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ACTIVITIES 1968

The character of the Museum's activities in 1968 was determined in some measure by the residence in Israel of the Director and the Curator of Ancient Art for the first two thirds of the year. During the spring of 1968 the first season of excavations was conducted at Tel Anafa, in Upper Galilee, under the sponsorship of the Museum; a preliminary report of that work is included in this issue.

During the year the opportunity appeared to acquire for the Museum a large, representative collection of Palestinian antiquities extending from the Palaeolithic period to Arab times, and a major part of the acquisition funds went into the purchase of some 530 objects, which are reported in the following list of acquisitions. We wish to express here our indebtedness to the Director of Antiquities and Museums of Israel, Dr. Avraham Biran, for the generous permission to export these antiquities for educational purposes. With these additions, our Palestinian collections are certainly among the finest and most representative in this country.

Two hundred and sixty other acquisitions, of which 138 were gifts from twenty-two donors, bring the total to almost eight hundred objects acquired by the Museum in 1968, by far the largest group in the eleven years of its existence. To this must be added the steady flow of material from our excavations in Israel—material of the greatest importance for research both by staff and students. The variety in accessions continues as great as ever, the quality as high. Some of the finest pieces are the gifts of generous donors; many of these have annually made important contributions to our collections, and this year there are a number of new ones.

The stepped-up activities of the Museum are indicated both by the increase in attendance and by the greater demand for loans of objects from the col-

lections. The parallel growth of the Department of Art History and Archaeology means an increase in the number of students, both undergraduate and graduate, who are working with museum materials. Even though less than ten percent of the collections can be on exhibition at any one time, because of the severe restrictions of space, the entire collection is always at the disposal of staff and students for their research. The articles in this issue are representative of these activities: Professor Haspels was Visiting Professor of Classical Archaeology in 1967-68, replacing Professor Weinberg; Professor Lane is in the Department of Classical Languages, closely allied with both the Museum and the Department of Art History and Archaeology; Dr. Habachi was one of our distinguished visitors in recent years who kindly undertook to add his own expert knowledge to the publication of Museum material; the other authors are past and present curators on our staff.

Our own pleas for *lebensraum* touched a responsive chord, which resulted in an article, "The Museum Nobody Sees," in the March 1969 issue of *Missouri Alumnus*. Here the critical need for space, not only for this Museum but for the many other important collections on the Columbia campus as well, is succinctly presented. It is most important that this message appears in a medium meant expressly for the alumni of the University, for it is to this body primarily that we must turn to realize our hopes of acquiring a proper building for the Museum. Other universities in the Big Eight and the Big Ten have acquired their museums in this way—for example the four-million dollar facility just opened at the University of Iowa. Missouri remains alone in not having proper museum facilities—we hope not for long.

SAUL S. WEINBERG
Director

ACQUISITIONS 1968



Above left: wooden horned mask from Benin (464) H. 36 cm. *Above right:* miniature wooden mask, Baoule tribe (446) H. 7.2 cm. *Right:* fresco fragment from Teotihuacán (474) H. 43.5 cm.

Note: the numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 68.464.

OCEANIC ART

New Guinea

Terracotta head with incised patterns (463), Yuat River, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton M. Gross.

AFRICAN ART

Wooden Poro mask (466), Dan tribe, Ivory Coast; wooden double-headed Egungun mask (465) and cult baton (462), Yoruba tribe, Nigeria; wooden horned mask (464) from Benin; wooden statuette of female figure (461) from Sunofu tribe, western Sudan; wooden statuette of female ancestor (460) from Ivory Coast, Lagoon area; wooden doll with spiral horns (459) from Guinea coast; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton M. Gross.

Thirteen Ashanti bronze gold-weights of various forms (448), Ashanti bronze repoussé plaque (447) and bronze bracelet (444), all from Ghana; bronze royal *menila* (445) from Gold Coast; miniature wooden mask (446), Baoule tribe; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.

PRECOLUMBIAN ART

Costa Rica

Painted terracotta vessel with slit rattle-feet (432), Chorotega tribe, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May.

Mexico

Terracotta statuette of a standing deity (74), Maya, ca. A.D. 900, gift of Mr. Irwin A. Vladimir. Two gray-ware bowls with incised decoration (472, 473), Maya, from Yucatan; terracotta figurine of a coyote (470) from Vera Cruz; fresco fragment (474) from Teotihuacán, A.D. 300-900; terracotta altar (471), Toltec; obsidian point (476), flint point (477); all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Merrin.

United States

Wooden speaker's baton (468), Klamath, Oregon, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton M. Gross.

FAR EASTERN ART

China

Bronze standing figure of Avalokiteśvara (439) from South China (?), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg. Wooden double vessel with two heads at each end (467) from Taiwan, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton M. Gross. Red lacquer tray with landscape in relief (23) 19th c., gift of Mr. Alvin J. Accola.

Japan

The following objects (in addition to that mentioned



Scene from Kabuki play, by Kitagawa Utamaro, 1753-1806 (33) 32.3 x 14.5 cm.



Above left: bronze figure of Lakshmi holding lamp, South India, ca. 1600 (434) H. 43.4 cm. *Above right:* sandstone attendant of deity from Khajuraho, India, 10th or 11th c. (420) H. 42 cm. *Left:* sandstone statue of goddess, Cambodia, Khmer period (475) H. 48 cm.

ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued



Left: black-slipped burnished vessel from Iran, ca. 1000 B.C. (43) H. 25 cm. *Right:* elephant vessel of steatite from Iran, Seljuk period, 12th-14th c. (418) H. 14.4 cm.



Four vases from a group of sixteen said to have been found together in a tomb in Iran. Giyan III period, ca. 2000 B.C. (47) H. (*above, left to right*) 19 cm., 22.1 cm., 19.5 cm., (*below*) 8.6 cm. All are decorated with painted geometric patterns.



Above: painted terracotta shrine and objects found with it on or near Mt. Nebo, Jordan. Moabite, ca. 800 B.C. The small lion figures are from a second shrine, in which they supported the pillars flanking the door. Three of the vessels are incense burners, while the animal figure is a rhyton, a vessel for pouring libations. The two small vases, Palestinian imitations of Cypriote prototypes, possibly were offerings. (64) H. of shrine 29.7 cm.

Right: bronze figurine of Astarte, Late Bronze Age (240) H. 8.3 cm.



ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued



Bowl from Bab edh-Dhra', Early Bronze Age (782) H. 13.9 cm.



Jug from Cyprus painted in white, Late Cypriote (50) 24.5 cm.



Pyxis, Palestinian imitation of Mycenaean ware (54) H. 8 cm.



Rhyton in animal form, with red and white painted stripes. Iron Age II (131) H. 12.6 cm.



Top: bronze spearhead from Syria, Early Bronze Age (46) L. 35.3 cm. *Middle:* bronze spike from Palestine, Middle Bronze I (93) L. 29.3 cm. *Bottom:* bronze spearhead from Palestine, Middle Bronze II (237) L. 22 cm.



Clay figure of bird with animal feet from Palestine, Iron Age (127) H. 7.2 cm.

above) were presented by Mr. Alvin J. Accola in memory of his wife, Katherine Mize Accola:

Porcelain tea jar, Seto ware (10), lacquer tea caddy, 19th c. (11), *inro*, Koma School, 19th c. (12), *inro*, Somada School, 19th c. (13), six lacquer incense boxes, 18th-19th c. (14-19), four other lacquer boxes, 19th c. (9, 20-22), ten ivory and wooden netsukes (24); prints by the following artists: Torii, 1742-1815 (38), Kiyomasu (?), ca. 1745 (37), Utamaro, 1753-1806 (32, 33, 42), Sharaku, dated 1794 (39), Hiroshige I, 1797-1858 (25, 30, 31, 34, 35), Kuniyoshi, 1797-1861 (28), Kashosai, dated ca. 1810 (36), Hiroshige II, 1826-1869 (26, 27), Kuniyada and Hiroshige, dated 1853-57 (29), Hiroshi, 1876-1950 (41), and Hasui, 20th c. (40).

Brass water-dropper for ink tablet (77), 19th c.; bronze tsuba (76), 17th c.; iron tsuba (75), 16th c.; all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimirov.

Two prints, landscape with figures (428, 429), triptych print, Kabuki scene (430); all the gift of Mr. Hiroyuki Hino.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART

Iran

Sixteen pottery vessels with painted geometric designs (47), Giyan III period, ca. 2000 B.C.; red-brown pottery vessel (72) from Ardabil, black-slipped burnished vessel (73), both ca. 1000 B.C.

Bronze quiver sheath with three engraved scenes (457) from Luristan, 1000-800 B.C., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks; bronze mirror with handle (451) from Luristan, 1000-800 B.C.; bronze female figurine (63) from Azerbaijan, 1000-800 B.C.; bronze bracelet (56) from Luristan, 1st millennium B.C., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Elmer Ellis.

Steatite container in shape of an elephant (418), Seljuk, 12th-14th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

India

Metal sculpture: cast iron stupa (436) from North India, Pala period, 10th c.; three bronze figures of seated Buddha (441-443) from South India, 14th and 15th c.; bronze reliquary in form of a stupa (437) perhaps from Burma, ca. 1600; bronze figure of Lakshmi holding a lamp (434) from South India, ca. 1600; two bronze figurines of Lakshmi (435) from South India, 18th c.; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.

Stone sculpture: sandstone figure of attendant to a deity (420), probably from Khajuraho, 10th or 11th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson. Figure of seated Rishi (433) from North Central India, 11th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.

Terracotta figurine of animal with human head (427), 19th-20th c. Terracotta relief of man holding leaf (438), possibly Kushan period, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.

Eight ritual paintings on canvas or paper, with representations of various Hindu deities and other figures (1-8), from Puri, Orissa, gift of Prof. and Mrs. J. M. Poehlman.

Cambodia

Sandstone statue of female deity (475), Khmer period, 11th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Werner Muensterberger.

Ceylon

Bronze figure of seated Buddha (440), ca. 1800, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.

NEAR EASTERN ART

Cyprus

Ten pottery vessels: one Early Cypriote (422), one Middle Cypriote (208), eight Late Cypriote (50-52, 59, 99, 228, 229, 421).

Limestone torso of male statuette (271), 6th-5th c. B.C.

Iraq

Terracotta pendant (138), Late Iron Age.

Palestine

CERAMICS: three lamps (180, 181), one with five spouts; head of figurine (182), all Chalcolithic.

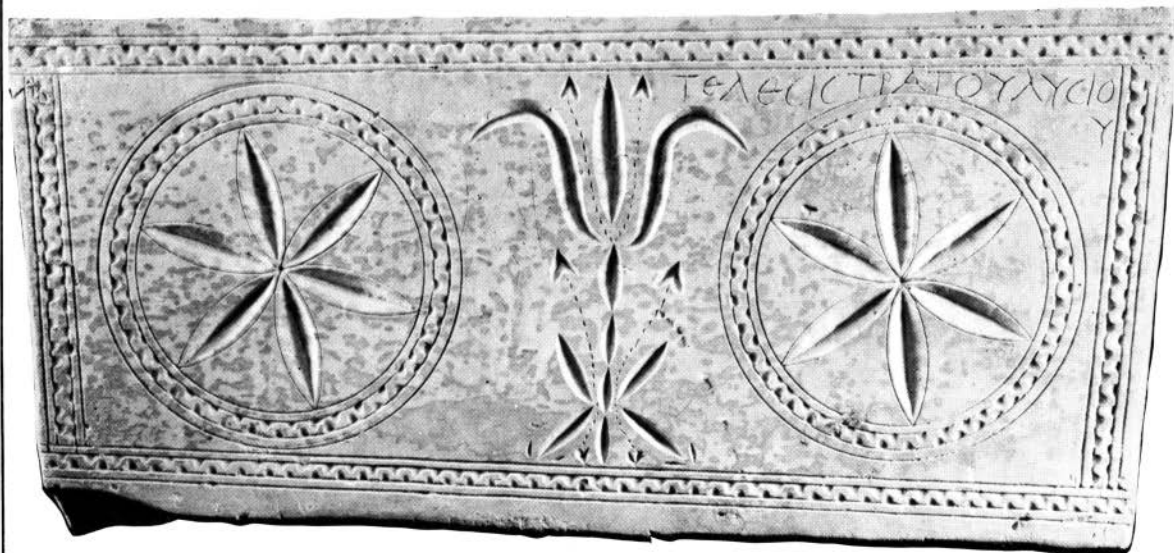
Fifteen vessels (78-81, 183-191) from Bab edh-Dhra', all Early Bronze I. Twelve vessels (82, 193-199) from Bab edh-Dhra', all Early Bronze II. Ten vessels (43, 44, 86-88, 200, 205, 212), three lamps (45, 89, 90), all Middle Bronze I. Sixteen vessels (48, 94-97, 181, 201-204, 206-207, 209-211, 256), all Middle Bronze II. Ten vessels (49, 102, 224-227, 230-232, 243.2); six vessels, local imitations of Mycenaean ware (53, 54, 101-105), lamp (100), all Late Bronze Age.

Ninety-one vessels (57, 58, 60-62, 106-121, 131, 241-261, 269, 288-291), five lamps (122, 123, 242, 265, 266), two rattles (124, 322), two pierced balls (125), four figurines (126, 127, 267, 268), all Iron Age. Group of shrine, fragments of a second shrine, five vessels and a rhyton in the form of a bull (64), said to have been found all together on or near Mt. Nebo, Iron Age II.

Four vessels (133, 134, 138), four lamps (65, 67, 276, 280), Hellenistic. Three vessels (140-142), eight lamps (66, 68, 143-145, 282, 283, 297), Roman. Twenty-three lamps (69, 147-153, 318-321), Byzantine. One lamp (326), Islamic. One cup (70), Crusader period.

STONE: two flint handaxes (478, 479) from Upper Galilee, Acheulean, gift of Kibbutz Mayan Barukh. Two flint blades (176, 177), Neolithic. Two polished celts (178, 179), Chalcolithic.

Two flint blades (85) from Bab edh-Dhra'; three stone maceheads, one haematite (192) and two alabaster (83, 84), all Early Bronze Age. Three alabaster vessels (55, 233, 234); two steatite scarabs (219, 220), all Late Bronze Age. Alabaster dish (128), Iron Age.



Top: stone ossuary from Palestine with carved decoration and owner's name incised, 1st-2nd c. A.D. (285) H. 29 cm. *Above:* bronze lamp of Greek type found in Palestine (272) L. 11.2 cm. *Right:* bronze ossuary handle in form of lion's head, from Palestine, 1st-2nd c. A.D. (168) Diam. 15.7 cm.



ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued

ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued

Three inscribed ossuaries (285-287), 1st-2nd c. A.D. Marble mortar (163), Roman.

METAL: two bronze daggers (91, 92), three broad bronze daggers (216-218), three bronze spikes (93, 215), all Middle Bronze I. Three bronze spearheads (213, 237), Middle Bronze II. Gold ring with steatite scarab (98), two bronze daggers (235, 236), bronze axe (238), bronze figure of Astarte (240), all Late Bronze Age.

Two bronze bowls (252, 253), three bronze daggers (241, 254), seventeen bronze arrowheads (130, 241, 255), fifteen bronze pins (108, 241, 255), eleven bronze rings (241, 255), two bronze mirrors (239, 241), one bronze pitchfork (290), one bronze spearhead (241), three iron arrowheads (255), one iron ring (255), all Iron Age.

Bronze lion's head handle from ossuary (168), 1st-2nd c. A.D., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Clements. Bronze incense shovel (167), 1st-2nd c. A.D.

Three frit cylinder seals (221-223), Late Bronze Age. Bone tube (129), Iron Age.



Green-glazed vase in form of female head, 1st or 2nd c. A.D. (414) H. 23.7 cm.



Jar with painted decoration in white, Etruscan, 7th c. B.C. (71) H. 57.2 cm.

Syria

Bronze spearhead (46), Early Bronze Age.

GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Three pottery vessels (103, 104, 243), Mycenaean period. Black-glazed guttus (132), 4th c. B.C. Six Rhodian stamped amphora handles (135-137, 277-279), Hellenistic period. Three terracotta figurines (139, 274, 275), Hellenistic period.

Bronze lamp (272), 4th c. B.C.; lead sling bullet (273), 4th c. B.C. Bronze figurine of Zeus (413), bronze strigil (284), both Hellenistic. Thirteen Greek silver coins (327-329, 334-336, 406-408); three Greek bronze coins (332, 333, 452).

Eleven glass beads (410), Mycenaean period.

Etruscan

Large jar with lid, red-slipped and burnished, with white painted decoration (71), 7th c. B.C. Terracotta head, probably female (458), 4th c. B.C., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton M. Gross.

Roman

Green-glazed pottery head vase (414), 1st-2nd c. A.D., William and Anna Weinberg Purchase Fund. Terra sigillata plate with manufacturer's stamp (416), 1st-2nd c. A.D., gift of Dr. Donald B. Harden. Two pottery vessels (292, 293), two pottery inkwells (294, 295), all 2nd-4th c. A.D. Fragment of pottery mortarium stamped "Isidorou"



Two bone reliefs depicting female figures, 4th or 5th c. A.D. (164) H. (left) 15 cm., (right) 11 cm.



Two silver bracelets with gilded medallions, one with elaborate filigree, the second with open work, and a gold medallion bearing an imperial portrait (175 a-c) Diam. of medallions (top to bottom) 3.3 cm., 3.8 cm., 3.1 cm.

(296), 3rd c. A.D. Seven terracotta lamps (146, 298-301), 1st-3rd c. A.D. Two terracotta figurines (302-303), 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

Four intaglio gem stones (314-317), 1st-3rd c. A.D.

Bronze lamp (166), 1st c. A.D. Two bronze mirrors (170, 305); bronze strigil (171); bronze ladle (411), all 1st-2nd c. A.D. Five inscribed lead weights (306-310), 3rd-4th c. A.D. Gilded bronze fibula (174), 4th c. A.D.

Three Roman gold coins (398-400), 4th-6th c. A.D. Thirty-seven Roman silver coins (337-348, 350-373, 409), 1st-3rd c. A.D. Twenty-one Roman bronze coins (374, 377-385, 388-396, 402, 454), 1st-4th c. A.D. Three billon coins (349, 375, 376), 3rd-4th c. A.D.

Nine glass vessels (154-160), 1st-5th c. A.D. Three glass intaglio gems (161, 162, 313), 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART

Two silver bracelets, each with a gilded medallion, and one gold medallion (175 a-c), 4th-5th c., Chorn Memorial Fund purchase. Bronze finger ring with figured bezel (173) 5th-6th c. A.D. Two bronze weights (325, 412), 6th-7th c. Two bone reliefs (164 a-b), bone figurine (323), all 4th-5th c.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

Renaissance to 1800

Painting: Giuseppe Ertz (?), *The Card Game of Death* (455), Flemish, 17th c., gift of Mr. Russell M. Arundel.

ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued



The Flight into Egypt, pen and blue wash drawing, Flemish ca. 1580 (450)
18.6 x 24.2 cm.



Above: The Resurrected Christ, polychrome statue of lindenwood from lower Austria. Late Gothic, ca. 1590 (419) H. 95 cm.

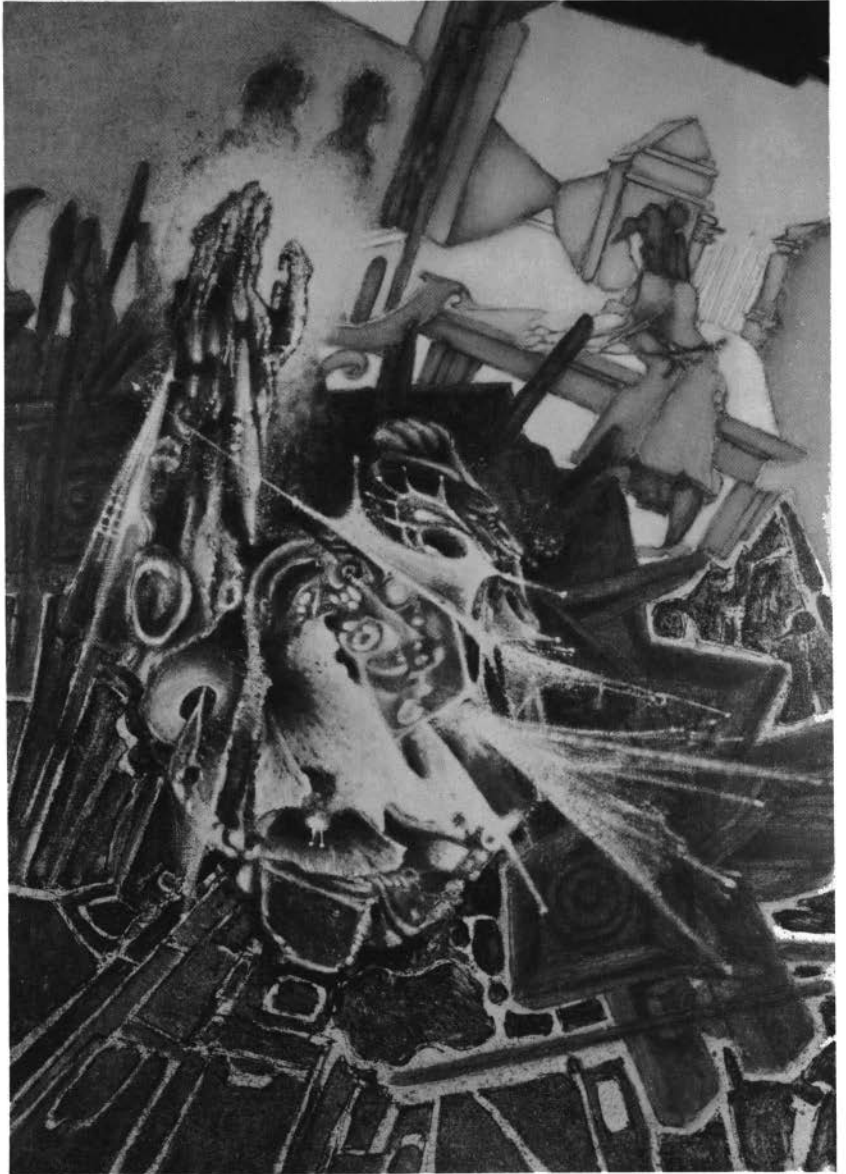
Left: The High Priest Rejecting Joachim's Offering, by Marcantonio Raimondi after Dürer, Italian, 1475-1527/50 (449) 29 x 20.5 cm.



Portrait of a Woman, Anonymous, American ca. 1830 (456) 86.7 x 68.5 cm.



De Profundis, by Peter Lipman-Wulf, German-American contemporary (426) H. 36.9 cm.



La Repasseuse, by Christian Lemesle, French contemporary (431) 1.27 x 0.88 m.



Composition, collage painting by Thomas Erma, American contemporary (423) 99.3 x 49.5 cm.

ACQUISITIONS 1968

continued

Sculpture: Lindenwood polychrome statue, *The Resurrected Christ* (419), Late Gothic, ca. 1490, from lower Austria.

Drawings and Graphics: Pen and blue wash drawing on paper, *The Flight into Egypt* (450), Flemish, ca. 1580. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Illustrations of the Life of the Virgin*, 1504 (449), four woodcuts after Dürer, Italian, ca. 1475-1527/50, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Renato Almansi.

1800 to the Present

Paintings: Anonymous, *Portrait of a Woman* (456), American, ca. 1830, gift of Mr. Russell M. Arundel. Earl Kerkam, *Self-Portrait No. 1* (424), *Nude* (425), American, 1891-1965; Thomas Erma, *Composition*, (423), American contemporary, all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin H. Stein. Christian Lemesle, *La Repasseuse* (431), French contemporary, gift of Mr. Jean-Pierre Selz.

Sculpture: Peter Lipman-Wulf, *De Profundis*, wood

(426), German-American contemporary, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin H. Stein. Group of eleven religious figurines of ivory, wood and metal (469) from Portuguese Goa, 17th-19th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Merrin.

Graphics: Halvard Storm, *Two Peasant Women*, etching (417), Norwegian, contemporary, gift of Dr. and Mrs. J. A. O. Larsen.

Loans During 1968

Two lithographs by Rufino Tamayo (65.324, 325) to Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Arizona.

Etching by Federico Barocci (65.181) to Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, exhibit "Vision and Revision."

Fourteen Nepalese and Tibetan objects (63.3, 12, 13, 14, 16, 65.162, 64, 65. 66.151, 159, 168, 215, 259, 292) to Miami Art Center, Miami, Florida.



Tel Anafa, the low mound at right, looking east toward Mt. Hermon. A fish pond is in the foreground.

Tel Anafa—A Problem-Oriented Excavation

Classical archaeology has from its inception been what is now termed “historic sites” archaeology—that is, the investigation of sites known from literature, whether it be from Homer, Pausanias or a host of other Classical authors. Biblical archaeology, by its very name, falls in this category, and so does much of Near Eastern archaeology, where the ancient names of many sites can be conjectured with a high degree of probability from extant literature. Whenever there is an ancient literature, this situation prevails; conversely, without writing, sites are prehistoric. But there is a vast time difference for the beginning of writing, and so of history, in various parts of the world, and even where written records exist, many sites find no mention in extant literature. It is always possible that through excavation a site may yield some written record bearing its name, but almost every site gives some evidence of its history even before digging starts.

Surface reconnaissance is a century-old method for determining the periods during which any ancient place has been inhabited. Potsherds, coins and other artifacts picked up in an area once inhabited give a good idea of its entire history. Percolation to the surface of material from considerable depths occurs in

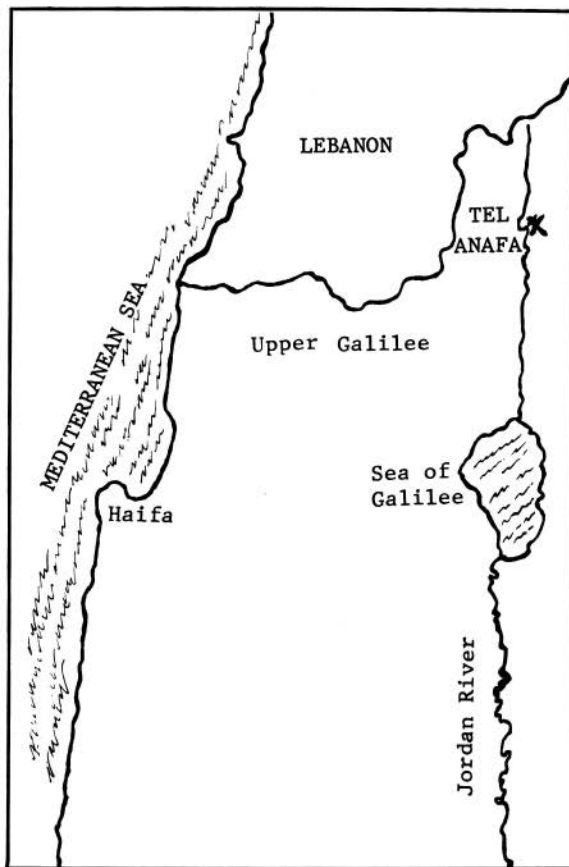
a variety of ways—erosion, digging of pits or foundations, ploughing, etc.—and it has been demonstrated repeatedly that in most cases material from all periods of a site’s occupation is brought to the surface. To this method of reconnaissance has now been added a host of new and highly refined methods—aerial photography, resistivity, proton magnetometry, to name just a few. Thus, with such possibilities of foreseeing what a site may yield even before a pickaxe breaks the surface, the scope for problem-oriented archaeology becomes ever greater. One can now, with a good prospect of success, choose a site or sites which will yield the answer to a variety of problems; but while one problem is being solved many more are raised. New methods for answering questions have only increased the problems for which one may hope to find the solution. The chances of archaeologists working themselves out of a job become ever more remote.

One such problem was involved in the first season of excavation at a site in Upper Galilee, which was conducted by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri. Tel Anafa was chosen for the light it may shed on relations in ancient

times between Greece and Palestine. From 330 B.C. onward the literary record is clear: it tells of the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great and its incorporation into his empire. In the subsequent division of that empire, Palestine was a border state between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms, at times belonging partly to one or the other. Both kingdoms were Greek in origin and, despite strong Orientalizing tendencies as time went on, they retained close ties with the Hellenistic world. Before Alexander the record is less clear, though we know that Post-Exilic Palestine (after the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.) was definitely aware of Greece and vice versa; Dor, a city on the Palestinian coast, even appears in the Athenian tribute list of 454 B.C.

So much for the written record. What of the material evidence for Graeco-Palestinian relations? Here we are much less well off than one might suppose. As long as thirty-five years ago, J. H. Iliffe, then Director of Antiquities in the British Mandate Government of Palestine, decried the lack of attention to Palestinian sites of the Classical period and the consequent lack of well documented Greek material. When, some twenty years later, Christoph Clairmont compiled a corpus of Greek pottery from the Near East, the situation was little improved. My recent research in the archaeology of Post-Exilic Palestine, a period for which Greek imports offer the best chance of establishing a reliable chronology (as Iliffe long ago pointed out), showed that there had been relatively slight progress and that Iliffe's plea for the excavation of sites known to contain Greek material is still valid. It is this problem, which beckons strongly and most significantly to Classical archaeologists, to which surface indications at Tel Anafa offered some solution.

The medium-sized mound, formed by habitational debris accumulated over thousands of years, that is now named Tel Anafa ("Mound of the Heron") is located in the north of present-day Israel, about one and a half miles from the old Syrian border to the east and about five miles from that to the north. The Hula Lake, now drained, once lay just south of it; the headwaters of the Jordan River to the north make this a lush area such as is not typical of the Palestinian scene. The mound rises some thirty-



Sketch map showing the location of Tel Anafa.

two feet above the plain; it is about 520 feet long and 350 feet wide. The surface is covered with dark gray-brown basaltic stones, large and small, such as abound to the east on the slopes rising to the Golan heights, a region also rich in dolmens and other megalithic monuments. Everywhere alignments of stones on the surface are evidence of walls or foundations.

Surface collecting on and about Tel Anafa had been supervised by Moshe Kagan, the well known artist of Kibbutz Shamir, on whose land the mound stands. Highly interesting and varied artifacts are preserved in the small museum of the kibbutz. It was here, at the suggestion of Anita Engle Berkoff, that we first learned the potential of Tel Anafa. In the fall

of 1963 a preliminary survey was made. The museum collections already included rich finds from a series of military slit trenches dug at the eastern edge of the top of the mound, as well as others from a drainage ditch cut at its eastern base; this penetrated the Hellenistic settlement. Fish ponds scooped out west of the mound, which apparently served as the Hellenistic acropolis, everywhere revealed walls of this settlement. Much Greek pottery—Mycenaean, Classical and Hellenistic, came from all these operations; even a fragment of a Mycenaean figurine was found. Architectural stucco mouldings, completely Hellenic in character, came from the area of one of the slit trenches. Numerous coins, Ptolemaic and Seleucid, especially from the cities of Tyre and Sidon, showed active relations with the Phoenician coast and the Greek world.

Such was the promise of Tel Anafa when we undertook our first excavations, an eight-week campaign beginning late in April, 1968. Before excavation began the mound was surveyed and laid out in four quadrants, each divided by markers into ten-meter squares. The normal trench excavated was 4×4 m., with a one-meter baulk left on two sides.

We thought to explore the lower Hellenistic city, where some walls showed at the northwest corner of the tell, but ground water from adjacent fish ponds quickly put a stop to that. Perhaps later it may be possible to dig here. On the mound itself four areas were chosen: one in the northwest quadrant to test for possible fortifications, two on the east side including the area of the slit trench from which stucco mouldings had come, and a fourth on the south side, the beginning of a step trench to test the stratification of the mound.

The northern trench, dug for only the last three weeks, unluckily revealed an Arab cemetery. Eight graves were excavated, most of them stone-lined and covered with slabs laid across their width. The burials could not be dated since the only artifacts were small beads.

In the eastern area two trenches were laid out (one 5×5 m. to include the military slit trench) and ultimately joined into a single area 10 m. long and 4-5 m. wide. Stone foundations partly above ground were found on three sides of the southern

trench. As we dug down, multitudinous fragments of painted stucco appeared; and these continued in profusion through the meter of depth which we were able to dig during the eight weeks—a very painstaking, slow process. Except for walls at the surface and just below, there were no architectural remains *in situ* in the southern trench, but among the stucco fragments were some fine ashlar blocks having one face covered with painted stucco. In the northern of these two trenches much less stucco was found and digging went considerably faster. The removal of a high foundation at the south side revealed a lower wall in almost the same position, and another at right angles, its base about two meters from the surface. In the latter, and in the fill east of it, were more ashlar blocks, some covered with painted stucco. It seems clear that these blocks are from the same building as the stucco fragments, but all were re-used and nowhere have we found ashlar blocks in their original positions; either their foundations are still deeper or the debris may have drifted downhill.

With the latter possibility in mind we opened another trench five meters to the west. The same profusion of stones on the surface was sorted out and an L-shaped foundation emerged. As we dug deeper, an earlier phase of these foundations appeared, with an addition extending northwest. Most interesting was the discovery of a mud-brick wall parallel to the southern arm of the L. Although it was extremely difficult to separate the wall itself from the collapsed bricks, its east face was ultimately defined. This wall is the earliest in the area; in fact, the parallel stone foundation rested on the collapsed bricks. Thus there are four architectural phases in the two meters of depth dug in this area, which was singularly prolific in artifacts of all kinds, many exceptionally well preserved owing to the soft fill provided by the collapsed brick.

At the south end of the tell we laid out a step trench which should ultimately extend down the entire slope. The first trench was opened on flat ground at the top of the mound; a second to the south is already about half a meter lower. In both areas we dug to a depth of two meters or a little more, and eventually the baulk between the two was removed, so that in all an area 9×4 m. was excavated. Wall foundations were visible on the surface



Trench in the eastern area with wall showing re-use of ashlar blocks.



Walls of four architectural phases, in smaller trench of eastern area (seen from northeast). The earliest is a mud-brick wall at western side.



Above: step trench at south of mound, seen from the south. *Left:* detail of same trench showing early oven.



Fine tableware dating from the second century B.C.



Pottery mortar, 2nd c. B.C.



Three unguentaria, the middle one with painted diamond design, all of the 2nd c. B.C.



Above: black-glazed plate, 2nd c. B.C.

Left: small jug with horizontal ribbing, 2nd c. B.C.

and digging revealed a maze of four or five architectural phases; to the two latest belonged circular brick ovens, their exteriors covered with mud in which large potsherds had been set. The earlier oven (and probably the later as well) was certainly in a courtyard, against a house wall. The court was paved with stones which continued through a wide entrance into the street bordering the house on the south.

Although we dug to a depth of 2.50 m. in the south end of the step trench, we were still in debris of the Hellenistic period, as in all other areas, and only at the deepest point found one lamp fragment and some sherds of the late Persian period immediately preceding. The building remains on the surface are also Hellenistic, and the coins and stamped amphora handles, in particular, make it clear that the occupation of the site ended in the first quarter of the first century B.C. People may have roamed over the mound at times, but there is no sign of later settlement on it. The unusual depth of the Hellenistic layers may be due to the use of mud brick in building.

Even preliminary study of the material shows that it should now be possible to clarify the development of Hellenistic pottery through several centuries. Most important in this respect is the large amount of fine table ware, some of it black-glazed pottery of well known Greek types, but the largest part consisting of the so-called "Pergamene" red wares. Characteristic of this are finely levigated-buff clay and a glossy red-brown surface. At Tel Anafa it occurs on the surface and through almost two meters of depth, diminishing in the lower half-meter. It first appears at least as early as the mid-second century B.C. Hemispherical bowls are among the earliest shapes, but carinated bowls and various plates soon appear. Furthermore, the large quantity of this pottery found at the site may indicate that it was manufactured locally, or not far away.

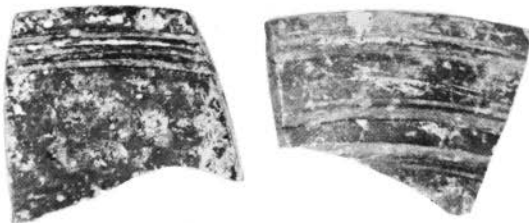
The many fragments of Greek relief bowls, probably East Greek, and the glazed "fish plates" are certainly imports, indicative of extensive trade with the Aegean world. This is demonstrated further by stamped handles of Rhodian wine jars; the trade route is shown by the predominance of coins of Tyre and Sidon.

The kitchen wares already fall into a sequential pattern. Horizontally ribbed pots occur toward the end of the occupation (late second-early first century B.C.), but ribbing occurs earlier on amphoras, small jugs and juglets, which must have been made throughout the second century B.C. Unglazed amphoriskoi and spindle unguentaria, found in large numbers, are also of second-century date. A painted diamond is preserved on one unguentarium and others bear traces of designs different from the horizontal stripes which heretofore were the only painted patterns known on this shape. From early Hellenistic fill come biconical forms for which we do not yet know good parallels: a deep cooking pot and a one-handled jug. Numerous pottery mortars also appeared in this early fill. A few tall unglazed beakers of extremely thin fabric are probably imports.

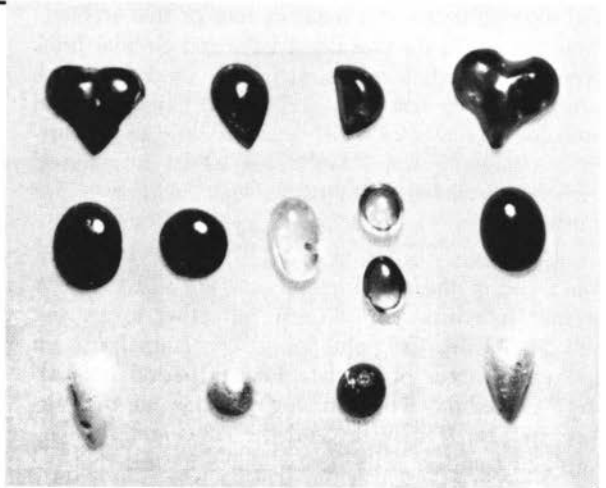
Unusually large numbers of glass vessel fragments occurred in the upper layers. All are moulded and are from conical or hemispherical bowls, the latter ribbed and the former decorated with engraved horizontal grooves inside and/or out. The quantity of fragments and their uniformity suggest a local production.

A group of fourteen gems found together include four of glass; of the ten semiprecious stones seven are garnets and three amethysts. Preliminary analysis of the garnets indicates that they came from the Red Sea region. The stones, intended as inlays, are beautifully cut in heart, tear-drop, crescent, oval and round shapes, all with flat or slightly concave backs. They are but one of many indications of the wealth of the site; a crescent-shaped gold pendant is another. The main lamp type is a long-nozzled shape with *erotes* holding a mask above the central opening. A variety of metal objects found included a number in iron—knives, a spearhead, an axe-adze, a ladle, a key, arrowheads and rings; a large number of bronze pins, several bent cosmetic spatulae, vessel fragments; several pieces of lead and one inscribed lead weight.

Nothing shows the richness of the Hellenistic town so well as the remains of the elaborate building on the east side of the tell, mentioned above. Fragments of mosaic flooring, with unusually small white stone tesserae, are abundant; one shows a border with tes-



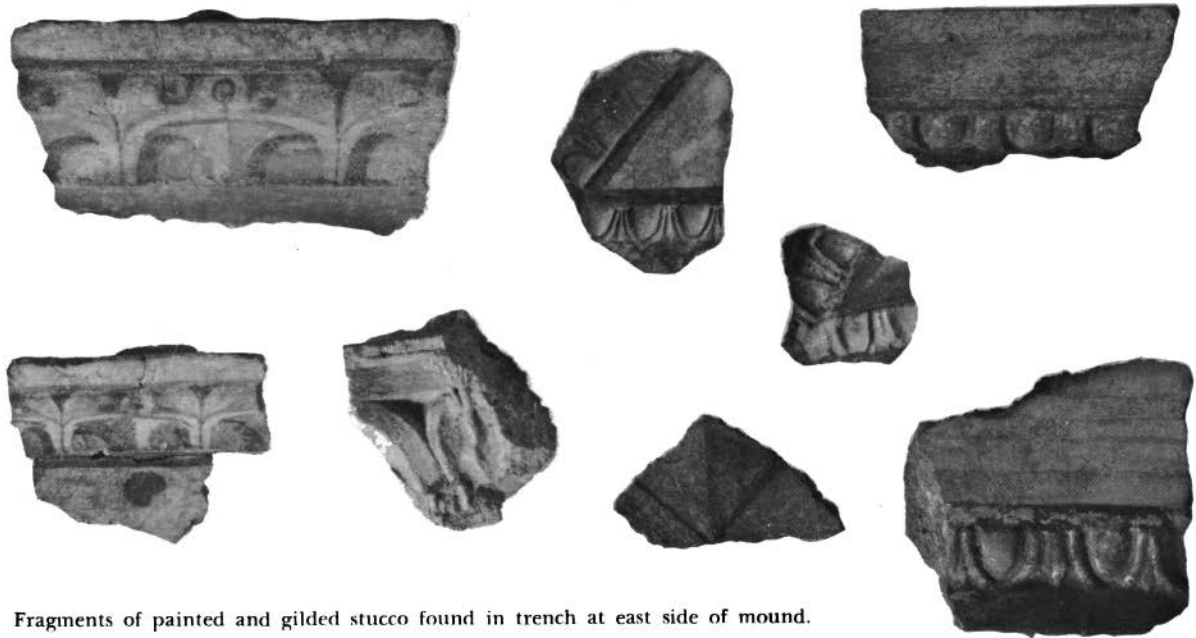
Two fragments of moulded glass bowls with cut interior grooves, Hellenistic period.



Left: gold pendant, shown about twice actual size; above: group of fourteen cut gems—garnets, amethysts and glass (bottom row).



Metal objects found at Tel Anafa: iron weapons and implements (*above*); inscribed lead weight (*above, right*); iron key and ladle (*below, right*).



Fragments of painted and gilded stucco found in trench at east side of mound.

serae of black stone and others of glass. Another piece, from the edge of the room, retains the bottom of a wall covered with black stucco. Above a dark dado must have been panels in a variety of colors—white, red, yellow—often bordered with another color. Several fragments show that parts of the walls were first decorated with a pattern of green and black diamonds; this was later covered with a thin coat of red plaster and still later renewed in the same color. Large quarter-columns, the lower third red and unfluted, the upper two thirds white and fluted, stood in the corners. Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders are represented, of different sizes depending on their place in the room or around doors and windows. White dentils against a red ground were near the ceiling; the sima mouldings are elaborately decorated and beneath some are painted sections of wall. The mouldings bear evidence of frequent changes, one showing as many as five layers. Reinforcement of the mouldings with bundles of reeds is visible on many pieces.

Most exciting are numerous fragments of mouldings not only painted but partially covered with gold leaf; this is most usual on the egg-and-dart mouldings,

but simas and even wall sections show gilding, and gilding may have been used on the soffits of a richly decorated ceiling. We do not yet know when this building was constructed, but we do know that it must have been destroyed toward the end of the second century B.C.

Most intriguing is the existence of so pretentious a structure in what seems to be a rather small Hellenistic town. One can surmise that its situation was the source of the town's wealth, for it apparently lay astride a major trade route up the Jordan Valley through Paneas to Damascus. If we knew its name, there might be clues to this problem, as well as that of its end in the early first century B.C. Historical sources mention the campaigns of Alexander Jannaeus in this region during this time, when the Greek cities of the Seleucid kingdom were incorporated into the Hasmonaean kingdom. Only further digging can answer the numerous questions which the first campaign has propounded. We hope to be back in the field this year, with fine promise for more evidence of Graeco-Palestinian relations.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

A Lekythos in



The vase illustrated here is an exceptionally well preserved Attic lekythos¹ decorated in a special technique named after Jan Six, the scholar who first studied it in detail.² The body of the vase is covered with black glaze, and the design is rendered in added colors, combined with parts in incision. The scene on the body represents a detail from a battle: a fully armed hoplite, his drawn sword dripping with blood, rushes past a fallen adversary. The vase is shown in Figures 1 and 2, and in color on the cover.

The painting is by the hand of the Diosphos Painter, an artist of the late Archaic period.³ He and his companion, the Sappho Painter,⁴ both work in black-figure and in Six's technique, chiefly on lekythoi. The Diosphos Painter is so named after an inscription on one of his small black-figure neck-amphoras in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris,⁵ with a representation of the birth of Dionysos. The Sappho Painter takes his name from the famous Sappho kalpis, or hydria, in Poland;⁶ the painting is in Six's technique. The flesh of the poetess' figure and the plectrum of her lyre are in added white; the rest of the figure and the inscribed name are incised. Inner markings are rendered by incision, but the earring and the loose hair on the cheek are brown. This Sappho figure is used as a cover vignette on the fascicles of the Poland *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.

One wonders why some of the later black-figure artists changed to Six's technique for part of their *oeuvre*. May it have been that they tried to get into closer contact with the work of their red-figure colleagues, or did this technique afford them greater facilities in one respect or another?

Six's technique appears first in a simple version:

1. *Left*: Lekythos by the Diosphos Painter (ca. 500 B.C.) in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

2. *Opposite page*: the Missouri lekythos: another view showing a warrior rushing past a fallen foe.

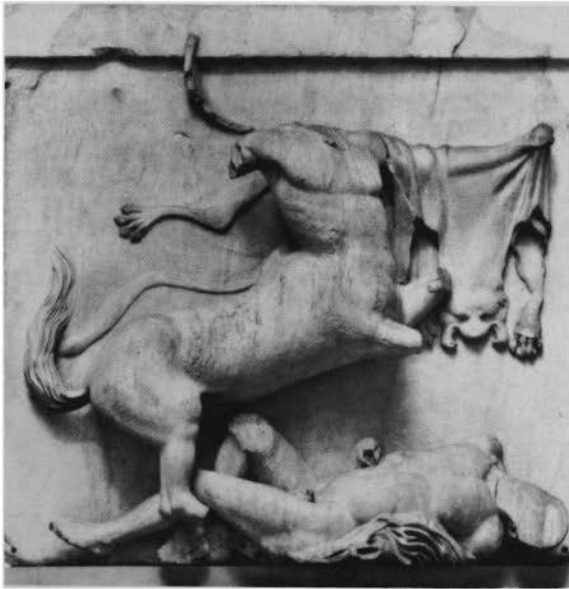
Six's Technique

figures in added color are in plain white, with sparse incisions for inner markings—for example, the lekythos in Athens with three dancers,⁷ which recalls the white women and white tripods on a neck-amphora of “Nikosthenic” type, signed by Nikosthenes, in the Louvre.⁸ When applied in this elementary way, Six’s technique is merely a means for achieving the effect of red-figure with a minimum of trouble.

Then, in the workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos painters, flesh color comes in as well as white. This can be seen on the vase with Theseus and the Minotaur by the Sappho Painter, in Athens.⁹ A recent addition to this group is a small lekythos by the same painter, with a woman and a youth in conversation, seated face to face.¹⁰ It belongs to a type of small lekythoi from the workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos painters, with a wide body curving in strongly toward the base. The shoulder, almost flat, is often decorated with two small confronted lions in black-figure: hence the name of the group, “little-lion lekythoi.”¹¹

In the developing stages the vases of Six’s technique often show large parts of the picture in outline, mere incisions on the black background—especially garments, wings and men’s flesh. Examples are the Sappho hydria by the Sappho Painter,¹² and a lekythos by the Diosphos Painter with a satyr pursuing a maenad.¹³ A final step is the addition of colors besides white and flesh color, as in the lekythos in the Louvre with Iris bringing a letter, by the Diosphos Painter;¹⁴ Iris is seen flying, her fair hair bound with a red fillet. Of this more elaborately colored kind, the Missouri lekythos offers an extreme example. The drawing is in the Diosphos Painter’s bold style, in which he works both in black-figure and in Six’s technique.¹⁵ The vase is of normal shape, fairly narrow and tall, the mouth straight, high and flat-topped, the handle slightly concave. The foot is in two degrees, the lower one in a torus moulding shape, painted black. The mouth and the lip are painted black, the latter with purple-red added over the





3. Metope from the Parthenon (now in the British Museum), a later version of the theme on the Missouri *lektyhos*.

black. (This purple-red is the red generally used for details in black-figure painting.) The shoulder has the decoration normally applied by the Diosphos Painter—lotus-buds connected by stalks. On the body of the vase there are the usual purple-red lines above the scene, and a single wider one below the figures, serving as a ground-line; another band runs along the junction of the body and the foot, a narrower one around the upper rim of the foot. Letters painted in purple-red are visible above the shield, between the shield and the fallen body, and behind the helmet of the warrior. These are mock inscriptions without any meaning.

The colors used in the picture are as follows:

Purple-red: line along inner curve of crest; locks of hair protruding from lower part of helmet (on the side and behind); bandoleer, scabbard opening and knob at lower end, with vertical stripes at regular intervals between; edges of hanging folds in lower part of corselet; blood on sword and dripping from it; on fallen body, hair fillet, and blood dripping from wounds in breast and right thigh.

Dull brick red: helmet and scabbard.

Flesh color: fallen body.

Light buff: crest of helmet, corselet, sword handle and shield.

Darker buff (verging on diluted brown): middle part of corselet, vertical stripes over hanging folds of corselet, rim of shield. The shield device is in superposed black, verging on brown.

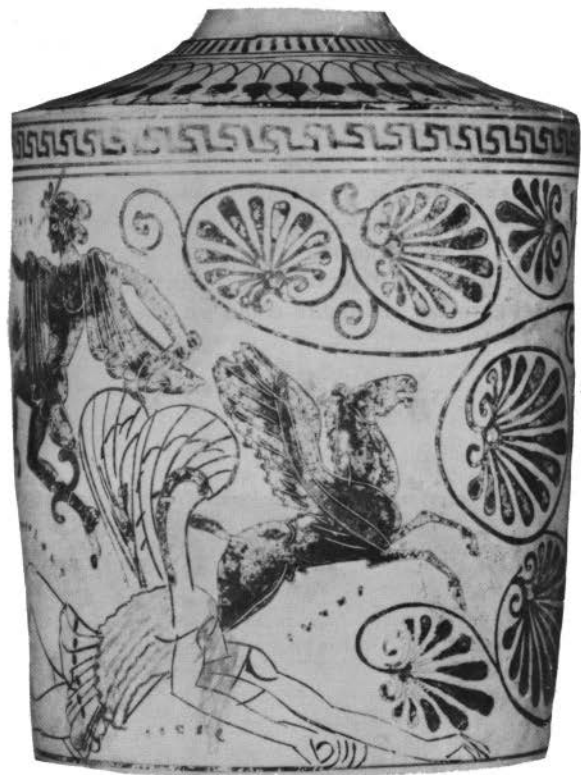
The uncovered parts of the hoplite's body are rendered in incision on the black, which amounts to outline technique with inner markings; also incised are the folds of his short chiton and his sword, as well as a double circle around the shield. The fallen body, stripped of its armor, is rendered in flesh color with incised inner markings for anatomical details.¹⁶

The shield device most likely represents a dog; the bushy tail excludes a member of the feline family. It is true that Attic hounds which accompany hunters are of a slenderer type, and none of them are shaggy. The only hound that is somewhat long-haired, on neck and tail, is one on the back of a Lucanian calyx-krater, where Odysseus is shown consulting the seer Teiresias.¹⁷

In our battle scene the fallen body has an almost closed eye, the mouth slightly open. The realism in the pose goes far beyond the general trend of the period. Falling or fallen figures usually recline decorously within a space allotted them in the group. One may compare, for example, the fallen Amazons, Toxis and Kydoime, on the Arezzo krater attributed to Euphronios.¹⁸ And the same is true of a later example, on a cup in the Louvre by the Brygos Painter,¹⁹ representing the Iliupersis; see the Trojan falling backward, his sword slipping from his nerveless hand.

The dead figure by the Diosphos Painter, on the other hand, lies in utter abandon, his arm stretched out before him. His curved fingers, touching the earth, remind us of the graceful finger movements characteristic of the painter's usual hands, except that those are alive.

And then, in contrast with the dead body lying neglected on the ground, there is the adversary sallying forth in a long stride, in pursuit of another victory. The scene, the two figures combined, fore-



4. Two views of lekythos by the Diosphos Painter in semi-outline technique, showing the birth of Pegasus from Medusa's neck. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 06. 1070. Rogers Fund)

shadows the art of the Classical period. It is pervaded by an intimation of the mood expressed eminently well in a centaurography of about half a century later, on one of the metopes of the Parthenon (south metope 28) in the British Museum (Fig. 3).²⁰ We see the same contrast—the triumphant adversary, the centaur jumping wildly over the still, broken body of the slain youth. However, there is a great difference between the two pieces in grouping. The Parthenon metope presents a refined, quasi-effortless composition of the two figures within the frame. In our picture, on the other hand, there is no attempt at restraint. The painter takes advantage of the scope offered by Six's technique, the limitless black field on which he can paint at liberty. This explanation,

however, does not cover the whole problem. The painter would not dream of letting himself get out of hand in the same way in a normal black-figure scene, though conditions there are similar. This is because the two techniques definitely give different results: polychrome on black stands out less obtrusively than black on clay color.

On the other hand, we notice a curious contrast with another group in the oeuvre of the Diosphos Painter, the group of his pictures in "semi-outline," being composed of outline drawing and black-figure (Fig. 4).²¹ For here he sets a deliberate limit to his freedom by framing the scene on both sides with large palmettes. Yet there is but one step from his use of Six's technique to the technique of semi-out-

line—from incised lines on a black ground combined with light paint to black lines on a light ground combined with black paint; and one would expect the painter to use a similar composition in both cases instead of a definite contrast, the one loose, the other restricted.

Six's technique, originally applied as a simple short cut to imitation red-figure, can develop into a refined accomplishment. When painting in this variety of colors, it produces an effect that neither black-figure nor red-figure could ever emulate.

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- 1 Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Acc. No. 58.12. Provenience unknown. Height 0.196m., diameter of rim 0.078m., of base 0.058m. Handle and neck broken off separately, with fairly clean breaks.
- 2 J. Six, *Gazette archéologique* 13 (1888) 193 ff., 218 ff.; see also E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1923) §350-352.
- 3 See C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 94-130 and 232-241.
- 4 *Ibid.* 94-130 and 225-229.
- 5 Cabinet des Médailles, No. 219 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* pls. 75, 6-7, and 76, 2-3; Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XII, 120.
- 6 Goluchow 32. *CVA* pl. 16, 3; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928) 8-9; Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XI, 56.
- 7 National Museum, Athens, No. 2246. Haspels, *op. cit.* App. VII, C, 1, and pl. 19, 4.
- 8 Louvre F 114. *CVA* pls. 37 and 38; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases* (Paris 1924) 253.
- 9 National Museum, Athens, No. 2262. Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XI, 47, and pl. 36, 3.
- 10 H. A. Cahn, *Art of the Ancients: Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*. Sales Catalogue, André Emmerich Gallery, New York, February 7-March 13, 1968, No. 25.
- 11 Haspels, *op. cit.*, especially 98, 107 and 227.
- 12 Cf. note 6.
- 13 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston No. 98.885. Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XII, 81 and pl. 38, 6.
- 14 Louvre MNB 912. Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XII, 76 and pl. 38, 4.
- 15 *Ibid.* 100 and 106-107; App. XII, 1-12 and 72-83.
- 16 Bits of added paint are lost here and there, mostly in extremities, revealing the dull black underneath. The main examples: on the warrior—top of helmet's crest and lower tail of crest; on the fallen body—left side of forehead and tip of nose; small parts in the outstretched arm, two fingertips of that hand, the tip of the large toe of the outstretched foot. The hair in front of his ear and on the shoulder, in black varnish on top of the added flesh color, is only partly preserved. The outline of the black hair is, as often, indicated by a wavy incised line.
- 17 The whole scene is the Judgment of Paris. Cabinet des Médailles, No. 422. A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1924) pl. 147. A. D. Trendall, *Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily I* (Oxford 1967) 102, no. 532 (238), by the Dolon Painter.
- 18 Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* pl. 61; whence Pfuhl, *op. cit.* fig. 395; Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vase Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963) 15, 6.
- 19 Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* pl. 25; whence Pfuhl, *op. cit.* fig. 419; Beazley, *op. cit.* pl. 369, 1.
- 20 M. Collignon, *Le Parthénon I* (Paris 1912) pl. 35.
- 21 Haspels, *op. cit.* 110-111, App. XII, 69-71 and pl. 39, 1.



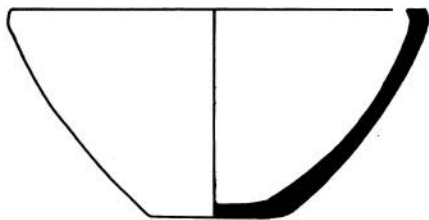
1. Agate bowl in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.



AN AGATE BOWL FROM EGYPT

Amongst the treasures which have come down to us from the ancient Mediterranean world are vessels carved from semiprecious stones.¹ Agate, onyx and sardonyx, all subvarieties of chalcedony, seem to have been the stones most commonly used for this purpose, and of these agate was perhaps the most usual.² Perfume bottles, aryballoi, cups and bowls of various shapes were carved out of these hard, colorful materials.³ Such chalcedony vessels continued to be valued in the medieval and Renaissance periods,

when they were often mounted in gold and silver, set with precious stones. One example, a perfect illustration of the esteem in which these ancient vases were held, is Abbot Suger's chalice now in the National Gallery, Washington.⁴ So popular were these vases that relatively few have survived in their original, unadorned state. One which is so preserved is an agate bowl in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri (Figs. 1 and 2, and color photo on back cover).



2. Profile of Missouri bowl (half actual size).

The Missouri bowl⁵ is simple in shape. Its base is very slightly convex, making it stand unevenly; its sides flare outward to an incurved rim, the upper edge of which is flat. The surface of the vase is highly polished. In contrast to the simplicity of the shape, the colors of the agate are rich and varied. They range from milky-white to various shades of brown—reddish-brown through honey-colored to dark brown. The milky-white striations form irregular patterns or swirl around the vase, with small honey-colored patches interspersed on the dark brown background. Around the rim runs a continuous uneven band of pale brown. The whole vase is highly translucent; with the light shining through in differing degrees of intensity and its brilliant polished surface, the general effect is one of great subtlety and beauty.

The bowl in Missouri is interesting not only for its beauty but also for its connection with a set of agate vases unearthed in 1930 in Egypt. It was then that the engineer Abd El-Hamid Diraz, who was in charge of extending the railway between Qift and Qusseir, visited the Chief Inspectorate of the Antiquities Department at Luxor to report the discovery of a set of agate vessels. According to him these vessels were found by his workmen while making the embankment for the rails. The workmen tried to hide them, but luckily news came to Diraz in sufficient time. He was then able to use his influence, promising rewards to those who would deliver their finds and threatening with severe punishment those who would hide them.⁶ The result was the delivery of six beautiful vases, which were immediately sent to the Cairo Museum⁷ to be placed in the jewelry room, which contains fabulous works of art. Reginald Engelbach, then Chief Keeper of the

Cairo Museum, was so interested in this set of vessels that he arranged for an inspection of their finding place and soon after published two reports about the pieces and their discovery.⁸ According to the second report, the vessels were found "in a shallow 'borrow-pit' about 8 metres north of the embankment, the exact spot along the line being Kilo. 6, m. 300, the level crossing being at Kilo 6."⁹

These six vases (Fig. 3) comprise a kalathos, three bowls, a simpulum and a rhyton.¹⁰ The kalathos (A), which is in perfect condition, stands on a flat base; its flaring sides end in a flat rim like all the other vases. Its colors are light to dark brown with patches of purple outlined in white. Of the bowls only one is complete (B), the other two have parts missing—a rectangular section of rim (C) and almost half the bowl (D). In shape they all differ: one (B) is hemispherical, the second (C) is round-bottomed but its sides are vertical and the smallest (D) is a shallow vessel on a ring foot; a groove runs around the rim. The colors are dark reddish-brown with striations of white (B) and red and brown (C and D). The simpulum (E), which is missing its handle, has a leaf carved in relief on the outside with a thin piece of iron wire embedded in it. This wire seems to be an original part of the vase and not added later for a repair to the handle. It lies deep in the leaf and projects over the rim in a way that indicates that the artist found that a handle projecting from the rim would need to be strengthened. The rim of the simpulum is grooved; its colors are reddish-brown with striations in white stained with blue. All these beautiful pieces are characterized by transparency and variety of color, but the rhyton (F) is perhaps the finest of the collection. It is carved in the shape of a calf's head and neck, with the head raised and the neck stretched out. The colors are light and dark brown with patches in purple surrounded by white. The head is carved mainly in the light brown portion; the horns are partly purple. Of all the pieces it exhibits the greatest transparency and variety of colors.

Nothing was found with these vessels to give

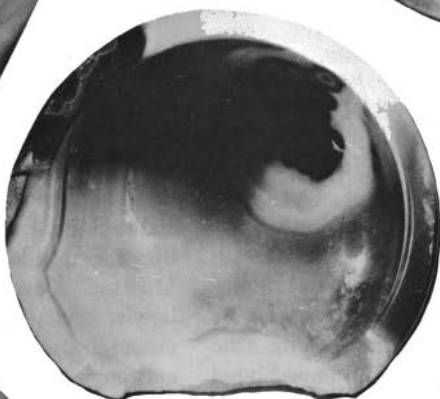
3. Six agate vases in the Cairo Museum. A: kalathos; B, C, D: bowls; E: simpulum; F: rhyton. Photograph courtesy The Cairo Museum.



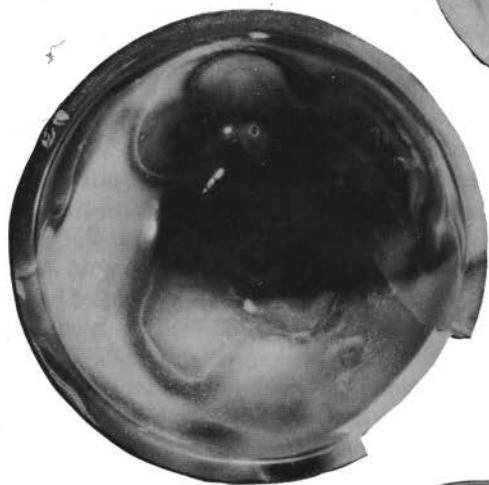
A



B



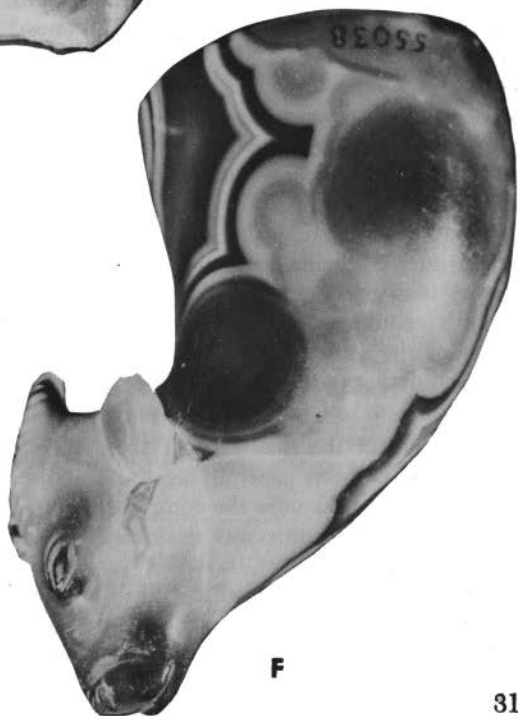
D



C



E



F



4. Agate bowl in Bog Farm Collection, England. Photo courtesy of the owner.



5. Sardonyx bowl in collection of Mr. Emmanuel Kaye. Photo courtesy of the owner.

an idea of their date,¹¹ except for a few potsherds which were considered of no interest at the time of their discovery, though they might have given a clue to the period.¹² The dating must, therefore, be based on stylistic criteria only. In the case of stone vases this is particularly difficult, as differing opinions indicate. Engelbach attributed the vases to the Graeco-Roman period,¹³ Lucas thought they were “. . . probably Roman . . .”.¹⁴ The shapes, however, can be paralleled in Egyptian vases of earlier periods. One may, for example, compare the round-bottomed bowl (C) with the bowl in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see note 3), which is dated to the first half of the seventh century B.C. Other writers, therefore, in discussing two of the pieces, have given earlier dates. Adriani considers that the rhyton is Classical (fifth or fourth century B.C.) from his examination of the relationship of the calf's head to its neck.¹⁵ Berta Segall, in her discussion of the hemispherical bowl, assigns it to the Achaemenid-Egyptian period (fifth–fourth centuries B.C.).¹⁶ The most recent presentation of the vases as a group by Buehler follows Segall in dating the vases to this period.¹⁷

At the time of the discovery of these six vases, it seems to have been generally agreed that the Cairo Museum did not acquire the complete group. Engelbach believed that this was the case,¹⁸ and Lucas, describing the same set, says: “A very fine set of agate vessels . . . was found at Qift in Upper Egypt, of which six were acquired by the Cairo Museum and two (the largest) by a dealer.”¹⁹ We can now trace

the history of these two missing vases with some certainty. One of them is the Missouri bowl; the other is an agate bowl now in England, known as the Bog Farm bowl (Fig. 4).²⁰ The two bowls were sold together from the collection of King Farouk, and at the time of their sale the buyer was informed that they belonged with the set of vases in the Cairo Museum. Given this information about the two bowls, there can be little doubt that they are the missing vases, and consideration of their style, size and color makes the attribution even more certain.²¹

The Bog Farm bowl, which is similar in color to ours, is smaller and of a more elaborate shape.²² It stands on a slightly raised base from which its curved sides flare out gently to a vertical, offset rim separated from the body of the vase by three mouldings. The upper edge of the lip is flat, as is the case with the Missouri bowl and the Cairo vases. We may compare this bowl with a sardonyx bowl (Fig. 5) found in Rome in 1731.²³ This beautiful bowl in dark brown sardonyx with milky-white striations has a small base, curving sides and an offset rim. There are two grooves just below the lip and also at the junction of the rim and the body of the vase. Although more rounded in shape than the Bog Farm bowl, it is somewhat similar.

The six Cairo vases and the two vases which appear to belong with them should now be discussed as a group. All of the same material, agate, they are all on approximately the same scale. The Missouri bowl is the largest vase in the group; the Bog Farm bowl lies between the two largest Cairo vases. This

does not quite fit the information given by Lucas, that the two largest of the group were missing,²⁴ but one can readily imagine that he did not see the missing bowls himself. The group as a whole exhibits great variety in shape and treatment. The simplicity of the Missouri bowl accords well with the three bowls and the kalathos in the original set, whereas the more elaborate Bog Farm bowl may be placed with the rhyton and the simpulum.

The dating of the whole group remains a problem. The Missouri bowl is somewhat similar in shape to a tiny bowl in Karlsruhe, dated to the period of Ptolemy I, 305-284 B.C., or a little later.²⁵ If, however, the Cairo vases are to be dated as early as the fifth-fourth centuries B.C., then it would seem that the two new bowls should also be dated to that period. Dr. Buehler feels that both could have been made this early, despite the more elaborate profile of the Bog Farm bowl.²⁶ Lacking sufficient dated stone vases to use as parallels, we feel that there is still much work to be done on this group of vessels before a definite chronology can be reached.

It remains to be asked why these eight vases were buried in a deserted place in Upper Egypt. The burial spot seems to have been on a caravan route between the Nile and the Red Sea.²⁷ Engelbach guessed "that a traveller from the east, intending to sell the objects in Qift, buried most of them in a pot, just as he came in sight of the cultivation, at a spot easily recognizable, taking specimens in to Qift with him, and died or was killed before he could return to his cache."²⁸ Engelbach is probably correct in his guess only on one point. It is quite likely that the agate itself came from the east, from India. Agate has been found in Egypt but mostly in the form of pebbles,²⁹ whereas India is known to have been a source of agate for the ancient world.³⁰ The material, therefore, may have come from the East but it has been suggested that the carving of the vases was more likely to have been done in Egypt.³¹ Egypt, it seems, was a center for the production of vases in agate and other types of chalcedony, in the fifth and fourth centuries. In the Hellenistic period there must have been many workshops in the Near East but in the Roman Imperial period the center seems to have

moved to Rome.³² Most of the vases which have come down to us belong, in fact, to the Roman imperial period. Our vases, therefore, the Cairo set and the two new bowls, are important evidence for the workmanship of earlier periods.

LABIB HABACHI

Former Inspector of Antiquities, Egypt

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¹ Literary sources refer to them. See, for instance, Appian, *Civil Wars* xii. 115—two thousand vessels in onyx from the treasury of Mithridates at Talaria; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.59—onyx drinking vessels; 37.140—dishes of agate.

² Chalcedony is a fine-grained variety of quartz with a fibrous microstructure. The subvarieties of chalcedony are characterized by bands of different colors and degrees of translucency. C. Frondel, *Dana's System of Mineralogy* III, *Silica Materials* 7th ed. (New York and London 1962) 195-214 *passim*.

³ For the most recent work on chalcedony vases, see Hans-Peter Buehler, *Antike Gefaesse aus Chalcedonen* (Dissertation Wuerzburg 1966). For other examples not included in this work see John D. Cooney, "A Perfume Flask from Antiquity," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 52 (1965) 45-46; agate aryballos and cup—A. Conze, *Allertuemer von Pergamon* I, 2 (Berlin 1913) 293, pl. 57, nos. 18, 19; agate bowl, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 21.300—Dows Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush I, El Kurru* (Cambridge 1950) 30, pl. 39 F; agate piriform aryballos (unpublished), Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.61.2, gift of Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, 1940, also cup fragment X.412 and bottle fragment X.413; onyx alabastron (unpublished), British Museum 69.2-5.6, also agate cup 60.9-28.6, and two chalcedony cups, 1923.4-1.1190 and 1923.4-1.1191; agate amphora (unpublished), The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 41.204.

We would like to thank Dr. Buehler for his helpful suggestions. We also wish to thank Dr. John D. Cooney for calling to our attention the agate bowl in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Mr. Andrew Oliver, Jr. for supplying us with most of the other examples mentioned in this article, as well as relevant information.

⁴ National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. No. C-1. In this chalice from Saint Denis, France, an ancient sardonx cup is combined with medievale base, rim and handles in silver-gilt, set with precious stones. Five medallions embossed in gold decorate the base. C. Seymour, Jr., *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery* (New York 1949) 171.

- ⁵ Acc. No. 60.12. Height 0.053-0.0545 m.; diameter of base 0.041 m., of rim 0.112 m. The vase is complete but two cracks extend down from the rim, which is chipped in places; there are two small fractured areas on the outer surface at the rim. No marks of grinding are visible.
- ⁶ The Department of Antiquities was exceptionally generous in the recompense awarded, but of course the value of these vases far exceeds what was paid.
- ⁷ *Journal d'entrée* (hereafter *J. E.*) nos. 55034-55039.
- ⁸ R. Engelbach, "A Set of Agate Vases" and "Notes of Inspection I-The Road to El-Quseir," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 31 (1931) 126-127 and 132-137, pl. 1. The *J. E.* nos. for four of the vases are incorrectly given by Engelbach as 53035, 6, 7, 9.
- ⁹ Engelbach, *op. cit.* 135.
- ¹⁰ A. Kalathos *J. E.* 55034. Height 0.077 m.; diameter of base 0.043 m.; of rim 0.091 m.
- B. Bowl *J. E.* 55035. Height 0.053 m.; diameter of rim 0.084 m.
- C. Bowl *J. E.* 55036. Height 0.057 m.; diameter of base 0.05 m.; of rim 0.10 m.
- D. Bowl *J. E.* 55037. Height 0.028 m.; diameter of base 0.036 m.; of rim 0.064 m.
- E. Simpulum *J. E.* 55039. Height 0.037 m., diameter of rim 0.035 m.
- F. Rhyton *J. E.* 55038. Length 0.09 m.
- ¹¹ A Roman lamp, Cairo Museum *J. E.* 55040, was found nearby but not actually with them.
- ¹² Engelbach, *op. cit.* 135.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* 127.
- ¹⁴ H. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. rev. (London 1962) 387.
- ¹⁵ A. Adriani, "Rhyta," *Bulletin Société Royale d'Archéologie-Alexandrie* 33 (1939) 358, no. 3, fig. 9.
- ¹⁶ B. Segall, "Tradition und Neuschöpfung in der Fruehalexandrinischen Kleinkunst," *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm* 119/120 (1966) 7-8.
- ¹⁷ Buehler, *op. cit.* 46.
- ¹⁸ Engelbach, *op. cit.* 135-136.
- ¹⁹ Lucas, *loc. cit.*
- ²⁰ Collection Bog Farm, Kent. We are grateful to the owner for the photograph and for permission to publish the vase.
- ²¹ In 1965-66, while on a lecture tour of the United States, Dr. Habachi visited Columbia, Missouri, and as soon as he saw the bowl in the Museum collection, was struck by its resemblance to the vases in Cairo. Without any knowledge at that time of the second bowl in England and of the history of the two bowls, he felt sure of the provenance of the Missouri bowl. In 1930 Dr. Habachi was beginning work as Inspector of Antiquities in Egypt and so has intimate knowledge of the Cairo vases and the circumstances of their finding.
- ²² Height 0.039 m.; diameter of rim 0.091 m.
- ²³ Height 0.051 m.; diameter of rim 0.102 m. Collection Mr. Emmanuel Kaye, The Croft, Hartley Wintney, Hampshire, England. We are indebted to Mr. Kaye for information about the bowl and for the photograph. The vase was found in the cemetery of Priscilla, Rome, in 1731 and presented to the Kircheriano Museum by the Marquis Capponi. A tooled brown leather case was made for the bowl in that year, reputedly in Florence. Some time later the bowl was removed from the Museum, and subsequently it was sold from the collection of J. P. Morgan (Parke-Bernet Sale, March 22-25, 1944, p. 27, lot 114, ill. p. 18).
- ²⁴ See above p. 28.
- ²⁵ A. Massner, "Kleine Achatschale," *Ruperto-Carola* 20 Vol. 43/44 (June 1968) 17-18. Dr. Buehler would like to date this vase slightly later.
- ²⁶ Letter of March 3, 1969.
- ²⁷ Segall, *op. cit.* 7.
- ²⁸ Engelbach, *op. cit.* 136.
- ²⁹ Lucas, *op. cit.* 387.
- ³⁰ Pliny, *Natural History* 37. 54. 140 "et in India inventae . . ."; Buehler, *op. cit.* 6-8.
- ³¹ Segall, *op. cit.* 7. We cannot tell whether the remainder of Engelbach's conjecture is correct, but it seems more likely that these eight vases represent someone's treasure hidden in time of danger.
- ³² Buehler, *op. cit.* 17, 20, 23, 39.



1. Marble dedicatory stele in Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

A GROUP OF STELES FROM BYZANTIUM

An interesting collection of six stone reliefs was purchased in Istanbul more than forty years ago by Mrs. Edgar J. Fisher, whose husband was dean of Robert College from 1913 to 1933. Their son, Edgar J. Fisher, Jr. of Richmond, Virginia, says that his mother recalls buying all the pieces at the same time from a man who claimed to have dug them up in a vegetable garden near the ancient Hippodrome.

In 1967 the six reliefs were sold at auction¹

and the various pieces dispersed. One of these is now in the collection of the University of Missouri-Columbia.² Of the other five pieces formerly in Mrs. Fisher's possession, I have been granted permission to publish four. It was not possible to locate the sixth relief, No. 143, which is a marble stele similar to the one shown below (Fig. 4).

The stele in Missouri (Fig. 1), of a grayish marble, was originally much taller and apparently cut down later for re-use as a building block. The relief shows a cloaked horseman riding to the right (the horse, with only the left foot raised, seems to be in rather leisurely motion) and behind him a clothed standing male figure holding two indistinct objects. The inscription reads:
Μητρι εὐχὴν | Μήνιος Μηνίου = "To the Mother a vow, Menios, son of Menios."

The goddess to whom the vow is made is the Anatolian mother-goddess, sometimes called Cybele. There are traces of the first letter of a third line. Some of the letters are joined by ligatures: M-H in the first line, M-H-N and M-H in the second. The lettering, as shown by the lunate *sigma*, is of the Roman imperial period, probably the third century.

The inscription has two interesting features. The first is the name Menios spelled with *eta*, which at first glance suggests a connection with the god Men, a lunar divinity popular in Asia Minor.³ The name Menios is not of frequent occurrence during any period of antiquity, or in any area except perhaps Byzantium itself and Kerch (ancient Panticapaeum) in the Crimea. Otherwise it occurs in a remarkably scattered fashion throughout the ancient world. The instances which I have been able to gather from epigraphical sources (a necessarily incomplete listing) are listed below.

The earliest *apparent* occurrence of the name is in an Attic cleruch list of 365/4 B.C.,⁴ where the name Μένον Μηνίο seems to occur among the Oaieis (those from the deme of Oe). Since, however, the *eta* is restored from traces on either side of a break, and since the scholar who makes the join mentions a Μένιος Ὁθηεν known from an inscription of 356/5 B.C.,⁵ I wonder if the name Μένιος might not also be read here. Thus the early attestation of Menios with an *eta* would disappear. Outside of this we have two examples in Attica, a prytany list of

135/4 B.C., where the name Menios (the first letter missing) is restored among the Keiriadai, and a group of funerary inscriptions apparently of the early second century B.C.⁶

Elsewhere on the Greek mainland we have a Hellenistic proxeny decree of Oropos, honoring one Menios son of Zoilos, from Byzantium, and a number of instances of the name at Delphi: two manumissions, one of A.D. 196 in which Menios appears as the name of a manumitted slave (a Lucanian) and another in which Menios son of Hermokrates appears as the name of the former slave-owner, while his son is likewise called Menios. There is also a decree of Delphi, datable to A.D. 319, in which M. Aur. Menios appears as *prostates* of the *damiourgoi*—i.e., an official of the local governing body—for that year.⁷

The name also occurs in Laconia, in an inscription in which one Damonodikas is honored at Gytheion (first half of first century A.D.) and in a whole series of inscriptions from Sparta which mention a Mar. Aurelios Kleandros "also called Menios," who is thought to have flourished about A.D. 210 and to have held the office of *patronomos* mentioned in inscriptions of victors in the games at the temple of Artemis Orthia.⁸

Among the islands are these instances: sepulchral inscription from Mytilene of uncertain date, a name alone from Eretria, and a corruptly copied inscription from Thasos which apparently mentions a Polla, daughter of Menios. Deiphilos son of Menios, a Dardanian, is included in a second-century B.C. list of initiates into the Samothracian mysteries; and Asklepiodoros son of Menios appears at about the same time as secretary of the confederation of cities worshipping Athena Ilias; the two men may have been related.⁹

From Asia Minor, the center of the Men-cult, from which we would expect many instances of the name if it is actually connected with the god Men, I have been able to garner only five (besides the Dardanians mentioned above) and two of them are from Mysia, where the Men-cult is not attested, as far as I know. These are a decree of Cyzicus mentioning Menios son of Kephet—, secretary of the council in the mid-first century after Christ; and an inscription from Mysian Apollonia mentioning Magnilla, a

philosopher, daughter of the philosopher Magnus and wife of the philosopher Menios. At Amastris (Pontus) a certain Julia Aquilina is honored by the cities of Heracleia Pontica and Amastris with a statue in the theater erected "under the supervision of Tiberios Klaudios Menios, her husband." There are also two funerary inscriptions from inland Anatolia with this name: one of them is from Düyer, northwest of Ladik (Laodicea Combusta) and the other, which mentions an Aristeides son of Menios, grandson(?) of Tatas (another possibility is that Menios Tatas was a single person), is from Avdan, between the ancient sites of Dorylaeum and Nacoleia. In Moesia an Odessan ephebe-list of A.D. 215 mentions an Aur. Dionysios, son of Menios.¹⁰

In the area of Byzantium itself, from which our stele comes, we find the name on a considerable number of sepulchral inscriptions of the third, second and first centuries B.C.¹¹

In the region of Kerch the name also occurs with frequency, particularly in inscriptions erected by the religious *synodoi* (private cult-groups). We hear of a *synagogos* (a cult-official) of A.D. 82 called Menios son of Bradakos; another *synagogos* (undated) called, Menios, Jr.; a Basileides son of Menios and a Menis son of Menios, in funerary inscriptions. Also recorded are a former *prosodikos* and *hellenarches* (official titles) called Menios son of Chariton, who restores a gate from his own funds; and two members of a *synodos*, Danarazmanos (?) son of Menios, and Menios son of Hermes; finally a Mamia, mother of Menios, and a Menios son of Athenios and grandson of Meinas, in funerary inscriptions.¹²

One wonders whether Menios is a hypocoristic, or shortened, form of some theophoric name such as Menophilos, Menodoros, Menodotos or Menogenes. These names, formed from the name of the god Men, acquired a popularity which far exceeded that of the god's cult but they did not become widespread until ca. 200 B.C.¹³

That the dedication is made simply to the "Mother" is the second unusual feature of our inscription. Almost invariably the goddess is called the "Great Mother," or "Mother of the Gods," or specified by some epithet usually derived from a place-name. Of the very few exceptions to the rule the earliest

I have found is a *boustrophedon* inscription (ca. 500 B.C.) in the Smyrna Museum of which the last two lines read "—meneos to the Mother."

There are a number of such inscriptions from islands along the coast of Asia Minor. One from Chios (first century B.C.) records that Kallisthenes son of Asklepiades dedicated a pavement and some theater seats to the Mother. An Aeolic inscription from Eresos (Lesbos), of uncertain date, tells that Aphaistis Theodoreia gave some tables to the Mother. From Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmora we have a heavily restored inscription of the reign of Antoninus Pius dated "when Kodratos (Quadratus) was priest of the Mother." One example occurs at Odesus (modern Varna), where a relief of Herakles and Cybele is accompanied by an inscription that seems to read "coming in first . . . a thank-offering to the Mother and Herakles." Two dedications of the Roman period come from central Asia Minor, one from Ladik (Laodicea Combusta) and one from Kozanlı (ancient Drya) on the Iconium-Ancyra highway. There is also an interesting though illiterate funerary inscription from an island in the lake of Egirdir, with a relief showing people fishing with tridents from a boat. The monument honors a certain Aurelios Ares, who "became a *prooikos* [literally, "someone in front of the house"] for the Mother." The name is probably that of a minor temple-official.

Finally there is a statuette of Cybele at Antalya, with an inscription possibly reading "Bas, son of Menedemos, to the Mother."¹⁴ Our votive inscription thus can be added to what seems a very exiguous group of monuments on which the goddess is simply called the "Mother."

A second marble relief, preserved almost intact, is a funeral stele (Fig. 2).¹⁵ This stele belong to the widespread funeral-banquet type of Graeco-Roman Byzantium. To the viewer's left there is a seated woman, with a fold of her garment pulled over her head. She holds her left hand to her cheek in a pensive attitude. To the right a man reclines on a couch, holding a wreath in his right hand, in his left a cup. Below him, on the floor, is a three-legged table with funeral cakes on it. At the bottom left is a small standing female servant-figure imitating her mistress' pensive attitude. On the right a corresponding



2. Funerary stele in collection of Dr. David Landau.



3. Funerary stele in the collection of Mr. Eric Lomnitz.

male servant repeats the pensive gesture, but seems more bored, his legs crossed and his gaze directed not to the main figures but off into space.¹⁶

The inscription reads: *Μάμα Ἀπφου Ἀπφου* (ca. 4 letters illegible) = "Mama, daughter of Apphous, Apphous [son of . . .]."¹⁷

The use of the four-barred *sigma* and the style point to a date in the second or first century B.C.

The name Apphous occurs on other examples and apparently originated from a term of endearment and/or relationship.¹⁸ The use of Mama as a proper name is more unusual, and many apparent instances of it as a feminine name may actually be the genitive case of the relatively common masculine name Mamas. It occurs (with some uncertain reading and conjectural restorations) in a number of inscriptions from central Asia Minor. We read in one: "Aur. Meiros, son of Bassos, and Mama, daughter of Bassos, to their own mother, Mama." In another, "To Mame, the mother" (this form is more correct in Greek), the name likewise cannot be a term of relationship, and in a third, "Sokrates, son of Menophilos, and Mama and Menophilos, to Hosios." In two inscriptions from Isauria we read, "—as, her father, (honored) Mamma, for memory's sake," and "Apollonios, while alive, set up (a memorial to) Nounnos his father, while he also was alive, and Mama, his spouse, for memory's sake." Finally, in one from Lycaonia we read: "Aurila Mama (?), his wife . . ."

The name is also recorded from the area of Odessus where there are such inscriptions as: "Mama, daughter of Artemon and wife of Serapion, son of Demetrios, farewell"; "Mama, daughter of Xenon, farewell"; "Parmenion, son of Aiantides, and his wife Mama, daughter of Antipatros, and their daughter Annei, farewell" and "Apellas, son of Zoilos, and his wife Mama, daughter of Metrodoros, farewell."¹⁹

The third and fourth reliefs are also funeral steles of marble.²⁰ One (Fig. 3) is a variation of the funeral-banquet motif, with one significant change, as befits a gravestone for three persons instead of two. This is the second major female figure standing in the middle of the composition. Like the woman on the left, she has a fold of her garment pulled over her head. The right hand is held across her breast, the left is relaxed.

In other respects, the stone is quite similar to the preceding (Fig. 2), except that the woman on the left does not repeat the pensive gesture, and the male servant seems more attentive. The inscription reads: Ἡρόξενος Διονυσίου Μάμα | Ἡροξένου Δύναμις Ἡροξένου = "Heroxenos, son of Dionysios; Mama, (daughter? wife?) of Heroxenos; Dynamis, (daughter? wife?) of Heroxenos." If the order of the names is the same as that of the figures in relief, one would identify Mama with the seated figure (therefore the wife), Dynamis with the standing figure (therefore the daughter). The use of the lunate *sigma* points to a fairly late date. The *xi* is also rather peculiar, apparently having the shape of a backward *nu*.

The proper names tie this inscription to the preceding one as well as to that shown in Figure 5. It seems unlikely that there is any connection between the individuals of this and the preceding in-

scription, in view of the apparent difference in date, but it is not impossible, since we are probably dealing with stones from one burial plot, that Heroxenos in this inscription and Markia in another discussed below may actually have been brother and sister.

Neither Heroxenos nor Dynamis is recorded as a proper name in the book by Firatli and Robert (the standard work on this subject—see note 11) and, as a matter of fact, neither seems to be very common. I find Heroxenos in two Attic ephebe-lists, one of the time of Trajan, the other of "Antonine times."²¹ The earliest instance is from Apollonia in Thrace, of the fifth or early fourth century B.C. Like Menios, the name Heroxenos seems to have been most popular in the Crimea. I find six sure occurrences of the name among the Crimean inscriptions, as well as two conjectural restorations.²²

4. *Left:* stele in collection of Mr. Eric Lomnitz. *Right:* grave monument for a child. Photo courtesy Brooklyn Children's Museum.



Dynamis was the name of a Pontic princess of Augustus' time, a descendant of Mithridates the Great, but I find only two less noteworthy people who merited this name, which means "force" or "power." Both are mentioned in sepulchral inscriptions, one a Dynamis of Ephesus, the other from Tarrha, both of imperial date.²³

Mr. Lomnitz' second stele (Fig. 4) has a relief showing a central male figure, draped and standing, with a smaller servant figure in the lower left corner. The inscription reads: Εὐφρόνιος Νείκο | υος = "Euphronios, son of Neikon." The relief uses the lunate *sigma* and the ligature N-E, again pointing to a rather late date, probably second century. Neikon is too common a name to require comment. Euphronios is likewise a common name, both in literature and inscriptions, as far back as Plato's *Theaetetus* (144 c.).

The final inscription to be discussed here is a stele of a rather coarse stone (Fig. 5).²⁴ The relief shows a female figure standing in frontal view. In a pediment above the relief are two hands, the thumbs pointed inward. Below the relief is inscribed: Μαρκία Διονυ | σίου ζήσασα ἔτη | θ' = "Markia, daughter of Dionysios, who lived nine years." The use of the lunate *sigma* and the style of the writing and relief point to a date in the third century of our era.

The name Dionysios is attested in Firatli-Robert (p. 150). The name Markia does not occur there, but this feminine form of a Roman *nomen* occurs frequently enough in the Greek part of the empire as an ordinary name.²⁵

Much significance attaches to the upraised hands above the relief field. It was established by F. Cumont that these hands, frequently occurring on funerary monuments, symbolize those who died violent or untimely deaths.²⁶ The idea behind the gesture seems to be an invocation to the gods (frequently the sun-god) to find and punish those who caused the violent death. Cumont established this point conclusively by means of funerary monuments where the hands are accompanied by an imprecation on the evil-doer as well as by the normal inscription. Since in antiquity any untimely death seems to have been attributed to some unnatural agency, the use of this symbol was extended to funerary monuments

in these cases also, in hope that the one who died an untimely death could achieve rest and not be forced to roam the earth until his appointed hour came to be received into the underworld. So it is an appropriate symbol on the tombstone of this young girl who died at the age of nine.

As the reader has doubtless seen, the group of inscriptions we have presented is not very cohesive. Dates vary apparently from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. The one at the University of Missouri is a pagan dedication, apparently re-cut, the rest gravestones of various sorts. If it were not for the Missouri stele, one might suspect that the man digging in his vegetable garden had stumbled across an ancient cemetery which had been in use for several centuries, but the presence of a dedication makes it more likely that he found a dump of some sort into which ancient stones of various types had been tossed at a later time, perhaps on such an occasion as that of the re-foundation and expansion of the city by Constantine the Great.

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¹ Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York. January 20, 1967, nos. 142-147.

² Museum of Art and Archaeology, Acc. No. 67.23. Height 0.32 m., width 0.365 m., thickness 0.055 m.

³ See E. N. Lane, *Berytus* 15 (1964) 5-58 and 17 (1967-68) 13-47, 81-106.

⁴ *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (hereafter *SEG*) XV, 129; D. Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 172-174.

⁵ *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)* II2, 1622; J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901-03) 10031.

⁶ Prytany list: *SEG* XII, 101; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 359-367. Meritt does not comment on the restoration, but it seems unobjectionable. Funerary inscriptions: *IG* II, 2024-2026; Kirchner, *op. cit.* 10105...

⁷ Oropos: *IG* VII, 339. First Delphi example: *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften (SGDI)* 2041; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Goettingen 1904) 515, note 2, fails to understand the name, taking it as Italic. Here we may note some perhaps related Latin names: a Menia Iuliane of Tyana (H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 4069 [*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* III, Suppl. 7532]) from near Tomi, of imperial date; her name is very likely connected with Menios. More problematical is M. Menius M. F. Rufus (Dessau, *op. cit.* 3071 [*CIL* V, 5779]) of 6 B.C. Second Delphi example: *Fouilles de Delphes* III, vi, no. 47. Third Delphi example: *SEG*

- XII, 266; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 76 (1952) 653-660.
- ⁸ Gytheion: *IG* V, 1167; Sparta series: *IG* V, 307, 313, 314, 601. In the first of these, where the future *patronomos* is a victor himself, the name is given in deliberate Doric as Κλέανδρορ ὁ καὶ Μῆνιρ which shows that the name could be equivalent to the commoner Menis.
- ⁹ Mytilene: *IG* XII, ii, 324; Eretria: *IG* XII, ix, 682, Thasos: *IG* XII, viii, 461; Dardanians: *IG* VII, viii, 160 and L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Paris 1966) 31, respectively.
- ¹⁰ Cyzicus: R. Cagnat et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (*IGR*) IV, 148; J. H. Mordtmann, *Ath. Mitt.* 6 (1881) 41. Apollonia: *IGR* IV, 125; J. A. R. Munro, *JHS* 17 (1897) 269. Amastris: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* III, 4150b, year 168 of the era of Sinope=A.D. 99. Inland Anatolia: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (*MAMA*) I, 287 and V, 140 respectively. Odessus: G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* (*IG Bulg*) I, 47 a 17.
- ¹¹ N. Firatli and L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964) nos. 15, 19, 74, 129, 170, 175, 189, 219. Also G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines des musées impériaux, Constantinople* (Constantinople 1912-14) no. 1005 (dated by Mendel 2nd-3rd c. A.D. but it uses the 4-barred sigma; if the person commemorated is a relative of the one mentioned in *Stèles funéraires* no. 19, it should be dated earlier). Cf. also A. Dupont and T. Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* 369, no. 64b, 15, from Selymbria (*non vidi*).
- ¹² Respectively: *Année épigraphique* 1959, no. 220. B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* II, 60. *Ibid.* II, 139 (1st c. A.D.). *Ibid.* II, 432, A.D. 227-233. The former *synodos* member, *ibid.* II, 448; the latter, *ibid.* II, 450 and restored in 448. I find the restoration of Menios questionable in no. 441. *Ibid.* IV, 382 and 214 respectively for the funerary inscriptions.
- ¹³ It is interesting to observe that Menios appears as the name of a person dedicating a statue of a warlike maenad (*Anthology* VI, 122) in a poem attributed to Niketas, physician and contemporary of Theocritus, who lived in Cos and Miletus. The name is also used by Lucian (*Vera Historia* I.20) for one of the treaty-signers of the moon-forces, after their defeat by the sun-forces.
- ¹⁴ Smyrna: *SEG* XVI, 728; L. Jeffery, *BSA* 50 (1955) 84, no. 3. Chios: *SEG* XXII, 512; W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 58 (1963) 59, no. 9; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 1146; *BCH* 3 (1879) 324, no. 11. Eresos: *SGDI* 286. Proconnesus: *IGR* IV, 117; *JHS* 26 (1906) 30. Odessus: Mihailov, *IG Bulg* I, no. 81 (there is apparently no room on the stone for the word θεῶν or an epithet. Ladik and Drya: *MAMA* VII, 2 and 434 respectively. Egirdir: *SEG* VI, 598; *ibid.* II, 747; *Annuario* 3 (1916-20) 53, no. 42. Antalya: *SEG* XVII, no. 617; *ibid.* VI, no. 644; G. Bean, *Belleten* 22 (1958) 85, no. 113; *Annuario* 6-7 (1923-24) 420-421, no. 120, fig. 53; so George Bean, but read by L. Robert *apud* H. Metzger, *Catalogue des monuments votifs du Musée d'Adalia* (Paris 1952), no. 17, pl. 10, as *ikas* etc., instead of *Bās*.
- ¹⁵ It was purchased by Safani Gallery, New York, and is now in the possession of Dr. David Landau, Boston, Massachusetts. We are grateful to Mr. Safani and to Dr. Landau for permission to publish the relief here. Height 0.505 m., width 0.345 m.
- ¹⁶ More than half the examples in the book by N. Firatli and L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires*, belong to this type. Our example is very close to, e.g., no. 49 of that collection (pl. 16, no. 49). The type is also common to the area of Odessus: cf. Mihailov, *IG Bulg* I, *passim*; also I. Stoian, *Tomitana* (Bucharest 1962) 202, pl. 54.
- ¹⁷ For this name see L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 78-79.
- ¹⁸ Firatli-Robert, *op. cit.*, nos. 45 and 121; see p. 142.
- ¹⁹ Central Asia Minor: *MAMA* I, nos. 59 and 135; *ibid.* V, no. 148. The supposed example, *IGR* IV, 19 (*SGDI* 287) is actually a genitive of Mamas. Cf. also W. M. Ramsay's emendation, *Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (Aberdeen 1940) 30, no. 21 (*SEG* VI, 76, no. 426) of the name Μαμάθια into Μάμα θία (aunt). Isauria: *SEG* VI, 514 and 549 (latter same as J. R. S. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, (Boston 1888) no. 209. Lycaonia: *ibid.* VI, 146. Odessus: Mihailov, *IG Bulg.* I, nos. 116, 166, 191, perhaps also no. 205. See also now L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* 281-282.
- ²⁰ These are in the possession of Mr. Eric Lomnitz, New York, who has kindly given permission to publish them. Fig. 3: Height 0.36 m., width at top 0.33 m., at bottom 0.35 m. Fig. 4: Height 0.38 m.; width 0.23 m.
- ²¹ *SEG* III, 271, a correction of *IG* III, 1092, line 29; *CIG* I, 275, where the father of two ephebes is named.
- ²² Apollonia: Mihailov, *IG Bulg* I, 416. Crimea: Latyshev, *op. cit.* I, no. 98 (a "strategos" who joined in the dedication of a gold Nike), 359 (a "sealer" of a decree of A.D. 129/130), 431, 581; II, 446 (A.D. 220), 456. Conjecturally restored: I, 435, 703.
- ²³ The princess: Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 54. 24. The commoners: *IG* XII, i, 415 (Rhodes) and *SEG* XIX, 603; G.D. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 107-108 (Crete).
- ²⁴ This stele is in the collection of the Brooklyn Children's Museum, to which we are grateful for permission to publish. Height 0.235 m., width 0.133 m.
- ²⁵ The main sources: F. Cumont, *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie* I, i, 76-80; *ibid.*, *Rendiconti* 5 (1927-28) 69-78; *Syria* 14 (1933) 393-395; *MAMA* V, no. 225; *MAMA* VI, no. 102; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* (Paris 1936) no. 45—all with references to further examples. Cf. also L. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 248 and pl. 32. None of the known examples seems definitely to be from Byzantium itself, but cf. Cumont, *op. cit.* 78, nos. 27-28 for some possibly from there.
- ²⁶ To cite examples only from the *MAMA*: I, 351; I, 377a; V, 28; VII, 250.

Hayagriva

A Minor Incarnation of Vishnu



The Sanskrit word for the horse—*aśva*—literally means “pervader.” Although the horse itself is not considered a sacred animal, yet its attributes, such as swiftness and speed, have been revered in India. Celestial horses draw the cars of gods. One of them is Uccaiśravas, the loud-neighing white horse, who is regarded as the King of Horses, and is the *vāhana* (vehicle) of the god Indra.¹ The swift god, Etaśa, is designated as the horse of Sūrya (the Vedic sun-god) and draws Sūrya’s car.²

Besides the celestial horses, various individual divine horses are also mentioned in Vedic mythology. One of them is Dadhikrā, who is celebrated in four later hymns of the Rig Veda. He is praised for his swiftness and bird-like speed. Tārksya,³ in Vedic texts, represents the sun in the form of a divine steed, and in the epic and classical literature he is identical with Garuḍa⁴ (the winged horse), the *vāhana* of Vishnu.

The significance of the horse as a symbol of fertility and fecundity is exemplified in *Aśvamedha*, the Vedic Horse Sacrifice. For this rite a horse was selected, a tag was fastened around its neck bearing the name of the sovereign, and it was allowed to wander for one year anywhere it would. When the horse was returned, it was sacrificed with celebrations. This sacrifice was performed during the Vedic period only by kings, and it continued until about the seventh century of our era. Its successful performance assured the sovereign of offspring and prosperity, proving that he was a conqueror and “King of Kings.”

Vishnu, the Pervader and Preserver, the second god of the Hindu triad,⁵ assumes various *avatāras* (incarnations) to save mankind from destruction whenever it is threatened by catastrophe or by anti-gods. Two of Vishnu’s *avatāras* have the form of horses. One is two-armed Kalki, the tenth major



1. Three views of dark bronze figure of Hayagriva (66.208) from Madhya Pradesh, Central India.

avatāra, who, it is believed, will one day come to save the people of the world from being destroyed by their immorality. Another is Hayagriva, a minor avatāra who usually has four arms.

In later times Vishnu was no longer connected with natural phenomena. According to the Rig Veda, before Āditya gained importance as a god of light in the Hindu pantheon, Vishnu was considered a god of light and represented the sun.⁶ Thus the appearance of the horse as an avatāra of Vishnu can readily be understood in the light of their relationship to the sun.

The name of Hayagriva appears in the epic literature. The word has several meanings: an attribute of Vishnu, an *asura* (demon) and various other forms.⁷ Hayagriva, the horse-headed avatāra of Vishnu, is a minor incarnation.⁸ He is sometimes identified with Hayaśīrsa (horse-headed). In the Hindu pantheon he is the Reciter of the Vedas (Holy Scriptures), Dis-

seminator of the Sacred Word, God of Learning and the "Protector of the Scriptures."⁹ As Demon Hayagriva he is also known as the chief of the asuras. The Museum of Art and Archaeology has three bronzes of Hayagriva from South India (Figs. 1-3).¹⁰

The *Mahābhārata* (one of the two great Hindu epics) says that Vishnu descended upon the earth in the form of Hayagriva to rescue the Vedas from two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had stolen them while Brahmā was asleep during the great Deluge.¹¹ Quoting *Devī Bhāgavata*, Shukla¹² maintains that "the god Vishnu had to assume this form of half-horse and half-man to destroy the Rākṣasa (demon) Hayagriva," because he (Rākṣasa Hayagriva) was granted the boon that neither man nor beast could kill him. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (a mythological literary work), Matsya (the fish), the first incarnation of Vishnu, is credited with the rescue of the Vedas from the asura Hayagriva,



2. Front and back of brass figure of seated Hayagriva (66.188) from South India.

who had stolen them from Brahmā while he was asleep at the time of the Deluge. Matsya dived into the ocean, killed Hayagriva¹³ and brought the Vedas back to Brahmā. But Hastings¹⁴ says that in the Hindu pantheon Hayagriva is only a demon and always hostile to Vishnu. This theory is supported by the fact that he is worshiped in only one temple in South India. The demonic aspect of Hayagriva gained prominence when Śaktism¹⁵ developed and the terrific, destructive characteristics of images were emphasized.

Evidently Hayagriva evolved from two different ideas, the asura (demon) and the avatāra (protector), illustrating the interrelationship of opposites, which finally ends in the motif of destruction of Hayagriva by Hayagriva. This brings out the principle of the eternal cycle of destruction and creation and illustrates a basic concept of Hindu philosophy—that both good and bad, creative and destructive aspects, are present in all nature. Zimmer¹⁶ describes this

characteristic of Indian art and says concerning it: "This is a dichotomy familiar to the Indian mind and common in Hindu art; for India is deeply imbued with a sense of an ambivalent character of divinity. The Indian gods are simultaneously auspicious and terrific and the Lord of the World comprises in his transcendent totality all the pairs-of opposites."

The horse-headed Vishnu avatāra has several forms. That represented by our statuettes is a four-armed seated image. In the first of our three figures (Fig. 1) Hayagriva is seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal on top of a rectangular base which is decorated with diaper, floral and columnar patterns. He is wearing a long *dhoti* (loincloth) and an elaborate necklace as well as a knobbed conical crown with a diaper design in the center. In his upper left hand he holds an *akṣmālā* (rosary), in his lower left hand a *pustaka* (manuscript) symbolizing the Vedas. In his upper right hand is a *śankha* (conch shell) edged with three flames, and in his



3. Front and back views of bronze figure of seated Hayagriva (66.189) from South India.

lower right hand he holds a *pāśa*, or noose. On the back of his head is a small *śiraścakra* (halo). Details of the decoration are precisely done in low relief.

The other two figures of Hayagriva in the Museum collection are essentially the same. That shown in Figure 2 is seated upon a lower base, wears a shorter dhoti, carries some elaborate attributes and has a more finely delineated halo (see back view). The third bronze (Fig. 3) is smaller and in some respects less detailed, while the horse head is more naturalistic. Here the noose seems to be missing from the lower right hand and must have been a separate attachment.

There is a four-armed form which has been confused with Kalki, the future avatāra of Vishnu. An example of this popular form is shown in Figure 4, a contemporary wooden image, brightly painted, from Benares. Van Gulik¹⁷ identifies this image as Hayagriva, but in modern times the figure has been identified as Kalki because he carries a sword and

shield in two of his hands. However, the eight-armed form of Hayagriva (Fig. 5) also has a sword and shield; therefore these attributes are not sufficient for an identification as Kalki. Thapar¹⁸ discusses this confusion of identification and states that Kalki, when horse-headed, never has more than two arms. Typically, Kalki is represented as a man with a sword and shield standing before a white horse.

In Figure 5 we see the eight-armed standing form of Hayagriva. This stone figure of the thirteenth century was found at Lakṣminarasimha temple at Nagahulli (Mysore). He is shown in a warrior's pose, with the following objects held in his eight hands: *gada* (club), *bāṇa* (arrow), *cakra* (disc), *khadga* (sword), *śaṅkha* (conch shell), *kheṭaka* (shield), *dhanuṣa* (bow), and *padma* (lotus). Under the feet of Hayagriva an asura equipped with sword and shield is shown lying in an abject condition. He, of course, is the demon which Hayagriva defeated and cast down.



4. Painted wooden image of standing Hayagriva from Benares. H. 15 cm.



5. Stone sculptured relief of eight-armed Hayagriva from Lakshminarasimha Temple, Mysore, 13th c.

6. Bronze figure of Buddhist Hayagriva from Kashmir, 13th c. H. 22.3 cm. Courtesy of the City Art Museum, St. Louis.

At Khajuraho, along with four-armed images of Hayagriva there are two-armed Hayagriva images with a bull vāhana; one hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* (water vessel); the other is placed either in *abhaya mudrā* (attitude of protection) or *varada mudrā* (giving a boon).¹⁹

Thus far we have described the Demon Hayagriva and Vishnu Hayagriva in the Hindu pantheon. But the Buddhist Hayagriva, who is taken from the Hindu pantheon, occupies a much more important position in that pantheon than does the Vishnu Hayagriva in the Hindu pantheon. It is argued by some that the Vishnu Hayagriva was incorporated in the Mahāyānic pantheon²⁰ as a special deity about A.D. 500.²¹ While assimilating it, Buddhism wholly removed the demonic aspect of Vishnu Hayagriva, which is an attribute of the great Hindu god. The function of the Buddhist Hayagriva is regarded as to guard Buddhist devotees against the attacks of the swarms of minor demons. Also the Buddhist Hayagriva, as an attendant of Avalokiteśvara,²² is considered to be a Dharmapāla, or Defender of the Faith, against the attacks of demons and enemies. His special characteristic is a horse head incorporated in his headdress. Being a Horse-Headed One, he is considered a horse-god, especially in Tibet and Mongolia. He is worshiped particularly by horse traders in Tibet because his loud neighing is thought to make the demons run away.

In Buddhist iconography, Hayagriva is represented as a primary god as well as a secondary one and he appears in various forms. As an independent figure, Hayagriva is shown with a horse's head protruding from a human head and may have a seated Amitābha²³ in his headdress. In his miniature forms he is always represented as an attendant of Avalokiteśvara, along with the other attendants, and is always on the left side. In this form he appears without a horse head in his headdress. He is distinguished by his fierce appearance, his protruding belly and his snake ornaments.

A fine specimen of the image of the Buddhist Hayagriva is shown in Figure 6. In it the Tantric²⁴ Buddhist Hayagriva, with three faces and four arms, is seated in *lalitāsana* pose (at ease) on a

double lotus pedestal. A seated Amitābha, in relief, is on the tiara, and a horse head peers above it. The lower right hand is in varada mudrā (attitude of boon-giving); the upper right hand holds a *ghaṇṭā* (bell); the upper left holds a kamaṇḍalu (water vessel) and the lower left a long-stemmed padma (lotus bud).

Never a major god, Hayagriva is virtually unknown in India today. He is, however, still worshiped by a small group in the Madras area who honor him with an annual Pujā. The members of this group are followers of Vedānta Deśika, the Vaishnavaita saint, who commenced all his writings with the following verse:²⁵

"I adore Hayagriva

Who has the supreme bliss of perfect knowledge,
Whose form is pure like crystal,

Who is the source of all learning."²⁶

As a god of learning Hayagriva has been overshadowed by Sarasvati, who enjoys great popularity with the students. The Vishnu Hayagriva's interest lies primarily in the fact that he gave rise to the Buddhist Hayagriva, an important figure in the Buddhist pantheon.

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¹ The spellings of proper names are not entirely consistent: forms familiar in English have been preferred, while others less well known are spelled as near the original as possible.

² A. A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology* (Varanasi 1963) 149-150.

³ *Ibid.*; Tārksya is "old mythic representation of the sun as a horse," *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Müller 49 (Oxford 1879-1910) 62.

⁴ *Ibid.* 149.

⁵ Brahmā, the Creator of the Universe, is the first god and Shiva, the destroyer, is the third god.

⁶ Macdonell. *op. cit.* 38-39.

⁷ A. A. Macdonell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (London 1958) 375.

⁸ In *Vishnu Purāṇa* it is stated that Vishnu "has preserved the world in the various forms of a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a horse, and a lion." *Vishnu Purāṇa; A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*, tr. by H. H. Wilson (London 1860) 541; R. H. van Gulik, in *Hayagriva, The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan* (Leiden 1935), indicates that it is the

- only place in old literature where Hayagriva is positively listed as an avatāra. The *Bhaktamāla*, written about 1700 by Nabhadasa, officially lists Hayagriva as the eighteenth avatāra.
- ⁹ Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York 1964) 185.
- ¹⁰ Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia Acc. No. 66.208, height 0.094 m.; Acc. No. 66.188, height 0.098 m.; Acc. No. 66.189, height 0.078 m. All three figures are the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.
- ¹¹ It is stated in *Śabda Kalpadruma* (p. 1835 col. 3) that the Vishnu avatāra Hayagriva killed the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.
- ¹² D. N. Shukla, *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting 2* (Gorakhpur 1958) 224.
- ¹³ In *Sahasranāmastotra* it is stated that the Mother Goddess Durgā killed the demon Hayagriva and in *Trikānda śeṣa* it is mentioned that Mātali, the *sārathi* (charioteer of Indra) killed Hayagriva. It seems that there were various forms of Hayagriva as a demon.
- ¹⁴ *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. James Hastings, 7, (New York 1924-26) 764.
- ¹⁵ The worship of female energy, whose followers are called Śākta. It can be traced to a few thousand years before the Christian era. It is mentioned in the Rig Veda.; See D. R. Thapar, *Icons in Bronze* (Bombay, New York 1961) 101.
- ¹⁶ H. R. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* 1, 2nd ed. (New York 1964) 360-361.
- ¹⁷ Gulik, *Hayagriva* 21, fig. 3.
- ¹⁸ Thapar, *op. cit.* 57, 74, 122, 125.
- ¹⁹ U. Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance* (Delhi 1964) 42.
- ²⁰ One of the two main branches of Buddhism is Mahāyāna. These Buddhists, who are keen to help their fellow creatures for their salvation, are called followers of the Mahāyāna pantheon. Their compassion for the sufferings of others actuates them to renounce their comforts, their merits, and even their rights.
- ²¹ van Gulik, *op. cit.* 24.
- ²² Most popular god of Mahāyāna Buddhists and famous as a Bodhisattva; he is represented as refusing his well earned *nirvāṇa* (salvation) until all the creatures of the world obtain *Bodhi* (knowledge) and freedom from worldly miseries. See B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1958) 11.
- ²³ One of the four Dhyāni Buddhas; spiritual father of Avalokiteśvara. He is identified by the lotus symbol.
- ²⁴ A Buddhist sect developed after the fifth century which believes in the worship of female energy (*śakti*).
- ²⁵ Information received from Dr. Desikan, Curator of Art, Madras Museum.
- ²⁶ Verse translated from Tamil by Dr. C. Sivaramamurti, Consultant to the Museums of India and former Director of the Madras Museum.

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GLADYS D. WEINBERG, editor

