Contents

Professor Maria L. Bernhard: 60 years of scientific work ............................................7
Bibliography of professor Maria L. Bernhard (continuation; compiled by Joachim Śliwa) .... 8
Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz
Remarques sur la tête de massue du roi Scorpion ......................................................11
Joachim Śliwa
A forgotten scarab of Horemheb ............................................................. 29
Tomasz Polański
Greeks and peoples of the orient in the distorting mirrors of mutual misunderstanding .... 33
Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka
A research report on Hellenistic pottery: Cos amphoras ............................................. 47
Janusz A. Ostrowski
Apelles’ paintings as an element of Augustan political propaganda ............................ 55
Jarosław Bodzek
Coins from Greek cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea in the collection of the
National Museum in Cracow: I. Olbian “Ases” .......................................................... 61
Jan Chchororowski, Sergej Skoryj
The “collateral” (female) burial at the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow ................................. 71
Elżbieta Dubis, Mariusz Górniak
Funerary sites in the vicinity of Tell el-‘Umeiri (1996 Season of the Madaba Pains
Project) ........................................................................................................... 93
Maryla Kapica
Tell el-‘Umeiri, 1994 and 1996: pottery from a middle Bronze Age burial cave ............. 101
Professor Maria L. Bernhard, who from 1954 to 1978 was Director of the Chair of Mediterranean Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University, recently celebrated an extraordinary anniversary: it has been 60 years now since she began her scientific career with an article devoted to a red-figure skyphos from the Erasmus Majewski Museum in Warsaw. Professor Bernhard’s scientific and organizational accomplishments have already been commemorated by her students and co-workers in special publications:

- Ancient Pottery in Polish Collections, Studia ad Archaeologiam Mediterraneam Pertinentia 5 (Warsaw and Cracow 1980);
- Études consacrées à Marie Louise Bernhard par ses amis, collaborateurs et élèves, Études et Travaux XIII (Warsaw 1983)
- Meander XL, fasc. 5-6 (1985).

On November 16, 1989, in a solemn ceremony, the University of Warsaw renewed Professor Bernhard’s doctoral diploma after 50 years.

With the present volume, the circle of her Cracow students would like to honor yet another jubilee, adding a list of Professor Bernhard’s publications in recent years. This list is closed off in a highly symbolic way – as our celebrant herself emphasized – by a publication again devoted, as 60 years ago, to the vessel from the Warsaw collection of Erasmus Majewski, a vessel she herself introduced into the literature and the extensive scholarly discussion in the decades that followed. Suffice it to mention here that in 1942 J. D. Beazley, taking as a starting point this artifact and the characteristics of its painted decoration as pointed out by Prof. Bernhard, pointed out the artistic personality of the “Majewski Painter.” A great deal of attention has also been devoted to this vase by such distinguished specialists as J.D. Beazley (again, in 1947), J. G. Szilágyi (1954), and A. D. Trendall (1967), who have attempted to specify more precisely the environment

---

2 Cf. the bibliography of Professor Bernhard for the years 1936-1982, (in:) Meander 40, fasc. 5-6 (1985), 157-162 (last two years incomplete; item no. 95 from 1980 also in Russian, Hungarian, and Slovak versions).
and workshop of this artist, and have ascribed to his hand yet more vases scattered among European collections.

In handing over this volume to Professor Bernhard, along with expressions of our deep respect and gratitude, we would like to add our very best wishes: “Ad multos annos!”

The Cracow students of Maria Bernhard and their students

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PROFESSOR MARIA L. BERNHARD

(continuation)

1981

- *Olympe (L'art grec).* Petit Encyclopedie de l’art, Paris, pp. 16, pls. 24
- *Sztuka grecka* (Kultury starożytnie i cywilizacje pozaeuropejskie) [Greek art (Ancient and non-European cultures)], Warsaw, pp. 384, figs. 166
- [with Z. Sztetyło] *Professor Kazimierz Michalowski,* Meander 36, pp. 296-301
- *Badania polskie nad ceramiką grecką* [Polish studies on Greek pottery], Studia Archeologiczne 1, Warsaw, pp. 7-21

1982

- *Kazimierz Michalowski 1901-1981,* Eos 70, 1982, pp. 5-23

1984

1986

* [Introduction, in:] Kazimierz Michalowski, Wspomnienia [Memoirs], Warsaw, pp. 5-26
  * Kazimierz Michalowski, (in:) 50 lat polskich wykopalisk w Egipcie i na Bliskim Wschodzie [50 years of Polish excavations in Egypt and the Near East], Warsaw, pp. 17-22
  * Edfu, ibid., pp. 23-28
  * Brązy z Riace [Bronzes from Riace], Meander 41, pp. 235-240

1987

* K. Michalowski, Meander 42, pp. 287-291
  * Korynt i Argolida. Zdjęcia A. Dziewanowski (Sztuka i kultura świata starożytnego), [Corinth and Argolis (Art and culture of the ancient world)], Warsaw, pp. 31, figs 82, [also in Russian, German, Hungarian and Slovak, cf. Archeologia 41, 1990, p. 151, Nos. 548-551]

1989

* Sztuka grecka archeiczna (Historia starożytniej sztuki reekiej, t. I), [Greek archaic art (History of ancient Greek art)], Warsaw, pp. 623, figs. 436

1990


1991

* Sztuka grecka V wieku p.n.e. (Historia starożytnjej sztuki greckiej, Tom II). Wydanie trzecie poprawione i rozszerzone [Greek art of the 5th century B.C. (History of ancient Greek art, vol. II), 3rd edition, corrected and expanded], Warsaw, pp. 667, fig. 454

1992

* Sztuka grecka IV w. p.n.e. (Historia starożytnjej sztuki greckiej. Tom III). Wydanie II poprawione i uzupełnione [Greek art of the 4th century B.C. (History of ancient Greek art, vol. III), 2nd edition, corrected and expanded], Warsaw, pp. 629, figs 410
1993

• Sztuka hellenistyczna (Historia starożytnej sztuki greckiej. Tom IV), Wydanie drugie poprawione i rozszerzone [Hellenistic art (History of ancient Greek art, vol. IV), 2nd edition, corrected and expanded], Warsaw, pp. 602, figs. 397

1994


1995


1996

• Malare Erasmo Majewskiego [The Majewski Painter], in: Erasmo Majewski i warszawska szkoła prehistoryczna [Erasmus Majewski and the Warsaw prehistoric school], Warsaw, pp. 155-161

[compiled by Joachim Śliwa]
Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz
Cracovie

REMARQUES SUR LA TÊTE DE MASSUE DU ROI SCORPION

Un des plus connus monuments de l’époque de la formation de l’état égyptien, la tête de massue du roi Scorpion provoque toujours des controverses. Elles se rapportent tant à sa datation qu’à la signification de ses scènes. Un article 1, publié l’année passée, sur la reconstitution des fragments non conservés de la représentation, basée sur les spéculations pure, est la raison directe de la reprise de ce sujet.

L’article met en doute l’essai de la reconstitution de cette représentation, proposée par l’auteur 2. Sa proposition n’étant publiée qu’en polonais et sur le dessin qui l’illustre, la nouvelle figure du roi n’étant montrée que d’une manière schématique, il semble indispensable de répéter la description faite après un examen détaillé du monument même, ainsi que les plus importantes théories connues, suivies d’une polémique avec les chercheurs français.

La tête de massue du roi Scorpion 3, a été trouvée à Hiérakopolis. A peine un tiers de la surface du relief, cassé en petits morceaux, est-il conservé. La plupart de ces morceaux forment un ensemble compact. Quelques uns, plus petits, ont été disposés d’une manière tout à fait arbitraire.

* Je remercie sincèrement Dr Helen Whitehouse de l’Ashmolean Museum de son aide et ses précieuses remarques qui m’ont permis de rédiger mon texte.

2 K. M. Ciałowicz, Symbolika przedstawień władcy egipskiego w okresie predynastycznym, Rozprawy Habilitacyjne UJ 258, Kraków 1993, 55 et suiv.
3 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. n° E 3632; calcaire; h. 32 cm; Hiérakopolis - Dépôt Central.
Fig. 1. Le dessin de Marion Cox (publié avec l’autorisation de l’Ashmolean Museum d’Oxford)
Fig. 2. La nouvelle reconstitution de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion.
La représentation se compose de trois frises. Dans la supérieure on voit une série d’enseignes, couronnées de symboles illustrant: le signe des pays étrangers - Khaset, l’animal sémien, le symbole de Min, l’animal sémien, le chacal Opouaout. A chaque enseigne sont accrochés des vanneaux - rékhit⁴, suspendus par les cous. Un fragment séparé du registre supérieur montre les restes de trois enseignes; à chacun on a suspendu un arc. Un seul couronnement soit conservé: c’est un faucon sur un croissant de lune, tourné vers le côté opposé aux autres signes.

Le registre du milieu est le plus large. La plus grande figure de la représentation - le roi en couronne blanche de Haute-Égypte - est le point central du fragment conservé. Il porte une courte tunique sans manches, fixée à l’épaule gauche; une queue de taureau est attachée à sa ceinture. En ses mains il tenait une grosse houe. Le souverain n’avait pas de barbe artificielle; l’impression erronée qu’elle existait est l’effet du dessin de Marion Cox (fig.1) où la ligne du menton est trop accentuée. On remarque aussi une autre forme des jambes du personnage (fig.3). Tandis que sur la jambe gauche avancée le genou est marqué par deux traits arrondis, sur la jambe droite le haut de la rotule est formé par le demi-cercle et le bas par une ligne ondulée. L’artiste a aussi très bien rendu la différence entre les orteils (fig 3; comp. aussi fig.4). Dans la gauche il a montré l’ongle du gros orteil, et dans la droite l’ongle du petit orteil tourné vers le spectateur. Au-dessus de celui-ci on voit l’ongle d’un autre orteil. Cette différence entre les pieds n’a pas été marquée sur le dessin de M. Cox.

Le pharaon est montré en marche dans son attitude habituelle, hiératique. A côté de son visage il y a une rose à sept pétales et un scorpion à l’abdomen duquel un petit rectangle est attaché. Devant le roi un homme courbé, vêtu d’une courte jupe tient un couffin. Les pieds de cette figure sont plus schématiques: dans les deux cas l’artiste a réussi à marquer les ongles des gros orteils en découpant les fragments supérieurs et non pas en montrant leurs surfaces comme chez le pharaon. Derrière lui le fragment d’un autre personnage ayant en ses mains probablement une plante. L’homme porte le vêtement qui couvre sa poitrine, et est attaché à son épaule, de dessous de laquelle pend un objet pareil à celui porté par un personnage en perroque de la palette de Narmer. Au-dessus de ces deux personnages, nettement séparées par une ligne, deux porte-enseigne royaux sont tournés vers le même côté que le souverain. L’enseigne du premier semble être couronnée d’un chacal, du second - d’un objet indéterminé. L’un des porte-enseigne

⁴P. W. Houlihan, The Birds of Ancient Egypt, Warminster 1986, 94.
Fig. 4. Fragment de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion (publié avec l’autorisation de l’Ashmolean Museum d’Oxford).

est en vêtement attaché à l’épaule droite, pareil à celui du personnage fragmentaire montré au-dessous. L’autre porte une jupe. Devant eux il y a le fragment d’un grand pied humain, tourné vers le côté opposé. Bien qu’il ait été représenté sur des dessins anciens, il n’a été l’objet d’intérêt d’aucune étude. Dans cet endroit la surface est assez abîmée, on peut néanmoins remarquer qu’elle est formée de la même manière que celle de la figure au couffin (fig. 4). L’artiste a probablement voulu montrer le pied avec les orteils terminés par des ongles. Dans le fragment inférieur, où se trouve le premier couronnement de l’enseigne, apparaît un élément qui y est interprété comme une partie du genou qui forme un ensemble avec le pied mentionné ci-dessus. Le fragment inférieur de la rotule se trouvant au-dessus du bord du fragment conservé, est dessiné de la même façon que sur la jambe droite du roi Scorpion c’est-à-dire par le trait ondulé.

Derrière le roi - deux porteurs d’éventail. Les deux ont des cheveux longs; le premier est vêtu d’une jupe, le costume du second est trop abîmé pour qu’on puisse le bien décrire. La scène est divisée en trois registres. Dans le supérieur, en regardant du côté droit, il y a d’abord deux touffes de plantes, ensuite un homme.

---

5 Comp. par ex. K. M. Ciałowicz, Les têtes de massues des périodes prédynastique et archaïque dans la vallée du Nil, Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Archeologiczne 41, Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej 9, Warszawa-Kraków 1987, fig. 3.
Tourné vers l’autre côté que le souverain, il a une matraque dans sa main, des cheveux courts et un étui phallique terminé par des rubans, rappelant un peu celui porté par un vaincu de l’avers de la palette de Narmer. Il se tient debout derrière un personnage assis dans un palanquin; enveloppé dans une robe il a sur la tête une sorte de châle. Devant lui le fragment d’un palanquin pareil. Au début du deuxième registre – trois touffes de plantes devant lesquelles quatre femmes dansent en battant des mains; elles sont également tournées vers le côté opposé au pharaon. Tous ces personnages se dirigeaient peut-être vers une autre(?) représentation du pharaon non conservée ou, ce qui semble plus probable, ils composaient un cortège suivant la figure reconstituée du roi. Le registre inférieur de la partie du milieu est le plus abîmé. Une analyse détaillée a permis d’y voir les fragments de quelques bateaux à hautes proues et poupées. A droite, derrière les porteurs d’éventails, il y a le reste d’une construction pareille à celles dans lesquelles sur d’autres têtes de massues décorées le pharaon était assis (fig.5). On distingue nettement la pointe d’une lance et le fragment d’un toit qui y est appuyé. Dans l’espace occupé par ce kiosque un fragment rectangulaire est conservé qui, très probablement, est le reste du dossier d’un trône. Aussi bien cette partie que le fragment du toit n’ont pas été marqués par M. Cox.

Le troisième registre est séparé du précédent par un large cours d’eau. Un cours d’eau pareil divise la frise en deux tableaux. A gauche, un fragment de la chapelle per-nou et un homme barbu, mal conservé. A droite deux personnages barbus à longs cheveux portant des étuis phalliques enrubannés. L’un d’eux tient une houe par son bout supérieur. Derrière eux un palmier entouré de clôture et le fragment d’un bateau à haute proue et/ou poupe qui y adhère. Au-dessous une seconde chapelle per-nou séparée par un cours d’eau.


---

Fig. 5. Fragment de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion (publié avec l’autorisation de l’Ashmolean Museum d’Oxford).

---

6 J. E. Quibell, F. Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, London 1902, 41; le même avis a été exprimé entre autres par: J. Vandier (Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne I, Paris 1952, 601);
voient la fondation du temple de Hiérakopolis ou de Buto, les travaux de fondation de Memphis, la participation aux cérémonies du bâttage et des semaines ou la culture des champs rituelle. Selon S. Schott le tableau entier exprime l’homme et la prise en possession de la Basse-Egypte à l’occasion du couronnement de Scorpion en tant que roi de ce pays. W. Needler interprète les arcs suspendus comme symboles de la Nubie, et la tête de masse entière comme objet commémorant sa conquête. N. B. Millet suggère que la scène disparue a pu représenter l’harponeage de l’hippopotame et toutes les scènes de la tête de masse se rapporteraient à „l’année de l’ouverture du lac à ..., à l’harponeage de l’hippopotame“. J. Baines rattaché la décoration conservée à l’agriculture, à la fertilité et au pays dans le contexte de la prédominance du souverain et de la fête séd.

Les signes devant le visage du roi sont pris pour son nom ou son nom et son titre, ou seulement le titre, et la rosette même pour l’emblème du royaume du Sud ou le titre des rois de Haute-Egypte.

Les personnages dans les palanquins sont des princes capturés, des „enfants royaux“ destinés à l’offrande ou des femmes de la famille du souverain. Selon W. M. F. Petrie, le personnage fragmen-taire devant le souverain a tenu une botte


W. Needler, A rock-drawing on Gebel Sheikh Suliman (near Wadi Halfa) showing a scorpion and human figures, JARCE VI, 1967, 91.


Quibell, Green, Hierakopolis II, 41.


S. Schott, Kulturprobleme ..., 20.


Millet, The Narmer ..., 58; Baines, Origins ..., 119.
Fig. 6. Fragment de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion (publié avec l'autorisation de l'Ashmolean Museum d'Oxford).

de céréales. De même S. Schott y voit la première moisson, et J. Vandier l'arrachage des herbes ayant pour but de faciliter le travail du roi. Deux rangées de plantes derrière le pharaon sont prises pour les papyrus localisant la scène dans le Delta, ou les plantes sont symbolisant la Haute-Égypte.

Le registre inférieur semble représenter le travail dans les champs, exécuté par les habitants capturés du Delta, ou le remblayage du canal. Pour certains chercheurs les rékhits vaincus symbolisent la population sédentaire, et les arcs - les nomades. Selon une autre opinion les oiseaux ne sont pas des vanneaux mais des huppes, d'après cet auteur, caractéristiques de la Palestine. Cette conception constate que la tête de massue est liée à la conquête du Sinaï, Scorpion et Narmer étant le même souverain.

H. Asselberghs trouve la manière de l'exécution de ce monument comme la dernière qui représente aisément la nature, ce qui à partir de ce moment était, semble-t-il, réfuté et enfoncé dans des cadres rigides. Par contre, W. M. Davis le prend pour l'oeuvre du même artiste que celui de la palette de Narmer.

22 voir la note 18; E. Baumgarten a exprimé une opinion pareille: The Cultures ..., 117.
24 Schott, Hieroglyphen ..., 25.
25 Vandier, Manuel ..., 600.
26 S. Schott (Hieroglyphen..., 25), J. Vandier (Manuel ..., 601) et W. Kaiser (Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit 3: Die Reichseinigung, ZAS 91, 1964, 91) ont été partisans de la première possibilité. La seconde était exprimée par E. Baumgarten (The Cultures ..., 117).
27 Vandier, Manuel ..., 601.
La juxtaposition des opinions, présentée ci-dessus, témoigne de ce que la scène en question a servi de preuve pour de nombreuses hypothèses, souvent très différentes les unes des autres. En 1993 l'auteur en a présenté une, mais vu le thème du travail différent et faute de place, les détails cités ci-dessus n’étaient introduits ni dans les descriptions ni dans la reconstitution faite en même temps. Comme les chercheurs français, mentionnés au début de cet article, ont basé leurs principaux arguments sur l’analyse des dessins anciens, et non pas sur l’examen de l’original, il est nécessaire de les rappeler. Je fais abstraction des observations purement „théoriques” présentées dans les chapitres préliminaires de leur article, parce que pour y répondre il faudrait présenter une étude spéciale.  

Parmi quelques dessins de notre monument ils ont choisi le dessin publié par W.S. Smith, puisqu’il correspondait le mieux à leur hypothèse. En effet sur ce dessin le détail situé à la hauteur des têtes des porte-enseigne rappelle par sa forme une cupule. Et cette constatation a suffi pour reconstituer la représentation du faucon de Néchenn! Effectivement, il n’y a là que trop d’imagination. Cependant, en examinant l’original il n’est pas difficile de remarquer que dans la partie inférieure de ce fragment la forme présentée sur les figs.6 et 7 est conservée. Notons en plus que son angle est rempli du plâtre, à peine visible non seulement sur l’original, mais aussi sur les photographies et omis sur les dessins antérieurs.

En regardant de près la jambe gauche de la figure du roi conservée, nous voyons que le bord inférieur de la rotule est borné en bas par une ligne ondulée, et en plus entre le contour du genou et le mollet il y a une petite lacune (env. 1 mm). Nous apercevons les mêmes détails sur le fragment étudié: la ligne ondulée en bas éloignée du bord du fragment conservé d’env. 1 mm. On peut supposer que si la partie inférieure de la jambe du personnage conservé avait été détachée, l’effet aurait été le même que dans notre fragment; celui-ci est donc le reste d’un genou.

N’oublions pas que même à l’époque du plus grand épanouissement de l’art égyptien il a été bien souvent difficile pour les artistes de représenter la même


personne ou la même chose tournée dans la direction opposée. C’est donc la raison pour laquelle ils détournaient parfois des fragments de costumes ou se trompaient de la position des bras. Dans notre cas à cause de l’inversion de la figure du souverain la ligne ondulée du genou est celle de la jambe avancée et non pas comme dans la jambe droite (reculée) de la figure conservée.

La partie qui, d’après nous, est le reste d’un pied, ce que nous motivons entre autres par l’existence de l’ongle que l’artiste montre de manière différente, est prise par P. Gautier et B. Midant-Reynes, sans aucune raison, pour les pattes d’un faucon, schématiquement avancées. En donnant l’essor à son imagination on pourrait ainsi de façon aussi invraisemblable y reconstituer à la base de ces deux fragments un éléphant dont les représentations existent au moins dans l’art de la période qui nous intéresse, tandis que le faucon de Nechen apparaît beaucoup plus tard.

La reconstitution de „la scène 2“ est davantage dénuée de fondement. Les deux auteurs s’en rapportant souvent à la sémantique essaient inutilement de créer „une idéologie“ et de justifier les théories imaginées. On peut en effet accepter un argument: le bord à côté de la rosette peut être le bord de la crosse et non pas le bord du mortier, et dans ce cas-là cette partie devrait se trouver un peu plus haut sur notre reconstitution.

Par contre la reconstitution de la figure du roi assis dans un kiosque est dénuée de tout fondement. Au contraire, les fragments d’un kiosque sont conservés derrière les porteurs d’éventails, là où les chercheurs français, on ne sait d’ailleurs à partir de quels fondements, reconstituent un bâtiment du type temple Neith de la plaque d’Aha! Le kiosque, apparaîtrait-il pour la seconde fois, cette fois au centre? La tête de massue Royale liée au roi Scorpion35, leur fournit un argument. Ils ne tiennent pourtant pas compte du fait que l’hypothèse d’A. J. Arkell est un exemple typique, délibérément parlant un voeu pieux. Personne parmi ceux qui ont plus tard vu le monument n’a aperçu sous aucune lumière les moindres traces ni du scorpion ni de la rosette36.

De même l’analogue à la scène de la tête de massue de Narmer ne peut être aucun argument permettant de reconstituer un souverain „passif“. Dans les deux cas la présence des personnages dans les palanquins ne doit pas nécessairement mener à la conclusion que sur notre monument le souverain assis dans le kiosque se trouve devant eux. La tête de massue Royale, mentionnée ci-dessus, fournit même un contre-argument: devant le kiosque il y a le faucon-Horus amenant un prisonnier au pharaon. C’est donc la scène rappelant plutôt celle de l’avers de la palette de Narmer; il n’y a par contre aucune preuve contestant la présence des personnages dans les palanquins, surtout ceux qui étaient surveillés par un gardien dans le cortège du pharaon vainqueur. Citons comme témoignage les deux encensoirs de Qustul ou le manche de couteau du Metropolitan Museum.

35 Arkell, Was King ...
Cette reconstitution, rappelée en abrégé, sert à P. Gautier et B. Midant-Reynes à en déduire des conclusions de nature générale et à obtenir, la cohérence sémantique: comme sur la tête de massue de Narmer, le roi est acteur passif, assistant à la présentation des palanquins et de danses rituelles [sic!]. et on ne l’imagine guère debout dans un tel contexte. L’opposition des deux scènes, dans cette hypothèse, se résout significativement dans l’opposition de deux schémas structurels: le roi, acteur actif face au dieu, acteur passif (scène 1) / le roi, acteur passif face à la mise en scène active de sa fonction (scène 2). Deux aspects complémentaires d’une définition de la royauté: l’être en action, debout / l’être en fonction, assis. C’est dire (si ce n’est pas déjà trop dire, ou trop faire dire) que la fonction transcende le roi, qui ne trouve son identité spécifique que dans cette complémentarité.

Comme, à la lumière des arguments présentés, l’hypothèse examinée ne peut pas être soutenue, les conclusions citées tombent, tout en restant un avertissement contre une interprétation exagérée.

Sans nul doute l’analyse et l’interprétation du sujet et de la composition de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion posent de nombreux problèmes. Le premier résultat du fait que le monument n’est pas conservé tout entier et que les fragments qui existent sont partiellement effacés. Néanmoins un examen minutieux de l’original a apporté quelques nouvelles données. Sauf celles citées dans notre description, remarquons sur le morceau au fragment d’une rosette un bout de bord, qui peut-être aurait appartenu à la couronne de Basse-Égypte. Nous n’avons évidemment pas de preuves, et sans casser la reconstitution actuelle du monument nous ne les aurons pas, mais le fragment cité a été placé dans le registre du milieu plutôt comme une parallèle à la rosette devant le visage du pharaon qu’en conséquence des raisons bien fondées. Dans les collections de l’Ashmolean Museum il y a également quelques autres fragments de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion, provenant de la surface, mais sans décorations. Ils sont plats et, n’ayant aucunement liés à l’ensemble de la représentation, ils pourraient être placés dans n’importe quel lieu. On peut donc supposer que le fragment à rosette s’y est trouvé et non pas ailleurs, plutôt d’après une décision arbitraire qu’en raison de sa liaison avec les fragments conservés. Il en résulte que son déplacement vers le haut de notre reconstitution est aussi justifié que la rotation autour de son axe et un léger déplacement proposés par les chercheurs français. A partir de ces observations on a proposé la restitution (fig. 2) basée sur des données suivantes:

1) Les proportions des fragments conservés de la jambe (la distance entre le pied et le genou) prouvent que la figure disparue devait être presque de la même taille que le pharaon. Quant au monument étudié on constate que l’artiste n’a pas appliqué les proportions uniformes à tous les personnages; ainsi p. ex. la différence

37 Cette attitude a été certainement inspirée par la fig. 52 de l’étude de Davis, Masking the Blow,... (voir la note 33).
38 Gautier, Midant-Reynes, La tête,..., 105.
39 Gautier, Midant-Reynes, La tête,..., 104.
entre la longueur des pieds de la figure conservée du roi Scorpion fait 0,2 cm = 1/10 de la longueur de son pied droit.

La différence entre les ongles du pied fragmentaire et ceux des pieds du roi Scorpion résulte probablement de leur dimension différente. Le pied fragmentaire est aussi grand que le pied du porteur de couffin et leurs ongles sont montrés de la même manière. Une autre manière de montrer les ongles et la différence de la dimension du pied s’expliquent aussi par la courbure de la tête de massue et le soin d’éviter l’exposition excessive du pied dominant les scènes représentées ci-dessous.

2) Le morceau à rosette rajeuni à la figure reconstituée suggère qu’on y a représenté un personnage en couronne rouge, et à cette époque-là seul le pharaon la portait.

3) Ce n’était sans doute pas le souverain assis. Toutes les scènes conservées de ce genre montrent le roi enveloppé dans un manteau, assis dans un kiosque dont le toit est appuyé sur des hampes placées devant les pieds des figures. Il n’y a là aucune trace de supports et, on a constaté en plus que le kiosque, probablement vide, apparaît derrière les dos des porte-enseigne.

4) En haut la place est trop limitée pour montrer le souverain le bras levé, p. ex. en frappant de la massue. Les mains de la figure reconstituée sont disposées de la même manière que celles de Narmer sur le revers de la palette. Les exemples conservés prouvent que seulement les deux types cités des représentations du roi étaient alors pratiqués. Le roi Scorpion en est une seule exception, mais la répétition du même motif serait privée de sens, et en plus l’espace restreint ne permet pas d’y placer les mains tenant une houe.

5) Le pharaon de notre reconstitution a une main pliée et tient nh33h3; dans l’autre baissée, il a une massue. J. Baines suggère que le monarque ait pu tenir une corde allant aux arcs symbolisant les ennemis de l’Egypte. Tout d’abord cette possibilité semble être très probable, mais dans l’art prédynastique et archaïque il n’y a aucune analogie à un dénouement pareil. Au contraire, tous les exemples conservés prouvent que c’est au pharaon que quelqu’un ou quelque chose - le faucon-Horus, les enseignes des noms - amènent les vaincus. Dans notre cas la conception de J. Baines aboutirait à la conclusion que le pharaon amène les ennemis enchaînés à lui-même.

6) On remarque que devant le visage du pharaon la place est restreinte, ce qui ne permet pas d’y mettre un scarabée disposé de la même manière que dans la figure conservée du roi. Il aurait pourtant pu être poussé plus en avant. Rien que les monuments de Narmer (palette, tête de massue) témoignent de différents placements du même signe, où le titre du porteur des sandales, montré à trois reprises, chaque fois est composé d’une autre manière. Le déplacement du bord jusqu’à la crosse, suggéré par P. Gautier et B. Midant-Reynes, permet d’agrandir un peu l’espace et éventuellement y placer l’image d’un insecte. La proximité du bord et de la rosette leur sert d’argument pour situer le souverain dans le kiosque. Cette

---

30 Comp. p. ex. Ciałowicz, Symbolika ..., figs. 18,19.
41 Baines, Origines ..., 119.
proximité peut aussi être expliquée par le manque d’espace entre le visage du roi et les enseignes dans le registre supérieur.

Les deux possibilités sont probables et elles ont été montrées dans notre reconstitution.

7) De même que dans notre cas les porte-enseigne de la tête de massue de Narmer vont vers le souverain. Il semble également que les enseignes conservées sur le monument de Scorpion sont identiques à deux premières du monument de Narmer mentionné ci-dessus.

8) Les enseignes aux oiseaux pendus sont tournées vers le côté opposé à celles aux arcs. Il serait peu compréhensible si elles s’unissaient les unes aux autres et subitement changeaient de direction. Si le roi apparaît entre elles la composition devient plus logique.

9) La présence du souverain tourné à gauche justifie la direction vers laquelle sont tournés les personnages placés derrière la figure conservée du roi.

De l’hypothèse présentée ci-dessus il résulte que la scène reconstituée est liée à la propagande du triomphe du monarque. Les figures symboliques des ennemis, pendues aux enseignes, en témoignent. Cette scène est donc, dans un certain sens, similaire à celle de la palette de Narmer, où le pharaon se dirige vers les ennemis décapités. Si la reconstitution présentée ci-dessus est juste, il faut souligner que le pharaon en couronne de Basse-Egypte triomphe de deux espèces d’ennemis. La symbolique est ici facile à déchiffrer: le pharaon domine sur le monde entier. Il y a encore un problème: s’agit-il ici de représenter la domination militaire ce qui semble être juste au premier abord ou, ce qui est plus probable, de baser le règne sur la loi héritaire, renforcée par l’armée. De même nous ne savons pas si les oiseaux réhbit représentent la population du Delta et les arcs la Nubie ou si les premiers désignent les sédentaires et les seconds les nomades\(^4\). Il est pourtant sûr que la scène du registre supérieur est symbolique, ne se rapporte à aucun événement concret et doit d’une manière ou d’une autre accentuer la puissance du souverain.

A gauche, en bas il y a des fragments mal conservés de quelques bateaux à hautes proues et poupes. Devant eux, derrière les figures aux éventails - le fragment d’un bâtiment encore moins visible. Un petit rectangle au milieu est probablement le reste du dossier de trône. Sur le devant, en haut, le bout d’une pointe, peut-être celle d’une lance et le fragment d’un toit. La construction est pareille à celle qui abrite le souverain assis, représenté sur les têtes de massues de Narmer et Royale. Les objets soutenant le toit du kiosque heb-sed des reliefs de Niouserrê d’Abou Gourab sont identiques\(^5\). Le souverain y apparaît, encore sans son manteau caractéristique et sans couronne, la houe à la main, engagé dans quelque action de construction\(^6\). Selon certains chercheurs l’introduction aux rites

\(^4\) Voir les notes 13 et 29.


\(^6\) Kaiser, Die kleine Hebseedarstellung ..., 94.
de la fête sed par le souverain consistait à la fondation du pavillon où d'autres cérémonies avaient lieu45. D'après les opinions connues jusqu'à présent la scène principale de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion illustre l'irrigation ou la fondation d'un temple ou d'une ville46.

Il faut pourtant signaler aussi la liaison très probable de la procession des bateaux avec les rites de la fête sed qu'on voit sur la peinture de Hiéraponopolis et aussi, semble-t-il, sur les deux encensoirs de Qustul et le manche du Metropolitan Museum47. En terminant l'étude de la scène principale, il faut suggérer l'hypothèse de sa possible liaison avec le heb-sed du souverain, dont témoignent le bateau et le kiosque visibles derrière le pharaon, sans exclure la possibilité de joindre cette fête à l'activité du roi Scorpion dans un autre domaine p.ex. dans la cérémonie de l'ouverture du canal. Nous pouvons en effet être d'accord avec P.Gautier et B.Midant-Reynes sur ce point: le roi „se trouve alors tout naturellement investi d'une fonction d'intercession qui ne peut reposer sur ses qualités propres, ce qui appelle une nouvelle définition de son rôle“48, mais cette conclusion est, d'après nous, le résultat de la liaison de la scène principale avec les rituels de heb-sed.

La partie inférieure de la tête de massue est encore moins bien conservée que les scènes décrites ci-dessus. On remarque surtout la présence de deux chapelles per-nou localisant la scène dans la Basse Égypte et des personnages semblant inertes. Il faut souligner la maladresse, sans doute, intentionnelle de la représentation qui ressemble plutôt aux figures de la partie inférieure de la palette aux Vautours qu'à toutes les autres montrées sur la tête de massue examinée, suggérant à la fois la présentation des hommes morts. La présence d'un palmier et d'une haute proue/poupe d'un bateau est également énigmatique49. A cause de l'état fragmentaire de ce registre il est impossible de l'interpréter correctement, et chaque hypothèse sera soumise à une juste critique.

Les fragments conservés de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion constituent un pont entre les monuments antérieurs et les œuvres de la période de Narmer. On le remarque dans la transition de la pseudoperspective visible dans la partie inférieure et celle à procession de bateaux à la composition linéaire de la scène principale et enfin à la disposition en registres presque complète dans la frise supérieure. La mise en ordre n'y a été interrompue que par la figure reconstituée du souverain. La partie du milieu a été divisée en groupes plus petits qui pourtant n'étaient pas toujours placés sur leurs propres lignes de base, par contre dans le fragment à bateaux et en bas on a essayé d'acquérir une plus grande profondeur par l'intermédiaire de la pseudoperspective. La présentation de différentes figures

46 Comp. ci-dessus et Ciadowsz, Les têtes ..., 32-38.
47 Czadowsz, Symbolika ..., 72-79.
48 Gautier, Midant-Reynes, La tête..., 120.
est également variée. Si le roi et les membres de son entourage immédiat ressemblent à Narmer et à sa suite, les autres rappellent plutôt ceux de la palette aux Vautours. On le voit surtout dans la partie inférieure de la tête de masse où les figures diffèrent décidément des personnages placés au bas de la palette de Narmer. Soulignons aussi la présence, d’un personnage qui unit les monuments du dernier des souverains mentionnés à notre tête de masse. Il s’agit de la figure fragmentaire placée derrière celle tenant un couffin. L’emblème pendant au-dessous de son épaule est le même que celui porté par le scribe sur le revers de la palette, tandis que son costume ressemble au vêtement de la même personne sur la tête de masse de Narmer. Il semble donc qu’on y a montré le même fonctionnaire/prêtre.

A en juger d’après les remarques citées ci-dessus, la tête de masse du roi Scorpion comprend les scènes symboliques du triomph et des cérémonies heb-sed. La représentation de ces dernières a été peut-être liée, comme on l’a déjà dit, à la présentation d’autres activités du souverain. Tous ces éléments soulignent nettement le prestige du roi en tant que le plus important personnage de la société, celui qui maintient l’ordre, assure la stabilité et la sécurité, personnage grâce auquel la vie quotidienne est tout simplement possible.

Aussi bien la juxtaposition des scènes de types différents sur le même objet que leur composition permettent de prendre la tête de masse du roi Scorpion pour antérieure aux monuments de Narmer où les règles de la disposition en registres sont, semble-t-il, plus strictes et l’assemblage des scènes sur divers objets embrasse des sujets plus homogènes. D’autres éléments influencent également cette opinion. Le premier se rapporte aux hiéroglyphes archaïques qui sont beaucoup plus nombreux sur la palette et la tête de masse de Narmer que sur le monument de Scorpion. Le mauvais état de conservation de ce dernier exclut une certitude absolue, mais sur cette tête de masse il n’y a aucune autre trace de signes hiéroglyphiques que le scorpion et la rosace. Un autre argument résulte de la manière symbolique de représenter les vaincus. Sur la tête de masse du roi Scorpion les enseignes sont directement engagées à dompter les ennemis. La même idée se voit sur les palettes aux Vautours et au Taureau où ce n’est pas l’homme-souverain mais les enseignes qui tiennent les vaincus, elles participent donc activement aux événements. Leur rôle sur la tête de masse, en comparaison aux précédentes enseignes, est assez limité: elles servent de potence. Pendant le règne de Narmer la fonction des enseignes est tout à fait passive, elles sont portées par des porte-enseigne, n’étant que les témoins des cérémonies ou du triomph.

L’ancienneté du monument examiné est en plus prouvée par la disposition réciproque des deux figures du souverain; d’une manière non conventionnelle elle décompose le plan et diffère totalement de la disposition canonique des monuments de Narmer. Il semble donc que la tête de masse du roi Scorpion est antérieure, bien que probablement très peu, au règne du second des pharaons cités.

On discute toujours le problème de la disposition chronologique des deux souverains. Nous connaissons les noms de quelques premiers rois: Iri-Hor, Ka, Narmer et Scorpion. Si la succession des trois premiers ne fait aucun doute, le temps du règne de Scorpion soulève toujours une vive controverse. Les opinions
sont partagées. Selon certains chercheurs il faut le mettre au début de la liste des souverains connus. Les autres le placent parmi les trois pharaons cités ci-dessus ou même reportent son règne au temps de la 1ère dynastie. Une importante discussion à ce sujet s’est déroulée entre G. Dreyer et W. Kaiser et les constatations chronologiques ont été basées sur les noms de quelques premiers rois que comprend le cylindre d’Umm el-Qaab. Le premier de ces chercheurs prend Scorpion pour un souverain éphémère et situe son règne entre Narmer et Hor-Aha; le second, en indiquant l’absence des preuves directes que Scorpion fut enseveli à cette nécropole, est porté à le traiter de prédécesseur de Narmer.

L’hypothèse traitant Scorpion de souverain éphémère après Narmer n’est pas très convaincante. Selon notre avis les arguments de W. Kaiser, que le premier des souverains cités précède directement l’autre, sont plus justes. L’analyse du monument examiné ici mène aux conclusions pareilles.

La tombe U-j d’Abydos, récemment découverte, est aussi attribuée à un souverain portant le nom de Scorpion, mais - d’après le chef des fouilles - il n’est pas le propriétaire de la masse. En effet la datation de cette tombe de la phase IIIa2 ne permet pas d’attribuer au défunt y enseveli notre monument dont les traits caractéristiques sont postérieurs au début de Nagada III. Néanmoins il faut réfléchir si de nombreuses représentations des scorpions à Abydos et à Hiérapoléne ne portent pas à y voir le symbole de la „puissance“ ou des traits souhaités du souverain, plutôt qu’un nom propre. Quant à la tête de masse du roi Scorpion le premier élément se faisant remarquer parmi les signes autour du visage du pharaon, est un objet rectangulaire à côté de l’abdomen de l’insecte; il pourrait, peut-être, prouver qu’on y a montré „l’enseigne“ du scorpion, ainsi le souverain incarnerait les traits qui normalement sont illustrés par l’image d’un animal. La rosace est un autre élément composant. Comme nous l’avons essayé de prouver ailleurs, ce signe étant la transposition d’un palmier peut désigner un pays/état et définir celui qui le possède dans son titre comme souverain d’un état ou en cas du porteur des sandales de Narmer comme serviteur du souverain. C’est surtout important quand on se rend compte du fait que les signes devant le visage du pharaon de ce monument n’ont pas été encadrés dans le sérekh. La rosace devait donc avoir une signification spécifique se rapportant de quelque manière au souverain, mais plus large que le sérekh, puisqu’autrement elle n’aurait pas pu apparaître non plus dans le titre du fonctionnaire.

Il est possible que comme chez Narmer qui incorpora dans son titre „la puissance“ incarnée dans un animal représenté déjà sur des monuments...
antérieurs55, et dont le nom serait dans ce cas-là „Déterminant le Silure”56, le roi Scorpion agit de la même manière. La plupart des images de scorpions, surtout plus anciennes, peut-être doivent être traitées comme symboles de „la puissance” ou des traits souhaités du souverain, tandis que celles liées au propriétaire de la tête de massue seraient son nom propre signifiant, ensemble avec la rosette: roi (maître de l’état) „enseigne (image) de Scorpion”.

Le sujet de la tête de massue du roi Scorpion, de même qu’un peu postérieurs monuments de Narmer semble être limité aux cérémonies du heb-sed et du triomphe. Les scènes de chasse — de la maîtrise des animaux et des cérémonies liées probablement aux funérailles57, représentées auparavant, disparaissent. Ce changement, ou plutôt la réduction du sujet, semble strictement dépendre de la destination diverse des monuments. La plupart des monuments postérieurs ont été découverts dans le temple de Hiérapoléis où ils ont pu soi assumé une fonction votive, étant à la fois une puissante force motrice de propagande de l’état en train de s’unifier, soit ils servaient aux cérémonies consacrées au pharaon. Toutes ces scènes ne doivent pas être traitées comme si elles se rapportaient aux événements réels, mais comme celles qui illustrent les aspects symboliques du pouvoir des premiers pharaons. Ce sont les œuvres glorifiant le roi et l’élite auxquels elles sont destinées. On observe alors l’origine de la division en membres de l’élite - jri-p’t et en subjugués/subordonnés - rhyt58. Pour la première fois on le trouve sur la tête de massue du roi Scorpion: les râkhts et les arcs suspendus, ainsi que la victorieuse élite.

La division à l’intérieur du groupe de monuments de la période entre l’époque prédynastique et archaïque est un phénomène assez caractéristique. Ces monuments qui ont pu être vus par un assez grand nombre de personnes - les têtes de massues, comme on le voit sur un des cylindres de Hiérapoléis59, comprennent non seulement les scènes du triomphe, mais aussi les scènes heb-sed dédiées à la puissance du souverain, constamment renouvelée pendant des cérémonies cycliques. D’autres monuments (p.ex. les palettes), utilisés peut-être uniquement au cours des fonctions cultuelles, montrent directement la force du roi, vainqueur de tous les ennemis humains. Les deux types de cérémonies semblent être étroitement liés à la tradition du chef plus tard si caractéristique pour l’Afrique. Malgré des changements postérieurs leur but principal consistait à renouveler les forces de la personne mise d’abord à la tête de la tribu, puis de l’état, et assurer en même temps la prospérité et la sécurité aux membres de cette société qui lui était soumise.

Cracovie, septembre 1996

55 Comp. les manches de couteaux de Brooklyn et Pitt-Rivers.
56 J.Baines, Communication and display: the integration of early Egyptian art and writing, Antiquity 63, 1989, 476.
57 K.M. Cahalowicz, Once again the Hierakonpolis wall painting, [dans:] VII International Congress of Egyptologists. (sous presse).
58 Baines, Origins ..., 133.
Among the numerous and rich art collections in London, the museum of Sir John Soane occupies a very particular place, enveloping its visitors in the atmosphere of its interiors, the architecture of its buildings, and the manner in which the uncommonly diverse works of art are displayed. Sir John Soane (1753-1837), an outstanding architect of English Classicism, the designer of many well-known buildings in London (including the Bank of England and the Dulwich College Art Gallery) and numerous country residences, had the ambition to create a collection that would bring architecture into a harmonious whole with the other disciplines of the fine arts. Soane's collecting activity had its origins in the last decade of the


eighteenth century, but took on particular significance after 1806, when he was appointed Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. The not overly numerous set of Egyptian objects includes, among other things, a group of shabtis, several bronze figurines of deities, a figure of a priest from Dynasty XX, two stone grave steles from Dynasty XXII, and the most important object: the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I (Dynasty XIX) with 18 fragments of the lid.

There are also two Egyptian scarabs in Soane's collection, one of which - due to the name of the ruler - deserves particular attention. This scarab, with the name of Horemheb (the last ruler in Dynasty XVIII, who reigned from 1305 to 1292 B.C.²), has been forgotten, passed over in works devoted especially to the scarabs of this ruler. The object, 20 x 15 x 8.8 mm (Inv. no. D.S. 194) is made of blue faience and set in a gold frame (the bail of the ring has not been preserved; there are only special bushings into which its ends were turned)³. The gold wrap on the edge of the base is decorated with granulation. One's attention is drawn to the extraordinarily large orifice modeled on the axis of the scarab. No division line has been marked on the convex surface of the beetle's back (the implicit line dividing the prothorax from the elytra is only suggested by a slight indentation on the edge); a straight line divides the head and the fan-shaped clypeus. On the surface of the base is engraved the throne name and epithet of the ruler:

---

³ Soane's collection rapidly gained renown and the desired respect of his contemporaries, as may be shown by, for example, the description of the rooms and the collection written by John Britton, under the uncommonly eloquent title The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting (London 1827), with numerous woodcut illustrations. Soane himself also produced a description and evaluation of his collection: Description of the Residence of John Soane, Architect (London 1830), with numerous lithographs by C. Haghe; this was followed by another edition, under a different title: Description of the House and Museum on the North Side of Lincoln's Inn Fields: The Residence of Sir John Soane (London 1835).

² The ancient objects from Soane's collection were the subject of a work by C. C. Vermeule, A Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities in Sir John Soane's Museum (London 1953; photocopy with additions and revisions published by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Classical Art, Boston 1973). This is a mimeographed typescript, with no illustrations, and difficult to find. Vermeule also included in his catalogue entries on the Egyptian artifacts, prepared in 1946 by Dr. Margaret A. Murray (cf. Nos. 1-37, pp. 94-115).

⁴ Both scarabs were placed among the objects of a glyptics (Vermeule, pp. 584-585). The second scarab also dates from the XVIII dynasty; it is made of quartz (26.6 x 20.8 x 10 mm), set in a gold frame. On the base there are engraved representations of a beetle, a sun disk, and two uraei (perhaps cryptograms of the name Amun-Ra).


⁷ I would like to thank the directors of Sir John Soane's Museum in London for making available to me the scarabs discussed in this article.
Among the seal amulets with the name of Horemheb, objects showing the epithet "Ruler of Truth" (ḥq3-M3’t) make up a rather small group, in which the scarab from Sir John Soane's museum is yet another noteworthy example. There is no basis, unfortunately, upon which to establish how this scarab made its way into this marvellous London collection.

---

9 Hari, pl. LXIV, sets them apart in Group 7, where he places five objects (nos. 42-46), whereas Jaeger counts twelve objects of this type, out of 269 scarabs with the name of Horemheb.

10 I made note only of the data regarding the origins of the group of Egyptian bronze divinities from Sir John Soane's collection. They were added to the collection after having been purchased at auction in the years 1821 and 1825, from the collections of R. Cosway, C. Yarnold, and A. North. Cf. J. Śliwa, Zabytki egipskie z kolekcji Sir Johna Soane’a w Londynie [Egyptian Objects from Sir John Soane’s Collection in London] (FS Abramowicz, in press).
Tomasz Polański
Cracow

GREEKS AND PEOPLES OF THE ORIENT
IN THE DISTORTING MIRRORS OF
MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDING

Apollonius of Tyana, according to the testimony of Philostratus, derided the images of the Egyptian gods as "άτοπα καὶ γελοῖα", absurd and grotesque (V. Apoll. VI, 19). Pliny would call them monstrifica effigies (HN 36, 84); Lactantius would label them monstruosa (Div. Inst. I, 20); for Philo of Alexandria the Egyptian animal cult was a disgusting and unclean cult of the brute beasts. The two Pagans (one Greek, one Roman), the Christian, and the Jew all shared exactly the same opinion on this issue. In the light of the materials collected by Hopfner for his valuable anthology, Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, such opinions may be regarded as typical, the universally enunciated ones. Socrates Scholasticus recorded a recollection of a statue of Toth, a monkey god from the Serapeum of Alexandria, left by Bishop Theophilus for future generations as a proof of how ridiculous Egyptian Pagan worship was (HE V, 16). Even today, when we look at the selection of images of the monkey divinity assembled by A. Roullet in her admirable book, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, we may feel a perverse kind of sympathy with Theophilus. The second-rate antique handicrafts business widespread throughout Italy for the manufacture and distribution of fake Egyptian objects d'art, albeit in a wide range of quality, could come nowhere near the supreme perfection of the genuine Egyptian sculpture of, say, the New Kingdom; neither could it match the standards of the collection gathered together by that arch-snob and connoisseur, the Emperor Hadrian. In the eyes of Western intellectuals the religion of Egypt, and also its religiously derived, majestically beautiful art full of a symbolic sense and substance, would often be accorded the monstrous shape of caricature. The 18th-century drawings of the Egyptian gods reproduced in Roullet's book offer corroborating evidence for the
contention that the learned men of Wickelman’s times, under the spell of their own
cult of the Classics, read the heritage of Greek and Roman letters as their creators
had intended it to be read. Apollonius of Tyana had contrasted the Classical beauty
of Hellenic marble divinities with the monstrosity of Egyptian images
(V.Apoll.VI,19). This passage openly manifests the exclusivist attitudes held by
the Greek scholars and rhetors, who were infatuated with the beauty of Post-
Phidian art, a beauty treated as absolute and unique. But for all this Apollonius’
remark carries the characteristics of an inventive. Aesthetics are only of secondary
importance here.

Oddly enough the literary material regarding the Syrian art reveals the same
patterns. They may be traced, for instance, in the cursory description of the
miraculous moving statue of Apollo of Hierapolis, to be found in the essay “The
Syrian Goddess” by an anonymous Syrian Greek author, probably writing at the
turn of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.:

εἰς ἀθάνατον Ἀπόλλωνας, οὐκ ὣς ἐκαίνης ποιήθηκεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες
Ἀπόλλωναν νέον τε καὶ προσθήκην ποιήσαντες, μόνοι δὲ οὕτω Λακόλλωνος
γενειτέρει ξύλον ἐκλειόσαντες, καὶ τάδε ποιήσαντες ἔσχοντες μὲν
ἐπανέγειρον, Ἐλληνες δὲ κατηγορέοντες καὶ ἄλλων, ὡς οὗ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα
πάλι τῇ χειρὶ ἑμῶν Ἀμφιστῆρον... μόνοι τῶν Ἀπόλλωνα εἶμας κοσμεόσας.

DS 35: “an effigy of Apollo of an unusual character. All other sculptors think of
Apollo as a youth, and represent him in the flower of his age. These artificers
alone exhibit the Apollo of their statuary as bearded. They justify their action, and
criticize the Greeks and others who set up Apollo as a boy, and appease him in that
guise... they, and they alone represent Apollo as robed...” [translated by
H.A.Strong].

This description, brief though it is (its gist amounting to the picture of the
bearded and robed sculpture of a divinity) lays emphasis on the Oriental aspects of
the idol’s shape. First by stressing its strange appearance, and secondly by
contrast the technique and aesthetic principles applied by the Oriental sculptors
who, to paraphrase the words of R.Lee, “showed no interest in formal beauty”1, but
focused their attention on bringing out the religious, symbolic and hieratic
qualities of their works. The Greek commentator observes the striking contrast
between the Oriental art and the workshop of the Greek sculptors, who sought to
bestow an idealized beauty upon their work, thus expressing their sensitiveness
attuned to earthly beauty, as may be seen in many Greek images of the gods
(Lessing’s körperliche Schönheit). We may readily understand what the author of
“The Syrian Goddess” meant through his comparison, thanks to a brilliant
discovery by J.Pirenne, who identified the Apollo of Hierapolis with Bel of Hatra,

1 R. Lee, Ut pictura poesis. The Humanistic Theory of Painting, Art Bulletin 22, 1940, pp. 197-
269.
basing on a rather detailed description in Macrobius (Sat. I,17). This noteworthy achievement affords a clear view of the pictorial representations underlying the verbal expression. In other words, it helps us to comprehend exactly the very essence of the comparison between two mutually exclusive concepts of beauty (Figs. I - II).

My preliminary short-list of selected extracts shows what might aptly be called a sense of alienation and misunderstanding in the aesthetic categories, a reluctance or inability to transcend the aesthetic barriers to cross-cultural communication. The alien beauty of the Orientals proved inconceivable and psychologically impenetrable to the Western intellectuals whether of Greek or of Latin origin. To them the Oriental architecture appeared barbaric. They saw in it a testimony of vain monumentalism, deprived of all charm or beauty (Strabo 17, 1, 28; Plin. HN 36, 79; Hdt. II, 125 - 8). In their view the forms of the Oriental fine arts were odd, if not monstrous and abhorrent.

In their turn the Orientals, worshippers of their native gods in idols endowed with an ancient beauty, could in no way accept the Greek aesthetics, which stripped the gods of their proper dignity and divinity, as may be surmised from the opinions expressed by the author of the essay de Dea Syria.

Alongside the intrinsic aesthetic barriers to cross-cultural communication we frequently encounter evidence of misinterpretation of Oriental works of art by Classical authors, or in other words barriers that are ideological. In the account from Diodorus’ Library we find a description of a painted wall relief belonging to a class of popular compositions in the royal monumental art of the New Kingdom: a scene showing the bringing in of captives before Pharaoh (I, 48). The prisoners of war themselves, as described by Diodorus, were armless and deprived of the membra virilia. It is not unlikely that what Diodorus had in mind was a variant of the scene which we know from Medinet Habu, the one which shows a count of hands and phalli that have been severed off the captives before the king. The allegorical explanation adduced by Diodorus (the captives were effeminates in spirit etc.) reveals some scruples which elsewhere would be considered unnecessary as to the image of the ancient Oriental monarchs. There is no reason to doubt their extreme brutality. Such treatment of prisoners of war as registered by Diodorus’ testimony appears to have been general practice in the ancient Near East. Suffice it to mention the Assyrian royal art, wellknown to us e.g. from the art galleries of the British Museum. The Orientals showed no understanding or feeling for what the Greeks called πρέπον (decorum), a ruling

---


Fig. 1. Apollo Belvedere.
principle in the Classical art from Phidias to the Hadrianic school⁴. This Greek author, namely the author of the original account incorporated into the Library of History, sharing the pro-Egyptian sympathies of the contemporary royal and intellectual circles, seems, as neatly expressed by Stephanie West, to have "naturally linked" them "with the respect for Egypt’s heritage fostered in the early years of Ptolemaic rule, when the dream of some kind of cultural synthesis encouraged idealization of the country's past"⁵. Consequently he did his utmost in the service of the king, turning to allegory in order to explain an image which must have been intolerably brutal to the Greek reader. In fact such scenes were by no means allegorical. On this point Assyrian and Egyptian artists were realistic to the extremity allowed by their formal conventions. It was simply one of their manners of expressing the glory of their monarchs, then apparently regarded as proper, which today may be looked upon as a fossilized piece of the Aegypto-Assyrian imperial esprit du temps. This is not to say that the Greeks or Macedonians were any less cruel than the Egyptians or Assyrians. Suffice it to recall the scene of mass execution of prisoners of war captured at the battle of Aigospotamoi, or the

resolution passed by the Council of the People at Athens to cut off the hands of any sailors of the Symmachy of Sparta they should catch. As time went on, supposedly not without Oriental influence, this motif would make it into the Classical art, as borne out by the macabre scene of execution of Germanic prisoners immortalized of the memorial of Marcus Aurelius that towers over the Piazza Colonna.

Macrobius' interpretations of the attributes of the Syrian divinities reveal a similar degree of misunderstanding, for example in his analysis of the properties of the Heliopolitan idol of Jupiter (Sat. I, 12). In Syria the thunderbolt was the attribute of the rain god, not of Helios. Similarly the whip, a symbol of lightning, was a natural prop in the hands of the rain god; while the ear of corn was widely known in the ancient Near East as the attribute of fertility deities. But for Macrobius all of these were features of the Sun god. Hajjar saw fit to call Macrobius' method un synchronisme aveugle 6. In the relevant section of the Saturnalia Macrobius identified the Sun god successively with Apollo (I,17), Liber (18), Mars and Mercury (19), Asclepius, Hercules, Salus, Serapis (20), Adonis, Attis, Osiris and Horus (21), and a host of other divinities.

The iconography of the Orientals frequently remained as inscrutable as their writing systems. This problem is not the reserve exclusively of Egyptians or Syrians. Within the realm of art we may also apply the same pattern to the Jews, even though their culture was, at least in principle, aniconic. According to a popular version which gained currency in intellectual circles as well, the Jews were said to venerate a golden asinine head as the most holy object of their religion, and kept it hidden in the inaccessible precinct (the Holy of Holies) of their Temple in Jerusalem. The most interesting passage referring to the golden asinine head can be found in the apologetical text by Josephus Flavius, contra Apionem (II, 80), a quotation drawn from Apion's Aegyptiaca:

in hoc enim sacrario Apion prae sumpsit edicere asini caput collocasse Judaeeset eum colere ac dignum facere tanta religione, et hoc affirmavituisse depalatum, dum Antiochos Epiphanes expoliasset templum et illud caput inventum ex auro compositum multis pecuniis dignum

"Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontery to assert that the Jews kept an ass's head, worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence; the fact was disclosed, he maintains, on the occasion of the spoliation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, when the head, made of gold and worth a high price, was discovered" [translated by H.S.J. Thackeray].

Even a superficial review of the Classical authors concerned is enough to demonstrate convincingly that all the clues converge in late Ptolemaic and early Imperial Alexandria. In that period Alexandria emerged as the intellectual hub of Greek and Roman anti-Semitism. Yoyotte has satisfactorily proved this in his

---

admirable paper “L’Égypte ancienne et les origines de l’anti-judaïsme”. The question arises whether Manetho may be regarded as the oldest source of the anti-Jewish accounts - indeed, of all anti-Semitic literature in the Greek tradition. It seems that both on the philological as well as historical grounds we can speculate that the Manethonian source was a demotic or hieroglyphic text or texts from the 8th - 7th centuries B.C. Cognizance of this the intellectuals of Alexandria inherited from their Egyptian forbears; and through the mediation of the former it came to be widely accepted in the Pagan Graeco-Roman learned circles, if we are to judge by the number of often quite outstanding names associated with it.

Even this modest and fairly random selection from the range of Oriental art descriptions manifests several component parts which are also to be found in the descriptions of the peoples of the Orient as compiled by Classical authors. These characteristic features, which comprise as it were a speculum of the popular image of the Oriental, are also reflections of the relations between the peoples of East and West during the Graeco-Roman period. Stephanie West has described that stereotypical counterfeitas “the Hellenic view of the Orient as characterized by luxury, decadence, weakness, lack of restraint, cruelty and treachery”.

According to the testimony in the fictitious letter of Hadrian, which was in fact an invective fabricated by the author of Historia Augusta, the Egyptians were the most vain, harmful and insolent of all nations. They were light-minded, greedy for any novelty, coxsure, arrogant and totally mad (Quadr. Tyr. 7, 4 - 8, 10).

Just as devastating a characteristic of the Syrians can be found in the History by Herodian, himself a Greek brought up in an Oriental milieu (II, 7, 9-10):

φύσει δὲ κόψων τὸ Σύρον ἐθνὸς, ἐς καινοτομίαν τε τῶν καθεστηκτῶν ἐπιτίθειν... φιλέορτοι δὲ φύσει Σύροι; ὅν μέλισσα οἱ τὴν ἀντίπχειαν κατοικησίους... σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντα τῶν ἐνωστῶν ἱστορίων...

“The Syrian nation is by nature light-minded and always ready for subversive activities in its eagerness for change... they have an inborn passion for feasting and easy living; this is true particularly of the Antiochians, who revel all year long...”

Herodian went as far as to touch up the highlights of disgrace in his portrait of Oriental luxury and corruption by contrasting it with the moral nobility and physical vigour of the peoples of the North, all soldiers born (Herod. II, 9, 10). By this antithesis he succeeded in stressing the physical and mental degeneracy of the Syrians. Herodian’s anti-Syrian feelings are even better visible in his portrait of Heliogabalus, which constitutes a sequence extended beyond all limits which may seem justified in a purported historical narrative. The reader may easily notice the individual perverse pleasure he draws from the running up of beefy descriptions of Heliogabalus’ extravagancies in dress and behaviour, his religious fanaticism, his

---

8 Ibid.
9 A private letter.
10 See also: Aem. 22, 1 - 3; Quadr. Tyr. 8, 5.
reprehensible religious practices, his sexual intemperance and mental disorder (Elag. V. 5, 3 - 6, 10). The account of mascara, painted eyelids and rouged cheeks on an otherwise naturally young and vigorous face - a detail shocking for the Romans - makes for a cadence in this protractedly vituperative characteristic of the Emperor.

Apuleius has preserved a caricature counterfeit of the priests of the Syrian Goddess - as greedy, deceitful, importunate and licentious beggars (Met. 8, 24, 2). The appearance of their aged leader with a hairstyle rather like the coat of ashaggy dog is by no means any better than that of his young, stupid and vulgar Syrian followers (Met. 8, 26). Eroticism is another element of the popular image of the Orientals, and it is particularly prominent in Apuleius' jibe. It served as a more or less obligatory component of the popular image of the Oriental, whether Semitic or African, and it had always been present in the Greek writings. The subject has also influenced the Oriental art description as attested by a series of pictures of divinities cum pene erecto, as for example the Egyptian Osiris (Plut. de Iside 18; ibid. 51), Chnum (Diod. I. 88) or a "Syrian Bes" in the temple of Atargatis in Hierapolis (de Dea Syria 16).

While speaking of Apuleius and his vitriolic characteristic of the Orientals it might be noteworthy to add that the language of the immortal invective has always loved comparisons with the animal kingdom, as is illustrated by the following colourful passage of a Pagan scribbler quoted by Origen (C.Cels. IV.23):

"the race of Jews and Christians ... cluster like bats or ants coming out of a nest, or frogs holding council round a marsh or worms assembling in some filthy corner ..."

In both Herodian's and Apuleius' tableaux Oriental music can be heard played on exotic instruments. It is amusic performed in a religious trance, and received by Westerners as an irritating strider and noise, as attested to by both Greek and Latin writers (Herod. Elag. V. 5, 4).

The Oriental response whether from Semite or African, was fit for tat. The Western onslaught had again and again assailed a variety of different and sometimes impregnable barriers of language, religion, mentality, local customs, meeting not infrequently with a backlash of open hostility or only superficially veiled reluctance.

So how did the East see the Greeks? Herodotus observed that the Egyptians kept the ancestral laws adding none other (II.79), that they avoided the use of Greek customs of all other men (II.9), and called barbarians all those who could not speak their language (II.159). Dio Chrysostomos regarded the whole of Egypt as a mere "appendage" (προοιμία) of the Greek metropolis, Alexandria (Or. XXXII 36). The Egyptians, who called the city Rhakote, took a diametrically opposite attitude towards the same problem. The author of a text which was already popular in Antiquity judging by its Greek translation, The Oracle of the

---
Potter, an Egyptian Pagan apocalypse, expressed this attitude in his awesome language: “Agathos Daimon will abandon the city ... it will be deserted, that city of foreigners dwelling in Egypt will disappear like leaves falling from a tree in autumn. And the city of the belt-wearers [sc. the Greeks] will be deserted... on account of the impieties they have committed”\(^\text{12}\).

One can hardly refrain here from drawing a comparison with the vision of the destruction of Rome as revealed to St. John (Rev. 18: 6 ff.). H. Fuchs gives an expressive account of it: “Da erscheint das römische Kaiserreich in der Gestalt des altorientalischen Chaos tieres als ein siebenköpfiges Ungeheuer, das aus dem Meere aufsteigt”\(^\text{13}\). Rome is visualized as a den of luxury and vice, as the Harlot clad in purple, gold, and pearls sitting astride the Beast. This image contains all the ingredients of the popular view of the Orient current in the West, as already quoted. One might ask the question whether it is the Orient observing itself in the mirrors of the West, or the Occident viewing its own reflection in the glass held up for it by the East. The vision of the Apocalypse has a long tradition in Jewish literature, going back to an original source in the Book of Daniel (7-8) in which, significantly for this paper, after the first three beasts have been annihilated, a fourth appears, the most terrible of all:

\[ \text{διωχθέτροντος πάντα καὶ υπερφόβου καὶ οἱ διδόντας αὐτῷ σιδηρό καὶ οἱ δύναμιν αὐτῷ χάλκοι κατεσθιόντες πάντας κυκλόθεν καὶ καταπατοῦντες τός} \]

“all-destroying, terrible, with teeth of iron and claws of bronze; it devours all within reach and tramples everything underfoot”

This fourth beast represents the Greeks and their kingdoms in the Hellenistic period. The text was probably composed in the years immediately after the Jews’ confrontation with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, some time around 160 B.C.

Returning to Egypt one can notice that Greek papyri describe Egyptian priests as ἄγραμμοι, “unlettered”. In his fascinating book, The Egyptian Hermes, Fowden comments on this fact in the following way: “The priesthood in particular, virtually undiluted as it was by Greek blood, remained deeply absorbed in its own tradition”\(^\text{14}\). One has the impression that this state of affairs intthesacerdotal milieux closed off from the exterior world was later passed on in bequest to the Christian monks of Egypt. Rufinus mentioned that the monasteries had to supply interpreters for visitors who knew no Coptic (Hist. monach. 7)\(^\text{15}\). MacMullen provides a very apposite comment: “As Syrian monks generally used their mother


\(^{13}\) H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom, Berlin 1938, p. 20.

\(^{14}\) Fowden, op. cit., p. 15.

\(^{15}\) R. MacMullen, Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire, APh 87, pp. 1-7, here: p. 9; ibid. n. 9, p. 4; compare: Ep. Amm. 4-7, 17, 28-29, R. Bagnall, Egypt in Late Antiquity, Princeton 1993, p. 245.
tongue, not Greek, so Egyptian monks used Coptic. People of the upper classes made up a minority in the monasteries, occasionally an isolated Greek-speaking enclave, while on the other hand St. Anthony, the real founder of monasticism, and Pachomius its legislator, spoke only Coptic". The majority of the provincial Syrian and Palestinian Christians spoke a "rustic vernacular", as Millar puts it. For many centuries that dialect - Syriac - made do without its own system of scripture. Hunt describes a routine way of communicating the liturgical readings and sermons during religious celebrations in the Church of Jerusalem: "The Jerusalem services witnessed by Egeria were conducted in Greek, which was interpreted, for the benefit of the main body of the congregation, into what she calls 'Syriac', i.e. the local Aramaic dialect; while for those who knew only Latin, there were bi-lingual brethren on hand (fratres et sorores grecolatini) to translate for them". The reasons for this were palpably clear. The majority of the Christian population in Syria and Palestine, coming from the countryside, spoke the already-quoted "rustic vernacular" - Syriac. Hunt points out a fact of signal importance, that the overwhelming majority of the pilgrims visiting the Holy Land came from the depths of Asia beyond the Imperial borders, where individuals with a knowledge of Greek were very few and far between.

No wonder, then, that in a world in which permanent, impenetrable language barriers persisted for many centuries radicals would appear and insist on their separate linguistic, national, and religious identity. They took a hostile attitude to Hellenism. They included writers, priests both Pagan and Christian, monks, and ordinary people. The already cited Oracle of the Potter was written by an Egyptian Pagan, but it is marked with the same strains as those distinctly audible much later in the writings of St. Ephraem of Edessa, or Tatian the Gnostic, who was also Syrian by origin. Proud of his native Syrian Christianity which spoke the Messiah's language, Ephraem warns his flock, "Blessed is the one who has never tasted the poison of the wisdom of the Greeks" (de fide, CSCO 154: 7), and somewhat later (154: 268) employs even stronger phraseology: "The accursed dialectic is vermin from the Greeks". "We have renounced your wisdom", Tatian would write, thereby radically rejecting Hellenism in its entirety (Or.1). "We bid farewell to ... the idle talk of the Athenians. I embraced our barbaric philosophy. I began to show how this was more ancient than your institutions [viz. the Graeco-Roman]", he would pursue the motif in another work (Or. 35). The same words had been used three hundred years earlier by an anonymous Egyptian author: "All the Greeks have is empty speech". Such texts manifest a radical abjuration of Greek culture. Like the different colours in the spectrum, at this point the

16 MacMullen, p. 8.
19 Ibid.
20 Frew, pp. 284 f.
21 Fowden, p. 37, CH XVI.
literatures of the diverse languages and religions of the East merge into a homogeneous, translucent beam of light. The same is said by the Egyptian Pagan as by the orthodox Syrian Christian, the Syrian Gnostic, and the anonymous Jewish author of the *Sybiline Oracles*. Incidentally, it should be borne in mind that both Ephearem and the Syrian Gnostic Bardesanes, who preceded him by a century and a half, had an excellent knowledge of the Greek language and literature. Consequently in both cases the reasons for the rejection of Hellenism must have gone much deeper than just simple ignorance of the language. One can hardly refrain from making the following observation. If similar sentiments towards the Graeco-Roman West were shared by the Egyptian Pagan, the Syrian Gnostic whether of the Pagan or Christian orientation, the Orthodox Jew, and the Christian saint whether Syrian or Egyptian, the inevitable conclusion must be that the Christian repudiation of Rome, or in general of all that was Helleno-Roman in the East, could not have had sufficient grounds merely in the specific attributes of the new religion, just as the Jewish antagonism towards Rome could not have stemmed solely from the characteristic features of Judaism. Undeniably what unites all of these writers is their reaction to the brute force employed by the invader, whether Macedonian or Roman, but also their fundamental sense of alienation with respect to the world of the Graeco-Roman West.

This *geistige Widerstand gegen Rom*, as put by H. Fuchs, could also take the shape of forgery and imposture, fabrication and distortion, as widely claimed of the religiously and patriotically inspired Jewish writers, not excluding personalities as prominent as Philo of Alexandria or Josephus Flavius. Artapanos, for example, "discovered" that Moses and Musaioi were one and the same person. Others were excessively fond of quoting fake verses by Homer, Hesiod and Linos, or other words of admiration for Mosaic monotheism allegedly expressed in forged writings by Pythagoras, Aeschylus, Sophocles or Diphilos. Aristobulus held that Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato came to possess a pre-Alexandrian translation of the Pentateuch, and consequently that the great men of the Classical literatures were no more than plagiarists of Moses. Greek Jewish apologists maintained that the *Sybiline Oracles*, composed in hexameter, made up a model for the Homeric verse. The Hebrew poetics, which we know fairly well, is in fact utterly alien to the Greek quantity verse, its metric structure and accentuation. The late chronology of the *Sybiline Oracles*, which according to Speyer "waren ein Kampfmittel der östlichen Welt, besonders der Juden, gegen Rom"23, is another matter. The *Oracula Sibyllina* express a hope that the political status quo will change in favour of a liberation from under the foreign yoke, or even of an ultimate triumph of East over West (*Orac. Sibyll. 3,350-361*). Again the self-same points may be encountered in writings by scions speaking for the various nations of the ancient Orient: in the *Books of Daniel* and *Esdras*, in the Iranian prophecy

---


23 Ibid. p. 165.
of Hystaspes preserved in Lactantius and also in the already quoted Oracle of the Potter or Corpus Hermeticum XVI. All of them see the newcomers from the West, whether Roman or Greek, as invaders, cruel tyrants, avaricious and evil. All the texts bear an overt desire for vengeance (Orac. Sybill. 3, 350 ff.):

διπλασία δισμοφόρου Λασίς ὑπεξεύθετο Ῥώμη,
χρήσιμα κεν τρίς τόσον ἔδεξεται ἐμπαλιν Λασίς
ἐν Ῥώμης, ὁλοίν δὲ ἐποίησεται ὑβρίν ἐξ αὐτῆς.
ὑσσοι δὲ λασίς ἔταιλαν δόμον οἱμπαλέοισαν,
ἐκοςάλας τοσοῦτοι ἐν ἄστι δὴ παλασίον
ὑπαλιοὶ ἐν πενή, ἀνά μιρία δῄμωσσον

"thrice as much as Rome hath taken from Asia in tribute shall Asia take back from Rome, and the pernicious arrogance of Rome shall bring vengeance on her. Twenty times as many Italians shall labour as miserable slaves in the East as there have been Asians enthralled in Italy; they shall pay a hundredfold for everything”.

Occasionally it happened that what was usually a peaceful rivalry transformed into bloody confrontation, as evidenced by the series of Jewish Wars; the endemic guerilla war going on in Upper Egypt against the Macedonians, and against the Romans in the Delta; by the Syrian separatism which erupted violently during the civil wars at the end of the 2nd century A.D.; or by Zenobia’s ephemeral Oriental principality. I have focused attention chiefly on the Graeco-Oriental relations as presented from the aspect of writings on art, language, and religion. These matters were inevitably connected with the context of confrontation in the political dimension. This is a separate issue, the importance of which should be noted at least by a brief remark. The material assembled in the Sibylline Oracles is related directly to the Rebellion of the Machabees; and in part to the wars of Mithridates VI against Rome; the vision of Daniel has associations with the conflict between the Jews and Antiochus IV Epiphanes; while The Oracle of the Potter, which made such a name for itself under the Empire, is connected with the guerilla warfare in Upper Egypt in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. The political setting for these texts is fairly patent.

Naturally it was not art, from which we started this review of the materials available, that is of key importance in the history of relations between East and West, but primarily language and religion, the fundamental components of national identity. Art has its meaning, of course, particularly as the art of the Orient is chiefly religious art. Hence, as religious motifs are virtually the only subject in the Greek literary description of Oriental art, these descriptions may be viewed against a general religious background. In the discussion of the alleged asinine cult among the Jews and of the Syrian solar deities - two clear cut causes of alienation on the part of the Greeks and Romans - we have already touched upon the problems evoked by religion. Milne calls religion “the best test” by which it is possible to

24 Fuchs, Anm. 19, p. 32.
show quite clearly that in Egypt "the scheme of Hellenization had failed". In Egypt's confrontation with Hellenism, he continues, the principle of "passive resistance had been effectual". Fowden has given a concise definition of the nature of relations between the native Egyptians and the Greek inhabitants of Egypt: "the two cultures often contrived...to exist in contiguous isolation". This picture is confirmed by other, more recent research. The same may be said in the most general terms of the outcome of the confrontation between Hellenism and Judaism in the religious dimension.

One of the essentially significant attributes of the presented material is its chronological, geographic, and linguistic dispersion. However, what is most important is the fact that this material may still be grouped as a distinct category. For example, we have a Greek letter from the 2nd century A.D. which shows that a mother could not understand what her son had written to her; she could neither read it herself, nor understand it when it was read out to her. The letter came from 2nd-century imperial Egypt. We know that a bishop's Greek sermons were not understood by his congregation (this was in 4-5th-century Syria). We are also told that in Upper Egypt a monk had to communicate with his superior through the services of an interpreter. This is also noted for Syria. The basic problem - notwithstanding the diversity of countries, languages, and religions - is the same: communication barriers. Although centuries had passed, a considerable part of the Orientals never learned Greek sufficiently, either to speak or to write it adequately. This is evidence of a passive resistance in the Oriental world against Hellenism. The Orient was quite successful in isolating the Greeks off into separate enclaves - even if those Hellenist enclaves were big, as was the case with Alexandria or Antioch, and tried to function as nurseries fostering the cult of Classicism in its pure form until the very end of Antiquity, as was the case in Antioch.

The question thus arises how was it possible that in the West under Roman rule what persisted were the Romance languages and a permanent contribution of Latinity to culture; whereas Hellenism, which had enjoyed three centuries of political and cultural predominance in the East, and was buttressed by the Empire for a further five centuries, failed to leave any enduring traces whatsoever, and moreover was hastily rejected upon the demise of the Imperial bureaucracy and military dominance in Syria, the Holy Land, and Egypt. What was to be observed in the ordinary people was an attitude of passive resistance, and a deliberate rejection of Hellenism on ideological grounds by the educated classes. It is even

26 Ibid.
27 Fowden, p. 17.
30 MacMullen, n.9, p.5; Silvius peregrinatio 47 (CSEL XXXIX).
31 Ep. Amm. 4-7. 17, 28-29; Bagnall, *Egypt*, p. 245.
possible to pinpoint organized centres of opposition to Classicism. Their practitioners were the Pagan Egyptian priests, and the Coptic and Syrian monks.

Written sources may sometimes lead astray into the drawing of erroneous conclusions. The fact that the Syrians only started to use written records in the early 3rd century A.D. does not mean that that was when they first started using spoken speech. They had been exercising their vocal chords for many centuries before. The same may be said of Egypt in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. The documentary evidence available consists of a handful of demotic texts, what is more copies of much older originals - side by side with a substantial accumulation of Greek papyri. It might seem that Egypt had been Hellenized, but in fact according to a calculation presented by R. Bagnall in his book, “Egypt in Late Antiquity”, only 20% of the population of Egypt spoke Greek. In Upper Egypt, for all intents and purposes, Greek was hardly ever more widely spoken. After centuries of silence as regards the written sources in Egyptian, we are suddenly faced with a flourishing literature in the Egyptian language, known as Coptic literature. It was a development also achieved at the expense of Greek. The Council of Chalcedon and the Coptic Schism were symptoms of divisions not only in theology, but also in language and culture, one of the signs of an anti-Greek reaction in Egypt.

I would not like to be understood as either for or against Classicism; nor conversely - for or against Orientalism. It is just that what we observe is a body of materials which depict two mutually exclusive attitudes: on the one hand a cult of Hellenism, with a far-reaching fastidiousness over purity as patent in some of the writers of the Neo-Hellenic renaissance of the period under the Antonines and Severi; and on the other an utter rejection of Hellenism, manifested in texts as different as The Oracle of the Potter and St. Ephraem’s de fide.

The material presented above has been sifted and selected from its huge context of both written and archaeological sources for Graeco-Oriental relations. One should never forget about the wide range of this perspective. Its huge size is shown in Cumont’s Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, a book still unsurpassed by later work. The syncretic tendencies have been described in Morenz’ Die Begegnung Europas mit Agypten. Bowersock in Hellenism in Late Antiquity, and Bidez in Vie de Porphyre, address the phenomenon of Syrian Neo-Platonism, the Helleno-Oriental religion of the intellectuals. Turcan’s Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain is a contemporary publication parallel to the already-mentioned Cumont. There are numerous monographs and papers on the subject of Orientalism and Orientalization in the culture of the West. In this paper I have concentrated only on a selected body of testimonials picked out of the vast field of Greek-Oriental relations. The full picture is, of course, highly complex. The cited work by Turcan, Bowersock, Cumont, and Bidez illustrates that vastness, and its polymorphous nature.
Amphoras used to transport wine, olive oil, and other products are known primarily from the Hellenistic period (and later Roman). To be sure, they were manufactured in Greece earlier, but in the Hellenistic period there appear numerous new forms of containers, the number of cities producing and exporting amphoras increases several times over, and the custom of stamping them becomes widespread. While in the classical period only a few centers stamped their wares, e.g. Chios, Lesbos, Samos, Thasos, and Cos (which, as we shall see, was recently added to this group\(^1\)), in the Hellenistic period we may list over 30 centers that used this system\(^2\).

Research on the Cos amphorae is still in the initial phase, despite the almost ten years that have gone by since the publication of a brief characterization of these amphoras by J.-Y. Empereur and A. Hesnard\(^3\). The goals of the present research include the following: to identify the types of amphoras produced on the island; to ascertain whether they are the original products of the local workshops, or based on imported models; to determined what was contained within them; to describe the evolution of the shapes of the vessels, and to study the dispersion of these amphorae in the Mediterranean basin and their impact on local production.

---

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD (Fig. 1)

Until quite recently, it was supposed that Cos amphoras began to be produced in the early 3rd century B.C., and continued through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, archaeological research conducted in recent years on the island itself, especially in the city of Cos⁴, has provided new data, indicating that amphoras were already being manufactured here in the 5th century B.C. In 1990 and 1991, in the course of this investigation (which was of a rescue nature), the remains of a ceramic workshop specializing in the production of amphoras were discovered in the city of Cos.

The workshop was active in the city called “Cos-Meropis” (one of the island’s major cities) from an undetermined date in the 5th century B.C. until 412⁵. At the end of the fifth century, the workshop renewed its activities, and was again abandoned in 366 B.C., when by synecism the city of Cos came to be founded on the site of the earlier classical settlement. In essence what was discovered was not the workshop itself, but rather its refuse, which, however, had been covered by a newer building erected in 366, a date which thus constitutes a terminus ante quem for the workshop.

Among the artifacts recovered from this workshop, Kantzia distinguishes three basic types of amphoras (each with derivative forms) that were produced here⁶. The clay is identical in all types: bright red-orange (5 YR 6/6 according to the Munsell code⁷), containing golden mica, sand, white particles, and other contaminants. The amphoras have a rather thick engobe, whitish or yellowish in color. Amphoras with stamps occur beside unstamped amphoras in all three types.

Cos I (Fig. 1:1)
The Cos I amphoras include specimens that are identifiable with the “classic” Cos amphoras: they have twin-roll handles, and a slightly convex molded ring at the base of the neck, these being the most characteristic features of the amphoras from this island, features which we find also in amphoras of the Hellenistic period.

---

⁴ The research in Cos is being done under the direction of Ephoria Dodecanissos; cf. Kantzia, p. 325, notes 14 and 19. The University of Athens’s Institute of Archaeology and Art History is conducting excavation investigations at the Kardamaina site (ancient Halasarna), which has also produced ceramic material; the Cos amphoras from this research are the topic of a doctoral dissertation by Victoria Georgopoulou. Regarding the excavations, see G. Kokkorou-Alevra, S. Kalopissi-Verti, M. Panagiotidi, Anaskaphi stin Kardamaina (archai a Atlas) tis K., (in:) Ko olo, vol. 5 (Athens 1995), pp. 141-184; by the same authors, Excavations at Kardamaina (ancient Halasarna) in Kos, (in:) Αρχαιολογικά (Athens, in print).
⁵ Kantzia, pp. 325-332; regarding the remains of other ceramic workshops producing amphoras in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, recently identified in Cos and the near vicinity, see Kantzia, pp. 352-353.
⁶ Kantzia, pp. 332-342.
⁷ Munsell Soil Color Charts (Baltimore 1973).
Fig. 1. Cos amphoras, 1st half of the 4th century B.C. - 1. Cos I; 2. Cos II; 3-4. Cos III (according to Kantzia, figs. 5-9).
Cos II (Fig. 1:2)
The basic features distinguishing this type from Cos I is the characteristic triangular lip, identified as the “mushroom lip”, along with the swan neck, and the banded handles with elliptical sections, with a thumb print at the lower point of attachment. The neck of a Cos II amphora is relatively short, slightly bulging in the center, joined to the shoulders virtually at a right angle; sometimes an indentation occurs instead of a molded ring. The bellies of these two types do not much differ from each other: they are bulged, sometimes in the Cos II amphoras very wide in the upper part. The feet of both types are very similar to each other.

Cos III (Fig. 1:3-4)
This type has a small triangular lip; banded, slightly s-shaped handles with a thumb print at the lower point of attachment; a neck that narrows towards the top; and virtually straight shoulders, sharply angled and merging with the belly, which narrows sharply towards the bottom, ending in a foot that is deeply indented from the bottom (there is a Cos III sub-type with a shallow foot). This type was produced at the workshop in varying sizes.

Stamps
As previously mentioned, stamped handles were also found in the remains of the workshop. The lack of heterogeneity in these stamps indicates that the workshop was not in operation for a long period of time. There were many fewer stamped amphoras than un stamped. 244 stamps were discovered, from among which 9 types have been distinguished; three of these occur very often.

Type 1 is represented by 185 stamps, 84 of which occurred on the twin-roll handles of Cos I amphoras, while 101 occurred on the banded handles of Cos II amphoras. These are rectangular stamps located just above the crook of the handle, with an inverted inscription containing three large letters, carefully crafted: Арх(...). The stamp constitutes the abbreviation of a name that is hard to fill out, since names beginning with these three letters were very popular on the island.

Type 2 includes 33 objects made from the same stamp, which occurs only on Cos III amphoras. This is a characteristic Cos stamp: a small rectangle with the image of a crab, surrounded on three sides by dots; below, in very small letters, the ethnikon ΚΩΙΟΣ. This type co-occurs with Type I.

Type 3 is a rectangular stamp with the ethnikon ΚΩΙΟΣ, which occurs only on Type I amphoras, i.e. on the classic Coan amphoras (15 examples); the ethnikon refers to the amphoras or to its contents.

The remaining types, 4-9, are represented by only a few specimens, or even in some cases a single extant example.

8 Kantzia, pp. 342-349.
Fig. 2. 1-2 Cos amphorae, Hellenistic period - 1. 2nd cent. B.C.; 2. from Delos, before 69 B.C.; 3-4 Sub-Cos amphorae: 3. Dressel amphora 2-4; 4. Coan-type amphora from Amathus, 1st cent. A.D. (1-3 according to Empereur and Hesnard, pl. 4: 19 and 21, and pl. 8: 39; 4 according to J.-Y.Empereur, Les amphores, in: Études chypriotes VIII (Nicosia 1987), pl. 26: 2b).
Cos amphorae in the Classical period were used to store and transport wine, as is indicated by the pitched interiors of many amphora fragments found in the remains of the workshop; it is well known that only amphorae intended for wine were impregnated with pitch or resin. Clay stoppers for amphorae have also been found, some with images of kraters and cantharoi.

**THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD** (Fig. 2:1-2)

The production of amphorae in Cos continued to flourish in the Hellenistic period. The amphorae from Hellenistic Cos that have thus far been published are dated from the end of the 270s to the 1st century B.C. Since, as mentioned earlier, the production of amphorae on the island had already begun in the 5th century B.C., it may be presumed, despite the lack of recognized and published Cos amphorae for the period from 366 to ca. 270 B.C., that production was continued throughout the 4th century and into the 3rd.

The most familiar type in the period under discussion consists of amphorae with twin-roll handles, a continuation of the Cos I type described above (Fig. 2:1). These are made of clay similar to the clay used in the Classical period (most often 5YR 6/4-6/6 reddish yellow), with additives and a small quantity of mica. The island's workshops did, however, produce other types of amphorae.

Amphorae with twin-roll handles exhibit a certain evolution of shape: they grow more and more slender and elongated (Fig. 2:1). The permanent features remain easily recognizable: small rolled lip, twin-roll handles that emerge just below the lip, rise slightly upwards and then fall to the shoulders; shoulders very steep, with a clearly defined break at the transition to the belly; neck separated from the shoulders by a light indentation; foot finished in such a way as to create "un bouton rentré" (Fig. 2:2); walls very thin.

Some Cos amphorae were stamped. The stamps were impressed on one handle; they are most often rectangular, and contain only one name (sometimes two) and a symbol (mace, crab, etc); the ethnikon occurs only rarely. The present state of our research indicates that the custom of stamping persisted to the 1st century B.C. The ratio of stamped to unstamped amphorae is not precisely known.

Cos amphorae in the Hellenistic period, as in earlier times, were used to transport wine produced on the island.

---

9 Kantzia, pp. 349-350.
10 Empereur, Hesnard, p. 22.
11 Empereur, Hesnard, p. 23.
13 The corpus of Coan stamps announced as forthcoming some time ago by V. R. Gracie (cf. Kantzia, p. 324, note 11) has not yet appeared; since the death of this scholar, her research has been continued on the basis of her archives by C. G. Koehler, N. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou and associates.
SUB-COS AMPHORAS (Fig. 2: 3-4)

At the end of the 2nd century B.C., and especially in the early 1st century, twin-roll amphoras became extraordinarily popular, and began to be produced in many other centers outside of Cos, in both the eastern and western halves of the Mediterranean Basin. Among these centers in the East should probably be listed Cnidus and Rhodes, the cities of Caria, Egypt, and Cyprus.\(^{14}\)

It was in the West, however, that amphoras with twin-roll handles enjoyed particular popularity. H. Dressel assigns them the numbers 2-4 in his classification (Fig. 2:3), while in the classification scheme developed by D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams this type constitutes Class 10, there identified as the most important type of amphora for wine in the western Mediterranean during the early Roman period. Many centers producing these amphoras have been recognized, located in Italy, Spain, southern France, and Britain.\(^{15}\)

In terms of their shape, sub-Cos amphoras are generally more slender than Cos amphoras; the shoulders are more definitely separated from the belly, which is more cylindrical, while the foot most often has a pointed end (Fig. 2:3). It should be clearly emphasized, however, that there were many variants of these amphoras, and thus it is difficult to give a single “binding” typology at this stage in our research.

Sub-Cos amphoras were made of different types of clay, depending on the place of production, and in this respect there are no grounds to generalize.

The dating of sub-Cos amphoras extends from the late 2nd-early 1st centuries B.C. to at least the 2nd century A.D.; in some regions, such as Egypt, production may have continued into the 3rd century A.D.\(^{16}\)

Sub-Cos amphoras, like Cos amphoras, were probably used to transport wine.

From the foregoing evidence we may safely infer that the island of Cos was one of the more important centers for the production of wine, and the amphoras used to transport and store it. The history of this production begins in the 5th century B.C. and lasts (probably without interruption) for five centuries, until the 1st century B.C. and later. The amphora with twin-rolled handle, an original discovery of the Cos potters, “conquered the known world” towards the end of the 2nd century B.C., and was imitated in many centers, in both the eastern and western parts of the Mediterranean basin, for many years to come, to the end of the 2nd century A.D.


\(^{16}\) Lund, op.cit., p. 124.
In the very condensed picture presented above of Cos and sub-Cos amphoras, a number of questions remain unanswered: Did the Cos II and III types described above originate on the island, or were they copies of foreign models? Did these types (like Cos I) continue into the Hellenistic period? Were amphoras produced on Cos in the latter half of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd centuries B.C.? When did the production of amphoras on the island cease? Other questions remain as well. We can only hope that future research on Cos amphoras will provide some answers.
Super omnis divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores et Victoriam, posuit et quas dicemus sub artificum mentione in templo Caesaris patris [Above them all the divine Augustus placed in his forum, in the most prominent place, two paintings, one depicting the image of War and Triumph, the other the Dioscuri and Victory, and in the temple of his father Caesar he put up certain other pictures which I shall discuss when I take up the particular artists] (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXV.27).

Venerem exeunte e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur, versibus Graecis tali opere, dum laudatur, victo sed inlustro, cuius inferiorum partem corruptam qui rectificaret non potuit reperiri, verum ipsa inuria cessit in gloriam artificis. Consensuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea substituit Nero principatu suo Dorothei manu... [mirantur] Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphantis, quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata, divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrique excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere.

[In the temple of his father Caesar, the divine Augustus dedicated Venus rising from the sea, the so-called "Anadyomene", accompanied by Greek epigrams such that she is at once eclipsed and yet celebrated². When the lower part was damaged,

---

² Cf. the following epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca*: I.164.41; II.15.32; II.83.16; II.237; III.202.32.
no one could be found to repair it, but the injury itself redounded to the glory of the painter. The painting eventually decayed, and during his principate Nero substituted another, painted by Dorotheus. In Rome one may admire Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, as well as the image of War with its arms bound behind its back, while Alexander rides the triumphal chariot. Both of these paintings were dedicated by Augustus in his forum, in the most frequented places, with suitable modesty; the divine Claudius made bold to cut out the face of Alexander on both paintings and substitute that of Augustus.] (Ibid., XXXV.91, 93-94)

The “Aphrodite Anadyomene” (the model for which, according to one tradition was the famous hetaira Phryne; according to other sources, Pankaspe, one of Alexander the Great’s lovers) was painted by Apelles for the temple of Aesculapius on Cos. There it was purchased by Augustus for 100 talents and brought to Rome (Strabo, XIV.657). Since Ovid, who was exiled in A.D. 8, mentions the painting in his Tristia (II.257), it must have already been in Rome before that date. It is not known when the next two paintings, “The Dioscuri with Victory” and “Alexander the Great with Shackled War”, arrived in Rome.

At any event, Augustus put up all three paintings in the two most representative points in the Rome of his day: in the temple of his father, i.e. the Templum Divi Iuli in the Forum Romanum, and in his own Forum.

The Temple of the Divine Julius was erected in the Forum Romanum on the spot where the dictator’s body had been cremated. This site was originally marked with a column bearing the inscription “Parenti Patriae” (To the Father of his Country). In 42 B.C., Caesar was deified (the first time a deceased person had been deified in Rome), and the triumvirs (Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus) decided to build a temple to the honor of the new god, which was consecrated by Augustus on August 18, 29 B.C., as the Templum Divi Iuli. A speaker’s stand (Rostra Aedis Divi Iuli), decorated with the prows of Antony and Cleopatra’s warships, was made part of its podium, with an altar in the middle marking the spot where Caesar’s body had been cremated. In the cella was a statue of Caesar with a star above his forehead (Sidus Iulium), and to judge from the images of this sculpture we find on coins, he held a figurine of Victory in his hand.

It was in this temple that Apelles’ painting was set up, depicting Aphrodite-Venus, the mythical grandmother of the gens Julia, and of the Romans. As we

---

1 This column can be seen on the relief decorating one of the sides of the altar of the Lares Augusti (Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 1115), erected in 12 B.C. (according to T. Kraus, Das Römische Weltreich, Berlin 1967, no. and fig. 180), or between 12 and 2 B.C. (according to T. Holzser, Historische Reliefs, (in:) Kaiser Augustus und die Verlorene Republik, Berlin 1988, pp. 394-396, no. 223), or in 7 B.C. (according to P. Zanker, Augustus under die Macht der Bilder, Munich 1987, p. 222, fig. 177).

2 After Caesar’s deification, a comet was seen in the heavens for seven days. “This was believed to be the soul of Caesar received to heaven. For that reason he was always thereafter depicted on images with a star above his head” (Suetonius, Divus Iulius 88). A coin depicting such a statue is reproduced by Zanker, fig. 25 a (a denarius of L. Lentulus from 12 B.C.).
know, one of the pillars of Augustan propaganda was to constantly call to mind the
divine descent of the family to which Octavian had been added by adoption. In this
he was certainly following in the footsteps of his great predecessor, who, in the
Forum Iulium he founded, erected the Temple of Venus Genetrix, adorned with a
statue made by Arsesilas (Pliny the Elder, Natural History XXXV.155), probably
modeled on the statue of the same goddess sculpted by Callimachus towards the
end of the fifth century B. C. (now known as the Aphrodite of Fréjus).\(^5\)
Aresilas’s statue presented the goddess dressed in robes, perhaps with only the
left breast revealed (as in Callimachus’ statue)\(^6\), and indeed full of dignity.
Apelles’ painting depicted her nude, at the moment of her birth from the sea foam.\(^7\)

The idea of placing an image of Venus being born in juxtaposition to a statue of
her deceased but deified descendant corresponds fully to Augustus’ ideological
premises. The two divinities, mythical grandmother and her distinguished
descendant, gaze at each other, and continually look after the City entrusted to
their care.

The Forum of Augustus, with the Temple of Mars Ultor vowed by Octavian
before the battle with Caesar’s assassins at Philippi (42 B.C.), was consecrated on
the first day of the month of Sextilis (later “August”), 2 B.C.\(^8\), jointly by Augustus
and his two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, his designated successors.

Passing over the rich iconographic program of the decoration on the temple
itself, or the statues of Aeneas, Romulus, and the kings of Rome set up in the
exedras and porticos of the Forum, not to mention the images of summi viri found
there, it should be noted for the present purposes that in the square hall (now
known as the Sala del Colosso) built at the end of the left (north) portico there
stood a colossal statue (probably of Augustus), of which all that remains is the
base with a foot. It was in this area that the other two paintings by Apelles were
put up.

The “Dioscuri with Victory” and the “Triumphant Alexander with War in
Shackles” fully met the requirements of Augustus’s cultural policy. One of its
goals was to somehow recover ancient Roman piety and moral severity, and to
recall important events, especially victorious battles, that took place in the past.
What could be better than to depict the figures of the Divine Twins lending their
support to the Romans? Castor and Pollux were many times the heralds of victory.\(^9,\)

---

\(^5\) On Callimachus and the Aphrodite of Fréjus, see Maria L. B e r n h a r d, Sztuka grecka V wieku
\(^6\) It may be, however, that she was entirely clothed, as on the relief from the Temple of Mars
Ultor. There is a relief from Algier (Musée Nationale d’Antiquités) that would appear to be a copy of
this statue; cf. Z a n k e r, fig. 151.

\(^7\) The problem of representations of Aphrodite Anadyomene in sculpture has been dealt with in
Poland by B. G a s s o w s k a, Polycharmos z Rodos jako twórcza pomnika Afrodyty Anadyomene
[Polycharmos of Rhodes as the Creator of the Statue of Aphrodite Anadyomene], Wrocław 1971.

\(^8\) This generally accepted traditional date is rejected by G. A l f o l d y, who believes that the

\(^9\) Beginning with the Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 B.C., when they supported the Roman army,
and then brought the news of the victory to Rome, in return for which a temple was built in their
and so it comes as no surprise that they are accompanied by the figure of the goddess Victory. In this way the picture recalls the great deeds of Roman arms.

Augustus never officially compared himself to Alexander the Great, though in fact, like many another, he was fascinated by this figure, as witness the opening of the grave in Alexandria, the gold crown placed on the head of the Macedonian king, whose body was then covered with flowers (Suetonius, Divus Augustus 18), or the use of a seal showing a portrait of Alexander (ibid., 50). Even so, a picture depicting the king, next to whom was the image of War in chains, proved to be absolutely ideal for Augustus’s policy, touting the Pax Augusta, proof of which is above all the famous Altar of Peace (Ara Pacis Augustae), as well as the significant “public relations campaign” accompanying the closing of the Temple of Janus 10.

Among the literary echoes of this event is the following fragment from the Aeneid (1.398ff.)

Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vincitus aēnis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento

The passage of the epic quoted here refers to Augustus’s first closing of the Temple of Janus on the Forum Romanum. The “War in Shackles” on Apelles’s painting expresses the same idea: the end of wars and the reign of peace, in accordance with the ideology of the Augustan regime. By the same token, Augustus also compared himself indirectly to the Macedonian king, since like the latter, he has brought peace through his victory.

The parallel between Vergil’s words and Apelles’s painting was pointed out in antiquity, by Servius (in Aen. 1.294): “in foro Augusti introcundus ad sinistram fuit Bellum depictum et Furor sedens super arma devinctus eo habitu quo poeta

honor in the Forum Romanum (Livy, II.20; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, VI.13); later, they informed the Roman people of the victory at Pydna in 168 B.C. on the very day the battle took place (Florus, 1.28; Plutarch, Aemilius 20; Cicero, De Natura Deorum II.2.6, III.5.11; Valerius Maximus, I.8); finally, they proclaimed Marius’s victory over the Cimbrii at Vercellae in 101 B.C. (Florus, I.30).

Augustus closed the Temple of Janus three times: in 29 B.C., after his victory at Actium; in 25 B.C., after the defeat of the Cantabri and Asturi, and in 8 B.C., after Tiberius’s victory over the Germans. The most important occasion, however, was the closing after Actium, which marked the end of a long period of civil war.
dicit. [In the forum of Augustus, on the left side as you enter, there was a painting of War, and Madness seated on a pile of weapons, bound in the manner described by the poet.]" The similarity of this fragment of the Aeneid (written between 29 and 19 B.C.) to the content of Apelles’s painting, probably brought to Rome during this time, is probably not coincidental. Augustus could not have brought the painting to Rome from Greece before the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., since to that time he was caught up in a struggle, not only for the throne, but also in a certain sense for his life, and was completely absorbed by that struggle. Since in the present author’s opinion we may assume with complete confidence that Vergil was influenced by the painting, it should therefore be inferred that it was already in Rome during the time when the Aeneid was being written.

The Natural History of Pliny the Elder was known in the Middle Ages in numerous codices and copies, which, though often replete with errors, inspired poets and artists. The editio princeps appeared in Venice in 1469, but in 1473 it
was superseded by a better Roman edition. From that time on translations began to appear: French (1546), Spanish and English (1559), Flemish (1611). This caused the influence exerted on artists by the text of the Roman Encyclopedist to be increased considerably. During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, numerous artists drew inspiration from the *Natural History*. A marvelous Baroque vision of Apelles’ painting, created according to Pliny’s rather terse account, can be seen in a tapestry entitled “The Triumph of Alexander”, made in France in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and now located among the holdings of the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow (Fig. 1)\(^1\).

---

\(^1\) Czartoryski Museum, Inv. DMNKCz 1531; height 2.92 meters, width 4.56 meters. Until 1936, the tapestry was kept in the Czartoryski Palace in the Wola Justrowska district of Cracow, where it hung in the stairway.
Jarosław Bodzek
Cracow

COINS FROM GREEK CITIES
ON THE NORTHERN COAST
OF THE BLACK SEA IN THE COLLECTION
OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN CRACOW

I. OLBIAN "ASES"

The ancient coin collection of the National Museum in Cracow contains a small group of coins emitted by cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea. This group presently consists of 25 coins from Panticapaeum, 25 from Olbia, and 1 from Tyras. Even though this is not a large collection in comparison to the collections of these types of coins held by other Polish museums, it nevertheless deserves


2 The collections of coins struck by the mints on the northern coast of the Black Sea found in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw are discussed by A. Szemiothowa, Money of Chersonese Taurydzkiego w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Wiadomości Numizmatyczne III.3-4, 1959, pp. 119-145; by the same author, Money of Olbia in zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie VII, 1964, pp. 125-184; M. Mieleczarek, Zabytki numizmatyczne z Olbi i pobliskich miast po materiałach Nationalnego Muzeum w Warszawie, (in:) Drevnie Priëmnomor'je III. ćetnja pamiątki profesora Petra Ospoviţa Karyškovskogo, papers from a conference held March 12-14, 1996. Odessa 1996, pp. 69-70; the relevant coins from the collection of the Archeological and Ethnographical Museum of Łódź were published by M. Mieleczarek, Money of the Bosporus in zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria Numizmatyczna i Konserwatorska 3, 1983, pp. 5-29; by the same
attention. The present article opens a series of works devoted to the publication of these coins from the Cracow museum’s collection.

Ancient Olbia was founded by Milesian colonists in the early 6th century B.C., at the mouth of the Hypanis (Boh) and Borysthenes (Dniepr) rivers. Its extraordinarily original minting has for some time now aroused the interest of numismatists, and there is an extensive literature. Polish scholars have also devoted a great deal of attention to this subject. One of the most interesting groups produced by this mint consists of the so-called “ases” of Olbia. These are large bronze coins, made by the casting technique. The name “as” was given to them in

---


6 From among the great variety of works devoted to Olbian “ases”, see in particular a. N. Zograf, Antändge monety, Materialy i issledovaniy po arkeologi SSSR 16, Moscow-Leningrad 1951, pp. 121 ff. (English language edition in BAR Suppl. Ser. 33, 1-11, Oxford 1977); P. O. Karylkowskij, Z istorii monetnui spravta go rošovogo obigu v Ol’vi, 2, Ol’vijski as, Praci Odes’kogo Deržavnogo Universitets’ im. I. Mečnikova XV, 149, ser.ist. nauk 7, archeologiij zbirnik I, 1959, pp. 47-68; by the same author, Monety... p. 41 ff., 52 ff., 57 ff., Mieleczarek, As-monety... Anochin, Monety... with references. Olbian cast coins were published for the first time by L. de Waxel, Pzoobraženiya rasnyh pamjačnikov drevnosti, najdenyh na heregach Černago morja prinadležačaj Russijskoj imperiya..., St. Petersburg 1801, p. 7, no. 24 (= Recueil de quelques antiquités, trouvées sur les bords de la Mer Noire appartenant à l’Empire de Russie dessinées d’après les originaux en 1797 et 1798; Berlin 1803, p. 12, no 24, p. 24, nos. 47-48).
the early 1800s, in view of similarity of their minting technique to the Roman *aes grave*.  

The “ases” emitted in Olbia have aroused controversy both as to their systematics and to their dating. They are divided into four basic series, whose emission dates fall between 475 and 330 B.C. The earliest “ases,” cast in two denominations (122 and 36 g), had on the obverse a dolphin and the head of Athene in an Attic helmet, while the reverse was occupied by the representation of a circle with four spikes and the inscription ΠΠΙΠ ΠΥΣΙ, later replaced by ΠΠΥΣ. This first emission is dated to the years 475-450 B.C. The second series of “ases” includes three denominations. All three have on the obverse the image of the Medusa en face. On the reverse of the largest denomination (weight ca. 115 g) is depicted an eagle with outstretched wings, holding a dolphin in his talons, and the legend APIX. The coins of the two smaller denominations (25 and 11.5 g) maintain on the reverse the representation of the solar wheel from the first series of “ases,” but with the same legend, APIX, as found on the largest denomination. The series of coins under discussion is dated to the years 450-425 B.C. The third series of cast coins was limited to only one denomination, ca. 22 g. It preserves on the obverse the gorgoneion, but the reverse of these coins is decorated with an eagle on a dolphin, this time, however, with folded wings. This representation is accompanied by the legend OABI or OABIO. Qualitatively this is a very essential change, since the proper names of Pausanias and Arichos have been

---

8 For the history of research on the “ases,” see Karyškovskij, *Z istorii...* by the same author, Money..., pp. 41 ff.  
9 In dating the various series of “ases” I have relied on the conclusions of P. O. Karyškovskij (cf. note 14).  
11 E. H. Mins, *Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archeology on the North Coast of the Euxine*, Cambridge 1913, Platte II, 2; Zograf, *Antichne...*, pl. XXX, 3-4; SNG München, no. 64; SNG GB, Nos. 377-378; Karyškovskij, *Z istorii...* by the same author, Money..., pp. 41 ff., il. 5, 2-3; Mielczarek, *As- monter...,* p. 110; coins of this type with no legend are also known, cf. SNG München, no. 63.  
13 Mins, *Scythians...*, Plate II, 1; Zograf, *Antichne...*, Plate XXXI, 1; SNG München, no. 69; SNG GB nos. 379-384.  
14 For the larger denomination, see Zograf, *Antichne...* Plate XXXI, 2; SNG GB nos. 385-386; for the smaller denomination, Zograf, *Antichne...*, Plate XXXI, 3; SNG GB, nos. 387-389.  
replaced by the ethnikon of the inhabitants of Olbia. The series under discussion was emitted in the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. The fourth and final series of "ases" was made up of emissions that bore on the obverse the head of Demeter, presented frontally, and on the reverse, an eagle with open wings on a dolphin, and the legend ΟΑΒΗ. These last coins, dated to the years 350-330 B.C., were emitted in only one denomination, ca. 112 g.

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., such "ases" performed the function on the local monetary market of a full-valued bronze coin. As has been demonstrated by Russian and Ukrainian numismatists, they constituted the counterpart of the obol and its 1/3, 1/4, and 1/8 fractions. In addition to "ases," another type of cast bronze coin was also emitted in Olbia: the so-called "dolphins." The custom of using cast bronze coins was in any event not limited to Olbia alone, but was a characteristic phenomenon through the northwestern region of the Black Sea basin. Beginning towards the end of the seventh century B.C. and throughout the sixth, Olbia, Apollonia, and Istria emitted coins in the shape of arrowheads. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the Istria mint produced small cast bronze coins showing a solar wheel with four spokes on the obverse, and the legend ΗΣΤ on the reverse. In Niconium, at the mouth of the Dniester, cast coins on the model of the Olbia "ases," with the image of an owl on the obverse and a solar wheel on the reverse, were issued in the name of Skyles, King of Scythia. The impact of the

---

16 The problem of interpreting the inscriptions on the Olbian "ases" is discussed in some detail by Vinogradov, Političeskaja..., pp. 111 ff. The first inscriptions, ЕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣ, are interpreted as the name of an official. The next inscriptions, ΠΑΥΣ and ΑΠΙΧ, are taken to be the names of the tyrants who ruled the city at that time. The appearance of the city's name on its coins is associated with the fall of tyranny in Olbia at the end of the fourth century B.C. Cf. also Mielczarek, Na granicy..., p. 12.

17 Cf. Minns, Scythians..., Plate II, 4; Zograf, Money..., Plate XXXI, 4; SNG München nos. 75-76, SNG GB nos. 390-393; Karyskovskij, Z historii..., by the same author, Money..., pp. 57 ff.; Mielczarek, "As-" moneta..., pp. 113 ff.

18 Cf. Karyskovskij, Money..., pp. 45, 52 f., 57 ff., with older references.


22 The coins bearing the legend ΣΚΥΛΕ (or a variant) on the obverse, which occur in three denominations, were emitted in the first half of the fifth century B.C. On this topic, see
Olbia mint is also visible in Cercinitis, located on the west coast of the Crimean. In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., this city emitted cast bronze fish, identified as bieluga huso huso, in imitation of the Olbian "dolphins". At this same mint, in the fifth century B.C., small cast coins were also produced, with a dolphin on the obverse and the letters KA on the reverse. As full-valued bronze coins, the Olbian "ases" constituted a supplement for the electron and silver coins circulating on the local market. The bronze coins in question had a relatively limited local range. There are a relatively small number of known "as" finds outside the area that was under the direct influence of Olbia.

The National Museum in Cracow acquired its first "ases" in 1908, when a set of objects bequeathed by Gustaw Steinrager made their way to the museum's collection. The legacy included objects of various sorts, among which were Polish and ancient coins. From two old inventory cards we learn that among these latter were two large bronze coins, which in all likelihood should be identified as Olbian "ases." The first of these cards contains the following description: "Bronze


24 In the latter of the sixth century B.C., and throughout the fifth, the leading role in the northwest Euxine basin was played by the electron emissions from Kyzikos; cf. Karyškovskij, Money..., pp. 27 ff., with earlier bibliography. The earliest silver emission struck in Olbia – the so-called EMNACHA coins – are dated to ca. mid-5th cent. B.C.; cf. Karyškovskij, Novye materialy o monetach Eminačka, (in:) Ranney železny vek Severo-Zapadnoj Pričernomor'ja, Kiev 1984, pp. 78-89; by the same author, Money..., pp. 49 ff.; N.O. Lejeun'ska and V.I. Nazarčuk, Nova znachidka money Eminačka v Ol'vii, Archeologija, Kiev 1, 1993, pp. 115 ff.; cf. also Mielczarek, Na grancij..., pp. 12 ff., with earlier references.
medallion; on one side, the head of a woman; on the other, an eagle with a Greek inscription." The preserved pencil sketch of the coin, with traces of the post-casting grinder and a diameter of 7 cm, makes it possible to identify the coin in question as a cast Olbian "as." The description implies that this was a coin belonging to the last series of "ases," dated to 350-330 B.C. It is much less likely that the gorgoneion familiar from the second series of "ases" would be described as "a woman's head." The description of the second coin is harder to interpret: "Ancient bronze medallion, on one side a head, on the other a griffin's head." From this description there is no way to deduce the series of "ases" to which the coin in question should be assigned. The diameter indicated on the card (7 cm) and the pencil sketch of the coin allow only for the supposition that it belonged among the largest coins cast in Olbia.29

That same year, 1908, one other "as" made its way to the collections of the National Museum in Cracow28. This time the description found on the old card is far more competently written: "Copper coin, completely oxidated, with image of face of the Medusa with tongue extruded, en face; on the reverse, an indistinct relief (lapwing on a dolphin), to the sides of the fish and the bird are the letters X A P L." What is more, the description also contains the characteristic name of the coins in question: "Oblan as (Olbia Sarmatica)." This was thus an obol emitted in the second series of "ases," in the years 450-425 B.C. It is also noted on the card that the example in question had been "acquired from the excavation at Olbia." The coin had been obtained by Ignacy Terlecki (1860-1916), who at that time lived in Kertch on the Crimea. Terlecki was one of the most outstanding collectors of coins from the Greek colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea, and his collection presently constitutes the foundation of the outstanding collection of such coins at the National Museum in Warsaw30. But Terlecki's interests in art objects were much broader. He carried on an exchange of museum exhibits with the National Museum in Cracow. The Olbian coin in question, along with a host of other numismatic artifacts and works of ancient art, were sent to the Cracow museum in exchange for copies of engravings held by the latter in duplicate. In all likelihood we are indebted precisely to Ignacy Terlecki for the relatively precise identification of the coin in question. The two "ases" described earlier had been acquired only after the death of the previous owner, Gustaw Steingraber, which most likely explains their rather inadequate identification on the inventory card31.

28 One argument for the interpretation of the coin in question as an Olbian "as" may be the fact that Steingraber also donated to the museum other coins from Greek cities on the northern Black Sea coast.
30 On the subject of Terlecki and his collections, see A. S z e m i o t h o w a, Historia powstania Działu Numizmatyki Starożytnego Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 3, 1958, pp. 341ff; V. B o r o v k o w a, Kollekcja Terleckiego, Kerčenskij rabočij 120, 1995.
31 It should be noted that in those days the Numismatics Department of the National Museum in Cracow, which was particularly oriented towards Polish numismatics, did not have access to the appropriate scholarly literature on Greek coins.
All three of the examples under discussion have now been lost. The
documentation indicates that by 1951 the three "ases" were no longer in the
Cracow museum's collections\footnote{32}. Since the numismatic collection of the National
Museum in Cracow suffered certain losses during the Second World War, it is safe
to assume that the coins in question disappeared during this period\footnote{33}. Yet another
"as" made its way to the National Museum in 1948, however, along with a group
of coins and medals belonging to Leon Kostka (1871-1948)\footnote{34}. This coin belongs to
the fourth series of Olbian "ases," dated to the years 350-330 B.C., with the head
of Demeter on the obverse, and an eagle holding a dolphin in its talons on the
reverse, with the legend OABIH. The coin from the Cracow museum's collection
has an additional symbol, in the form of an ear of grain and the letter Y, which
enables it to be assigned to the latest emissions of this series of cast Olbian coins\footnote{35}.

The Olbian coins discussed above, which once were or now are part of the
collection at the National Museum in Cracow, constitute a small but interesting
group. As one would expect, they belong to the most popular types of the second
(cat. 1) and fourth (cat. 2 and 3) series of "ases." Particularly noteworthy is the
coin obtained from Ignacy Terlecki, which is labeled as having been found in
Olbia (cat. 1). The coins were obtained in part thanks to the generosity of private
citizens (in this case Gustaw Steingraber and Leon Kostka), and in part thanks to
the diligence of Feliks Kopper, the museum's director, and Marian Gumowski, the
custodian of the numismatic collection, who made the decision to give the
engraving copies to Ignacy Terlecki in return for an Olbian "as." One can only
regret that these objects, of extraordinary importance for the Cracow museum, did
not survive the war, and have been lost. They constituted a relatively
representative group, given Polish circumstances, of Olbian cast coins. At present
the collection of the National Museum in Cracow contains only the "as" obtained
from the collection of Leon Kostka (cat. 2).

\footnote{32} In that year a physical inventory was made in the Numismatic Room. Since there is no stamp
on the cards in question to verify the existence of the object, the Olbian "ases" in question by that
time were no longer in the collection.

\footnote{33} Though the numismatic collection was hidden, the German occupiers found it; cf. B o d z e k,
_The History...,_ p. 72; B. Haczewska and E. Korczyńska, _Coins and Metals at the
Numismatic Cabinet, (in:) Emeryk Hutzen-Czapski, p. 50.

\footnote{34} On the subject of Leon Kostka, a well-known collector who was also the custodian of the
National Museum in Cracow, see K. B u c z k o w s k i, (in:) PSB, vol. XIV, Wrocław 1968-69, pp.
351f.

\footnote{35} cf. K a r y š k o v s k i j, _Money...,_ p. 57ff. SNG Cop. no. 73 ; SNG GB no. 393.
CATALOGUE:

1. Olbia, ca. 450-425 B.C.;
obv. Gorgon’s head en face;
rev. Eagle with outspread wings on a dolphin, APIX;
AE;
w.t.-?; dia.-68mm; axe-?;
n.o F.K. 615236;
acquired in 1908 r., from I. Terlecki;
Found in Olbia before 1908;
Zograf, Antičnye..., Pl. XXXI, 1; SNG GB nos 379-384;

2. Olbia, ca. 350-330 B.C.;
obv. Head of Demeter en face;
rev. Eagle on a dolphin on l.; below, ear of grain and Y, HIBAO;
AE;
w.t- 111.74 g; dia.- 70.8mm; axe- 12.00;
inv. no. MNK-VII-A- 4066;
acquired in 1948 r. from L. Kostka;
Zograf, Antičnye..., Pl. XXXI, 4; SNG Cop. nr 73; SNG GB, nr 393;

36 Coin lost before 1945.
3. Olbia? ca. 350-330 B.C.?
   obv. Female head;
   rev. Eagle, Greek inscription;
   AE,
   wt-?; dia.- 70 mm; axe-?
   no F.K. 545237;
   acquired in 1908 from G. Steingraber’s donation (Book of Entry no 3662);
   cf. Zograf, Antičnye..., Pl. XXXI, 4; SNG Cop. nr 73; SNG GB, nos 390-393;

4. Olbia?
   obv. Head;
   rev. Head of a Griffon !?
   AE, wt-?; dia.-70 mm; axe-?
   no F.K. 545438;
   acquired in 1908 from G. Steingraber’s donation (Book of Entry no 3662).

37 Specimen lost before 1945.
38 Coin lost before 1945.
Jan Chochorowski, Sergej Skoryj
Cracow-Kiïv

THE „COLLATERAL” (FEMALE) BURIAL AT THE GREAT RYZHANOVA BARROW

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow had already been noted in archeological literature, thanks to discoveries made by Julian Talko-
Hryncewicz and Godfryd Ossowski. The first investigations at this site were conducted in 1884 by Talko-Hryncewicz. Intrigued by the two largest of the 21 barrows located some 6 kilometers south of the village of Ryzhanovka (now Ryzhanivka, in the district of Cherkassy, ca. 150 km south of Kiev), he decided to explore the largest of them, then 7.56 meters high and 30 meters in diameter. To this end, he dug two intersecting trenches through the barrow, each 2.5 meters wide, and deep enough to reach to the base of the embankment. This work did not, however, produce any significant discoveries. Only at the westernmost edge of the barrow, at the original ground level, did he find a collection of horse bones and shattered vessels. Among the latter it was possible to distinguish the fragments of a Greek amphora with light red walls. The appearance of these finds prompted Talko-Hryncewicz to expand considerably the W portion of the trench, deepening it to somewhat less than a meter below the original ground level. Since, however, no further finds were revealed, the dig was halted, without even so much as covering up the trenches.

In the spring of 1887, in this very place, the W portion of the barrow, the ground gave way after spring thaws and rain, opening access to an underground grave chamber through the collapsed roof. From the bottom of the sinkhole that had been created, the local peasants began to extract various objects, including a

1 J. Talko-Hryncewicz, Człowiek na ziemiach naszych, Warszawa-Kraków 1913, pp. 49-
181-182.
2 G. Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan Ryzanowski według badań dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887,
Kraców 1888, Tab. I.
Greek amphora, a bronze dish, a mirror, and a pin, as well as trinkets of “gold sheetmetal.” These items were purchased, and afterwards, through the mediation of Talko-Hryncewicz, transferred to the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, with a request to delegate an expert archeologist to the site where they had been found, in order to commence archeological investigations. Talko-Hryncewicz, by education a physician and anthropologist (later a professor at the Jagiellonian University), did not want to risk digging up such a significant site on his own, and limited himself to protecting it against robbers.

The archeologist sent to Ryžanovka by the Academy of Arts and Sciences was Godryd Osowski, who arrived at the site in late September of 1887. Accompanied by Talko-Hryncewicz, he set to work investigating the excavated barrow. On the map he drew up later, the barrow in question is marked “4.” The work was conducted in some haste, and on a rather limited scale, limited primarily to exploring the contents of the accidentally uncovered grave chamber, and examining the architecture of the grave. As a result of these efforts, it was confirmed that there was a “catacomb” grave located beneath the embankment of the barrow, at its westernmost edge. The feature consisted of a grave chamber dug out of the loess substratum, a small underground hallway (“dromos”) leading to the chamber from the north, and a vertical entrance shaft, dug more than 3 meters into the substratum. In the southwest portion of the grave chamber, in a slight depression, there was found the skeleton of - according to Talko-Hryncewicz’s assessment - a young woman of delicate build, ca. 145 cm. tall. Apart from the skull, which had been removed and destroyed when the sinkhole was plundered, the remainder of the skeleton lay intact. This made it possible to determine that the deceased had been interred in the depression, lying flat (oriented W-E) on a vegetation mat covered with fabric. Scraps of dusty cloth were visible on the surface of the skeleton, and among these were numerous gold bands, ornaments for ceremonial dress. Some of these were identified in a place corresponding to their original position, and thus, as might reasonably be inferred, to their original function. The triangular lamellae, for example, lay in three rows, between the bones of the upper arm. The large round azure bands, on the other hand, were distributed in one row, along the line of the hip bones. There were gold earrings lying on both sides of the place where the skull had originally been, as well as two fragments of narrow gold ribbon with small amphora-shaped pendants and gold

---

3 Talko-Hryncewicz, Z moich wspomnień, p. 181.
4 Osowski, Wielki Kurhan, Tab. I.
6 Osowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 6-12; i.d., Materiały do Patologii Kurhanów ukraińskich I, Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej XII, pp. 12-16.
7 Osowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 14; Talko-Hryncewicz, Człowiek, p. 50.
8 Osowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 9-10.
beads. At the level of the neck, then, were found elements of a segmentoidal necklace, with large amphorah-shaped pendants\textsuperscript{10}. In all likelihood the “gold sheet metal” items had also been found somewhere near the skull, and had been removed from the grave along with the skull by one of the peasants: that is, a wide ribbon with presentations of dancing Maenads, a long ribbon with embossed vegetative-geometrical-zoomorphic ornamentation, and a narrow ribbon with amphorah-shaped pendants\textsuperscript{11}. These doubtless constituted the ornamentation of the ceremonial head covering. A gold bracelet had been placed on the right forearm of the deceased, and there were six gold rings on the fingers. On the left forearm was a silver bracelet and two more gold rings. Two of these rings were made of Panticapaeae staters\textsuperscript{12}, presently dated by some to 330-315 B.C.\textsuperscript{13}, by others to 314-304 B.C.\textsuperscript{14}.

On the left side of the skeleton, even with the head, a collection of finds was uncovered, among which was a bronze \textit{situla} lying on its side with a silver cup inside. At the point of its widest expanse this cup is ornamented with a gilded frieze depicting running animals (panthers and dogs). A silver \textit{kylix} was also found here, along with a black-lacquered \textit{kantharos}, a small embossed flagon (\textit{balsamarium}) of gray clay, an ivory spindle, and other trinkets. At the edge of the depression in which the body of the deceased had been interred, several scraps of wood (“boards”) were observed, lying on the bottom of the grave chamber. It was probably in this place that the clay amphora, the bronze dish, the spindle, and the mirror had been found during the plundering of the grave in the spring of 1887\textsuperscript{15}. All together, the grave inventory consisted of 449 gold objects, and several dozen others, including silver. These are primarily elements of ceremonial dress, as well as jewelry, a “service” of silver, bronze, and clay vessels deposited in the grave, and other types of grave goods (e.g. toilet articles).

After exploring the contents of the grave chamber and excavating a small segment of the barrow on the north side to identify the entrance shaft and corridor, Ossowski terminated his investigation of Barrow 4, the “Great Ryzhanovka Barrow”\textsuperscript{16}. The only other excavations done at this site by Ossowski\textsuperscript{17} involved the small Barrow 5, located to the NE of the Great Barrow. Barrow 5 contained three burials: a main burial from the Bronze Age (perhaps from the Yamnaya culture) and two secondary burials, one from the Zhabotin phase (8th century B.C.), and

\textsuperscript{10} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{11} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 6, 9, Table III: 1-3.
\textsuperscript{12} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{14} V.A. Anochin, Monetnoe delo Bospora, Kiev 1986, pp. 140-141.
\textsuperscript{15} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{16} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{17} Ossowski, Materiły do Paleoetnologii, pp. 30-41, Tables VII-VIII.
one from the early Scythian period. All the materials were then conveyed by their discoverers to the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, which published a report on the discoveries the very next year.

The discoveries made at the Great Barrow of Ryzhanovka achieved considerable acclaim and aroused much interest, finding a particularly wide echo among Russian archeologists. This found expression in yet another delegation to Ryzhanovka, in 1890. This time the Imperial Archeological Commission in St. Petersburg sent Dimitri Ja. Samokvasov with a commission to investigate the other, as yet undisturbed barrows in the Ryzhanovka group. Samokvasov excavated nine of them, without, however, making any discoveries that could be considered spectacular, or even important. Among other things, he examined the second of the large barrows, at that time 7.11 meters high and 28.45 meters in diameter. This grave had been ransacked in antiquity, however, which in itself may indirectly point to the richness of the grave goods and the high rank of the burial. This feature should also be associated with the Scythian period, and is probably to be dated to the 5th or 4th centuries B.C. (?).

Intrigued by the earlier Polish discoveries, Samokvasov also attempted to examine the Great Barrow. For lack of funds, however (and perhaps also for lack of consent from the landowner, the Hrynczewicz family), his activities in this respect were limited. Nevertheless, he dug several exploratory trenches on the site of Talko-Hrynczewicz's excavations, dug out the bottom of the "catacomb" investigated by Ossowski, and also sifted again through the earth thrown out from the earlier excavations, finding 10 more gold plaques. He also gathered information on the activities of the Polish scientists from witnesses to the discovery of the catacomb grave and participants in the earlier digs. More than a decade later, on the basis of all this information, he questioned the findings of Talko-Hrynczewicz and Ossowski, accusing them of faking their investigations. According to Samokvasov, the activities of the two Poles had been limited to gathering up finds extracted by the peasants, followed by inexpert searching of the grave chamber. In essence, Samokvasov opined that the findings and observations contained in Ossowski's publications and the accompanying drawings were not credible. In the former's opinion, Ossowski's sole aim was to lend the whole action a certain aura of scientific activity, in order to sanction the rights of his employer, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, to the Ryzhanovka finds.

---

19 Ossowski Wielki Kyrkhan: Materialy do Paleotnologii, pp. 1-46; Tables I-VIII.
20 Talko-Hrynczewicz, Z moich wspomnień, pp. 184-190.
22 no. 12 according to Ossowski, II in Samokvasov's numeration.
23 Ochet imperatorskaj Arkeologicheskaj komissii za 1890 god, Sankt-Petersburg 1893, pp. 54-55; Samokvasov, Mogily, pp. 82-86.
24 Samokvasov, Mogily, p. 85.
25 Samokvasov, Mogily, pp. 78-82.
Quite independently of these revelations, Samokvasov also expressed the conviction that the female burial discovered in 1887 was a “collateral” burial. The slight degree of exploration of the barrow left ample room for the inference that there were yet other graves, and in particular a main burial, located under the central portion of the embankment.26 Ossowski, too, was fully aware that his survey of the barrow had been incomplete, and suggested what the consequences of that might be.27 A similar opinion was also expressed by Count Aleksy A. Bobrinskij, a leading expert of the barrows of the right bank of the Lower Dnieper, who in his own work28 produced what was in fact a full republication of Ossowski’s report. Bobrinskij also discounted the authenticity of the partial excavation of the Great Barrow. He saw in further investigations the opportunity to make more precise findings as to the nature and meaning of the rich burial of this young Scythian aristocratic woman from - as he wrote - a “royal clan”29.

Given these facts, it came as no surprise that the joint Polish-Ukrainian Archeological Expedition we organized in 1995 (after the identification of the Great Ryhanovka Barrow) posed two primary tasks for itself.30 The first was to verify the investigations of Talko-Hrynewicz, Ossowski, and Samokvasov. The second was to clarify the matter of the possible presence under the barrow of a main burial.

According to the site plan published by Ossowski31, the underground crypt of the catacomb grave he investigated was located along the line of the W segment of Talko-Hrynewicz’s trench. In 1887, according to these same data, excavation work was extended N of the crypt, in the NW portion of the barrow, in order to identify the entrance shaft and the dromos.32 The embankment in this portion of the barrow had indeed obviously been disturbed at some later date, and its configuration indicated that the earth work done here had been intensive (Figs. 1-2).

---

26 Samokvasov, Magy, pp. 80, 82.
27 Ossowski, Wielki Kuckan, p. 41.
28 A. Bobrinskij, Kurhan y i sluchaynyja architekteshskaja nakhotki bliz’ mestechka Smely, II, Sankt-Petersburg 1894, pp. 138-151, Tables XVI-XIX.
29 Bobrinskij, Kurhan, p. 148.
30 This project came into being by virtue of a contract concluded between the Institute of Archeology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and the Institute of Archeology at the National Academy of Sciences in Kiev. In the 1995 season, the excavation work was financed by the Jagiellonian University. Honorary patronage over the research was assumed by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. Among those participating in the excavation work were V. Grigor’ev from the staff of the Archeological Inspectorate for the district of Cherkassy, and archeology students from the Jagiellonian University: Joanna Duda, Anna Gawlik, and Krzysztof Orman.
31 Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Table II:1.
32 Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 7-8.
Fig. 1. The Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. Site plan showing the excavations of J. Talko-Hryncewicz, and a W-E cross-section of the barrow, according to G. Ossowski, Wielki Kurgan Ryzanowski według badań dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887, Kraków 1888, Table II: 1-2.
Fig. 2. Height diagram of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow, made before the commencement of investigations in 1995, and a N-S cross-section of the barrow.
Fig. 3. Cross-section of the barrow (A) and the relative situation of features and archaeological excavations under the western portion of the embankment (B). T-H: excavations by J. Talko-Hrynczewicz; O: excavation by G. Ossowski; S: excavations by D. Ja. Samokvasov; 1: mounds of loess clay extracted when the central grave was dug out; 2: ceramic fragments; 3: animal bones; 4: original outline of the barrow erected over the main burial; 5: extent of the additional mound in the NW portion of the barrow; 6: present extent of the barrow embankment.

For this reason, then, it was decided to investigate the W portion of the barrow first, in compliance with the tasks that had been assumed for the project.

As soon as the humus layer of the embankment began to be removed, the outlines of excavations 2.5 meters wide were revealed, cutting through the barrow from the surface to the very foundation. These were doubtless the exploratory trenches dug by Talko-Hrynczewicz, though they are not as regular as stated, and are oriented, not N-S and E-W, as shown on Ossowski’s site plan, but rather roughly NW-SE and NE-SW (Fig. 3). As Talko-Hrynczewicz wrote, the trenches intersected - though not at perfect right angles - within the boundaries of the conical mound of yellow loess clay identified at the base of the barrow. The intersection is not located, however, at the center of the barrow, as on Ossowski’s site plan, but rather somewhat N of the center. In addition to the barren loess

33 Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Table II:1.
34 Talko-Hrynczewicz, Człowiek, p. 49.
mound revealed in the cross-section of the barrow and already identified by Talko-Hryncewicz, two other mounds were discovered nearby (to the W and to the S), lying directly on the original surface of the ground (Photo 1). They surrounded a large, roughly rectangular cavity, 4.5 x 3.0 meters. This cavity was marked by obviously regular edges only against the background of the loess calc. It was joined from the NW by another, roughly oval cavity, 4.3 x 3.6 meters, irregular in outline. There could be no doubt that both these features formed the central grave complex, over which the barrow was erected in its original form (ca. 27 meters in diameter and 10 meters high). The barren loess mounds identified at the base of the embankment and distributed around the rectangular cavity were the heaps created in the course of digging out the entrance shaft (the rectangular cavity) and the underground chamber (the oval sinkhole) of the central grave. Thus the two main goals of the investigations undertaken in 1995 were achieved rather quickly: i.e., it was confirmed that fieldwork was indeed done here by Talko-Hryncewicz, and the main burial of the Great Barrow of Ryzhanovka, located beneath the central portion of the embankment, was identified.

The outline of the grave chamber of the “collateral” catacomb investigated in 1887 was identified along the NW line of Talko-Hryncewicz’s exploratory trench, which is to say, at the place where it is marked on Ossowski’s site plan. To the north of the sinkhole created at the site of the grave chamber, after the embankment and the humus fill had been removed, a band of dark earth took shape. This marked the outer limit of Ossowski’s excavation work to identify the entrance shaft of the “collateral” grave. The removal of the fill from this excavation revealed the roughly circular outline of a tunnel created after the cave-in of the grave chamber, and, to the N, the outline of the entrance shaft (Photo 2). The exploration of the humus fill of the shaft indicated that it had already been investigated by Ossowski. This countered yet another of Samokvasov’s accusations. Ossowski had not, however, conducted his exploration by the “plastic” method, revealing the original walls of the shaft, but dug into the substratum in a mechanical way, in his desire to reach the level of the underground corridor (dromos) as quickly as possible. A careful exploration showed that in reality the shaft was something along the lines of a diagonal descent by “stairs” (Figs. 4-5), which at the depth of ca. 3 meters below the original ground level crossed into a short underground corridor, slightly descending in the direction of the grave chamber. This is an essential correction to the schematic site plan as published by Ossowski, where the entrance to the catacomb is a vertical shaft, while the horizontal dromos was supposed to be some 6 meters long. The height of the corridor – which in fact is

---

85 The main (male) burial at the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow was investigated in the 1996 season. It turned out that the grave had not been plundered by grave robbers, either in antiquity or in modern times, and so it was found intact, apart from the collapse of the roof of the grave chamber. At present the results of these investigations are being written up and prepared for publication.

86 Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Table II:1; cf. Fig. 3.

87 Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 8-9, Table II:3.
Fig. 4. Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. N-S cross-section of the barrow, and the site plan of the "collateral" catacomb, according to G.Ossowski, 
Wielki Kurhan Ryzanowski według badań dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887, Kraków 1888, Table II: 3-4.
Fig. 5. Site plan (A) and longitudinal cross-section (B) of the "collateral" catacomb. 1: level of the excavation humus; 2: presumed height of the vaulting in the grave chamber; 3: layer of clodded loess lying on the stairs of the entrance shaft and on the bottom of the grave chamber.
only an isthmus between the descent to the underground level and the grave chamber - is specified by Ossowski at 1 meter, but this proved difficult to verify. After he had explored the fill of the underground corridor, its natural loess vaulting subsided, distorting the original parameters. The present height of the corridor, as confirmed in the course of the excavations, is ca. 0.5 meters.

The investigations also lent credence to the somewhat uncertain and imprecise information given by Ossowski\(^{38}\) regarding changes in the orientation of the descent to the catacomb, and also the dromos, in relation to the grave chamber. Indeed, they turn twice, once at the level of the stairs, and the second time in the dromos, just before the grave chamber (Figs. 5-7).

The observations made in the preserved lower portions of the grave chamber and its bottom give grounds to suppose that Ossowski limited himself to exploring the sinkhole that filled the crypt after the cave-in of the loess roof, without touching its walls. Here and there on the loess walls there are still visible the negative imprints of a narrow pick-axe-like tool with a straight edge, which was used in digging the catacomb. Thus it may be supposed that the present form and cubature of the grave chamber correspond to its original parameters, and were not deformed by Ossowski. This does not, however, lead to a confirmation of the assessment made by Ossowski\(^{39}\), who represented the crypt on his drawings as a regular, rectangular room, clearly distinct from the dromos. In reality, the chamber had an irregular, trapezoidal shape (with maximum dimensions of 3.1 x 3.0 meters), and an uneven bottom. Its SW portion was 20-25 cm deeper, falling to the level of ca. 3.6 meters below the original ground level. It was separated from the dromos on the north side by a transverse groove, which in fact had been identified by Ossowski\(^{40}\). This was the foundation groove of the wooden wall that originally closed off the entrance to the crypt and protected it against being filled in after the ground over the dromos and the entrance shaft was caved in. The remains of the clodded loess that lay especially on the stairs and in the dromos proved that the entrance to the dromos was filled in using the earth that had been excavated when the grave was dug.

The task of determining the height of the grave chamber, on the other hand, was fraught with difficulties. The configuration of the better preserved portions of the walls suggested for all practical purposes two possibilities: ca. 2.5 meters (which, however, would seem to be virtually impossible, in view of the overly thin roof), or ca. 1.7 meters. Upon analysis of the drawings published by Ossowski\(^{41}\), the latter hypothesis seems more likely.

The black humus fill of the grave chamber did not contain any finds that would belong to the rich inventory of the burial of the Scythian "princess." Finds were

\(^{38}\) Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, p. 16, Table III:1.4.

\(^{39}\) Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Table II:1.4.

\(^{40}\) Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 9,11, Table II:1.4.

\(^{41}\) Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Fig. 8, Table II:2-3.
uncovered only in the layer of clodded loess lying on the bottom of the grave chamber, in the vicinity of the transverse groove (Photo 3-5). These consist of yet another gold ring made from a Panticapaean stater, a golden rosette (2.0 cm in diameter), a small round plaque of gold foil (1.4 cm in diameter), and a triangular plaque, also of gold foil (1.8 cm tall). These are all forms present in large quantities among the materials from Ossowski’s investigations (Photo 6)\textsuperscript{42}. The fact that these artifacts were overlooked is probably the result of the hasty and none too careful exploration conducted by Ossowski and Talko-Hryncewicz, who were working, after all, in very difficult conditions (at the bottom of a tunnel over 6 meters deep). Most likely these items were trampled into the layer of loess rubble lying on the bottom of the chamber, in the place that is most inconvenient to work because of the low vaulting, which drops at the transition from the chamber to the dromos to the height of one meter. According to Ossowski\textsuperscript{43}, the earth removed to clear out the grave chamber was transported to the outside through the dromos, and then by a slanted ramp cut out in the fill of the entrance shaft. In any event, the remains of the pile made at that time on the surface of the barrow were identified during the present investigations, on the north side of the entrance shaft. This exploration technique also explains the presence of further finds discovered this time in the vicinity of the entrance shaft. They were identified on the surface of the layer of loess rubble that originally filled in the entrance shaft and was left \textit{in situ} by Ossowski, and lay at the “trampling” level creating in the course of transporting the excavated earth from the grave crypt; no doubt they found their way here with the loess rubble from the bottom of the chamber that was spilled along the way out. These finds include yet another triangular band of gold foil (1.7 cm tall), found on the lowest step of the entrance shaft, and two round golden plaques (1.4 cm and 1.0 cm in diameter respectively), found in the vicinity of the trough-like depression at the entrance to the shaft. This latter form is also very heavily represented among the materials from Ossowski’s investigations\textsuperscript{44}.

An interesting discovery was also made in the vicinity of the dromos, on the east side, just in front of the groove for the wall that closed off the entrance to the grave crypt. In the layers of loess rubble were found more than a dozen fragments of delicate, tiny, strongly molded human bones, and three fragmentarily preserved human teeth from a person 12-14 years old\textsuperscript{45}. The remains of this skeleton could not have been moved from the depression under the southwest wall of the grave chamber, where the richly-accoutered female burial was found, but rather lay \textit{in situ}. It would seem likely that there was a second burial at this place, a young girl (?), perhaps a maidservant ritually killed during the funeral ceremony. In all likelihood, certain elements of the grave inventory originating

\textsuperscript{42} O s s o w s k i, Wielki K ur h a n, Table III:12-13, 16-17, 23-34.
\textsuperscript{43} O s s o w s k i, Wielki K ur h a n, p. 9, Table II:3/1-1.
\textsuperscript{44} O s s o w s k i, Wielki K ur h a n, Table III:20.
\textsuperscript{45} The identification was made by Dr. Henryk Gląb from the Anthropology Section at the Jagiellonian University.
Fig. 6. Site plan and view of the grave chamber in the "collateral" catacomb, according to G. Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan Ryżanowski według badań dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887, Kraków 1888, Table II: 4, Fig. 8.
Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the appearance of the "collateral" catacomb of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow, produced by J.Poleski.
**Photo 1.** N-S cross-section of the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow. In the center are visible the cones of the heaps created during the digging of the central grave. Between them, caught in cross-section, is the corner of the entrance shaft, with the subsided base of the embankment over it. In the background, the cone of the loess heap bisected by Talko-Hrynczewicz’s trench.

**Photo 2.** The “collateral” catacomb in the initial phase of exploration. In the foreground, the sinkhole of the grave chamber; in the background, the entrance shaft; in between, the vaulting over the dromos.

Photo 4. As above: obverse of the coin with Pan’s / Satyr’s head.
Photo 5. Gold plaques from ceremonial dress.

Photo 6. Gold rings discovered in the “collateral” catacomb (1887). In the middle two objects made of a Panticapaean stater.
from Ossowski’s investigations, such as the rather plain bracelet made of bronze wire, or the modest ring with a limestone setstone, constituted the grave goods of this second burial. Their modest standard contrasts in a striking way with the ostentation of the ceremonial dress and jewelry of the “princess.” The discovery that a “maidservant” was also buried here is of essential significance for the evaluation of the social status of the aristocratic Scythian woman buried in the “collateral” catacomb of the Great Ryzhansovka Barrow.

After the body of the “princess” had been interred, and the grave chamber sealed with the wooden wall, the body of the “maidservant” was put in front of the wall, and the dromos and entrance shaft were filled in with loess clay. Everything indicates that the grave survived intact (un-plundered) to the nineteenth century. The shortfalls in the grave inventory, which appear to be slight (especially in reference to the set of ornaments on the ceremonial dress), are the result of the theft and sale of gold objects by the accidental discoverers, and of the rather careless exploration.

Planigraphic and stratigraphic observations indicated that the underground “collateral” grave was located, to be sure, under the edge of a barrow erected earlier, but the entrance to the grave was situated outside the barrow, 3-4 meters away. It was in fact an essential element of the funeral ceremony to expand the barrow (pile it higher) on its northwest side, such that the entrance to the catacomb was also located under the embankment. As a result the diameter of the barrow on the NNW-SSE axis grew to ca. 33 meters. It is not impossible that this expansion was also perceptible in the shape of the embankment’s surface. This is indicated by the remarks of Talko-Hryncewicz, who speak of a “hump” or “rise” visible on the NW side of the embankment. The nature of the boundary (the lack of a clearly delineated humus level) between the surface of the old embankment and the new one suggests that these two events were separated by no more than 3-4 years. The fact of the deliberate joining of the old embankment and the new one clearly emphasizes, moreover, the existence of some sort of social bond between the persons buried in the central and “collateral” graves.

The last act of the mourning ceremony was the funeral repast. Its remains, in the form of consumption refuse (horse bones) and fragments of wine amphorae, were discovered on the north and west sides of the “collateral” catacomb, on the edge of the already expanded barrow.

The verification work done in 1995 in the western portion of the Great Ryzhansovka Barrow indicates that the accusations voiced by Samokvasov against the investigations of Talko-Hryncewicz and Ossowski were in most cases groundless. This pertains to the fact that exploratory trenches were indeed dug by Talko-Hryncewicz, and to the scale and course of Ossowski’s investigations:

48 Samokvasov, Mogilny, p. 81; Talko-Hryncewicz, Z moich wspomnień, p. 181.
49 Talko-Hryncewicz, Z moich wspomnień, p. 181.
50 Ossowski, Wielki Kurgan, p. 4, Table II: 2/g.
hasty, to be sure, but relatively systematic.\textsuperscript{49} According to Ossowski's account,\textsuperscript{50} his work included both the survey excavation of the entrance shaft and the dromos, and the quite systematic exploration of the grave chamber fill. It should be emphasized, however, that many things in the account left by Ossowski, and especially on the site plans and drawings he published of the barrow and the catacomb, are unclear and imprecise. In particular, the boundaries of the dugs and the form of the "collateral" grave are presented in an idealized fashion, not corresponding to the actual reality. There are obvious imprecisions, as well, in the marking of the directions of the compass. Samokvasov was also correct\textsuperscript{51} in asserting that the extent of excavation work done by Ossowski in the area of the "collateral" catacomb was considerably less than is indicated on the site plan he published\textsuperscript{52}. All these shortcomings do not, however, basically diminish the cognitive value of the investigations done by both Talko-Hryniewicz and Ossowski, or the accounts they left behind. The investigations also confirmed, to the full, Samokvasov's conjecture\textsuperscript{53} that there was a main burial under the central portion of the barrow. It cannot be precluded, incidentally, that under the as-yet-uninvestigated E portion of the barrow there are also other accompanying burials.\textsuperscript{54}

The female burial from the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow, located in a forest-steppe zone, is obviously connected to the Scythian cultural phenomena of the steppe zone. Arguments for this assertion are provided by, for example, the catacomb shape of the grave foundation, widely known from the lands of the Scythian steppes.\textsuperscript{55} Another characteristic of grave architecture of steppe provenance is also the fact - discovered both in the case of the main embankment and the additional mound associated with the "collateral" burial - that the barrow was erected from rolls of sod. This characteristic is connected with ancient traditions in grave architecture on the Eurasian steppes, and is often observed in the Scythian milieu of the Black Sea zone, especially in the barrows of the Scythian aristocracy. In some barrows (as in the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow) only part of the embankment is erected from rolls of sod, e.g. Mordvinovskij Kurgan I\textsuperscript{56}, Bashmachka, Strashma Mogila\textsuperscript{57}, and especially central: Melitopol'skij

\textsuperscript{49} Talko-Hryniewicz, Z moich wspomnień, pp. 183-184.
\textsuperscript{50} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, pp. 7-11.
\textsuperscript{51} Samokvasov, Mogily, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{52} Ossowski, Wielki Kurhan, Table II:1.
\textsuperscript{53} Samokvasov, Mogily, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{54} This refers in particular to burials of the "duke's" saddle horses, and - perhaps - the members of his retinue.
\textsuperscript{56} N.E. Makarenko, Periy Mordvinovskij kurgan, Germes, 12, 1916-1919, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{57} A.I. Terenozhkin, V.A. Ill'inskaja, E.V. Chernennko, B.N. Mozolevski, Skifskie kurgany Nikopol'shchiny, (in:) Skifskie drevnosti, Kiev 1973, p. 132.
Kurgan\textsuperscript{58}, Oguz\textsuperscript{59}, Berdianskij Kurgan\textsuperscript{60}. Sometimes the entire embankment is erected in this way, e.g. Gajmanova Mogila\textsuperscript{61}, Chertomlyk\textsuperscript{62}, or Zheltokamenka\textsuperscript{63}. It is possible to hypothesize that this element of the funeral ceremony was intended to symbolize in a condensed form the pasture lands belonging to the deceased, and thus served as sort of addition to the rich grave inventory\textsuperscript{64}.

The Great Ryhanovka Barrow also resembles many barrows of the Scythian aristocracy from the steppe zone in terms of the dimensions of the embankment (7.66 meters high in 1884). One might mention here, for example, such features as Mordvinovskij Kurgan 2 (6.40 meters), Geremesov Kurgan (6.50 meters), Mordvinovskij Kurgan 1 (7.00 meters), Strashnaja Mogila (7.00 meters), Malaja Lepeticha 2 (7.45 meters), Gajmanova Mogila (8.00 meters), or Babina Mogila (8.15 meters)\textsuperscript{65}. With respect to the depth of the grave chamber of the "collateral" burial, an analogy is provided in turn by such rich barrows as Deev Kurgan, Gajmanova Mogila, Chmyr'jova Mogila - all 4.00 meters deep - and Malaja Lepeticha, which is 3.90 meters deep\textsuperscript{66}.

The high social status of the Scythian woman buried in the "collateral" catacomb at the Great Ryhanovka Mound is also confirmed by the very extensive grave foundation, and by the numerous, diverse, and valuable inventory. Certain elements of this inventory, such as the gold plaques on the head covering, the jewelry, or the silver vessels, also find close analogies in the barrows of the Scythian aristocracy from the steppe zone. One's attention is drawn here especially by the plaque on the ceremonial head covering, in the form of a wide ribbon depicting dancing Maenads. Similar finds are known only in four barrows of the Scythian aristocracy (Gajmanova Mogila, Deev Kurgan, Denisova Mogila, and Pesochin Kurgan 8), and from the grave of a female Sindrish aristocrat in the Bolchaja Bliznitsa on the Taman' peninsula\textsuperscript{67}. According to S. S. Bessonova\textsuperscript{68}, women whose head coverings were adorned with representations of dancing Maenads were priestesses, from aristocratic barbarian - primarily Scythian - clans. Similar ideological considerations can also be used to explain the presence in the

\textsuperscript{58} A. I. Terenozhkin, B. N. Mozolevskij, Melitopol'skij kurgan, Kiev 1988, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{59} O. É. Fialko, Skif's'kij tsar's'kij kurgan Oguz, Avtoreferat dissertatsii kandidata istoricheskikh nauk, Kiev 1993, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{60} Yu. V. Bol'trik, E. E. Fialko, N. N. Cherednichenko, Berdianskij kurgan, Rossiijskaja Arkheologija 3, 1994, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{64} R. Rolle, Totenkult der Skythen. Das Steppengebiet, I. 1-2, Berlin-New York 1979, p. 42; 1980, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{65} A. I. Terenozhkin, B. N. Mozolevskij, Melitopol'skij kurgan, Kiev 1988, tables 3-4.
\textsuperscript{66} B. N. Mozolevskij, Tovsta Mogila, Kiev 1979, p. 150, Table 1.
\textsuperscript{67} S. S. Bessonova, Religioznye predstavlenija skifov, Kiev 1983, pp. 74-76.
\textsuperscript{68} Bessonova, Shodo otdnego skifo-ellins'kogo kul'tu IV st. do n. é. (in:) Doslidzhennja starozhitnosti Ukraini, Kyiv 1993, p. 6.
inventory of the female burial at the Great Ryhanovka Barrow of as many as three rings made of gold Panticapaean staters, with a representation of the head of a bearded Pan or Satyr on the obverse (Photo 3,4,6).²⁹

An obvious link between the female burial from the Great Ryhanovka Barrow and the nomadic world of the steppe has already been stressed many times in the literature.³⁰ A. J. Alekseev ³¹ included it in the circle of Scythian steppe sites from the last three decades of the fourth century B.C. There can be no doubt that this site also represents a wider horizon of nomadic Scythian burials from the forest-steppe zone, dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., where the deceased are interred in catacomb graves.³² The appearance of this type of burials in the region of the right bank of the Lower Dnieper is a reflection of the late transplantation of the nomadic steppe lifestyle in the Scythian period.³³ In the latter half of the fourth century B.C., the southern portion of the forested steppe on the right bank of the Lower Dnieper certainly formed part of the so-called “Greater Scythia”³⁴. There is a great deal of data, however, arguing for dating the female burial at the Great Ryhanovka Barrow to the first half of the third century B.C.³⁵

It would seem that the Scythian lifestyle maintained its presence and significance in this territory significantly longer than had previously been assumed, despite the political crisis on the Scythian steppes towards the end of the 4th century B.C. The presence of the Great Ryhanovka Barrow is a clear manifestation of this phenomenon. Burials of this rank were not placed, after all, outside the areas of the inhabited world that were subject to the authority of the nomadic Scythian clans.

---

³² G. T. Kopycenko, S. S. Bessonova, S. Skoryj, Panjatniki skifskoj epokhi dneprskogo Lesostepnogo Prawoberež’ja (Kievo-Charkasskij region), Kiev 1989, p. 43.
³⁴ Skoryj, Die Frage, p. 162.
³⁵ The issue of dating the Great Ryhanovka Barrow will receive treatment in a separate work.
Elżbieta Dubis, Mariusz Górniak
Cracow

FUNERARY SITES IN THE VICINITY OF TELL EL-UMEIRI

1996 Season of the Madaba Plains Project

The Madaba Plains Project (MPP) is one of the projects doing excavations on the Madaba Plateau, Jordan. The MPP was formed by Andrews University (USA), in a consortium with Canadian Union College, La Sierra University (USA), the Levant Foundation Poland, the University of Eastern Africa, and Walla Walla College, and works in cooperation with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman. The Project is conducting excavations on two tells and several cemeteries, as well as surveys.

The Polish Archaeological Mission has taken part in this project since 1994. This season the excavations done by our mission were part of the excavation on the tell, whereas in 1994 they had been associated with the hinterland.

The Polish group decided to concentrate its research on funerary remains around the Tell el-Umeiri. Three sites on the southeastern slopes of the tell were chosen for excavations: the Middle Bronze IIC cave tomb, partly excavated last season; another partially-filled cave with a slightly exposed, hewn entrance at the tell’s southeastern foot, 10 m east of the dolmen; and the area around a megalithic structure, probably a dolmen, exposed last season (Fig. 1).

---

1 Elżbieta Dubis of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow was field director for cemetery excavations. The other team members were Ewa Wiewiórka from Warsaw University, Mariusz Górniak from the Jagiellonian University, and Joan Chase, a physical anthropologist from New Mexico University.

Fig. 1. Map of the Tell el-'Umeiri:

K001 - Early Bronze IB megalithic tomb;
K002 - Middle Bronze IIC tomb;
K003 - Early Bronze cave
EARLY BRONZE IB MEGALITHIC TOMB (K 001)³

One of most unexpected and interesting discoveries of the previous season (1994) on the Tell el-‘Umeiri excavation was the U-shaped structure on the southeastern slope of the tell. It appeared to be a megalithic tomb constructed with huge untrimmed rocks. The structure was 3.2 m long, 2.7 m wide and 2 m high, and was oriented east-west, with the entrance opening to the east. The front side of the structure, now open, was at least partially built over, probably creating a kind of “porthole”. We assume that the structure was originally covered by horizontal capstones, or wooden beams – now missing – giving it the appearance of a dolmen. The arrangement of some interior features, close to the entrance – a hole in the southern boulder and an upright stone facing it – suggest that the interior was divided into two chambers, one on top of the other, probably by means of wooden beams. The tomb contained about 20 disarticulated skeletons, both adults and children. They were accompanied by 20 vessels dating back to Early Bronze IB⁴.

The task for the 1996 season was to excavate the exterior of the structure. A large area around the dolmen was exposed: 2 m to the north, 4 m to the west, and 5 m to the east of the dolmen. A series of up to six well-made and well-used surfaces were uncovered immediately to the west and north of the tomb. Four of the surfaces were too close to the topsoil in the south to allow for certainty as to whether they extended in that direction as well, but there are preliminary indications that they did. The surfaces were made up of very hard earth and pebbles with chalk mixed in, giving it a plaster-like appearance. However, they were too fragile to be considered “plaster”. From the initial results of analyses of the floor pieces it can be inferred that one of the floors was made of lime, another of lime mixed with clay, and four of hard earth. Although the excavation extended quite a long way from the dolmen, the boundaries of the surfaces were not found. No objects of any kind were found on the surfaces, which may suggest some kind of ritual connected with the dolmen. But a stone circle surrounding was also exposed. The pottery was all early Early Bronze, mostly Early Bronze I and transitional Early Bronze I to Early Bronze II. The tell’s northern slope (Field C) yielded a high loop handle juglet of similar shape and ware. It was originally dated to Early Bronze III, but it is definitely Early Bronze I; additionally, the southern slope (Field D, dated to Early Bronze III) yielded a few possible Early Bronze I sherd. These facts imply that in this period a settlement began, reaching its apex in Early Bronze III, and abandoned by the beginning of Early Bronze IV⁵.

As for the distant context, the megalith is isolated and does not belong to a dolmen field – at least no megaliths have been found in its immediate vicinity. So

³ The excavation of the K001 site was supervised by Elżbieta Dubis.
⁴ B. Dąbrowski, Ø. S. Labianca, E. Dubis, Megalithic Tomb at Tell el-‘Umeiri, Jordan, Biblical Archaeologist 57 (1994); B. Dąbrowski et al., Funerary sites, pp. 86-90.
⁶ L. G. Herr, Excavation and Cumulative Results at Tell el-‘Umeiri, unpublished manuscript (Canadian Union College, forthcoming).
far the tomb is one of few similar megalithic constructions in the Levant to contain an undisturbed funerary assemblage. It would appear to be the only one to contain such a mass of human skeletons in original interment, along with a very well preserved and homogeneous pottery repertoire and other objects. Unlike other dolmens, the tomb was not robbed, perhaps because it had lost the protruding shape of a dolmen: it was partially covered by eroded soil moving down the slope, and lacked the typical horizontal lid. These facts drew people’s attention away from this structure as a potential treasure horde.

The task for the 1998 season will be to continue the excavation of the exterior, to reach the boundaries of the surfaces, and to check for the existence of possible accompanying buildings, connected with the dolmen and used for the events related with it.

**EARLY BRONZE AGE CAVE (K003)** (Fig. 2)

A small cave was cleared, immediately above and slightly to the northeast of the dolmen. The cave had been used by Bedouins as a garbage dump until a few years ago. It was cleared it to see if any finds or skeletal remains could be located, and to obtain a plan of the cave. The structure was found to be a very shallow cave, extending only about 2 m into the hillside. There does not seem to have been a natural cave here before it was hewn out of the soft limestone. It was left unfinished. The tomb-makers probably stopped hewing when they reached another very hard fraction of the rock. A shallow SE-NW passageway led to the relatively high door (ca. 1.2 m). This structure contained no skeletal remains, but very interesting pottery was found. All the pottery ensembles could be dated to the late Early Bronze I and Early Bronze II periods. A similar amount of orange metallic ware – imported from the Syro-Palestine coastal plain, and dated to Early Bronze II – found together with Early Bronze I sherds (Abydos jar) led us to study more carefully the Early Bronze I/Early Bronze II transitional period.

**MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IIC CAVE TOMB (K002)**

The cave tomb with stepped dromos at the south-eastern slope of Tell el-‘Umeiri was partly excavated in the 1994 season. The excavation of the remainder of the cave tomb was carried out in 1996 to see if any more burials could be located.

---


8 Pottery was found inside the dolmens at ed-Damiyeh, cf. K. Yassin e, *The Dolmens – Construction and Dating Reconsidered*, BASOR 259, 1985, pp. 63–69.

9 The excavation of the cave tomb was supervised by Ewa Wiewiórka.

10 The 1996 excavation season was supervised by Mariusz Górnian. He was assisted by Joan Chase, a physical anthropologist.

11 B. Dąbrowski et al., *Funerary sites*, pp. 93–94.
During both seasons there were found at least 18 burials, including one in a ceramic jar, two large male skeletons (one of them laid in a semi-niche), two skeletons of young women, and four children laid on the cave’s floor. In the northwestern part of the cave, in a small niche, a deposit of disarticulated human bones was exposed.
Fig. 3. Middle Bronze Age Tomb: W-E and N-S section.
Fig. 4. Plan of the Middle Bronze Age Tomb: chamber, *dromos*, burials Nos 1-18.
Two of the children had bracelets on their forearms. A bronze pin, part of the clothing, was found associated with the burial of one young woman.

The intact vessels found in the tomb included two ring-based bowls (one platter bowl and one carinated bowl), two round-bottomed jugs, one ring-based chocolate-on-white jug, four jars, three dipper juglets (one found inside a jar), and one lamp with traces of burning. A worked ring base fragment served as a stand for one of the dipper juglets. The pottery assemblage can be dated to Middle Bronze IIC, and partly to the beginning of Late Bronze I12.

Among the pottery fragments excavated in both seasons, there were mostly sherds dated to Middle Bronze IIC, and some dated to Early Bronze. It would seem that pottery fragments from the Early Bronze site located above the tomb were deposited in the cave by flotation and wind.

The tomb was undoubtedly connected with the fortified settlement erected in Middle Bronze IIC at Tell eł-'Umeiri13. Burials in cave tombs with articulated skeletons are quite typical for the settled urban population of the Early Bronze II-III and the Middle Bronze II B-C periods in Palestine. But this particular type, with stepped dromos leading to the burial chamber, made its appearance no earlier than in Middle Bronze II B-C, e.g. the tombs at Lachish, Jerusalem, and Tell el-Farah (S)14.

This feature could have been a kind of family tomb for several generations. On the other hand, the burial in ceramic jar is quite unique in cave burials known from this region15. The deposit of disarticulated human bones could be the result of making space for new burials in the cave by pushing aside the remains of older bodies.

The question as to whether the tomb is part of a Middle Bronze IIC city cemetery or only an isolated tomb will be answered in the 1998 MPP excavation season.

---

12 The pottery excavated in the 1994 season was examined by Maryla Kapica, Tell eł-'Umeiri 1994 and 1996: The pottery from the Middle Bronze Age burial cave, in the present volume, pp. 101-109.


15 Human bones in ceramic jars are usually connected with burials within settlements. An example of jar burials inside a cave is known from the Early Bronze I cave at Asawir in Israel; see A. Mazar, Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, New York 1990, pp. 98-99.
Maryla Kapica
Cracow

TELL EL-'UMEIRI, 1994 AND 1996:
POTTERY FROM A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE BURIAL CAVE

A very representative assemblage of pottery vessels was found among burial gifts in the MB II C burial cave on the southeastern slope of Tell el-'Umeiri. The cave was excavated during two seasons, in 1994 and 1996, by an expedition from the Madaba Plains Project.

The excavations at Tell el-'Umeiri revealed a fortified city dated from Middle Bronze Age II; an analysis of the pottery shows that the occupation of the tell is contemporaneous with the use of the cave. Another MB II tomb was found half a kilometer southeast of the tell.

Middle Bronze Age pottery from the Transjordan is still very little known. Some settlements have been identified during surveys undertaken in recent decades, but only a few have been excavated. Several more burials have been investigated, but most of them are still unpublished. For many years, scholars have accepted the results of a survey made by Glueck in the 1930s, claiming that

---


3 Unpublished, see: M. Waheeb, G. Palumbo, Salvage Excavations at a Bronze Age Cemetery near Tell el-'Umeiri, ADAJ XXXVII, 1993, pp.147-163.

the Transjordan was unoccupied during Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The investigations of recent years have completely changed this picture: during the second millennium B.C. this area belonged to a unified Canaanite culture. In spite of the high degree of uniformity in this culture, there always exist certain regionalisms, but our knowledge of these in the Transjordan is still very modest.

The pottery vessels from the cave were compared primarily with stratified deposits coming from neighboring sites. This is a very typical group for Palestine. It consists of 15 vessels, among which are forms known from burial contexts: bowls, jars, jugs, juglets, lamp, and stand.

The platter bowl (No. 1) has no exact parallels; a similar rim form, coming from an unstratified context, was found at the tell. Such features as the plain rim and everted external edge come from a MB IIB context, and increase in frequency in MB IIIC.

The carinated bowls (Nos. 2 and 3) are only partially preserved, which makes it more difficult to identify parallels. Similar bowls were found at the tell. They are made of thin ware, and belong to the family of white-slipped vessels attested in MB IIIC and LB I contexts. Bowl No. 2 has a ring base, most typical for MB IIIC, while No. 3, with its concave disc base, fits better into the LB I period.

Medium and small-sized jars (Nos. 4, 5, and 6) belong to an assemblage, all of which have two handles attached below the shoulders. The similar flaring and everted rim forms of our No. 4 and No. 5 can be compared with the finds at the tell. Such very simple rims are spread across a very broad chronological range: they are known from MB IIB and MB IIIC contexts.

There are four jugs in our assemblage. Nos. 9 and 10, with their rim-to-shoulder handles and rims inverting slightly at the lips, are common throughout the late MB period. No exact parallels have been found. A similar jug/jar rim form

---

8. J. D. Seger, The Pottery of Palestine at the Close of the East Gate at Schechem, Levant VI, 1974, Fig. 3: 23, 5: 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 6: 37; A. W. McNicol et al., Pella in Jordan 2, Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2, Sydney 1992, Pl. 35.10.
10. R. Amir, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, Jerusalem 1969, Pl.49: 1-4; Seger, The Pottery, Fig.3:30; McNicol, Pella, Pl.35: 12.
12. Herr, Field C, Fig.5:12: 5,6.
13. Herr, Field C, Fig.5:12: 7.
14. Cole, Schechem I, Pl. 40: d.m.
15. Seger, The Pottery, Fig. 5: 31: 6: 13; McNicol, Pella, Pl. 34: 14, 15.
16. Seger, The Pottery, Fig. 3: 28, 32, McNicol et al., Pella, Pl. 34: 9.
was found at the tell\textsuperscript{17}. The pinched lip and the body of No.10 resemble our dipper juglets (see below). Shoulder-handled jugs with ring-bases (Nos. 7, 8) are very popular throughout the MB II B-C and LB I periods\textsuperscript{18}. Our white-slipped jug (No.8), painted in reddish-brown, has many parallels. A painted jug rim fragment is known from the tell\textsuperscript{19}. Painted decoration becomes popular with the end of the MB II period, and increases in popularity in the LB I period. The decoration, which covers the shoulders, the handle, and, probably, the lip (missing), is executed in metope-style\textsuperscript{20}.

Dipper juglets (Nos. 11-13) enjoy a long history throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Our specimens, with their shortened bodies, straight narrow necks, and well-defined shoulders, are standard LB IA forms. Most of the juglets - and this is the case with two of our vessels - are white-slipped\textsuperscript{21}. Such forms have been attested in MB IIC assemblages as well\textsuperscript{22}.

The oil lamp with a single slightly pinched spout (No.14) is a typical form for the MB IIB-C and LB I periods. It is also known from the tell\textsuperscript{23}.

The pedestal base (No.15), white-slipped, possibly from a carinated bowl or a goblet, is familiar from the MB II B-C period\textsuperscript{24}; they are also attested in LB I contexts\textsuperscript{25}. A similar base is known from the tell\textsuperscript{26}.

It is worth mentioning that some of the vessels – one bowl (No. 3), one jar (No. 6) and two shoulder-handle jugs (Nos. 7 and 8) – were found with their necks broken. They were probably trampled in the fill and ruined while the cave was in use. Another solution might be that they were broken intentionally before an offering. One dipper juglet (No. 13) was found inside a jar (No. 6); these two vessels were offered together. The pedestal base (No. 15) was worked, and probably served as a stand for one of the dipper juglets.

We may safely assume that the pottery from our assemblage does not fall within a narrow chronological range. More indicative potsherds are missing, and there are no imported vessels. Most of the forms are consistent with the MB IIB-C and LB I periods. The lack of such forms as piriform and cylindrical juglets, the presence of white/cream slip (10 vessels covered with different shades of light slip), as well as disc and pedestal bases, indicate that the best date for this assemblage would be the very end of the Middle Bronze Age. The lack of

\textsuperscript{17} Herr, The Pottery, Fig. 19:19: 2.
\textsuperscript{18} Amirani, Ancient Pottery, Pl. 34: 6; 46: 1.
\textsuperscript{19} Herr, The Pottery, Fig. 19:19: 3.
\textsuperscript{20} Amirani, Ancient Pottery, Pl. 49: 9; Ph.155; McGovern, The Late Bronze, Fig. 19:2; Fischer, Tall Ab, Pl. 8: 1, 3.
\textsuperscript{21} Amirani, Ancient Pottery, Pl. 46: 8; McGovern, The Late Bronze, Fig. 19: 11; S. J. Bourke et al., Preliminary Report on the University of Sydney’s Fourteenth Season of Excavations at Pella (Taboqat Fahl) in 1992, ADAJ, 1994, Pl. 176.
\textsuperscript{22} M. Piccirillo, Una tomba del Bronzo Medio ad Amman?, Liber Annus 28, 1978, pp.73-86, Pl. 6: 8.
\textsuperscript{23} Herr, The Pottery, Fig. 19:19: 16.
\textsuperscript{24} Seger, The Pottery, Fig. 3: 17.
\textsuperscript{25} McGovern, The Late Bronze, Fig. 23: 43.
\textsuperscript{26} Herr, The Pottery, Fig. 19:19: 17.
imported vessels seems to indicate that the use of the cave does not extend to the LB I period. We cannot, however, exclude this possibility, especially in view of the presence of such features as metope-style decoration and the shape of the dipper juglets. The large quantity of vessels with white/cream slip would confirm the thesis that the Transjordan was a center for their production.

The assemblage from the cave burial is indistinguishable from the Canaanite ware used throughout Palestine in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

**CATALOGUE**


\(^{27}\) colours according to *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, New York 1990.


Fig. 1. Tell el-Umeiri. Pottery, Nos 1-3.
Fig. 2. Tell el-Umeiri. Pottery, Nos 4-6.
Fig. 3. Tell el-Umeiri. Pottery, Nos 7-10.
Fig. 4. Tell el-Umeiri. Pottery, Nos 11-15.