, therefore, interpreted as symbolic representation of such identification, the *patriis* being either Egypt, or Alexandria, or, possibly, Macedonia, if we consider Cleopatra's ambitions concerning the renovation of Alexander's empire. Even if so, the level of abstraction and generalization of her titles corresponds with the Egyptian notion of the pharaoh as representative of the gods rather than an individual, with the precedence of idea of monarchy over personal traits of the king.

This little bronze coin, therefore, so remote in terms of splendour from the beautifully executed gold and silver medal-like earlier issues, would convey a very intricate message of a full assimilation of Greek and Egyptian elements in the person and political ideas of the queen, regarded here as both ruler (legend, *diadema*) and goddess (all other attributes). In this context also the Caesarion/Eros/Horus figure can be interpreted on a more complex theological/political level as the personification of the land, represented by the prospective ruler, successor of the present queen, nurtured by the protective goddess. Moreover, if we associate the child correctly with

the son of Julius Caesar, this coin may be considered the first in the series of types, the later ones being minted with Antony, which point at Cleopatra's larger scale political vision: of uniting the Greek East with Rome under the rule of her progeny.

## Conclusion

Even though coins are considered the most Greek of all means of propaganda in the Hellenistic world, the case of Ptolemaic coinage shows that they could be used to convey more complex messages, and that the stylistically Greek images were also able to contain and express ideas fully comprehensible within the Egyptian frame of mind. In my analysis I intended to show how these local theological and political traditions become intrinsically combined with the Greek ideas by means of iconography, some elements of which are hardly explicable if perceived only from the Greek point of view. The most important of these is the notion of monarchy, and in particular the concept of *basileia* represented both by the king and his female counterpart.

The elements of iconography can be divided into three groups: those explicable entirely on Greek or Hellenistic grounds (*diadema*, *cornucopia*, symbols of the Dioskouroi), those that bear meaning for both groups and the Egyptian perspective broadens their interpretation (lotus, ram horn, royal title, ear of corn), and those that cannot be easily explained outside the Egyptian iconographical tradition (male/female duplicity, sceptre). The style employed by the engravers remains entirely Greek, hence the absence of two important Egyptian features: animal-headed deities, as well as rulers represented in the animal form, and representation of ruling queens in male attire and with attributes of male pharaohs, which was common in earlier times. Such imagery is attested in Ptolemaic sculpture and temple relief, but on coins all iconography remains within the stylistic frame of Greek art, which was apparently the requirement of the medium. However, the message expressed by this means contains both Greek and Egyptian ideas.

The perspective proposed in this article allows to view Ptolemaic coinage as an inherent part of a larger body of royal iconography and propaganda, consistent with its other elements, and not a purely Greek form of address, largely separate in its expression and function from the statuary and temple representations. The adopted perspective allows

to treat all aspects of Ptolemaic royal iconography as a premeditated entirety, in which every element corresponds with the others, forming a clear and rich message directed both at the Greek and Egyptian subjects of the dynasty.

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RECENT RESEARCH  
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF RHODIAN  
AMPHORA STAMPS

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The beginning of research into Rhodian stamped amphora handles dates back to the transitional period between the 19th and 20th centuries. The first decades of work on this group of objects led to the drawing of some important conclusions. The most important of these was the establishment of a chronology, mainly based on the names of officials and fabricants of pottery, both of whom appeared on stamp inscriptions. As the results of this work represent the foundation on which contemporary researchers still work (although they have made a series of significant alterations over the course of the last 20 years), I will briefly summarise what occurred during that period in the first part of this article.

The first study into Rhodian stamped amphoras focused on material discovered in two deposits: the so-called ‘Pergamon Deposit’ and the Villanova deposit on the island of Rhodes. This was then used as the basis for further, more systematic study. At the time the question of dating the Pergamon Deposit arose. C. Schuchhardt (1895) believed that it was from the end of the 3rd century BC/beginning of the 2nd century BC as he agreed with the view that the relations between Pergamon and Rhodes at the time were amicable (Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 290). This historical interpretation was used as the basis for conclusions drawn by many later researchers of Rhodian stamps. F. Bleckmann (1907) dated the Pergamon Deposit to the years 220-180 BC. He also created the first list of the 40 eponyms who were in office during this period, a list which was later corrected by H. von Gaertringen (1931). Another suggestion for the dating of the deposit, on the basis of epigraphic research, was put

forward by H. van Gelder (1915), who dated it to around 165 BC. This proposition, however, was not referenced by later researchers. The Rhodian stamps discovered in the deposit of Villanova were dated by A. Maiuri (1922) in accordance with the conclusions of Bleckmann for the Rhodian stamps of Pergamon. Apart from these early chronological hypotheses, other remarks on Rhodian stamps were also made. K. Regling (1901) noted that eponyms whose names featured on the stamps also carried out the role of priests of Helios (Lawall 2002, 300-301). In addition, M. P. Nilsson (1909), using the results of his research on material discovered in Lindos, presented an extensive philological and iconographic interpretation of Rhodian stamps, as well as compiling a list of the Rhodian names of the months.

V. Grace was an outstanding researcher of Rhodian stamps<sup>1</sup>. She developed her own methods of research and created a typology of amphorae from the area as well as the first chronology and typology of their stamps, which was based on material discovered at the Athenian Agora and supplemented by information from other locations. She published the results of her long and extraordinarily fruitful career in many articles, which were published between the 1930s and the 1980s.

She based her dating of Rhodian stamps on the development of the shape of the amphora handle, the information provided by the context in which the amphora was found and the style of the stamp (which sometimes allowed it to be attributed to the exact piece of pottery from which it came or at least to be recognised as the work of a particular fabricant). She also took the proposed dating of the Pergamon Deposit into consideration, which was later confirmed by the analysis of stamps discovered in Alexandria, Sicily and Carthage, as well as the results of research on stamps from the Villanova deposit (Grace 1934, 214-218).

Grace published the first systematic chronology of Rhodian stamps in 1952. She created it on the basis of examples found in Delos and supplemented it with information from the Athenian Agora. This researcher then categorised the material she had access to into six chronological groups, using the division of Sinopean stamps worked out by B. N. Grakov (1929) as a template. The chronological timescale of these groups is demonstrated in the Fig. 1<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The article concerning the work of V. Grace by M. L. Lawall, *The wine jars workroom: stamps to sherds*, in J. McK. Camp and C. A. Mauzy (eds), *The Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*, Mainz 2009, 63-68 came to my hands too late to be included in this research.

<sup>2</sup> Dates in this and other tables are approximate.

Groups I and II were divided on the basis of stamps discovered at the Athenian Agora, although no amphora handle was discovered there which could be dated to earlier than 300 BC. Grace then placed the Rhodian stamps from the Pergamon Deposit into group III. Group IV consisted of stamps known from discoveries

Period	Timescale
I	End of the 4th century BC(?)-beginning of the 3rd century BC
II	280-220 BC
III	220-180 BC
IV	180-150 BC
V	Second half of the 2nd century BC
VI	End of the 2nd century BC-beginning of the 1st century BC

Fig. 1. Rhodian stamp chronology created by V. Grace in 1952

in Corinth and Carthage, which did not occur in Pergamon. Groups V and VI were divided up based on the production technique used to create the ceramics and on the stamp typology (Grace 1952, 522-525). The chronology here presented was later corrected and supplemented by her further articles.

In 1956 Grace published Rhodian stamps discovered on the Pnyx in Athens using the chronology of the time. The majority of the presented objects came from chronological group II, although one stamp which was found in a 4th-century context was also discovered. This was the first known example of a Rhodian stamp dating to this period (Grace 1956, 138-141).

In 1970 Grace and M. Savvatiianou-Petropoulakou published the results of research on amphora stamps discovered in 'La Maison des Comédiens' on the island of Delos. On the basis of the analysis of this material, the authors proposed a series of changes to the dating of Rhodian stamps at the time:

- only stamps which did not bear the names of months were included in group I; as a result, some eponyms which were previously included in this group now went on to form group IIa; the latest date for group I was adjusted to 275 BC;

- in keeping with convention, the authors kept the dating of group III to between 220-180 BC, despite their conviction that it should occupy a shorter period which occurred somewhat later;

- according to the researchers, group VI stamps appeared at the same time as a Knidian group of stamps bearing the titles and names of *duoviri*; this period began around 108 BC and ended just after 80 BC;

– group VII was also introduced, which covered stamps dated from after 80 BC to the end of the period when stamps were used i.e. around the third quarter of the 1st century BC (Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 301-302).

The remarkably important changes proposed in this article had a bearing on the dating of the Pergamon Deposit, which had been fixed at between 220-180 BC by Bleckmann (1907). Thanks to the new discoveries, the researchers were able to collate the material from Pergamon with the collection worked on by Grace from the Athenian Agora. This led them to realise that, among the 40 eponym names which appeared on the stamps of the Pergamon Deposit, six to eight of them had been incorrectly interpreted, although they remained certain of the existence of around 35. They also concluded that each eponym held office for a year. In addition, 12 or 13 of the names appearing on the stamps from the Pergamon Deposit, were accompanied by secondary stamps used from around 188 BC onwards. In consequence, they suggested shifting the dating of the deposit to 210-175 BC (Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 290-291).

The observations of the researchers concerning early Rhodian stamps bearing the names of the priests of Helios were also worthy of note. They analysed the group based on an inscription published by L. Morricone (1949-1951) bearing a list of the names of the Rhodian priests of Helios. This inscription consisted of two columns. The first was dated by the researcher to the years 408-369 BC whilst the second, which was only partially preserved, was dated to the late 4th century BC. This second column was relevant to stamp research, as some names appeared here which were known from amphora stamps. The authors drew attention to the fact that none of the names dated to the late 4th century BC by Grace appeared on the list. They proposed three possible solutions to the problem: 1. Grace had dated these names too early 2. Morricone's suggested date for the inscription was too late or 3. the names which were known from stamps could have been those of members of the Macedonian garrison stationed on Rhodes at the time, and not the priests of Helios (Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 299-301).

The chronology of early Rhodian stamps is closely connected to the garrison camp in Koroni, where stamped amphorae were discovered. Grace devoted two articles to the problem of the dating of this camp. This issue demands a somewhat broader discussion due to its crucial nature and its huge influence on the chronology of not only

Rhodian stamps, but also of those originating from other locations, such as Thasos.

In her first article, Grace (1963) questioned the dating of the creation of the Koroni camp by its researchers (Vanderpool *et al.* 1962) to the time of the Chremonidean War (roughly 265-261 BC). The author analysed the stamped amphora handles discovered there, which included some originally from Rhodes. Taking into account their typology and using stamps discovered in other deposits (e.g. Pergamon) as analogies, she came to the conclusion that it ought to be dated to the end of the 4th century BC. Following this line of argument, the installation of the camp must have been connected to different historical events to those which took place during the Chremonidean War.

In her second article, Grace (1974) went back on her earlier proposition of dating the Koroni camp to the end of the 4th century BC and suggested moving the chronology of Rhodian amphora which was being used at the time to a later date. These new remarks by the author resulted from the analysis of a large amount of material discovered after 1963. An enormous number of Rhodian stamps were discovered in Alexandria, which were then added to the Benaki collection. During the examination of this group, the dates of the activity of many producers and eponyms were established and many homonymous names were differentiated.

The second location where a lot of intensive research was conducted was the island of Rhodes. A collection of stamps was discovered there, which allowed many new links to be created between fabricants and eponyms. Making use of the information which this new material provided, Grace created a full list of the names of Rhodian eponyms. She started from those which had been best known previously (namely those from the Pergamon Deposit) before using the many links which had been discovered as a basis to classify names to before or after this group. Thanks to this categorisation, she noted that there was a gap of 65 years between the beginning of the custom of placing month names on the stamps and the closing date of the Pergamon Deposit. Therefore, the administrative change in marking ceramics could have taken place around 240 BC. Following on from this research, Grace suggested moving the final date of chronological group B of Hellenistic pottery (created in 1934 by H. Thompson), which contained Rhodian amphorae and on the basis of which she had dated the Rhodian amphorae from the Athenian Agora, from 275 BC to 240 BC. This alteration in chronology necessarily led to the shifting of the dating of Rhodian

amphorae discovered in Koroni by 35 years, which meant that the Koroni camp could indeed be connected to the events of the Chremonidean War (265-261 BC). This concurred with the opinion of the first researchers of the site (Grace 1974).

In another article Grace (1985) presented her chronology of Rhodian eponyms from the first half of the 2nd century BC discovered in the Middle Stoa at the Athenian Agora. On the basis of the analysis of their stamps she established the earliest date for the stoa at 183 BC and recounted the story of the workshop of Damokrates, in which the custom of placing secondary stamps on amphora handles began.

Apart from her work on the absolute chronology of Rhodian stamps, Grace also established the relative sequence of the eponyms and fabricants whose names appeared on the stamps, as well as presenting their relationship. In 1934, she published the first list of eponyms and fabricants appearing on Rhodian handles from the Athenian Agora. She also noted their connection to each other and gave more detailed information regarding names which were also known from the Pergamon Deposit (Grace 1934, 219, Fig. 2), although she modified her conclusions in later articles. As early as 1952, she was able to complete a list of names from stamps discovered on Delos (Grace 1952, 525-530), before later adding information gained from the analysis of material from the Pnyx (Grace 1956, 139). In later works the author went on to further analyse the relative chronology of the eponyms within given periods.

The findings of V. Grace concerning the chronology of Rhodian stamps were accepted without question by other researchers for a long period of time. Even today, as other working methods have become established and the amount of material available to us is considerably greater, the findings taken from the research of Grace still represent the basis upon which analysis is made and conclusions are drawn in this area of study.

The first breakthrough research after the 'Grace era' began at the start of the 1990s. J.-Y. Empereur (1990) summed up the state of research on Rhodian stamp chronology at the time by noting that the area of production of Rhodian amphora stamps was not limited to the island itself, but also included seven other islands as well as the coast of Asia Minor; in other words, the area which remained under Rhodian influence. He also suggested other criteria which it was necessary to take into account when trying to establish the chronology of amphora stamps, dividing them into internal (relative and absolute) and external categories. The first group included the date of the creation or fall of a city and closed deposits (absolute), as well

as the discovery of ancient shipwrecks or necropoleis (relative) on which one can find contemporary objects. External criteria included amphora typology, stylistic clues, groups of eponyms created on various different bases (e.g. the priests of Helios) and the punching of the stamp die (which, as he noted, happened rarely, but provided valuable information with regards to the succession of fabricants and officials). He also underlined the importance of epigraphic and philological sources in establishing the dating of the activity of specific eponyms, although he added that information drawn from such sources should not be accepted without question.

Discussing the chronology of Rhodian stamps, Empereur mentioned the alteration which Grace had made in 1974 (with which he agreed) which he thought should be taken into consideration when making use of earlier publications. The author attached a table to his article which illustrated his viewpoint on Rhodian chronology. He based it on the findings of Grace but added his own conclusions (Fig. 2).

Further attempts to make Rhodian stamp chronology more detailed were made by V. Lungu (1990). She presented her conclusions on the dating of Rhodian eponyms holding office between 212-191 BC taking into account names appearing on stamps discovered in two tumuli in Independenta in modern day Romania. Among the many fragments of Rhodian amphora which were discovered, there were 51 stamped handles with the names of 13 eponyms and 14 fabricants dating to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd centuries BC.

In order to determine the exact periods of activity, the researcher not only made use of information provided by the deposits which had been published up to that point, but also the appearance on stamps, next to the name of the eponym, of the month *panamos deuterios*, which signified a leap year (every 3 years). In addition, she took into account the presence or absence of each official on the stamps from the Pergamon Deposit. As a result of her research, Lungu (1990) proposed a series of changes to the dating used at the time of eponyms from the previously mentioned period. In her article she created a new chronological list of officials from 212-191 BC which also took into consideration those officials whose names did not appear in the collection from Independenta. In addition, she included a table presenting connections between the eponyms discovered in the tumuli with the fabricants who were active during the time period.

G. Finkielsztein then introduced important changes to the chronology of Rhodian stamps established by Grace and corrected by other researchers.

Period	Timescale	Group Determinants
Ia	300-280 BC	Before Koroni. Creation of Demetrias in 294 BC
Ib	280-270 BC	Koroni. Before the activity of Hieroteles
Ic	269-240 BC	Hieroteles stamps without months
IIa	240-225 BC	Hieroteles stamps with months
IIb	225-211 BC	After Hieroteles. Before the Pergamon Deposit
IIIa	210-202 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Before the Villanova deposit
IIIb	201-195 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Group of eight eponyms from the Villanova deposit
IIIc	194-189 BC	Pergamon Deposit. After the Villanova deposit. Without secondary stamps
IIId	188-183 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Middle Stoa. Secondary stamps
IIIe	182-175 BC	Pergamon Deposit. After the Middle Stoa. Secondary stamps
IVa	174-156 BC	After the Pergamon Deposit. Before the Stoa of Attalos
IVb	155-146 BC	After the Pergamon Deposit. Stoa of Attalos. Before the fall of Corinth and Carthage
V	145-108 BC	After the fall of Corinth and Carthage. Before the fall of Samaria
VI	107-86 BC	After the fall of Samaria. Before the sacking of Delos in 88 BC and Athens in 86 BC
VII	85 BC-rule of Augustus	Late style stamps and amphorae. Unknown from earlier contexts

Fig. 2. Rhodian stamp chronology according to V. Grace and J.-Y. Empereur (1990, 207)

In his unpublished doctoral thesis he conducted a relative analysis of the relationship between the eponyms of period V (according to Grace 145-108 BC) on the basis of stamps discovered in Israel and Alexandria. The results of this research were partially presented in an article from 1994 in which he put forward a list of the eponyms dated by him to the period 131-106 BC, which covered late period V and the beginning of period VI (Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994, 185-186). He later suggested further changes to the dating of Rhodian stamps in his articles published between 1995-2000 and in his paper from 2001, which summarised the findings of his research.

In 1995 G. Finkielsztejn (279-281) proposed new dates for periods I to IV of the chronology of Rhodian stamps. He established them following analysis of material discovered in Jerusalem, Gezer and Samaria. After his examination of the dates of period IV, Finkielsztejn noted that, in all

certainty, only 14 or possibly 18 eponyms could be attributed to the group, and not the 29 proposed by Grace. A stylistic analysis of the stamps of these eponyms showed that there was no evidence for an 11 year gap between those from the Pergamon Deposit and those from period IV. On this basis, he suggested a shortening of the timescale of periods I to IV by 11 years. In his article he also included a list of the discussed eponyms.

As a consequence of the shortening of the chronology by Finkielsztejn, the time boundaries of many deposits containing stamped amphora handles had to be altered. The dating of the three final eponyms appearing at the Koroni camp shifted from 273-271 BC to 263-261 BC, which allowed the camp to be linked with the Chremonidean War (265-261 BC) without any further doubt, as had been suggested by the original researchers. The date of the creation of the Middle Stoa at the Athenian Agora moved from 183 BC to 172 BC. As a result, its founder now had to be recognised as Antiochos IV and not Pharnaces, King of Pontus. The Pergamon Deposit was more problematic, as the alteration of the chronology caused it to contradict historical circumstance. Finkielsztejn proposed that the period of good relations between Rhodes and Pergamon fell between 201-180 BC and finished at the time of the Third Macedonian War (171-170 BC), when Pergamon became an ally of Rome while Rhodes backed Macedonia. According to the altered chronology, the Pergamon Deposit would be dated to 199-164 BC meaning that its earliest date would fall two years after the establishment of amicable relations and its latest date would be two years after Rome created an open port on Delos in 166 BC, an event which was a huge blow to the Rhodian economy (Finkielsztejn 1995, 280-281).

The correct nature of the alteration to the dating of the Pergamon Deposit was confirmed by research conducted by M. L. Lawall which was published in 2002. Up until that point, it had been supposed, on the basis of historical circumstances, that it fell either between 220-180 BC or between 210-175 BC. Lawall (2002, 295-297) reanalysed relations between Rhodes and Pergamon as well as between Rhodes and Knidos in the given period and also examined the archaeological and topographic context of the Pergamon Deposit and its broader connection to Hellenistic pottery. On the basis of the results of his work he suggested dating the end of the Pergamon Deposit to the late 60s or early 50s of the 2nd century BC. This date was in agreement with the findings of Finkielsztejn presented in his paper from 2001 (see below) concerning Rhodian chronology, according to which the latest date of the deposit would fall between 163 and 161 BC.

In 2001, Finkielsztejn published his work summarising the results (which had earlier only been partially presented) of his examination of Rhodian amphora stamps discovered in the southern Levant, which had led him to alter their chronology. In his analysis of the material the author used both the external (absolute and relative) and internal criteria which had been systematised (as mentioned above) by Empereur (Finkielsztejn 2001, 229).

In the first part of his work the author presented the relative succession of the eponyms of periods I to VII, discussing each in detail. The second part was dedicated to the absolute chronology of Rhodian eponyms. It was divided into two main chapters presenting the archaeological context and chronological reference points in the succession of the eponyms, as well as his alteration of the chronology of Rhodian stamped amphorae.

In the first chapter the author critiques the chronology created by Grace with a more detailed discussion of the problem of dating period IV. He then looks at the issue of the creation of an absolute chronology, beginning from period V, which he believes to be the best benchmark to start from. Historical facts, such as the occupation (from 149 BC) and demolition (146 BC) of Carthage, the fall of Corinth (146 BC) and the destruction of Samaria (108 BC), aided him in his dating of the period. He later discusses the dating of period IV based on discoveries in Jerusalem and conducts a chronological and archaeological interpretation of the Pergamon Deposit (here dated from 193/190 to 163/161 BC), which is the fundamental context for the differentiation of period III. He also presents new dates for other complexes based on the chronological alteration: Villanova is moved to 189/182 BC, the Middle Stoa's creation shifts to 169/167 BC, while the start of the Stoa of Attalos changes to around 159/157 BC. In addition, the custom of placing secondary stamps next to the main ones would now have begun around 175/173 BC. The author also considers the chronology of period II within the context of amphora imports to Akko-Ptolemais. The custom of placing the name of months on stamps would thus have started in 234 BC and would have been connected to the increase in wine production and the greater controls placed on it. This increase in production occurred as the island was in its heyday after the Third Syrian War (241 BC). Period I began with stamps of the monetary type dating to around 304-280/270 BC and the names of eponyms appeared on them in the period 304-294 BC. At the end, the author shows the dissimilarity between information on Rhodian chronology gleaned from the examination of inscriptions to that given by amphora stamps (Finkielsztejn 2001, 232).

In the second chapter, Finkielsztejn presents his modified chronology of Rhodian amphorae. He also briefly discusses the dates proposed by other researchers and refers to the difficulty presented by several eponyms whose attribution remains up for debate (Finkielsztejn 2001, 232-233). Fig. 3 illustrates the dating and determinants of the specific subgroups of Rhodian stamps as established by Finkielsztejn.

In the following years, reviews of Finkielsztejn's work appeared. Apart from a few comments on minor details, researchers mainly leaned towards accepting the alteration in Rhodian stamp chronology which he had suggested. However, they also underlined the need for the reanalysis of stamps known from other sites in the light of the new propositions. The new chronology of course had a bearing on the dating of many complexes which were already known, on the stamps of other production sites (in particular Knidos) and also on many archaeological objects from various other areas of study. Academics also signalled the need to confirm the findings of G. Finkielsztejn through the further examination of excavation sites.

One author who wrote a review was J. Lund. Among other things, he questioned Finkielsztejn's dating of the eponym Peisistratos to 160 BC on the basis of the resettlement of the city of Hama in Syria between 170-160 BC. He drew attention to the fact that Danish excavations on the site had shown that the resettlement of the city, under the new name of Epiphaneia, had already occurred halfway through the 3rd century BC. For this reason it was not a good benchmark for Finkielsztejn's chronology. Lund (2002) added, however, that this particular fact only played a marginal role in the argument of the researcher. Another remark referred to a group of stamps which was discovered in the fillings of a well in Halicarnassus which Finkielsztejn had not mentioned. However, the eponyms discovered there were already known to the author from other contexts and their dating was merely confirmed by the examples discovered there.

A similar observation was made concerning the eponym Aristomachos I, who was known to Finkielsztejn and appeared in his work. Lund (2002) added that a stamp of this official had been discovered during the course of the most recent research in Carthage, although it had not been mentioned by Finkielsztejn. Its dating on the basis of the context of its discovery, however, confirmed his findings (Lund 2002).

Summing up, Lund (2002) expressed a positive attitude towards the work of Finkielsztejn on Rhodian amphora stamps and stated that he found his findings concerning the chronology of Rhodian amphorae convincing.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Timescale</b>	<b>Group Determinants</b>
Ia	304-271 BC	Monetary type and 'proto-Rhodian' stamps
Ib	270-247 BC	Euphron. Beginning of Hieroteles (stamps of the 'button type'). Eponyms from the Koroni camp
Ic	246-235 BC	Hieroteles. Axis. End of Zenon I. Before the appearance of month names
IIa	234-220 BC	Beginning of month names. Hieroteles. End of Zenon I. End of Theodoros (with the head of Helios)
IIb	219-210 BC	Hieroteles. Theodoros. Before the workshop with the head of Helios
IIc	209-199 BC	Stamps of the 'pseudo-button' type. Theodoros. Beginning of the workshop with the head of Helios. Before the Pergamon Deposit. Stoa of Philip V on Delos (?)
IIIa	198-190 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Before the Villanova deposit. Stoa of Philip V on Delos (?)
IIIb	189-182 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Villanova deposit
IIIc	181-176/ 174 BC	Pergamon Deposit. After the Villanova deposit. No secondary stamps from the workshop of Damokrates I
IIId	175/173-169/167 BC	Pergamon Deposit. Middle Stoa at the Athenian Agora. Secondary stamps of Damokrates I
IIIe	168/166-161 BC	Pergamon Deposit. After the Middle Stoa at the Athenian Agora. Secondary stamps of Damokrates I
IVa	160-153 BC	After the Pergamon Deposit. Stoa of Attalos. Before Theumnastos
IVb	152-146 BC	End of the workshop with the head of Helios. Theumnastos. Before the destruction of Corinth and Carthage (besieged from 149 BC). Occupation of Jerusalem
Va	145-133 BC	After the destruction of Corinth and Carthage and the occupation of Jerusalem. Before Euphranor II. Jewish Gezer
Vb	132-121 BC	Euphranor II. End of the occupation of Gezer
Vc	120-108 BC	After Euphranor II. Seizing of Maresha (111 BC). Before the destruction of Samaria (besieged from 110 BC) and Scythopolis
VI	107-88/86 BC	After the destruction of Samaria and Scythopolis. Before the plundering of Delos (88 BC) and Athens (86 BC)

Period	Timescale	Group Determinants
VIIa	85-40 BC	After the plundering of Delos and Athens. Late style stamps unknown from earlier contexts. Before the plundering of Rhodes (43 BC). Monetary type with Helios and a rose
VIIb	40 BC- rule of Augustus	After the plundering of Rhodes. Late style stamps unknown from earlier contexts. Monetary type with Helios and a rose

Fig. 3. Rhodian stamp chronology according to G. Finkielsztejn (2001, 196, Tab. 22.1)

N. Conovici (2002-2003) took a somewhat more cautious approach to the work of Finkielsztejn. His comments dealt with both the technical and meritorial aspects of the work. He underlined the great worth of the glossary of specialist terms, which the author included in the opening part of his work, although he deemed the division of 'style' and 'engraver' to be unnecessary, as it could lead to inaccurate conclusions being drawn about the usage of various styles by one engraver. Many comments also dealt with the attribution of specific stamps to the eponyms of period I and the placing of certain officials at the end of period I whom he believed should be found in period II. Objections were also made by Conovici concerning the assigning of certain producers to period II on the basis of the style of their stamps, which is not always certain proof. He also proposed a change to the order of the eponyms in period II. In addition, he noted that the chronology of officials from period III required deeper analysis, as Finkielsztejn had not mentioned the results of Lungu's research (presented above) on material from the tumuli of Independenta as well as from other contexts which were important in the determining of the absolute dating of Rhodian stamps. The conclusions of Finkielsztejn regarding period IV were, in the opinion of Conovici, the strongest part of the work. He also referred to the dating of the author of specific archaeological complexes in the light of his modified chronology. G. Finkielsztejn proposed the dating of the Pergamon Deposit to be 193/190-163/161 BC taking historical events into account. Conovici believed that it was too risky to fix dates based on such an uncertain basis and called for their verification through further research. As far as the dating of the Middle Stoa to 169/167 and the Stoa of Attalos to 159/157 was concerned, he did not give an explicit opinion, since the examination of these complexes had not yet been finished. He limited his technical remarks to criticism of the 'style sheet', which was illegible in many places. Despite the many criticisms which Conovici

made, however, he nevertheless recognised the breakthrough nature of Finkielsztejn's work. He underlined its usefulness, not only to specialists in the area of stamps, but to every archaeologist who wished to document his own research well. He also added that there was a need for further modification and more exact specification of Finkielsztejn's propositions, which could result from the work of many different researchers. He also stressed the huge significance of research into Rhodian workshops which produced amphorae in verifying the new proposals.

N. Badoud was another person to write a review. Evaluating the work of Finkielsztejn, he expressed his opinion towards the ethnic cleansing of Judea being recognised as one of the criteria on which Rhodian chronology could be altered (on the same level as the demolition of Corinth or Carthage). The reviewer agreed that this event could be granted the same importance as the demolition of a city, as both represented a stopping of amphora importation. Badoud (2003, 581-582) underlined the fact, however, that neither the destruction of a city or the annihilation of its inhabitants could totally rule out further influx of goods from the given site, meaning that the dating of periods V and VI were purely based on theory. Badoud (2003, 582-584) then stated that the timeframe suggested by Finkielsztejn for the Pergamon Deposit (198-161 BC) and the closing date of the Middle Stoa (169/167 BC), which form the basis for the division of the first three periods, was justified. Badoud also commented on the question of dating the army camp in Koroni. In 1995, Finkielsztejn proposed that the dating of the last three eponyms whose names appeared on the stamps from that deposit should be 263-261 BC, whereas according to the chronology published by him in the publication under discussion, its dates would fall in the period 267-265 BC. Badoud believed that the author had chosen incorrect dates for the Chremonidean War and that it had actually taken place between 267/266-262/261 BC. In addition, he stated that the three eponyms previously mentioned were contemporaneous with Ptolemaic coins discovered in Koroni which were dated to either 267/266 or 265/264 BC. These facts would allow the second proposal of Finkielsztejn (dating the abovementioned eponyms to 267-265 BC, during the Chremonidean War) to be deemed correct (Badoud 2003, 584-585).

M. L. Lawall also commented on Finkielsztejn's publication. He praised its great importance as the first compendium of knowledge concerning Rhodian stamps which was of use, not only to archaeologists, but also to historians. He also appreciated the work of Finkielsztejn for the fact that he dated numerous Rhodian eponyms for the first time

and also established the activity of many fabricants. He also pointed out that the author had only taken into consideration the material from the archives of Grace to a small extent, which meant that his findings should be verified and checked with the information which could be gleaned from the stamps which she had collected. Lawall also drew attention to the fact that Finkielsztejn's publication was not only of significance for the chronology of Rhodian stamps, but also for the examination of the organisation of workshops and the relationship between the country and the production of amphorae. He also commented on the value of the remarks of the author concerning the style of specific stamps, which could then be used to connect them to specific engravers. Lawall believed that, although the links were not certain, they were probable. Therefore, they had great importance when weighing up the relationship between the engraver, the owner of the workshop and the individual fabricants. Lawall also made some critical remarks. He argued that the organisation of Finkielsztejn's argumentation could sometimes be discouraging to the reader. In addition, the order in which the tables were presented did not mirror their positioning in the text. He also claimed that it was too often necessary to return to arguments presented earlier in the text in order to understand the meaning of later conclusions made after further deliberation. Another negative point was the lack of an illustration for some of the stamps discussed. Apart from these minor criticisms, however, which were rather more of a technical nature, Lawall (2003) enthusiastically welcomed Finkielsztejn's publication.

Research into the establishment of Rhodian stamp chronology is an area in which many other academics are also working. As the propositions of G. Finkielsztejn wrought great changes in the study of the subject, many researchers have reacted to them with certain reserve in their own findings, waiting for the proposals to be confirmed definitively.

Changes in period III of Rhodian stamp chronology were suggested by Ch. Börker (1998) as a result of the reanalysis of stamped amphora handles from the Pergamon Deposit which had previously been examined by Schuchhardt (1985). After a new, more detailed reading of the stamps, the author determined that several of the examples, which had earlier been thought to come from other sites, were in fact Rhodian. On the same basis, he discounted others, which had been incorrectly attributed to Rhodes. He also noted that some eponyms from the collection should be dated to times later than the deposit. He supposed that the handles bearing the stamps of these officials either came from a higher, later layer or that they had been

lying in the directly surrounding area to the foundations in which the stamps of the deposit were found. Taking into account the shape of the handles, he suggested an earlier dating of several other eponyms and emphasised that they, in the same way as the Thasian stamps from the same period, belonged to the deposit nevertheless. The author also made an alteration to the order of the eponyms within the group. After the corrections introduced by Börker, the collection of Rhodian stamps found in the Pergamon Deposit now included 33 eponym names dated to period III. As the list of these names could not be set in stone due to the fact that some officials could not yet be attributed with total certainty to the group, the author stated that period III lasted approximately 30 years and added that its exact dating would be made possible by further research. Bearing in mind the intensive work carried out on the establishment of an absolute chronology of Rhodian stamps by many researchers such as Grace, Lungu and Finkielsztejn, as well as the lack of one definitively accepted conclusion, Börker (1998, 13-17) did not include the dating of specific eponyms in the catalogue accompanying his work. Instead he inserted a list of connections between eponyms and fabricants, mentioning only those which had been accepted without dispute (Börker 1998, 5-9).

G. Jöhrens (1999), publishing stamps from amphorae in the National Museum of Athens in 1999, used the dating of Rhodian eponyms proposed by Grace and completed by Empereur (see above). He did make mention of the alterations suggested by Finkielsztejn for period IV. However, he said that this chronology could be far better critiqued once Finkielsztejn's doctoral thesis, which contained remarks concerning the whole period of Rhodian amphora stamping, had been published (Jöhrens 1999, 77).

M. Palaczyk (2001), after analysing the group of round Rhodian stamps with the emblem of the head of Helios from periods V and VI, suggested the earliest date for the first of them to be 149 BC. This contradicted Finkielsztejn's proposal that the period started in 146 BC. Both dates were connected with events in Carthage. The former was the beginning of Roman occupation of the territory, whilst the latter represented the fall of the city. Palaczyk (2001, 319-320) believed that, as the events in Carthage are taken as a determinant for the beginning of period V, the period should start from the beginning of the occupation, as this caused the importation of wine to cease. In the same article, he presented a verified list of the names of eponyms and fabricants from this period, which had earlier been established by Nilsson and E. M. Pridik (Palaczyk 2001, 320-327).

Ch. Habicht (2003) correlated Rhodian eponym names known from epigraphic sources with those appearing on Greek amphora stamps. Using this process, he demonstrated that Rhodian eponyms were indeed the priests of Helios. He also showed the differences in their chronology as established from epigraphic objects and amphora stamps. While carrying out his examination, he made use of the corrected chronology established by Finkielsztejn. According to Habicht, in accordance with Finkielsztejn's dating of periods Ib to V to 270-108 BC (a period of 163 years), 159 eponyms (for certain) and four eponyms (not absolutely for certain), making 163 in total, belonged in these groups. In his analysis of inscriptions, he discovered six or eight names of eponyms from the period, which were not known from amphora stamps. In the light of these new finds, the author allowed for the eventuality that the timeframe for this period should perhaps start several years before 270 BC. He stressed the fact, however, that his suggestion was only a tentative one and that further research was needed to verify it (Habicht 2003, 269-570).

In his article from 2004, Finkielsztejn commented further on his modification of Rhodian stamp chronology in the light of the work of other researchers. He noted that it should be verified and added to through the examination of other archaeological contexts which offered the possibility of certain dating. He also referred to the latest research conducted by Lawall at the Pergamon Deposit, which had confirmed his theory. He then made mention of the research of Badoud at the Koroni camp, the results from which also agreed with the author's proposals. In addition, he stressed the importance of the work of Lund at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, where ten stamps with the names of eponyms had been discovered, for the establishment of a full list of Rhodian official names. He further noted that the analysis of round stamps with the head of Helios conducted by Palaczyk illustrated a disparity with his modified chronology which he felt was unjustified. However, he did add that these stamps came from period IV, a time which still remained problematic. The research of Habicht into dated inscriptions bearing the names of Rhodian eponyms was also mentioned. At times there were slight discrepancies, but Finkielsztejn believed that this could be put down to more than one eponym being in office in a particular year. This topic was linked to the issue of homonyms. He also suggested that more time should be devoted to considering this area and that it should be treated with great caution. He also highlighted the need for further research into the establishment

of the cycle bearing the month *panamos deuterios* and on the connected eponyms, fabricants and secondary stamps, although he did not refer to above mentioned Lungu's work on this issue. Finkielsztejn then went on to signal which direction further research should take. Above all, he considered it necessary to take a more detailed look at the still poorly known chronology of periods I, VI and VII. He also believed that researchers should concentrate on work which would lead to a better understanding of the organisation of production and the stamping system of Rhodian amphorae. This information would allow questions to be answered connected with controls on the production of this pottery. Finkielsztejn also stressed the great worth of the analysis of the capacity of amphorae from this area conducted by Lawall and called for it to be continued and studied in greater depth. The author also believed it was absolutely essential to carry out excavations on the island of Rhodes itself, where there were no doubt many more ceramic workshops as yet undiscovered. The publication of stamps was also imperative in his view. Since the sheer volume of Rhodian stamps discovered was too vast to be published in a traditional catalogue, Finkielsztejn (2004) signalled the need to create an Internet database for them.

In 2005 a publication appeared of the stamped amphora handles discovered in the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos and prepared by I. Nicolaou. To date the Rhodian stamps, she first of all took the chronology worked out by V. Grace. In many instances, however, her findings contradicted this work. This precisely concerned the dating of some eponyms from the end of period III, as well as periods IV and V. After comparing her findings with Finkielsztejn's modified chronology, however, the author noted that her independent analysis often came up with the same results. Nicolaou (2005, 13-14) thus acknowledged that this modified chronology fitted her conclusions for the majority of the material she worked on.

V. I. Katz (2002) carried out research on earlier Rhodian stamps from period Ia. This period was dated by Grace and Empereur to 300-280 BC, but by Finkielsztejn to 300-269 BC. In his article, Katz proposed alterations to the time period. He claimed that Rhodian stamps only started to appear halfway through the 280s BC. In his view, in the first few years of amphora stamping, it was only done for the matrices of period I fabricants. He believed that the stamps of officials only started to appear around 280 BC. Until halfway through the 260s BC, he opined that control of production was in the hands of the officials belonging to his subgroup A1 (see Katz 2002, 156, Tab. 1). Badoud (2007, 206-207) agreed with none of these suggestions and pointed out that only several eponyms were known

from period Ia and that these could already be found on the preliminary list of period Ia eponyms published by Finkielsztein (2002, 55).

The question of dating Rhodian stamps was also taken up in an article published by Jöhrens in 2005. He stated that he believed the modified chronology of Finkielsztein to be correct, although it needed some minor alterations. The author provided more information concerning period I, which had not been closely examined by Finkielsztein due to the lack of material from the time on the sites which he used to form the basis of his Rhodian stamp dating. Jöhrens obtained this new information on period I stamps from excavations at the Heraion of Samos and Tanais. Thanks to the analysis of the material discovered there he was able to add more details to the list of eponyms holding office in the years around 304-235 BC (Jöhrens 2005).

The corrected chronology of Rhodian stamps of G. Finkielsztein, later modified and supplemented by the other researchers presented in the article, is gaining ever wider support amongst them thanks to the recent findings which they have made. Nevertheless, it still needs to be more precise and detailed. It has influence not only on the dating of Rhodian amphora stamps, but also on the dating of other objects and deposits from many other areas of archaeological study. Furthermore, it is useful in verifying data from sites which have already been examined, as well as allowing more in-depth information to be gathered from new discoveries.

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ANCIENT BARROWS  
IN THE NORTH-PONTIC AREA:  
ORIGIN – EVOLUTION – DECLINE

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**Origin**

A characteristic feature of the necropoleis of ancient cities on the northern Black Sea coast was the relatively large number of earthen mounds – barrows or tumuli (Russian: kurgans) (Machowski 2005; Machowski 2009). There are many different opinions concerning their genesis and when they first appeared. We know of various attempts to explain these issues. Many researchers, such as V. F. Gaidukevich (1971, 258), have connected barrows with local traditions. A similar view is expressed by G. A. Tsvetaeva (1957, 227-228), who links the appearance of kurgans in the Archaic period with Scythian customs. S. D. Kryzhitskii (1993, 75), who notes the lack of ancient barrows on the Black Sea northern coast and – at the same time – their widespread occurrence in Scythian territories, also recognizes Scythian traditions as the most probable source of the origin of barrows in North-Pontic Greek necropoleis. According to these opinions, the custom of erecting kurgans on the necropoleis of North-Pontic ancient cities could have derived from the tradition of local tribes whose members were buried there as well. The process of merging the barbaric and Hellenic cultures supposedly led the Greeks to adopt the custom and to follow this burial rite starting from the turn of the 5th century BC to the 4th. This hypothesis is based mainly on the assumption that Greek tumuli burials did not appear earlier than this time and that all previous burials of the kind were performed by local Scythian tribes.

Gaidukevich, Tsvetaeva and Kryzhitskii proceed from the assumption that Greek culture was influenced by 'barbaric' cultures. Indeed, barrows are a very common form of burial in Scythia, as well as in Thracia (Tsetskhladze 1998). Graves under barrows are also typical of the Scythians who occupied the region between the Boh and Dnieper rivers. Herodotus (4.71-72) described huge mounds from these territories as coming from the burials of Scythian rulers.

However, the Scythians appeared in the North-Pontic area no earlier than around the mid-7th century BC (Ilinskaia and Terenozhkin 1983, 89; Romanchuk 2004, 375). The late 6th and early 5th centuries BC was a period when North-Pontic Scythia became solidified around two centres: one on the lower Dnieper and the second on the Crimean steppes (Olkhovsky 1995, 65). Also in this period, close relations developed between Scythian tribes and Greek settlers on the Black Sea northern coast (Marchenko and Vinogradov 1989, 806-807).

The number of Scythian kurgan burials we know about varies for individual periods. Unfortunately, many of them are not precisely dated, which makes the analysis of these mounds difficult. To the period between the late 7th century and the early 5th century BC one can date only slightly over 50 barrows (Ilinskaia and Terenozhkin 1983, 88-118; Romanchuk 2004, 375). They are much more numerous in the following centuries. Meliukova (1989, 54) dates over 2500 kurgans to the 4th century BC. Chernenko (1994, 45) mentions more than 3000 kurgans discovered in the North-Pontic zone, most of which he dates to the 4th century BC or earlier.

Thus, Scythian kurgan graves were still relatively sparse in the North-Pontic zone in the Archaic period. This may probably stem from the fact that Scythian tribes occupied mainly the north Caucasus at that time. Indeed, the majority of Scythian burials dated to the Archaic period come from this region (Ilinskaia and Terenozhkin 1983, 51-72, 107-110; Murzin 1996, 51-52). We know of only a relatively small number of kurgans from the Archaic period that were connected to the burials of Scythian rulers. They come mostly from the Kuban region (e.g. Kostromskoi, Ulski or Kelermess Kurgans) (Murzin 1984, 104; Petrenko 1995; Murzin 1996, 51).

In the 5th century BC, the number of Scythian kurgan burials increased and, as mentioned above, it reached its zenith in the 4th century (Meliukova 1995, 36). In this period the most splendid examples of Scythian kurgans were erected, covering the graves of Scythian rulers (Murzin 1996, 57). Here we can mention kurgans such as Solokha, Tolstaia Mogila, Bolshaia Tsimbalka, Chertomyk, Oguz, Kozel, Gaimanova Mogila, Krasnokutskii

and Oleksandropil'skii. The chronology of Scythian barrows, particularly those of Scythian rulers, relies mainly on the Greek imports they yielded (Gavriluk 2007).

Royal Scythian kurgan burials, the first being those from the 4th century BC, are located on the Lower Dnieper, in the Don and Azov Sea area and in the Crimea (Olkhovsky 1995). The Lower Dnieper region was described by Herodotus (4.71) as a place settled by the Royal Scythians – the greatest and most prestigious group of the Scythian hierarchy. Proceeding from this data, we can of course assume a 'barbarian' influence on the Greek burial rite. However, Scythian kurgan burials differ considerably from their counterparts on the necropoleis of Greek cities, both in respect of their size and the type of tombs and graves they covered (Tsetsckhladze 1998, 56-66).

Still, burial mounds on the necropoleis of ancient cities on the Black Sea northern coast can be explained first of all by Greek tradition. On the Berezan, and also on some Bosporan necropoleis, barrows are known already from the Archaic period. In Greece and Asia Minor the tumuli not only occurred in the 2nd millennium BC, but they were also constructed there during the Proto-geometric, Geometric and – finally – Archaic periods (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 38, 56, 79-81). It seems obvious that the first colonists would carry with them the custom of commemorating their dead with burials under earthen mounds.

As is commonly known, tumuli were already widespread in the Greek world from the Bronze Age (Pelon 1976; Müller 1989; Machowski 2007a). They were also constructed during the Iron Age (Machowski 2007b). A huge necropolis in Vergina with its numerous tumuli is dated to between the 10th and 8th centuries BC (Andronikos 1964, 5). Numerous earthen mounds were erected over graves on Greek necropoleis in the Archaic period, too. On the Kerameikos in Athens, such barrows were most popular in the late 7th century BC, although the largest one was constructed in the mid-6th century BC (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 142, 166-169). Burials covered with earthen mounds were known and used in the Classical period as well (Morris 1998, 31).

Greek tumuli burials were also widespread on the western coast of Asia Minor, among other places in the Miletus region (Greaves 2010, 197-199). Therefore, it seems obvious that Greek colonists arriving in the northern Pontic area must have been acquainted with the tradition of erecting burial mounds. That is why the reasons for the genesis of barrows on the necropoleis of ancient cities on the Black Sea northern coast should

be sought in the merging of indigenous Greek traditions with the burial rites of the local population.

In conclusion, the genesis of barrows on the North-Pontic necropoleis of the Archaic period cannot be attributed to one ethnic group. Barrows had already existed in this area from the Neolithic period, burial mounds had been erected by the Scythians for their chieftains from the moment they arrived in the mid-7th century BC and the Greeks had buried their heroes under earthen barrows from the earliest times, too.

Considering the above deliberations, it is virtually impossible to trace and explain the trends of development and potential borrowings from other cultures for barrows. The use of tumuli had been widespread in the Mediterranean as well as in the Black Sea basin from the Neolithic period. Today, we can only focus on the issue of ethnic attribution of the deceased buried under particular barrows. This distinction is relatively easy in the Archaic period. Later, when Greek burial rites merged with those of 'barbarian' citizens, it becomes practically impossible.

One of the biggest controversies about barrows concerns the time when they appeared on particular necropoleis. It should be strongly emphasized that the vast majority of barrows had already been robbed in antiquity. This fact significantly hinders attempts to establish the chronology of graves, which have been preserved until today and of the barrows which cover them.

One should probably regard graves from the Berezan necropolis as the earliest examples (it should be noted, however, that there is no absolute certainty that there were graves under the burial mounds), dating to the 7th century BC on the basis of the pottery they yielded (OAK 1910, 112, 114-115; Vinogradov 1994, 21). In this case, it seems more likely that Greek colonists brought with them the tradition of burying the deceased under burial mounds. The rite of burial is not a custom, which changes rapidly, from day to day. It takes years for a new form of burial or grave to develop. In the case of the Berezan necropolis, barrows were probably erected from the very beginning of colonization. Moreover, they were built over cremation burials, typical of the Greeks, and laid to rest according to their 'Homeric' tradition. Besides, the character of contact between the Greeks and local people in the period of the 7th and 6th centuries BC more closely resembled 'commercial transactions' than cultural exchange. The latter appeared later, and can be noticed in burials from the Classical, and especially the Hellenistic periods.

These relatively early barrows from the Berezan necropolis are followed by a long gap of about 100 years, separating them from the earliest barrows on the necropoleis of other ancient cities. This gives rise to a question. Did the Greeks from North-Pontic cities initially use only flat burials, as has been suggested for the Olbia necropolis (Skudnova 1988, 7), or were the earliest barrows destroyed before the first excavations started there?

Archaic tumuli on the Kerameikos necropolis, as well as similarly dated barrows from Berezan, were rather low. They were raised only a few meters above the ground surface at the time. Therefore, it should be assumed that if barrows had been erected in the Archaic period on other North-Pontic necropoleis, they would have been low, too. Thus, they could very easily have been washed away or 'flattened' over the centuries, especially on the 'intensively used' necropoleis. The settlement was rather sparse on Berezan in later periods, which made it easier to remember and care about the ancestors' graves, unlike on the huge necropolis of Pantikapaion – the capital of the Bosphoran Kingdom (Machowski 2001; Tolstikov 2003; Tolstikov 2004).

The first graves on the necropolis of Pantikapaion appeared in the late 7th century BC, but the first known barrows were erected some 100 years later, at the beginning of the first half of the 5th century BC (Tsvetaeva 1951, 66; Tsvetaeva 1957, 232). The oldest of the investigated kurgans is dated to this period. It is situated on the slope of Mithridates Mountain and was excavated by A. Bobrinskii in 1891 (*OAK* 1891, 26-28). In the barrow's centre, a place of cremation was discovered at bedrock level, with an urn containing the ashes of the deceased. Around the urn (a red-figure hydria with a representation of Hermes) burned bronze and iron objects were deposited. Bobrinskii dated the burial to the mid-5th century BC (*OAK* 1891, 28). This dating was made more precise by V. D. Blavatskii (1946, 168-169), who demonstrated that the red-figure hydria came from the second quarter of the 5th century BC, around the year 470 BC.

The considerable chronological gap between the first graves and the first barrows on the Pantikapaion necropolis can be explained in two ways. It should perhaps be attributed to the fact that Pantikapaion was initially a small trading post. Barrows for outstanding citizens, according to the Greek tradition of commemorating dead heroes, started to be erected only later, when a city developed there with its characteristic social stratification, the need for defence and – as a consequence – the possibility to demonstrate skills in combat and to render services to local community. On the other hand, we should not exclude the possibility that barrows were

erected on the Pantikapaion necropolis from its very beginning, as was probably the case in Berezan. Due to their small size, however, they were washed away and therefore the mounds were not visible when excavations started on the Pantikapaion necropolis in the early 19th century.

A number of barrows from the necropolis of Nymphaion are also dated to the 5th century BC (Grach 1999). These cover inhumations and cremations deposited in large stone cist graves or in simple pit graves. Among the earliest barrows on the Nymphaion necropolis one can include, among others, the barrows destroyed and robbed by Franz Biller in 1868 (Lutsenko 1870, 54-55; Chernenko 1970, 198) and several barrows investigated by Lutsenko in 1867 (*OAK* 1867, XVI) and 1876 (*OAK* 1876, XIII-XX; Silanteva 1959, 97, 99, 105-107). Here one should also take into account some of the barrows examined by Verebriusov in 1878-1879 (*OAK* 1878-1879; Silanteva 1959, 97, 99, 106-107), as well as one of the barrows investigated in 1978 (Grach 1999, 175-176). Numerous barrows from Nymphaion are dated to the transition period between the 5th and 4th centuries BC (*OAK* 1867, XVI; *OAK* 1876, X-XII; *OAK* 1878-1879; Silanteva 1959, 97-100, 103).

Despite the fact that the Greek colony in Nymphaion was already established in the first half of the 6th century BC (Shurgaia 1984, 63; Sokolova 2003, 765-767; Sokolova 2004, 94), we do not know of any barrows dated to that period. They appeared in the period when the city became the main centre for Athenians in the eastern Crimea. Are these two facts related? Perhaps yes. On the other hand, the 5th century is the period when barrows appear on the majority of Bosporan Kingdom necropoleis, even in those cities where the Athenians were not so strong.

In the Asiatic part of the Bosporan Kingdom, the 5th century BC burials under earthen mounds often involved the deceased being deposited in cist graves whose walls were built of stone slabs or terracotta tiles. This was the case with the barrows from the necropolis of Phanagoria, erected on the shore of Taman Bay near Stanitsa ('small village') Sennaia. These graves yielded characteristic, famous figural vases (*OAK* 1869, V-VI; Gerc 1898, 66-67; Rostovtsev 1925, 269).

On the necropolis of Hermonassa no barrows have been found dated earlier than the 4th century BC, although Rostovtsev claimed that some of the magnificent vessels from the 6th century BC discovered in the Taman region could have originated from the robbed barrows of the Archaic period (Rostovtsev 1925, 287).

The earliest excavated barrows in the Olbia necropolis come from as late as the second half of the 4th century BC (Vinogradov and Kryzhitskii 1995, 124). Thus far, we have no examples of burial mounds dated to the Archaic period (Skudnova 1988, 5). As a result, the conviction that barrows first appeared in Olbia only in the second half of the 4th century BC became deeply rooted in the literature of the subject (Kozub 1987, 29; Rusiaeva 2000, 106). However, recent years have seen several works whose authors are critical of this viewpoint. In their opinion, the fact that no Archaic period barrows were found in Olbia does not necessarily mean that such barrows did not exist (Lipavskii 1990; Lipavskii 1991; Papanova 2006, 163-164).

Examples from nearby Greek necropoleis indicate that barrows were erected there from the 6th century BC, or even from as early as the late 7th century BC. First of all, one should mention here the barrows from Berezan. In addition, the barrows on the so-called 'Devil's range', some 2.5km north of the present-day village of Parutino (situated partially within the range of ancient Olbia), are dated to the first quarter of the 5th century BC, which is still within the Archaic period (Lipavskii and Snytko 1990b, 4). Therefore, it seems justified to suggest that the custom of depositing the deceased under small earthen mounds also functioned on the Olbia necropolis (Machowski 2000, 272-274). It is even more the case because – as has been mentioned above – the known barrows of the Archaic period from the northern coast of the Black Sea were not large. Most likely, the small mounds of Archaic barrows from Olbia have not been preserved until today because they were destroyed or covered with later, larger mounds.

Proceeding from analogies to nearby ethnically Greek necropoleis, we can only assume that the first barrows were erected on the Olbia necropolis in the 5th century BC or perhaps even in the second half of the 6th century BC. However, we have no direct proof for this assumption. Perhaps further investigations will produce evidence allowing us either to accept or reject it. So far, one of the oldest mounds on the necropolis of Olbia is a barrow excavated by Farmakovskii in 1906, erected over a chamber grave. Kozub (1974, 146) dates it to the mid-4th century BC, although its discoverer dated it to the transitional period between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (OAK 1906, 47).

## Evolution

The 4th century and the first half of the 3rd century BC was the first period of considerable political and economic development for the inhabitants of Bosporan cities (Gaidukevich 1971, 97-110). This resulted in, among other things, the building of new barrows on their necropoleis. Despite the domination of Greek burial rites, barbarian features started to appear as well, which may reflect the growing ethnic differentiation of the deceased buried under these barrows. Contrary to the earlier period, barrows – sometimes very large – were erected over carefully made stone chamber tombs. In the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BC, most popular among stone tombs were chambers with ledged (‘stepped’) vaults (Kaufman 1947; Savostina 1986). The largest and most complex were the tombs under Zolotoi (‘Golden’) Kurgan (*DBK* vol. I, LII, CXX-CXXVI; Dubrux 1858, 28-33, Gaidukevich 1981, 23-25), Tsarskii (‘Royal’) Kurgan (Ashik 1848, 28; *OAK* 1865, IX; Gaidukevich 1981, 33-40) and Melek-Chesmenskii Kurgan (*OAK* 1859, 21-25; *OAK* 1862, III-IV) on the necropolis of Pantikapaion – all of them dated to the 4th century BC (Tsvetaeva 1957, 233; Gaidukevich 1971, 272-273).

The monumental chamber tombs with ledged vaults discovered under kurgans in the Juz-Oba range also come from the 4th century BC, the heyday of the Bosporan Kingdom (Grinevich 1952; Gaidukevich 1971, 274; Fedoseev 2007, 1001-1002). They include, among others, kurgan no. 5 with tomb no. 48 (*OAK* 1860, IV; *OAK* 1861, VI; Rostovtsev 1913, 105; Blavatskii 1964, 79; Fedoseev 2007, 996-997) and the tomb under the so-called ‘Kurgan on the land (Hutor)’ of Mirza Kekuvatskii (*DBK* vol. I, LXVIII-LXIX; Gaidukevich 1971, 277; Fedoseev 2007, 991-992). Apart from tombs with ledged vaults, the 4th-century kurgans from the Juz-Oba range covered chamber tombs with flat roofs, such as Pavlovski Kurgan (MacPhersen 1857; *OAK* 1859, 10, 29-30; Rostovtsev 1913, 107; Fedoseev 2007, 1000-1001) and – appearing for the first time – chamber tombs covered with barrel vaults. Examples of the latter can be found in kurgan no. 6 covering tomb no. 47 (*OAK* 1860, III-IV; *OAK* 1861; Fedoseev 2007, 997-998), dated to the second half of the 4th century BC (Rostovtsev 1913, 103-104), and in tombs under two of the so-called Zmeinyi (‘Serpent’) Kurgans (Ashik 1848, 42; *DBK* vol. I, LXX; *OAK* 1882-1888, part 1882/83, XXXII; *OAK* 1882-1888, part 1885, 83; *OAK* 1889, XI-XIII; Rostovtsev 1913, 26, 106-107; Grinevich 1952, 139-140; Fedoseev 2007, 992-995).

On the northeastern necropolis of Pantikapaion, kurgans dating

to the 4th-3rd centuries BC were discovered in the village of Glinishche, near the Adzhimushkai quarry and by the road leading to the village of Bulganak. The kurgan excavated in Glazovka village (OAK 1882-1888, part 1882, V-VII), erected over one of the earliest tombs with a ledged vault (Gaidukevich 1971, 277), is dated to the 4th century BC.

The 4th-century BC tombs discovered under mounds on the western necropolis of Pantikapaion are also of great interest. Apart from the graves under Zolotoi Kurgan, the tombs under the Kul-Oba Kurgan (*DBK* vol. I, XVII-XXVII; *DBK* vol. II, 142-143; Ashik 1848, 31; Fedoseev 2007, 979-991) and the Patiniotti Kurgan (Ashik 1848, 39-40) are the most important, both covering the remains of Hellenized representatives of the local, barbarian aristocracy. Traditional Greek tombs from the 4th century BC were discovered, among other places, under the kurgan in Public Park (Ashik 1848, 43; Gaidukevich 1981, 48) and in one of the kurgans opposite the park (OAK 1862, VIII-IX; Rostovtsev 1925, 197). Three kurgans located to the northwest of the so-called 'Pyramid Hill' are dated to the 3rd century BC (Tsvetaeva 1957, 237).

A significant number of burials dated to the 4th century BC are also known from the kurgan necropolis of Nymphaion. They include, among others, burials under kurgans investigated by Lutsenko in 1876 (OAK 1876, X-XI, XIII, XVI, XIX-XX; Silanteva 1959, 98-100, 103) or under the kurgan excavated in 1978 (Grach 1999, 178). The kurgan examined in 1996 is slightly younger, being dated to the 3rd century BC (Solovev 2002, 103). From the 4th and 3rd centuries BC come kurgans investigated on the Tiritaka necropolis (Marti 1940, 128; Gaidukevich 1981, 45-47), while those on the necropolis of Myrmekion are dated to the 4th century BC (Gaidukevich 1981, 52-54).

Analyzing the sites on the opposite side of the Kerch Strait one can notice that the kurgan necropolis of Hermonassa, like its counterpart in Pantikapaion, achieved its heyday in the 4th century BC (Finogenova 2003, 1026). The largest number of kurgan mounds we know come from that period. Among these one can count the kurgans investigated by Ia. L. Parokia in 1817 and 1818 (Latyshev 1889, 148; Tunkina 1993, 13-14; Tunkina 2002, 572-575). The kurgan located west of Taman, excavated by V. G. Tyzenhauzen in 1868 (OAK 1868, X-XII), is also dated to the second half of the 4th century because of the equipment and the style of a wooden sarcophagus it yielded (Rostovtsev 1913, 36; Sokolskii 1969, 23).

All the above-listed kurgans were erected over remains deposited in stone cist graves. The most famous kurgans on the Hermonassa necropolis are dated to the transitional period between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC. This applies to Zelenskii Kurgan, which covers a monumental stone chamber grave (Shkorpil 1916, 22-33; Sokolov 1919, 53) and to one of the kurgans near the so-called 'Lysaia Gora', also erected over such a grave (OAK 1869, IX; Sokolov 1919, 52). A stone cist grave with a wooden sarcophagus (Sokolskii 1969, 42), discovered under another kurgan situated west of Taman (OAK 1882-1888, part 1885, LXXXV-LXXXVI), also comes from the same period.

On the necropolis of Phanagoria, the 4th-3rd centuries BC are represented by kurgans built over stone chamber tombs with corbelled or barrel vaults. However, most of them were destroyed and robbed, probably already in antiquity. A particularly rich inventory was discovered in burials under the so-called Bolshaia Bliznitsa Kurgan dated to the 4th century BC (OAK 1864, VI; OAK 1865, 9; OAK 1865, IV-V; OAK 1868, VI; OAK 1882-1888, XXXVIII-XXXIX; Minns 1913, 423-429). One of the kurgans excavated by A. Ashik near Sennaia Stanitsa is dated to the transitional period between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC on the basis of a wooden sarcophagus discovered in its central burial (Ashik 1848, 19-21; Gerc 1898, 24; Sokolskii 1969, 42). The same dating applies to the robbed stone chamber tomb with barrel vault under the kurgan investigated by general Van der Weide in the late 18th century (most likely in early 1790's) (Rostovtsev 1913, 112; Rostovtsev 1925, 270; Tunkina 1993, 9-11; Tunkina 2002, 563).

Most kurgan burials on the necropolis of Phanagoria, however, fall between the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Rostovtsev 1925, 265). The tomb discovered under the so-called Malaia Bliznitsa Kurgan (OAK 1882-1888, part 1882; Sokolov 1919, 56-57) is dated to the 3rd century BC, although it was probably not the one for which the mound was built. Two kurgans on Vasiurin Mountain are undoubtedly from the 3rd century BC, and they contain stone chamber graves covered with barrel vaults (OAK 1868, XIII-XV; Gaidukevich 1971, 300-301).

The Kepoi kurgan necropolis was also thriving during the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Usacheva and Sorokina 1984, 85). A kurgan near Pivniev Hutor (OAK 1870-1871, XV) most likely comes from the 4th century BC, which is confirmed by the discovered fragments of a sarcophagus (Sokolskii 1969, 42).

The majority of the excavated kurgans on the necropolis of Gorgippia, especially those covering stone chamber tombs with corbelled vaults

(Rostovtsev 1925, 297) are dated to the 4th-3rd centuries BC. One of the earliest was probably the kurgan on Sultan Mountain (OAK 1882-1888, part 1883-1884, XXVIII), dated (on the basis of the discovered remnants of a sarcophagus) to the second half of the 4th century BC (Sokolskii 1969, 42). Burials from the 4th/3rd century BC were also discovered in the kurgan at Dzhemte village, although they were deposited in pit graves covered with stone slabs (Kruglikova 1977, 68). From the 3rd century BC comes a kurgan near Anapa, investigated by N. I. Veselovskii in 1908 (OAK 1908, 119). It was built over a stone chamber tomb covered with a barrel vault, with a painted decoration imitating a heroon (Kruglikova 1977, 69). An analogically constructed tomb studied by Tyzenhauzen in the kurgan near Vitazevskaia Stanitsa (OAK 1882-1888, part 1882, XIX-XXII) held the remains of a female in a wooden sarcophagus decorated with gilt terracotta figurines of nereids and warriors. The whole complex is dated to the 3rd century BC (Kruglikova 1977, 68). Three Tarasovski kurgans holding stone chamber tombs covered with corbelled vaults (Rostovtsev 1913, 109-111) are also dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC.

In the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the custom of building kurgans became much more popular than before on the Olbia necropolis. The vast majority of burial mounds come from that period (Kozub 1984, 162). They mainly covered built stone chamber tombs and cist graves with gable roofs. Chamber tombs cut into the bedrock are also dated to that period. Three Olbian barrows are dated to the second half of the 4th century BC. These are kurgans investigated by Farmakovskii in 1911 (OAK 1911, 21-24) and 1913 (OAK 1913, 43-48; Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 172-173), and the kurgan investigated in 1982 by Papanova (1985, 78-85). Another two mounds examined by Farmakovskii are dated to the late 4th century BC: a kurgan from 1904 (OAK 1904, 34-41) and a kurgan from the 1907-1908 excavations (OAK 1907, 59-66; OAK 1908, 81; Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 173, 175). The mound excavated by Farmakovskii in 1905 (Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 189) most probably comes from the 3rd century BC.

## **Decline**

In the late Hellenistic period (2nd-1st centuries BC) one can notice a rapid decrease in the affluence of Bosporian cities, which in turn is reflected in their necropoleis. Only a small number of kurgans are known from the 2nd-1st centuries BC. It is most likely that during this period only the already existing mounds were used and that new ones were built

sporadically. The previous grave types were still used, although in this period tombs cut in rock with painted walls appeared. One of the kurgans dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC is a mound over the so-called 'Vault of Pygmies' on the necropolis of Pantikapaion (Ashik 1848, 51-52).

In Gorgippia, remains from that period were found deposited in stone chamber tombs under the kurgan situated to the southwest of Anapa (Kruglikova 1977, 69). The monumental Artiukhovskii kurgan on the Kepoi necropolis is also dated to the 2nd century BC (OAK 1878-1879, XII, XLIV; OAK 1880, XI; Maksimova 1979).

In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC kurgans ceased to be built on the Olbia necropolis, which was undoubtedly caused by the economic and political crisis of this Greek colony. The settlements in Olbia's *chora* disappeared, and the city itself shrank. The deceased started to be buried closer to the city walls (Kryzhytskyy *et al.* 2003, 409-410).

In the 1st-2nd centuries AD, in spite of another period of political-economic prosperity in the Bosporan Kingdom, the number of new kurgans still continues to decrease. The newly constructed kurgans were small, reaching only about 3m in height. The already existing mounds and tombs were used more and more often. As examples one can mention a burial in the Kurgan 'on Feldstein's land' investigated in 1900 (Rostovtsev 1913, 461-463) or burials from Lion's Kurgan (OAK 1894, 5-7; OAK 1895, 20), both located on the Pantikapaion necropolis. In this latter mound, more than 20 burials dated to the 1st-2nd centuries AD were discovered (Tsvetaeva 1957, 244).

A significant part of burials dating to that period followed the Sarmatian rite. They include the remains of a man discovered in a stone cist grave under one of the so-called 'Kurgans near the Sugar Factory of Duke Herheulidzev', examined by Ashik in 1841 (Ashik 1848, 49-51). In this tomb, bronze, silver and gold elements from a horse harness were discovered in a special compartment (Rostovtsev 1925, 241-242).

The above-described kurgans of Phanagoria also yielded later, Roman remains – clear evidence of the secondary use of the mounds. Erecting new kurgans was particularly rare during the Roman period. The already existing mounds or flat-grave necropoleis (without barrows) were used more frequently. An example of a kurgan burial dated to the 2nd century AD is a grave under the kurgan investigated by A. E. Lutsenko in 1853, with typical Roman-period equipment (Rostovtsev 1925, 271-272).

From the Nymphaion necropolis we know two barrows dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD. These are kurgans nos 27 and 33, excavated by Lutsenko in 1876 (*OAK* 1876, XVI, XX; Silanteva 1959, 100, 104). The first one covered a stone chamber grave built at bedrock level, while the second one was constructed over a simple pit grave.

Kurgans reappear on the Olbia necropolis again in the 2nd century AD, during another period of economic prosperity of the city (Kryzhytskyy *et al.* 2003, 412-413). In Olbia, kurgans (and the stone chamber tombs they covered) from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD undoubtedly mark the highest point in the development of kurgan tombs and the technique of their construction. Particularly impressive are tombs under two mounds: the so-called Kurgan of Zeus (*OAK* 1902, 14-25; *OAK* 1903, 2-20; Farmakovskii 1906, 7-110) and the Kurgan of Heuresibios and Arete (Farmakovskii 1902, 1-20). The reduction of city size in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, especially in its northern part, led to kurgans being erected on the territory of the earlier, Hellenistic city, within the city walls. Apart from the two mounds mentioned above, this also applies to kurgans from the northeastern part of the city, on the slope descending towards the lower city of Olbia. One of them had a stone krepidoma, as is indicated in the 19th-century plans of Olbia (Karasev 1956, 9-17; Papanova 2006, 158-159). However, these kurgans, as well as the mounds from the village of Parutino, have not been preserved to the present day.

A number of the burials discovered under kurgans on the Tanais necropolis come from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. They include, among others, the burials in kurgans investigated by I. S. Kamenetskii in 1956 (Shelov 1961, 29-30), 1958 (Kazakova and Kamenetskii 1970, 81), and in kurgan no. 10 investigated in 1968 (Kazakova and Kamenetskii 1970, 82-86). Burials in kurgans nos 5-6, 8 and 11, investigated in 1968 (Kazakova and Kamenetskii 1970, 82-86), and kurgan no. 14 investigated in 1969 (Arseneva 1974, 156) are dated to the transitional period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

The 3rd and 4th centuries AD marked a period of the advancing barbarisation of burials. A burial rite with Sarmatian elements became predominant, which was reflected by the equipping of graves with weaponry, torques and horse harnesses. However, the Sarmatian rite did not supplant the Greek one – we can rather call it the ‘Sarmatization’ of the Greek burial rite (Tsvetaeva 1957, 249).

In the Crimea and on the Taman peninsula kurgans were only sporadically built. The existing mounds were used much more often. The earlier stone chamber graves were also re-used for burials.

Among the kurgan burials from that period which one should mention are the so-called burials of the Rhescuporides, discovered by Ashik on the northern necropolis of Pantikapaion (Ashik 1848, 47-48) and dated to the 3rd century AD (Rostovtsev 1925, 245-247).

On the necropolis in Tanais, burials dated to the 3rd century AD were found under kurgan no. 7, investigated in 1968 (Kazakova and Kamenetskii 1970, 83), and kurgan no. 9, investigated in 1968-1969 (Arseneva 1974, 153-154). A burial dated to the 4th century AD was found under kurgan no. 13, investigated in 1969 (Arseneva 1974, 154-155).

On the Olbia necropolis, kurgans ceased to be constructed in the mid 3rd century AD, when the city started to fall into decline. The destruction was completed by nomadic tribes, who captured and devastated the city in the second half of the 3rd century AD (Kryzhytskyy *et al.* 2003, 413-414). Most probably, Olbia continued to exist, but the inhabitants could no longer afford to build such splendid (and as a consequence, expensive) grave forms as kurgans.

The discussion presented above allows us to form some conclusions concerning the development of kurgans on the necropoleis of ancient cities in the North-Pontic zone. They started to be built at the very beginning of Greek colonization in the area. The most intensive development falls within the 4th-3rd centuries BC, when the largest number of kurgans and most impressive examples of chamber tombs were constructed. After the 2nd-1st centuries BC – a period when kurgans were not built – the custom was revived in the 1st-2nd centuries AD. Kurgans ceased to be erected on individual necropoleis during the 3rd-4th centuries AD. Undoubtedly, this was a result of the collapse of Greek colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea under the pressure of barbarian tribes.

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THE PURPOSE OF THE IMPORTATION  
OF ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES  
INTO ETRURIA

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The reason for the importation of an enormous number of Greek vases into Tyrrhenian Etruria and the Po Valley remains in the sphere of more or less probable supposition. The reason for their importation is based on their archaeological context. The aim of this paper is to introduce and verify theories connected with the title subject.

H. B. Walters (1905, 70-71), the famous researcher of ceramics who lived in the early 20th century, wrote that the number of Greek vases from Italy was sufficient to cover the whole history of Greek vase painting. Several years after the publication of Walters' works, Sir J. D. Beazley claimed that the most important source of Attic vases was Vulci, followed by Tarquinia, Caere, Orvieto and Clusium (Cook 1960, 325; Beard and Robertson 1995, 1; Spivey 1995, 132; Spivey 1999, 15). The antiquities from ancient Greece discovered in Etruria undoubtedly provide information about the techniques and the style of many Attic workshops and they enable us to identify their chronology.

The oldest vases found in Etruria come from the 8th century BC. In the next century Etruscans imported vases from Corinth and Asia Minor. Although these vases fulfilled local needs to a great extent, the Etruscan workshops made imitations, which are called Etruscan-Corinthian ceramics. At the beginning of the 6th century BC Attic black-figured vases started to flood into Etruria. In c. 550 BC their number was the same as the number of competing ceramics from Corinth and in the late 6th century they

dominated the Etruscan market (Bernhard 1966, 25; Boardman 1980, 200; Scullard 1998, 181).

The first red-figured vases appeared in Athens in c. 530 BC and perhaps a little later in Etruria. In c. 500 BC the new Attic pottery was already more prevalent than black-figured vases in Italy, but over the next 30 years black- and red-figured pottery were still found together within the furnishing of tombs (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Richter 1958, 1-2; Pallottino 1968, 272; Haynes 2005, 204). This phenomenon occurred because of two reasons: firstly, black-figured pottery was still imported and used in daily life; secondly, it was still produced in Athens and sold with red-figured vases. Evidence of the second reason is that some black-figured vases date back to the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th century. In cities like Vulci or Tarquinia they still outnumbered ceramics made in the new style. It is impossible, however, to determine when the first red-figured vase came into Etruscan hands. I suppose that it can neither be affirmed on the basis of the date of the vase, nor on the basis of the date of the tombs, because the furnishing of Etruscan tombs often contained objects that came from different time periods. We can only determine the length of this process – from the moment of vase production to the time of funeral.

A lot of red-figured vases arrived in Tyrrhenian Etruria before the third quarter of the 5th century BC. However, after 457 BC, probably due to the failure of the Etruscan fleet in the battle of Cumae in 474 BC, an economic crisis occurred there. The lost battle was the cause not only of the decrease in the number of imported goods, but also of a change in architecture – buildings were constructed in a simpler style. This phenomenon, however, did not occur in the whole region. In Clusium or Orvieto, for instance, the recession was noticeable in the second half of the 5th century BC and only for a short period of time. The defeat of the Etruscan fleet by Syracuse led to the loss of control of the trade routes running alongside the coast to Southern Italy. Etruscan littoral cities drew most of their income from the route running into Greece since their economy was based on foreign trade. Clusium, a city located in Northern Etruria, had an agricultural background and furthermore it was connected economically with the Po Valley. The route running across the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Islands gained more significance after the blockage of the way across the Strait of Messina by southern Italian colonies. As a result of this, after the first half of the 5th century BC, the cities of the Po Valley took part in the importation of goods from Greece. The next decrease in the number of Attic vases took place at the end of the 5th century BC and there are various reasons for that.

One of them was the Peloponnesian War, which limited Athenian activity on the Mediterranean Sea, especially after the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. At that time, Athenian outlets in Central Italy were overtaken by the cities of Magna Graecia. Moreover, the popularity of Etruscan and Faliscan red-figured vases increased. For instance, the workshop in Faleri also sold its products in the territories of Sabinia and Umbria and the vases made in Volaterrae were not only used as the furnishing of tombs in the closest areas to the city, but were also exported to the cities of the Po Valley (Sassatelli 1995, 193-195; Torelli 2005, 203, 207).

Beazley (1959) took on a mammoth task by cataloguing and describing more than 1700 vases found in the Po Valley.<sup>1</sup> They date back to the period between the end of the 6th century and the middle of the 4th century BC. As research has shown, Attic importation to the necropoleis (especially those of Spina and Felsina) was at its highest between 480 and 375 BC. Later on, the importation decreased. Single prototypes date back to 350-325 BC and some of them were made in the Kerch style (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 27; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 5-8; Mansuelli 1966, 16, 31; Boardman 1988, 236; Sassatelli 1995, 190-195; Scullard 1998, 218).

The importation intensity was different in each of the sites. At a glance we can notice the difference between Tyrrhenian Etruria and the Po Valley. Most vases from the Archaic period can be found in the South while in the North there are only single potsherds. Initially, the cities located near the Tyrrhenian Sea, such as Tarquinia, Caere and Vulci, had the lead in trade because the harbour infrastructure was well developed there (Pallottino 1968, 100, 114-115; Maggiani 1997, 20). In Vulci, for instance, the following was found: 230 neck amphorae and 180 amphorae of other types, 130 hydriai, 120 cups, 80 oinochai, 25 kyathoi, some lekythoi, stamnoi, kantaroi, olpai, fialai and alabastroa (Werner 2005, 50). Not all of them are Attic masterpieces. Some of them come from Corinthian and Pontic workshops and some are from Chalcis – the town of the island of Euboea. The number of vases shows of how great importance the city was which acted as a distributor of goods to the sites of Central and Northern Etruria. Most vases, however, were provided by ad hoc excavations guided at the beginning of the 19th century by Luciano Bonaparte, the prince of Canino (Moretti 1983, 59; Scullard 1998, 123; Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 2005, 174). In the 7th century BC only Caere was ahead of Vulci with regard to the number of imported Corinthian vases. Most masterpieces that come from

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<sup>1</sup> There were only decorated vases but we should remember that vases of other types also exist.

the necropoleis of the city were made before the middle of the 5th century BC. In Caere, two oinochai made by Goluchow Painter were found, which can now be seen at the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. nos 142308, 142463). The pictures on them present athletes, which could indicate that they were made as a set (Bulas 1931, 18). Among the pottery discovered in Caeretan tombs, the best records of investigation results concern the vases excavated by the Lericci Foundation from the cemeteries of Monte Abbatone and Banditaccia. Many unrobbed tombs like T. 54, T. 248 or T. 610 (so-called Tomba Martini-Marescotti) were found at the time. The latter consisted of three chambers filled only with things of foreign origin, namely 27 Greek black- and red-figured vases (Lericci 1966). The third great importer of Attic vases to this area was Tarquinia. Many masterpieces come from the necropolis of Monterozzi and they were probably brought to the city thanks to the activity of the harbour in Gravisca. The dating of vases from Tarquinia is analogical to the dating of vases from Vulci and Caere mentioned above.

The cities located near the coast, like Rusellae or Vetulonia, bartered with Greek poleis for a long time. These two centres are two of the oldest sites that bought many Corinthian and early Attic vases and sometimes bought red-figured ones (Scullard 1998, 139; Haynes 2005, 197). A few examples of Proto-Corinthian pottery and many Corinthian and Attic vases (both black- and red-figured) were found in the tombs of Populonia. In this harbour, Etruscans probably bartered vases for metallic ore. Even after the middle of the 5th century importation did not decrease and foreign trade flourished on a large scale. This was an extraordinary phenomenon in Tyrrhenian Etruria. Certainly the most famous vases from that site are two hydriai of Meidias Painter, which are now the pride of the Archaeological Museum in Florence (inv. no. 81948) (Marini and Razeto 1985, 40; Scullard 1998, 144; Gilotta 2000, 194-195; Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 2005, 221).

Generally, it should be noted that the farther from the coast a site is located, the fewer imported goods are found there. Some examples are Veii, Arettium and Perugia where Attic vases are not particularly numerous. Apart from the large cities, importation is also found in the chora area. For instance, Populonia, which bought high quality products of Athenian Kerameikos during the whole of the 5th century BC, distributed vases to the nearest regions. Examples of this activity of Populonia are antiquities from Val di Chiana and from the area near Volaterrae.

As I have mentioned before, Beazley described over 1700 Attic vases that were found in Etruscan cities of Northern Italy. Among them only 15

came from Misano (under 1%), 311 came from Felsina (less than 20%) and over 1400 were discovered in Spina (over 80%, most of them were found in the necropoleis of Valle Treba and Valle Pega) (Beazley 1959, 193-195). Moreover, the Greek pottery is present in the surroundings of Modena and Reggio, in the region north of the Po River and also in Mantua, Mincio and near Lake Como. Its incidence is in fact the same as the incidence of *bucchero nero* pottery and bronzes from Tyrrhenian Etruria, but Greek ceramics are just represented by single examples in those areas. Thus, in the Po Valley it can be also noted that there was dependence between the scale of importation and the distance to the sea. When we compare *chora* of the cities of Tyrrhenian Etruria and the farming background of centres of the Po Valley we can see that Greek vases practically did not appear in the latter areas. The difference is noticeable, for instance, in Adria. In the city many fragments were found, both of black- and red-figured vases, but 15km away, on the site of San Cassiano, there are not many Greek vases (D'Aversa 1986, 32; Guzzo 2000, 13). Only the city took part in the trade. For instance, in the 6th century BC the city bartered black-figured vases delivered from Tyrrhenian Etruria for amber brought from the North.

After analysing the chronology and the scale of Greek importation one question comes to mind – why did the Etruscans buy so many Greek vases? There are two possibilities: they either bought vases because of their contents or the vases themselves were precious trade objects for these people (Bernhard 1966, 25).

The artistic level of vases found in Etruria is very different. It is possible to discover masterpieces of the most famous Athenian craftsmen, like the vases of Euphronios (as a painter): three of them came from Caere, four from Vulci and the other ones from Tarquinia, Vierbo, Arretium and Perugia (Arias 1962, 323). One of the most beautiful masterpieces is a calyx krater found in Caere and kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 187/1972.11.10) (Esposito and Guidotti 1999, 70). There are also, however, more average vases. Most of them were made by anonymous painters. Their decorations are very conventional, like scenes with ephebes or two or three people conversing, tightly covered with coats. These types of vases were discovered in the necropoleis of Valle Trebba and Valle Pega and in the cemeteries near Felsina. They were also present in Tyrrhenian Etruria. A kylix with similar decoration (inv. no. 63722), made by Sabouroff Painter and dating back to c. 460 BC, comes from Vulci (Tomba LXIbis). The scene is typical; on the external sides young men in discussion are painted while inside the kylix there are two figures – one of them is sitting and one

is covered with a coat (Riccioni and Serra Ridgway 2003, 15-16). Some imported vases could have been used as the containers for olive oil, wine or perfumes (Bulas 1933, 15-16), but they were probably of poorer quality and their decoration was not well-made (if it was even made). Moreover, they must have had closed shapes because only then it was possible to transport something inside. If they had had some contents, presumably it would have been olive oil or wine (from the Hellenistic period). There are no sources which can provide information about when the Etruscans started to produce olive oil themselves, but we know that they learned to grow olive trees from the Greeks during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (Scullard 1998, 65; Torelli 2005, 126). Etruscan wine was mentioned in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.37) and it was popular in the time of Alexander the Great. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the most famous and beautiful examples of Attic red-figured vases served only as a container for wine or olive oil – as trade amphorae. It is worth mentioning that the kylikes, kraters and vases used in symposium were the most frequently discovered pottery in Etruria. This means that only several imported vases could be used in the transportation of goods.

Signatures appear on the imported vases, but they are not numerous and they date back to the Archaic period (Richter 1958, 3). The hypothesis is that the signature development is connected with the export of vases mainly to Etruria. At that time the painter's signature meant the same as a trademark (Bernhard 1966, 23, 25). I believe that the weak point of these suppositions is that in c. 470 BC. the number of vases with signatures decreased unlike the number of vases found in Etruria, which grew. After this turning point in c. 470 BC the names of only several painters were known. One of them was Hermonax (Cook 1960, 256; Beard and Robertson 1995, 5-6). One of his ten signed vases is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Florence (inv. no. 3995). This is a stamnos which presents the story of Eos and Tithonos. Another signed stamnos was found in Orvieto (inv. no. 2413). It presents a woman and a seated man with a sceptre in his hand (Richter 1958, 108). Another stamnos of Hermonax, discovered in Vulci and without a signature (inv. no. 2413) presents the birth of Erechtheus and it is kept in the Antiker Kleinkunst Museum in Munich. This vase doesn't differ from those from Florence or Orvieto. A valuable and unsigned fragment of a lekane (inv. no. 3095) with a picture of gigantomachy and some less successful vases, for example two oinochoai with trefoil mouth from Valle Trebba (T. 377 and T. 733), come from Spina. All of them have no signature and they all were attributed to Hermonax (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 39;

Arias 1962, 358). The reverse situation is also possible – we know only lower quality vases that have signatures and the better ones do not. For instance, there is a poorly made column krater from the Athenian Acropolis (inv. no. 2.806, the National Museum in Athens) which is signed by Myson, but his excellent amphora with Cresus on a pyre from Vulci (today in Louvre, inv. no. G197) is not signed by him. It is worth mentioning that the krater from the Acropolis is the only known vase with Myson's signature and it was not used for export (Richter 1959, 16; Arias 1962, 332; Barbotin *et al.* 1993, 221). The examples of Myson and Hermonax's vases show that signatures did not determine whether vases were to be exported or not and they did not influence the attitude of Etruscans towards those vases. If the signature had raised the price of vases, why would craftsmen like Hermonax have deprived themselves of extra earnings and signed chosen vases while the others (of the same quality or better) not? This question, of course, will not be answered, but I think that it significantly undermines the theory about signature as a way to raise the price of ceramics.

The Attic workshops, which made vases that were to be exported especially to Etruria, worked very efficiently. One of these was the atelier of Codrus Painter which was in action in the second half of the 5th century BC. On Greek territory only two pieces of approximately a 100 vases from his workshop were found – one at the Athenian Acropolis and the other in Brauron – while in Etruria 22 vases were discovered (mainly in Vulci and Spina). His eponymous cup with King Codrus comes from Felsina. The other masterpieces were sold to the centres of Magna Graecia, Spain, France and to the centres of the Black Sea. Codrus Painter was the decorator of cups and the painter of stemless cups and some skyphoi. Most of them were decorated with Athenian mythological or Dionysian scenes or figures of athletes which means that the painter chose shapes and scenes that were preferred by foreign customers. The craftsmen living at the same time also gained recognition among Tyrrhenians. They were, for instance, Marlay Painter or Eretria Painter. Over half of the vases of the latter (22 of 41) were discovered in Etruria (Maggiani 1997, 29; Avramidou 2006, 565-566).

The value of vases is unknown. A. Johnston (1995, 226-228) states that it varied depending on the size and decoration of the vase but first of all depending on the time when they were sold, which seems to be obvious. Moreover, on the basis of *TI* inscriptions that are under the stems Johnston (1995, 226-228) and G. M. A. Richter (1959, 18) think that it is the abbreviation of the word 'price' – ἡ τιμή). Johnston (1995, 226-228) estimates that at the beginning of the 5th century BC huge vases cost around

4-6 oboloi. In c. 440 BC this price rose to 12-28 oboloi and later dropped again to 3,5-7 oboloi (Boardman 1979, 34). In all likelihood, attempts to determine even hypothetically the prices of Attic pottery will always cause a great deal of controversy, especially because of the lack of ancient sources concerning this subject (apart from the humorous mention in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (1234-1236) where a lekythos cost one obolos. Perhaps the only hint which shows that those vases were very important to Etruscans is the fact that they took care of Greek pottery and repaired it when it was damaged or used for a long time (Johnston 1995, 216-219; Spivey 1995, 143). It seems that Etruscans looked after them much more than after Athenian vases (Boardman 1988, 236). One of the most famous specimens is a cup kept in the Louvre Museum (inv. no. G104) presenting Theseus and Athena in front of Amphitrite. It was found in Caere and was made by Onesimos. This cup has signs of ancient repair because a bronze rivet was found within it. Similar signs of repair were found in an amphora with Dionysian scenes, made by Kleofrades Painter (Antiker Kleinkunst Museum in Munich, inv. no. 2344). It was discovered in Vulci and was part of the Canino Collection (Arias 1962, 329-330, 334-335). Vases from the necropolis of Valle Trebba were also repaired. Among them there were kraters found in tombs T. 311 and T. 749. The first one, dating back to c. 460 BC is a bell krater 48cm high, made by Altamura Painter (T. 311, inv. no. 2738). It has nine holes for metal grasps which joined broken elements. The krater is decorated with a sport scene on one side and Dionysos sitting between two women or Zeus holding a child – Oinopion – on the other. The vase from the other tomb is a volute krater 63cm high, probably with the figure of Theseus chasing Helen and with a banquet scene and animal frieze on the neck. It is attributed to Boreas Painter (T. 749, inv. no. 2739) and dates back to c. 460 BC (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 57-58; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 30). We should note that these antiquities come from the period when many Attic imports were being taken by Etruscan customers. Perhaps pottery made in Kerameikos was not a highly valued product because of its function or contents. The reason was probably decoration because vases with scenes painted carelessly or with standard scenes were repaired very rarely. I think the decision what to do with a damaged vase was made by the owner of the vase.

There is a conviction that Attic vases met the needs mainly of the aristocracy because they were luxury articles. Local pottery was designed for the poorer population (Bernhard 1966, 52; Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 7; Scullard 1998, 204). This view can be verified a little. Firstly, Attic

vases are very numerous in this area. Secondly, Etruscan red-figured vases appeared later and in lesser quantity. It could mean that there were more rich citizens than poor ones in Etruscan society, but this is obviously not true. Some researchers claim that Attic imports hampered the development of local workshops because the imports were commonly available and met the demand for pottery (Cook 1960, 193). This idea is much more probable. However, the fact that the consumers of some vases came from the higher class is also true. They bought them because some vases made in an early severe style had gold crumbs in the decoration (Cook 1960, 163; Papuci-Władyka 2001, 176). I suppose that gold crumbs were made probably on request of customers who could pay for them. Gold elements can be seen, for example, in the vases of Euphronios and Brygos Painter (Beard and Robertson 1995, 5-6). It is worth taking into account that the number of such vases is not great in proportion to the number of all Greek vases found in Etruria. The example of Spina shows how tombs were furnished differently – some of them contained numerous and perfect Attic vases of high quality and other ones had a smaller amount (with two to three vases), but they also contained pottery which was probably a measure of comfort available to the middle classes because it was found in the tombs of craftsmen and merchants (Avramidou 2006, 575). To better illustrate this situation we should consider some sites, for instance those in the Po Valley. The first one is Marzabotto-Misano where Attic red-figured vases were exported mainly through the Adriatic trade route – from Spina. The number of vases and their parts is meagre, which could mean that imports were regarded as a luxury in centres located far away from the sea. Pottery made in Etruscan workshops was probably designed for daily use (Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 49-50; Sassatelli 1995, 193; Scullard 1998, 204, 208). The Etruscan capital of the Po Valley – Felsina – was a typically commercial city. The evidence of that can be seen in the name of the city. The word Felsina comes from the word ‘felz’ or ‘fels’ which means ‘to sell’. Most pottery that was found here – about one thousand specimens – came from numerous tombs located around the city. One third of the vases were made in Kerameikos. One necropolis that dates back to the 6th-4th centuries BC is Certosa. In almost all the tombs from this period items used in banquets were found – huge vases, bronze containers, ladles for serving wine (usually two ladles of different size), cups and forms for mixing wine with water (D’Aversa 1986, 24-25; Sassatelli 1987, 15; Sassatelli 1995, 193-194). They were probably not luxury products in Felsina and were commonly available. Furthermore,

the price of Greek pottery was probably different in Felsina and Marzabotto. To sum up, the viewpoint concerning the luxurious nature of Attic vases is exaggerated and must be verified further.

There is no doubt that in the barter between Etruria and Greece Etruria was the buyer. The number of Etruscan products found in Greece (and in Attica) doesn't equal the number of Greek products found in Etruria (Mansuelli 1966, 20; Pallottino 1968, 100). Merchants, however, did not have to be either Athenians or Greeks. All that needed to be done was to order vases in Athens and bring them to Etruria. During the voyage they were packed in rubbish and sawdust or in baskets. They could also be stuffed as in the kiln during the burning process. Some smaller vases were probably placed in larger ones. Such a method allowed space to be saved (Boardman 1988, 235). It is impossible to determine whether they were the only goods on the ship sailing to the Etruscan harbour or if they were taken as an additional weight with some other goods (Beard and Robertson 1995, 19). It is worth mentioning that there is a huge possibility that Attic pottery was imported by middlemen from the centres of Magna Graecia from the end of the 5th century BC (Haynes 2005, 235).

Some vases found in Etruria have so-called trademarks (marks of merchants) engraved or painted under the stems. We do not know who made them – the merchant or the potter – but some of them were made before burning. We can see them on different types of vases: amphorae, hydriai, kraters, cups and oinochai. Moreover, they are similar to each other so they are probably not dependent on the shapes of vases. They were usually made under stems, although sometimes they were letters and at other times figural symbols. Perhaps they indicated who the buyer of a vase was, as most of them are written in the Ionian dialect. The presence of Ionian merchants in Etruscan harbours, for example in Gravisca, is certified by archaeological excavations (Richter 1959, 19-20; Guzzo 1995b, 84; Scullard 1998, 181). It is worth adding that the mark 'SO' is connected with the merchant Sostratos, the son of Laodamas from Egina (Gras 1987, 147; Johnston 1995, 200-222; Scullard 1998, 184), mentioned by Herodotus (4.152). What results from this is that the presence of Attic imports does not signify that Athenians visited this area. Vases were instead transported by Ionians and Aeginetans.

I have mentioned that ceramic products could have been ordered in Athens, but another possibility also exists – that some vases were 'second-hand' articles with their first owner being a Greek. J. Boardman (1979, 33-39) proves and supports the hypothesis of T. B. L. Webster, described in *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1973). This text mentions that

the holder of a vase was a favourite of the painter. His name can usually be found on vases with the word *kalos* (Boardman 1979, 34; Boardman 1988, 179; Spivey 2006, 659). There are many inscriptions of this type in contrast to the number of inscriptions on the Greek vases saying 'I belong to...' (Cook 1960, 259). Such a hypothesis could be wrong because the names of favourites appear only in the case of a few painters (and are usually the same on the vases of the same master, like Leagros on the masterpieces of Euphronios). For instance, we can find ten names of favourites on the vases of Douris, but they are different in each period of the painter's activity (apart from a few exceptions). Moreover, sometimes the names came from Attic drama – a comedy or tragedy that dates back to 460 BC. Meanwhile, the favourites' names didn't exist in the case of some other painters, like Pan Painter (Arias 1962, 340, 347). Today we know approximately 200 favourites' names (Cook 1960, 258). I suppose that their only function was to glorify the beauty of popular Athenian citizens or as anonymous inscriptions like '*ho pais kalos*', which are more often present. It is worth emphasising that most vases imported to Etruria do not have any Greek inscriptions. It is possible that some vases had a different owner in Greece but the name of a favourite is not any evidence for that. Pottery used before in Athens was probably part of the cargo of new articles, because Etruscans were more interested in shapes or decorations than in the name of the first owner. Some of the used vases were Panathenaic amphorae found in Etruria, like those from Vulci made by Berlin Painter. They are kept in the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. 142346) and in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano (inv. no. 375). Although the inscription from Delphi, which mentions an Etruscan athlete, is well known, I do not suppose that Etruscans took part in the Panathenaic Games. However, black-figured amphorae were discovered on their territory. They were probably the prizes in games held in honour of Athena. An explanation of their presence is the hypothesis that when a winner ran out of olive oil he decided to sell a vase. Aside from these types of amphorae it is difficult to distinguish between new and second-hand pottery (Johnston 1995, 216-219; Malnati 1995, 152-156; Spivey 1995, 143).

The Etruscans put their inscriptions on imported vases, so many Attic ceramics have Etruscan graffiti, for example two antiquities from the Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection, which are kept in the J. Paul Getty Museum. The first one is a neck amphora attributed to Richmond Painter (inv. no. 86.Ae.189) with the picture of a satyr chasing a young boy. The second one is a neck amphora of Berlin Painter (inv. no. 86.Ae.187), which dates

back to c. 480 BC and which has a picture of a young man in the company of his barbarian servant (Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 32, 75). Sometimes, inscriptions contain only one name. However, in the case of Etruscan vases we do not know whose name is on them – the potter's, the painter's or the owner's (Niemirowski 1990, 126-127). In my opinion, these names are the shorter version of inscriptions known well from cups, oinochai or kraters coming from different sites: Clusium, Caere, Tarquinia, Populonia, Vulci and Orvieto. These vases give some clues about their owners. For instance, there is an inscription on an oinochoe from Caere that says: '*Mi atūial plavtans*' ('I belong to Attiae Plautania'); or an inscription on cups found in Clusium: '*Mi mukis Papanaiā*' ('I belong to Mucia Papania') (Georgiev 1970-1971a, 6-7, 13, 24, 26; Georgiev 1970-1971b, 41, 78-79, 81). Another example of graffiti which is a dedication to a god is inscribed on the cup of Penthesileia Painter, kept in Munich (inv. no. 2688) and discovered in Vulci. It has a picture inside with the scene of Apollo killing Tithios and the picture outside presents talking and sitting boys. There is an inscription under the stem: *fufłuns paχ[ies---*]. Fufłuns is the Etruscan name of Dionysos (Arias 1962, 353; Maggiani 1997, 22). We know the names of gods from the Greek pantheon, which are mentioned on both Attic and Etruscan vases. For instance, the inscription on an oinochoe found in Orvieto declares: '*Aplu ep arus is*' (I'm the worshipper of Apollo) (Georgiev 1970-1971a, 6-7, 13, 24, 26; Georgiev 1970-1971b, 41, 78). Only a few examples consist of the whole sentence composed of a giver's name, a god's name and the word: 'to donate'. Usually we meet single teonims under the stem, but sometimes they are preceded by the Etruscan pronoun '*mi*'. On the site of one of the most famous sanctuaries in Etruria – Gravisca – 49% of pottery dating back to the 6th century BC contained Etruscan graffiti. 20% of them have dedications containing one word – the name of a god, 15% contain both the name of a god and a giver, the remaining 14% contain all sentences (Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 7; Maggiani 1997, 38). These inscriptions came from different sites, which means that Greek pottery could have been imported as votive objects.

The vases found in the area of temenos were votive objects. They are broken, incomplete and not as well preserved as the vases from the necropolis. Some sanctuaries were located in the cities, for instance the sanctuaries of Minerva and Fufłuns which are located in the area of Belvedere in Orvieto. The excavations in 1926-1934 uncovered many fragments of Attic pottery which probably was used during banquets as most of them are cups and oinochai (Maggiani 1997, 49). Greek vases were also discovered in favissa

in Caere, in Gravisca and in the sanctuary of Pyrgi where, apart from red-black vases, some cups of Oltos, Douris and Onesimos were also found (Heurgon 1966, 8; Spivey 1995, 149). Places of cult were also located in cemeteries. One example is in Osteria at Vulci where a votive deposit that is not connected with any of the tombs was discovered. Two Attic oinochai resembling the female head (inv. nos 64040, 64041; Museo Archeologico di Vulci) and dating back to 440-420 BC were found there, as well as a coaster for the rython resembling the sphinx and dating back to c. 470-460 BC. The oinochai had trefoil mouths but they did not survive. The stand was black and the white sphinx had been put on it. The sphinx could be reconstructed on the basis of a vase kept in the British Museum and attributed to Sotades Painter (Riccioni and Sera Ridgway 2003, 17).

There is a belief that vases were left in sacred places as evidence that their givers had visited a sanctuary and that they perhaps had taken part in an initiation. Some dedicatory inscriptions and the decoration of Attic vases indicate which god was celebrated in this place, as in the case of the Minerva sanctuary at Covignano near Rimini or the sanctuary of Heracles in Contarina near Adria (Maggiani 1997, 48).

Gravisca is one of the most important places of cult. The Greek gods were probably celebrated there because many Greek imports were found there. There is a possibility that in this case the giver of a votive object came from Greece. It could provide the answer to the question of double inscriptions on the fragment of an Attic red-figured skyphos found in Gravisca. Under the stem there is Etruscan graffiti: *'mi turnus'* and also Greek: *'Δείακος'*. The latter is probably the giver's name (Maggiani 1997, 38). The site of Peccioli-Ortaglia had a much more Etruscan character. There were no Hellenic influences there. The site probably developed at the beginning of the 6th century BC and functioned to the end of the 4th century BC. Research has been conducted on this site since the 1990s but the foundations of the temple have not even been discovered yet, which may signify that the temple was totally destroyed because of agricultural work. The fragments of around 130 Attic red-figured vases, many black vernice and Apulian vases were discovered in two areas: in the sacrificial well, *favissa* (so-called Area A) and at the foot of the hill (Area B). The list of fragments mentioned indicates that votive objects were chosen on the basis of shapes and function because huge vases like stamnoi, kraters or amphorae are very rare whereas there are many plates, cups and skyphoi. They were made in different workshops: in those of Makron, Marley Painter, Eretria Painter, Jena Painter, Meleager Painter, The Fat Boy Group, Group from Vienna

116 and from the circle of Penthesileia Painter. An especially precious vase is the kylix found in a favissa, decorated by Makron and bearing his signature: *ἱερὸν ἐποίησεν* (inv. no. 244410, Museo Archeologico di Peccioli). The cup was an extraordinary thing in the sanctuary because it was treated in a special way – the cup was repaired twice (the signs are on the stem and in the middle of the calyx) (Bruni 2004, 26-46, 55-56; Bruni 2007, 226-229; Cateni 2007, 114, 118, 120-121, 125).

When we began the analysis of the ceramics from temenos, one thing became problematic: the selection of decoration on votive vases. We do not know whether the scene was chosen by accident (depending only on the giver's choice) or if it was imposed by the rules of a sacred place. In my opinion, we should consider the possibility of the existence of a connection between decorations and the fact that the vases were sacrificed to an Etruscan god. Generally, there are not many artifacts which we can classify as votive objects. Most red-figured products from Athenian Kerameikos were found in Etruscan tombs. They date back to the period between the 6th and the 4th century BC. They were well examined so they were often used as a clue to the chronology of tombs (Nogara 1936, 53; Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 28).

The Etruscans gave their deceased relatives many more things than the Greeks. Apart from benches for ashes and bodies they left rich offerings (not only ceramic but also bronze articles and jewellery). As an example we can take all the sets from the tombs in the necropoleis of Spina: Valle Trebba and Valle Pega. In Tarquinia the number of vases is highest when the aristocracy decided to build chamber tombs for their families. The tombs are decorated with wall paintings and date back to the 5th and the 4th century BC. They not only used the vases to decorate the tombs but they also used them as urns (Spivey 1995, 147-148; Scullard 1998, 114). During the 6th century BC the black-figured amphorae were used in this way. Later, red-figured vases also had this function but to a lesser degree. From the 4th century BC, the inhabitants of Volaterrae treated red-figured column kraters as urns. The kraters were made in local workshops and were decorated with heads in profile or with Dionysian scenes (Maggiani 2007, 139). In Caere, a Nolan amphora, which dates back to the late Archaic period, and two pelikai from the middle of 5th century BC were discovered. Both types of vases were used as urns. It is worth mentioning that pelikai had a similar function in Attica, in the south-eastern part of Sicily, in Puglia and in Naples (De la Genière 1987, 204-206). Another example is the magnificent amphora of Phintias with a scene of struggle for a tripod between Heracles and Apollo

(now kept in Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. no. RC6843) (Arias 1962, 318). It was also a container for ashes. Usually Attic vases – urns – come from tombs with many chambers built for a whole family. Unfortunately, they were discovered and researched in the 18th and the 19th century, so much information about the function of vases has disappeared irretrievably. If we assume that some vases were used as urns then we face the problem of the nationality of a dead person who could be a Greek *metoikos* in Etruria, like Demaratus from Corinth. As ancient sources say, Demaratus married an Etruscan woman (Plin. *HN* 35.152) and was probably buried in her family tomb, but in the Greek traditional way (De la Genière 1987, 204-206). Theoretically, such situations could have happened a few centuries later when many Greek citizens immigrated to Etruria.

The fact that the majority of Attic vases were discovered in Etruscan tombs could have one simple reason – the state of research. In Tyrrhenian Etruria around 60% of Attic pottery was found in tombs (in the Po Valley this number reaches almost 80%) (Cook 1960, 218; Spivey 1995, 149; Werner 2005, 50). There is a hypothesis that some vases were made as gifts for the deceased (Brun and Williams 1995, 126; Johnston 1995, 214; Spivey 1995, 138). Some researchers consider the possibility of imports (for instance from Greece to Spina) of sets of vases as gifts for tombs. There is no doubt that Spina possesses the largest agglomeration of red-figured vases in Northern Italy. The city was not only an intermediary for other sites but it also bought vases for its citizens (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Johnston 1995, 214; Guzzo 1995b, 84; Scullard 1998, 210).

In the necropoleis of Spina – Valle Trebba and Valle Pega – over 4000 tombs were discovered. We know that Etruscans, Greeks and Veneti lived in the city but it is impossible to distinguish who a buried person was. The tombs which contained atypical shapes of vases are probably Hellenic because their contents is analogous to that discovered on Greek territory. These types of vases are white-ground lekythoi from T. 136C and T. 1049 in the cemetery of Valle Pega and lebes gemikos from T. 1166 in Valle Trebba (Malnati 1995, 175). On the other hand, it could be the tomb of a person who was interested in Greek customs. The possibility that a buried person came from Greece is also real in tombs where Greek inscriptions were found. The majority of these graves date back to the period between 475-350 BC and the Greek inscriptions represent only a quarter (over 24%) of graffiti present on vases from Spina (Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 17; Colonna 1995, 135).

The furnishing of tombs was constantly changing. First of all, the size of vases was reduced. In the first days of the use of the necropolis, the tombs contained one or two bigger vases and a few smaller cups. In the next century there were smaller vases like askoi, oinochoai and plates. In the earliest tombs, apart from red-figured vases, black figured ones made in the period between 500-470 BC were found. There are also so-called bilingual vases which were made using both techniques. They came from Spina, for instance from T. 125. Among the red-figured vases dating back to the 5th century BC are the antiquities of the most famous craftsmen, like the pelike of Berlin Painter with the figure of a lion and a lioness on the neck (inv. no. 1234, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara), the calyx-krater of Niobid Painter with the Dionysian scene and gigantomachy (inv. no. 2891, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara) or the cup of Penthesileia Painter with a picture of Zeus kidnapping young Ganymede (inv. no. 9351, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara) (Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 17, 19, 21; D'Aversa 1986, 29). As I have noted, they came from different tombs and they were not part of sets left in the tombs. In the latest graves, vases made in the same workshop were found; they were possibly made as sets. In the first half of the 4th century BC the Alto-Adriatic workshops, which imitated the Attic style, started to function. The tombs dating back to the end of the 4th century BC were equipped with both types of pottery – local and Attic red-figured vases. As the chronology of vases shows the latter were imported earlier and were probably used in daily life before they were put in tombs. In the 4th and the 3rd century BC Faliscan and South Etruscan products were imported to the Po Valley. The conquest of these areas by Gauls led to the end of economic development and trade with Greece (Sassatelli 1995, 216; Dräger 2000, 110; Gilotta 2000, 158, Torelli 2005, 210).

A number of arguments support the hypothesis of the importation of vases to furnish tombs. The first of them is the decoration of Attic vases found in Etruria. Frequently occurring motifs are the Dionysian scene, *thiasos*, satyrs chasing maenads, banquet scenes and women surrounding Dionysos. These types of decorations were made because Etruscans took over the cult of Dionysos and regarded him not only as the god of wine and fecundity but also as the patron promising the resurrection to his believers. Dionysos played a similar role in the Greek cities of Southern Italy (Spivey 1999, 166; Papuci-Władyka 2001, 335; Avramidou 2006, 572). It could explain why vases with Dionysian scenes and vases used during funeral banquets were left in tombs. In recent years G. Collonna (1999, 120) has formed a hypothesis based on material from the cemeteries in Vulci. The researcher supposed that

in the cities where Dionysos was worshipped, Etruscans preferred to import vases which they could use during the banquet called *mystai* – the initiation to the Dionysian mysteries. After the religious ceremony, believers took their pots, which could then become their tableware in the hereafter. It was a kind of ‘souvenir’, which attested to their participation in the mysteries and gave them a pass to eternity. In an analogical way, scenes with the triad from Eleusis could be explained. Persephone and Demeter (Etruscans took over the cults of both goddesses) are connected with the Underground in Greek mythology (Haynes 2005, 356). Other popular scenes on Greek vases found in Etruria are fights – gigantomachy, amazonomachy, *Ilioupersis*, struggles between heroes or scenes from palestra, connected with sport. They could be understood as the fights during Etruscan funerals. The Panathenaic amphorae mentioned earlier could prove this thesis. They very often had the Etruscan inscriptions: ‘*suthina*’/’*suthia*’, which means ‘belonged to the tomb’ (Richter 1959, 20; Johnston 1995, 216-217; Spivey 1995, 143; Avramidou 2006, 575). On one side they were decorated with sport scenes which resembled the funeral fights on the wall paintings in Etruscan tombs. The next argument that could prove the idea about using vases as the furnishing of tombs is the graffiti ‘*Xarus*’ on the stem of a bilingual cup of Onesimos (inv. no. F 126, Louvre). The dedication is read as ‘for Charun’, Etruscan demon of death. On this basis the next hypothesis is formed: that ceramics were not gifts for the deceased but were a kind of Greek obolos for Charon. The dedications to Hermes as Psychopompos could be similarly interpreted (Malnati 1995, 165; Maggiani 1997, 41). However, the problem is that the cup of Oltos is the only inscription of this type amongst hundreds of other examples of graffiti on vases from tombs. We do not even know the site where the cup was found. Due to the lack of information the cup is not a convincing piece of evidence. A strong counter-argument is the existence of fees for transport to the hereafter in many tombs. There were *aes rude* in the right hand of the deceased and they were usually found in the necropoleis of Spina (Guzzo 1995a, 224; Malnati 1995, 169). At first glance the hypotheses could be interesting but there are also many flaws in them. Firstly, in Etruria, not only vases used during banquets or the vases with Dionysian battle or sport scenes were discovered. Secondly, this interpretation of decoration assumes that Etruscans completely misunderstood what was painted on the Greek pottery if they interpreted amazonomachy or *Ilioupersis* as funeral fighting. It is worth mentioning that a lot of figures painted on vases are described, such as Heracles. It is difficult to imagine that Etruscans would not be aware of the story

of Heracles, especially considering that they accepted him in their pantheon as Heracle. Another argument proving that Etruscans knew what was painted on the vases is the decoration of Etruscan red-figured pottery on which we can see the *Ilioupersis*, the death of Ajax, the quarrel for Attica between Athena and Poseidon, the expedition of the Argonauts or the grappling of Peleus with Thetis. Moreover, Etruscans also described the figures on their vases but they did it very rarely. They probably adopted this idea from Attic vases (Cook 1960, 255). There is also the possibility that Etruscans did not understand some myths, as we cannot guess their significance even today.

The author of the first Polish work on Greek pottery, K. Bulas (1933, 15-16), claimed that from the middle of the 6th century BC Attic imports to rich Etruria were used as the decoration of residences, as containers for perfumes and oils and finally they were taken to tombs. Although it is an old work, I think that Bulas was right in his explanation of the purpose of importing ceramics. A strong argument against the use of Attic ceramics as tomb furnishing is, as I have just mentioned, the custom of repairing damaged vases (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Burn and Williams 1995, 126; Johnston 1995, 241; Spivey 1995, 138). If they were damaged it could mean that they were used in daily life. Moreover, they could be used for a long time because in particular tombs in both parts of Etruria we can discover vases made during different time periods. Perhaps they were used in the home before they were left in tombs. Banquet vases could be used on every occasion when their owner decided to host a party, not only during the funeral banquet of the owner.

Little vases were found in the tombs of children. Among them there were small lekythoi, aryballoi or choes with a trefoil mouth. Most of them have decorations connected with infant games and they come, for instance, from Adria (inv. no. 32012) and from Spina (T. 564, inv. no. 16163). On the chous from T. 564 there is a picture of a naked child hauling a wheeled toy. The vase dates back to c. 420 BC. Toys were also found in the graves of children (for instance in tombs T. 425, T. 457, T. 671, T. 1024) (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 24-25; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 22; Berti 1995, 44). I think that the primary aim of these choes was similar to the aim of analogical jugs in Athens where they were used during the Antesteria feasts and they were connected with the initiation of three-year-old children (Richter and Milne 1935, 19; Kanowski 1984, 110). Perhaps when a child died before this moment, the chous was left in his or her tomb. The undecorated kernoi also had a ritual character. One of them was found in T. 3A in Valle Trebba.

It was popular in the Po Valley. In Athens it served during rituals connected with chthonic cults, for instance the cults of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. There is a possibility that the cults of both goddesses were popularised in Etruria by Greeks and they were also popular in the Po Valley. This could be the reason for the purchase of these atypical vases (Malnati 1995, 169-173).

Many questions arise during the analysis of vases from Northern and Central Italy. Why was the majority of Attic pottery found in tombs? Were the vases imported as a ballast or were they imported specially? How long was pottery used before it was left in tombs? Was it perhaps imported for funeral ceremonies? (Beard and Robertson 1995, 19). All these questions have no clear answers. We can only speculate on them and form personal opinions. Mine has been presented within this article.

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THE ITALIAN *AES GRAVE* FROM  
THE NATIONAL MUSEUM  
IN KRAKOW COLLECTION

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In the Coin Room of the National Museum in Krakow, an interesting bronze coin is kept (Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>. Its characteristic feature is its almond shape, hardly ever observed among ancient coins. Technically, the object is ranked among the Italian *aes grave* – bronze cast coins. The obverse features a club, and the reverse features two pellets ••, indicating its value. Therefore, it is a sextans, a coin valued at two unciae (Haeberlin 1910, 236-238; Garrucci 1967, 6; Sydenham 1975, 243; Thurlow and Vecchi 1979, 172; *Historia Numorum. Italy* 2001, 54). This item inv. no. A-116 from the National Museum in Krakow has dimensions of 31.4mm x 23.2mm and weighs 27.330g.

The coin entered the collection of the National Museum in Krakow before 1945. Unfortunately, no documentation regarding the circumstances under which the coin arrived in the Coin Room has been preserved.

The *aes grave*, produced in the shape of a thick disc, appeared across a significant part of the territory of the Italian Peninsula and in Sicily. As opposed to the prolonged decorated ingots or bars known as *aes signatum*, whose monetary purpose is still under dispute (Thomsen 1961, 179-184; Sydenham 1975, 12-21), *aes grave* were coins without any doubt. This can be evidenced by the presence of images, issuer legends and marks of value found on their obverses and reverses. At present, the most numerous group of *aes grave* is constituted by products from the Roman mint, although

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<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mrs Zofia Gołubiew, Director of the National Museum in Krakow, for permission to publish this object and photographs submitted by the Museum.



Fig. 1. The *aes grave* from the Coin Room of the National Museum in Krakow, inv. no. A-116. Courtesy of the National Museum in Krakow. Scale 1:1

many coinage series were also cast in Etruria, Umbria, Apulia and in Sicily. The above mentioned coinages were produced on the basis of different weight standards (Crawford 1985, 15), including the most popular: Roman and Etruscan-Umbrian (more on *aes grave* see: Thomsen 1961;

Sydenham 1975; Thurlow and Vecchi 1979; Morawiecki 1982).

The sextans from the Coin Room represents the so-called Oval series. Obviously, the name refers to the shape of the coins. No other coinage of this shape has ever appeared within the territory of Italy (Catalli 1989, 142) and this distinguishes the Oval series from the other *aes grave*.

The complete coin series consists of denominations ranking from an As to an uncia (without trientes) and is represented mainly by sextanses. In 1910, Haerberlin presented a list of 266 coins of this denomination. In addition to that, the list includes two Asses, three semises, 11 quadranses and 55 unciae (Haerberlin 1910, 235-239). In 1997, L. Ambrosini published a monograph devoted to the Oval series and completed the list by adding one As, four semises, two quadranses, 108 sextanses, 29 unciae and one specimen that could possibly represent a semiuncia. During the course of excavations carried out recently a further two sextanses have been found. The first was discovered at the site of Campo della Fiera di Orvieto (Stopponi 2002, 114), and the second at Aiano-Torraccia di Chiusi (Cavaliere 2008, 6). That makes 484 coins in total, from which 376 are sextanses. In this classification, trientes are obviously missing. According to Catalli (1989, 142), this is connected to the rarity of this denomination's presence, as is the case with the As, of which only three examples are known. In the opinion of this researcher, a coin with a value of four unciae must have been issued; however, no example of such a coin has been found or correctly documented so far. It seems that the larger denomination coins were produced in lower quantity than the smaller denomination coins. Nevertheless, it is quite puzzling that no triens has been found up until now.

Although the triens is not known, we can attempt to determine its design with a good level of accuracy, since all denominations of the Oval

series kept to the same style. On the obverse, a club is depicted, while on the reverse we can see the marks of value repeating the designs known from Etruscan and Roman coinages: the As I, the semis  $\cap$  (an Etruscan symbol of a half, see: Garrucci 1967, 14), the quadrans  $\bullet\bullet$ , the sextans  $\bullet$ , and the uncia  $\cdot$ . The club depicted on the obverse is not a new element in Italian coinage. The same motif appears on other *aes grave*, for example on the so-called Club series from Volterra (Catalli 1998, 91), on the unciae attributed to the Caes (Sydenham 1975, 101, No. 82, Tab. 11: 2) and Lazio-Campania areas (Sydenham 1975, 105, No. 117, Tab. 13: 7), on the quatruncus of series I from Lucera (Sydenham 1975, 107, No. 126, Tab. 14: 2) and two clubs on the triens of the libral series from Tuder (Catalli 1989, 141). Interestingly, the club is also shown on the obverse of one of the *aes signatum* types: club/fish spine (*BMC* 1873, 36-37). In the opinion of Ambrosini (1997, 196), the club/fish spine bar weighing 1509.39g could be a multiple of an As belonging to the monetary series under discussion.

Thus, the nominal value of the abovementioned *aes signatum* should equate to 10 Asses, as the average weight of the As belonging to the Oval series has been calculated as 154g (*Historia Numorum. Italy* 2001, 22). Such a weight standard allows us to classify the Oval series to a duodecimal Etruscan monetary system based on an As of 151.50g (also known as light Etruscan libra). According to S. Cesano (1934, 101), it could suggest the Etruscan origin of the coins. Additionally, the researcher emphasises the fact that the weight of the sextans which varies between minimum 9.16g and maximum 51.20g helps to distinguish two issues of the series: the libral and semilibral. Therefore, the metrological arguments suggest a relationship between the Oval series and Etruscan coinage. The Etruscan *aes grave* from Volterra and the so-called light group of the Wheel series (which production was located in the vicinity of Lake Trasimeno) were cast on the basis of the same light Etruscan libra (151.60g) (Catalli 1971, 73-74). The Umbrian cast series, however, were based on a heavier weight: 255.82g in the case of Tuder and 204.66g in the case of Iguvium (Catalli 1989, 140-141).

The dating and attribution of the Oval series have been keenly disputed for years. Chronologically, the production of the discussed coinage took place in the 3rd century BC. However, two different time frames are proposed: the early chronology proposes the period between 273 and 268 BC (Sydenham 1975, 120), whereas the late suggests from 225 to 213 BC (Thurlow and Vecchi 1979, 30) or from 225 to 217/216 BC (Thomsen 1961, 255-256). Sadly, in the case of most of the discovered objects, the data concerning their chronological context is not sufficient. The only discovery providing some

information is a tomb found in Tarquinia by the Marzi brothers in 1874. The burial equipment includes a sextans of the Oval series together with some pieces of *aes rude*, one *aes signatum* bearing an 'A' mark, and a semis and a quadrans from Tarquinian series I. On the basis of the burial equipment, in particular the pottery, the tomb has been dated to the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Catalli 1991, 300-301), which supports the chronology proposed by Sydenham. It is worth noting the other coins from the tomb also. Tarquinian coinage is considered to be the earliest Etruscan *aes grave*, dating back to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, a similar dating concerns the *aes signatum* bearing an 'A' symbol (Catalli 1991, 300-301; Catalli 1998, 72-74). The abovementioned sextans is not the only one discovered in Tarquinia. In the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, there are 12 other pieces which were found within the city (Cesano 1934, 101; Catalli, 1989, 142; Ambrosini 1997, 213). Additionally, some fractions of the Oval series together with *aes rude* and *aes signatum* were present in the hoard from Vulci (Crawford 1969, 10). These coins can be used as additional arguments to allow the Oval series to be considered as a product dating to the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The late chronology (225-213 BC) seems to be based mainly on the combination of Etruscan and Umbrian weight systems with the Roman semilibral reduction from the period of the Second Punic War.

The attribution of the Oval series is equally as problematic as its chronological timeframe. Traditionally, it is attributed to the territory of Umbria (1873, 39; Grose 1979, 10) or Etruria as the product of an unspecified mint (*Historia Numorum. Italy* 2001, 22). For many years, most researchers attributed the Oval series to a mint in Tuder (known presently as Todi) (Garrucci 1967, 13) although Iguvium (now Gubbio) had also been proposed, albeit less frequently (*SNG Budapest* 1992, 319-322).

As has already been mentioned above, a weight standard of 204.66g was in operation in Iguvium. Three series of *aes grave* were cast on the basis of it. Their attribution is undisputable as they all bear a legend with the name of the city *Ikuvini* or *Ikuvins* (Catalli 1989, 141-142). The Oval series in Iguvium is represented only by two sextanses and an unconfirmed report regarding the finding of such coins within the city theatre (Catalli 1989, 142; Ambrosini 1997, 213). Additionally, the city itself is located on the peripheries of the area of appearance of the series under discussion (Fig. 2). Consequently, there are no grounds to suggest that Iguvium was the location of the mint.

The case of Tuder is different. The attribution of the mint to Todi is based on two premises. The first is the presence of a significant number of oval coins in the Museo Comunale di Todi. Their local origin is confirmed by P. R. Garrucci and a manuscript from the 18th century kept in the Archivio Storico Comunale di Todi (Catalli 1989, 142-143). Some scholars such as M. H. Crawford (2002, 269), however, question the Tuderian origin of the abovementioned coinage and the correctness of historical reports. The second premise is based on the style. The depiction of a club from the Oval series was linked with two clubs on the reverse of the triens belonging to one of the series from Tuder (Garrucci 1967, 13). As it has already been noted, a club is quite a popular motif, which also appears



Fig. 2. The area of appearance of the Oval series.

◇ 1 piece; ◇ 2-3 pieces; ◇ 2-3 pieces; ◆ >3 pieces of uncertain provenance; ? unknown number of pieces. Drawing M. Dziedzic

on other coins. It seems that looking for such stylistic affiliation we should rather look towards Volterra. On the Volterra coinage, the club is shown centrally on all denominations of the so-called Club series, not only on trientes. In addition to that, as is the case with Iguvium, the mint in Tuder cast its coins according to a different weight standard (255.82g). Two *aes grave* series attributed to Tuder also bear a legend with the name of the city in full: *Tutere* or abbreviated to *Tuter*, *Tute* and *Tue* (the same legend is placed on the struck series) (Catalli 1989, 140-141). Since the city had its own coinage with the name of the issuer, the production of a series without any inscription would appear to be useless, especially one completely different stylistically.

As has already been shown above, the weight system of the Oval series suggests its relation to Etruscan standards. In the light of recent research, the traditional idea of its Umbrian origin has been abandoned (*SNG Australia* 2008, 13). In one of his most recent publications, Crawford (2002, 269) suggests that *aes grave* of the Oval series were produced in Etruscan Volsinii. The evidence, however equivocal (as the author notes), is the finding of a sextans belonging to the discussed series under an altar in Orvieto. It is supposed that it was placed here as a foundation deposit. An additional argument is the position of Volsinii in relation to other places where further examples of the oval coins have been found. The city is located, more or less, in the centre of the distribution area (Crawford 2002, 269-270). However, as Fig. 2 shows, the finds have rather been made towards the territory of Umbria and in a south-easterly direction. East of Orvieto, towards the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, no oval coins have been registered.

Ambrosini (1997, 220-221) also does not exclude Volsinii as a possible issuer. She is of the opinion that the first half of the 3rd century BC was a period of economic prosperity and the commercial expansion of the city to the original indigenous territory of Etruria and the Po river, Umbria and Picenum. It can be noted that the chronological timeframe and the area of commercial influence of the city are identical to the ones established for the Oval series. Additionally, the economic situation of Volsinii could justify the presence of a club on the coins (as a symbol of Hercules and trade). Also the prevalence of the smaller value denominations (sextanses) in comparison with the larger seems justified.

Over the course of the present discussion it is also worth looking closer at monetary practice in Volsinii. Unlike Tuder and Iguvium, Volsinii is not attributed to any *aes grave* series. The only coins linked with the city, although not for certain, are two very rare gold issues: female

or young man head r., mark of value XX / running bull at l., dove above, star in front, legend *Velzpapi* (so far we know only one example of such a coin which weighs 4.67g), and female head wearing diadem r., mark of value  $\Lambda$  / running dog at r., mark of value  $\Lambda$ , legend *Velsu* (represented by three specimens weighing 1.13g, 1.14g and 1.15g) (Sambon 1967, 9-10). The legend *Velzpapi*, previously read as *Velznani* is translated as ‘in Volsinii’; whereas *Velsu* is interpreted as the name of the mint or local family. Both issues are the only examples of coins with such legends. The coins are dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC. The hypothesis has appeared that these are commemorative issues of some unidentified event (Catalli 1998, 115; Morawiecki 2002, 45-46).

As we can see, Volsinii should not be excluded as the potential issuer of the Oval series without careful consideration. However, it is not the only Etruscan city that could have produced the oval coins at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Therefore, it is worth looking closer at the other mints, especially at those in which a significant number of oval coins were found, such as Tarquinia. Three series of *aes grave* attributed to this city are dated to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. They are distinguished by a lower quality of workmanship and the simplicity of representations of symbols such as the following: wild boar and ram protomes, a dolphin, a spear, a pastoral stick, an anchor, a yoke, a plough, a crescent, an insect, and a four- or eight-pointed star. These coins feature no legend (Catalli 1998, 70-71, 76-80). Thus, it seems that, taking into account the simplicity and lack of inscriptions, they have more in common with the oval coins than the Tudet or Iguvium series. Metrologically, the Tarquinian system turns out to be much heavier (max. weight 352g and min. weight 250.25g) than the system set up for the Oval series. However, in the opinion of Cesano (1934, 101), the libra of 151.60g may represent a half of the libra of 304g, which was the basis of the series from Tarquinia and the Oval series may have appeared as a consequence of the previous heavier one. Therefore, it could have been the first series of Tarquinia that went out outside the city. Similarly to the case of Tudet, Tarquinia may be considered to be the potential issuer of the Oval series taking into account the quantity of coins found within its territory. Unfortunately, our knowledge about most of those coins is very limited. We only know that they originate from Tarquinia. The city itself is situated on the edge of the area of the presence of the discussed series. However, its potential expansion would have been limited to the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea and would have taken a north-eastern direction into the territory of Etruria.

In the light of the information presented above and the discussion regarding the coin from the Coin Room of the National Museum in Krakow, it can be said that the coin represents an Italian *aes grave* belonging to the so-called Oval series. It is safe to say that it is a sextans, the most popular denomination of the series. As far as the attribution and dating is concerned, we cannot be sure as we do not know the place or the context in which the coin was found. Hypothetically, it may be dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC, in accordance with the whole Oval series dating. The determination of the mint is not possible in the light of recent research. Most probably the coin was issued by an Etruscan city and not an Umbrian, as had been previously assumed. Currently, researchers are most inclined to point towards Volsinii as the possible city. Unfortunately, we are still dealing with speculation not based on solid evidence.

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*OPERA POMPEI*  
AND THE THEOLOGY OF VICTORY

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In December 62 BC, Pompey the Great debarked at the harbour of Brundisium, returning home after a few years spent fighting in the East. He was welcomed by masses (Vell. Pat. 2.40.3; Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 43.2-3; Dio Cass. 37.20.6; App. *Mith.* 166.566-567; Gruen 1974, 83-85; Leach 1976, 101, 113-114; Seager 2002, 75). At the time he was the most powerful and certainly the most famous Roman politician. Shortly afterwards he celebrated his third triumph. He became the first Roman general to receive the right to triumphal procession for victories gained on three different continents – Europe, Africa and Asia. Yet such success had its own price. The majority of the ruling class envied him and was afraid of his power and so they decided to diminish his importance. Pompey was forced to look for new political alliances. That finally brought him into an agreement with Caesar and Crassus.

Thanks to victorious wars his fortune, unlike his political position, had increased massively. On his return to Rome he was one of the richest men in the Republic and he would show that in a perfectly Roman way – by erecting a public building. The investment planned was as large as Pompey's wealth. He resolved to build one of the largest complexes in Rome, which would consist of a temple of *Venus Victrix*, a theater, gardens and the senate's curia.

### **Opera Pompei**

It was located in the southern part of the *Campus Martius* next to the *Circus Flaminius* and later the Stadium of Domitian (Cic. *Fam.* 7.1; Plin. *NH* 8.7; Hanson 1959, 43; Steinby 1999, 37; Gagliardo and Packer

2006, 95). We can assume that the construction of Pompey's complex began shortly after his return home. Based on the magnitude of the foundation it is obvious that work on the project must have lasted for many years. The inauguration took place in 55 BC, during the second consulate of Pompey, but for sure the complex could not have been fully finished before 52 BC (Bieber 1939, 181; Richardson 1992, 318-319; Sear 1993, 687; Gros 1999, 35-36, 120; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 93).

The whole complex was about 320m long (and if we include the temples of *Largo Argentina* even longer) and 160m wide. Clearly, it is very difficult to estimate the maximum height but most probably the roof of the temple of *Venus Victrix* originally reached c. 50m (Richardson 1992, 318-319; Sear 1993, 687; Gros 1999, 35-36, 120).

The diameter of the theater's cavea alone was almost 150m and it was able to accommodate around 12,000 people (Bieber 1939, 181; Hanson 1959, 43; Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 172; Sear 1990, 249; Gros 1999, 37; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 100-105). Seats were designed not only as places to sit but, most likely first and foremost, as stairs leading to the temple of *Venus Victrix*, which crowned the complex. This enabled Pompey to bypass the senate's prohibition of the erection of stone theaters in Rome (Hanson 1959, 44-45; Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 172; Richardson 1992, 384, 411; Gros 1999, 36, 38; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95).

However, we cannot take for granted the evidence of Tertullian (*De spect.* 10.5), who claimed that the construction of the temple was just an excuse for building a theater. In fact, we can treat the complex as an urban sanctuary of Venus (Speidel 1984, 2225-2227). The goddess of love, and in this case also of war, was not the only one worshipped in the *Opera Pompei*. Suetonius (*Claud.* 21.1) tells us that there were other shrines and inscriptions (*CIL* I.244, *CIL* I.277), specify deities which accompanied Venus: *Virtus*, *Honos*, *Felicitas* and *V...* (commonly identified as *Victoria*) (Weinstock 1957, 228-229; Hanson 1959, 52-53; Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 172; Fears 1981a, 877-878; Richardson 1987, 123; Richardson 1992, 411; Gros 1999, 36, 38; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95). We will deal later with the problem of why Pompey chose these goddesses. For now, let us continue the tour around the complex.

Behind the stage of the theater (originally probably without a solid *scaene frons* or perhaps with a wooden one) (Sear 1993, 687) there was a large garden framed with a portico (Richardson 1992, 201; Gros 1999, 78-79). In the garden there were two fountains decorated with mythological

scenes and the garden itself could be crossed by three paths flanked by rows of columns and trees. Perhaps the middle one was wider and played the role of a processional way (Richardson 1992, 201; Gros 1999, 78-79). This was the first public garden in Rome. By creating it Pompey broke with the Italian tradition of rather small private *horti* turning to the Hellenistic one – that of a monumental garden. If it is true that the middle path was wider, it is possible that the general had based it upon Hellenistic design similar to the heroons of Hellenistic kings in Alexandria and Antioch (Hanson 1959, 53; Grimal 1969, 171-176).

The portico that framed the garden did not only form the boundary of the area of the complex and give shade to visitors. It also acted as an art gallery containing pictures and statues. Certain sources (Plin. *NH* 7.34) tell us that there were statues of the Muses, poetesses and of the marvels of nature. For a long time scholars thought that there were also sculptures of well-known courtesans but the latest opinion put forward by Jane DeRose Evans (2009, 129-136) suggests that in fact there were rather those of comedic and tragic heroines. It is probable that the famous sculptural personifications of the fourteen nations conquered by Pompey were also exhibited in the portico (Plin. *NH* 36.41; Ostrowski 1990, 46).

However, there is an alternative theory that suggests their presence upon the *cavea* of the theatre. According to this view they were connected with the statue of *Okeanos* that stood near the stage and together as a whole represented the *oikumene* or the circle of the inhabited world. In any case, the presence of so many female statues was probably another echo of the long years Pompey had spent in the Hellenistic East (Plin. *NH* 7.3.34, 35.35.59, 35.37.114, 35.40.126, 36.4.31; Sauron 1987, 458-459, 465; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95; Evans 2009, 129-136).

The next building of the *Opera Pompei* was the senate's *curia* located at the east end of the portico. It did not play its role for a long time since as early as the Augustan period it was transformed into a public latrine (Dio Cass. 47.19.1; Robinson 1992, 120; Evans 2009, 127). The statue of Pompey that was placed there was then transferred to the theatre (Plin. *NH* 35.35.59; Cic. *Div.* 2.9.23; Livy *Per.* 116; Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 14.2; App. *B Civ.* 2.16.117; Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 66.1-2, 66.6-7; Sauron 1987, 458, 460; Sauron 1992, 318-319, 371, 384; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95).

As we can see, the complex played multiple roles: sacral – because of the temple and shrines, recreational – thanks to the theater and garden with portico and political – because of the *curia*. The fact that this combination

was placed in the city centre was quite unprecedented. Similar sanctuaries were usually situated outside city walls. I think it is therefore acceptable to treat it as a precursor to the imperial fora.

### The Deities

Now we will consider the deities Pompey chose. The main temple and the one that crowned the complex was that of *Venus Victrix* (the Victorious or the One That Gives Victory). Although we do not really know how it was previously, in the 1st century BC Venus became very popular. What is more, Venus became one of the main goddesses adored by commanders (Hanson 1959, 46-47, 49; Fears 1981b, 801). The best example of this connection is between Venus and the most successful generals of the Late Republic: Sulla (and his *Venus Felix*) – who claimed himself *Epaphroditos* or beloved of Aphrodite, Pompey (and his well-known *Venus Victrix*) and Caesar (with his *Venus Genetrix*) (Weinstock 1957, 225-226; Hanson 1959, 50-52; Fears 1981a, 878; Speidel 1984, 2225-2226). For Sulla, Venus was the one with control over Victory and *Felicitas* (well-being) and was represented by an attribute of the latter – an olive branch (*ramnus felicis olivae*) (Fears 1981a, 878; Speidel 1984, 2225-2226). It was probably another echo of Hellenistic influence on Roman culture that shaped Venus this way.

As we have stated before, there were shrines of four other deities in the complex. The first of them was probably Victory. We are not entirely sure about this identification due to the incompleteness of the inscription (*CIL I.277*), but nonetheless it is the most probable one. The nature of Victory was somewhat schizophrenic. On the one hand, she was a goddess herself. But on the other hand she was a force that other, more powerful deities made use of. This double character also found its representation, as we already know, in Pompey's foundation. The general connected her with Venus as a goddess who is able to give victory but erected her own shrine as well. Probably at first Victory was regarded as merely some kind of divine force, but that changed during the Samnite Wars when L. Postumius dedicated a temple to her (*Cic. Nat. D.* 2.60-62; Weinstock 1957, 215, 218-219; Fears 1981a, 828, 834, 837-838, 851, 878; Fears 1981b, 740-742; Ostrowski 1999, 56). What is interesting is that the temple of *Iupiter Victor* was erected at the same time so the two concepts of Victory lived alongside each other all the time.

The next deity worshipped beside Venus and Victory was *Virtus*. Originally, she was limited just to bravery on the battlefield but with

the extending influence of Greek thought it became a Latin equivalent of *Arete*. Someone who claimed the right to possess *virtus* had to be distinguished by such virtues as: *innocentia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia, dignitas, fides, humanitas* and many more (Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.159; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 36-47; Fears 1981b, 747-748, 798). The first shrine of the deity was erected in 205 BC by M. Marcellus several years after a vow made by his father (Livy *Per.* 29.11). *Virtus* was almost always connected with *Honos*, another deity that found its place in Pompey's complex. They were not only mentioned in the same breath but usually shared one temple. What is more important is that *Virtus* and *Honos* were very popular amongst some generals considered to be among the best such as Scipio Aemilianus or Marius. Both of them built temples dedicated to these two deities (Platner and Ashby 1929, 259-260; Ostrowski 1999, 67-68).

The last goddess that had her own shrine in the *Opera Pompei* was *Felicitas*. As we have already seen, Sulla attached particular importance to this deity by combining her with Venus and by taking the nickname *Felix* i.e. the Lucky One. The first temple of *Felicitas* was erected around 146 BC by L. Lucullus (Strabo 8.6.23; Dio Cass. 76.2). Apart from the shrine of Pompey there was at least one more shrine of the deity – it was planned by Caesar but built after his death by M. Lepidus (Dio Cass. 44.5.2)

### **The Theology of Victory**

What was the thread that bound all of these goddesses together? Clearly the fame of the generals who gave credit to them. Nonetheless, it is necessary to add that both the commanders mentioned before and others worshiped many different deities as well. To find the true answer to the question we have to look at Cicero's works, especially *De natura deorum* and *Pro lege Manilia*.

The main point of Cicero is the assumption that gods give victory. Of course it is neither very revealing nor unknown to us but what is the most important is how he describes precisely the path a human being should follow to become victorious. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of ancient sources, we are unable to distinguish original Ciceronian thought from that which he derived from earlier writers. What is obvious is that the general idea was not his own.

The opinion that a victory was not just the result of a whim of the gods had been present in Greece since at latest the Classical period. At first success was seen as the result of the piety and *arete* of the whole state or the sum

of its citizens. The most important granters of victory were divine patrons of the Commonwealth and Panhellenic divinities such as Zeus at Olympia, Poseidon at Corinth and Apollo at Delphi. Less important but often invoked were the patrons of places where a battle was fought. Among these Zeus had a particularly prominent status. In spite of not being precisely a war god, he was considered a bestower of victory (Fears 1981b, 753-757).

By this concept Greeks were able to explain the welfare of some states and the failure of others. In fact, the Romans shared the same idea. They were almost obsessed with the correctness of performing rituals. And that is because they believed that the smallest mistake could make a deity feel offended. This often led to the repetition of a whole ritual act until it was performed properly (Fears 1981b, 753-757).

The proclivity towards treating the theology of victory as a collective phenomenon started to change in the Greek world in the 4th century BC. From that point, everything connected with the theology of victory was connected with having a charismatic leader. Naturally, such a person was beloved of gods. Yet the key factor was that this love was not automatically given, but rather gained. To be the chosen one a man had to distinguish himself through an exceptional virtue.

The central figure of these changes was Alexander the Great. Thanks to his conquest of the East, Greek thought was confronted with the divine honours that Persian kings were paid. What is more, the superhuman achievements of Alexander demanded an extraordinary indication of the source of his successes. Alexander himself claimed that his victories came from a divine source but he simultaneously also believed that the choice was not accidental. It was due to his divine virtue that the gods had chosen him (Fears 1981b, 763-764).

After the death of their king, his successors needed to legitimize their rule even more than Alexander. Initially, they had no other right to rule than their ability to gain and preserve power. As a result, Nike became one of the main figures of their propaganda. A god-given victory was the sole legitimization of their authority (Fears 1981b, 763-764).

The Greek concept of Nike and their theology of victory was very tempting to the Romans. Thanks to this they could easily justify their imperialism. So it is not surprising that from the beginning of Roman numismatics, the iconography of the coins of the Republic was connected with victory and the deities of the State. At first victory was thanks to the virtue and piety of all the citizens. The officials were merely the executors of divine plans and their special status in regard to the gods was merely because of their

occupied post. It took three centuries to completely change this approach. The first person to challenge the collective view of the theology of victory was Scipio the Elder. He maintained that he had a special personal relationship with the gods, especially with Jupiter himself. It was possible not only thanks to his charisma but also because of the unorthodox course of his career. The victories he gained were not due to the virtue of the Roman People but to his own. What he started could not be stopped (Fears 1981b, 772-780).

In Roman society, military successes and offices held were the best indicators of the possession of virtue. The longer the lineage of successful generals one was descended from, the better the guarantee of one's abilities to serve the Roman Republic. It is no surprise, therefore, that every successive generation praised their ancestors to the skies. An important change took place at the end of the third quarter of the 2nd century BC. Around that time moneyers started to exploit coins as a medium for generic propaganda. A more standard iconography gave way to a more varied one. Each moneyer recalled the achievements of his ancestors hoping it would help him in his career (Fears 1981b, 780-783).

Another important change came about at the end of the 1st century BC. Marius was the first general who concentrated on advertising via coins not his ancestors' achievements but solely his own. This was not particularly surprising taking into account the fact that Marius was a *homo novus*, a man lacking famous forebears (Fears 1981b, 790-794).

But the real turning point took place at the same time as the outbreak of civil war. At that time, the propaganda blade of the theology of victory was pointed not towards an external enemy but to an internal one. Warring politicians attempted to outdo one another with claims of divine favours. The first to take full advantage of this was Sulla. He presented himself not only as the victorious general – an imperator – but also as an augur. Thus he was loved by the gods as well as being one who was able to interpret their guidance and follow it. It is no surprise that he emphasized the role of omens since he could explain them in his favour. In a way he became a link between the deities and the common people, someone who was irreplaceable for the sake of the Republic (Fears 1981b, 790-794).

It seems that a very important step which Sulla took was the selection of Venus as his personal divine patron. She was known as the goddess of love but more importantly she was also known as the mother-god of all Romans. Sulla claimed himself not only the chosen one but also adopted the surname *Felix* – the Lucky one. By doing this he took on the divine gift of *felicitas* to some extent as his constant companion. It is important to remember that

Sulla turned against the legal government. His victory was a manifestation of divine will and was meant to be the final legitimization of his god-given power. Thus Sulla renewed the Roman State and became the guarantor of a future golden era of well-being (Fears 1981b, 794-796).

### **Cicero and Pompey**

Soon after Sulla's death the previous republican system was restored yet his legacy was not forgotten. His best apprentice proved to be one of his young followers – Gnaeus Pompeius. Pompey owed much to Sulla, for he had given him the opportunity to gain his first military experience. Thanks to this, Pompey proved to be a very talented commander. After his African victories he was awarded with the surname *Magnus* – the Great and gained his first triumph despite not fulfilling the traditional conditions to do so (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 13.3-14.4; Seager 2002, 28). A few years later he was charged with the task of finishing a troublesome civil war with Sertorius in Spain. He was given proconsular power despite the fact that he had not been a consul previously. With the help of another Spanish proconsul, Mettelus Pius, he succeeded. As a reward he was granted his second triumph and was made a consul in 70 BC. At that point he was only 36 and not even a senator (Seager 2002, 33-39). Soon after, he confirmed his talents by getting rid of pirates who had been prowling the Mediterranean for years. What other prominent commanders had not been able to achieve, he had accomplished in just three months. In his absence from Rome, tribune Gaius Manilius proposed to entrust to Pompey command of the war against the Pontic king Mithridates. Cicero's speech in favour of Manilius' bill is one of the best guides to the theology of victory we have. Naturally, it cannot be forgotten that the testimony of Cicero might not have been authoritative even for his own times. He might have imposed his original view of the theology of victory which may not have been the common one. Even if it is true, it is safe to assume that Pompey himself was much closer to the Arpinate's opinion than to any other. Let us have a quick look at Cicero's text.

According to *De natura deorum* (Cic. 3.36.88)<sup>1</sup>, Cicero divided personifications of abstract ideas into two categories. The first one consisted of, for example, *virtus*, *honor*, *fides* or *pietas*. The Arpinate thought that,

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<sup>1</sup> 'We may dedicate temples as we will to Mind, and Virtue, and Faith, but we nevertheless see that these qualities are resident in ourselves, whereas the attainment of Hope, Safety, Wealth, and Victory has to be asked for from the gods' (M. Tullius Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*, trans. Brooks F., London 1896).

besides being divinities, they were things a good statesman should be characterized by. The gods judged everyone by the possession of these virtues and decided whether they were worthy of receiving gifts from the second category or not. This other category consisted of personifications such as *salus*, *felicitas*, *ops* and *victory*. These were rewards but not something that could be possessed constantly. They were the most obvious sign of the gods favour:

‘For my judgment is this, that very often commands have been conferred upon, and armies have been entrusted to Maximus, to Marcellus, to Scipio, to Marius, and to other great generals, not only on account of their valour, but also on account of their good fortune. For there has been, in truth, in the case of some most illustrious men, good fortune added as some contribution of the gods to their honour and glory, and as a means of performing mighty achievements’<sup>2</sup>.

Cicero, similarly to Sulla, links the success of a general with the success of the state itself. The virtue of the people is no longer the guarantor of the well-being of the Republic. In his speech Cicero speaks directly of Pompey as the one who should lead the Roman State because of his previous successes (that were of course also the successes of the state):

‘I will only say this, most briefly, – that no one has ever been so impudent as to dare in silence to wish for so many and such great favours as the immortal gods have showered upon Gnaeus Pompeius. And that this favour may continue his, and be perpetual, you, O Romans, ought to wish and pray (as, indeed, you do), both for the sake of the common safety and prosperity, and for the sake of the man himself’<sup>3</sup>.

And what did Pompey say to it? From what we know about him, he must have liked it very much. One thing is certain – he strived for dominance. But at the same time he was not as revolutionary in his intentions as Caesar or Octavianus. Pompey would have liked to be a *princeps senatus* in a Ciceronian sense. He was very greedy for honours but reluctant to change the system. He preferred to operate within the existing one.

But what about the less down-to-earth aspects of the theology of victory Cicero speaks about? Was Pompey interested in that at all? In my opinion, the selection of deities he made for the *Opera Pompei* was a deliberate reference to that religious concept. In a way, Pompey ensured the idea of the theology of victory was embodied in his complex. Furthermore,

<sup>2</sup> M. Tullius Cicero, *On Pompey’s Command*, 47. In *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, trans. Yonge, Ch. D. London 1856.

<sup>3</sup> M. Tullius Cicero, *On Pompey’s Command*, 48. In *The Orations...*

he most probably referred to the specific Ciceronian sense of it and not to any other one. By erecting the shrines of *Virtus* and *Honos* he not only showed that he held them in high esteem but most likely also wanted to show that he was virtuous and honourable and that these qualities were present inside him. As a result, he was worthy of receiving the gifts of *felicitas* and finally *victoria* from the hands of the gods. Numerous triumphs were the proof not only of divine favor, but also of the possession of certain, god-pleasing virtues. However, a victory is not just the simple result of virtues possessed. It is also evidence of god-given *felicitas*. *Felicitas* is the last irrational piece of the rationalized theology of victory. It leaves a dose of uncertainty that can explain why not all virtuous men are meant to be victorious. The gods are still a little bit whimsical in their decisions to grant favors. That is why the gift of *felicitas* is so important for everyone who wants to be a successful statesman and that is why Pompey placed the shrine of *Felicitas* in his complex. He most certainly realized the importance of each step leading up to and following a victory. *Victoria* was to him a Venus-given gift as well as being an individual goddess, which can be shown by the fact that he provided shrines for both *Victoria* and *Venus Victrix*.

When taking only the *Opera Pompei* into consideration, Venus was certainly the most important divinity in Pompey's pantheon and the bestower of victory. This might be true in general, but on the other hand we also know that she was not the only 'militaristic' deity he worshipped. He did not allow *Hercules Invictus* to be neglected (Plin. *NH* 34.57; Vitr. *De arch.* 3.3.5; Weinstock 1957, 228-229; Ziółkowski 1988, 313-314; Richardson 1992, 187-188) nor *Minerva Victrix* (Plin. *NH* 7.97; Weinstock 1957, 228-229; Leach 1976, 117; Richardson 1992, 255). Nevertheless, *Venus* was probably the dearest to him and that is why he crowned his theater with a temple dedicated to her. This was *Venus Victrix*, who had allowed Pompey to conquer the 14 nations whose personifications he placed in the complex.

## Conclusion

The first and foremost function of the *Opera Pompei* was, of course, to be a noticeable monument and a reminder of Pompey's greatness. Its symbolic meaning, however, may have been no less important. As an embodiment of the theology of victory it was not only a reminder of the reasons for his extraordinary successes but also was meant to explain why he was the only one able to lead the Republic to prosperity. He showed himself as a possessor of god-pleasing virtues. Thanks to them he became

a favourite of the deities and was worthy of receiving their precious gifts of *felicitas* and finally *victoria*. Being the tool of the gods he was meant to be the patron of the Republic and *princeps senatus*, the most respected and honoured senator, without whose knowledge nothing could be conducted. Perhaps he expressed his desire to predominate over the political life of the state by placing his statue in the curia he erected within the complex. At the same time, he showed that this was not just his wish but also the will of the gods. It was Roman deities who chose Pompey as the helmsman of the Republic during times of unprecedented political turmoil and who led it to a safe haven.

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IMPERIAL ALEXANDRIAN COINS  
FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM  
IN KRAKOW COLLECTION.  
SUPPLEMENT TO *IMPERIAL*  
*ALEXANDRIAN COINS* BY S. SKOWRONEK

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In the ancient coin collection of the National Museum in Krakow, which consists of more than 10,000 items, a small number of Alexandrian coins struck during the Roman period can be found. This group contains 239 coins that have been donated to the museum (mainly by Karol Halama, in 1947, and Lech Kokociński) or purchased by the museum (Skowronek 1998, 7). Among those purchased, the collections of Professor Franciszek Piekosiński (1909-1910) and Professor Marian Gumowski (1964) (Bodzek 1997, 64) are particularly worthy of mention. The majority of the Alexandrian coins (223 items) were published by Professor Stefan Skowronek (1998).

During the 12 years that have passed since the publication of S. Skowronek's (1998) catalogue the museum has been presented with about 2500 ancient coins. The donor of this specific group of examples was Lech Kokociński – lawyer, bibliophile and collector. Among his many other accomplishments, he is the founder and honorary president of the Polish Numismatic Society, a member of The Association of Benefactors of the Emeryk Hutten Czapski Museum and the author of more than 170 scientific and popularised scientific works on numismatics and ancient objects<sup>1</sup> (Bodzek 2003, 72-74). Among the donated examples there are 16 coins from Alexandria.

The purpose of this article is to publish the above mentioned 16 coins donated by L. Kokociński and to create an appendix to S. Skowronek's catalogue.

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<sup>1</sup> Including: *Pieniądz papierowy na ziemiach polskich* (see: References).

Among the many publications available for reference, the most relevant are the catalogues of both private (Feuardent 1872; Dattari 1901<sup>2</sup>) and museum collections (Poole 1964; Milne 1971; Geissen 1974; Christiansen 1991). Another useful source for research into Alexandrian coinage is represented by the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (=SNG) catalogues, which are primarily of the collections of the museums in Milan (Martini 1991), Paris (*SNG France* 4 1998) and Copenhagen (*SNG Copenhagen* 1974). Studies of particular issues concerning this branch of Roman coinage have also been published: typology of iconography (Vogt 1924), quantity of issues (Christiansen 1988) and the nome coins (Geissen and Weber 2003-2008). In addition, general information can be found in the introductions to the volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (Burnett *et al.* 1992; Burnett *et al.* 1999). Several Polish researchers have also produced publications on this topic, including B. Lichočka (1996; 2004), A. Kunisz (1983), M. Mielczarek (1985) and S. Skowronek (1978; 1982).

The majority of the 16 Alexandrian coins that are catalogued here are 3rd century AD issues, mainly from the reign of Aurelian (six coins). Eight coin types are already in the possession of The National Museum in Krakow and have been published by S. Skowronek, whereas the rest are new additions to the coin types in the museum collection.

### Catalogue<sup>3</sup>



#### 1. CLAUDIUS

Year 13 (52/3)?

**Obv.** Bust of Claudius r.,

[TIB KAAV KAI CEBAC ΓEPMA]

**Rev.** Eagle on bolt, L I[Γ?]

25.5mm, wt. 8.94g, axis<sup>4</sup> XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9018

Cf. Dattari 1901, 156; Burnett *et al.* 1992, 5193.

<sup>2</sup> The complete series of Dattari's coin rubbings has been published by Adriano Savio (2007, 1st ed. 1999).

<sup>3</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mrs Zofia Gołubiew, Director of the National Museum in Krakow, for permission to publish the coins and photographs submitted by the Museum. All coins – scale 1:1.

<sup>4</sup> The coin axes are depicted in the form of clock hours.

**2. TRAJAN, AE**

Year 7 (103/4)

**Obv.** Head of Trajan r.,

[...] IAN API CEB ΓΕΡΜ [ΔΑΚ]

**Rev.** Zeus sitting l., at l. eagle,  
L[Z]

33mm, wt. 21.07g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9019

Cf. Dattari 1901, 1074.

**3. HADRIAN**

Year 12 (127/28)

**Obv.** Bust of Hadrian r., [...]**Rev.** Nile laying l., in ex.,

[L] Δ [ω] ΔΕΚ

33.3mm, wt. 17.65g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9020

Cf. Dattari 1901, 1805; Vogt  
1924 II, 51; Milne 1971, 1267,  
68; Geissen II 1974, 992-993.**4. CLAUDIUS II**

Year 1 (268/69)

**Obv.** Bust of Claudius II r.,

[A]VT KΛΑΥΔΙΟC C[EB]

**Rev.** Eagle r., head l., LA

21.4mm, wt. 9.68g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9021

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5414; Pool  
1964, 2331; *SNG Copenhagen*  
1974, 837; Geissen 1974, 3015;  
Skowronek 1998, 98-99.

**5. CLAUDIUS II**

Year 3 (270/71)

**Obv.** Bust of Claudius II r.,  
AVT KΛAVΔIOC CEB**Rev.** Eagle r., L Γ

20.7mm, wt. 9.55g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9022

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5413; Pool  
1964, 2336; *SNG**Copenhagen* 1974, 854;

Geissen 1974, 3047;

Skowronek 1998, 116.

**6. AURELIAN**

Year 4 (272/3)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., [A K  
Λ ΔOM AVPHΛIANOC CEB]**Rev.** Eagle r. looking back, [LΔ]

20.6mm, wt. 5.32g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A- 9023

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5492; Pool  
1964, 2365; Geissen 1974,3076; Skowronek 1998, 120-  
121.**7. AURELIAN<sup>5</sup>**

Year 4 (272/3)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., A K  
Λ ΔOM AVPHΛIANOC CEB**Rev.** Eagle standing, looking  
back, between two vexilla, LΔ

20.3mm, wt. 9.8g, axis I

Inv. no. VII-A-9024

Cf. Pool 1964, 2370;

Skowronek 1998, 123.

<sup>5</sup> For the technical reasons it was not possible to publish the photos of this coin.

**8. AURELIAN**

Year 4 (272/3)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., A K Λ  
Δ O M A V P H A I A N O C C E B**Rev.** Emperor standing, globe  
in r. hand (?), prisoner at r., L [Δ]

20.2mm, wt. 7.44g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9025

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5431 (var.)

**9. AURELIAN**

Year 4 (272/3)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., A K Λ  
Δ O M A V P H A I A N O C C E B**Rev.** Eagle r., looking back, holding  
wreath in talons, L Δ

21mm, wt. 7.65g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9026

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5492; Pool  
1964, 2365; Geissen 1974, 3076;  
Skowronek 1998, 120-121.**10. AURELIAN**

Year 6 (274/5)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., [A K Λ  
Δ O M] A V P H A I A N O C C E B**Rev.** Eagle r., wreath and palm in  
beak, E T O V C S

20mm, wt. 7.49g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9027

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5488; Pool 1964,  
2369; *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, 884;  
Geissen 1974, 3095; Skowronek  
1998, 132.

**11. AURELIAN**

Year 6 (274/5)

**Obv.** Bust of Aurelian r., [A K Λ Δ]  
OM AVPHΛ]IANOC CEB**Rev.** Eagle r., wreath and palm  
in beak, [ETOVC ...]

19mm, wt. 5.60g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9028

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5488; Pool 1964,  
2369; *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, 884;  
Geissen 1974, 3095; Skowronek  
1998, 132.**12. PROBUS**

Year 2 (275/77)

**Obv.** Bust of Probus r.,  
[A]KM AVP ΠPOBOC CEB**Rev.** Dikaiosyne standing l., holding  
scales and cornucopia, LB

18.9mm, wt. 6.59g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9029

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5527; Pool 1964,  
2412; *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, 913;  
Geissen 1974, 3127; Skowronek  
1998, 150.**13. PROBUS**

Year 5 (279/280)

**Obv.** Bust of Probus r.,  
AKM AVP ΠPOBOC CEB**Rev.** Victory standing r., holding  
wreath and palm, E L

19mm, wt. 6.35g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9030

Cf. Feuardent 1872, 3324; Dattari  
1901, 5540; Vogt 1924 II, 165;  
Geissen IV 1974, 3148; Savio *et al.*  
1997 III, 2209.

**14. DIOCLETIAN**

Year 3 (286/87)



**Obv.** Bust of Diocletian r.,  
AKΓ OVA ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟC CEB

**Rev.** Tyche standing l., \* ETOVC Γ  
19.8mm, wt. 7.93g, axis XI

Inv. no. VII-A-9031

Cf. Feuardent 1872, 3381; Dattari  
1901, 5757; Vogt 1924 II, 168; Savio  
*et al.* 1997 III, 2276.

**15. DIOCLETIAN**

Year 10 (293/94)



**Obv.** Bust of Diocletian r., [AKΓ  
OVA] ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟC CEB

**Rev.** Tyche, L I  
18.9mm, wt. 7.68g, axis XII

Inv. no. VII-A-9032

Cf. Dattari 1901, 5762.

**16. MAXIMIAN**

Year 3 (287/88)



**Obv.** Bust of Maximianus r., [A K M  
OVA MAXIMIANOC CEB]

**Rev.** Eagle standing r., \* L [Γ]  
19.1mm, wt. 7.59g, axis I

Inv. no VII-A-9033

Cf. Dattari 1901, 6019; Vogt 1924 II,  
169; Geissen 1974 IV, 3290; Savio  
*et al.* 1997 III, 2332.

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BETWEEN EAST AND WEST:  
EARLY CHRISTIAN  
ARCHITECTURE IN MACEDONIA  
IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

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The aim of this article is to examine the early Christian architecture of Macedonia and to put it into the context of the local liturgy and common beliefs. The area of Macedonia closely connected with ancient Greece was mainly defined as a political unit. During early Christian times the lands were part of the Roman *Provincia Macedoniae*, which was officially established in 146 BC. At some point during the 4th century AD, the province of Macedonia itself was divided into *Macedonia Prima* in the south and *Macedonia Salutaris* in the north. These provinces were all subordinate to the Diocese of Macedonia, one of the three dioceses which were included in the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum – a large prefecture set up in AD 318 under the sway of Rome and the West. From an ecclesiastical standpoint, Macedonia also stood between East and West. As it was part of the civic organization of Illyricum, the Archbishop of Thessalonika was officially under the Pope at Rome, although it is clear that the geographical proximity to the Patriarch at Constantinople made his allegiance a matter of convenience. Macedonia was not only connected to the East in terms of ecclesiastical politics. It also had cultural and economic ties. It is almost certain, for example, that the liturgy in Macedonia was in Greek, rather than in Latin, as was the case in most of the regions under Papal jurisdiction. The local liturgy itself, however, was not a simple manifestation of Constantinopolitan rites. A number of vital differences existed between the design, interior and furnishing of Macedonian structures and those of Constantinople. These

differences could be seen as a reflection of the different status held by provincial and capital buildings but primarily are a clear indication of varied liturgical traditions.

The first references to consistent rites which would, with time, morph into liturgy, come from the 2nd century AD. In fact, they were already present in the *Didache* (9-10). The constitution of the liturgy had an immediate impact upon the structure of society, dividing it into two clearly separate groups: clergy and laymen. Simultaneously, with the emergence of repeated rites and the formation of the church hierarchy, important changes were introduced in the gathering area. Churches built from the 4th century AD onwards followed strict rules, closely linked with the local liturgy. This connection is stressed especially by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (Rorem 1993, 18-24). Therefore, no analysis of the architecture, furnishings and decoration of Macedonian churches can be made without referring to the aforementioned rites. Bereft of liturgical context, even the most scrupulous study is lacking. Regrettably, except for the much later *Miracula*, no liturgical text directly linked to the Macedonian province exists today, forcing researchers to base their hypotheses upon the *Apostolic Constitution* and *Testamentum Domini*. It is worth mentioning that the similarities between these sources and the artifacts uncovered in Macedonia are quite significant. Still, as pointed out by T. Mathews (1971, 120-121), the general usefulness of both texts in this particular area is seriously limited. Analyzing early Christian liturgy, therefore, is a task based mainly on archaeological data. It is essential that we recognize the highly integrated relationship between the ideas of order, ritual, and architecture. Thanks to that, even though the literary evidence concerning Macedonia limits our discussion to general points (for which we require the help of architectural remains: designs of churches, the arrangement of the main church elements and interior furnishing), it is nevertheless possible to postulate the basic structure of the liturgy, rites and beliefs.

### **Plan of churches**

More than 75 published plans of early Christian Macedonian structures have been studied in order to establish that the dominant type of church building erected there, between the 4th and the 6th century AD, was a three-aisled basilica of Hellenistic origin, topped with a wooden roof. Such objects constitute 69% of the examples analyzed. Having taken into consideration the fact that a large number of artifacts still remain to be studied or published, it is still safe to assume that around 80-90% of the Macedonian sacral

monuments of the time followed a basilical model. They held a plethora of functions being at the same time a cemetery basilica, a basilica-martyrion and the seat of the archbishop, bishop, presbyter or chorepiscopus. Apart from the three-aisled basilicas, one- and five-aisled constructions were also erected. The one-aisled constructions with a semicircular apse at the back are linked to the cult of the dead. Two of this kind held the function of memoria-Martyrion: the so-called martyrion of St Demetrios and the Domicilium of Sergius Pragmateutes. Another of this type is a building erected above grave 51 in Europos, which is treated as a cemetery basilica. Five-aisled basilicas erected within city walls, meanwhile, were typical of the 5th century AD only, with examples being the Basilica of St Demetrios and Hagia Sophia II of Thessalonika as well as a structure from Ohrid (ancient Lychnidos).

Apart from the basilicas, Christian buildings based on a central design can also be found in Macedonia<sup>1</sup>. They were either constructed outside the city walls, in which case they are interpreted as martyria (Konjuh, Akrini, Amphipolis, the necropolis by Triti Septembriou street in Thessalonika), or within (Philippi, Lin, Ohrid) due to the proximity of episkopeia thought to be cathedrals (bishop seats).

### **The main elements of the architectonic plan**

#### *The Atrium*

As far as we know atrium was introduced to ecclesiastical architecture with Constantine's benefactions. This element is closely linked to Christian buildings but it evolved from a court. It is a kind well-known from urban architecture and a similar structure can be found in the temene of pagan deities (Pallas 1984, 89). In construction terms, the model atrium preceding Macedonian churches was that of a large rectangular court surrounded on three sides by a colonnade and located in the western part of the narthex, in front of the actual interior of the church (Orlandos 1952, 94-124). As this model was sometimes adapted to the design of earlier structures, various alternatives appear – a trapezoid atrium (the Bishop Philip Basilica) or an atrium situated alongside the southern wall of a basilica (Amphipolis Basilica C). Not all basilicas were preceded by an atrium. Literary sources mention two main solutions concerning the initial part of the liturgy: with a festive procession and without a group entrance. Describing the Tyre

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<sup>1</sup> The current article covers 10 examples of the central plan-based buildings, which constitute a little over 13% of the material gathered by the author.

cathedral in his *Church History*, Eusebius (4.40) depicts a structure with an atrium where the faithful gather in order to enter the church together in specified groups. This type of festive procession, heading towards the altar, can probably be traced back to pagan rites, or more directly to those present in mystic cults. Meanwhile, canon 56 of the Laodicea Synod (between AD 321-381) admonishes the priests for taking their place in the sanctuary with the deacons rather than before them. The above mentioned text clearly indicates a kind of liturgy without a group entrance. People come gradually, taking their specific places before the actual ritual begins. In this case a gathering place like an atrium is unnecessary, although the liturgy does not exclude its existence (Pallas 1984, 88).

In the province of Macedonia, as in the whole of the Illyricum diocese, both types of churches are present – those preceded by atria, and those without it. In the second case, the role of the atrium could be taken over by the first narthex, usually larger than the one directly before the entrance – called an exonarthex (Pallas 1984, 99). This structure is common for Macedonia and is present in the basilica of the Tumba in Thessalonika, and the basilicas of Suvodol, Radolista, Heraclea Lykensis and Stobi.

A much rarer solution included two consecutive atria, for instance in Studencista or Basilica A of Philippi. Dual atria were also known outside of the Macedonian province, mainly in Palestine (the Basilica of Mount Olivet and the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem) and in Syria. Such structures were typical of large churches which were clearly pilgrimage centers. The example of the Studencista basilica indicates that dual atria were also used when the church was being erected in places linked with pagan cults. Therefore, dual atria tend to appear whenever the designated building area was somehow unusual. The first atrium probably served mainly pilgrims – a hypothesis backed by the presence of water tanks. One such object, discovered in the center of the first atrium in Basilica A of Philippi, measured 6.60 x 5.00m and covered almost the entire surface of the room that was not roofed. Another example, of slightly smaller dimensions, was unearthed during work on Basilica B of Dion. Both tanks were placed in open space and their function rather differed from that of a baptistery. Admittedly, a passage in *Testamentum Domini* (1.19) states that '*Intra atrium sit aedes baptisterii*', but this surely only concerned smaller churches as both the aforementioned basilicas possessed separate rooms with baptismal pools. Water from the impluvium was used mainly for ritual cleansing purposes before taking part in the Holy Eucharist (Orlandos 1952, 110-124). According to Constantinopolitan tradition, as well as later practice,

it also played an important role in the water-blessing ritual during 'Teofania' (Epiphany) and at the beginning of each month (Pallas 1984, 96).

The atrium served as a buffer between the *sacrum* and *profanum* spheres hence the presence of a monumental entrance taking the form of a sophisticated portico or propylea. Such constructions were rare though and only present in large buildings, for example Basilica A of Philippi. As a transition point between *sacrum* and *profanum*, separating these two spheres and breaking the homogeneity of the space, the atrium itself was never considered a holy area. Above all, it functioned as a gathering place for Christians, where they prepared to meet their Lord during prayer and the Eucharist. Even though some preliminary rites could take place inside the atrium, it was primarily a kind of Christian agora. For that reason, catechumen were lectured there, as confirmed by the remains of round stone blocks with a diameter of c. 3.30m found in the atrium of Basilica A of Amphipolis, forming a sort of tribune where the bishop's chair could be placed (Pallas 1973, 96-97). Similar constructions are also known from the St Jeremiaiah monastery in Saqqara and the Medina mosque but no analogies occur in Macedonian provinces.

### *The Narthex*

An element present in all types of Christian buildings in Macedonia. It was here that the Eucharist procession formed before entering the naos and it was from the narthex also that many additional rooms in the northern and southern parts of the basilica were accessible, including those connected with the baptistery. A hypothesis, formed by A. Orlandos (1955-1956, 119-120) and Pallas (1984, 109-110) on the grounds that a baptistery is often placed directly next to a narthex as well as clues from the *Testamentum Domini* (1.19), suggests that the narthex area played the role of the catechumen room. In light of recent excavations, however, this idea is now, more often than not, rejected (Caraher 2003, 120).

### *Church Entrances*

The area connecting the atrium and the narthex could be arranged in a variety of different ways. In Constantinople, we find one entrance, positioned on the building's axis, leading directly from the unroofed part of the atrium to the narthex, with two side entrances situated at the portico's extensions (Pallas 1984, 102). Macedonian architects also used this arrangement, but in the Achaea region the narthex was always separated from the unroofed part of the atrium and only accessible via entrances

at the ends of the porticos (Caraher 2003, 108). The Baptismal Basilica of Stobi, as well as those erected in Heraclea and Radolista, followed this alternative design (Pallas 1984, 102). As other solutions can also be found, one comes to the conclusion that no rules applied to the number of passages between the atrium and the narthex and their arrangement in Macedonia. The narthex could even be completely separated from the atrium, as can be observed in the Dion-Basilica Outside the Walls, where the narthex is only accessible from the southern side. Between the narthex and the naos, as many as three passageways leading to the side aisles were constructed, while the central entrance, in the form of a tribelon, granted access to the main nave (Pallas 1984, 111).

Apart from the western doors, additional entrances also led directly to the eastern part of the church. For example, the side passageway near the apse offered quick access to the building's most important part – the sanctuary. It would seem that no rules applied to the arrangement of these side doors. Although the greatest churches of Thessalonika possessed two additional entrances, not every structure in the city's area followed that design – the Toumba basilica, just outside the walls, has only one additional passageway in the north, while the cemetery basilica on Triti Septembriou street, like the majority of Macedonian buildings, has none. Given the fact, that the side doors flanking the apse are typical of Constantinople churches (Mathews 1971, 105), it is possible that this double scheme was a way of copying metropolitan trends.

### *The Naos*

It is generally accepted that the main nave, preceded by a tribelon, was strictly reserved for the clergy and other active liturgy participants. According to *Testamentum Domini* (1.19), the entrance on the tribelon's left side leading to the southern aisle served women, while men used the one on the right. Each group later took their designated places. Side aisles were usually separated from the central one by means of stylobate based columns. Relatively high stylobates, measuring 30-40m in most cases, made the passage through the aisles particularly difficult. Additionally, a wall of marble panels filled the spaces between columns to separate different groups of participants. Their presence is implied by the incisions visible in columns and bases (Caraher 2003, 105). The marble plates typically measured around 75-80m and were covered in relief decoration. Occasionally, two stylobates with a corresponding double row of columns separated the aisles. Higher columns supported the arches while the lower ones were

constructed only to support the dividing walls. Such double structures can be found in the Basilica of Bishop Philip in Stobi and the basilica by the Philippi Museum, while the partitions separating the gathering appear in almost every basilica of the Macedonian diocese. They were also widely used in Achaëa and on the Aegean islands (Pallas 1984, 111), although they were practically unheard of in Constantinople<sup>2</sup>. This last factor was in all probability due to the difference in the allocation of aisles – in the capital, the central one was no longer reserved for the clergy or directly associated with liturgy. Here it served the faithful (Pallas 1984, 114). In the Macedonian province a different floor level was often used to further mark the nave separation as well as a distinct mosaic decoration. This division was to stress the nature of the aisles and to clearly mark the area devoted to the liturgy. The physical separation of the gathering was of less importance, as the free area left allowed for easy communication between the aisles (Sodini 1984b, 70-87).

### *The Transept*

Even though the genesis and the shape of the transept are undoubtedly related to the church's liturgical functioning, a more scrupulous study of this particular element is required. The hypothesis put forward by a group of researchers, who consider the transept as a place where sacrifices were laid down by the faithful<sup>3</sup>, has yet to be confirmed by archaeological data. It is widely accepted therefore, that the structure's main role was to further distinguish the sanctuary area. A classification of transepts according to their design has been formed by R. Krautheimer (1957, 283-289) and contains the following groups:

- a continuous transept, acknowledged as a transverse space between the aisles and the apse
- a tripartite transept
- a cross transept – a type present in its developed form in the St Menas Basilica in Deir Abu Mina.

In Macedonia, a fully developed transept can be found in three places only: the Basilica of Agia Paraskeui, the Basilica of St Demetrios in Thessalonika (a tripartite transept) and in Philippi: Basilica A (cross transept), Basilica B and the Basilica by the Museum (continuous transept).

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<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the basilica uncovered beneath Bayazid mosque.

<sup>3</sup> Hypothesis suggested by Th. Klauser (1937, 57), who wrongly assumed the presence of transept in the Lateran basilica.

### *The Apse*

The most archetypal element of Christian monuments, referred to in sources as *concha* (Paulin from Nola *Ep.* 32.12), *tribunal* (Prudent *Perist.* 11. 225), or *absis* (Paulin from Nola *Ep.* 32.16). Its presence in Macedonia can be traced back to the earliest constructions of the area, for example the 4th century AD martyrion-memoria of St Demetrios. The issue has been extensively studied by Ch. Delvoye (1962, 291-529), who has created a typology of this architectural form. The type almost universally used in Macedonia was that of a semicircular apse. The polygonal construction only appears in the architectural design of the Amphipolis hexagon. From the middle of the 4th century AD, a tendency can be observed for a deeper apse, which could quite possibly be linked to the liturgical function of this part (Filarska 1983, 177). The apse held the most important element of the church – the sanctuary. It was here that the altar stood and the clergy gathered.

In terms of construction, one can divide Christian monuments into two groups: those with an independent apse leaning forwards and those with the apse recessed within the thickness of the wall. The latter, typical of the North Africa and Orient prefecture, only appears in a handful of Macedonian buildings (the Tumba Basilica and the Basilica of St Demetrios of Thessalonika, the Basilica Minor of Heraclea and in the Martyrion of Konjuh). In all the other monuments the first type prevails. In order to strengthen the structure, buttresses were used at times. They can be found in Basilica B of Philippi, Basilica B and the one Outside the Walls in Dion, the Basilica Major of Heraclea, the Basilica Hagia Sophia II and the Triti Septembriou at Thessalonika and, lastly, at Policonque in Ohrid. The majority of apse buildings with buttresses are dated to the 5th century AD.

### *The Sanctuary*

It enclosed the whole apse and part of the preceding main nave or part of a transept. Its dimensions had to be large enough to accommodate all of the clergy taking part in anaphora. The area containing the sanctuary was always strictly isolated, with the floor level usually 10-40cm above that of the main nave (Pallas 1984, 129).

The sanctuary area is referred to in sources as *bema*. This term, present in the *Apostolic Constitution* (8.11.10), was at first exclusively applied to solea. The word *bema* is used mainly in reference to Syrian churches, while for Macedonian monuments the term ‘sanctuary’ seems more appropriate. In early Christian churches, sanctuaries were flanked by additional rooms

with an apse at the back – the *pastoforia*, which led to the development of a tripartite sanctuary. This solution, mentioned as early as Paulin from Nola (d. 431 *Ep.* 32.13), was typical of Syrian, Cypriot and Palestinian architecture, yet apart from *Agia Paraskevi* Basilica, almost absent in Macedonia<sup>4</sup>. The rooms flanking the apse in Basilica B of Philippi cannot be regarded as a tripartite sanctuary as they were just low annexes. Similarly, an extra room added on the southern side of the *Agora Basilica* apse in Thassos, deviates heavily from the *naos* axis.

### *Annexes*

#### *Baptisteries*

In Macedonian provinces they were never erected as independent buildings, apart from the baptistery of Stobi, which is connected with the Basilica of Bishop Philip by means of a passage, or the complex of baptistery related rooms between the Octagon and Episcopion at Philippi.

The majority of baptisteries were located close to the northern side of basilica (e.g. in Bargala, Suvodol and Philippi), although at Heraclea and in the Lake Ohrid region they appear on the southern side whilst Basilica B of Dion has a baptistery placed west of the first atrium. Rooms housing the baptismal pool followed the central design of a rectangle or trifoil (Stobi – Central Basilica, Ohrid – Policonque). The most popular form of baptismal pool, found not only in the Balkan region, but also in North Africa, Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, was a cross (Bitrakova 1975, 31).

#### *Diaconicon – prosthesis*

In Macedonian churches bereft of *pastoforia*, the function of prosthesis and diaconicon was taken over by annexes erected alongside the northern and southern walls of the narthex or atrium. Gifts could also be laid down in specific areas of the side aisles (e.g. Dion Basilica B).

#### *Galleries*

Alternatively called *emporia*, they towered over the side aisles, opened towards the central nave and were secured with balustrades. Many attempts have been made to associate particular galleries with certain groups of people. Some consider them a place reserved for women called *matronon*, whilst others consider them to be the area set aside for catechumens. It is widely supposed that galleries were constructed in every major church of Macedonia. They were present in Thessalonika: the Basilica

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<sup>4</sup> *Pastoforia* functions were taken over by annexes see below.

of St Demetrios (Krauthimer 1986, 133) an Acheiropoietos (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta 1997, 184) without any doubt.

## **Furnishings**

### *Benches for the worshippers*

Side aisles where people gathered were often equipped with stone benches, usually lining the walls. Examples have been found in Nikiti on the Chalkidiki peninsula, in Basilica C of Amfipolis, in the Octagon of Philippi and in the Thassos island basilicas. Similar benches, placed alongside the colonnades of the central nave were present in Basilica A of Philippi, in Studencista and in the Basilica Outside the Walls in Lychnidos. At the Basilica of Aliko in Thassos they were situated by the western wall on both sides of the entrance. These sitting places in the main nave also served the faithful – cantors, archonts, lectors (Pallas 1984, 115). Benches for the faithful are amongst the most typical elements of Macedonian churches, very rarely appearing even in the culturally close Achaea.

### *Pulpit, solea*

A group of people gradually emerged whose task it was to sing psalms and improvised Eucharistic hymns during the liturgy. Due to acoustic considerations, they occupied the central part of the church, sometimes performing on a platform or another type of elevation. From the early 4th century AD, the pulpit was considered to be a space assigned to singers (Pallas 1984, 119). It was used for that purpose until the end of the Byzantine period. This particular element, nevertheless, remained unknown in some societies. Pulpits are practically completely absent from the churches of North Africa and Syria and they appear in Rome late (c. the 7th century AD) as a result of Constantinopolitan influence (Mathews 1962, 86-87). From the abovementioned observations, it follows that pulpits served mainly those churches where the liturgical language was Greek. In terms of construction, several types of pulpits can be distinguished in Macedonia:

- with southern and northern entrances (Stobi, Basilica A of Amphipolis, Basilica A of Philippi)

- with a single entrance (Thessalonika: Hagia Sophia, St Menas, Acheiropoietos, the Basilica of St Demetrios, Bargala, Konjuh) (Sodini 1984a, 290).

Excavations in two of the Philippi churches (the Basilica by the Museum and the Octagon) have brought two pulpits to light: one large

(of the dual entrance type) and the other smaller (with a single entrance situated in the sanctuary area). They appear not to have been used simultaneously. The significant age difference between the two Octagon pulpits is stressed by G. Gounaris (1984, 137) – the older, larger one, placed outside the sanctuary, is dated to the last quarter of the 4th century AD, while the one located within was constructed at the beginning of the 6th century AD. Both pulpits found on the premises of the Basilica by the Museum are dated to the early 7th century AD. The atypical placement of the minor pulpits inside the sanctuary area<sup>5</sup> is worth noting.

In the very beginning, pulpits were located directly on the church axis preceding the entrance to the sanctuary. Later, they were shifted to the north or south. The pulpits of the Macedonian provinces are usually on the southern side, as shown by Jean-Pierre Sodini (1975, 95), although there are a few exceptions (e.g. Basilica B and the Basilica Outside the Walls in Philippi). An arrangement similar to Macedonian was customary also in the Latin-speaking Dardania, while in the region of Achaëa the pulpits were traditionally shifted to the north (Pallas 1984, 123). As a result, two separate traditions emerged with two distinct centers: Thessalonika and Corinth (the main bishopric of Achaëa). The purpose of the pulpit shift (from its original central place towards the right, in the direction of the southern aisle), can be illustrated by the example of Basilica B of Nicopolis: a passageway had to be created for processions heading to the sanctuary by means of the main nave. Initially, with the pulpit in the middle of the central nave, a sort of corridor was created with the use of solea between it and the cancelli wall. Solea were abandoned after the pulpits were shifted. This particular basilical element was especially important in the imperial cities of Rome, Milan and Constantinople, where the main nave was partially used by the faithful. The creation of solea stressed the separate role and difference in rank of people taking an active part in the liturgy. In Macedonia, the whole main nave was assigned to clergy. For that reason, solea appear there rarely – in Macedonia only two examples of this element can be found: in Philippi (the Basilica Outside the Walls) (Pelekanidis 1955, 159) and Thessalonika (Hagia Sophia II) (Pallas 1984, 128 after Symeon of Thessalonika, *Hypotyposis*). It is valid to speculate that in the second case the use of solea in the archbishop basilica expressed the city's aspirations for the title of the second capital of the East.

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<sup>5</sup> G. Gounaris (1984, 139) suggests that the pulpits be considered a monumental form of the portable pulpits used by Thessalonika bishops. However, the first mention of such objects comes from the time around AD 1400.

### *Cancelli and ciborium*

The element which directly set the boundaries of the sanctuary area was the cancelli, a balustrade surrounding the altar on the entrance side. It consisted of a number of posts with plates, usually made of precious marble, which was replaced by a brick wall inserted in-between in minor centers e.g. Vaskochori (Hoddinott 1963, 183).

In Macedonia, cancelli could take the form of a balustrade or a letter Π-shaped wall with one entrance (Orlandos 1952, 509). This entrance, created on the apse axis, gradually took monumental form, that of a single arcade, tetrastylon or a quadripartite triumphal arch decorated with a canopy called *τετρακάμαρον*. Cancelli corners or, in the case of larger monuments, the sanctuary center, could house often richly adorned columns, which supported the canopy over the altar. This arrangement, stressing the altar's importance and utmost dignity, was typical for eastern churches, its prototype being, in all probability, a ciborium erected above a grave in the Anastasis Church of Jerusalem, well known from pilgrim ampoules in the Bobio and Monza collections (Donceel-Voute 1988, 508). The altar enclosure (cancelli and ciborium) grew in time to become a fully-furnished form creating the iconostasis present in the Christian East right up to the present day (Partyka 2003, 15).

### *Altar*

According to liturgical tradition, one can interpret its purpose in a dual symbolic way – as the mystical table of the Last Supper or as the tomb of Christ (the places of his noble death and resurrection) (Donceel-Voute 1988, 508). Correspondingly, in Macedonia, all altars take the form of a table. In basilica-martyrions e.g. in Sv. Erazmo (Vessely 1984, 684) and cemetery basilicas e.g. beneath Triti Septembriou Street in Thessalonika (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta 1997, 36), a small depression (*enkainikon*) can be found beneath the altar, the place where the reliquary was stored.

### *Thalassa*

A small water tank situated in the sanctuary area for ritual ablutions performed by a bishop during the liturgy (Caraher 2003, 113). It is, however, an element of the early Christian church very rare in Macedonia.

### *Synthronon*

The Macedonian synthronon was usually of the so-called Greek type, consisting of two elements: benches lining the apse, with the bishop's chair in the center, and two benches for the priests on both sides of the altar. This form probably originated from the diocese of Noricum (Pallas 1984, 134) and then spread widely to Palestine, Asia Minor and North Africa, reaching the Balkans much later. It is, for instance, absent from the otherwise richly adorned basilica of Epidauros. Amongst the oldest of the Macedonian synthrona only two can be accurately dated: that of the Episcopal Basilica in Thessalonika (Hagia Sophia II) and Basilica A of Philippi (Pallas 1984, 135). Likewise, the presence of the Greek-type synthronon is confirmed by several monuments (e.g. the Episcopal church in Bargala, the Martyrion of Konjuh and the rural basilica in Suvodol). This particular element could, however, take different shapes. In Basilica A of Dion, A and B of Amfipolis, the Thassos Agora and Aliko, a simple synthronon was used, consisting purely of benches located in the apse. The simple type reached these regions later than the compound one, in all likelihood as a result of Constantinopolitan influence (Pallas 1984, 136). Several examples show additional, wooden benches beside the simple stone synthronon for the clergy. Their presence is suspected in the Basilica of Edessa and the Basilica Outside the Walls in Philippi. In the Basilica of Bargala they coexisted with the Greek-type synthronon. A curious architectural element linked closely to the one currently under discussion is that of a smallish corridor in the base of the synthronon, the so-called *κύκλιον* (kyklion). Originally of structural importance, it later acquired liturgical meaning connected with the cult of martyrs (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta 1997, 36). The kyklion can be found in three Macedonian basilicas: the Basilica of Bishop Philip in Stobi as well as the Basilica of Hagia Sophia II and the Basilica on Triti Septembriou Street in Thessalonika.

### *Sacrificial tables*

Called *almaria* in Roman liturgical tradition and *παρατραπέζια* in Greek, they were the place where gifts brought by the faithful were laid down. Cyprian (*De opere et elemosynis* 15) mentions this custom:

‘You are wealthy and rich, and do you think that you celebrate the Lord’s Supper, not at all considering the offering, who come to the Lord’s Supper

without a sacrifice, and yet take part of the sacrifice which the poor man has offered?’<sup>6</sup>

In Macedonia, sacrificial tables were present in the area of the sanctuary or the annex (the prothesis). The best preserved example of *paratrapezia* are the tables discovered in the Basilica by the Museum in Philippi (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Marki 1991, 950).

## Conclusions

In his analysis of the main features in Greek-Macedonian architecture, R. Krauthimer (1986, 128-129) describes its complex nature as a mixture of the typical eastern elements present in Constantinople churches and in the Aegean Islands with those adapted from the West (Rome, Milan). He considers the introduction of the transept to be the result of Roman influence, while the eastern components included the atrium, narthex, pulpit and the Ionic impost capitals as arcade supports.

The statement made above can be further clarified and complemented by scrupulous research into the development of the Macedonian liturgy and its impact upon church architecture. As a Roman import, the transept appears quite rarely (in the structures erected in Philippi, Agia Paraskevi and Thessalonika). Similarly scarce is the corridor lining the apse (*kyklion*), which resembles a construction created in Rome by Pope Gregory the Great. The atrium and the narthex, on the other hand, are present in the majority of Macedonian churches. The simple fact is that the local Greek liturgy had a direct impact upon the architecture and furnishings of the church, which consequently followed mainly Constantinopolitan patterns. Only high stylobates, intercolumnia filled with marble plates, the construction of tribelon, the lack of solea and pulpits shifted to the south are elements which are actually alien to the architecture of the capital. The distinct nature of the Macedonian church is further confirmed by the characteristic features of local spirituality. Without doubt, the poorly developed cult of the dead resulted in the absence of a separate liturgy for mortuary monuments. Churches within the city walls, rural basilicas, *martyria* and cemetery basilicas were all based on similar designs, with no radical differences in decoration or furnishings. Cemetery basilicas housed both the *synthronon* and baptistery (Basilica Outside the Walls in Dion), elements typical for Episcopal churches. Liturgical patterns were identical within city walls and

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<sup>6</sup> Trans. Ph. Schaff, cf. e.g. *Ante Nicene fathers* 5, A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A. Coxe (eds), New York 1997.

outside them. In opposition to the rest of the Christian ecumene, baptism was a sacrament which often took place away from the cathedral – the main church of the region. In fact, baptisteries were constructed in cemetery basilicas, monastery complexes, rural basilicas and also in structures erected in place of pagan sanctuaries. Every church that housed a baptistery needed a synthronon as well, with a distinguished seat for the bishop.

The introduction of the basilica-martyrion within the city walls in the early 5th century AD should not be linked to changes in the liturgy or to the attitude towards the cult of dead. As P. Brown (1981, 31-49) has stressed, the reason behind the transfer of relics to the city appears not to have been the growth of religious feeling but rather the aspirations of the church hierarchy to raise the prestige of the sanctuaries – the seats of the bishops and presbyters. The lack of a fully developed cult of the dead in previous ages meant that relics had to be obtained from remote places (e.g. from Constantinople to Thasos). At the time not one pilgrimage centre with direct links to a specific holy martyr had been built in Macedonia. Both Philippi and Amfipolis had close connections with St Paul, who was considered to be the founder of the Macedonian church. Thessalonika, with its distinct cult of St Demetrios, should clearly be treated as an exception among the local cities. Additionally, as the miracles described in the *Miracula* relate mainly to the period of Slavic raids, the cult itself must have emerged quite late. What is more, no pilgrim ampoule of St Demetrios, an essential element of Eastern pilgrim piety, has been found in the Thessalonika area or in the nearby countryside.

Apart from a faint interest in the cult of holy martyrs and the lack of places distinctly related to pilgrim movement, one more manifestation of folk spirituality was also absent in Macedonia – processions. Taking into consideration the fact that no clear rules had been worked out concerning either the passages between the atrium and the narthex and the narthex and the main nave, or the arrangement of side entrances, the procession mentioned in sources – *anaphora* – must have failed to adapt a highly ceremonial form. Unlike in Constantinople, here the faithful assembled in the side aisles instead of following the clergy into the main nave. They were merely observers of the procession as it moved from the narthex, through the tribelon and central nave, towards the sanctuary.

A distinct division into two spheres can be observed in Macedonian church buildings: the narthex and the central nave were reserved above all for the clergy, while the atrium (exonarthex), side aisles and galleries served the faithful. This separation was further stressed by special constructions:

high stylobates, marble panels between columns as well as architectural decoration and floor ornaments.

The course of the liturgy was represented by four distinct places where Eucharistic rites were carried out: the area for gifts brought by the faithful (*paratrapezia*), the site of the liturgy of the Word (the pulpit), the transfiguration location (the altar) and the place for pilgrims to receive the Eucharist (the cancelli) (Filarska 1983, 189).

Undoubtedly, both the liturgy and the architecture of Macedonia in the period discussed underwent changes, the actual character of which is often elusive. It can be observed, though, that by the end of the 6th century AD, priority was given to decorative issues, especially in the churches of the two pilgrimage centres of Amphipolis and Philippi. Continuously present is also the tendency to alter building proportions. D. Pallas (1990, Corinth) has gone as far as to propose a dating system based on the morphological changes in the churches of Achaëa and Macedonia. So far his method has failed to gain much popularity. The side aisles were clearly widened because they housed the largest group of participants – the faithful. Changes observed in the course of the 6th century AD, including side aisle expansion and a focus on decoration, heralded the approaching transformation of the Hellenistic basilica into a Byzantine dome church. This search for new solutions is perfectly evident in the construction of Basilica B in Philippi. It is also worth mentioning that, from the late 5th century AD, an increase in the number of monuments erected using a central design occurred. This type of gradual change in construction is typical for the whole area of the Eastern Empire. From the end of the 6th to the early 7th century AD, the transformation process came to an end, first in the capital city of Constantinople and later in the rest of the country, with the emergence of fully developed Byzantine architecture. Due to the decline of the urban economy caused by Slavic raids, which resulted in a lack of cultural continuity, the question how far new patterns developed by Macedonian architects have influenced on the Byzantine style remains unanswered. It should be stated, nevertheless, that despite the unoriginal nature of Macedonian liturgy and architecture, it created a unique whole, taking the best from Western and Eastern traditions.

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‘LA NACIÓN QUE HONRA SU PASADO,  
SE HONRA A SÍ MISMO’<sup>1</sup>.  
EL DIFÍCIL INICIO DE LA MUSEOLOGÍA  
NACIONAL Y PROTECCIÓN  
DEL PATRIMONIO ARQUEOLÓGICO  
DEL PERÚ (1822-1911)

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Buscando ‘Eldorado’

La Protección y salvaguardia del patrimonio arqueológico del Perú casi desde el principio no fue una tarea fácil. En el período comprendido entre el comienzo de la colonización europea y el final del siglo XVII no existía en el Perú el concepto de pasado arqueológico como documento y fuente de conocimientos sobre la historia pasada. Durante el periodo colonial fueron muchos los factores que intervinieron en la destrucción de los sitios arqueológicos en el Perú: las guerras civiles, la actividad de los curas y sobre todo la actividad de los buscadores de tesoros. El saqueo y la destrucción de los logros artísticos y culturales de las sociedades indígenas tiene sus orígenes en los años 30 del siglo XVI, cuando en la región andina aparecieron los primeros conquistadores soñando ‘ciudades de oro’ y buscando su Eldorado. Los objetos encontrados en aquella época fueron vistos principalmente a través de su valor material (sobre todo cuando podrían ser fundidos en lingotes de oro o de plata) o en el contexto de lucha con el paganismo durante la campaña de extirpación de las idolatrías, y no por su valor histórico. En la primera mitad del siglo XVI se habían destruido asentamientos y cementerios de la población autóctona en una proporción

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<sup>1</sup> Uhle 1906, 414.

altamente significativa. En busca de oro y los objetos bellos, que podrían dar un esplendor a ‘colecciones de curiosidades’ de la nobleza española y de la casa real, se excavaba las tumbas, pirámides, los restos de los lugares de culto (huacas). A veces, la documentación de los resultados se llevó a cabo (a menudo las descripciones, ilustraciones, muy raro), pero no se hicieron planos o mapas, y la interpretación de lo que se encontró fue muy contaminada por el fanatismo religioso. Fue una época en que el interés pecuniario y conversión primaban sobre cualquier consideración histórica. Mientras los sacerdotes y extirpadores de idolatría cumplían cédulas reales e instrucciones de la administración colonial (1538, 1545), los buscadores de tesoros (civiles, militares, seculares o religiosos) dismantelaban y destruían los monumentos antiguos sin el menor miramiento, frenéticos por encontrar los objetos preciosos. Santuarios, templos y sepulturas funerarios fueron los lugares que ante todo pretendían apagar ‘la sed’ de oro<sup>2</sup>. Cabe señalar que, ante el saqueo de tal escala, y la actividad extraordinaria de los buscadores de tesoros el gobierno colonial no ignoró sus derechos a todos los bienes materiales del Nuevo Mundo. Las diversas disposiciones contenidas en la legislación española sobre la búsqueda o hallazgo de tesoros de huacas, cementerios, sepulturas o palacios antiguos establecían los derechos de propiedad de la Corona. En primer lugar la propiedad del Estado sobre las antigüedades se manifestó en el ‘quinto real’ – idea de protección de los impuestos reales según el concepto ampliamente conocido del derecho de propiedad (*ius quiritium*). Ya Carlos V en 1536 y 1544, como Virrey del Perú y Francisco de Toledo en 1574 fueron explícitos en cuanto señalaban que los tesoros que se descubriesen en enterramientos, huacas (sitios de culto) o sepulturas son propiedad de la Corona y que en su búsqueda deben cumplirse trámites regulares. Carlos V publicó un decreto para prohibir la destrucción de monumentos y restos de la estabilidad de la arquitectura precolombina, a partir de 1541 reconociendo oficialmente los objetos encontrados en las tumbas, templos, tesoros, y que forma parte del rey de España. La resolución del Concilio Limense II celebrado en 1567 penaba con excomunión a quienes ‘desbaraten las sepulturas de los Indios, aunque sean infieles’ (cita de: Ravines 1984, 178). La Ley V, dada por Felipe II en Madrid en 27 de febrero de 1575 señalaba que ni iglesias ni visitadores ni militares tienen derecho a los tesoros ni bienes de adoratorios o huacas, porque todo pertenece a la Corona

<sup>2</sup> Por Cédula Real de 1534 consta que Hernando Pizarro llevó a España 5048 marcos de plata y 100 427 castellanos de oro, con 38 vasijas y un ídolo de oro que representa un niño de dos años como parte de botín del Cusco (Ravines 1984, 176-177).

(Rowe 1964; Lamas Puccio 1978-1983; Ravines 1984, 173-178). A pesar de todas las prohibiciones y restricciones reales, en realidad las primeras etapas de la colonización del Perú han contribuido a la destrucción enorme de su patrimonio arqueológico.

### **Nacimiento de la nación y el Museo como ‘santuario de la Patria’: época 1822-1850**

La construcción del estado nacional al principio del siglo XIX implicaba experiencias concretas de algo común para alimentar una identidad colectiva – identidad nacional. De ahí que la construcción del estado nacional incluía una reconstrucción del pasado; selección de entre los múltiples datos, objetos, personas y experiencias los rasgos característicos que permitía constituir una nación. Con la Independencia se pueden encontrar los primeros hitos de una relación entre el Estado y el patrimonio cultural. En la primera constitución política del Perú (1822) se recogió una preocupación por la educación y la cultura, especialmente en el tratamiento a la población autóctona del país. En aquella época de fervor de la independencia se visualizó la necesidad de conservar el patrimonio histórico y de crear algunas instituciones, que podían contribuir a la definición de una particular cultura nacional.

La preocupación de los legisladores peruanos por la protección y conservación del patrimonio nacional se inició en los mismos albores de la vida republicana. Para conseguir el sentimiento de identificación nacional se intentó robustecer el sentimiento patriótico de nueva República del Perú y despertar el respeto por los valores autóctonos (prehispánicos) como símbolos de un país que se proponía abandonar el colonialismo. Como parte de la reacción anti-hispana del movimiento de emancipación, el interés de la República por el pasado histórico estuvo dirigido a proteger el patrimonio cultural (sobre todo monumentos y objetos precolombinos) y patrimonio natural del Perú. En el Decreto Supremo No 89 de 2 de abril de 1822 se estableció:

(...) ‘los monumentos que quedan de la antigüedad del Perú son una propiedad de la nación, porque pertenecen a la gloria que deriva de ellos. (...) se prohíbe absolutamente la extracción de piedras, obras antiguas de alfarería, tejidos y demás objetos que se encuentren en las huacas, sin expresa y especial licencia del Gobierno, dada con alguna mira y utilidad pública’ (cita de: Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 373).

El Decreto Supremo de 1822 fue expedido por Don José de Torre Tagle, en ausencia del General José de San Martín y refrendado por Don Bernardo de Monteagudo como Ministro del Gobierno y de Asuntos Exteriores. Según Torre Tagle ha llegado el tiempo ‘de aplicar a un uso nacional todo lo que nuestro suelo produzca de exquisito’ (cita de: Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 1-2). Se consideró que con la Independencia, los monumentos arqueológicos y restos arquitectónicos de los tiempos prehispánicos pertenecen al pueblo peruano, por lo tanto el gobierno de la República asumió la obligación de proteger el patrimonio histórico. Esta primera Ley de 1822 estableció normas para la defensa del patrimonio arqueológico y natural del Perú y fue el fundamento de toda posterior legislación peruana referente a la protección y conservación de monumentos arqueológicos e históricos (Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 366-367; Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 1; véase también: Chavez 1992, 43-44). Desde entonces se reconoce la importancia de la conservación de los monumentos y objetos históricos para la historia y unidad de la nación del Perú. Las Antigüedades peruanas se han convertido en un tema de interés para ellos mismos, objetos de estudio que merecieron su descripción, documentación y el cuestionarse: ¿a quién pertenecían? ¿quién fue el creador de ellos? ¿qué papel jugaban?, y, por último, ¿cuál es la fecha de ellos? En los círculos de los élites criollos en Lima a primer plano pasaron los que abogaban por la necesidad de conservación y protección de los restos arqueológicos en la República y que comenzaban mirar los monumentos precolombinos desde la perspectiva de la prehistoria y del contenido que pueden aportar a la historia nacional peruana. José Hipólito Unanue fue uno de los primeros (y al mismo tiempo uno de los pocos en el período anterior a la Independencia), que inició los estudios de la prehistoria de la región andina y realizaba las investigaciones sobre los monumentos de la cultura material de las sociedades precolombinas. Inventó aún el término ‘paleosofía’, que se puede equiparar con la noción actual del término ‘arqueología’<sup>3</sup>.

El gobierno dicta leyes y expide diversas disposiciones dirigidas a las autoridades municipales, políticas, policiales aduaneras y de justicia, instándolas a observar lo dispuesto en el Decreto Supremo de 1822 y poner celo en el resguardo de las antigüedades del Perú, evitando su destrucción

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<sup>3</sup> José Hipólito Unánue y Pavón (1755-1833) – publicista, político y naturalista, redactor jefe de un periódico más importante de la ilustración peruana – *Mercurio Peruano* (1791-1794) fue el fundador de varias instituciones científicas y cursos especiales de las ciencias naturales y de medicina y secretario de la Sociedad Amantes del País (véase: Chavez 1992, 47; Milla Batres (ed.) 1994, tomo X, 49-52).

y tráfico no autorizado. Sin embargo, durante el siglo XIX repetidas veces salía a la luz la debilidad de la legislación peruana y dudosa efectividad de la aplicación de las normas relacionadas con la protección de los bienes del patrimonio cultural. Las Disposiciones y decisiones de 1822 tenían que reanudarse y actualizarse de vez en cuando. Ya en 1826, había emitido una circular dirigida a las poblaciones indígenas del Perú, que les prohibió la venta de los objetos de la época precolombina o de exportación de antigüedades en el extranjero. Otro Decreto de 3 de junio 1836, dictado por el gobierno provisional del general Luis José Orbegoso confirmó la prohibición de las excavaciones en busca de minerales preciosos y de la exploración clandestina de los sitios arqueológicos, sin un permiso especial de la autoridad correspondiente<sup>4</sup>. Por desgracia, los decretos y prohibiciones como tal no fueron suficientes, faltaba la voluntad que se necesitaba para mantener el control sobre su aplicación y realización. Coleccionistas de los objetos precolombinos y ladrones comunes de antigüedades, llamados en la región andina los huaqueros, se comportaron impunemente. A pesar de la necesidad del consentimiento para búsqueda y exportación de los artefactos fuera del país, pocas personas solicitaban obtener un permiso de las pertinentes instituciones, designadas por el Estado (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 34 y siguiente; Lamas Puccio 1978-1983, 76-68; Ravines 1984, 191-193).

Un reflejo de la falta de consecuencia entre el funcionamiento de los reglamentos y la real protección del patrimonio histórico en el Perú fue la turbulenta historia del Museo Nacional en Lima, una institución que se intentó fundar como parte de elaboración de la identidad y unidad nacional peruana.

Como fundamento de la creación del Museo Nacional puede considerarse el antes citado Decreto Supremo n° 89 de 1822. La nueva institución fue creada con el propósito de custodiar el patrimonio cultural de la nación y como primera protesta contra el despojo sistemático de antigüedades peruanas. El Museo – fruto de las ideas de independencia y autonomía intelectual y política – vino a ser también una llamada al sentimiento de unidad y de aspiración hacia un nuevo concepto de patria moderna. En la retórica de las autoridades nacionales, la creación del Museo fue una expresión histórica del país de los Incas, así como una referencia a los tiempos célebres de los días felices, en que Perú recobró su independencia. En sus

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<sup>4</sup> Los textos de las leyes, decretos y circulares relativos a la protección del patrimonio arqueológico en el Perú fueron recopilados en el trabajo de Rosalía Ávalos de Matos y Rogger Ravines 1974, 371-386.

inicios el Museo pretendió ser un ‘templo de nacionalidad’, ‘santuario de la nación’ – una concepción muy significativa en aquella época, que afirmaba la reconsagración de la ‘vieja nacionalidad peruana’ (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 1, 6, 21; Matos Mendieta 1986, 37-38; Castrillón 2000, 261-263). El primero organizador y forjador del Museo Nacional fue el eminente historiador, naturalista y mineralogista peruano Don Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustáriz (1798-1857)<sup>5</sup>. Como Director General de Minería, Agricultura, Instrucción Pública y Museo envió una circular a los prefectos, intendentes, municipalidades y párrocos haciendo un llamamiento a la ciudadanía para que donaran, entregaran o remitieran al Museo Nacional las especies minerales, conchas, animales disecados, plantas medicinales, tejidos y cerámica y otros objetos dignos de exhibición y conservación. Al principio el Museo Nacional, organizado en dos Secciones de Historia Natural y de Arqueología, se instaló en las oficinas del Ministerio del Gobierno y de Asuntos Exteriores, cerca de la Capilla de la Inquisición en Lima. Probablemente fue un modesto depósito de varios objetos remitidos por las autoridades políticas, municipales y eclesiásticas. En 1830 se propuso en el país la primera restauración con función museográfica de un edificio virreinal. Se refaccionó la Capilla de la Inquisición a fin de alojar en ella al flamante Museo Nacional, en un gesto cuyo valor simbólico era evidente al dedicarse aquel recinto, el cual había representado uno de los medios de dominación más destacados del régimen colonial, al cuidado y a la exaltación de las culturas peruanas prehispánicas. En esta ocasión, el Museo se reorganizó y se incrementaron sus colecciones arqueológicas mediante el recorrido que se realizaba con el propósito de estudiar las ruinas principales de los monumentos incaicos y preincaicos. Durante los años siguientes las autoridades de la República recomendaban y autorizaban la creación de colecciones de reliquias históricas y de objetos raros y curiosos, que existían en el territorio, para fomentar el Museo Nacional. En 1836 el gobierno provisional de Luis José Orbegoso decretó el restablecimiento del Museo Nacional para mostrar tanto las producciones naturales como las antigüedades del Perú. De esta manera se reveló el sentido de dominio y posesión del Estado por los bienes materiales de valor arqueológico e histórico. En 1836 se inauguró la institución que desde entonces funcionaba

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<sup>5</sup> Rivero y Ustáriz, aficionado de los tiempos pasados y de la historia de época precolombina, en su obra más famosa *Antigüedades Peruanas* (editada con Johannes J. Tschudi en Lima en 1841) expuso su creencia de que los antiguos pueblos de la región andina poseyeron unos conocimientos científicos y un sistema cultural superiores a los que los historiadores de la época les atribuían.

bajo el nombre de Museo Nacional y de Historia Natural. Pero, a pesar de las consignas altas de la nación moderna y la unidad nacional, los escasos fondos destinados al sostenimiento de las instituciones públicas y la inestable situación política de la joven República (la época de controversias y guerras territoriales con Bolivia, Chile y Colombia; tiempos difíciles durante la Confederación Boliviano-Peruana, (1836-1839), cual disolución abrió paso a los peores años de anarquía política del Perú con doce presidentes y seis constituciones), no permitían un desarrollo de la política cultural del país y desarrollo normal y progresivo del Museo. En el curso de diez años se paralizaron las donaciones y adquisiciones del Estado; las colecciones del Museo Nacional fueron trasladadas de un local a otro, según el vaivén político, como si los gobernantes no tuvieran ninguna idea de qué hacer con ellas. Como ya se mencionó, al primer sitio del Ministerio le siguió el local de la Capilla de Inquisición, desde ahí se ordenó la mudanza a la Biblioteca Nacional, pero, al no ser posible, se trasladaron a los altos del edificio en el Espíritu Santo. En 1839 el Museo divide sus instalaciones para ocupar una sección de la Biblioteca Nacional. De esta manera, en sus primeros años, después de los continuos cambios administrativos y las continuas mudanzas, la colección nacional progresivamente se dispó, y además, los especímenes arqueológicos, que no fueron restaurados ni almacenados debidamente, acabaron por dañarse o destruirse. A falta de profesionales, personas competentes en funcionamiento del museo que supiesen preparar y elaborar, la colección del Museo era como un ‘batiburrillo’, donde se mezclaban los especímenes naturales con la cerámica precolombina y las pinturas virreinales. Esta incuria se ve reflejada en las páginas de los viajeros, que pasaron por Lima y se interesaron por la joven institución anunciada ya en la *Guía de forasteros de Lima*. El testimonio de ellos, como por ejemplo de Flora Tristán, una viajera francesa bien famosa en la época es crudo y chocante:

‘No hay en aquel museo en materia de cuadros, sino tres o cuatro miserables mamarrachos, ni siquiera extendidos sobre un bastidor. No hay ninguna estatua. El señor Rivero, hombre instruido que ha vivido en Francia, es el fundador de este museo. Hace todo cuanto puede por enriquecerlo, pero no se ve secundado por nadie. La república no concede fondos para este objeto y sus esfuerzos no tienen éxito alguno. El gusto por las bellas artes sólo se manifiesta en la edad avanzada de las naciones’ (Tristán 2000, 414).

Johannes Jacob von Tschudi, un naturalista, viajero y explorador suizo no fue menos conmovedor y en 1842 anotó que:

‘Todo este instituto se halla en sus inicios [¡después de casi veinte años desde su fundación! – M. K.]. Carece de importancia científica semejándose a aquellas colecciones de curiosidades, reunidas por diletantes que guardan todo lo que les parece interesante. (...) Es posible que la pequeña colección se mantenga todavía por mucho tiempo en el actual estado, pues los medios con que cuenta el Museo son muy reducidos’ (Tschudi 2003, 76, 79).

Los escasos fondos destinados al sostenimiento de la colección no permitieron el desenvolvimiento normal y progresivo de la institución. En los años posteriores hubo diversos intentos de varios gobiernos de reestablecer un Museo de Historia Natural, pero ninguno logró consolidarse; al contrario – entre algunos círculos de funcionarios públicos funcionaba una convicción de suprimir el Museo o reducir a un simple depósito de curiosidades misceláneas y de útiles escolares (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 4).

### **La crisis de la museología peruana y la disipación del patrimonio arqueológico**

Durante el siglo XIX la importancia que adquiría en el extranjero la historia precolombina de América Latina provocó un interés en el coleccionismo de curiosidades de las culturas aborígenes y por ende se abrió la compuerta del comercio con grave perjuicio para la integridad del patrimonio nacional de los países latinoamericanos. El territorio de la República del Perú no fue una excepción. La destrucción de antigüedades por los buscadores de tesoros y la exportación o extracción de objetos fuera del país sin autorización especial constituían un delito contra el patrimonio histórico y artístico del Perú durante todo el siglo XIX. Se desarrollaban las actividades de anticuario y, por desgracia, de la explotación clandestina de antigüedades por todas partes del país, pero la colección nacional no se enriquecía. La sombra protectora del Estado no abarcó el ámbito de los monumentos históricos y arqueológicos, ni el gobierno logró recuperar las reliquias (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), IV-V, 36-38; Castrillón 2000, 270).

Para impulsar el desarrollo del Museo Nacional como entidad encargada de cautelar, conservar y exhibir el patrimonio arqueológico del Perú el presidente Manuel Pardo y Barreda organizó en 1871 la Sociedad de Bellas Artes. Los miembros de esta nueva entidad consideraron que las colecciones del Museo Nacional, que se exhibían en los salones de la Biblioteca Nacional, debían ser trasladadas al edificio del Palacio de la Exposición. Con este propósito se nombró una comisión científica,

entre cuyos miembros figuró Cónsul Británico Thomas J. Hutchinson. En su obra *Two years in Peru* (Hutchinson 1873, 319-320) describió su primer contacto con la colección nacional:

‘Después de visitar la Biblioteca Nacional, volteando a la izquierda, debajo de la misma arcada llego a una puerta que alguna vez fue verde, y ahora tiene un color indefinible por el deterioro de los años. Por la leyenda de afuera se sabe que es el Museo Nacional, aunque tiene un cerrojo tan grande como el de la Gran Portada de Londres. El portero no sabía nada de la llave. Yo, repetidas veces he llegado a la puerta de este museo (...), pero el candado estaba siempre allí. El director de la Biblioteca, que se halla al otro lado del patio, no sabe nada del museo, porque no es su departamento’.

Según la Resolución Suprema del 4 de enero de 1873, la responsabilidad técnica y administrativa del antiguo Museo Nacional asumió la nueva Sociedad de Bellas Artes y se trasladaron las colecciones del Museo al local de esta Sociedad. Como Hutchinson fue un miembro del comité encargado de la inspección del traslado al Palacio de la Exposición, se le permitió entrar en el Museo y conocer lo que contenía:

‘Sobre sus paredes están colgados los retratos de todos los virreyes que gobernaron en Lima; fueran de esto las colecciones constan de varios centenares de aves y algunos animales monstruosos de dos cabezas. Y esto es todo’ – relataba decepcionado en su obra (Hutchinson 1873, 320).

El mal estado de la museología peruana y, sobre todo un alarmante estado de la colección del Museo Nacional, fueron también temas planteados en las reuniones del Congreso peruano. En 1878, el Ministro del Gobierno, Policía, Obras Públicas y Estadística, Fernando Palacios, en su memoria afirmó con tristeza:

‘Los monumentos de la arqueología nacional pertenecen hoy día a todos, menos a la República. Los museos europeos poseen preciosas colecciones de antigüedades peruanas y nosotros no tenemos ni aún el proyecto de un museo. En que enseñar a propios y extraños a descorrer el velo, que cubre la historia misteriosa de esa privilegiada rama de la gran familia huamana’ (cita de: Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 364-365).

El golpe final a la colección nacional lo asestaron las tropas chilenas durante la guerra llamada ‘La Guerra del Pacífico’ (1879-1883), un conflicto, que trajo el devastamiento de los campos de cultivo de la costa peruana, los saqueos a la propiedad pública y privada y el desmantelamiento de las instituciones educativas, culturales y médicas. El patrimonio histórico, artístico y científico del Perú fue saqueado y destruido. En enero de 1881 se produciría la toma de Lima por las tropas chilenas. La defensa de la capital

comprometió a gentes de todas clases y edades, pero Lima quedó inerme frente a las fuerzas del general chileno Manuel Jesús Baquedano González. El ejército chileno entró en la ciudad; se hizo cuarteles de los locales públicos y en el viejo palacio de Pizarro se expuso la bandera del Chile. La ocupación se prolongó por tres años y medio – un periodo muy gravoso para los habitantes de la capital: la ciudad estaba devastada, bibliotecas y galerías saqueadas, muchas propiedades pasaron a manos de extranjeros. El ejército chileno destruyó las obras de arte, archivos, colecciones históricas, hasta las instalaciones en las escuelas e instituciones. La vida cultural e intelectual de la ciudad murió; las escuelas, oficinas no funcionaban. Durante mucho tiempo este período doloroso y sangriento fue definido como el peor en la historia de Lima (Manrique 1997, 143; Contreras, Cueto 2000, 150-157; Earle 2007, 141-144). La invasión y ocupación chilena de Lima produjo el saqueo del Museo Nacional y los pocos objetos valiosos de la colección fueron enviados a Chile, donde se conservaron en el Museo de Historia Natural de Santiago como ‘botín’ de guerra. Del mismo modo, muchos anticuarios peruanos y extranjeros, pretextando causas análogas, sacaron sus colecciones del país para venderlas en el extranjero (a París o a Berlín). Después del Tratado de Ancón en 1883, la vida cultural y social del Perú (y sobre todo en Lima) volvió a la tranquilidad y equilibrio. Las instituciones públicas como la Biblioteca Nacional, el Archivo o las Facultades de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos y otras trataron de readquirir sus actividades, a excepción del Museo Nacional que perdió sus colecciones. Según el arqueólogo peruano Julio Cesar Tello, del vandalismo militar no quedó más que la colección de óleos de los Virreyes y una piedra grabada, procedente del templo de Chavín de Huántar, que los chilenos no lograron llevarse (era un bloque de piedra, al que llamarían más tarde ‘Estela de Raimondi’ y que era demasiado pesado y grande para ser transportado). La salvación de esta reliquia prehistórica se debe a la acción de algún amante del pasado peruano, José Toribio Polo, quien la encontró en uno de los parques, a la espalda del edificio Palacio de la Exposición<sup>6</sup>.

Por desgracia, en aquella época muy difícil políticamente, la demanda de curiosidades indígenas de la región andina en el mercado exterior se hacía cada vez más exigente, debido a las noticias propagadas por medio de relatos y memorias de ilustres viajeros y exploradores, como Ephraim George Squeir (1870), Charles Wiener (1880) o Ernest Middendorf (1893-

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<sup>6</sup> La ‘Estela de Raimondi’ fue una de las primeras antigüedades que pasaron a formar parte del nuevo Museo de Historia Nacional, creado de nuevo en 1905 (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 49-50).

1895). Recorrieron el país haciendo gráficos, registrando datos y explorando los restos de la época precolombina. Entre 1850-1900 se había excavado más de 40 sitios arqueológicos y más de 60 cementerios. Los resultados de trabajos de campo – numerosas colecciones de antigüedades y los informes – casi en su totalidad fueron enviados a los Estados Unidos o a Europa, donde formaban parte de las colecciones de museos dedicadas a las culturas prehispánicas<sup>7</sup>. De esta manera, la segunda mitad del siglo XIX fue la época en la que en los museos extranjeros se crearon colecciones muy valiosas sobre culturas peruanas – incaica y preincaicas – anteriores y más preciosos que las de museos peruanos, como por ejemplo el Museo Etnográfico de Berlín (la colección de los objetos conseguidos por arqueólogos alemanes Alfons Stübel, Wilhelm Reiss, Max F. Uhle), al Museo de Historia Natural de Nueva York (la colección de Adolfo Bandelier) o al Columbian Museo de Chicago (la colección de los objetos del Cusco, vendidos por Emilio Montes). Asimismo se despertó el interés de los ladrones para apoderarse de los objetos que se exhibían en el Museo del mismo Perú. Además se descubrió la ausencia de varios objetos que de tiempo atrás habían sido apropiados indebidamente por el director de la institución, José Solar. Se reveló que el director había pignorado especímenes valiosos de oro y plata del museo en las casas de préstamo de la ciudad (Lamas Puccio 1978-1983, 67-84; Matos Mendieta 1986, 40; Earle 2007, 138-139). El Museo Nacional existía como tal, pero su situación no era nada halagadora. En Lima se decía que Perú tenía apenas el museo público que, más que tal, merece el nombre de hacinamiento de objetos mal preparados y peor conservados, sin alguna clasificación regular ni científica, en estado de casi total destrucción. Como consecuencia de esta situación, a finales del siglo XIX se lamentó mucho que para realizar cualquier estudio o investigación de la historia o arqueología peruana se tuviera que salir del país. Johannes J. von Tschudi durante su próxima visita en la capital del Perú, ante la indiferencia del gobierno y de las autoridades a una adecuada protección y preservación del patrimonio cultural del país señaló:

(...) ‘El Museo Nacional ha sido lo más pobre en la capital, de tal manera, que muchas colecciones particulares en Europa poseen aisladamente un número de antigüedades peruanas inmensamente superior al que jamás

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<sup>7</sup> La primera exposición de museo dedicada únicamente a los artefactos de la época precolombina en América se inauguró en París en 1850 (Museo del Louvre); los siguientes se inauguraban en los años 60-70. del siglo XIX en British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum en Londres, en Palais de L’Industrie en París o Museum für Volkerkunde en Berlín (Rowe 1959; Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946); Ravines 1984).

haya podido reunirse en las colecciones públicas de Lima. (...) En este caso también son responsables los círculos dirigentes por su indolencia, por su ignorancia, especialmente los gobiernos que incurrieron en un descuido irreparable, cometiendo un verdadero delito contra su patria' (cita de: Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 46-47).

Para prevenir la destrucción futura del patrimonio histórico en el Perú y considerando que es indispensable conservar los objetos arqueológicos que se descubran en el territorio de la República, el 27 de abril de 1893 se aprobó el Decreto Supremo expedido por el gobierno del general Remigio Morales Bermúdez. El Decreto fue más explícito en cuanto que estaba destinado a conservar los objetos arqueológicos para la ciencia e historia nacional, evitar que las exploraciones se realicen sin control de las autoridades pertinentes, impedir la destrucción de los monumentos históricos y arqueológicos y utilizar los testimonios arqueológicos en la reconstrucción de la historia antigua del Perú. Además, en el mismo 1893 se organizó en Lima la institución bajo el nombre de Junta Conservadora, destinada a protección de los artefactos arqueológicos y la organización de investigaciones y excavaciones arqueológicas (Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 383-384; Ravines 1984, 188).

Por desgracia, los reclamos y derechos del Estado ante la destrucción o despojo de su patrimonio por particulares no tuvieron mayor éxito. Proliferaron los coleccionistas y comerciantes de antigüedades; las excavaciones clandestinas se hacían bajo contrato. La exportación y la venta del material arqueológico quedó prácticamente establecida y sólo muy ocasionalmente el Museo Nacional pudo retener para sí algún espécimen que consideró único y de especial valor. A finales del siglo XIX las condiciones desfavorables en que se encontraba el Museo Nacional y el descuido e indiferencia que existía en el país por los monumentos prehispánicos no había variado mucho desde los años 40 y el testimonio de Johannes J. Tschudi. Pero no hay mayor progreso y sus actividades pasaban inadvertidas. Además, la destrucción de monumentos históricos y arqueológicos por entidades gubernamentales devino a práctica establecida – repetidas veces se utilizaba las piedras antiguas como cantera (buen ejemplo fue la demolición de los restos de Sacsahuaman en Cusco). Cabe mencionar, que fue aquella época, durante que el Estado inició las grandes obras públicas dentro de su política de expansión vial de contrucciones públicas. El tendido de líneas férreas en diversos valles de la costa, con la consecuente remoción de considerables volúmenes de arena y tierra y la demolición de huacas para

a construcción de edificios públicos ponen al descubierto, por primera vez y a gran escala, los más diversos objetos y asentamientos, hasta entonces poco apreciados por los indígenas<sup>8</sup>.

### **Política pro-indígena y la protección del patrimonio arqueológico del Perú a principios del siglo XX**

Después de la derrota en la guerra con Chile los grupos sociales dirigentes en Lima decidieron emprender una profunda investigación de la realidad peruana, a fin de explicarse las causas del desastre producido y conseguir luego la ‘restauración’, o ‘regeneración’ de la nación peruana. La ‘reconstrucción nacional’, como bautizó Jorge Basadre el período 1885-1899 significó un conjunto de reformas que cambiaron el rostro del Perú y sentaron las bases para la estabilidad y prosperidad del próximo periodo en la historia republicana (Contreras, Cueto 2000, 149). En medio de este ambiente fue surgiendo un sentimiento nacionalista, nutrido por el deseo de resaltar los valores más importantes de la cultura patria: la lengua, las tradiciones y la cultura material.

El gobierno presidido por José Pardo y Barreda (1904-1908) se encargó de rehabilitar el prestigio cultural del país mediante la creación del Instituto Histórico del Perú (Decreto Supremo del 18 de febrero de 1905). El 29 de julio se inauguró oficialmente la nueva institución en el local de la Cámara de Diputados, con la asistencia del Presidente de la República José Pardo, Ministros de Estado, Cuerpo Diplomático y Corporaciones Científicas.

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<sup>8</sup> Por ejemplo en Lima, como resultado de la construcción del ferrocarril Lima-Chancay entre 1869-1870, se descubrieron los grandes cementerios antiguos de Ancón y Pacasmayo, lo que significó la destrucción de más que 20 mil tumbas (Ravines 1984, 182-189). Una excepción honrosa de estos actos del vandalismo fue la actividad de la Sociedad Geográfica, establecida en Lima en 1888. Sus miembros se interesaban por los monumentos y artefactos precolombinos, descubiertos en el territorio del país. Durante sus investigaciones geográficas, los trabajos topográficos y observaciones botánicas tomaban las notas y describían los nuevos sitios arqueológicos no conocidos hasta entonces. Como muchos de los miembros de la Sociedad eran ingenieros y constructores de puentes, carreteras y líneas de ferrocarril (por ejemplo un ingeniero polaco Ernest Malinowski), durante la realización de los proyectos y obras de construcción en la sierra o selva documentaban y describían los artefactos, templos y asentamientos prehispánicos. En los principios del siglo XX la Sociedad Geográfica en Lima inauguró su propio Museo, donde se exponían los especímenes de fauna y flora peruana al lado de las fotografías de arquitectura precolombina y los artefactos arqueológicos, coleccionados por su miembros (Malinowski *et al.* 1891; Mejía Xesspe 1967, IX; López-Ocón 1995).

El Vice-Presidente del Instituto Histórico del Perú, doctor Mariano Ignacio Prado y Ugarteche en su discurso inaugural dijo:

‘(...) Los pueblos sin tradición y sin historia, son pueblos sin espíritu y sin alma nacional. (...) El Perú debe fomentar en la América del Sur el culto de su pasado, porque ninguna otra nación puede ofrecer la historia y los restos de una de las más grandes civilizaciones de los tiempos antiguos, de la grandiosa civilización incaica; (...) porque sus tradiciones de grandeza y poderío son títulos de gloria, y deben ser fuentes de sentimientos, de estímulo en la actividad de un pueblo’ (Prado y Ugarteche 1906, 110-111).

El objeto de la nueva institución fue tanto reunir, organizar y dar publicidad de los documentos relacionados con la historia peruana, como conservar y proteger los monumentos nacionales de carácter arqueológico y artístico, así como vigilar y organizar la actividad de todas las instituciones culturales y científicas, dedicadas a las investigaciones sobre el patrimonio nacional peruano.

En cumplimiento de las diversas disposiciones gubernamentales emitidas en resguardo del patrimonio arqueológico y, en especial atención al Decreto Supremo de 1893, en 19 de agosto de 1911 se promulgó un nuevo Decreto Supremo firmado por el presidente Augusto B. Leguía, en que se decretó, que ‘todos los objetos hallados por medio de excavaciones pertenecen al Estado’ (cita de: Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 388). Se dispuso que un representante del Gobierno intervenga en las excavaciones autorizadas y que los objetos descubiertos sean enviados por los Prefectos de los Departamentos al Museo de Historia Nacional en Lima. En el Decreto de 1911 se prohibió absolutamente la exportación de antigüedades cualquiera que fuera su clase y condición, excepto los duplicados. Bajo estas condiciones la primera autorización gubernamental para realizar investigaciones arqueológicas en el Perú corresponde al Decreto Supremo de 31 de octubre de 1912, que autoriza a Hiram Bingham, comisionado de la Universidad de Yale y la National Geographic Society a realizar excavaciones en el departamento del Cusco y exportar los objetos duplicados, entre otros los descubiertos en Machu Picchu (Ávalos de Matos, Ravines 1974, 388; Ravines 1984, 190-191; vease también: Bingham 1989, Mould de Paese 2003).

Las primeras décadas del siglo XX fueron también la época del renacimiento de la museología peruana y reconstrucción de la colección nacional en Lima. Una parte de los círculos intelectuales de Lima, sujetos

del nuevo corriente político llamado ‘indigenismo’<sup>9</sup>, descubrieron de nuevo la riqueza histórica y cultural del ‘Perú arqueológico’ y prestaban más atención al estado escandaloso de las colecciones nacionales y a la falta de protección del patrimonio cultural del Perú.

Buscando los valores y símbolos, que podrían disimular en la memoria de nación el periodo desafortunado de la ‘Guerra de Pacífico’ y los siguientes años de crisis económica y política se refirió a la ‘edad de oro’ del periodo prehispánico de la región andina. De esta manera se trató compensar el fracaso de la nación moderna peruana por medio de la idealización del pasado lejano: se invocó la imagen del Perú que en los tiempos pasados había sido la cuna de las más antiguas y esplendorosas civilizaciones del continente sudamericano, en donde floreció el poderoso imperio de los Incas, en donde han tenido lugar hechos heroicos. Fue un tiempo en que adquirió extraordinario interés el estudio de la historia antigua del país (principalmente las obras de arte de los indígenas). Por lo tanto, la necesidad de poseer un museo, un ‘santuario de nación peruana’, en donde se pudiese admirar tanto los restos de aquel pasado glorioso como los especímenes de la época colonial y las reliquias de los héroes de Independencia fue indispensable.

### **Renacimiento de la museología nacional peruana: Max F. Uhle y la idea del museo como un ‘espejo del pasado’**

Con la creación del Instituto Histórico del Perú nació la idea de que la cultura del país exige la formación de un Museo, en que se reúnan, conserven y exhiban al público, debidamente expuestos y catalogados los objetos que se relacionan con la época anterior a la dominación española, época del colonia y de la República. 6 de mayo de 1905 el presidente José Pardo y Barreda promulgó un decreto que estableció de nuevo la apertura

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<sup>9</sup> El ‘indigenismo’ – una corriente, que puede ser entendido como el resultado de la emergencia de un nacionalismo regional y étnico en el Perú – empezó a desarrollarse a partir de comienzos del siglo veinte en Lima y algunas ciudades andinas, donde los intelectuales y académicos experimentaron un intenso proceso de renovación cultural, que se manifestó en la idea de modificación de percepción negativa del indio en la sociedad. Esta nueva corriente fue desarrollada por escritores, periodistas y estudiantes, que rechazaron la tendencia positivista que consideraba a los indígenas como una raza inferior. Para asimilar a la población indígena al resto del país, su historia y su cultura debían ser revaloradas e incluso elogiadas. Aunque el ‘indigenismo’ se inició en la literatura, su influencia se extendió a la política, la pintura, las ciencias sociales, hasta la arqueología y antropología. Entre los representantes de las dos últimas ramas el ‘indigenismo’ fue entendido como la construcción de una nueva identidad nacional cuyo centro fuese la cultura autóctona de origen precolombino (Contreras, Cueto 2000, 229-230; Earle 2007, 184-187).

del Museo de Historia Nacional, bajo la dependencia del Instituto Histórico del Perú y sobre la base de las colecciones existentes de propiedad pública (Polar 1905, 5). Durante la inauguración del Museo un año más tarde (en 29 de julio de 1906) Don Mariano Ignacio Prado y Ugarteche (1906, 112) destacó con exaltación que un enriquecimiento del Museo era necesario y obligatorio para todos los patriotas peruanos:

‘El esfuerzo individual y colectivo debe convertir este Museo, hoy modesto, en un verdadero templo de la Tradición Nacional, debe ser la cátedra siempre abierta, la más objetiva, la más eficiente para la enseñanza y el desarrollo de la Historia Patria’.

Los miembros del Instituto Histórico concentraron sus actividades hacia el desarrollo de los estudios históricos y hacia la formación del Museo. Para poner en marcha la institución renovada, el Instituto tomó posesión de un local habilitado en los altos del antiguo ‘Palacio de la Exposición’ y designó a los estimados miembros del Instituto para los servicios profesionales del Museo. Se colocó a dos especialistas a la cabeza de las secciones en que se dividió la institución: a un eminente arqueólogo alemán, Max F. Uhle, para la Sección de Arqueología y Tribus Salvajes, y a un historiador peruano, Don José Augusto de Izcue para la Sección de Colonia y de la República. De hecho, Uhle vino a asumir la plena dirección del Museo en 1907 (Rowe 1954, 12-14; Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 71; Hampe Martínez 1998, 143-144 y siguiente). Preparada para su exposición, la colección era muy pequeña y desorganizada, además de numerosos monumentos que fueron dañados seriamente, o simplemente destruidos. Se inició la agrupación de algunas colecciones arqueológicas, etnológicas e históricas de propiedad municipal y privadas para la inauguración del Museo de Historia Nacional: la colección del Museo Municipal, de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, del Ministerio de Justicia y diversas antigüedades compradas en algunas tiendas de comercio de Lima y en las provincias. La exposición de arqueología comprendía los objetos de la prehistoria americana relacionados con la región andina, de las diversas civilizaciones anteriores al Imperio del Tahuantinsuyo y de la civilización quechua del Cusco. Gracias al compromiso de Max Uhle, en la inauguración del Museo fue posible demostrar la impresionante colección, que ascendía a más de 2100 especímenes. La colección aumentaría con las excavaciones metódicas realizadas en varios sitios precolombinos bajo la protección del gobierno peruano y el Museo (por ejemplo en los cementerios del Valle de Lima, o en los cementerios de la Isla de San Lorenzo y de la región

de Nasca). Además el Museo consiguió, en calidad de préstamo, la colección particular de Don Carlos Larco Hoyle – 751 ejemplares de cerámica, madera, hueso, oro y plata y otras especies provenientes del litoral norte del país. La Sección de Colonia y de la República comprendía los objetos que ilustran desde los puntos de vista artístico, político, eclesiástico y militar las épocas del Descubrimiento, de la Conquista, del Virreinato, de la Independencia y de la República, acumulados gracias a la generosidad y el civismo de las familias limeñas. Con este material, que alcanzó los 2244 especímenes precolombinos y varios objetos artísticos e históricos de la época colonial y republicana, el Museo finalmente funcionaba como un verdadero depositario de la memoria nacional. Se decía en Lima, que la Sección Arqueológica significaba la Ciencia y que la Sección de la República la Patria (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 72-73; Lumbreras 1998, 177-196).

El buen funcionamiento del Museo Nacional y el crecimiento dinámico de la colección arqueológica fueron sin duda el mérito del director Max F. Uhle. Según el arqueólogo alemán el Museo era un espejo de los tiempos, de la condición científica y de la política cultural de la nación peruana. Ya en un discurso oficial pronunciado en la inauguración del Museo Nacional de Historia en 1906, argumentó:

‘Podemos tener la ambición de poseer uno de los mejores museos del mundo, tanto por la clase de objetos, cuanto por su organización’ (Uhle 1906, 409).

De vez en cuando el arqueólogo alemán daba conferencias sobre prehistoria e historia indígena del Perú en las salas de Museo. La idea de Uhle fue ‘despertar el pasado’; en sus discursos convencía con frecuencia sobre el hecho de que para comprender bien la vida del pasado nacional fuera necesario estudiar el presente en sus costumbres y usos, en la técnica, en los idiomas, en el folklore y en la música de los pueblos contemporáneos. Aseguraba, que en pocas partes del mundo existían para esto condiciones tan favorables como en el Perú, porque en este país gran parte de las costumbres antiguas aún eran practicadas:

‘El país [Perú – M. K.] está lleno de ruinas de palacios, templos, fortalezas; restos de tambos, de caminos, de sistemas de irrigación; todo hay que estudiarlo aún, salvar sus planos para la posteridad y darlos a conocer a los sabios de otros países. Despertamos el pasado, reconstruyamos la grandeza de sus monumentos, de sus templos, penetremos en su espíritu estudiándolo y dando vida a las costumbres y usos de los antepasados del suelo patrio. (...) Pido protección para los monumentos del país que han resistido millares de años, que necesitan que se destierre lejos de ellos

los vándalos, que allí quieren buscar los tesoros. (...) Un pueblo que honra a su pasado y lo estudia, se honra a sí mismo – añadía con convicción’ (Uhle 1906, 410-414).

Hasta 1909, el Museo de Historia Nacional contó con el apoyo financiero del Estado, por lo que fue posible ampliar las colecciones y realizar numerosos proyectos de investigación. Gracias a los esfuerzos del Director Uhle, la colección de los objetos precolombinos creció a cerca de 5.000 especímenes (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 77; Hampe Martínez 1998, 147). Por desgracia, la ‘época de oro’ del Museo duró poco tiempo. El apoyo económico del gobierno fue limitándose poco a poco hasta ser insignificante; faltaban los medios para realización y desarrollo de las exploraciones e investigaciones científicas, que aumentarían las colecciones del museo. La mayor parte de las piezas procedieron de trabajos de exploración y excavación sólo entre los años 1906-1911. Posteriormente decayó el apoyo económico del Estado y el profesor Uhle debió concentrarse más bien en riñas personales, en cuestiones administrativas y en la defensa de los bienes arqueológicos. Al mismo tiempo, el grupo de oponentes del profesor alemán tramó la intriga política para sustituir al director Uhle por otro funcionario. Las concepciones de Uhle sobre la cultura y la tradición de los indígenas, así como la necesidad de continuación y desarrollo de las investigaciones en la *sierra* no lograron el entendimiento de todos los círculos del gobierno, especialmente de los grupos conservadores en el Instituto Histórico e ideólogos de la ideología criolla de hispanismo. Max Uhle abandonó sus trabajos de investigación durante los años 1910-1911 y sólo se dedicó a cuidar y preparar las colecciones arqueológicas del Museo. En 1911 se le notificó que abandonara la dirección del Museo (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), 77-78; Matos Mendieta 1986, 40-41; Hampe Martínez 1998, 146). Su sucesor fue Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla – un hispanista, historiador, miembro del Instituto Histórico del Perú y académico de la Academia Real de España. Como representante de conservadurismo e hispanismo Quintanilla se interesaba sobre todo por la historia de la época colonial y de la República. La expresión más clara de este cambio fue la suspensión de la Sección Arqueológica del Museo Nacional en 1912 (Mejía Xesspe 1972, XIV-XIX; Hampe Martínez 1998, 146-147).

### **Consideraciones finales**

Los museos y las colecciones públicas de artefactos y objetos naturales surgieron en América Latina apenas consumada la Independencia y, por

lo tanto, fueron parte integrante tanto de la fundación de las nacientes repúblicas, como de la unificación política del territorio y de la construcción de los estados nacionales. Al igual que los archivos, bibliotecas y otros lugares de la memoria nacional funcionaban en una simbiosis con los estados-naciones. Eran símbolos y ‘depósitos’ de pasado nacional, pero no sólo ‘depósitos pasivos’ de los objetos, documentos y curiosidades, sino también instituciones vivas, comprometidas en la creación de la parte visual de la nación.

El gobierno peruano reconocía la importancia del patrimonio histórico y cultural del Perú desde los comienzos de la vida republicana. Con este fin, dictó numerosas disposiciones para evitar su destrucción y explotación de antigüedades, y fundó el Museo Nacional con la finalidad de conservar los objetos históricos y artísticos de todos los tiempos (tanto de la época precolombina como de la colonial). El gobierno del nuevo Estado decidió apoyar la preservación de los monumentos arqueológicos y expidió leyes que prohibían la exportación y destrucción de estos bienes. Durante muchos años el gobierno tenía a su cargo la doble misión: instruir y recomendar a las autoridades de la República acerca de la protección de los monumentos, y encargara las mismas el fomento del Museo Nacional mediante adquisiciones, donaciones y decomisos. Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX el Gobierno del Perú a través del ministerio del ramo, directores o conservadores del Museo Nacional e incluso de los propios prefectos departamentales, había emitido más de 47 órdenes y disposiciones conducentes al mejor tratamiento del patrimonio arqueológico.

El Museo Nacional empezó a funcionar en 1826, pero desde sus inicios tuvo la fama de una institución inoperante, presa de la voluble política y los cambios intempestivos. Las autoridades decretaron leyes que tenían que ver con la conservación del patrimonio y la reglamentación del Museo, pero sin efecto sobre el funcionamiento efectivo de la institución. Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX empezaron a surgir todos sus ‘enemigos’: los cambios y inestabilidad política, que no ofrecían una estabilidad propia para la evolución política y cultural del país; la falta de especialistas y la continua carencia de medios. El Museo funcionaba en locales inadecuados, se cambiaban continuamente las autoridades administrativas, la colección se trasladaba de un sitio a otro, perdiéndose objetos de valor a consecuencia de las mudanzas y la falta de un registro o un control. Fue clausurado y reabierto en 1836, 1849, 1852, 1868, 1873, 1881, 1896 y 1906 con el nombre de Museo Nacional, Museo Nacional de Historia Natural (1822-1881) y Museo de Historia Nacional (1906). De este modo, las colecciones

poco a poco comenzaron a desintegrarse, primero por la impericia de los encargados de la dirección técnica, y luego por el vandalismo de las tropas chilenas de ocupación de Lima en los años 1881-1884.

Con el inicio del siglo XX se produjeron los cambios en la relación entre Estado y patrimonio nacional. La fundación del Instituto Histórico del Perú, las decisiones del Gobierno de José Pardo y Barreda y todos esfuerzos dirigidos a la protección, conservación y promoción de los restos arqueológicos eran cambios en buena dirección. Desgraciadamente, la falta de la estabilidad política, así como de efectividad de la legislación y la debilidad de las instituciones culturales fueron la causa de mal estado de museología nacional y el funcionamiento de exploraciones arqueológicas clandestinas. Los investigadores extranjeros se sintieron impunes y realizaron sus trabajos sin cualquier preocupación del cumplimiento de los reglamentos administrativos.

En conclusión cabe señalar que, debido a la falta de las instituciones estatales adecuadas y bien equipadas, así como la falta de personal científico, que podría presumir de una buena educación y preparación para llevar las investigaciones históricas, arqueológicas o antropológicas, los monumentos históricos de la época prehispánica fueron, en la condición de descuido, expuestos a la actividad destructiva de los huaqueros y el tráfico ilícito y exportación fuera del país, casi sin ningún control. Casi todo del siglo XIX, la legislación sigue siendo una ley de letra muerta. La situación descrita atañaba tanto los recursos de las bibliotecas y archivos, como las colecciones de museos y sitios arqueológicos, que en momentos de inestabilidad política se quedaban sin el cuidado y protección del gobierno o de las autoridades municipales. Para realizar los estudios sobre la arqueología y la antropología del Perú había que viajar fuera del país, a las instituciones científicas y museos de Europa o Estados Unidos. El eminente arqueólogo peruano del siglo XX, Julio César Tello notó con tristeza, que los monumentos arqueológicos que sobrevivieron la época de la conquista y la devastadora campaña de la extirpación de idolatrías, a causa de la inercia y la indiferencia de los círculos del gobierno y la debilidad del Estado no fueron menos devastados durante la República (Tello, Mejía Xesspe 1967 (1946), V). Sin embargo, la defensa y la forma de preservar el legado histórico e arqueológico del Perú han sido siempre una meta no fácil de deslindar entre lo objetivo y lo subjetivo (Ravines 1984, 191-193, 203-205; Matos Mendieta 1986, 37; véase también Earle 2007, 140-143).

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‘WERE I NOT POLISH, I WOULD LIKE  
TO BE GREEK’.

ANNA NEUMANN – THE FORGOTTEN  
ENTHUSIAST OF GREECE

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Literary works of female authors and travellers, especially those written during the time of the spectacular growth of tourism in the 19th century, have inspired a lot of interest for a long time (Adams Davenport 1882; Hodgson 2002a; Hodgson 2002b). Not only are they being analyzed within the frame of gender literary criticism, but also constitute a classic example of breaking 19th century mores (Blunt 1994), when women could travel almost exclusively as wives accompanying their husbands, while the task of recording travel memoirs was reserved to men, ‘the main explorer’. As a result, in countless travel memoirs a female character is given only an auxiliary role, at times even anecdotal, as someone who is not able to endure the usual hardships of the voyage and accommodation in exotic venues, who demands male attentiveness and resourcefulness, who tends to surrender to changing moods and weariness – as opposed to the adventurer who is always portrayed as ready to face any challenges in the wilderness of Africa or Asia (as challenging as they may be in case of a Cook package tour or for a voyager surrounded by servants and guides). The author would then parade his erudition in describing natural phenomena, local customs and ancient structures – often by means of copying passages straight from the works of Baedeker and/or Budge.

Of course, the history of travel abounds in examples of women assuming what is typically perceived as male roles, who bravely set on distant and lone travels or stay for years in a culturally distant and unfavourable environment. Therefore those yet undiscovered or undeservedly forgotten personages merit to be remembered and recognized.

One of them is Anna Neumann, a traveller and a writer unknown in Europe. Possibly the term ‘traveller’ is not accurate in her case due to motivational considerations. The reason for Anna Neumann’s travels was her marriage to an Austro-Hungarian diplomat, Theodor Neumann, who would take consular posts in the Balkans (Bulgaria, Romania), Egypt and Greece in the service of the authorities in Vienna. Anna Neumann was intelligent, educated, sensitive, and literarily talented; as a matter of fact, it was her husband who stayed in the background<sup>1</sup>. She would emphasize on numerous occasions that she did not find exotic travels arduous at all. On the contrary, as a young woman she feared being constrained in a banal relationship with a provincial landowner.

Anna Neumann (née Szawłowska), was born in 1854 in Galician Podole (nowadays part of the Ukraine). Her personality was shaped by her parents’ extensive relationship with the local intellectual and literary community, she also debuted early as a poet. Anna met Theodor in Warsaw, where he assumed a consular post. After several years she set on a years-long trip (1879-1893) following the diplomatic path of her husband.

Not content with just casual touring, Anna strived to always thoroughly learn about history, historic structures, culture and customs of countries in which she was supposed to live. Thanks to her social position guaranteed by her diplomatic status, Anna was able to rely on state officials and eminent experts as her guides. She knew how to reach the most extraordinary places, ask pertinent questions, and obtain sincere answers. Starting from the year 1884, Anna published her observations and reflections in the form of regular dispatches entitled *Listy z podróży*, published in the *Gazeta Narodowa* in Lvov, as well as in Warsaw and Petersburg periodicals<sup>2</sup>.

Anna Neumann’s travel memoirs were unquestionably dominated by Egypt and Greece. Anna was fascinated by Egypt’s orientalism, even though the life in Alexandria or Cairo at the end of the 19th century was significantly influenced by European culture, which was also promoted

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<sup>1</sup> A low ranking diplomat, Theodor Neumann has not been mentioned in any dictionaries of diplomats or in *ÖBL* 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Still during her stay in the East she published *Zza Dunaju nad Nil. Wspomnienia z podróży po Egipcie* (Lwów 1886). After her return to Poland, Anna Neumann’s dissertation *Obyczaje, oświata i sztuka Arabów w Egipcie* was published by a popular science periodical, *Biblioteka Warszawska* (1898, vol. 4), soon followed by a significantly extended two-volume version; *Obrazy z życia na Wschodzie. Rumunia-Bułgaria-Egipt-Grecja* (Warszawa 1899), and a collection of tales *Legendy i baśnie Wschodu* (Kraków 1899); a literary series of short narratives *Ze świata. Akwarele i szkice* (Warszawa 1900) based on travel memoirs, as well as *Poezje* (Kraków 1901).



Fig. 1. Anna Neumann.  
(née Szawłowska, 1854-1918).  
After Neumann, *Ze świata...*,  
frontispiece (see note 2).

by authorities. Orientalism was at that time perceived as a mere curiosity that could be experienced only away from the cosmopolitan community of metropolitan cities: during visits to ancient monuments, while in the meantime engaging in observation of the life of the fellahin, or nomadic Bedouins. Anna Neumann made numerous successful attempts to visit unique places (as a woman she was allowed to enter harems), as well as to observe local festivities and traditional customs. She visited all of the most important monuments of the ancient civilization. Anna won the favour of Gaston Maspero<sup>3</sup>, an Egyptologist, who noticed how interested the young Polish author was in Egyptian antiques. Maspero would invite her to the unwrappings of Egyptian mummies, which constituted a popular pastime at the time and attracted the entire social elite of Cairo. She gave much attention to the history of the museum of Cairo and the first museum in Bulaq, as well as to the role of Auguste Mariette (Dawson *et al.* 1995, 275-277; Goldschmidt 2000, 124-125) in laying down the foundations of modern Egyptology.

Anna Neumann also gained recognition of the Cairo European community. At a session of the Geographic Society (*Société Khédivale de Géographie*) in Cairo, Anna delivered a lecture under the title of *La Lithuanie et ses légendes*, for which she was awarded the member and correspondent diploma, and which subsequently got published in the Society's bulletin.

Nevertheless, Greece, another diplomatic post of her husband (the consular office in Patras), appealed to Anna much more in view of its Mediterranean exoticism, whose cultural heritage she found significantly closer to her own. All educated Europeans in the 19th century were immersed in the tradition of classical Antiquity, since the Greek and Roman tradition constituted the foundations of school education. ‘Were I not Polish, I would like to be Greek’, wrote Anna Neumann<sup>4</sup>. She was interested both in ancient

<sup>3</sup> From the year 1880 he was the head of Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Dawson *et al.* 1995, 278-279).

<sup>4</sup> *Obrazy...* (note 2 above), vol. 1, 148.

and modern Greece, and in her writing she unwittingly reflected contemporary historiography, which was so popular in the 19th century, pointing out the disparity between the ancient legacy (not only that of Greece, but also of Egypt) and the cultural standing of contemporary inhabitants of these lands. Post-romantic deliberations had been summarized by a German historian, Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861), who dismissed the comparison of contemporary and ancient Greeks by demonstrating that modern Greeks were entirely different (even by race) and in a way ‘contaminated’ by oriental and Slavic influences throughout the millennia. ‘We must also confess that we hold numerous false views about modern Greece; the period of short-lasting enthusiasm of the philhellenes was followed by disillusionment with contemporary Greeks who are believed not to be equal to their ancient forefathers’, Anna Neumann wrote<sup>5</sup>. This however did not stop her from expressing sincere enthusiasm for the naturality and courage of contemporary Greeks, admiring their political temperament and determination to preserve their independence, regained not so long ago. As opposed to Egypt, which she visited from Alexandria to the cataract, Anna’s discovering of Greece was more fragmentary. Thanks to familiarity with Pausanias’ *Periegesis*, she could imagine ancient structures and at the same time indulge in extensive digressions about tragic vicissitudes, as the destruction was caused not only by time, but also by barbaric actions of men.

Anna Neumann devoted two chapters (18 and 19) of her *Obrazy...*<sup>6</sup> to memoirs from Greece. Her gateway to Greece was the port of Corfu, from where Anna proceeded to Patras, her husband’s post. She was enraptured by Achaia, Corinth, and Attica, but the trip to the ruins of Olympia made the greatest impression on her. She would write extensive accounts of the history of discovery and first explorations of this place: British research at the close of the 18th century, French quests 1829-1933 and systematic German excavations, especially in the years 1875-1881 (Ernst Curtius; see e.g. Kyrieleis 2002), which from Anna’s perspective took place not so long ago. She also discussed the circumstances in which ancient artefacts were discovered: sculptures, architectonic pieces; the Greek, mindful of impudent extraction of invaluable testimonies of Antiquity, strived to prevent this from happening more and more efficiently, both by adopting relevant legislation and regulations and by organizing local museums. Anna Neumann described in detail the museum of Olympia, which was then

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<sup>5</sup> As above, vol. 2, 154.

<sup>6</sup> See note 2 above.

a new enterprise (1885), erected thanks to the efforts of a banker, Andreas Singrios. The Archaeological Museum in Olympia, which Anna Neumann visited, no longer exists. In the following years, the so-called Old Museum was not only damaged by numerous earthquakes, but also became too small for its permanent exposition<sup>7</sup>. In her recollections from a visit to Eleusis Anna Neumann also reminisces about most recent discoveries (1885, see e.g. Lauenstein 1987).

During her visit to Athens, Anna Neumann not only studied the Acropolis carefully along with adjacent historical structures, but also visited numerous expositions, which were then dispersed between the so-called Central Museum, and the buildings of the Technical University of Athens, where the excavations of Schliemann from Mycenae, Tyrinth, Tanagra, and Sparta were stored. At that time in Greece a lively discussion took place, concerning the prospective localization of a single leading museum of Hellenic civilization. The initial concepts did not take Athens into account (among the cities considered was Aegina, where Greece's oldest archaeological museum had been established). But eventually it was in the city of Athens that the Central Museum of Archaeology, which occupied the Theseum, was located by a royal decree. In the year 1866, construction works began, thanks to several substantial donations, including a large centrally located plot of land donated for the new museum (called The National Archaeological Museum), to be completed in 1889. The following years were devoted to gathering collections spread among many other places.

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Anna Neumann's works are of extreme value not only for travel researches. They may form a source of interesting information for historians of archaeology, as the author offers firsthand relation about numerous details concerning the research conducted in Egypt and in Greece during the 1870s and 1880s, as well as the fate of contemporary archaeological collections. Unfortunately Anna Neumann's books, which were highly popular among readers, did not meet with a favourable reaction from the critics: the reviews were in most part paradoxical. Critics claimed that Anna Neumann's works

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<sup>7</sup> In the mid-20th century the decision was made to erect a new building for the museum (in a different place). The new building was erected in the 1960s and 1970s. Following a gradual transfer of collections the official inauguration of The New Museum was held in 1982. In 2004 the exposition underwent modernization (see e.g. Vikatou 2006).

would have a hard time finding the proper readership in view of their excessively fairy-tale-like character, which is not suitable for scientific works, while at the same time they are too scientific to be categorized as fairy tales.

Anna Neumann passed away in Vienna in the year 1918.

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