

VRG\_folder\_0407



COTTON

VIA AEREA

ITALY

CAMPANIA



Miss Virginia Grace.

The American School of Classical Studies,

54, Odos Souzdis,

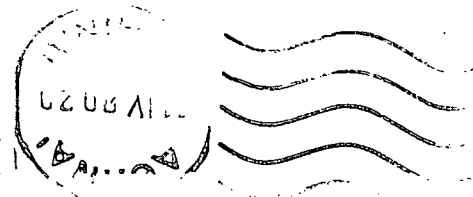
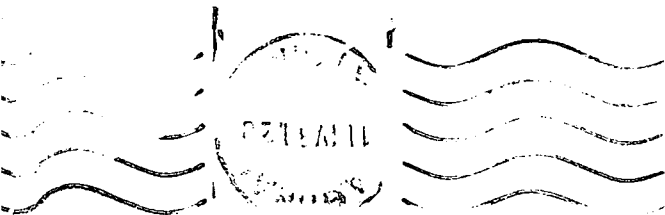
ATHENS 140

GREECE



1.02

*Dr. M. Sylvain Cotton*  
*Via Cevere Residence*  
*Via Tsonxo, 32 - Tel. 866543*  
*00198 Roma*





ITALY  
CAMPANIA

April 19, 1980

Dr M Aylwin Cotton,  
Via Tevere Residence,  
Via Isonxo, 32  
Roma  
00198

Dear Dr Cotton,

Miss Grace has asked me to reply to your letter of March 18, 1980 in which you sent her a draft of your publication report on the Rhodian handle from the San Rocca villa (stamped Hephaistionos, caduceus).

The drawing which you enclose (perhaps to be used in your Fig. 63?) is somewhat misleading, as Miss Reynolds pointed out in her original statement on it, because the person who made it mistook an omega with a worn lower part for an alpha: it should read

ἩΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ  
caduceus (right)

I enclose your draft with Miss Grace's emendations in brown pencil.

Thank you for sending us this material and the reference to PBSR Suppl., nov/Dec 1979. If you do ever come across the Hephaistion handle again and can get a photograph, Miss Grace would be glad to have a print, and, in any case, an offprint or photocopy of the published page when it comes out.

Yours sincerely,

PMW

PMW Matheson



Amphora handle. (Fig. 63, 19)

19. (Pl1). A stamped handle, in plain buff ware, smoothed externally. It was found in unstratified top soil.

I am very grateful to Miss Virginia Grace, of The American School of Classical Studies in Athens, for her help, and for the references for this find. Also, may I thank Miss Joyce Reynolds, of Newnham College, Cambridge, who identified the inscription originally and supplied me with helpful information.

The handle is stamped with the name of the fabricant, <sup>in the signature</sup> ~~HEPHAISTION~~ <sup>HEPHAISTION</sup>, above a caduceus. This is a Rhodian amphora stamp. There is an example in the British Museum (IGXII,1,1310) and a number have been found in various parts of the Mediterranean world, cf. Nilsson, 1909, 427-8, no.226, and Grace, 1952, 516ff. (which records 8 examples found in Deles). Miss Grace quotes the names of Rhodian eponymous priests, which show that Hephaistion worked in the second quarter of the second century B.C., and possibly into the third quarter. (For her revisions of Early Hellenistic Chronology, see Grace, 1974, 193-200. For lists of Rhodian eponyms, see Bleckman, 1912, 249 f.; Hiller von Gaertringen, 1931; and Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970, 277-382).

There is a whole jar by Hephaistion in the Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, dated in the term of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ the Third (cf. Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970, 304-5 and Pl.53, no. E12; published in the Classical Journal, 42, 1947, 450, fig.8) linking the two names. This eponym is dated to the first half of the second century B.C.. Another jar of Hephaistion, also from Cyprus, is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, dated in the term of ΝΥΦΟΡΕΝΗΣ. Nilsson, 1909, 117, corrected the reading of the eponym's name. His suggestion that this stamp could be read as that of Pythogenes was hesitant, but Miss Grace (who has seen the jar, which he had not) finds that his guess was right. Both Pausanias the Third and Pythogenes are datable to the second quarter of the second century B.C.

The San Rocco handle was found in an unstratified position, therefore, on this dating, c. 175-150 B.C. or somewhat later, at its original source in Rhodes, it seems to fall into the same class as the small group of Greek coins (see p.000) which are prior to the establishment of the site of the first villa.



Dr. M. Sylvain Cotton  
 Via Everso Residence  
 Via Isonzo, 32 - Tel. 866543  
 00198 Roma

March 18<sup>th</sup>  
 1980.

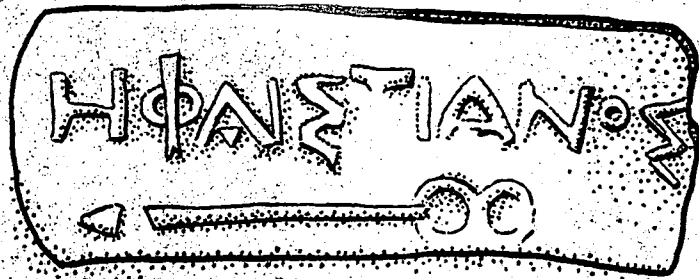
Dear Miss Green -

I do not know how to apologize for taking such an interminable time to write and to send you a photograph and drawing of the amphora handle stamped *Heuphastinos*. This is because of a disaster - The only photograph I have is useless, - it shows nothing.

So, I got out the handle, & sent it up to the 'camara' to be re-photographed. A fatal move - for they have lost it - and - before it was photographed. I have waited & waited, for the whole room, packed with material from many sites, has been re-organized, & everyone hoped that it would emerge during this upheaval. Alas - no - I am very upset about this, for it is the first time that I have lost a precious find. If, of course, it does emerge, I will still send you a print. Meanwhile, all I can do is submit this copy of a drawing, Not, I know, the same thing.

At the time that you so kindly wrote





1,08

108

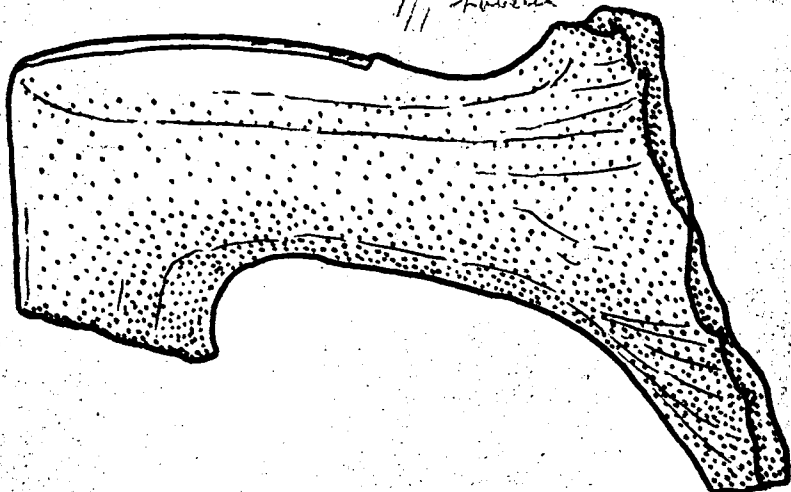
62 50

SP/62

10 6-8 E. E. T.

2/1 stamps

1/1 handle





ITALY  
CAMPANIA

2,01

American School of Classical Studies  
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

October 11, 1979

Dear Dr. Cotton,

I do indeed remember meeting you with Lucy Talcott, and your charming name, Molly Cotton. I am much interested to hear you have found a stamp of Hephaistion (ἩΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ in Greek in the nominative) with caduceus at the villa in Campania. Although it is no new idea that Rhodian amphoras were still being stamped after 100 B.C., Hephaistion is not one of those later ones, but seems to have worked in the second quarter of the 2nd century, and possibly on into the third quarter. There is a whole jar of his in Cyprus, in the Nicosia Museum, dated in the term of Exploration ~~Expédition~~ archéologique de Délos 27, Paris 1970, p. 305, under E 12, for references for this jar. There is another jar of his in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, dated in the term of ἩΦΟΟΠΕΝΗΣ: Nilsson corrected the reading of the eponym's name, see ~~his~~ p. 117 comment on Hall's p. 393, no. 5065; see also his general comment on Hall's publication, p. 115. Nilsson's suggestion of the reading ἩΦΟΟΠΕΝΕΥΣ was hesitant, but I have seen the jar (which he had not) and his guess was right. Both Pausanias 3rd and Pythogenes are datable in the 2nd second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Note that the jar in the Metropolitan also comes from Cyprus.

On Miss Reynold's bibliography, Bleckmann does not have a "von" I believe; one speaks of Hiller von Gaertringen, as Hiller was his surname; of Grace, best now to cite the above-mentioned E.A.D. 27, my long chapter with M. Petropoulakou, the chronology to be corrected for the 3rd century B.C. according ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> Ath.Mitth. 89, 1974, but your piece is not 3rd century. Nilsson remains as good as ever.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

In your publication, if possible give a photograph of your stamp at actual size. Please send me a print of the photograph, for the records here. Also an offprint or photocopy of the published page.



2,02

*Dr. M. Aylwin Cotton*  
*Via Ettore Residence*  
*Via Leonzo, 32 - Tel. 866543*  
*00198 Roma*

and The British School at Rome,  
Via Gramsci, 61,  
00197 Roma.

September 8th, 1979.

Dear Miss Grace,

A number of years ago, I had the pleasure of meeting you, and Miss Lucy Talcott, at the Agora and at The American School at Athens.

I am writing to you, at the suggestion of Professor Zevi. I am in process of finishing the definitive report on the excavations at the San Rocco villa, Francolise, Campania. Professor Zevi tells me that whereas you used to say that the Rhodian amphora stamps, like those of *μαίφαιστεον* in the attached note, did not continue after the second century B.C., you now think that they continued into the first century. He thought that you might like to have a note about the one we found.

Whilst it is unstratified, the villa was not built, I think, until about <sup>75</sup>70 B.C., and that on an unoccupied site. However, there were some 4 Greek coins in the original pre-villa sub-soil. But the amphora handle may not have reached the site until after 70 B.C. How it got there, and where it came from in Italy, is not known.

As you will see, Joyce Reynolds wrote it up for me, some 12 years ago. I wondered whether, since then, you have found a date for this stamp? It would be most kind of you if you could find the time to send me a note about it.

Yours very sincerely,

*Molly Cotton*  
(Dr. M. Aylwin Cotton)

Miss Virginia Grace.



Amphora handle. (Fig. 63, 19 and Pl. 000)

19. (Pl. 11). A stamped handle, in plain buff ~~waste~~ smoothed externally. A single example, found in top soil.

Miss Joyce Reynolds has kindly examined this piece, and writes:- "This reading should I think be ΗΑΙΦΑΙΣΤΕΩΝΟΣ (Ω looks like an A, presumably because the base has been smudged out), and the object below is a caduceus (Haiphaistea's stamps always do have a caduceus below them). This is a Rhodian amphora stamp. There is another example in the British Museum (IGXII.1.1310) and a number have been found in various parts of the Mediterranean world, cf. Nilsson, 1909, 427-8, no. 226 and Grace, 1952, 516ff. (she records 8 examples found in Delos). It gives the name of the manufacturer, but we lack the corresponding stamp from the second handle giving the date of the Rhodian eponymous priest. As far as we have been able to discover, no stamp of Haiphaistea has ever been recorded tied to its contemporary date stamp, though it looks to me, from Munro, 1890, 35, as if one example was found in a Cypriote tomb along with stamps (separate) of the eponyms Teisagoras and Pythogenes. For lists of Rhodian eponyms, cf. von Bleckman, 1912, 249 f.; von Gaertringen, 1931; Grace, 1953, 116f. But no date is offered for the stamps of Haiphaistea. Nor, unfortunately, can the San Rocco example help in the matter, for it was found in unstratified top soil."

#### Bibliography

von Bleckman, 1912 - 'Zu den rhodischen eponymen Helios-priesten', Klio, xii, 249-258.

von Gaertringen, 1931 - c.v. Rhodes, Pauly-Wissowa, Supp. V.

Grace, 1952 - 'Timbres amphoriques trouvées à Delos', BCH, lxxvi, 514-540.

----- 1953, - 'The Eponyms named on Rhodian Amphora Stamps', Hesperia, xxii, 116-128.

Munro, 1890- 'Excavations in Cyprus', 1889, etc., JHS, xl, 31-60.

Nilsson, 1909, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos. Copenhagen.



PER CENSURA  
CENSURA

Miami 3.01



To Miss

VIRGINIA R. GRACE

~~435 East 57 Street~~



U.S.A.

~~NEW YORK CITY~~  
=====

*Dr W Gurnsey Frey, Jr  
West Cornball  
Conn*



Mitt.: Prof. Amedeo Maiuri - Museo Nazionale - Napoli



3.02

*Il Soprintendente  
alle Antichità delle Province  
di  
Napoli, Avellino e Benevento*

CATO | VERIFICATO



Naples, Juni, 21, 1945

[3.03]

*Il Soprintendente  
alle Antichità delle Province  
di  
Napoli, Avellino e Benevento*



Dear Miss Grace,

I thank you very much for your kind letter and for the interest you take in my work about Petronio. Some time ago, I received both books of Trimalchio's dinner through the Foreign Informations Research Division and the New York and Naples PWB, and I wrote to Prof. Highbarger and to Capt. Bradford, the senders of the books, as I could think according to the letters which accompany the package.

I think, now, that these books are the same you speak in your letter about; therefore I pray you to thank the kind Misses Fowler and Swindler for their courtesy and remembrance. The book was necessary to my work about Petronio that I have finished just in these days. And, now; notwithstanding the great

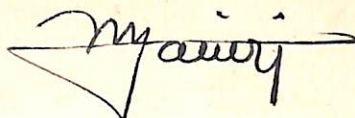
./..



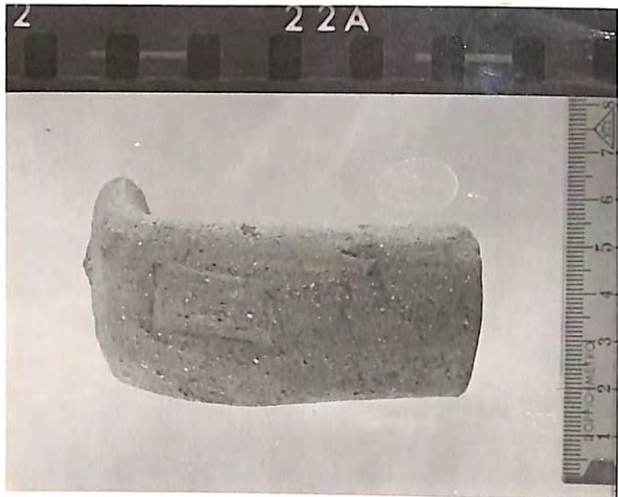
difficulties of the present moment, my work will be printed as soon as possible.

In the hope to see you in Italy again, let me express the feelings of my gratitude for what you have made, and of my friendship.

Yours very sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Giovanni". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'G' and a horizontal line extending to the right.





4.05

10.8.67

[4.01]

Clay

re,

g

184

No indication of letters tho it is  
a fairly clear stamp. In the  
center, lengthwise, a kern(!)

Amph probably  
from the end of 3rd, - 4th.

(sidewalk) of 2 SALT

also in with with, possibly "Western"



ITALY

10.8.67

[4.01]

Torre Mordillo, 1967  
(Calabria)

Excavator G.R. E.

Site may be Thuri. Amphorae probably  
destroyed by Hannibal. ~~For further info~~ <sup>from 3rd, - incl.</sup>  
see of Carthage.

G.R.E. brings photo. (id. no.) A 2 SAG,  
also in note with "Possibly 'Western'."





4.02-6

0073

280 P/51

Roll 10-22



2 A

13



4.03-6

4.03

280 P151

Ref 17. 3



11A

12



4.04-6

BO74

279 P150

Rec 17-12

280 P. 51

"Upper came fragment with bit  
of upper attachment.

Thickened strap handle. Clay  
hard, with sandpaper texture,  
reddish buff, with small grits  
and a little fine mica

Rectangular stamp  $0.025 \times 0.018$  in

No indication of letters tho it is  
a fairly clear stamp. In the  
center, lengthwise, a herm(!)

4.06

279 P150

"Upper attachment and arch.

light brown clay with large  
red grits. Surface covered with  
white slip. Rectangular

stamp at top of arch

h. 0.037, w. 0.011 m. Dim traces

of 6 letters ca 0.008 m high:

A P I E W Y





842 - OSTIA - INTERNO DI UN ANTICO BAR (THERMOPOLIUM)

2/3.

Found this in old cards -  
You had better keep it -  
See the best

[5-6]

6.5.63

E. Richter - Roma



Prova



Miss Virginia Grace  
American School Classical  
Studies

54 Solidias

Lithics

Greece

Firenze, 17. V. 1960

Gentilissima collega,  
ricordo le Sue ampie delucidazioni  
sul frammento d'anfora caduto - come  
Ella giustamente pensa - dentro la Tomba  
di Quinto Fiorentino. Lo avevo già so-  
spettato, ma consideravo indispensabile ad  
una persona competente come Lei,  
che ringrazio tanto.

La ringrazio anche per le notizie chieste  
per me a Mrs. Will ed alla sua esperienza  
Con viva gratitudine, La saluto cordalmente  
— Lepore



17 A

May 14, 1960

Dr. Giacomo Caputo, Soprintendente,  
Soprintendenza alle Antichita d'Etruria  
Firenze  
Italia

Dear Dr. Caputo,

Thank you very much for your interesting offprint, and the clear photographs and drawings of the fragment of which you would like to know the date. The 1 : 1 profile drawing was of particular help in suggesting to me an identification.

Actually, according to the types of amphoras which we have found here, it appears that this fragment must be an intrusion in your early tomb, ← (Etruscan) perhaps fallen in through the opening made by the robbers? The shape and scale seem to identify it with a class of Italian jars of which many were imported to Athens at about the beginning of the 1st century B.C. (see type too)

Since I am not at all an expert in Roman amphoras, I am sending on your letter with all its enclosures to Mrs. S. F. Will, 525 West Foster Avenue, State College, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Will is publishing our Roman amphoras, in a general study of Roman amphoras found in the eastern Mediterranean area. She will be able to control my guess as to the source and date of your fragment.

The tomb seems to be of great importance and interest, and I hope that you will report it more fully later.

Yours very sincerely,

copy to Mrs. Will

Virginia Grace

7  
ITALY - BRINDISI

May 26th, 1965

The Director,  
Museo Provinciale,  
"Francesco Ribezzo",  
Brindisi,  
Italy.

Dear Sir,

Miss Virginia Grace has received the enclosed letter from your museum, but has taken the liberty of addressing the reply impersonally as she is unsure of the exact signature.

Miss Grace's studies concern Greek amphora stamps, and she has not published any stamps from your museum, nor visited it recently.

The studies of stamps in question were probably made by Mrs. S. F. Will, who is interested in Latin stamps. Her address is:

Mrs. S. F. Will,  
1425 Buress Avenue,  
Iowa City, Iowa,  
U. S. A.

Mrs. Will, is publishing an extensive study of Latin stamps from the eastern Mediterranean area, including those of the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora.

Yours truly,

(Philippa Wallace)



[8.03]

ITALY

ROME

8.01

CAN ACADEMY IN ROME  
VIA ANGELO MASINA  
PORTA S. ANTONIO  
ROME



x  
(Patti  
Collection  
of photo-  
graphs  
in McCornick  
Hall.)

(Down - slide  
room.)

Rome

Classical Studies

February 13, 1960

February 7, 1960

Rome, Catacombs

di S. Sebastian  
Platt\* 285: 113  
Vol. page

er of February 7, with the photograph of the jar from  
e odd thing is that I had just forwarded to Letty Will  
the same amphora, so no doubt she will be all ready

to reply to you. I shall be glad to keep your print, since I sent on the  
other one, which the original sender wanted to have returned. But Letty  
will be much better able to inform you than I, about this jar.

I enclose a chit from Mabel Lang on the material you sent in October.  
I am sorry to see that your rubbing of the stamp on the toe, which I had  
marked to be sent to Letty, is still with me; it will go to her with the  
next letter. As I was not able to give much help on that material, I  
passed it all on to Henry Robinson, who had it for a time. For the moment  
I cannot lay hands on it, but expect it to turn up in a day or so, in which  
case I'll send you any information that may have accrued.

I had rather expected to see you again before you left Greece. Did  
you finish your stay in a hurry? I hope your year in Rome is going well,  
and also pleasantly. Shall you be back here this spring?

I am sorry for the delay in response to your October inquiry.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace



ITALY

February 13, 1960

Miss Doris M. Taylor  
American Academy in Rome  
Via Angelo Masina 5  
Porta San Pancrazio  
Rome

Dear Doris,

I have your letter of February 7, with the photograph of the jar from La Foce del Sele. The odd thing is that I had just forwarded to Letty Will another inquiry about the same amphora, so no doubt she will be all ready to reply to you. I shall be glad to keep your print, since I sent on the other one, which the original sender wanted to have returned. But Letty will be much better able to inform you than I, about this jar.

I enclose a chit from Mabel Lang on the material you sent in October. I am sorry to see that your rubbing of the stamp on the toe, which I had marked to be sent to Letty, is still with me; it will go to her with the next letter. As I was not able to give much help on that material, I passed it all on to Henry Robinson, who had it for a time. For the moment I cannot lay hands on it, but expect it to turn up in a day or so, in which case I'll send you any information that may have accrued.

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I am sorry for the delay in response to your October inquiry.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace



## AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

VIA ANGELO MASINA, 5

(PORTA S. PANCRAZIO)

ROME

CABLE ADDRESS  
"AMACADMY,,

February 7, 1960

Dr. Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

Dear Virginia,

Sometime last October I sent you an envelope with photographs, a profile, and descriptions of inscribed jars which had been found at Alcudia, Majorca. Did the packet ever arrive? Since I didn't know who might be able to give advice on the objects - you or Mabel or Betty - I had sent the plea to you.

Now I have still another problem. Do you have any parallels for this Roman amphora? It's from La Foce del Sele. The height is 0.97 m. Please keep the photo, if you wish. This time I have sent a drawing directly to Betty so that you won't need to write to her. I'd be grateful for any information you can give, on this or (if you received it) the earlier material.

13. TR 72      photo  
 @ 9 now photo taken in and photo  
 under AFRICAN as it  
 now looks to me like the  
 Zwin-eh. dress.

Sincerely yours,

Doris M. Taylor

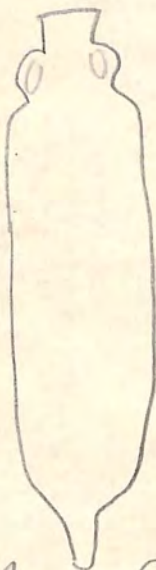
Doris M. Taylor



[8.03]

ITALY

ROME



x  
(Patti  
Collection  
of photo-  
graphs  
in the Cornish  
Hall.)

(Down - slide  
room.)

Rome, Catacombs

di S. Sebastian

Platt<sup>x</sup> 285: 113  
Vol. page

*Copy from the Catalog the shelf numbers of the book you want*

8.04

SHELF NUMBERS ..... VOL.....

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TITLE .....

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LIBRARY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

cc COAN correspondence  
ITALY AND SICILY

Athens, January 4, 1958

To P. Fraser

Dear Peter,

Here are two lists, one of names on Coan (as we are pretty well convinced) handles, and the other of western sites from which stamped handles are published in I. G. XIV. For the latter, we are now so fixed that we can readily look up what there is from any particular site, though we have not time this year to get up a general presentation. Apart from what is here, we have information also for Coaa and for Morgantion (Serra Orlando). As most of the handles are Rhodian, it occurred to me you might have some interest. Please don't throw away the list, but send it back if you don't feel you will use it.

The names on double handles have been looked up in Paton and Hicks, in Münsterberg, in Maiuri (Nuov. Sill.), in something by Herzog, and in a few other places. In the enclosed list, about 37 per cent of the names are marked with asterisks in pencil: these are names which we have not yet found on coins or inscriptions of Cos, and if you can give us known Coan parallels for some of these we would be grateful. I should also like to know your present opinion on the possibility of associating some of the other two thirds rather exclusively with Cos, something which you suggested we ought to try to do, or you might be interested in doing it for us. Quite a lot of them, of course, appear on other classes of handles; but I note, from a quick glance through MΣ's lists, that the following names which are Coan do not seem to appear on non-Coan handles: ΑΡΑΤΙ(, ΑΡΙΣΤΗ, ΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΙΣ, ΔΑΜΑΣ, ΔΑΜΕΑΣ, ΔΩΡΙΜΑΧΟΣ, ΕΙΣΙΩΝ, ΕΚΑΤΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ, ΕΡΜΗΣ, ΕΥΜΕΝΕΣ, ΕΥΜΗ(, ΕΥΝΟΣ, ΕΥΘΡΙΑΔΑΣ, ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΔΑΣ, ΕΥΤΥΧΙΣ, ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣ, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ, ΘΕΥΤΙΜΙΑΔΑΣ, ΔΟΚΟΣ, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΝΟΣ, ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΙΟΣ, ΜΙΝΝΙΩΝ, ΕΑΝΘΙΠΠΙΟΣ, ΣΕΙΝΙΣ, ΠΑΣΙΑΣ, ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝ, ΣΚΟΠΙΑΣ. Others should probably be added, for instance ΖΩΗΥΡΟΣ has apart from Coan stamps only a rather dubious existence on Rhodian. On the other hand, some of the names here listed occur on only one or two handles.

Yours,

We are hoping to get the Coan volume ready by early summer. For its sake, recently much traffic with correspondents behind the curtain, in an effort to include stuff found about the Black Sea.

A copy of the list is to be sent to Prof. Karstedt.



Hatto Schmitt

München, March 27, 1955.

Dear Miss Grace,

from your articles in "Hesperia" I have learned that you are preparing a Corpus Ansarum Rhodiarum which, on the other hand, will not appear in print before a couple of years.

Since I work on a paper concerning the relations between Rhodes and Rome I am very interested to learn at what time the first Rhodian jar-handles that can be dated after the eponyms appear in Sicily and Southern Italy. The books of Mr. Heichelheim, Mr. Rostovtzeff and others as well as the special publications on Rhodian jar-handles, as far as I can see, give only hints to handles found in Egypt, the Nearer East, the Black Sea and the Greek continent and Islands.

So I should be very obliged to you if you could send me a notice on Rhodian jar-handles found in the West or on publications on this topic which I may have missed.

I sincerely hope that I don't cause you too much trouble asking you for this kindness which could forward my work to a great extent.

With many thanks in advance, I am

yours respectfully



Hatto Schmitt  
Brahmsstr. 26/o b. Beyer  
München 8  
Germany.

*address card  
epistol*

American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

June 29, 1955

Mr. Hatto Schmitt  
Brahmsstr. 26/o b.Beyer  
München 8  
Germany

Dear Mr. Schmitt:

I am so sorry not to have sooner your inquiry of March 27. I have been very busy with proof for a forthcoming article, and other matters that could not be postponed.

About 865 stamped jar handles found in Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia are published in I.G. XIV, under no.2393, of which 750 or perhaps more are Rhodian. Considerable study would be needed for the identification of all the early types among these stamps. But I had occasion a few years ago to look up early Rhodian found in Tarentum, as published in this volume, and found the following datable not far from 300 B.C., perhaps earlier: the eponyms Aglokritos (30), Nikon (387a and b), Sochares (471-2, 3 examples), and Philonidas (512); the fabricants Dionysios (213) and Agesikles (?547) and Mikythos (367) were probably of about the same date. The numbers are those of the publication, under the general number 2393. We cannot give definite dates to Rhodian stamps before the mid late 4th century, so you see these handles do not give you an indication of the beginning of trade between Rhodes and Rome.

With best wishes for the progress and success of your studies,

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace



Dr. Hatto Schmitt

Munich, March 7, 1956.

Dear Miss Grace,

I'm afraid you will think that I'm very impolite because for such a long time I did not answer to your letter and thank you for the information which you very kindly gave me in July 1955. Your letter arrived just in the time when I had to give my exams; so in all that trouble I forgot completely to answer you. Yesterday I was stupefied when I found your letter without the sign by which I use to mark the mail I have answered. I hope you will think that this fault is not inexcusable.

So today I may send you my best thanks for your letter which to me was very useful. By means of investigation of literary sources I had tried and, as I believe, succeeded to show that, ~~about~~ 300 B.C., some connection between Rhodes and Rome has been established. So your information that about the same time - perhaps even sooner - the first Rhodian jar-handles show up in southern Italy helped me to confirm this hypothesis from the archeological view. Fortunately, I was able to make use of this information in an appendix to my manuscript; when my thesis will be printed in "Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte", I shall put it into the context.

You will, I hope, allow me to send you a copy of my book as soon as ~~mm~~ it will come off the press.

With many thanks for your kindness and the best regards,

I am sincerely yours

Hatto Schmitt



10.4  
August 9, 1957

Dr. Hatto Schmitt  
Brahmsstrasse 26/o b. Beyer  
Munich 8, Germany

Dear Dr. Schmitt:

Thank you very much for the copy of your thesis, "Rom und Rhodos," which I have just received, in accordance with your kind letter of March 7, 1956 in which you promised to send me one. I look forward with much interest to reading it.

I enclose here a copy of a short article of mine which gives a report on the stamped handles found in Alexandria, the results of an investigation made early in 1955.

With congratulations on the successful termination of your examinations and the publication of your thesis, I am

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

IT DAS  
Lische  
Museum  
HEN



BESUCHT DAS  
Deutsche  
Museum  
MÜNCHEN



Miss  
Virginia Grace  
American School of Archeology  
(Αμερικανική Σχολή Αρχαιολογίας)  
Athens - Αθήναι  
Griechenland - Greece

Hatto Schmitt, Brahmsstr, 26/o, München 8  
Deutschland - Germany

10.6

Γερμανία





ITALY?

November 25, 1958

Dear Professor Gjerstad,

I should think your two amphorae probably dated in the second half of the second century B.C., or in the first B.C. I am sorry not to be more definite, but find myself a little out of the field of my competence. I am therefore sending your letter and photograph, and a copy of this, to my colleague Mrs. S. F. Will, 525 West Foster Avenue, State College, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Will is publishing the Roman stamps and jars from the Agora Excavations (and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean), and will certainly know more about your number 2 than I would.

I also expect to go home for Christmas, and will probably not be back before February. I do hope you can come to Greece in the spring. Please let us know.

With best wishes for the holidays,

Yours very sincerely,

Picture of 2 necks:

no. 1 has double handles, considerable dip at  
 attachment, nothing approaching a horn  
 no. 2 has rim and handle att. rather like  
 our PASI jar - not shown in profile

ITALY - FLORENCE

22 XII. 59

Models of *Phaenicia Amphioxys* found in  
Etruscan Tomb near Florence

See postcard of 18. XII. 59 from Mr. Benadri (also  
 native friend under  <sup>Museo Archeologico</sup> COLLECTIONS - FLORENCE MUSEUM)  
 on "2 tin, 4 small models of *Phaenicia amphioxys* - perfect  
 matches with *Phaenicia amphioxys* (Dietrich 1891) for."



22. IV. 87 Visitors

Raffaele de Marinis

via Rossini 3

20122 MILANO (ITALY)

Isabella Vay

via Paolo Sarpi 8

MILANO (ITALY)

M. ~~Marinis~~ <sup>Marinis</sup> and Ms. Vay visited today, to consult on ampullae frag. found in excavations. We looked particularly at Samian and Chian jels. They did not know Brashinsky's work <sup>on Samian</sup> and asked for photographs of my <sup>which has no reference</sup> Blanchet ~~Blanchet~~ articles, 3 were made by Lucy Edwards - Evans. They do know, and also Dupont. They did not at all know the type of Lobos Epizephyria.

They left a publication: Raffaele de Marinis (ed.<sup>9</sup>) gli Etruschi a nord del Po, Mantova 1986. See pp. 211, ff.

24. IV. 87

Pp 211, ff. are by Marinis, and are done I think with care. He has looked up my earlier text on Chian etc. etc. He does follow Dupont & on Milesian; I must study Dupont. Vay's piece is on coins weights.



CASSA DI RISPARMIO DI VERONA VICENZA E BELLUNO



14 a





[14-6]

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

Athens

Greece

ALTERROCA - TERMI

Dear Virginia, I hope this card will be forwarded if this address is out of date. Hope it is not — especially as there is a faint chance of my being in Greece next spring. Very faint, but intriguing. We are en route to Ceylon for the winter and I am doing what I should have done more often at home — sending cards to 1922 members and asking for news. I have given up my attempts to be an editor but if you will send some thing to Margie Tyler Paul, % B. M. C., she will hand them on to my successor. Or perhaps you know who is the new appointee, in which case your news can go straight to her. — We have had a delightful month on this odd little island in the Bay of Naples and are now about ready to head for Colombo. Hope all goes well with you.  
Vinton





FOTOCELERE • TORINO



[15-6]

Miss Virginia Peace  
American School  
45 Loup Sts  
Athens  
Greece  
Greece

Ediz. Mastrangelo Luigi Paestum  
Rip. Interdetta

Did you know about the Italian  
anywhere harder found on behind?  
There are about a dozen with other  
The rest of the slide back, + they  
are divided as being sweet, + some  
but as they are married behind. Wishes  
me, I would spare them. Wishes  
Bachner mentions them in The Western  
guide, so perhaps you could write to your  
at Berlin. Wishes is going very well, although



## ITALY - LOKRİ

LOKRİ - Broken (and whole) Amphorae  
in cesspools outside houses.

Seignin Lissi made the attached sketch to show an  
arrangement outside houses (7 3rd B.C.?) at Lokri.

I should imagine that the rubble - jars & frags - were  
put in when they wished to fill the pits and run the  
street solid over them. Before that, perhaps there were  
slabs or planks?



also saw whole jars among the frags.

earthen  
street  
layers  
cut  
when  
pits  
were  
made



Milano 10 gennaio 1960

Chère Mademoiselle Grace

je vous remercie beaucoup des souhaits pour la nouvelle année que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer, souhaits que je vous envoie aussi de mon côté, très vivement.

Tous avez été bien aimable en m'expédiant copie de la lettre pour M.<sup>r</sup> le D.<sup>r</sup> Testieri, et je vous en sais bien gré.

Pour le moment je ne saurais pas vous dire quand ce sera que j'irai à Locri: toutefois, soyez sûre que, à peine je pourrai y aller, j'aurai soin de m'occuper de toutes les amphores, même de celles trouvées en dehors des "bothroi"; et je me ferai un plaisir de vous en expédier les photos et les profils.

Veuillez agréer, chère mademoiselle, avec mon souvenir toujours reconnaissant, mes meilleurs vœux pour votre travail et mes salutations les plus empressées

Lisa Lissi



December 27, 1959

Signorina Elisa Lissi  
Via Ugo Bassi 1 A  
Milano  
Italia

Dear Signorina Lissi:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Dr. Sestieri  
drawings of  
in which I mention seeing the fragments from your  
excavations in Lokri which may be from the same series  
as the (unpublished) amphora from his tomb in Paestum.

I was greatly interested in what you showed me,  
and hope some time to have the opportunity to visit  
Lokri.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia Grace

STANDARD TIME 1959

RECEIVED 51° 1959

Winter 1968/69



Helmut Prückner

# DIE LOKRISCHEN TONRELIEFS

Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte  
von Lokroi Epizephyrioi

VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ



16.5  
Helmut Prückner

## Die lokrischen Tonreliefs

Obwohl die lokrischen Tonreliefs seit ihrem ersten Auftauchen im vorigen Jahrhundert als Weihgaben an die Unterweltsgöttin Persephone gelten, muß als Empfängerin der Täfelchen vor allem Aphrodite angesehen werden. Zu dieser Auffassung gelangt der Autor nach dem Studium aller erreichbaren Fragmente, wobei es sich *zum größten Teil um unpubliziertes Material* handelt.

Die historische Überlieferung weiß nicht nur von der großen Verehrung zu berichten, die dieser Göttin in Lokroi entgegengebracht worden ist: sie zeigt insbesondere, daß ihr Kult eben zu der Zeit, als die Produktion der Tonreliefs einsetzte, für die Lokrer höchste Aktualität gewann.

Erst vor dem Hintergrund der damaligen politischen und religiösen Ereignisse werden die Darstellungen auf den Täfelchen verständlich und vermitteln ein lebendiges Bild der lokrischen Aphrodite und ihres Heiligtums, ihrer Kultlegenden, ihrer Parhedroi und der zu ihrem Preis gefeierten Feste.

Durch den Blick auf Aphrodite wird indessen keineswegs die Bedeutung geleugnet, die Persephone und Hades-Pluton in der unteritalischen Stadt besessen haben. Rund ein Drittel der Tonreliefs wird weiterhin auf sie bezogen. Sie lassen die beiden Götter als die Kultnachfolger eines lokalen Heroenpaares erkennen.

Zwei Anhänge schließen sich an: der eine behandelt die alte Frage, ob der Ludovisische »Thron« einst in Lokroi gestanden habe, der andere ist den lokrischen Bronzemünzen mit den Bildern einer thronenden Göttin und eines Göttingenkopfes gewidmet.

In zwei Katalogen und auf 35 Tafeln werden *alle* erreichbaren Fragmente lokrischer Tonreliefs - mit Ausnahme derjenigen in Reggio-Calabria und Locri - *zusammengestellt und abgebildet*.

Format 21x30 cm, 163 Seiten Text mit 15 Abbildungen, 35 Tafeln, Leinen, 68,— DM





16.7  
Helmut Prückner

## Locri Reliefs

*Erscheint demnächst*

The terracotta reliefs from Locri have been thought to be dedications to the goddess Persephone ever since the first examples were found in the nineteenth century. After a thorough study of the entire material (mostly unpublished) the author concludes that the reliefs were in fact dedicated to Aphrodite. The cult of this goddess reached its greatest development in Locri at exactly the time that these clay votives were beginning to be made. The author does not, however, deny the importance of Persephone and Hades-Pluto in the religious life of Early Classical Locri: approximately one third of all the extant reliefs are related to those divinities.

The problem of whether the Ludovisi Throne once stood in Lokroi is dealt with in one annex, the Lokrian bronze coins depicting enthroned goddesses and the head of a goddess in another.

All available fragments of Lokrian terracotta reliefs — with the exception of those in the museums of Reggio Calabria and Locri — are assembled and illustrated in this book.

Size 21 × 30 cm, 163 pp. of text with 15 figs, 35 plates, linen, DM. 68.—



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ · POST BOX 4065  
WESTERN GERMANY

December 27, 1959

Dr. Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri  
Superintendent of Antiquities  
Salerno, Italy

Dear Dr. Sestieri:

I must apologize for the long delay in acknowledging the very interesting offprint you sent me of your article "Tomba a Camera d'Eta Lucana," Bolletino d'Arte, 1958, pp.46, ff., to which you had attached a photograph of the large undecorated amphora from this tomb.

31.VII.60 Photo is now attached to copy of this letter in MINOR GROUPS - LOKRIAN

The fact is that at first ~~it~~ the amphora seemed to me a completely strange type, about which I seemed to have nothing to tell you. A recent visit from Signorina Elisa Lissi, and study with her of amphora fragments found by her in great quantity in Lokri, of which she had brought profile drawings, gave me occasion to look again at your photograph. Now I think that many of her fragments come from amphoras of the same class as yours from the tomb; also that we can probably attribute to the same class some pieces catalogued at the Athenian Agora, P 26337 and P 26357. These latter show certain differences from your jar which may be explained by a difference in date, since context indicates an early 4th century date for the Agora examples, while your figured pottery, as I understand, dates the later burial in your tomb rather late in the 4th century. The Agora pieces had looked strange enough in their context to suggest they were an intrusion; now one sees they are not of "Roman" date but probably of Italian origin, perhaps from Lokri.

I hope you will publish this amphora soon, supplementing the photograph with a profile drawing showing one side in section, so we can see just what lip and toe are like. This is a great help in identifying fragments.

With many thanks for your kindness, and best wishes for the New Year,  
Yours sincerely,

ITALY - PAESTUM

May 4, 1959

Dr. Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri  
 Superintendent of Antiquities  
 Salerno  
 Italy

Dear Dr. Sestieri:

I am greatly interested in your article in Archaeology on the new painted tomb found at Paestum. <sup>XII, 1 (Spring 1959), pp. 33-37</sup> It seems to be of the greatest importance in many respects.

I note that on p. 37 you mention that the finds in this tomb included an undecorated amphora. This is not among the items you illustrate in this article. Has the amphora been published somewhere else? I should like very much to have a photograph of it, in connection with my studies of such amphoras. Even if it is incompletely preserved, a photograph would probably make it possible to identify it. If you can send me one, I will not publish it, naturally, without your permission, and I may be able to tell you something of interest about the jar.

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia Grace

(X) Tomb and some of contents called early 4th BC, figured  
 into somewhat later, still 4th

27.XII.59 of prints pp. 60-62 of publ. in Bullettino d'Arte  
 1958 on dating. Big length ca 340 BC, height ca 350  
 brick plates later 4th?



17. XI. 83

For ITALY - NAPLES

See

ITALY - POMPEII

for correspondence with

Paul Arthur

ITALY - RAVENNA

22. V. 59

[19.01]



S. KOSTOV, The Orthodox Baptism in Ravenna  
Yale, 1968

St

— from Dr. Frel

for picture of amples  
in roof-construction.



17. XI. 83

For ITALY - NAPLES

See

ITALY - POMPEII

for correspondence with

Paul Arlman



(14. VIII 82) [1802]  
Kup, 17. IX 82

(2)

Pl. 3 Kuda amples and associated  
stamps ( $\frac{13}{n} - \frac{18}{n}$ ), and Kuda coral stamps  
of the Rhodian Agorok dōs on Kuda  
amples handles  $(\frac{19}{n} - \frac{21}{n})$ ,  
1st half of 2nd cent. B.C.

Pl. 4 Rhodian King of Pontos, and the  
middle 5th century: ~~Part~~ R.D.  
and ~~Agorok~~ XIV

Pl. 5. Scaffold for setting up an outer  
alameda, and see ~~also~~ Appendix 2,  
on Deposit H. 113.4

Put down, in a continuation of the Catalogue

ITALY — RAVENNA

22. 7. 59

[19.07]

DXI

S. KOSTOV, The Orthodox Baptismal in Ravenna  
Yale, 1968

St

— from Dr. Fred

for picture of amples  
in roof- construction.

*over - 7  
+ some card*

ITALY —

RAVENNA

[19.02]

SAN VITALE

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY

DEPARTMENT OF ART

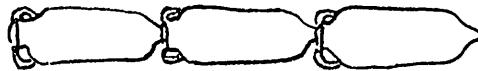
23 October 1947

Dr. Virginia Grace  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Virginia,

I shall send you your off-print of the elephant very soon. The printers by mistake sent all the copies to wrong people, and that delayed things badly.

I don't want to excite you with false expectations, but during a lecture the other day it struck me that some of the Byzantine churches in Ravenna may contain thousands of your amphora, and I just wonder if you ever came across the reference that San Vitale has a very large dome made of hundreds of your vessels, or at least vessels shaped like -



and which are stuck tail into mouth and arranged horizontal in spirals at least two layers thick, over a radius of about 32 feet.

This only in a rush.

*Sending you our joint love*

*W. H. H. H.*

(Heckscher)



at Ravenna

assembled by E. Dandracopoulos, for Ravenna  
(But find in list of the amphora.) <sup>dome jars</sup>

Cecil Stewart, Early Christian, Byz. and  
Romanesque Architecture, London, 1954

Marguerite Rumpel, La Coupole dans l'Arch.  
Byz. - Musulmane, Strasbourg, 1956

Ebersolt, Monuments d'Architecture Byzantine  
Paris, 1934

Hans Dittschke, Ravennatische Studien,  
Leipzig, 1909

G. T. Rivoira, Architettura Musulmana,  
Milan, 1914

J. Amos Hamilton, Byz. Architecture &  
Decorative, London, 1933, p. 39:

The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna, transformed from Roman  
baths: "The dome, like the domes of the [so-called] Tomb  
of Galla Placidia <sup>[450. AD]</sup> and the Church of S. Vitale [begun  
ca 526 B.C.], being constructed of terra-cotta amphorae  
fitted into each other." (Dates from other parts of text.)

But of date  
given by  
Rivoira, Ball.  
d'Ant., 1914.

Italian  
School  
Tel.  
24331?

Miss Dem. suggests we try to find Rivoira,  
Origine de l'Architecture Lombarda, Vol. I, Rome,  
1901, in case there is a picture there.

For Virginia.

~~Parsons~~  
Skyros amphoras

1904

Built into baptistry @ Ravenna-

Gravido, Mth. s. Auguste, 166, w. refs-

(All Parsons)

19.05

~~le angole del Battistero degli Orfelli e di~~  
~~S. Vitale~~



Fantuzzi. Mon. Rav.

19.06

Arch. Stor. Rav. S. Vitale

Antonio Zirardini, De aliquis sacris Ravennae aedificiis (Ravenna 1908-9)

Antonio Tarlazzi: Memorie Sacre, pp. 303-304 (inscription:  
vin di Sciro" at



# SKYROS WINE JARS

IN RAVENNA BAPTISTRY

in Gumbel  
→ look up, also  
often ref. is  
in Gumbel, Alt.  
Don Augusti, p. 166-7

Est-  
greatest  
"Baptistry" in  
Byzantine III

Antonio Tarlazzi: Memorie Sacre p. 303-304 (with inscription "Vin di Sciro"  
taken from Ricci: Il sepolcro di Galla Placidia in  
Bollettino d'arte 1914)

also  
A. Tarlazzi,  
Memorie Sacre  
di Ravenna,  
Brescia 1852,  
p. 304.

Says text in the Battistero Ariano also "il piano  
delle tegole era sorretto da una immensa quantità  
di vasi di terracotta della forma di un fiasco di  
diverse grandezze, e questi riempivano tutto il vano  
della volta reale del catino o cupola disposti  
confusamente ma in modo che servivano di letto al  
coperto e <sup>mutuando</sup> l'un coll'altro con tale resistenza  
che ebbero ed hanno forza di sostenere il culmine  
di questa chiesa, forse per dodici e più secoli.  
La rottura di alcuni aveva prodotto un avvallamento  
nel coperto, dal quale penetravano le acque piovane;  
raccolti i pezzi ed <sup>assemblati</sup> <sup>they appear</sup> riuscirono di figura  
sferoidale con l'orifizio stretto ancor cosparso di  
materia simile allo stucco, ed alcune lettere greche  
di color nero tradotte Vin di Sciro."

(X)  
So this is  
different  
type of jar?  
Not  
opalline  
gambol (see  
OVER) with  
than "longue"  
But that the  
himself seen  
than?

[Ricci in Bollett. 1914]  
I go on (p. 14) to say, the method of construction  
declined. In the mausoleum of G. Placidia, the vases  
aligned and mortared (?). In the Bat. Ariano, of about  
1/2 cent. later, put on angles, and not cemented.  
Jars used in Ravenna not only architecturally but  
also most of the jars were also used as grave  
caskets; when broken on one side, they received  
infant corpses. [Thinks this is unaccounted.]



25. IX 56

Bryantson II (1926) pp. 251-2 "Powers of Shyness"  
by Grimmer Grimmer Lib. Lib. Lib.

No photo. of jaws (or body).  
But jaws are described as longues.

He says they are important for their  
medical properties, <sup>which are</sup> as noted by Galen.



SPATHIA IN RAVENNA  
GALLA PLACIDIA

Corrado Ricci, "Il Sepolcro di Galla Placidia in Ravenna", <sup>Parte III</sup>  
Boll. d'Arte, VIII, Rom 1914, pp. 1-22. (From Grandes  
Atti sous Auguste, p. 166, given by Arthur Parsons).

On pp. 8-9, figs <sup>plut.</sup> 37 and 38 <sup>drawn</sup> show - not very clearly -  
the layout of jars on the (rectangular) roof of the cupola,  
which slopes like a low pyramid. This was taken during the  
restoration of 1898. See also fig. 35, section <sup>- loc. in cupola</sup> drawing.

H. dates this Mausoleum about a quarter of a century later  
than S. Vitale, which in parts dates 417 and 420 A.D.

On cat. of cupola (p. 11):

"La cupola non è formata da vasetti collegati in  
giro, come sono le cupole del Battistero degli Ortodossi e  
di S. Vitale, ma a <sup>tralicci</sup> mattoni come quella del Battis-  
tero degli Armeni; e tutti i <sup>supporti?</sup> rinforzi, così della cupola  
come della volta, furono riempiti con vasi vinari tenuti  
insieme dalla calce sino a formare i vari declivi  
delle falde del tetto (figg. 37-38)." Tiles on top of them

The jars: fig 39, great <sup>plut.</sup> of 4 of them of various  
sizes - but none as long as our long ones. Pp. 12-13: "Al-  
cuni si vedono chiusi con <sup>bunghe</sup> tappi di stucco, aventi un  
<sup>hole</sup> foro dal quale forse in origine usciva il vino. In detto  
tappo appaiono segni, certo di lettere, ma consumate al  
punto da non essere più leggibili

See write S. Willam!

For S. Vitale, big Fantuzzi Mon. Rav. IV, and  
Arch. Stor. Rav. S. Vitale, vol. 519



Apr. 20 - (Ravenna)

Darling V - Do not fear a  
postcard - a - day. I shall soon  
be out of the postcard zone -  
But if, out of your business, you  
could send me one such,  
bearing the address of FONS M.  
Taylor, I should be deeply  
obliged. I received my copy of the  
opus just as I was leaving, & was  
thankful - but satisfied to send thank  
when I got back. Now I should

MENADE COL TIRSO

(da un deinos attico della metà del V sec.  
av. Cr.)

FERRARA - Museo Archeologico Nazionale.  
Necropoli di Spina (Valle Trebbia)



PAR AVION

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of  
Classical Studies

ATHENS

Greece

54, Souefias St.



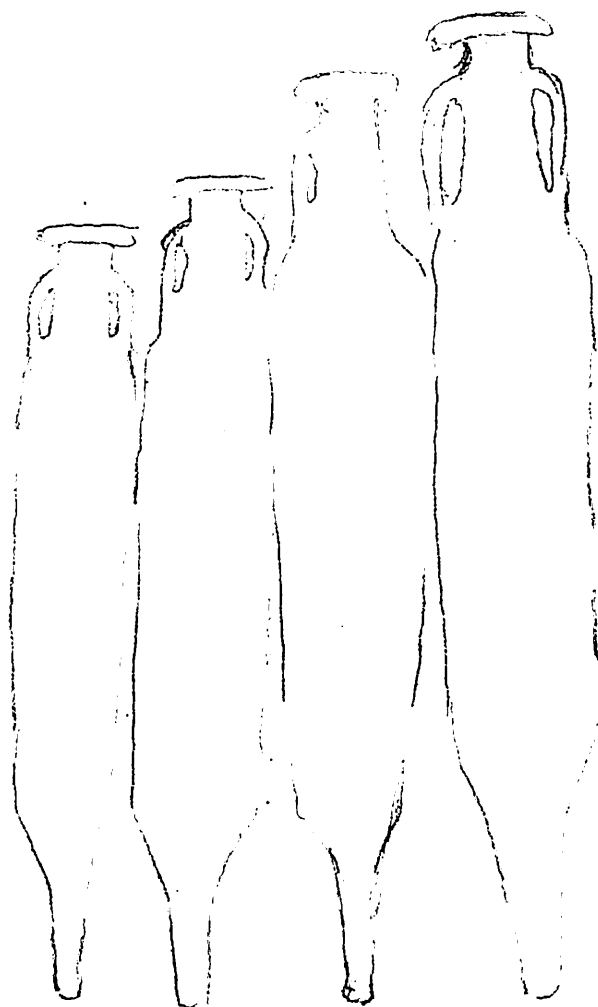
prefer to send thanks now - & without inquiring on behalf of G. Ricciardi, who regards herself as the only person in all Italy who came about Graft's black globe. . . She may be absolutely right. In any case if you have address of Taylor, please send to Hotel Porto, Salsomaggiore; if you haven't it, no matter.

I suppose you know that in the so-called "Mausoleum of Galla ~~Pia~~ Placidia" two of the tubular jars used in the roof construction are enshrined in solid tripod, for all to see. - I am trying to recall if you have any guide to dining - but I think so. Yrs. - with apologies - J. T.

n.b. Isabel Dris, or Miss Taylor . . ?  
p.s. Finished Trebiunt, a 10m new reading. Would you like it back by mail, or prefer to bring? - Wendell  
See postm. - Renewed thanks. J. T.



3 or cupola of Galla Placidia



(phot.)

Fig. 39

Bo. d'Ante VIII, 1714, p. 10



## RAVENNA

Jars used in roof construction

of Byzantine churches etc. in Ravenna

Notes investigated and supplemented for the  
Jar Room Story, the comment on the spallia  
P 331 and P 332 shows upper right on N wall

Have managed to find - by lead from client  
from Arthur Parsons - photographs and drawings  
spallia of the jars in the <sup>trunk of</sup> Galla Placidia, none of the others.  
Hackscher's sketch (letter of 23.X.47) indicates those  
in S. Vitale are similar, though perhaps a  
good deal shorter? However, there is no picture  
of any sort for those in the Baptistry, whereas  
these are the ones said to have been marked "Vin  
di Sciro." Grainger (Byzantine III, p. 251) calls them  
"longues", but had he seen them? Tarlaigi, quoted  
by Ricci (Boll. d'Art. 1914), says (as I extract it)  
that they are "spheroid" (sferoidale) with narrow  
opening, and he is the one to report the "quite letters  
of black color" which say "Vin di Sciro."

I seem to recollect some round big jars found  
during reconstruction of that earliest church in Salona  
"Agios Pappos", originally a Roman monument.



November 4, 1958

Professor W. S. Heckscher  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Utrecht  
Utrecht, Holland

Dear Willem,

Eleven years ago you sent me from Iowa a nice note on amphoras, in circles tail in mouth, used in the construction of the dome of S. Vitale in Ravenna. Now I should be very grateful indeed if you could help me to get a good picture, preferably a photograph, in which both the shape of the jar and the construction of the dome can be seen, of one of the buildings in Ravenna in which this dome construction is used.

I have investigated so far as seems to be possible here, and have found no pictures of any kind of this aspect of any of the buildings, except the tomb of Galla Placidia, as published by C. Ricci in Boll d'Arte, VIII, Rome 1914, pp.1-22. There in fig.s 37 and 38 the layout of jars is shown, but not very clearly, and in this case it is rectangular.

I need a good clear picture to go into a picture book, "Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade," which I am being harried to produce. It is to be a souvenir, explanation, commentary, of a show in one of the rooms of the Stoa of Attalos, where we have put a selection of amphoras, and stamps, found in our excavations. I enclose a picture of part of it, where you will see, toward the right, two narrow jars like those in Galla Placidia, and probably others in Ravenna. Their context ~~also~~ fits nicely a 5th century date. Visitors to this exhibition would much enjoy visualizing these jars arranged to construct the roofs of famous buildings in Ravenna.

I am supposed to bring the mock-up of this book to America when I go

about the end of this month. I can be addressed there 5321 Baynton Street, Philadelphia 44, Pa., or in care of Homer Thompson at the Institute for Advanced Study, for a month or so before I come back here.

I should love to have news of the Heckschers. I suppose Di-di is a young lady now.  
Yours sincerely,



JRN.-NR.....

November 9th, 1958

UTRECHT.  
DRIFT 25  
TEL. 12653

19.

Dear Virginia,

Thanks for your letter which terminates, I gather, an eleven year silence. I am glad to learn that your book is about to be printed and if, in my humble way, I can provide a good picture, I shall do so without fail. It may take some time because I shall be dependent on the cooperation of others. But let me tell you what steps I intend to take:

a.) I have a colleague here who is in charge of architecture; I shall try to move his staff; he himself is immobile.

b.) if this doesn't work out, I shall write to a very nice man in Ravenna, Giuseppe Bovini, who is superintendent of monuments and ask him to send a foto direct to you, giving him all the necessary details as well as your need for PUBLICATION.

In other words: pazienza.

I hope, however, that all this will be settled before the end of November so that you needn't cross the Ocean empty-handed.

Diana is a young girl who has just finished four nights of public dancing (ballet) on the local stage; apart from her strenuous Dutch schoolwork. Number two girl, Kathy, is a horsewoman (terribly expensive). We are eagerly looking forward to the Homer Thompsons' forthcoming visit to Utrecht. Holland seems to be an important place for archaeologists.

I suddenly remember that the Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft has a good drawing of the system of those domes. I only hope that those things stuck into one another are of the type you want them to be!

Best greetings and love from Mary (who at the present point lies in bed with pneumonia (which the Dutch treat with Aspirine and similar daring things)).

As ever yours,

Willem.

Antonie van Leeuwenhoek 38  
Utrecht

Nov. 14, 1958

Dear Virginia,

My results are meager and not conclusive. One authority says that clay-pipes (rather than your jars) are fitted into one another:



& placed in concentric rings which - ever diminishing, form a cupola; vide Heinrich Holtzinger "Altchristliche und byzantinische Baukunst," Handbuch der Architektur Pt. II, Vol. III, Heft 1 = Die Baustile, Leipzig, 1909<sup>3</sup>. Here cf. diagrams on figs. 9lf. on p. 80.

I shall search the periodical Felix Ravenna to see if I can't find a photograph instead of those tedious drawings. Talking to my colleagues, I find that they agree with my eleven year old recollection that Greek jars were being used and one even said that he had seen such jars lying around in Ravenna and that those were jars which had actually come out of Ravennate domes.

Further thought persuades me that you [and not I] should write to two (or: one) Italian specialists] who should not only know all about those jars but should be able to ~~sup~~ supply reliable reproductions and data:

1.) Prof. dott, Giuseppe BOVINI, Ravenna.  
GB is the big noise in Ravenna; a charming man who



is director of the Museo and everything you can wish. His Bibliography of Ravenna I have searched *but:* in vain; but that may only mean that no one has produced a study solely devoted to those dome-jars. If anyone has a photo of it, it is Bovini.

2.) Prof. dott. Ing.  
Paolo VERZONA,  
Ordinario al Politecnico,  
TORINO.

I don't know him personally but it seems that he is THE man who knows more than any one else about historical techniques of architecture. He may have records about the deriviation of the clay jars.

I only fear you may have to write in Italiano. If you don't write Italian and cannot find a translator, please send me a draft of your inquiry and specific demands and I shall have it translated and either send it as your letter or, if you prefer, work it into my own letter[s].

Sorry that all this is so vague and perhaps may even result in total disaster,

As ever yours,

*Willems.*

Care of F. M. McPhedran  
 3521 Baynton Street  
 Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania  
 U. S. A. December 18, 1958

Professor Doctor Giuseppe Bovini  
 Ravenna  
 Italy

Dear Professor Bovini,

William Hecqueter of the University of Utrecht tells me that you will best be able to inform me on the jars used in dome-construction in Ravenna.

I believe that, in a number of buildings of about the 5th century A.D. in Ravenna, long narrow jars are used instead of more solid material to construct the roofs. Jars of this type have also been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, in fillings of about the 5th century A.D., and we have some on display in a special exhibition in one of the shops of the re-constructed Stoa of Attalos. I am preparing a booklet to be published on this exhibition, and would like to illustrate there the use of the jars in roof-construction.

I should be most grateful if you could tell me where I could find a picture, preferably a photograph, showing such jars in situ in a roof, preferably a dome roof. In our libraries in Athens, I could find only the picture in Boll. d'Arte VIII, 1914, p. 3, fig. 53, which shows - not very clearly - the pyramid-shaped Galla Placidia roof with jars in place.

I expect to be in this country for another month, and to be back in Athens about the middle of February. My address in Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 34 Souedias Street. If convenient to you, I should be particularly obliged to have the information while I am still in America.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia Grace



My love to Mary. When are you coming to Greece? I expect to be back in November.

Yours

19.10

19.20

**IVERS**  
Haglund. 480pp. 44 Coloured  
n. 211pp. Frederick Muller. £3 10s.  
Chicago Press. £3 3s.

ident Ngo Dinh Diem in his  
oppressive rule the "revolution" was  
irretrievably lost, and adds some detail to previous accounts of the president's end. He reveals the extent to which the United States Government was implicated in the fall of Diem in 1963, and in the power rivalries in Saigon over the following two years which take up over a third of the book. It has been primarily a diplomatic failure, he tells us: diplomats too tightly controlled from Washington, lack of discrimination in their reporting, too great a discrimination in their contacts, the loss of the sense of revolution in the dealings of the United States with the world, a "failure of revolutionary nerve".

... would it not be logical to establish a School for Revolution somewhere, which Foreign Service officers would have to attend, as they now often attend the Army and Navy war colleges?

Those inserted in the book mostly depict masterpieces of Assyrian relief sculpture; though beautiful enough, they seem slightly out of place in a field in which Assyria plays only a small part. In a range of pictures more systematically illustrative of the text is needed. Dr. Oppenheim has given us in his text a new version of the famous handbook *Babylonian and Assyrian* (1924-25), in which he has greatly improved on that of the earlier work. But had it been illustrated as fully and aptly as Meissner's, its value to students and teachers would have been enormous. Cortell is an expert in the of archaeological *haute couture*. His style is lively and his story with a series of sketches. There are also a brief sketch of Sumerian art and literature. This is a useful and helpful book for specialist readers; but could be prepared to face the frank championing of English and pioneers: admit that these, perhaps the most remarkable figure remains that of the great English pioneer Layard. But the Germans at Babylon and

body may meet a picture of Pope at any time, and anybody may now see how the picture he meets relates to the authentic types.

Professor Wimsatt has had one major piece of luck. It had always been known that Pope had had his portrait painted as a boy of seven—and the portrait suddenly turned up at Christie's in 1960 and was acquired by Professor Wimsatt's friend and colleague, Professor James M. Osborn. Well reproduced in colour

*A Library of Literary Criticism: Modern British Literature*, compiled and edited by Ruth Z. Temple and Martin Tucker, is published in three volumes by Frederick Ungar (\$35.00). It consists of quotation from a variety of books, periodicals and newspapers, British and American, about some 400 twentieth-century British authors. There are also bibliographies, and cross-reference indexes to authors and critics.

## PATRICK WHITE

### THE SOLID MANDALA

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## David Higham

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## Leo Vaughan

### IT MUST BE THE CLIMATE

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## Randall Jarrell

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## FACES OF POPE

WILLIAM KURTZ WIMSATT: *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*. 391 pp. Yale University Press. £7 4s.

Professor Wimsatt quotes Pope's account of his friendship with one of the artists who painted him as a young man, an account that describes them as "Smil with the love of Sister-arts". As we know from several sources, Pope was interested in painting, and it is tempting to see Professor Wimsatt, like Pope, twice-smitten. We have all admired the published results of his passion for eighteenth-century literature and for the technique of verse and for the theory of literature, and here are the results of what looks like a passion for art-history and art-criticism. His new book provides us with a "catalogue raisonné" (to use his extremely modest description) of a long series of portraits in a dozen media (oils, mezzotint, marble and the rest) of a single sifter done by English and foreign artists either working from the life or adapting the work of those who had so worked. The long pre-paration of the book has meant unusual adventures for a literary critic—journeys over England (he has seen almost all the items he reproduces and describes), into museums and houses and even into a church up the wall of which scaffolding had to be erected. It has meant much discussion with the experts of the National Portrait Gallery and other institutions.

The results of all this enterprise will interest the art-historians, who may be surprised to find that Professor Wimsatt has distinguished eighty-one "types", some of which exist in as many as a score of distinct adaptations. Nor will the general reader remain uninterested—anybody may meet a picture of Pope at any time, and anybody may now see how the picture he meets relates to the authentic types.

Professor Wimsatt has had one major piece of luck. It had always been known that Pope had his portrait painted as a boy of seven—and the portrait suddenly turned up at Christie's in 1960 and was acquired by Professor Wimsatt's friend and colleague, Professor James M. Osborn. Well reproduced in colour

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## BETWEEN THE RIVERS

EVA STROMMINGER: *The Art of Mesopotamia*. Translated by Christina Haglund. 480pp. 44 Coloured plates, 280 monochrome plates, 70 text figures. Thames and Hudson. £8 8s.  
JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON: *Mesopotamia*. Translation by H. S. B. Harrison. 211pp. Frederick Muller. £3 10s.  
A. LEO OPPENHEIM: *Ancient Mesopotamia*. 433pp. The University of Chicago Press. £3 3s.  
LEONARD COTTRELL: *The Land of Shinar*. 222pp. Souvenir Press. 30s.  
NORA KUBIE: *Road to Nineveh*. 303pp. Cassell. 36s.

The spate of great picture books and smaller handbooks, either popular or more specialized, dealing with the art and archaeology of the ancient world, continues unabated. Dr. Stromminger's book (originally published in German in an already established series) is an expert's account of the art of Sumer and Assyria from the fourth to the first millennium B.C. accompanied by superb illustrations by Dr. Max Hirmer. The fine selection of illustrations is fully annotated by Dr. Stromminger and explained with drawings, notes and tables, but students should take warning that Dr. Stromminger has introduced here new appellations for sundry periods; assigned by the late H. Frankfort to the Pre-Dynastic, Early Dynastic and Proto-Dynastic are replaced by Early Sumerian I, II, III; the Kassite period is divided into Kassite-Babylonian and Pure Kassite. But to re-allocate the familiar term Neo-Babylonian to the period 880-600 B.C. and to call the one from 600-330 B.C. Late Babylonian instead of Neo-Babylonian or Persian is simply confusing and gratuitous. The brief chapter on the political background, by Wolfgang Nagel, advocates a much revised chronology; it also contains some new toponyms: "Enger" for Sumer, "Wari" for Akkad, "Uruk" for Lagash, learned variants for more familiar names which will simply puzzle students. For some baffling reason the pagination jumps from 46 to 375. But despite these defects this book will hold its position for a long time thanks above all to Dr. Hirmer's outstanding skill as a photographer and printer. Dr. Stromminger's often very obscure and crabbed original German is translated well by Miss C. Haglund.

In M. Margueron's book, *Mesopotamia*, we have the first of a new series "Archaeologia Mundi", edited by Bordenaux. It is not a very encouraging beginning. The illustrations have no relation to the text, which never once refers to them. They look as though they have been collected by an untrained but well-meaning publisher's assistant, more or less unaided. Large objects (reduced) are juxtaposed to small objects (enlarged) without any feeling

very considerably altered. The roof was raised, and as the walls were thin this had to be light; it was consequently constructed of hollow tubes, and an internal support in the form of arcades on columns was added. The decoration, both that in mosaic and that in stucco, formed an essential part of this scheme. Mr. Kostof confutes any suggestion that the stuccos or the lowest tier of mosaics, where prophets are shown in medallions surrounded by scrolls, are of later date. The only serious alterations, he thinks, were those made by restorers after the mid-seventeenth century, and especially those of the nineteenth. He also discards various ingenious theories as to the interpretation of the scheme of the mosaics, such as the suggestion

that the architectural motifs should be regarded as a background before which the apostles of the tier above are displayed, the two divorced in accordance with the conventions of vertical perspective, as we see, for example, on the base of the Theodosios column at Constantinople. Instead he suggests that the decoration should be regarded as a prototype of the system which became universal after iconoclasm, where the scenes above belong to the heavenly and those below to a more mundane sphere. And here his ideas are surely not only in accord with the conceptions of the Byzantine world, but also with those of the exarchate of Ravenna, where so much that was to become universal later was heralded.

Yet another book on the monuments of Nubia—a translation of a French original published last year in Switzerland. It is written as a topical evocation of Nubia and its temples, but it is already out of date. The monuments are described in their original settings, as no doubt they were when the author visited them; but most of them are already dismantled and moved away piecemeal; at least one (Kalabsha) has been re-erected and opened to visitors for over two years in its new situation on the west of the Nile just above the High Dam. The author is not unaware of what is to happen to the temples, and indeed in an addendum he gives relatively up-to-

date news of their respective fates, but there is a strong element of the unreal in evocative accounts of buildings in their original settings when it is known that they have already been moved. The text is oblique and pretentious, with many allusions directed at a French-speaking audience. In an English translation which completely fails to catch the quality of the original, it has become awkward and in part meaningless. It is, further, not without small but irritating errors. Happily and without tricks; they truly evoke a lost land which will never be forgotten by those fortunate enough to have visited it.

Mr. Cottrell is an expert in the genre of archaeological *haute vulgarisation*. His style is lively and vigorous and he attacks the problem of telling his story with a series of historical sketches. There are chapters on Sir Leonard Woolley's work at Ur, and thence we are led on to a brief sketch of Sumerian civilization and literature. This is reasonable, useful and helpful for non-specialist readers; but they should be prepared to face disguised nationalism—the frankly preferential championing of English scholars and pioneers: admittedly of all these, perhaps the most remarkable figure remains that of the great English pioneer Layard. But the Germans at Babylon and Assur, the French at Telloh and Mari and the Americans at Nippur all would have merited more mention.

The full-length life of Layard (*Layard of Nineveh*) by Mr. Gordon Waterfield recently gave us a picture of the man as a whole—traveller, excavator, politician, diplomat, art connoisseur. The aim of Mrs Kubie's book is different. It simply collects and retells the story of his early years and Assyriological discoveries admirably. For this she draws on his own writings (of which his *Autobiography* is now a very scarce book) and includes his exciting and moving experiences as a young man in his twenties with the oppressed but ever courageous Persian tribe of Bakhtiari. Mrs. Kubie's book performs a useful service, and is well illustrated. It may be recommended as a sensible contribution to the growing library of general information about the early history of Assyriology.

A different matter is the illustration

## RAVENNA REVISITED

SPIRO K. KOSTOF: *The Orthodox Baptistry of Ravenna*. 171pp. 147 plates. 147 plates. Yale University Press. £5 5s.

Though the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna and its decoration have been described and discussed in numerous articles or in larger works, this is, curiously enough, the first monograph to be devoted to them. Originally offered as a doctoral thesis, it has been expanded and revised, and is now published as a fully illustrated volume, with an introduction, giving a general survey of the problems, five chapters devoted respectively to the history of the building, its architecture, a descriptive programme, an appreciation of the significance of the decoration, and an appendix in which the literary sources are examined. Of these five chapters the first two are perhaps the most satisfactory: in the next two description and analysis become somewhat confused, and the two sections would have been better combined or divided in a different way: the appreciations in the final chapter are made very much from the standpoint of twentieth century aesthetics, and though the ideas are interesting, most of them must be very far removed from any that would have motivated the original designers. Though the plates are well chosen and look nice in themselves, their arrangement does not at all correspond with the sequence of the text. Opinions about the nature of the changes which the building has undergone from time to time or the date at which they took place have varied considerably. Mr. Kostof's examination serves to show beyond little possibility of doubt that a structure of the time of Ursus, founder of so much at Ravenna, and not a Roman bath as Ricci suggested, was taken over by Neon soon after 451 and was

## TEMPLES OF NUBIA

MAX-POL FOUCHER: *Rescued Treasures of Egypt*. Translated by Michael Heron. 269pp. 154 plates. Allen and Unwin. £3 3s.

Yet another book on the monuments of Nubia—a translation of a French original published last year in Switzerland. It is written as a topical evocation of Nubia and its temples, but it is already out of date. The monuments are described in their original settings, as no doubt they were when the author visited them; but most of them are already dismantled and moved away piecemeal; at least one (Kalabsha) has been re-erected and opened to visitors for over two years in its new situation on the west of the Nile just above the High Dam. The author is not unaware of what is to happen to the temples, and indeed in an addendum he gives relatively up-to-

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## ACTS OF REFORM

DAVID COOMBS: *The Member of Parliament and the Administration.* 221pp. Allen and Unwin. 32s.

than statesmanship—on accepting rather than creating, to put it baldly—that opened the political doors to views Burke had opposed. Instead of being the prophet of modern politics, he became the teacher to the parties of resistance only: "In effect, he demoted statesmanship to conservatism." All this and much more Dr. Mansfield shakes out from a microscopic reading of the Burkean texts, together with good reading of political history and a fair sampling of the political-pamphlet literature of the day.

The impact of Dr. Mansfield's book depends on his exegetical skills and is powerful enough not to be muffled by his style. These skills do not work quite so well in matters of historical evidence and historical judgment—perhaps because there high-powered reasoning and logical dissection reproduce credible motivation less well than does blunted common sense. Dr. Mansfield is too good a scholar to misread the history of the period or, for that matter, bend Bolingbroke's and Burke's actions to make them more congruent with what he finds in their writings. Yet he makes too much of some evidence, and not enough of other. He cites from Burke's *Correspondence*, and he even has a manuscript letter to quote (though he cites neither permission from nor acknowledgment to the Fitzwilliam collection trustees). But these are supporting raids, too selective to convince. The same problem applies—or almost applies, since Dr. Mansfield admits the uncertainty of the enterprise—to finding Bolingbroke disciples at the time of Burke; with

Bolingbroke dead, and never mentioned in the *Thoughts*, who was it that carried on his line?

Dr. Mansfield cites a number of pamphleteers as well as the gloomy Dr. Brown, who, since he believed Bolingbroke could not reason, is probably not a good choice. What of George III? Dr. Mansfield asserts that evidence of Bolingbroke's influence in the royal letters is "ample" but vague; the authority given for this is an earlier essay of Dr. Mansfield's, where, however, it is called "scant" but vague. Such minor evidential difficulties may also have to do with Dr. Mansfield's untiring digging for hidden meanings. For instance: like Morley, a long time ago, he identifies Burke's myth about a secret cabal at George III's court as a rhetorical device. But he feels impelled to offer so many complex reasons for Burke's invention of the myth that one turns almost with relief to the simple reason found in historical or institutional accounts of party history, as in Professor Archibald Foord's recent *His Majesty's Opposition*: "Since the cabal was secret, its existence was hard to disprove." That is not to say that Dr. Mansfield is necessarily wrong in ascribing subtle rhetorical and didactic purposes to Burke. He is probably right in terms of his theoretical exposition, but here, as elsewhere, may have failed to distinguish convincingly between the validity and the historicity of ideas. These surface fissures in presentation do not go deep enough to invalidate his analysis of Bolingbroke and Burke as political theorists.

## THE QUAGMIRE

ROBERT SHAPLEN: *The Lost Revolution: Vietnam 1945-1965.* 404pp. André Deutsch. 36s.

Robert Shaplen has been reporting on South-East Asian affairs since 1943, and he is probably as well qualified as any to give the balanced historical perspective of the Vietnam war which is beginning to be badly needed. If he fails to do this it is perhaps because he is too preoccupied with the detail of recent events, the dreary succession of coup and counter-coup in Saigon since the fall of Diem, and with the present painful American dilemma. He does, nevertheless, pose some interesting historical questions.

The thesis is that all might have been well in Vietnam, that is to say the nationalist revolution there might have been harnessed in American interests instead of being "lost" to the Communists, if at significant times the United States had been sufficiently tough with non-American interests, in particular with those of France. The first of these occasions appears to have been in 1945 when the United States, having established good relations with the Viet Minh in its infancy—to the extent of having an American officer in the jungle with Ho Chi Minh—failed to exploit the situation by preventing the return of French colonial power. The second was in 1946 and 1947, when Mr. Shaplen thinks a satisfactory agreement could have been made with the rebels if the Americans had exerted sufficient pressure upon France. The third was in 1948-53, years in which the opportunity was lost to create in southern Vietnam "a challenging alternative to the emerging Communism in the north". This was as much an American as a French failure, because the United States had "more ways to apply pressure" than formerly.

The author deals fully with the inability of the United States to handle thereafter the Vietnamese leader they themselves had made, President Ngo Dinh Diem, in whose oppressive rule the "revolution" was irretrievably lost, and adds some detail to previous accounts of the president's end. He reveals the extent to which the United States Government was implicated in the fall of Diem in 1963, and in the power rivalries in Saigon over the following two years which take up over a third of the book. It has been primarily a diplomatic failure, he tells us: diplomats too tightly controlled from Washington, lack of discrimination in their reporting, too great a discrimination in their contacts, the loss of the sense of revolution in the dealings of the United States with the world, a "failure of revolutionary nerve".

... would it not be logical to establish a School for Revolution somewhere, which Foreign Service officers would have to attend, as they now often attend the Army and Navy war colleges?

In his discussion of the American problem Mr. Shaplen answers, in a sense, the historical questions he poses earlier. Many Frenchmen and Americans, on the basis of personal contact and careful observation, consider that Ho Chi Minh could have been successfully wooed by the West in 1945, 1946 and 1947. The book contains much evidence of the curious charm and gentleness of this ruthless and resilient old man. It is just possible that some other solution might have been worked out in South Vietnam between 1948 and 1953. But it was the French who, once they had learnt their own Indo-Chinese lesson, saw most clearly the folly of fostering Diem. Can it be seriously argued that the Americans, if they had

rejected colonialism once and for all, and lent our firm and continuing support—including military support, if necessary—to a newly emerging nation,

if they had ridden rough-shod over the French, to the detriment of their own interests in Europe, would have handled Vietnam any more successfully in 1945-53 than in 1954-66? Would they have done better than the French? Have they?

The book suffers from a total lack of documentation, occasional inaccuracy and piecemeal construction, and it is far too long. Students of South-East Asia must nevertheless read it.

A second *Sonderheft* (620pp.) of the German *Historische Zeitschrift* again contains bibliographical reports on historical writings since 1945. All of them have been compiled by international experts and deserve the attention also of non-German students. This applies above all to the chapters dealing with the medieval history of the Netherlands (by Professor Jappe Alberts of Utrecht) and England (by Professor Fritz Trautz of Heidelberg). The last-mentioned survey, for which the compiler acknowledges the assistance he has been given by Mr. A. T. Milne of the Institute of Historical Research, can justly be described as the best introduction to the problems and themes of British history with which historians inside and outside the United Kingdom have been wrestling during the past twenty years; for, it need hardly be said, "England" according to German terminology, means what is elsewhere known as Britain. Other sections are given to the histories of Belgium, the United States and China, the modern history of France, and the Latin civilization of medieval Ireland. The *Historische Zeitschrift* is published by R. Oldenbourg, Munich.

When the Prime Minister speaks, as he did in the debate on the Address, of a few first tentative steps towards parliamentary reform nobody should rush to assume that the reformers in and outside Westminster have won a decisive battle. Mr. Wilson is in for four years or more on a big majority and he knows that in Parliament, as elsewhere, the devil will find mischief for idle tongues to do. His announcement of a still hazy experiment to create parliamentary committees to examine some areas of home policy, and regional committees to consider relatively parish-pump problems, is no more than a party manager's device to keep his boys harmlessly and perhaps usefully employed.

It did not mean that this Executive, any more than other Executives, want to encourage their own rank and file to be a nuisance to Ministers, or to set up committees upstairs where Opposition members can make the ammunition to be fired off at a damaging time. Significantly, Mr. Wilson excluded defence and foreign affairs as subjects appropriate for inquiry by the new parliamentary committees. Significantly, too, it is clear that the Executive, so far as their proposals have been worked out at all, intend that the committees shall talk away behind closed doors and that not all they hear from Ministers and other witnesses will be published. This means that there is a danger that M.P.s will be drawn into becoming party to an Executive consensus, or an in-group of specialists close to the Ministers.

Yet Mr. David Coombs, of the University of Hull, shows in this exemplary record of the development and work of the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries that M.P.s on the new parliamentary committees will be able, if they are adroit, to carry their work much farther than Mr. Wilson and Labour Party managers at present intend. Like the proposed parliamentary committees, the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries began with instructions to watch the demarcation line

between administration and policy. Policy was supposed to be off limits. In practice, the committee has constantly infiltrated or glided into policy. Heads of nationalized industries have frankly said that they have benefited from the committee's prying and probing; and, as the author rightly says, the committee "has become an integral part of the life of the Ministry of Power, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Aviation, and certain divisions of the Treasury". This happened because the committee was skilfully chaired by such able men as Sir Toby Low (now Lord Aldington) and Sir Richard Nugent. (Incidentally, the committee always has an Opposition senior member as chairman. The proposed parliamentary committees will have ministerialists at the top, perhaps an important difference.)

It is still possible to have some unfashionable doubts about the backbench and academic pressure for parliamentary reform. The reformers are often disturbingly insensitive to parliamentary history, which is the basis of procedure; they are often over-fond of foreign methods that have grown out of a history quite different from that of Westminster; they often make too little allowance for the changes and reforms that have been made, as the latest edition of Erskine May's *Parliamentary Practice* illustrates; and they are apt to overlook that the basic function of Parliament is to check and positively obstruct an Executive, even at the price of inefficiency. But above all, they are innocent or blind about the fundamental cause of Parliament's impotence against the Executive. Members of Parliament, in a day of total party organization, have given up their birthright to vote as independent men. True, they have had no choice. They would not be at Westminster except as nominees of the party machine. They are there as ticket men, and whenever the Chief Whip barks or whispers they must honour their contract. Since 1951 no member of the Commons has crossed the floor;

there has been scarcely any cross-voting. Let nobody think that any of the reforms nowadays so busily plugged by party zealots could ever be so fundamental in practice as a reassertion of some independence by individual backbenchers.

Parliamentary committees, for the benefits of which too much is sometimes claimed, would be useful mainly because they do develop a kind of independence in partisan members, an attitude of criticism that disturbs the consensus. It has always been an extraordinary feature of the Public Accounts Committee, the Select Committee on Estimates, and the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries that the members forget party and, in one report after another, find common ground like rational men. Out of earshot and eyeshot of the public and the communicators, M.P.s upstairs have been doing some of their most useful work, but nobody would claim that their reports, stuffed with information and sane judgment, have much influenced debates in the Chamber.

Mr. Coombs has done a service in establishing the case for specialist parliamentary committees on the analogy of the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries. When Mr. Wilson's parliamentary committees come into being we must hope that M.P.s will learn from his researches how to turn the Executive's managerial instrument against the Executive.

The following reprints have recently appeared in the Hutchinson University Library series: *Statistics for Economists* by R. G. D. Allen (first published 1949), at 25s.; *The Morphology of Pteridophytes* by K. R. Sporne (first published in 1962), at 25s.; *Letters of Cicero* by L. P. Wilkinson (first published by Geoffrey Bles in 1949), at 30s.; *The Age of Absolutism 1660-1815* by Max Beloff (first published in 1954), at 25s.; *The Geography of Air Transport* by Kenneth R. Sealy (first published in 1957), at 27s. 6d. All titles are also available in paperback.

Julian Bell and John Cornford:  
their lives and the 1930sJourney  
to the  
Frontier

by Peter Stansky &amp; William Abrahams

John Gross, Observer: 'Masterly double biography. A valuable contribution to the social and literary history of the period, it is also a human document as gripping as Philip Toynbee's *Friends Apart*'

Raymond Mortimer, Sunday Times: 'Written with rare distinction'

Nigel Dennis, Sunday Telegraph: 'Very interesting... it seems almost marvellous that they should have succeeded so well in forcing such a very British door. What two Englishmen, one wonders, could invade America with so much accuracy and understanding?'

Stephen Spender: 'Wonderfully complete, and very vivid and imaginative, gives much the best picture of the time I have read'  
Illustrated/50s



Publication May 23

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A. J. P. Taylor, Observer: 'A clever writer, almost excessively so. His pages are studded with brilliant sentences... it will probably turn out in the long run that Mr Vincent has reshaped political history of the mid 19th century'  
42s





## FACES OF POPE

WILLIAM KURTZ WIMSATT: *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*. 391 pp. Yale University Press. £7 4s.

Professor Wimsatt quotes Pope's account of his friendship with one of the artists who painted him as a young man, an account that describes them as "Smil with the love of Sister-arts". As we know from several sources, Pope was interested in painting, and it is tempting to see Professor Wimsatt, like Pope, twice-smitten. We have all admired the published results of his passion for eighteenth-century literature and for the technique of verse and the theory of literature, and here are the results of what looks like a passion for art-history and art-criticism. His new book provides us with a "catalogue raisonné" (to use his extremely modest description) of a long series of portraits in a dozen media (oils, mezzotint, marble and the rest) of a single sitter done by English and foreign artists either working from the life or adapting the work of those who had so worked. The long pre-paration of the book has meant unusual adventures for a literary critic—journeys over England (he has seen almost all the items he reproduces and describes), into museums and houses and even into a church up the wall of which scaffolding had to be erected. It has meant much discussion with the experts of the National Portrait Gallery and other institutions.

The results of all this enterprise will interest the art-historians, who may be surprised to find that Professor Wimsatt has distinguished eighty-one "types", some of which exist in as many as a score of distinct adaptations. Nor will the general reader remain unimpressed—anybody may meet a picture of Pope at any time, and anybody may now see how the picture he meets relates to the authentic types.

Professor Wimsatt has had one major piece of luck. It had always been known that Pope had had his portrait painted as a boy of seven—and the portrait suddenly turned up at Christie's in 1960 and was acquired by Professor Wimsatt's friend and colleague, Professor James M. Osborn. Well reproduced in colour

A Library of Literary Criticism:

*Modern British Literature*, compiled and edited by Ruth Z. Temple and Martin Tucker, is published in three volumes by Frederick Ungar (\$35.00). It consists of quotations from a variety of books, periodicals and newspapers, British and American, about some 400 twentieth-century British authors. There are also bibliographies, and cross-references indexes to authors and critics.

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Patrick White's first full-length novel since *Riders in the Chariot*—a powerful and subtle narrative about the intricate relationship between twin brothers. *Out today* 25s



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Indonesia has two faces: on the one hand riots, mobs and threats, on the other beautiful islands and a smiling people. This story of an Englishwoman, her American fiancé and the beautiful Indonesian he falls in love with, is a serious but most enjoyable book. *Out today* 25s 6d

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Randall Jarrell the distinguished American poet, critic and novelist was killed in a car crash last year. The central theme of this remarkable collection of poems is the lost world of childhood. With a critical appreciation by Robert Lowell. 18s

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This distinguished partnership of player and writer discuss cricket's development over 200 years and they suggest changes to make first-class cricket more attractive and exciting. *Out today*, 24 pages of photographs. 30s

EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE

## BETWEEN THE RIVERS

EVA STROMMINGER: *The Art of Mesopotamia*. Translated by Christina Haglund. 480pp. plates, 280 monochrome plates, 70 text figures. Thames and Hudson. £8 8s.  
JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON: *Mesopotamia*. Translation by H. S. B. Harrison. 211pp. Frederick Muller. £3 10s.  
A. LEO OPPENHEIM: *Ancient Mesopotamia*. 433pp. The University of Chicago Press. £3 3s.  
LEONARD COTTRELL: *The Land of Shinar*. 222pp. Souvenir Press. 30s.  
NORA KUBIE: *Road to Nineveh*. 303pp. Cassell. 36s.

The spate of great picture books and smaller handbooks, either popular or more specialized, dealing with the art and archaeology of the ancient world, continues unabated. Dr. Stromminger's book (originally published in German in an already established series) is an expert's account of the art of Sumer and Assyria from the fourth to the first millennium B.C. accompanied by superb illustrations by Dr. Max Hirmer. The fine selection of illustrations is fully annotated by Dr. Stromminger and explained with drawings, notes and tables, but students should take warning that Dr. Stromminger has introduced here new appellations for sundry periods; thus, the periods for which the terms assigned by the late H. Frankfort were Pre-Dynastic, Early Dynastic and Proto-Dynastic are replaced by Early Sumerian I, II, III; the Kassite period is divided into Kassite-Babylonian and Pure Kassite. But to re-allocate the familiar term Neo-Babylonian to the period 880-600 B.C. and to call the one from 600-330 B.C. Late Babylonian instead of Neo-Babylonian or Persian is simply confusing and gratuitous. The brief chapter on the political background, by Wolfgang Nagel, advocates a much revised chronology; it also contains some new toponyms: "Enger" for Sumer, "Wari" for Akkad, "Urukug" for Lagash, learned variants for more familiar names which will simply puzzle students. For some baffling reason the pagination jumps from 46 to 375. But despite these defects this book will hold its position for a long time thanks above all to Dr. Hirmer's outstanding skill as a photographer and printer. Dr. Stromminger's often very obscure and crabbed original German is translated well by Miss C. Haglund.

In M. Margueron's book, *Mesopotamia*, we have the first of a new series "Archaeologia Mundi", edited by a Professor of the University of Bordeaux. It is not a very encouraging beginning. The illustrations have no relation to the text, which never once refers to them. They look as though they have been collected by an untrained but well-meaning publisher's assistant, more or less unaided. Large objects (reduced) are juxtaposed to small objects (enlarged) without any feeling for the architectural motifs should be regarded as a background before which the apostles of the tier above are displayed, the two divorced in accordance with the conventions of vertical perspective, as we see, for example, on the base of the Theodosios column at Constantinople. Instead he suggests that the decoration should be regarded as a prototype of the system which became universal after iconoclasm, where the scenes above belong to the heavenly and those below to a more mundane sphere. And here his ideas are surely not only in accord with the conceptions of the Byzantine world, but also with those of the exarchate of Ravenna, where so much that was to become universal later was heralded.

Though the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna and its decoration have been described and discussed in numerous articles or in larger works, this is, curiously enough, the first monograph to be devoted to them. Originally offered as a doctoral thesis, it has been expanded and revised, and is now published as a fully illustrated volume, with an introduction, giving a general survey of the problems, five chapters devoted respectively to the history of the building, its architecture, a descriptive programme, an appreciation of the significance of the decoration, and an appendix in which the literary sources are examined. Of these five chapters the first two are perhaps the most satisfactory; in the next two description and analysis become somewhat confused, and the two sections would have been better combined or divided in a different way; the appreciations in the final chapter are made very much from the standpoint of twentieth century aesthetics, and though the ideas are interesting, most of them must be very far removed from any that would have motivated the original designers. Though the plates are well chosen and look nice in themselves, their arrangement does not at all correspond with the sequence of the text. Opinions about the nature of the changes which the building has undergone from time to time or the date at which they took place have varied considerably. Mr. Kostof's examination serves to show beyond little possibility of doubt that a structure of the time of Uruk, founder of so much at Ravenna, and not a Roman bath as Ricci suggested, was taken over by Neon soon after 451 and was

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SPIRO K. KOSTOF: *The Orthodox Baptistry of Ravenna*. 171pp. 147 plates. Yale University Press. £5 5s.

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## TEMPLES OF NUBIA

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Yet another book on the monuments of Nubia—a translation of a French original published last year in Switzerland. It is written as a topical evocation of Nubia and its temples, but it is already out of date. The monuments are described in their original settings, as no doubt they were when the author visited them; but most of them are already dismantled and moved away piecemeal; at least one (Kalabsha) has been re-erected and opened to visitors for over two years in its new situation on the west of the Nile just above the High Dam. The author is not unaware of what is to happen to the temples, and indeed in an addendum he gives relatively up-to-

date news of their respective fates, but there is a strong element of the unreal in evocative accounts of buildings in their original settings when it is known that they have already been moved. The text is oblique and pretentious, with many allusions directed at a French-speaking audience. In an English translation which completely fails to catch the quality of the original, it has become awkward and in part meaningless. It is, further, not without small but irritating errors. Happily the illustrations are excellent, liberal, and without tricks; they truly evoke a lost land which will never be forgotten by those fortunate enough to have visited it.

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for the Mesopotamian mythology. Chapter 3 is a masterly economic survey of ancient Mesopotamia with a statement of its problems. Unlike so many writers on the ancient world, who present all the available information on a given subject, Dr. Oppenheim throughout emphasizes the vast lacunae in our knowledge (which, it is interesting to note, still exist in spite of the plethora of written documents) and opposes the factory-like approach to ancient Mesopotamia of the universities through mass-produced doctoral theses. If there is any criticism to be made of this remarkable book, it is firstly the use of extraordinary though often arresting expressions of classical type such as "bilinguality", "peripety", "hymnical", "acrographic". Perhaps they should be rather welcomed as a sign of vigour, than criticized.

A different matter is the illustra-

tion of the French at Telon and Mari and the Americans at Nippur all would have merited more mention.

The full-length life of Layard (*Layard of Nineveh*) by Mr. Gordon Waterfield recently gave us a picture of the man as a whole—traveller, excavator, politician, diplomat, art connoisseur. The aim of Mrs. Kubie's book is different. It simply collects and retells the story of his early years and Assyriological discoveries admirably. For this she draws on his own writings (of which his *Autobiography* is now a very scarce book) and includes his exciting and moving experiences as a young man in his twenties with the oppressed but ever courageous Persian tribe of Bakhtiari. Mrs. Kubie's book performs a useful service, and is well illustrated. It may be recommended as a sensible contribution to the growing library of general information about the early history of Assyriology.

## RAVENNA REVISITED

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25.11.66 (X) seems not to be taken into account  
the 2 other Hds. then used to save



19.21

Indications in the upper right corners classify handle and/or stamp, distinguishing stamped vessel if not an amphora ; 3) language if not Greek : 4) shape of stamp if not a ; numbers and any other documentation go to the left, any descriptive comment to the right of the stamped. Numbers in the middle are negative numbers.



1947-48 (1948)

Red. 1000  
in hundreds  $\nabla$  in hundreds



1

2

3

4

5



19.23-6

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19.24

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19.25

from W. H. H. Schuler, XT. 60.

Walter Lowrie, Art in the Early Church,  
N.Y. 1947, pl. 11, a and b.

a. "A good angel" conducts Vibes to paradise  
when she is seated at the celestial banquet.

Fourth century.

The stem is also 4th cent.

N 7832

.L 57

a. has a jar in a stand

\* See p. 71, interesting, on wine  
(wine mixed with water becomes v. strong, so as to keep in clay)

see: Lowrie / Wilpert & others dealing with Catacomb =  
 Painting:

Vibia arriving at the gates leading to a  
 heavenly Banquet; she is led by "Angelus  
 Bonus" [inscription] & is about to join 6 persons  
 ["judicio bonorum adjudicati..."] who are eating  
 & drinking wine. 2 (?) amphorae stuck into  
 the ground in front of Kline.



# REPRESENTATIONS

19.27

KABIRAN

I. 59 ?

Virginia;

- 2nd 1/2 56 ?

1st 1/2 56 ?

Carlin's  
book

Do you know the parody on

Od. 5. 291 ff. on a Vase at Oxford

showing ODYSSEUS being propelled

by BOPIAS & standing on two of yon  
amphorae?

P. Gardner, Cat. Vases Ox., no. 26,

pl. 26 ?

(Will Hesketh)

November 2, 1960

Dear Mary,

I don't know if this is too late now; Plate II 2 shows, I think, one of Virginia's amphorae stuck in its class. This is a lousy reproduction; but you can still see the inscriptions: INDUCTIO VIBIE S(?) / ANGELVS BONVS BONORVM INDICIO INDICATI

and, I even think: VIBIA, a second time. The scene above (here not reproduced) shows Vibia before Pluto being judged; she is lead, here, by Hermes psychopompos. In other words a wonderful mess. There is a book which, I think, has this:

Carlo Cecchetti, Ipogei eretici e sincretici, Rome, 1927.

P.S. I checked Lounie out under my name.

Tom



American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

September 8, 1960

Dear Willem,

I am ashamed that I neither replied to your letter of January, 1959, nor acted on it, by getting in touch with your student Miss M. Mulder while she was working at Ravenna. The result is, that with a new crisis over that picture book about amphoras, I am now in just the same position as I was two years ago, that is, for Ravenna I have only the picture of the roof of the tomb of Galla Placidia (Boll. d'Arte, VIII, 1914, ~~pp. 1-22~~ somewhere between pp. 1-22, fig.s 37 and 38) which could be better.

This is just to say that if in the meanwhile you have noticed anything in the way of a good clear photograph of roof construction which employs these jars - and the photograph should show the shape of the whole jar, to be perfect " I am still very much in the market for it; and if I could get it in a couple of weeks it would go into this edition of the booklet.

Professor Bovini, alas, never did reply to my letter of December, 1958.

Watching a recent reroofing of the American School of Classical Studies, the I reflect that the jars in <sup>the</sup> Gallia Placidia tomb are really more for insulation, aren't they; they seem to be just laid in loose.

I have to thank you for some very nice chits and photographs sent since your letter: a fine photo of a wall in Ostia with jars sticking out of its walls; a reference to a delightful picture of OAYZEYE navigating on amphoras in the Ashmolean which will certainly get stuck in somewhere; a fine mosaic in Ostia with ships and wine being loaded ? is this published somewhere ?

I expect to fly to the US on or about Sept. 30. The booklet ought to be ready then. Remember me in your orisons.

My love to Mary. When are you coming to Greece? I expect to be back in November.  
Yours,





Photo W. M. K. Sider,  
Ostia Antica (1956)  
a well

KUNSTHISTORISCH INSTITUUT DER RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT  
TE UTRECHT

JRN.-NR

RAVENNA

UTRECHT,  
DRIFT 25  
TEL. 12653

January 6, 1939

from 7 dit wil  
ack. tuss -

Dear Virginia,

I fear that my letter with diagrams to you  
never reached you. What I had was, however (I  
see & know it now), not clear enough for  
diagnostic let alone exhibitionistic purposes.

I am quite sure that Borini will respond; at  
least if he is back from a trip to Brazil. He  
is the biggest noise in Ravenna & gets undoubtedly  
more mail than anybody else.

In the course of the winter months, one of  
my studies will be in Ravenna to finish up work  
on a thesis. She knows everyone & in fact is working  
on the stucchi of the Baptistry of the Orthodox  
which has your jam. If this vague future date doesn't  
upset you, why don't you write to her directly, in  
English, & mention our correspondence. I know she would love  
to be helpful on the spot:

Miss M. Mulder,  
Viale Torricelli 5,  
Firenze. Italia.

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Explain to her the jam-problem  
in 2 sentences. She also knows the  
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Ravenna literature.



Care of Mrs. F. R. Grace  
113 Lakeview Ave.  
Cambridge, Mass.

December 31, 1958

Dear Willem,

Thank you very much for your two beguiling letters, which I much regret not having answered while still in Athens, but I became very much pressed there. For the same reason, I have only quite recently written to your Prof. Dott. BOVINI, so don't know yet whether he will be able to help me, or even whether the address I culled from your letter is adequate, but I hope he is big enough or Ravenna is small enough so it works. I did not write in Italiano: though I can figure it out, I can't perform in it, and I am guessing the same may be true for him about English.

I think that <sup>the</sup> objects used in some of the domes of Ravenna are jars rather than clay pipes, according to how they are referred to in the Boll. d'Arte VIII, 1914 article. In your letter of Nov. 9, you refer to the Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft as having a good drawing of the system of these domes. Can you identify this publication a little more closely? Give the author or something?

Your children sound very attractive. I shall extract all the details from Homer and Dorothy. My love to Mary. I hope the aspirin has cured her.

Yours,

*Don't forget to write, and then it is  
New York City*



Frammento fittile, su cui è graffita la lettera: B.

Altro frammento in cui leggesi pure a graffito: Π.

Pezzo di tegola col noto bollo impresso: ΣΗΛΩΝΣ.

Manico di anfora rodia col bollo rettangolare a lettere rilevate (Dumont, p. 100 n. 176):

*Filed*

ΜΑΡΞΥΑ  
ΔΑΛΙΟΥ

Altro manico col bollo pure rettangolare (Dumont, p. 79, n. 17):

*Filed*

ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤ  
ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ

Altro manico col bollo:

*Filed*

ΕΠΙΕΡΕΩΞ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ  
ΞΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ

Altri due manichi pure con bolli, incompleti per cattiva impressione e di difficile lettura:

*KT 1099* a) ΕΠ ΚΛΕΥΠ(   
 ΝΥΚΙΟΥ

b) ΔΑΜΟΥ   
 ΝΤΙΟΥ

Dal luogo medesimo provengono vari bolli di piombo con leggende greco-bizantine. Insieme a varie monete di bronzo, greco-reggine, rinvenute nel predetto luogo, se ne rinvennero delle elegantissime mamertine, e notiamo, che è frequente nel nostro territorio il ritrovarsi queste ultime monete, che fanno testimonianza degli attivissimi commerci tra i due popoli, nel tempo in cui Messina era occupata dai Mamertini. Invece raramente si trovano le monete col ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ, se si eccettuano quelle antichissime di argento, colla figura della lepre, che rimontano alla dominazione dei Messeni sopra l'una e l'altra città dello stretto.

Più volte, parlando delle colline che sovrastano alla città, dalla parte di oriente, si fece menzione dell'esistenza di antiche fosse, scavate in forma conica, sino alla profondità di 5 o 6 m., aventi alla base un diametro di m. 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  a 3, con semplice rivestimento di calce che aderisce al terreno, scavato in giro per lo spessore di m. 0,05.

Può credersi che fossero usate per conservare grano od altri cereali, per la pubblica sussistenza, tanto più che appariscono costruite in determinate distanze, a partire dall'alto delle colline, fino presso l'abitato. Nei tempi successivi, vi è da ritenere, che volendo ridurre a coltura quelle campagne, cacciarono entro quelle fosse tutto il pietrame ed i rottami di laterizi di cui erano disseminati quei luoghi, non risparmiando le tombe ivi esistenti.

Onde è che frugando in tali buche, spesso avviene di trovarvi ossa umane con resti di suppellettile funebre. Così da talune di esse, ricercate di recente per cavarne pietre, pervennero al museo molti piccoli vasi e lucerne di svariate forme, ed una congerie di frammenti ceramici. Notiamo parte di un disco fittile che doveva avere

Notizie 1892

REGIONE III.

— 489 —

REGGIO CALABRIA

Conservammo eziandio dei pezzi di forme in terracotta che servivano per lavorare tali figure, non che dei vasettini contenenti i colori per dipingerle e dei cannelli tagliati da tibie di bove che pare sieno stati usati dai figuli per tritare la creta e prepararla per lavori di plastica, di cui Reggio andava lodata dagli antichi.

Dal medesimo luogo si ebbero due bracieri fittili, ornati a rilievo, con mascheroni a faccia umana, con lunga barba.

Moltissimi manichi di anfore, con bolli greci, si scoprirono parimenti nella stessa località, taluni illegibili pel durissimo strato di calcare di cui sono rivestiti.

In uno nondimeno leggesi il bollo rettangolare:

ΕΠΙΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΕΥΞ  
ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΥΟΥ

In un altro, pure rettangolare, con testa in rilievo rappresentante il Sole radiato (Dumont, p. 105, n. 213).

ΕΠΙΞΕΝΟ  
ΦΑΝΕΥΞ

In un terzo si ripete completamente il bollo rodio (Dumont, p. 100, n. 174):

ΜΑΡΞΥΑ  
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ

Un quarto presenta, con una stella in ciascuno dei quattro angoli:

A  
ΑΡΙΞΤΑΡΧΟΥ

w. asterisks and letters A, Σ

Gli esempi di questo bollo riportati dal Dumont più o meno incompleti (l. c. p. 82, 83) mostrano le stelle in alcuni angoli solamente.

Un quinto offre:

ΕΠΙΑΡΑΤΟ  
//////ΝΕΥΞ  
ΝΘΙΟΥ

[ΕΜΙ]ΘΙΟΥ?

Un sesto che sembra potersi completare col confronto precedente:

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΑ  
ΤΟΜ  
ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ

Αριστομάχος?

In un bollo circolare, nel cui centro è un fiore di loto, leggesi intorno:

ΕΠΙΑΡΙΞΤΟΝΙΑ ΥΑΗΙΝΘΙΟΥ

In un altro pure circolarmente leggesi:

ΛΟΗΡΑΤΕΥΞ

In altro è il bollo rappresentante una piccola anfora a rilievo.

In un manico il bollo è formato delle sole lettere: ΑΦ.



- Un altro bollo di manico presenta solamente:  $\Lambda\Sigma//\Omega$ .  
 Un altro:  $\Lambda$ .  
 In altri tre manichi si notano questi segni a graffito: a) MM; b) B; c) MYA.  
 In un piombo è impresso:  $\Lambda K$ .  
 Sopra una faccia di un piccolo parallelogrammo è graffito: EPMAΣ.

Notiamo ancora che da una delle nominate fosse sono venute in gran copia le belle monete reggine, in bronzo, portanti da un lato la testa laureata di Apollo e dietro una palma; nel rovescio un lupo, con la leggenda PHΓINON ed il segno III.

Nel decorso mese di maggio, tali monete, possedute da un privato, furono vendute per più di 400 esemplari. Sopra gran parte da me osservata, trovai che le medesime erano state ribattute sopra monete brezie, in guisa tale, che il conio non aveva fatto interamente scomparire l'antica impronta, aparendo ove la testa di Giove, ove dell'aquila e degli analoghi simboli, ed in talune l'intero nome BPETTIQN.

Dallo stesso luogo, tra i frammenti di bronzo si ebbero: aghi crinali; un manico di vaso con ornati; ami da pesca ed altro. Si rinvennero anche varie monete di Reggio, tra le quali tre con la testa di Apollo laureata e sul rovescio la Vittoria, stante, con la palma nella sinistra, e corona nella destra.

Tale moneta è riprodotta dal Garrucci nel n. 16 sulla tavola delle monete reggine.

Al Museo pervenne anche un bello esemplare, pure in bronzo, della moneta segnata al n. 8 di detta tavola. Reca le teste di Apollo e Diana, con punta di lancia nella nuca; nel rovescio, il tripode col PHΓINON e quattro globetti sormontati dal segno X. Oltre la notevole conservazione è tanta l'eleganza del conio, che volendo ravvisare nel monogramma il nome dell'artefice, non sarei alieno dall'attribuirlo a Kratesippo, segnalato incisore nella monetazione classica di Reggio.

G. CAMINITI.

SARDINIA

XVII. TERRANOVA-FAUSANIA — *Avanzi di antichità romane e monete imperiali rinvenute nell'altipiano di Telti nel territorio olbiese.*

Nell'altipiano di Telti, furono ripresi gli scavi in continuazione di quelli eseguiti due anni or sono (cfr. Notizie 1890, p. 337). Sul principio, ad una profondità media di m. 1,20, si incontrarono solo calcinacci e rottami di embrici appartenenti a muri disfatti, come testimoniavano le vestigia delle fondazioni; più avanti, sopra uno strato di terra nera ed untuosa, giacevano sparsi ed in confusione, molti frammenti di grosse anfore e vari pezzi di volute e fogliami ricorrenti all'intorno. Furono pure messe alla luce le rovine di un muricciuolo intonacato con cemento e sabbia grossolana; presso il muro, distese sopra un denso strato di carboni, stavano due colonne di granito, in parte annerite per l'azione del fuoco.

Contemporaneamente si scoprì un fosso ricolmo di calcinacci e terraglie triturate; fra queste meritano di essere ricordati: il fondo di un'anfora, della circonfe-





6V1175-8

*Handwritten notes in purple ink:*  
 6V1175-8  
 100  
 100  
 100

*Handwritten note in purple ink:*  
 Sanctus, Michael & Thomas. See

ΓΟΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ  
ΟΥ

6.

ΘΕ ΥΜΝΑΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΕΠΙ  
ΝΟΥ

7.

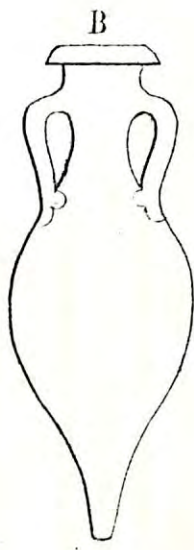
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8.

\*ΕΠΙ ΑΓΕ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
\*ΣΜΙΝΟΣ \*

9.

ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑ  
ΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ



6

ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΥ

7.

ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΥ

8.

ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΩ

9.

ΝΥ ΙΟΥ  
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(1) Il Ch. F.  
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INB

INVITO ALLA SARDEGNA  
BARUMINI

Nuraghe e Villaggio Nuragico

Nuraghe et village nuragique

Nuraghe and nuraghi village

Nuraghe und Nuragendorf

10 July 1975 Sotgiu, Sardegna.  
Meet a Nuraghi. —

The excavation goes well although  
we are running out of money, time, &  
energy. What else is new? We've almost  
established that the previous excavator  
was incorrect in calling our site a  
bronze foundry having perhaps found  
instead several pits for bottoms which  
he proceeded to adapt to his whim.  
Aside from this there are no amazing  
surprises. If we don't add anything  
to history perhaps we can at least help  
correct some incorrect assumptions.

Best wishes from a Nuraghi-dweller.

Charlie Shumaker



PER VIA AEREA  
PAR AVION

Mod. 24-R

Ms. Virginia Grace

STOA OF ATTALOS

Ödös Hadrianou

Athens, Greece

GRECIA



Pairs from Sardinia

Trappu ᾠπιοτράα,

MTPOSS

WHOLE AMPHORA, NO  
MEASUREMENTS

MTPO

Sardinia, necropolis of Tharros. See  
F. Pozzani, Bulletino Archeologico  
Sardo, 5, IV, May 1859, pp. 65-73  
(Phibragues  
pl. L. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000)

Sardinia, necropolis of Tharros. See  
fabriano cart

21. IV. 73

Combination cards have been made, and  
have been filed; entries made in Expiro-  
graph cards.



1.  
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3.  
ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ  
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ

4.  
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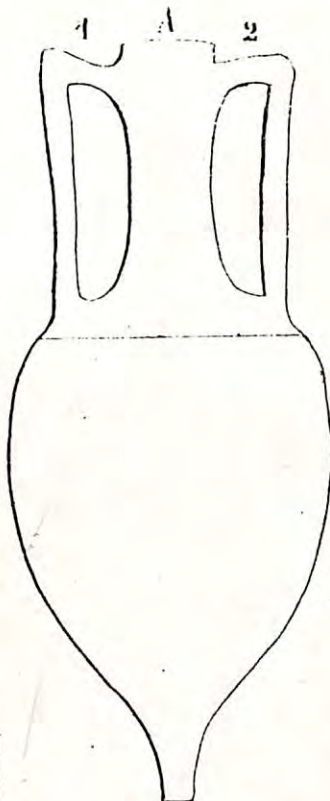
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8.  
\*ΕΠΙ ΑΓΕ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
\*ΣΜΙΝΟΣ \*

9.  
ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑ  
ΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ



1.  
\* ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΣ \*

2.  
\* ΝΥΣΙΟΥ \*

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ΝΥ ΙΟΥ

BULL

N.º 5.

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interpretazio  
ed acque te

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ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ  
ΝΟΣ  
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ΕΠΙ ΑΡΑΤΟ  
ΦΑΝΕΥΣ

ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ  
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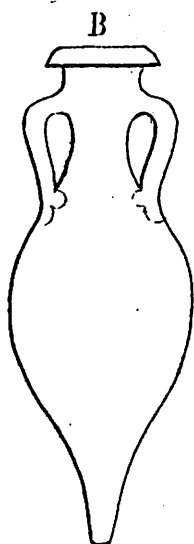
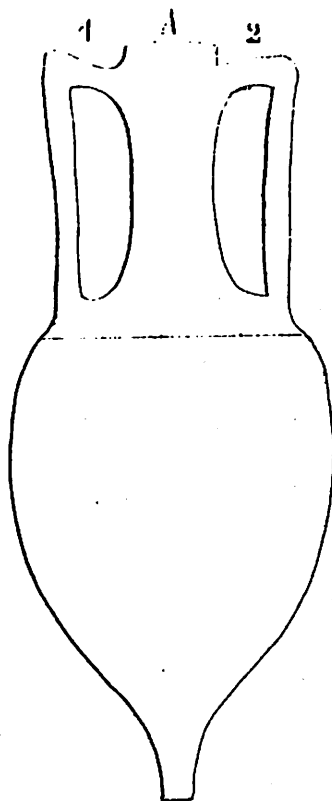
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ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΣΑ  
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ΕΠΙ ΑΓΕ  
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ΣΜΙΝΟΣ



ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΣ

ΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΞΙΠΝΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

ΚΑΛΛΑΟΣ

ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΥ

ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΥ

ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΩ

# BULLETTINO ARCHEOLOGICO SARDO

N.º 5.

ANNO V.

Maggio 1859.

*Nomi greci che si leggono nei Manubrij di diote di terracotta — Anelli antichi (continuazione della pag. 58) Sigilli e Materia — Nuova interpretazione della Stela Fenicia di Tharros — Terme antiche ed acque termali in Sardegna.*

NOMI GRECI CHE SI LEGGONO NEI MANUBRIJ

DI DIOTE DI TERRACOTTA (1)

Moltissime sono le diote greche scoperte in Sicilia, ed ultimamente in Sardegna nella necropoli di Tharros, le quali nei manubrii hanno il bollo con iscrizione greca, come si può vedere nella tav. L messa in fronte (2). Se non

(1) Il Ch. P. Vinc. Federico Pogwisch dei MM. Conventuali in Messina, Socio dell' Instituto Archeologico, ch' ebbimo la fortuna di conoscere nel maggio del 1856, allorchè ci trovavamo in Messina, ci ha mandato questa disquisizione, la quale si collega colle diote greche trovate in Sardegna. A questo distinto archeologo avevamo comunicato le iscrizioni dei manubrii sardi, e ci rallegriamo di aver combinato nei sentimenti, ringraziandolo dell' onore che arreca a questo nostro lavoro col di lui scritto (N. del Diret.).

(2) Gli impronti che gli comunicammo furono solamente quattro, cioè quelli della nostra raccolta. Siccome però di queste diote ne furono estratte altre dalle tombe di Tharros, così ora ne possiamo enumerare 12, cioè 2 di Lord Vernon (V. Tav. N. 6 e 7), 3 del cav. D. Paolo Spano (N. 4, 8, 9), ed altre 3 del R. Musco (N. 3, 4, 5), oltre quelle che furono esportate all' estero delle quali non abbiamo potuto avere gli impronti. Anche in Cagliari si conoscevano simili diote, perchè Vinc. Crespi trovò uno di questi manubrii, quando nello scorso anno si scavavano le fondamenta per fare la cinta all' ingrandimento del Campo Santo. Recentemente pure ne sono state scoperte altre due col nome del vasaio Eracleu e colla solita marca del caduceo, dall' altra parte col nome di due eponimi nuovi Austrato, e Timoditheo (Nota del Diret.).

Il Ch. P. Vinc. Federico Pogwisch dei MM. Conventuali in Messina, Socio dell' Instituto Archeologico, ch' ebbimo la fortuna di conoscere nel maggio del 1856, allorchè ci trovavamo in Messina, ci ha mandato questa disquisizione, la quale si collega colle diote greche trovate in Sardegna. A questo distinto archeologo avevamo comunicato le iscrizioni dei manubrii sardi, e ci rallegriamo di aver combinato nei sentimenti, ringraziandolo dell' onore che arreca a questo nostro lavoro col di lui scritto (N. del Diret.).

che gli autori che parlarono di queste iscrizioni vi ravvisarono i nomi dei mesi degli antichi Siciliani. Il ch. *Torremuzza* nella sua opera delle Iscrizioni di Sicilia, e di altre Isole ad essa vicine (pag. LVII e LXVI), parlando delle epoche cronologiche dei Siciliani e dei loro mesi, per mezzo di questi bolli impressi nei manubrii di certe anfore trovate in Sicilia, ha creduto di scuoprire dei mesi greco-siculi nei nomi aggiunti a quelli dei Rettori Eponomi. Sebbene all'opinione del dotto autore abbiano aderito l'*Avolio*, ed il *Crispi*, quanto a me dico che in essa non ho veduto mai chiaro, e più mi sono riconfermato dopo che di questi simili manubrii ne vennero in mio potere, e dopo che il mio amico Can. *Spano*, direttore di questo Bullettino, mi favorì gl'impronti di quelle diote trovate in Sardegna (1). I nomi dei mesi greco-siculi ritrovati dal citato *Torremuzza* sarebbero i seguenti (p. LIX). *Carneus*, *Panemus*, *Poseidonius*, *Arthemithius*, *Boedromius*, *Thesmophorius*, *Theudesius*, *Agrianus*, *Dalius*, *Lyamus*, *Laromius*, *Hyacinthius*. Questi nomi che vengono dopo il nome degli Eponomi dico che a vece d'indicare i mesi proprii ai Siciliani, siano nomi propri del padre, o della patria, oppure agnomin di coloro che erano Rettori di quel luogo ove furono fabbricati i suddetti vasi.

A favore di questa mia opinione mi si presentano da prima i varj monumenti che lo stesso *Torremuzza* ha pubblicati nella cit. opera alla classe VIII, nei quali i nomi

(1) La diota disegnata A è quella su i di cui manubrij (1 e 2) si trovano le iscrizioni in rilievo. Le diote sono della stessa altezza, un metro circa, e della stessa capacità. Quella notata B, è di manifattura sarda, ed intanto l'abbiamo messa per confronto, perchè pare sia fatta ad imitazione della prima. Di questa sorta se ne sono estratte molte che possono vedersi nel R. Museo, oltre quelle che possiedono i particolari. Le iscrizioni le abbiamo collocate come si trovano disposte nei manubrii, cioè quelle che sono collocate a destra corrispondono al manubrio destro dell'anfora, e quelle a sinistra al sinistro manubrio, come si vedono nella cit. Tavola che diamo in fronte. (Nota del Diret.)

che sono aggiunti a quegli altri cui è affissa, o no, la preposizione *ἐν*, abbiano o no tali secondi nomi apposto l'articolo *τῶν*, sempre sono tradotti dallo stesso autore come nomi di padre, e non di mese: mi si presentano altresì i bolli degli stessi manubrii da lui riferiti nella classe XV, ai num. LVII, LXII e LXIII, nei quali i tre nomi aggiunti ai tre primi coll' *ἐν* sono riguardati dal medesimo non come nomi di mese, ma dei genitori rispettivi. Se dunque non sono indicati nei monumenti di maggior importanza, come sono quelli della classe VIII, ove si leggono i nomi delle autorità eponome, i nomi dei mesi, molto meno questi si debbono rinvenire nelle brevi iscrizioni dei manubrii delle anfore: e se in questi (classe XV) ha trovato alcuni bolli coll'aggiunta del nome dei genitori, per analogia li doveva riconoscere negli altri simili, come per esempio nel bollo LVII nell'ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΝΗΕΤΘΙΟΥ che traduce *sub Timotheo Nieuthii filio*, mentre che non fa lo stesso nel bollo XXXIII traducendo l'ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ *sub Cleocrate Dalio mense*, in vece di *sub Cleocrate Dalii filio*. Per la stessa ragione di analogia io deduco che il *Dalio* nel bollo non indichi che un nome di distinzione relativo al soggetto che ivi si ricorda dopo la preposizione; e lo stesso affermo per tutti quei diversi nomi che il *Torremuzza* ci dichiara come mesi.

Il motivo poi per cui l'autore in questi aggiunti abbia trovato il nome dei mesi, è stato perchè nella storia greca trovò alcuni di questi secondi nomi simili a quei dei mesi adoperati dagli antichi greci, come ei scrive alla pag. LIX, come sono *Panemus*, *Artemithius*, *Boedromius*: ma questa similitudine dei nomi trovata nei bolli delle anfore con alcuni dei mesi usati dai Greci non è sufficiente per conchiudere che quelli fossero nomi di mesi, trovandosi nomi e cognomi che corrispondono a quelli: anzi vi sono dei mesi che hanno preso il nome da quello degli uomini stessi.



Tralasciando le antiche iscrizioni latine coi nomi *Januarius Martius, Julius* ecc., nelle iscrizioni greche dei medesimi bolli abbiamo quello di ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ, e quello di ΔΑΔΙΟΣ: anzi il Torremuzza stesso osserva che il *Carneo* era un cognome anche proprio di Apollo, e che da questo nome sia stato poi provenuto ad uno dei mesi (loc. cit. p. LXVI). Altronde è da notare, a confessione dello stesso autore, che gli ultimi quattro nomi di mese *Dalios, Lyamus, Laromius, e Hyacinthius* non li trovò adoperati dai Greci, come aveva potuto trovare i primi otto.

A tutto questo poi si aggiunge che altri secondi nomi sono stati rinvenuti in altri bolli i quali certo non sono da reputarsi nomi di mesi, ma del padre, della patria, ovvero agnomi atti a distinguere quei soggetti, o Rettori dagli omonimi loro corrispondenti. Di tal fatta sono quelli riferiti dall' *Avolio* nella sua opera delle antiche fatture di argilla in quel bollo (tav. III num 12) ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΑΔ ΑΟΤΙΜΟΥ ed in quelle formole di sua traduzione *nel governo di Arsilano Geloo, di Pitogene Sartamita*, ecc. ecc. (pag. 93, 94) e di tale specie se ne osservano in altri bolli della mia raccolta. Occorre pure che in essi bolli alcuni Rettori hanno lo stesso nome che non può esser di mese, come per esempio alla pag. 209, n. 38 del Torremuzza, ed in quella dell' *Avolio* alla tav. 3, num. 23 si ricorda un bollo con ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΑΔΙΟΥ, riferendosi un altro *Aristogeto Allio*: ora se questi aggiunti fossero mesi, quanti mesi si avrebbero nello stesso anno? Conviene dunque meglio dire che il *Dalios* è nome di uomo, come viene dimostrato nei due bolli da me posseduti. Così stesso nei due *Erei*, uno presso il Torremuzza (p. 213, n. 13) coll'aggiunta di *Archida*, e l'altro presso l' *Avolio* (p. 93) coll'aggiunto di *Agrianio*, riconoscendo in questi aggiunti una distinzione degli omonimi. E finalmente si rileva negli aggiunti dei due *Anaxibuli*, uno dello Spano, in quei bolli di Tharros

che mostra dopo di sè un ΣΜΙΝΙΘΙΟΥ (v. num. 9), e l'altro nell'opera dell' *Avolio* coll'aggiunta di *Agrianio*, e del Tharrese.

Parliamo ora di quei bolli che dopo la preposizione ΕΠΙ hanno il solo nome, come sono quelli del Torremuzza (211, 212, e 213) ΕΠΙ ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ — ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ — ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ — ΕΠΙ ΕΝΟΦΑΝΕΥΣ — ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ, ecc. e quelli dell' *Avolio* (pag. 86, 89 e 94) coi soli nomi *Casicrate, Enoesero, Callicrate*, ecc. ai quali si possono aggiungere due della mia collezione ΕΠΙ ΑΙΝΗΣΙΑΔΑΜΟΥ ed ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ. Ora se per legge dei Rettori, o dell'autorità locale i vasellai dovevano mettere il nome del mese nei loro bolli, non vedo la ragione perchè manchino i mesi in questi ed altri bolli. Conviene adunque inferirne che i nomi aggiunti siano per indicare i soggetti omonimi onde scansare qualche equivoco tra i Rettori o Eponomi. È cosa poi certa che s' incontrino dei manubrij i quali hanno dei bolli senza la preposizione ΕΠΙ, e nulla di meno hanno nomi reputati sinora come mesi, tale è per esempio quello del Torremuzza (pag. 204) ΜΑΡΣΙΑ (Marsia) ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ, e quel dell' *Avolio*, oltre a quell' *Anaxibulo Agrianio*, un certo *Strato Carnio*; e nella mia collezione ho due manubrij, uno col bollo ΜΑΡΣΙΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ e l'altro con ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΕΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ. Questi nomi adunque devono essere nomi vasellaj, e non di Rettori Eponomi per mancare la preposizione che per il Torremuzza e lo Spanemio è il contrassegno di tal sorta di Autorità.

Rimane ora di osservare alcuna cosa intorno a quei bolli nei quali si è scoperto dal Torremuzza e dall' *Avolio*, non solo il nome del mese, ma eziandio del giorno in cui fu lavorata l'anfora: e di più intorno a quegli altri nei quali crede il Torremuzza d'essere indicato il mese intercalare, come sono quei bolli riportati alla pagina LXVII e e LXVIII della sua opera, ove all' ΕΠΙ preposto al nome si scorgono altri due nomi ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ. Da quanto mi pare inconcepibile che quegli artefici tanto industriosi

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avrebbero preparato i sigilli da adoperare in un giorno solamente, perciò sostengo che quel nome reputato dal Torremuzza e dal Crispi per giorno primo del mese, non è altro che il nome del vasellajo. Uno di questi bolli è riferito dal primo alla pag. 206, num. XXII che egli ottenne dalle schede di *Gaetano Noto*, nella seguente forma

ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΡΡ  
ΡΟΔΟΥ  
ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ  
ΙΜΑ

L' altro poi è riportato dal Crispi negli opuscoli di letteratura (tav. 6, fig. 3) nel seguente modo.

ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥ  
ΣΑΝΙΑ  
ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ  
—  
ΙΜΑ

Il primo spiegò *Sub Timurrodo Badromii mensis die prima*. Il secondo tradusse *Επι Πανσανία Πανάμου ημέρα πρώτη* soggiungendo che *Pausanias est Praefecti, sive Gubernatoris nomen, sub cujus imperio fuit figulinum hoc fictum et inscriptum. Mensis πάνεμος fuit Corinthiorum, a quibus in Siciliam pertransivit, et dorice παναμος dictus. . . . Ιμα est abbreviatio solita, linea super literas adpicta. Primae exprimunt ημέρα pro ημέρα die . . . remanet Α, quae numerum primum signat* (l. cit. p. 261, 262). Ma io soggiungo che quell' ΙΜΑ dei surriferiti bolli, non significhi nè *giorno* nè *primo*, bensì è per indicare il semplice nome del vasellajo, perchè quantunque vi si volesse scorgere col *Crispi* un' abbreviazione di vocabolo, ci potrebbe richiamare quell' ΙΜΑΡΑΤΟΥ dell' *Avolio* alla Tav. IV, n. 39. Le recenti scoperte poi di manubrij ci dimostrano lo stesso ΙΜΑ solitario nel bollo, e quindi senza alcun dubbio dev' esser nome di artefice. Di fatto io posseggo due di

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tali manubrij che sotto l' *ima* hanno un caduceo. Bisogna adunque credere che le copie di quelle iscrizioni trasmesse al Torremuzza ed al Crispi siano state eseguite con poca esattezza, e che per ragione di brevità, il copista abbia unito l' iscrizione che stava impressa in due distinti manubrij dell' anfora, contentandosi di frapporre la linea per non confondere il nome dell' artefice con quello dell' Eponomo, e col suo aggiunto; oppure che abbia malamente copiato il segno del caduceo.

In riguardo poi a quei bolli ove si scorge il ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ col- l'aggiunto ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ, per es. ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ, ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ, ed in cui il Torremuzza (pag. LXIII e seg.) ritrovò un mese intercalare, che ei chiama *Panamo*, o *Panemo secondo*, io osservo che il *devtèru* unito col *Panamu* dimostri, non la differenza di due mesi omonimi, ma la differenza di due soggetti. Imperciocchè sa ognuno, come cosa solenne era presso gli antichi di aggiungere un nome di distinzione ordinale ai nomi simili di due soggetti. Ciò era in uso non solo presso i Greci, ma anche presso i Latini. Rispetto a questi il *Fabretti* (Inscrizione p. 368 e seg.) ci rende avvertiti che essi significavano sì fatta diversità con i vocaboli *major*, *minor*, *senior*, *junior*, secondo l' ordine di loro nascita, per cui tanto frequenti i prenomi di *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, *Quartus*, *Quintus* etc. comune pure agli Etruschi, secondo il *Lanzi* (Sag. di Ling. Etr. tom. I, p. 131), soggiungendo che tal costume vigeva fin dal secolo d' oro.

Che poi cotal costume d' apporre i nomi indicanti distinzione d' ordine fosse comune anche ai Greci, lo dimostrano chiaramente le iscrizioni antiche, tra le quali quella riportata dal *Marini* (Iscrizioni della casa Albani pag. 184) in cui è ricordata una ΖΗΝΟΒΙΑ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΠΙ, alla qual voce dice il cit. Autore che, *quelli che non amarono di latinizzare dissero neotèrus i figliuoli che avevano gli stessi nomi e*



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cognomi dei loro padri, o i fratelli e le sorelle omonime per distinguere gli uni dagli altri. Sebbene però non abbia visto epigrafi greche alle quali sia apposto il δευτερος come cognome di distinzione di soggetti omonimi, ciò non di meno leggo nel *Reinesio* (Classe XIV, n. LVIII) un *Aniana* cui è dato il cognome di *Deutera*, il quale sebbene usato in una iscrizione latina, fa vedere d'essere stato il cognome adoperato anche dai Greci.

Da tutto ciò non esito punto di affermare che il *deuterus* congiunto col nome Panamo debbasi tradurre per *Secundus*, colla differenza che ove il Torremuzza lo stima in aggiunta di ordine successivo in due mesi omonimi, io escludendo l'intercalazione del mese *Panamo*, lo giudico un aggiunto di ordine successivo in due persone di nome simile. Mi conferma di più il vedere nei medesimi bolli riportati dal Torremuzza, che il *deuteru* ora è dopo il *Panamu*, ed ora interposto tra due nomi, come quello della pag. LXVII della cit. opera ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΠΡΟΔΕΟΥΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ, richiedendo ciò l'uso degli altri monumenti, ove l'aggettivo d'ordine non si mette mai prima, ma dopo del nome, come si vede in quella di Atene dallo stesso Torremuzza riportata ΠΟΣΕΙΔΕΩΝΑ. Α. ΗΘ ΣΕΙΔΕΩΝΑ. Β. per contrassegnare i due mesi omonimi.

La sovraespota mia opinione viene confermata dalle altre iscrizioni delle diote di Tharros, raccolte dal ch. mio amico C. Spano, in guisa che ricordano gli stessi nomi di molti trovati in Sicilia come *Ilyacinthio*, *Agrianio*, *Artamisio*, *Sminithio* ecc. (V. cit. Tav. num. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9). Da ciò però non inferisco che in Sardegna, sebbene vi fossero altre e molte officine plastiche (Bullet. ann. II, p. 80-83), che ivi siano state fabbricate queste diote, ma più presto che siano state importate dalla Sicilia. Altre scoperte che si potranno fare sul proposito aggiungeranno fede al nostro giudizio, vale a dire che i secondi nomi degli anzidetti

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bolli così della Sicilia che della Sardegna non siano aggiunti ai primi che per distinguere quei soggetti omonimi che ivi si ricordano, senza alcuna relazione a quei mesi o giorni che il Torremuzza ed altri Autori stimarono di esservi dinotati.

P. V. FED. POGWISCH

## ANELLI ANTICHI SARDI

(Contin. della pag. 80)

### SIGILLI E MATERIA

L'uso di segnare o sigillare coll'anello è antichissimo, e pare che per questo solo oggetto sia stato inventato in origine, vale a dire per la comodità di poterlo aver pronto, e di non esporsi al pericolo di perderlo, portandolo nelle giunture delle dita ben assicurato. L'anello che Faraone diede a Giuseppe fu per sigillare, e perciò si chiamava *signatorius*, e da Vopisco *sigillaritium*. Coll'anello si sigillavano i patti, i diplomi, i testamenti, le carte nuziali, i congedi militari (1), le scritture, le lettere (2) per l'autenticità dell'esecuzione. La lettera che Jezabele mandò per trucidare il povero *Naboth* era segnata coll'anello del Re Acabbo (III Reg. XXI, 8). Assuero dà la facoltà a Mardocheo di mandar lettere segnate col sigillo del suo anello per rivocare il feral decreto contro gli Ebrei (Esth. VIII 8).

(1) V. Il nostro Frammento di un Congedo militare sardo. Cagl. 1040, e Bullet. Append. An. I. Gli anelli servivano anche per marcare le derrate, onde avessero credito, col nome del proprietario, come il pane, le stoviglie, zolfo, minio, tinte, ecc. come si è trovato in Pompei.

(2) Seneca desiderava che gli uomini non si servissero mai dei sigilli, volendo con ciò indicare la buona fede colle sole parole.





Lund, Febr. 24, 1951

ITALY —  
SARDINIA

Dear Miss Grace,

May I call your attention to  
two Rhodian amphora stamps found  
at Cagliari in Sardinia & published in  
the last issue of *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1949  
(printed in 1950) p. 247

Ap]  $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$   $\Pi\epsilon\tau\tau$ ]  $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ -

$\tau\omicron\nu$   
 $\Delta\alpha\lambda$ ]  $\iota\omicron\nu$

and

$\epsilon\tau\tau\iota$ ]  $\text{MEVE}$

$\mu\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\kappa\rho\alpha$ ]  $\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$

or, as the author says that the  $\kappa$  is due  
to his correction, perhaps  $\text{MEVE}(\sigma\tau)\rho\alpha$ ]  $\tau\omicron\nu$ .

I hope your work proceeds well.

Yours sincerely

W. D. Patterson

act. tota  
3. IV. 51 (no id. yet)

Nothing there. Type is a bit. Can't

identify the 2nd at all, nor any established

Ph. & p. beginning with MEVE.

21.11

BREVKORT  
CARTE POSTALE



American School  
of Classical Studies  
Athens  
Greece

Miss Virginia Grace  
~~Institute of Advanced Study~~

~~Princeton - New Jersey~~  
~~U. S. A.~~



A. It will be a great advantage  
 and consult  
 publication of the 2000 key: 5 lines  
~~not that I have~~  
~~the office are~~ can retain for 5 years  
 To print office and cabinet accordingly

B.

American School of Classical Studies  
 Athens, Greece Cable address: AMSCHOOL  
 Athens

August 1, 1960

Dearest Pip,

I am not quite sure I understand the address you gave me, but write on the chance - to ask you if you will as far as convenient take photos of any ancient big jars of my type you may see in Sardinia. I am sure there are some. If not in museums, then in houses of fishermen, dragged up by the deep-lying nets used from large sailing or motor ships. Even quite informal photos are very helpful. If possible, get the jars in a good side view, handles opposite each other, mouth a straight line. Again if possible, a measurement of one in each picture, or a measurable object included in the picture.

They have given me a place in the jet from here to the U.S. - N.Y. - on October 1. They are working on a place for you on August 31; they had got you as far as Paris when last queried. Would Oct. 1 give me a chance to see Judy before the great event?? I hope so. I have also asked for accommodation in Delos for us both, for which we would leave Petraeus August 17, a little after noon.

I must stop this, because somebody is nobly typing something for me in the other room so I can get ahead with my WORK, and how would it look if they suddenly came in to ask some point of form.

How wonderful that you are coming. I am practising sleeping on the terrace that has no parapet, as they have torn up the surface of the regular terrace. I tether myself around the middle to the bed.

My best to the Suteliffes.



ques, II, p. 587, fig. 748. D'altronde il graffito qui riprodotto è nitidissimo e si ripete al n. 85 (fig. 30 d).

41. Fondo di coppa decorato con rosellina al centro.

42. Fondo di coppa decorato con quattro foglie in croce (una sola conservata).

43. Fondo di coppa decorato con uno stesso motivo ripetuto quattro volte e disposto in croce. Il motivo non è facilmente descrivibile: è costituito da due C volte in fuori (uno manca) (fig. 25 d).

44. Numerosi altri frammenti non decorati.

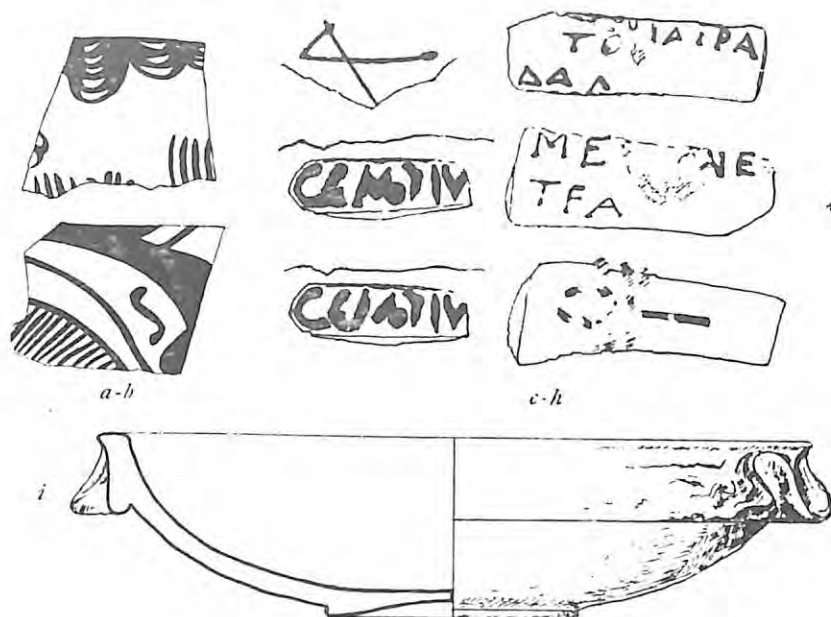


Fig. 26. — Frammenti ceramici, di cui due iberici.

#### CERAMICA IBERICA DI ETÀ ELLENISTICA.

Questa ceramica, assai rara in Italia, è rappresentata nello scavo da soli sei pezzetti, di cui cinque rinvenuti nel pozzo ed uno fuori del pozzo (n. 119).

Questa ceramica, dapprincipio creduta d'immediato influsso miceneo per alcune analogie, in verità impressionanti, con lo stile miceneo tardo, fu più tardi riconosciuta come in massima parte ellenistica per dati di scavo sicuri, nonostante reminiscenze e persistenze (o semplici analogie?) dello stile geometrico figurato e dello stile orientalizzante. La bibliografia sino al 1925 trovasi in Mau-Mercklin-Matz, *Katalog des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, II, 1 (*Kunst*), p. 815.

I motivi dei pochi frammenti del santuario di Cagliari si trovano tutti sui pezzi già pubblicati. Del più caratteristico, la serie concentrica di tre quarti di cerchio (fig. 25 a) non ho trovato altri esempi; ma molto gli si avvicina quello riprodotto in *Anuari Estudos Catalans*, I, MCMVIII, p. 261, fig. 25, n. 22. La catena di esse disposte diagonalmente delle figg. 26 b, 25 e la troviamo ivi, p. 245, fig. 8 ed in *Archivio Español de Arqueología*, n. 50 (1943) figg. 38; 46, a, b. La serie di festoncini della fig. 26 a si ritrova in *Mon. Piot*, XVII, 1909, p. 63, fig. 2; e meglio ancora in *Revue Arch.*, VI, 1917, II, p. 86, fig. 2; p. 87, fig. 3, ed in

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# MÉLANGES DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME

SPINA

ANTIQUITÉ

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Jean GAGÉ

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SERENA DE LUCA DE MARCO

## LE ANFORE COMMERCIALI DELLE NECROPOLI DI SPINA\*

In diversi casi<sup>1</sup>, fra il corredo delle tombe scavate nelle necropoli di Spina<sup>2</sup>, sono state rinvenute una, a volte due, anfore.

Di queste, un centinaio circa, si è cercato di dare una tipologia, in considerazione delle caratteristiche tecniche più evidenti, e nello stesso tempo una collocazione cronologica, cosa questa resa possibile dall'associazione sicura con il resto del corredo.

### 1) DESCRIZIONE TIPOLOGICA E AREA DI DIFFUSIONE

#### 1) CLASSE I - CORCIRESE o CORINZIO B

Sono state così classificate<sup>3</sup> anfore il cui sviluppo, a Spina, abbraccia un arco cronologico di circa tre secoli. Questo gruppo nel suo insieme è caratterizzato più che dalla forma, che subisce una certa evoluzione nel tempo, dal tipo d'argilla e di cottura.

\* Ringrazio innanzitutto il Professor Arias, insieme con il Professor Alfieri, per avermi permesso di studiare questo materiale. Ringrazio inoltre il Direttore del Museo Archeologico di Ferrara, architetto S. Maccaferri, l'Ispettrice, Dottoressa F. Berti, e tutto quanto il personale del medesimo Museo, i Signori Angelini e D'Ascanio in particolare, che mi hanno aiutato nella ricerca del materiale nei diversi magazzini. Ringrazio anche il Dottor M. Gras, Directeur des Études alla Scuola Francese di Roma, la Professoressa O. Pancrazzi e il Dottor L. Massei †, dell'Università di Pisa, per il loro prezioso aiuto. Un ultimo ringraziamento, per quanto riguarda i disegni, va all'Assistente Tecnico dell'Istituto di Archeologia di Pisa, Mario Epifani.

<sup>1</sup> Le anfore qui prese in considerazione sono in tutto 95; non sono state considerate una cinquantina di anfore in condizioni di estrema frammentarietà, per lo più eratiche. Si può pensare, comunque, a circa 150 tombe con una o due anfore – cosa molto rara – tra il proprio corredo. Considerando che le tombe scavate a Spina sono circa 4.000, avremmo una percentuale del 3,75%.

<sup>2</sup> Per quello che riguarda le necropoli in generale si rimanda alla recente pubblicazione di L. Massei, *Gli askoi a figure rosse nei corredi funerari delle necropoli di Spina*, Cisalpino-Goliardica, Milano 1978, pp. XXVI-XXVIII, e bibliografia alle note relative.

<sup>3</sup> Per la definizione 'Corcirese o Corinzio B' cfr. C. Boulter, *Pottery of the mid-fifth century*, in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 108 n. 166; C. K. Williams, II e J. E. Fisher, *Corinth 1972*, in *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 25.

La definizione del Boulter<sup>4</sup>, a proposito di un gruppo di anfore rinvenute ad Atene, è piuttosto precisa e calzante: «L'argilla di questa serie è marrone, talvolta grigiastria, talvolta rosata. È molto fine e ha poca o punta mica. Particolari caratteristici della forma sono le anse larghe con la cima arcuata e breve, il bordo largo e svasato, una contrazione del collo verso la spalla». Altra caratteristica delle anfore di questo tipo è un'ingubbiatura di color giallo avana, farinosa al tatto, quasi sempre perfettamente conservata.

Di questa classe possiamo ricavare una tipologia piuttosto precisa. Il tipo più arcaico non è presente a Spina; compare nel VI secolo a.C. a Corinto<sup>5</sup>, nell'Agora' di Atene<sup>6</sup> e nello strato inferiore della città antica di Ampurias<sup>7</sup>; è inoltre assai diffuso in Sicilia<sup>8</sup>.

#### Variante A (Tav. I nn. 1 e 2)

Valle Trebba: T. 603 (a inumazione); erratico.

Fa parte del corredo della Tomba 603 di Valle Trebba un'anfora del tipo panatenaico, a figure rosse, attribuita dal Beazley al pittore di Tyszkiewicz<sup>9</sup>, attivo dopo il 480 a.C. Una serie di anfore dello stesso tipo rinvenute ad Atene<sup>10</sup>, sono collocabili cronologicamente alla metà del V secolo. Pare verosimile quindi collocare questa variante approssimativamente intorno alla metà del V secolo a.C. Un'anfora inedita di questo tipo, priva di dati di scavo, si trova nei magazzini del Museo Bocchi di Adria.

#### Variante B (Tav. I n. 3)

Da Valle Trebba: erratico.

Questa anfora, mentre per il corpo quasi sferico e la leggera carenatura nella parte inferiore della pancia, si pone come diretta discendente della variante A, per quello che riguarda il bordo si riporta direttamente alle succes-

<sup>4</sup> Art. cit. alla nota precedente.

<sup>5</sup> M. Thorne Campbell, *A well of the black-figured period at Corinth*, in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 604-606, nn. 190-200, figg. 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> V. Grace, *Amphoras and the ancient wine trade*, Princeton 1961, fig. 35, la seconda da sinistra, dalle macerie della distruzione di Atene da parte dei Persiani.

<sup>7</sup> M. Almagro, *Las necropolis de Ampurias*, Barcellona 1953, p. 399 n. 24.

<sup>8</sup> A Camarina, le cui anfore sono attualmente oggetto di studio da parte della Dott. Pelagatti; ad Agrigento, Magazzini: Sep. A71 E.M. 4926 e C 1909; a Palermo, Museo: N.I. 2877/1, e diversi erratici nei Magazzini.

<sup>9</sup> Beazley ARV, p. 187 n. 28; Alfieri-Arias, *Guida al Museo Archeologico in Ferrara*, Firenze 1960, p. 75; Alfieri-Arias-Hirmer, *Spina*, 1958, p. 41 tavv. 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> C. Boulter, art. cit. alla nota 3, pp. 108-109, nn. 164-66.

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due anelli par

Anfore al  
Corinto<sup>12</sup>, la  
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più basse risp  
che quindi p  
del IV secolo

Variante C (Ta

Da Valle P  
45092: T. 270 A

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La bocca  
mere la forma

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coperchio; pe  
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Anfore d  
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È plausib  
del IV secolo

Variante D (Ta

Da Valle Tr  
Da Valle P

45094: T. 248 A  
zione), Inv. 4601  
zione): T. 575 C

Anche le  
sagomatura d  
sorta di zigrin

<sup>11</sup> C. Boulter

<sup>12</sup> In *Hesperia*

<sup>13</sup> C. K. Will  
p. 25, nn. 27-28,



sive varianti C e D. È infatti tipico di queste un orlo così estroflesso, che va progressivamente avvicinandosi alla parte superiore convessa delle anse, e i due anelli paralleli sotto il bordo.

Anfore abbastanza simili a questa sono state rinvenute ad Atene<sup>11</sup> ed a Corinto<sup>12</sup>, la prima datata alla fine del V secolo, la seconda alla metà. Entrambe queste anfore, per il corpo più sferico, il piede più conico e le anse più basse rispetto al bordo, sembrerebbero un po' più antiche della nostra, che quindi parrebbe opportuno collocare tra la fine del V e la prima metà del IV secolo a.C.

#### Variante C (Tav. I n. 4)

Da Valle Pega: T. 242 A (a inumazione), Inv. 48001; T. 268 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45092; T. 270 A (a cremazione), Inv. 45096; T. 73 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46004.

Questa variante ha un corpo più allungato rispetto alle precedenti, ma conserva ancora una forma abbastanza sferica e rigonfia.

La bocca è sagomata nel punto d'attacco delle anse, venendo ad assumere la forma come di un otto slegato.

Fanno parte dei corredi tombali vasi a figure rosse, dal disegno spesso sciatto e trascurato; grandi lekanai a figure rosse con scene di gineceo sul coperchio; pezzi a vernice nera, per lo più lucente, generalmente di buona fattura.

Anfore dello stesso tipo, rinvenute a Corinto<sup>13</sup>, sono datate all'ultimo venticinquennio del IV secolo a.C.

È plausibile datare questa variante ai primi decenni della seconda metà del IV secolo a.C.

#### Variante D (Tav. II n. 5)

Da Valle Trebba: T. 613 (a inumazione).

Da Valle Pega: T. 162 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45086; T. 166 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45094; T. 248 A (a inumazione), Inv. 46000; T. 216 B (a inumazione); T. 42 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46019; T. 212 C (a inumazione); T. 223 C (a inumazione); T. 406 C (a inumazione); T. 575 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40853.

Anche le anfore di questa variante sono caratterizzate, tra l'altro, dalla sagomatura della bocca nel punto d'attacco delle anse; alcune hanno una sorta di zigrinatura a rotella intorno alla pancia.

<sup>11</sup> C. Boulter, *art. cit.* alla nota 3, n. 107 tav. 34.

<sup>12</sup> In *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303 fig. 35.

<sup>13</sup> C. K. Williams-J. E. Fisher, *Corinth 1972: the Forum area*, in *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 25, nn. 27-28, tav. II.

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Nei corredi, oltre a comparire i soliti vasi di stile trascurato, tipici dei primi decenni della seconda metà del IV secolo, e oggetti a vernice nera di produzione o imitazione attica, si trova anche qualche vaso di tipo alto-adriatico e pezzi a vernice nera di produzione più tarda, probabilmente volterrana. Anfore di questo tipo sono state rinvenute in Grecia, ad Atene<sup>14</sup> e Corinto<sup>15</sup>. Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, sono state rinvenute a Gela<sup>16</sup>, a Piazza Armerina<sup>17</sup>, a Siracusa<sup>18</sup>, vale a dire in gran parte della Sicilia orientale. Per quanto riguarda infine il mondo punico, potrebbero appartenere al nostro tipo certe anfore rinvenute a Leptis Magna<sup>19</sup>.

Tutte queste anfore sono collocabili in età ellenistica o pre-ellenistica; ne consegue che anche le nostre, sulla base di questi confronti, e dei contesti tombali, si collocano in un periodo che va dagli ultimi decenni del IV ai primi anni del III secolo a.C.

#### *Variante D<sub>1</sub> (Tav. II n. 6)*

Valle Trebbia: T. 149 (a inumazione); T. 327 (a inumazione); T. 342 (a inumazione); T. 779 (a inumazione).

Differiscono dalle anfore della variante D per alcuni particolari, soprattutto per il bordo, che invece di essere piatto e largo assume una forma convessa; non è più orizzontale, ma inclinato e più stretto. L'argilla sembra es-

<sup>14</sup> In *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 167 n. 204: un'anfora proveniente dal deposito della Pnyx, datata alla fine del IV-inizi III secolo a.C. V. Grace, *op. cit.* alla nota 6, fig. 42 a sinistra, dove però non è descritta l'argilla, datata al IV secolo.

<sup>15</sup> H. S. Robinson, *A sanctuary and cemetery in western Corinth*, in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 10 n. 3, p. 12 n. 9, tav. 2; Charles K. Williams, *Corinth 1969*, in *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 3 ss. n. 2 tav. 1: un'anfora proveniente da un deposito nell'ippodromo ellenistico, datata al terzo quarto del IV secolo a.C.

<sup>16</sup> Parzialmente pubblicate da P. Orlandini, *Deposito di anfore ellenistiche in via Polieno*, in *Not. Sc.*, 1956, pp. 355-357, e datate a poco prima del 280 a.C., anno della distruzione di Gela.

<sup>17</sup> G. Gentili, *L'anonima città di Montagna di Marzo e di Monte Navone, Piazza Armerina (Enna)*, in *Not. Sc., Suppl.*, 1969, p. 63 fig. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Nessuna di queste è per ora pubblicata. Ringrazio la Soprintendenza di Siracusa e la Dottoressa Pelagatti, per avermi permesso di visitare i Magazzini, ricavandone i seguenti dati: Magazzino presso il teatro greco: diversi colli, provenienti dal relitto di Stentinello, di cui uno (ST16) ha incrostato nell'imboccatura il puntale, anch'esso tipico di questa forma; un'anfora intera, di provenienza terrestre, Inv. 3429. Magazzino di Villa Landolina: un'anfora rinvenuta nel fondo marino del golfo di Avola (Siracusa), Inv. 53778.

<sup>19</sup> G. Caputo, *Leptis Magna e l'industria artistica campana in Africa*, in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, XXXV, 1960, tavv. 5 e 8a. Manca una precisa descrizione dell'argilla e della forma.

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*Variante D<sub>2</sub>(?)*

Valle Trebbia

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cea; alla super  
cottura grigias

*Variante A (Ta*

Valle Trebbia

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Sulla base

<sup>20</sup> Stamped a  
<sup>21</sup> L. Talcott  
well, in *Hesperia*  
nota 6, fig. 35, la  
Persiani.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. l'impr  
fifth century, in



sere meno depurata, e la cottura meno buona. Sono databili alla fine del IV-inizi III secolo a.C. Può darsi che alcune rappresentino l'evoluzione più tarda della variante D (i corredi, molto poveri, ci riportano al III secolo), mentre per altre non potrebbe essere esclusa una diversità di fabbrica, magari una imitazione locale.

*Variante D<sub>2</sub>(?)* (Tav. II n. 7)

Valle Trebbia : T. 623 (a cremazione).

Questa anfora, sebbene per la forma si differenzi dalle altre, tuttavia è simile per le caratteristiche tecniche.

Sulla base del contesto tombale è databile alla fine del IV-inizi III secolo a.C.

## 2) CLASSE II-CHIOTA

La definizione di questa classe è assai più vaga e incerta. Caratteristica comune è il raccordo collo-spalla curva continua e il grosso rigonfiamento della pancia, che poi si restringe a formare, con un raccordo ad angolo, il piede, troncoconico e con una cavità al di sotto.

L'argilla è piuttosto ben depurata e contiene mica. Le caratteristiche dell'argilla chiota sono definite dalla Grace<sup>20</sup>: «L'argilla è sabbiosa e micacea; alla superficie è marrone rossastro, a volte è nettamente rossa, e ha una cottura grigiasta all'interno».

*Variante A* (Tav. III n. 8) .

Valle Trebbia : T. 642 (a cremazione).

Si può confrontare con delle anfore rinvenute ad Atene<sup>21</sup>.

Ha un'impressione circolare su un lato del collo<sup>22</sup>, e un segno sull'altro lato, simile a un'alfa.

Sulla base del corredo tombale si può datare alla fine del V secolo a.C. X

<sup>20</sup> Stamped amphora handles found in 1931-1932, in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 201.

<sup>21</sup> L. Talcott, *Attic black glazed stamped ware and other pottery from a fifth century well*, in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 478 ss., in particolare la n. 88 fig. 17. V. Grace, *op. cit.* alla nota 6, fig. 35, la terza da sinistra, dalle rovine della distruzione di Atene da parte dei Persiani.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. l'impressione circolare su un'anfora chiota, in C. Boulter, *Pottery of the mid-fifth century*, in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 105 n. 152.

No, both  
at fig  
44-56  
Amphora

No  
44

*Variante B* (Tav. III n. 9)

Valle Pega: erratico.

Anfore simili sono state rinvenute ad Atene<sup>23</sup>. Diversi confronti si trovano anche in Sicilia, tra le anfore di Camarina<sup>24</sup>.

*Variante C* (Tav. III n. 10).

Valle Pega: T. 349 B (a inumazione); erratico, Inv. 40550.

Queste due anfore sono più tarde rispetto alle precedenti. Questo, oltre che sulla base del corredo della T. 349 B da Valle Pega, databile agli ultimi decenni del IV secolo, è visibile anche dall'evoluzione che ha subito il bordo. Questo, da convesso e diritto o appena estroflesso, diventa decisamente estroflesso e ad angolo, probabilmente in seguito alla tendenza, diffusa forse da tipi ionici, rodii in particolare, a rendere così la sua forma. Sono i tipi, del resto, da cui si svilupperà la greco-italica, e particolarmente diffusi in epoca ellenistica.

## 3) CLASSE III-IONICA (?) (Tav. IV nn. 11-13)

Valle Trebba: T. 1152 (a inumazione); T. 1170 (a inumazione); T. 1182 (a inumazione).

Valle Pega: T. 222 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45088; T. 331 A (a cremazione), Inv. 45098; T. 716 B (a inumazione); T. 1056 B (a cremazione); T. 4 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40888.

Queste anfore hanno un'argilla che all'esterno si presenta di un colore camoscio più o meno scuro; all'interno presentano un raffreddamento generalmente ossidante, ma talvolta di tipo eterogeneo. La pasta è abbastanza fine, con piccole inclusioni bianche e altre lucenti, forse quarzo.

La forma presenta alcune varianti, per le quali però non si è ritenuta opportuna una distinzione tipologica.

Per quanto riguarda la cronologia, anche in questo caso va fissata, sulla base dei contesti tombali, fra gli ultimi decenni del IV e gli inizi del III secolo a.C., cioè in età ellenistica.

<sup>23</sup> C. Boulter, art. cit. alla nota 22, p. 101 n. 147 Tav. 39. R. Ross Holloway, *Exploration of the southeast Stoa*, in *Hesperia*, XXXV 1966 tav. 28h.

<sup>24</sup> Queste sono attualmente oggetto di studio da parte della Dottoressa Pelagatti.

Valle Trebba: T. 8  
T. 186 (a cremazione);  
zione); T. 555 (a inuma  
mazione); T. 995 (a inu  
Valle Pega: T. 51  
T. 328 A (a inumazione  
incerto), Inv. 45099;  
T. 29 B (a inumazione  
certo); T. 501 B (rito  
zione); T. 685 B (a in  
T. 2 C (a inumazione)  
Inv. 46006; T. 143 C  
T. 325 C (a inumazione  
Inv. 46009; T. 368 C  
T. 491 C (a inumazione  
T. 576 C (a inumazione  
Inv. 40889; T. 596 C  
T. 622 C (rito incerto)  
mazione); T. 654 C (a  
inumazione).

Appartengono  
in condizioni molto  
L'argilla non è  
ticelle di 'chamof  
quarzo.

La cottura, tra  
damento ossidante  
giallastro.

Sono databili  
colo a.C.; nei cor  
zione alto-adriatic  
cale.

Per quello ch  
confronti soprattu  
Infine un solo cor  
roni, un campo to

<sup>25</sup> Vanderpool-C  
rica, in *Hesperia*, XX  
sula, in *Hesperia*, XX  
(?) e datata alla fin



## 4) CLASSE IV-GRECO-ITALICA (Tav. V nn. 14-16)

Valle Trebba: T. 82 (a inumazione); T. 105 (a inumazione); T. 106 (a inumazione); T. 186 (a cremazione); T. 284 (a inumazione); T. 350 (rito incerto); T. 369 (a inumazione); T. 555 (a inumazione); T. 584 (rito incerto); T. 792 (a inumazione); T. 902 (a inumazione); T. 995 (a inumazione); T. 1173 (a cremazione).

Valle Pega: T. 51 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45095; T. 82 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45090; T. 328 A (a inumazione), Inv. 450871; T. 340 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45097; T. 344 A (rito incerto), Inv. 45099; T. 357 A (a inumazione), Inv. 45093; T. 545 A (a inumazione); T. 29 B (a inumazione), Inv. 46013; T. 51 B (rito incerto), Inv. 46012; T. 271 B (rito incerto); T. 501 B (rito incerto); T. 591 B (rito incerto), Inv. 46016; T. 604 B (a cremazione); T. 685 B (a inumazione); T. 734 B (a inumazione); T. 1060 B (a inumazione); T. 2 C (a inumazione); T. 130 C (a inumazione) (due anfore); T. 141 C (rito incerto), Inv. 46006; T. 143 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46003; T. 325 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46003; T. 325 C (a inumazione) (due anfore); T. 337 C (a inumazione); T. 343 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46009; T. 368 C (a inumazione), Inv. 46018; T. 400 C (a inumazione), Inv. 64005; T. 491 C (a inumazione); T. 517 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40869; T. 570 C (a inumazione); T. 576 C (a inumazione); T. 579 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40851; T. 592 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40889; T. 596 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40852; T. 604 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40855; T. 622 C (rito incerto), Inv. 40954; T. 628 C (a inumazione), Inv. 40888; T. 633 C (a inumazione); T. 654 C (a inumazione) (due anfore); T. 657 C (a cremazione); T. 666 C (a inumazione).

Appartengono a questa classe 120 anfore, di cui 64 per lo più erratiche o in condizioni molto frammentarie.

L'argilla non è molto depurata; tra le inclusioni sono visibili grosse particelle di 'chamotte', particelle bianche, e altre lucenti, probabilmente quarzo.

La cottura, tranne pochissimi esempi malcotti, è generalmente a raffreddamento ossidante. Il colore è di un rosa tendente all'arancio, in certi casi giallastro.

Sono databili per un periodo che va dalla fine del IV agli inizi del III secolo a.C.; nei corredi si nota una massiccia presenza di ceramica di produzione alto-adriatica, e vernice nera di produzione per lo più volterrana o locale.

Per quello che riguarda l'area di diffusione di questo tipo, si trovano confronti soprattutto in ambiente siceliota e punico, poi in ambiente etrusco, infine un solo confronto per il mondo greco, certamente importato, a Koroni, un campo tolemaico sulla costa orientale dell'Attica<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Vanderpool-Credie-Steinberg, *Koroni: a Ptolemaic camp on the East coast of Attica*, in *Hesperia*, XXI, p. 38 ss. V. Grace, *Notes on the amphoras from the Koroni peninsula*, in *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 320, dove l'anfora del nostro tipo è definita 'spagnola (?)' e datata alla fine del IV secolo a.C.

In Sicilia questo tipo di anfora è diffuso in tutta la regione occidentale: a Gela<sup>26</sup>, a Lilibeo (Marsala)<sup>27</sup>, nel tratto di mare vicino a Mondello (Palermo)<sup>28</sup>.

Molte anfore di questo tipo, inedite, si trovano in diversi musei della Sicilia<sup>29</sup>.

#### *Soprintendenza di Siracusa*

I rinvenimenti sono per lo più frammentari e provenienti da relitti, quindi non databili. La maggior parte proviene dalle ricerche fatte dal Console Britannico Warden Baker nei porti di Siracusa nel 1954-56<sup>30</sup>. Di queste anfore esiste uno schedario presso la stessa Soprintendenza, che riporta le seguenti sottocollocazioni: N.F. 12; 529; 533; 5116; 5124; 5206; 5226; 5227; T42; T53; T55; T57; T77; T92; T5; 122; 137; 154; 160; 161; 173; 177; 199. Queste anfore hanno una forma più o meno allungata, per cui bisogna pensare ad una loro appartenenza ad epoche diverse, per un periodo che può andare dalla fine del IV al II secolo a.C.

#### *Soprintendenza di Agrigento*

- Due anfore da S. Leone (Agrigento).
- Anfora C 1906.
- Anfora consegnata da un certo E. Siracusa, come recuperata il 13/XI/1961 nelle acque di Pantelleria Lampedusa.
- Tre anfore erratiche.

#### *Soprintendenza di Palermo*

Provengono per lo più dagli scavi di Marsala:

- Marsala, scavi del 1949, sep. 20 B
- Marsala, scavo del 1970, N.I. 18376, T. 26
- Marsala, scavo del 1971, N.I. 18387

<sup>26</sup> P. Orlandini, *art. cit.* alla nota 16, anfore del gruppo B.

<sup>27</sup> A. M. Bisi, in *Not. Sc.*, 1971, p. 692 ss., datate al III-II secolo a.C. (si può intendere come un attardamento culturale, in ambiente punico, di questa forma); H. Frost, *Marsala (Trapani) - Relitto di una nave punica del III sec. a.C. al largo dell'Isola Lunga*, in *Not. Sc.*, XXVI, 1972, p. 651 ss.

<sup>28</sup> V. Tusa, *Ricerche archeologiche sottomarine sulla costa nord-occidentale della Sicilia*, in *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di archeologia sottomarina*, p. 73-79, datate all'inizio del III secolo a.C.

<sup>29</sup> Ringrazio le diverse Soprintendenze e quanti mi hanno consentito di ricavare questi dati.

<sup>30</sup> Vedi *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di archeologia sottomarina*, Albenga 1958.

- Marsala scavo  
Fante, T. 34

- tre anfore err  
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Ancora in ambi  
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di Ca' Garzoni prov

<sup>31</sup> A. M. Bisi, *Scopie*  
VII, 1969-70, soprattutto

<sup>32</sup> In *Not. Sc.*, 1961

<sup>33</sup> P. E. Arias, *Scav*

<sup>34</sup> Ringrazio l'Ispe  
nella ricerca (le anfor

su Adria vedi Fogolar

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. *Gallia*, XIV.



- Marsala scavo del 1974, proveniente dallo scavo Brigida, via del Fante, T. 34

- tre anfore erratiche.

Queste presentano generalmente caratteristiche tecniche assai diverse dalle nostre; pare assai probabile una fabbrica locale.

*Selinunte (Magazzini).*

È riscontrabile una presenza massiccia di queste anfore, soprattutto in condizioni frammentarie. Queste non solo sono state trovate nell'abitato, ma anche in tombe, come si può vedere dagli scavi eseguiti dal 1971 al 1974 dalla Rallo, per conto del C.N.R., non ancora pubblicati. In base al materiale rinvenuto negli strati dell'abitato insieme alle anfore, fra cui molta ceramica a vernice nera, pare che queste si debbano datare alla fine del IV-inizi III secolo a.C.

*Mozia-Museo Whitaker.*

Inv. 1272; 239; 2385; 980; 3429; sei erratici.

Ancora in ambito punico, anfore simili si trovano in tombe sulla costa della Tripolitania<sup>31</sup>.

In ambiente etrusco, infine, le troviamo a Populonia<sup>32</sup> e a Sovana<sup>33</sup>. Un discorso a parte meritano le anfore rinvenute ad Adria nella necropoli di Canal Bianco<sup>34</sup>; mentre, come si sa, non fu mai rinvenuta la necropoli più arcaica, qui le tombe più antiche risalgono al massimo alla fine del IV secolo (in qualche raro caso si può risalire alla seconda metà del secolo). Vediamo in questo periodo una sostanziale identità di corredi tra Spina e Adria, ma mentre a Spina la vita praticamente finisce prima della metà del III secolo, ad Adria continua, fino alla dominazione romana. C'è un periodo quindi di circa 30, al massimo 40 anni, in cui le necropoli delle due città temporalmente coincidono.

Vediamo che una parte delle anfore di Adria è perfettamente corrispondente alla classe IV di Spina, tanto per forma che per tipo d'argilla; in altre, invece, la forma sembra progressivamente allungarsi avvicinandosi sempre più alla greco-italica del tipo Lamboglia 4 e Benoît 21 e 22<sup>35</sup>. Dalla necropoli di Ca' Garzoni provengono anfore del tipo Benoît 18. Sarebbe necessario un

<sup>31</sup> A. M. Bisi, *Scoperta di due tombe puniche a Mellita (Sabratha)*, in *Libia antiqua*, VI-VII, 1969-70, soprattutto per la classe definita C, p. 221.

<sup>32</sup> In *Not. Sc.*, 1961, p. 73 fig. 14a, dove è genericamente definita 'anfora etrusca'.

<sup>33</sup> P. E. Arias, *Scavi effettuati a Sovana dal 1962 al 1964*, in *Not. Sc.*, 1971 p. 55 ss.

<sup>34</sup> Ringrazio l'Ispettore Onorario della zona, Dottor Dallemulle, per avermi aiutato nella ricerca (le anfore sono attualmente conservate presso il Museo Bocchi di Adria). Su Adria vedi Fogolari-Scarfi, *Adria antica*, Venezia 1970.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. *Gallia*, XIV, 1956, fig. 2.

esame molto più attento del materiale sia di Spina che di Adria; comunque già da adesso sembrerebbe di vedere una certa posteriorità delle anfore di Adria dalla forma più allungata, rispetto alle altre. Se così fosse, potremmo avere ad Adria una interessante testimonianza per quello che riguarda l'evoluzione da una forma probabilmente mutuata da modelli greci, a una tipicamente italica.

Le anfore più simili a quelle di Spina sono le seguenti: T. 119; T. 249 (due anfore); T. 250 (con iscrizione graffita sulla pancia); T. 251; T. 254; T. 282; T. 283; T. 284; T. 285; T. 288; T. 290 (?); T. 295; T. 296; T. 302; T. 310; T. 327; T. 364; T. 366; T. 368; T. 377; T. 4, I.G. 35; T. 25, I.G. 336; T. 58, I.G. 830; T. 67, I.G. 968; T. 160 (due anfore), I.G. 2077-2079. Hanno già una forma più allungata: T. 9, I.G. 120; T. 7, I.G. 72; T. 8, I.G. 97; T. 21, I.G. 276; T. 191, I.G. 2485. Tra le anfore che hanno una forma decisamente allungata, databili al II secolo: T. 180, I.G. 2283; T. 181, I.G. 2301. Tra i tipi che più si avvicinano al tipo Benoît 18: T. 55, I.G. 792; T. 8, I.G. 98; T. 105, I.G. 10511; T. 25, I.G. 10216.

## II - PROBLEMI PER UN'IDENTIFICAZIONE DI FABBRICHE

### I - CLASSE I (VARIANTI A-B-C-D). CORCIRESE O CORINZIO B?

La possibile appartenenza di anfore di questo tipo ad una fabbrica tanto corcirese che corinzia, viene presa in considerazione per la prima volta a proposito di alcune anfore rinvenute ad Atene<sup>36</sup> e a Corinto<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> C. Boulter, *Pottery of the mid-fifth century in the Athenian Agora*, in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 108-109, dove si dice che molte anfore dello stesso tipo sono state rinvenute anche a Corinto; ma mentre l'A. prende in considerazione la possibilità di una fabbrica corinzia, nello stesso tempo osserva che i mattoni e le altre anfore tipicamente corinzie hanno un tipo di argilla e di cottura molto diverse. A favore di una fabbrica corcirese porta i seguenti argomenti: 1) un bollo circolare di una stella a sette o otto raggi, rinvenuto in questo tipo di anfore, uno dei quali è stato trovato negli scavi di Corfù, a proposito del quale (H. Bulle, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, p. 207) è stato fatto un confronto con analoghe monete corciresi del IV secolo; 2) una testimonianza letteraria (Pseudo-Aristotele, *De mir. auscult.*, 104, p. 839b, 8).

L'A. dice inoltre che anfore di questo tipo possono avere anche un bollo alla base dell'ansa raffigurante una palmetta; ma invece che di una palmetta si potrebbe anche trattare di una spiga, come quella dell'anfora da Valle Pega T. 248 A.

Vedi inoltre *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 167 n. 204.

<sup>37</sup> Henry S. Robinson, *A sanctuary and cemetery in western Corinth*, in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 10-11, nn. 3 e 9.

Charles K. Williams, II: *Corinth 1969, Forum area*, in *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, tav. 1 n. 2.

Charles K. Williams, II and Joan E. Fisher, *Corinth 1972, The Forum area*, in *Hesperia*,

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ria, XLII, 1973, p.  
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nati frammenti d  
ceramica attica.

"Vedi nota 3



Nel nostro caso, basandoci su tre diverse considerazioni: 1) l'associazione, nel V secolo, delle anfore della Variante A con la ceramica attica<sup>18</sup>; 2) la presenza di queste anfore anche a Corinto<sup>19</sup>; 3) l'importanza che aveva Corcira, sia come base navale e forse anche come intermediaria nel commercio con l'Attica, sia come potenza marittima indipendente; possiamo ipotizzare tre basi portuali da cui queste anfore potevano partire, e quindi essere eventualmente fabbricate: 1) Atene; 2) Corinto; 3) Corcira.

Per quanto riguarda l'ipotesi 1), innanzi tutto non abbiamo assolutamente nessuna testimonianza letteraria né tanto meno archeologica a proposito di una fabbrica di anfore ad Atene, sebbene gli *argumenta ex silentio* non possano essere considerati sempre validi. Inoltre va messo in evidenza il fatto che anfore appartenenti a questa classe, nelle necropoli di Spina, si rinvenivano anche, e soprattutto, in contesti databili alla seconda metà del IV secolo a.C., in un periodo cioè in cui il commercio di questa città con l'Attica doveva essere ormai finito. Per quanto riguarda l'ipotesi 2), si dovrebbe pensare – se volessimo ammetterne la validità – o che il prodotto attico – l'olio o il vino – giungesse fino al porto di Corinto, o che i contenitori, fabbricati a Corinto, venissero poi portati ad Atene. Ma entrambe le possibilità mi sembrano assai inverosimili, soprattutto per la costante concorrenza dei due porti commerciali. L'ipotesi di una fabbricazione corinzia assumerebbe valore di veridicità solo se si ammettesse un commercio indipendente di Corinto con Spina. Ma diverse considerazioni ci inducono a respingere questa possibilità: I) sarebbe troppo strano che, se Corinto avesse commerciato con Spina, i suoi prodotti si limitassero solo all'olio o vino che fosse; II) mi sembra difficile che Atene abbia tollerato una tale concorrenza a Spina che, nel V secolo, doveva essere un suo esclusivo appannaggio; III) queste anfore sono presenti a Spina nella variante D fino agli inizi del III secolo, gli anni cioè in cui finisce la sua attività commerciale; ma pare del tutto inverosimile

ria, XLII, 1973, p. 25, nn. 27-29. Qui, questa classe viene definita 'corinzio B' in contrapposizione al tipo, definito 'corinzio A', di fabbrica notoriamente corinzia. L'A. pensa che entrambe queste classi siano di fabbrica corinzia; per affermare questo si basa su un trattamento particolare dell'argilla, comune a tutte apparentemente, e fatto al fine di rendere la superficie dell'anfora meno porosa. Queste anfore appartengono alla nostra variante C; nello stesso deposito è stata rinvenuta anche una moneta di Siracusa, databile al 357-344 a.C.

<sup>18</sup> Non è da escludere che nello scavo dell'abitato di Spina, che sta attualmente conducendo la Dottoressa Berti per conto della Soprintendenza, possano essere rinvenuti frammenti di anfore di questo tipo, variante A, in strati del V secolo, associati a ceramica attica.

<sup>19</sup> Vedi nota 37.

che una merce corinzia potesse giungere fino ad un'epoca così tarda, per le stesse ragioni per cui non potevano più arrivare neanche le merci ateniesi.

Infine, ancora un'altra considerazione ci porta a respingere questa ipotesi di una fabbricazione corinzia. Queste anfore, infatti, presentano un tipo d'argilla e di cottura in tutto diverse dai classici prodotti corinzi<sup>40</sup> e la presenza, in un'unica città, di due fabbriche di anfore che usassero tecniche diverse è cosa inusitata per il mondo antico.

L'ipotesi 3) sembra invece la più verosimile. Infatti il prodotto attico poteva giungere dall'entroterra fino alla costa dell'Epiro opposta a Corcira, per mezzo di carri. I Corciresi avrebbero provveduto a travasare l'olio o il vino nei contenitori, adatti per il trasporto per mare, fabbricati nell'isola stessa. Al loro trasporto fino al delta padano potevano provvedere o le navi ateniesi, per le quali Corcira era una tappa obbligata, o le stesse navi corciresi. Del resto anche la ceramica attica poteva seguire la stessa via dell'olio, e soprattutto in momenti in cui Atene non poteva disporre di molte navi da impegnare sui mercati esteri. Per quanto riguarda, poi, le Varianti di questa classe appartenenti ad un periodo in cui il commercio di Spina con l'Attica doveva essere ormai finito (dalla seconda metà del IV secolo fino agli inizi del III), non si può sapere con certezza se contenessero ancora l'olio attico o qualche altro prodotto, che poteva giungere dalla stessa Corcira o anche del vicino entroterra<sup>41</sup>.

Altri due argomenti mi sembrano sufficientemente probanti una fabbricazione corcirese: 1) la testimonianza letteraria dello Pseudo-Aristotele; 2) un confronto con certi tipi monetali di Corcira.

1) Pseudo-Aristotele, *De mir. auscult.*, 104, p. 839 b: λέγεται... εἶναι δὲ καὶ τινα τόπων ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μέσον διαστήμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοιναῖς γινομένης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐμπόρων ἀναβαινόντων τὰ Λέσβια καὶ Χία καὶ Θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου Κερκυραϊκοὺς ἀμφορεῖς.

2) Il Braccesi<sup>42</sup> cita una moneta con la scritta *Korχυραίων* ed il simbolo della spiga, riportabile ad un tipo monetale di Corcira. Un'anfora, proveniente dalla necropoli di Valle Pega<sup>43</sup> appartenente alla variante C e datata alla seconda metà del IV secolo, presenta su un'ansa un bollo circolare con

<sup>40</sup> Cfr. anche, a questo proposito, quanto detto in *Hesperia* XXII, 1953, p. 108, art. cit. alla nota 36.

<sup>41</sup> Come argomento a favore di un'esportazione di vino si possono considerare i resti di una sostanza rossa, schiumosa e fibrosa, rinvenuta nel fondo di diverse anfore, inserite nella variante D.

<sup>42</sup> In *Grecità adriatica*, Bologna 1971, p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> Dalla Tomba 248 A; Inv. 46000.

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<sup>44</sup> Cfr. anche

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. *Hes*

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<sup>47</sup> *Social ar*

p. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Probabil  
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*Arte e civiltà d*

<sup>49</sup> A propo  
A. J. Graham, C



una grossa spiga, in rilievo<sup>44</sup>. Inoltre, a Corcira, è stata rinvenuta un'ansa con un bollo, riportabile ad un altro tipo monetale dell'isola<sup>45</sup>.

Concludendo, se si accetta a questo punto come valida l'ipotesi di una fabbricazione corcirese, dobbiamo ammettere, di conseguenza, l'esistenza di un commercio con Corcira, che va dal V secolo agli inizi del III, privo di soluzioni di continuità.

Altre conclusioni si possono trarre per quanto invece riguarda la diffusione di questa classe di anfore in Sicilia. Abbiamo già osservato che la variante più arcaica, non testimoniata a Spina, si trova invece praticamente in tutta l'isola<sup>46</sup>. Mancano – stando almeno agli attuali rinvenimenti – le varianti A, B, C, di Spina, mentre ricompaiono abbastanza numerose, ma solo nella parte orientale, anfore della variante D, databili dalla seconda metà del IV agli inizi del III secolo a.C.

Questo fatto può avere una spiegazione storico-economica sulla base di quanto detto finora. Secondo quanto afferma il Rostovzeff<sup>47</sup> l'olio e il vino, in epoca arcaica, furono importati in Italia dalla Grecia; presto, però, certe regioni, come la Sicilia, ne furono esse stesse produttrici, mentre in altre tali prodotti continuarono ad essere importati per un periodo più o meno lungo<sup>48</sup>. È facile quindi che, in epoca arcaica, l'olio venisse importato in Sicilia dalla Grecia, fino al VI secolo; in seguito, poi, divenendone la regione stessa produttrice, l'importazione deve essere cessata. In questo modo si spiegherebbe la scomparsa di questi contenitori, fino al loro ricomparire, poi, nella seconda metà del IV secolo, ma solo nella parte orientale della regione. Questa loro ricomparsa si spiega nell'ambito di quell'intensa rete di scambi commerciali, caratterizzanti tutta quanta l'epoca ellenistica, soprattutto per i nuovi contatti che furono ripresi, in età timoleonte, tanto con Corinto che Corcira<sup>49</sup>, contatti dai quali era evidentemente esclusa la parte della Sicilia punica.

<sup>44</sup> Cfr. anche quanto detto alla nota 36.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 109, art. cit. alla nota 36.

<sup>46</sup> Vedi a questo proposito la nota 8.

<sup>47</sup> *Social and economic history of the Hellenistic world*, Oxford 1941, vol. I, cap. II, p. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Probabilmente questo dipendeva soprattutto anche dal tipo di coltivazione cui si prestava, per diverse ragioni, un terreno; grandi estensioni di terra, come ad esempio la pianura Padana, si dovevano prestare più facilmente ad una coltivazione a cereali, che ad olivi, o altro. Di una produzione dell'olio in Sicilia ci parla anche B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, 1935, p. 381.

<sup>49</sup> A proposito degli aiuti militari offerti da Corinto e da Corcira a Timoleonte, cfr. A. J. Graham, *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*, Manchester 1964, p. 144.

## 2) CLASSE II (VARIANTI A-B-C). CHIOTA?

Soprattutto per le anfore più tarde l'attribuzione a questa fabbrica non può essere ancora definitiva, data la scarsità – se non la mancanza assoluta – di confronti con anfore già pubblicate. Comunque, se le anfore trovate nelle necropoli sono solo quattro, questo non può escludere una loro presenza più massiccia nell'abitato.

La definizione di queste anfore come chiote, è confortata anche dalla testimonianza di Strabone (VII, 5, 9, 317) che ci parla del rinvenimento di ceramica di Chio e di Taso alle foci del Maron, e dello Pseudo-Aristotele (*De mir. auscult.* 104 p. 839 b, 8) a proposito di una via commerciale terrestre, seguita dai mercanti del Ponto che portavano vino di Lesbo, Taso e Chio nei mercati interni dell'Istria, dove a loro volta acquistavano anfore corciresi.

## 3) CLASSE III, IONICA?

Differiscono dalle anfore della classe IV per tipo d'argilla e per alcuni particolari della forma, che ricorda molto da vicino certi tipi rodii, o ionici in genere<sup>50</sup>. Questo tipo, tra l'altro, per quanto ho potuto vedere, non trova nessun confronto né in Sicilia, né tra le altre anfore pubblicate, cosa che rende ancor più difficile una definizione della fabbrica. Questa considerazione, insieme al fatto che queste anfore si trovano a Spina in un momento in cui il commercio con l'Attica era venuto meno, mi portano ad escludere una importazione dalla Grecia, o dal bacino egeo in genere. Però la somiglianza con anfore di produzione ionica sono tali che, anche escludendo una importazione diretta dalla Ionia, verrebbe da pensare almeno ad una loro fabbricazione in questo ambiente, ad esempio in una colonia, come quella di Pharos.

La colonia paria, che fu dedotta con l'appoggio di Dionisio il Vecchio<sup>51</sup>, rientrava anch'essa in qualche modo nell'orbita siracusana. Per cui non ci sarebbe niente di strano se anche Pharos fosse parte attiva nell'ambito degli intensi scambi commerciali, venutisi a creare in tutto l'Adriatico, dopo che il commercio ateniese era declinato.

Ma qui non siamo che nel campo delle ipotesi.

<sup>50</sup> Cfr. ad es.: *Hesperia*, Suppl., VIII, 1949, Tav. 19 in particolare, nn. 5 e 8; *Hesperia* XXXI, 1962, Tav. 19 n. 6; A. Maiuri, *Una fabbrica di anfore rodie*, in *Annali della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vol. IV-V, p. 261.

<sup>51</sup> Diodoro XV, 13, 4.

## 4) CLASS

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<sup>52</sup> NH, XXXV.  
Venezia 1970, p. 12

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. Fogolari



## 4) CLASSE IV. GRECO-ITALICA IMPORTAZIONE O ESPORTAZIONE?

Questa rappresenta la classe più consistente, rinvenuta nelle necropoli di Spina. Queste anfore, come abbiamo già visto, si trovano in gran numero ad Adria, in tutta la Sicilia soprattutto occidentale, in ambiente punico fino alle coste dell'Africa, e in ambiente etrusco.

Non mi sembra verosimile l'esistenza di una sola fabbrica per tutte queste anfore. Infatti, oltre ad assegnare ad una sola fabbrica una enorme produzione, si dovrebbe anche pensare ad un esclusivo monopolio, da parte di una sola potenza commerciale, dei prodotti che esse contenevano, cioè l'olio o il vino. Ma questo è assolutamente impensabile in un ambiente come quello ellenistico, in cui si assiste ad un processo di totale apertura dei commerci. Mi sembra più logica, quindi, l'esistenza di più fabbriche, anche se sorte ad imitazione di un unico prototipo. A questo punto, la loro identificazione è un problema non indifferente, attualmente aperto ancora a molte ipotesi. Comunque, sembra abbastanza certa l'esclusione di una fabbrica greca o ionica, visto che, come già è stato detto più volte, i prodotti, in questo periodo, non giungevano più dall'Egeo in Adriatico.

Ma, nel caso di Spina, ci troviamo davanti ad un prodotto d'importazione o di esportazione? Non sarebbe neanche da escludere l'ipotesi che, anche nell'ambito delle sole anfore di Spina, ci trovassimo di fronte alla produzione di più fabbriche.

È di particolare interesse quanto ci riferisce Plinio<sup>52</sup>: *Cois (vasis) . . . laus (cioè tenuitas) maxima, Hadrianis firmitas*. Secondo questo autore, tali anfore sarebbero state destinate a trasportare i 'vina hadriana' che venivano *ab intimo sinu maris*<sup>53</sup>. Questa testimonianza è molto importante, perché ci confermerebbe l'esistenza ad Adria di una fabbrica di anfore, che potrebbe identificarsi con questo tipo. L'esistenza di una fabbrica locale potrebbe anche spiegare la loro presenza così massiccia nei corredi funerari. In tali contesti, infatti, generalmente l'anfora di fabbricazione locale è molto più frequente di quella importata, che, in quanto destinata all'uso, compare invece in maggior misura nell'abitato.

Il colore dell'argilla, per queste anfore, è generalmente rosa-arancio, o giallastro; questo dualismo nell'ambito del colore è caratteristico di tutta

<sup>52</sup> NH, XXXV, 161; la fonte è riportata nel volume di Fogolari-Scarfi, *Adria antica*, Venezia 1970, p. 12, n. 14.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. Fogolari-Scarfi, *op. cit.* alla nota 50, p. 43.

quanta la produzione della ceramica cosiddetta alto-adriatica<sup>54</sup>. Questo può essere dovuto o al fatto che l'argilla veniva ricavata da due diverse cave, oppure ad una più alta o più bassa temperatura, in cottura. Farebbero pensare ad una fabbricazione locale anche i graffiti di lettere etrusche, rinvenuti frequentemente sulla spalla di queste anfore, una delle quali – un erratico da Valle Pega – ha addirittura una iscrizione<sup>55</sup>.

Ma se la maggior parte di queste anfore deve essere di fabbricazione locale, non è detto che lo siano tutte. Fra queste, infatti, ne esiste una<sup>56</sup> con un bollo su un'ansa che, per quanto un po' logoro, sembrerebbe in lettere greche; questa anfora potrebbe essere d'importazione siceliota<sup>57</sup>. Nessuna differenza apparente corre tra queste anfore di Spina, e molte di quelle che ho potuto vedere in Sicilia.

Penso che, a questo punto, solo un'analisi delle argille potrebbe risolvere qualche dubbio; mentre l'unica prova inconfutabile per una fabbricazione locale sarebbe il rinvenimento delle stesse fornaci.

### III – BREVI NOTE SULLA PROBLEMATICHE DELLE IMPORTAZIONI CERAMICHE A SPINA A PARTIRE DALLA SECONDA METÀ DEL IV SECOLO A.C.

È notevole il fatto che quasi tutte le anfore rinvenute nelle necropoli di Spina provengano da tombe databili, in base ai loro corredi, dalla seconda metà del IV agli inizi del III secolo a.C. Periodo in cui dovevano essere completamente finite le importazioni attiche a Spina, tranne che per certi pezzi a vernice nera e pochi altri oggetti, che probabilmente vi arrivavano per via indiretta, ad esempio dall'Apulia, o dai mercati del Ponto.

<sup>54</sup> Questa differenza di colore è già stata rilevata dalla Felletti Maj, *La cronologia delle necropoli di Spina e la ceramica alto adriatica*, in *St. Etr.*, XIV, 1940, p. 73-4; la attribuisce ad una diversità di argilla.

<sup>55</sup> Queste lettere sono state graffite dopo la cottura, e quindi potevano anche venire aggiunte su merci importate; ma va notato che questo generalmente avviene nel caso di dediche di determinati oggetti, mentre in questo caso ci troviamo davanti a graffiti che dovevano indicare misure di capacità o sigle di destinazione.

<sup>56</sup> Da Valle Pega, Tomba 501 B.

<sup>57</sup> Cfr. i bolli sulle anfore di Gela, pubblicati da P. Orlandini in *Not. Sc.*, 1956, p. 355-357.

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A smentire una decadenza commerciale di Spina e anche di Adria in questo periodo, già questo tipo di commercio sarebbe più che sufficiente. Ma per ben capire quali fossero le potenze commerciali allora in relazione con la zona del delta padano, uno studio delle anfore non può bastare, se non agnanciandolo a tutto quanto il contesto. E questo appunto mi pare che ponga, anche solo sulla base di uno studio superficiale, una problematica di grandissimo interesse, che qui non è possibile affrontare<sup>58</sup>.

Ad esempio, a partire dal secondo venticinquennio del IV secolo, si trovano nei contesti tombali spineti diversi vasi a figure rosse, di quello stile cosiddetto trascurato, per i quali si pensa generalmente ad una tarda produzione attica. Pur non avendo fatto uno studio approfondito – e questa non è la sede per farlo – sarei portata a considerare una produzione diversa per questi vasi, e neppure omogenea<sup>59</sup>. Di estremo interesse sarebbe a questo proposito anche un preciso confronto con la produzione italiota e siceliota.

Medesimo interesse presenterebbe un chiarimento dei reali rapporti della zona padana con i mercati del Ponto e della Macedonia, con Olinto in particolare. Questi contatti ci sono testimoniati, ad esempio, dalle lekanai, frequenti soprattutto intorno alla metà del IV secolo, con scene di gineceo sul coperchio e decorazione di foglie d'olivo. Rapporti con la zona macedonica potrebbero anche averli quei crateri che raffigurano donne degli Arimaspi che lottano con grifi; del resto il grifo, come altri animali fantastici – che troviamo raffigurati anche in certi prodotti di produzione alto-adriatica – è motivo di origine orientale.

Per quanto riguarda la produzione a vernice nera, assai abbondante, oltre alla presenza di qualche pezzo attico, non escluderei una produzione italiota o siceliota. A testimoniare precisi rapporti con il mondo etrusco, sono assai numerosi i pezzi di produzione volterrana<sup>60</sup>, mentre non va neanche sottovalutata una produzione locale.

<sup>58</sup> Vorrei ribadire che queste brevissime considerazioni si basano esclusivamente su un esame superficiale dei corredi, da me esaminati al fine di una datazione indicativa delle anfore che di questi facevano parte. Il gran numero dei corredi di queste necropoli fornirebbe abbondante materiale, tra l'altro perfettamente databile, per una serie di studi di estremo interesse, che potrebbero realmente contribuire ad una chiarificazione degli scambi commerciali spineti in questo periodo.

<sup>59</sup> Il Mansuelli stesso (*Rotte marittime e penetrazioni*, in *Vjesnik za arheoloju i historiju dalmatinsku*, LXVIII 1966, p. 174), scrive: «Non mi meraviglierei se un giorno si potesse dimostrare che talune serie di vasi – e si riferisce ai vasi figurati – si producessero nella stessa Spina».

<sup>60</sup> M. Montagna Pasquinucci, *La ceramica a vernice nera del museo Guarnacci di Volterra*, in *MEFRA*, 84, 1972, p. 269 ss.

Un'analisi molto più approfondita richiederebbe il fenomeno della produzione alto-adriatica.

Infine non sono da trascurare possibili contatti con il mondo punico, testimoniati per ora solo da una maschera fittile<sup>61</sup>.

#### IV – CONSIDERAZIONI STORICHE IN RAPPORTO AL COMMERCIO ED ALLA DIFFUSIONE DI QUESTE CLASSI DI ANFORE NELLA ZONA PADANA

Per le anfore di Spina, gli elementi che ci consentono di fare considerazioni nuove, nell'ambito del commercio adriatico, sono principalmente due: I) la presenza di anfore corciresi per un periodo che va dal V al III secolo a.C.; II) la massiccia presenza delle anfore greco-italiche dalla fine del IV ai primi del III secolo a.C. Elementi che spingono le nostre considerazioni in due direzioni: 1) il ruolo di Corcira nell'Adriatico; 2) la reale entità del commercio spinete per il periodo a cavallo fra il IV e il III secolo a.C.

È nota l'importanza di Corcira come punto di partenza per chi volesse risalire l'Adriatico<sup>62</sup>. Il Mansuelli<sup>63</sup> scrive di ritenere che «la potenza economica ateniese agisse in Adriatico per via indiretta, convogliando masse di prodotti e naturalmente importandone altri, per opera d'intermediari; tra di essi andrà posta in primo luogo Corcira, colonia corinzia ma alleata di Atene». Ma quanto Mansuelli affermava su base storiche, vede ora conferma archeologica: vista l'associazione a Spina, già nel V secolo, delle anfore corciresi con la ceramica attica, penserei che un commercio ateniese svolto a Spina con la mediazione di Corcira, possa essere più che verosimile già a partire da questo periodo. Ma l'idea del Mansuelli è ancora più convincente per il periodo che va dagli ultimi decenni del V secolo in poi, appunto dopo l'alleanza di Corcira con Atene, prima della guerra del Peloponneso. Sarebbe abbastanza logico quindi che da questo momento Atene si fosse servita di Corcira e delle sue navi, appunto come mediatrice commerciale nell'Adriatico, soprattutto nel periodo della guerra del Peloponneso e della spedizione in Sicilia, periodo in cui la flotta ateniese, comprese le navi mercantili, do-

<sup>61</sup> R. Bloch, *Remarques sur un masque ibéro-punique découvert à Spina*, in *Arte antica e moderna*, 1962.

<sup>62</sup> Vedi anche L. Braccisi, *Grecità adriatica*, Bologna 1971, tavv. 1-3.

<sup>63</sup> *Art. cit.* alla nota 59), p. 174.

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veva essere impegnata al massimo. Ed è probabile che risalga a questo periodo la talassocrazia di cui parla Dionigi di Alicarnasso (I, 18) a proposito della città di Spina, in seguito alla quale sarebbe stato consacrato un *thesaurós* a Delfi<sup>64</sup>. Infatti, una volta venuta meno, in Adriatico, la presenza ateniese diretta, è probabile che gli Spineti avessero una sempre maggiore autonomia nei commerci, esercitando appunto una sorta di talassocrazia, con l'appoggio di Corcira.

Si rivela più complesso un esame del secondo punto, cioè la reale entità del commercio spinete, per il periodo a cavallo fra il IV e il III secolo a.C.

Scrive, a questo proposito, la Bermond Montanari<sup>65</sup>: «È il commercio del sale a spiegare come Spina sia sopravvisuta per un secolo, dopo la conquista di Felsina da parte dei Galli; protetta dalle paludi, essa riuscì con questa merce indispensabile a moderare la velleità aggressiva di questi barbari invasori». Ma simili affermazioni non sono più verosimili in seguito ad uno studio, anche superficiale, del materiale archeologico presente a Spina in quest'ultimo secolo<sup>66</sup>. E soprattutto la massiccia presenza delle anfore commerciali, tanto a Spina che nella vicina Adria, nega, nel modo più assoluto, qualsiasi ipotesi di un isolamento dei porti del delta padano.

Degli importanti cambiamenti però dovettero verificarsi in Adriatico dopo la metà del IV secolo a.C. Se una navigazione ateniese in Adriatico è incerta per la prima metà del IV secolo (vista la mediazione di Corcira), sembrerebbe abbastanza sicuro che dalla seconda metà di questo secolo in poi, nessuna nave ateniese dovesse più arrivare fino ai porti padani; e con la fine del IV secolo, certo il commercio ateniese in questa zona non doveva avere più voce in capitolo. Non è da escludere che Atene avesse spostato il luogo dei propri rifornimenti granari dalla zona padana alle coste dell'Apulia, almeno fino a un certo periodo (fino all'ultimo venticinquennio del IV secolo).

E in questo ambito si inserirebbe il decreto ateniese del 325/24<sup>67</sup> a proposito della deduzione di una colonia in Adriatico, che assolutamente non

<sup>64</sup> A questo proposito Mansuelli (in *art. cit.* alla nota 59 p. 174 afferma: «D'altra parte la talassocrazia spinete non fa pensare ad una semplice passività recettiva, ma ad iniziativa propria... La presenza del *thesaurós* a Delfi non si spiega soltanto in relazione ad una sorta di polizia dei mari, dal momento che neanche sappiamo chi contrastasse in Adriatico la pirateria spinete, ma più come una riprova di un monopolio marittimo da cui gli Spineti traevano cospicui vantaggi...». È interessante a questo proposito anche quanto dice H. J. Dell, *The origin and nature of Illyrian piracy*, in *Historia*, 1967, secondo il quale non esisterebbe la pirateria in Adriatico, fino al 231 a.C.

<sup>65</sup> *Problemi sulla diffusione e sul commercio della ceramica attica nell'Italia settentrionale*, in *Cisalpinia*, I, 1959, p. 308.

<sup>66</sup> Cfr. anche *ibid.* parte III.

<sup>67</sup> IG II 809 (Koehler); IG II 1629 (Kirchner); *Syll.* 3, 305; Tod *GHI* 200.

possiamo identificare con l'Adria del delta padano. Infatti si dice chiaramente che tale colonia doveva essere φυλακή ἐπὶ [Τυρ]ρηνοῦς, da cui si deduce che i rapporti con gli Etruschi dell'Adriatico non dovevano essere più così buoni come un tempo, e che anzi questi ultimi avevano tutto l'interesse di ostacolare i commerci ateniesi in questo mare, dove probabilmente ormai esercitavano una sorta di talassocrazia. L'ostilità degli Ateniesi nei confronti dei Tirreni ci è testimoniata anche dalle due orazioni, quasi completamente perdute, di Iperide e Dinarco.

Quindi sia le testimonianze storiche, che la realtà archeologica, ci fanno sicuramente escludere una presenza ateniese nel delta padano, dalla fine del IV secolo in poi. Ma questo vuoto commerciale in Adriatico fu subito colmato, e i commerci divennero più liberi e vari. Abbiamo già sottolineato l'importanza del ruolo di Corcira; ma con essa ora vanno considerate altre potenze alle quali l'allentarsi del colonialismo greco dette nuovo impulso, in particolare Siracusa, e il problema della colonizzazione di questa in Adriatico. È il Braccesi<sup>68</sup> a rivalutare la portata di tale colonizzazione, dopo la quasi completa negazione fatta soprattutto dal Beaumont<sup>69</sup>, e da quanti seguirono le sue considerazioni. Si può dire che la politica siracusana in Adriatico segua due linee principali: la prima, tipica di una politica aggressiva e di espansione, propria di un tiranno quale Dionisio I, con la fondazione di colonie a carattere tipicamente militare<sup>70</sup>; la seconda, più vicina alla politica del Giovane, mirante ad assicurarsi delle basi portuali e commerciali, al fine di una rotta adriatica fino al delta padano, come le due colonie sulla costa apula (Diodoro XVI, 5, 3-4), Ancona, e forse Adria<sup>71</sup>.

Sulla costa adriatica occidentale, e nel delta padano, quello che soprattutto doveva interessare ai tiranni siracusani erano i rifornimenti granari, e probabilmente anche i metalli, che ancora giungevano a Spina, come ci dimostrano le scorie di ferro che si continuano a rinvenire nelle tombe per tutto il IV secolo. Ma è strano che il Braccesi, dopo aver giustamente rivalutato la presenza siracusana in Adriatico, presenti gli Etruschi del delta padano come degli isolati, in lotta contro tutti. Egli parla ripetutamente<sup>72</sup> di una pirateria etrusca che costituirebbe «un reale pericolo per i commerci delle città italiote». A sostegno di questa affermazione cita: 1) il decreto ate-

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 87 ss.

<sup>69</sup> *Greek influence in the Adriatic sea before the fourth century B.C.*, in *JHS*, 1936.

<sup>70</sup> Un'importante testimonianza dell'attività di Dionisio I l'abbiamo in Diodoro, Biblioteca CXV.

<sup>71</sup> Vedi Appendice.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 170.

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<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* a



niese del 325/24; 2) un'ambasceria di Alessandro Magno ai Romani nel 334, e analoghe lamentele espresse poi anche da Demetrio Poliorcete; 3) attestazioni epigrafiche come quella degli abitanti di Delo del 299, che furono costretti a farsi prestare cinquemila dracme dal tesoro del tempio εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν; 4) una notizia della prima metà del III secolo di onoranze tributate, a Rodi, a due cittadini caduti combattendo contro pirati etruschi; qui vi sarebbe una distinzione tra 'pirati' e 'pirati etruschi' in particolare; 5) le orazioni degli ateniesi Iperide e Dinarco contro gli Etruschi, più o meno contemporanee all'età del decreto per la fondazione di una colonia in Adriatico.

Per quanto riguarda le affermazioni 1) e 5) penso siano da considerare tenendo conto della situazione economica e politica dell'Atene del tempo, ormai espulsa, in seguito a precise circostanze storiche qui già esaminate, dai mercati adriatici e del delta padano soprattutto. È chiaro come essa vedesse l'attività commerciale degli Etruschi padani in Adriatico, e la loro talassocrazia, come attività di pirati, e fosse portata ad una propaganda denigratrice nei loro confronti. Va inoltre considerato che il termine 'pirata', per gli antichi, non aveva lo stesso significato che ha per noi, ma stava più ad indicare popoli che esercitavano una particolare attività nei mari.

Per quello che riguarda il punto 2), oltre alla poca chiarezza delle fonti (Strabone V, 3, 5, 232), non è da escludere che degli Etruschi avessero avuto a che fare, in seguito a rivalità commerciali, con talune città magnogreche, alleate del Molosso; ma questo non porta ad escludere completamente rapporti commerciali con le città italiote e siceliote in genere.

Per quanto riguarda infine i punti 3) e 4), prima di tutto non è detto che i Tirreni nominati come pirati siano quelli dell'Adriatico, inoltre le fonti si riferiscono specialmente la 4) – ad un periodo tardo; ancora, delle scorrerie etrusche nell'Egeo non porterebbero ad ammettere un'attività offensiva su tutti i fronti riguardo alle altre città italiote e siceliote. Bisogna soprattutto tenere presente che, se col termine Tirreni si intende generalmente il popolo etrusco, tuttavia non si può pensare ad esso come ad una entità nazionale, e soprattutto in un'epoca così tarda. Per lo stesso motivo sembra abbastanza assurdo pensare, come afferma invece il Braccesi<sup>73</sup>, che se Dionisio I dimostra una politica antietrusca sul Tirreno, con la depredazione ad esempio del tempio di Cere, la stessa politica dovesse sussistere nei confronti degli Etruschi del delta padano, così da creare un'alleanza gallo-siracusana in funzione antietrusca. Infatti se sul Tirreno una politica antietrusca si potrebbe spiegare, in seguito alle mire espansionistiche che Dionisio poteva aver avuto nei confronti dell'Elba e della Corsica, nell'Adriatico non avrebbe avuto scopo.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 101 ss.

Afferma il Braccesi<sup>74</sup>: «L'alleanza gallo-siracusana comportò tra l'altro il controllo dei mercati dell'entroterra padano ad opera dei Galli, e non più degli Etruschi, le cui basi adriatiche in questo periodo devono aver cessato pressoché del tutto la loro attività, tagliate fuori dal mondo etrusco per via dello stanziarsi dei Celti ai margini pedemontani delle loro direttrici transappenniniche, isolate economicamente dall'intesa gallo-siceliota, e addirittura materialmente soppiantate dalle nuove fondazioni siracusane in Adriatico occidentale...». Secondo quanto afferma il Braccesi l'elemento etrusco sembrerebbe scomparire in Adriatico nella prima metà del IV secolo a.C., per poi stranamente ricomparire, dopo circa 50 anni, ma questa volta in qualità di pirati pronti ad ostacolare in ogni modo i commerci delle città italiote. Tutto questo non mi sembra affatto convincente, e soprattutto sulla base della testimonianza archeologica, che mostra una reale continuità di commerci nel delta padano, fino ai primi decenni del III secolo. È probabile che i Galli sostituissero in parte – se non completamente – gli Etruschi, come intermediari con l'entroterra<sup>75</sup>, ma ciò non vuol dire che gli Etruschi del delta padano dovessero scomparire; e la loro presenza a Spina è confermata anche da iscrizioni etrusche rinvenute sulla stessa ceramica<sup>76</sup>. Mentre pare dunque abbastanza assurda l'alleanza gallo-siracusana di cui parla Braccesi, mi sembrerebbe invece da rivalutare il ruolo di Siracusa, o di altre possibili città magnogreche, nell'ambito del commercio spinete, che rimane certamente prospero – anche se privo dello splendore che un tempo gli conferiva un prodotto come la ceramica attica – per tutto il IV secolo, fino al III.

E non è privo di significato il fatto che le anfore greco italiche della classe IV di Spina trovino confronti, oltre che in ambiente etrusco, soprattutto in ambiente siceliota, e anche punico<sup>77</sup>. È coi primi decenni del III secolo, infine, che è veramente in corso quel processo di progressivo isolamento della zona del delta padano, in conseguenza di precisi atti storici, come la morte di Agatocle in Sicilia e le lotte interne che ne seguirono, la conquista romana, le ingerenze da parte del monarca dell'Epiro sulle città italiote, il rafforzarsi dei regni illirici...

Università di Pisa

Serena DE LUCA DE MARCO

<sup>74</sup> Op. cit. alla nota 62, p. 104.

<sup>75</sup> G. Mansuelli, *Problemi storici dell'Etruria padana*, in *St. Etr.*, Suppl., XXV, 1969.

<sup>76</sup> Cito ad esempio delle iscrizioni graffite in caratteri etruschi su una coppetta a vernice nera dalla T. 106 di Valle Trebbia, e l'iscrizione su un'anfora erratica da Valle Trebbia, appartenente alla classe IV. Sono entrambe databili tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del III sec. a.C.

<sup>77</sup> Vedi *ibid.* parte II.

I) Τρετες, ad I

II) ἄλλ' ὁ θ  
Ἰλίου... ὑ  
Ἀδριαν. ἦν Ἀδρι

II) Ἀδριας  
πολὺν ἐκτίσεν Ἀ  
ἔν τῳ θ' τῶν Ι  
τοῦ Μεσσαπίου

Nell'ambito  
prive d'interese  
sono da conside  
del commercio  
Ora, entrat  
prio negar l'or  
zione di fonti  
terza mano<sup>1</sup>.

Esse ci pai  
sio I di Siracus  
rità storica, noi  
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quanto sosteng

Ma le prov  
sai scarse, com  
fatti, le uniche  
teste fittili di k  
vati nel Museo  
Si citano in  
fondazione sir  
logia.

<sup>1</sup> I passi so

<sup>2</sup> Secondo

mano, ma non

<sup>3</sup> Sulla colo

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. all

<sup>5</sup> Presenza

<sup>6</sup> L. Bracce

<sup>7</sup> Quattro p

cit. alla nota 82

<sup>8</sup> Vedi nota



## APPENDICE

1) Tzetzes, ad Lycophr. 631; Etym. Magnum, s.v. Adrias (Gaisford col. 46)

I) ἀλλ' ὁ Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι φασὶν (sc. τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον κληθῆναι) ἀπὸ Ἰονίου Τηλεφίου... υἱοῦ Ἀδρίου τοῦ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ πέλαγος κτίσαντος πόλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀδρίαν, ἣν Ἀδρίαν ἕτεροὶ φασὶν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, τοῦ προτέρου τυράννου Σικελίας, κτισθῆναι.

II) Ἀδρίας τὸ πέλαγος. Διονύσιος Σικελίας τύραννος, ὃς πρότερον τῇ \* Ὀλυμπιάδι πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἀδρίαν ἐν τῷ Ἰονικῷ κόλπῳ ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ πέλαγος Ἀδρίας καλεῖται. Εὐδοξος δ' ἐν τῷ θ' τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομασθῆναι Ἀδρίαν φησὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδρίου τοῦ Μεσσαπίου τοῦ Παύσωνος. Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάσιν αὐτῶς ὀρίων<sup>1</sup>.

Nell'ambito del problema della colonizzazione siracusana in Adriatico, non sono prive d'interesse queste testimonianze su una possibile colonia ad Adria. Anche queste sono da considerare come altri elementi a favore della presenza siceliota nell'ambito del commercio spinete.

Ora, entrambe le fonti sono molto tarde; ma per questa loro colpa dobbiamo proprio negar loro ogni credito? Perché non pensare piuttosto ad una cattiva interpretazione di fonti più antiche? Entrambe le notizie, infatti, assai probabilmente sono di terza mano<sup>2</sup>.

Esse ci parlano esplicitamente di una *ktisis* della città di Adria da parte di Dionisio I di Siracusa. La cosa certa è che questa fondazione, anche se corrispondesse a verità storica, non sarebbe stata *ex novo*, bensì una rifondazione, visto che la città già esisteva, come del resto dimostra anche l'evidenza archeologica. E questo è appunto quanto sostengono il Gitti<sup>3</sup> e il Braccesi<sup>4</sup>.

Ma le prove archeologiche apportabili a sostegno di questa tesi sono, in effetti, assai scarse, come giustamente anche il Massei afferma, in un suo recente articolo<sup>5</sup>. Infatti, le uniche testimonianze archeologiche di questa 'rifondazione', sarebbero certe teste fittili di korai, tra l'altro rinvenute anche a Spina, 'simili a tipi agrigentini conservati nel Museo di Siracusa'<sup>6</sup>, ma diffuse praticamente in tutta la Sicilia.

Si citano inoltre certi pezzi magnogreci, che non serviranno a testimoniare una rifondazione siracusana. Del resto, per questi pezzi non si tiene affatto conto della cronologia.

<sup>1</sup> I passi sono riportati da L. Braccesi, *op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Secondo il Braccesi lo storico bizantino avrebbe invece attinto a fonti di prima mano, ma non si capisce su cosa si basi per affermarlo.

<sup>3</sup> Sulla colonizzazione greca nell'alto e medio Adriatico, in *P.d.P.*, VII, 1952, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Presenza siceliota alla foce del Po, in *Arch. Class.*, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> L. Braccesi, *op. cit.* alla nota 62, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> Quattro pezzi sicelioti, di età timoleontea, sono stati pubblicati da L. Massei, *art. cit.* alla nota 82.

<sup>8</sup> Vedi nota 64.

Una presenza siceliota e magnogreca indubbiamente esiste, tanto ad Adria quanto a Spina<sup>7</sup>; ma tutto questo materiale, la cui problematica è stata finora assai poco studiata, appartiene, per quanto ho potuto vedere, ad un'epoca più tarda, soprattutto ad età timoleontea.

A questo punto, a meno che ulteriori scavi non ci rivelino, a questo proposito, evidenze archeologiche affidabili, mi sembra assolutamente da escludere una qualsiasi fondazione, o rifondazione, da parte di Dionisio I.

Ma un altro tiranno siracusano portava il nome di Dionisio, e precisamente il figlio di Dionisio I, Dionisio II, che diventò tiranno nel 367 a.C. Egli non ebbe certo un regno tranquillo, costantemente insidiato da Dione, che dal 357 al 354 riuscì ad instalarsi al suo posto, nella tirannia siracusana. Dionisio fece uccidere Dione, ma dovette arrendersi, otto anni dopo, a Timoleonte, andandosene in esilio. Non sembrerebbe strano che, in un periodo turbato da continui sconvolgimenti politici, un gruppo di fuoriusciti siracusani fosse andato a stabilirsi ad Adria. Essi saranno stati chiamati *apoikoi*, e sarà stato scritto che la colonia fu mandata da Dionisio, senza specificare ὅς πρότερον. Niente di strano che un erudito sprovveduto (e perché non gli stessi Flegone e Orione citati dall'*Etymologicum Magnum*?) abbia scritto senza pensarci tanto sopra κτίσις Διονυσίου τῶν προτέρων, pensando che il Dionisio citato fosse senz'altro il Vecchio, perché il più noto. Di qui, una volta perduta la fonte primaria, sarebbe nato tutto l'equivoco della tradizione.

## 2) Strabone V, I, 7.

Dice Strabone, ai tempi del quale Spina era ormai interrata: θησανυρὸς γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς Σπινετῶν δέικνυται καὶ τάλλα ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς θαλασσοκρατησάντων. Φάσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ὑπάρχειν, νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ χορίον περὶ ἐνεθήκοντα τῆς θαλάττης σταδίου ἀπέχον.

Generalmente s'intende la talassocrazia degli Spineti come un'azione di polizia dei mari contro i pirati illirici. Ma a questo proposito è di grande interesse il già citato articolo del Dell<sup>8</sup>, secondo il quale non esisterebbe pirateria nell'Illiria, fino al terzo secolo inoltrato.

La talassocrazia spinete di cui ci parla Strabone andrà quindi intesa per quel periodo in cui il commercio ateniese in Adriatico era già tramontato, e Spina si affermava sempre più come potenza commerciale indipendente, su tutto quel mare.

Del resto la fonte non parla assolutamente di pirati, e il verbo θαλασσοκρατεῖν sta generalmente a significare 'dominare, signoreggiare sul mare' e non ha per nulla il significato di combattere i pirati, concetto che, del resto, penso fosse sconosciuto in quel tempo, nel senso moderno.

## 3) Esichio, s.v.

Κερκυραῖοι ἀμφορεῖς τὰ Ἀδριανὰ κεράμια. Questo passo è decisamente oscuro e contraddittorio. Esichio infatti, mentre chiama le anfore 'corcirese', nello stesso tempo le definisce 'di Adria'. È chiaro che la fonte è tarda, e per questa ragione molto confusa. È comunque importante perché, pur nella sua oscurità, ci testimonierebbe un rapporto fra le anfore di Corcira e Adria.

A questo punto però è molto strano il fatto che ad Adria sia stata trovata una sola anfora corcirese, del tipo della variante A; non sono state invece rinvenute anfore appartenenti alle altre varianti più tarde. Questo fatto può essere dovuto ad un caso for-

tuito - gran pa  
giustificato stor

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tori.

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'di Adria', ma  
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usati in tutto l'

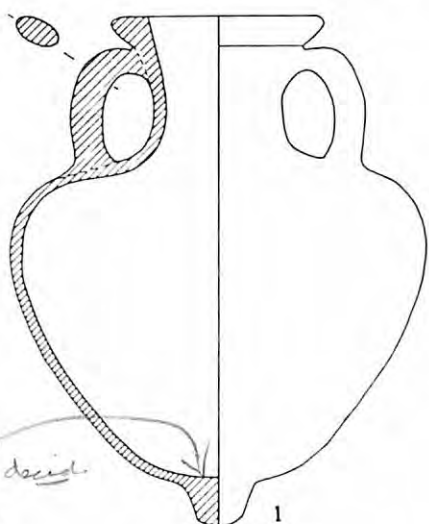


tuito – gran parte della necropoli non è stata ancora scoperta –, oppure ad un fatto giustificato storicamente.

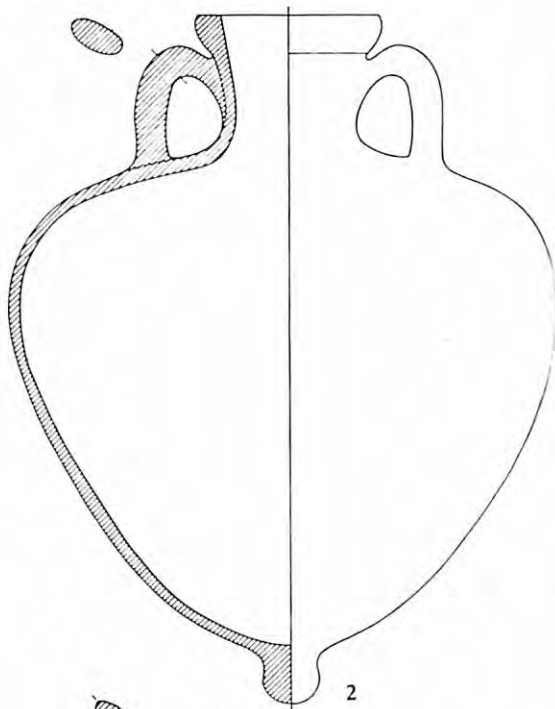
Nel primo caso, può darsi che altre scoperte vengano fatte in seguito; nel secondo, si dovrebbe pensare ad un errore nella fonte, per cui invece che 'di Adria', le anfore dovevano essere definite 'di Spina'. Ma questa mi pare un'ipotesi assai improbabile, perché se queste anfore giungevano a Spina, allo stesso modo dovevano giungere ad Adria. E anche ammettendo che le navi corciresi si fossero fermate solo nel porto di Spina, mi sembrerebbe molto strano che le anfore non potessero giungere ad Adria, con un breve percorso interno. A meno di non pensare che il contenuto di queste, una volta giunte a Spina, venisse trasportato ad Adria per via di terra, con diversi contenitori.

Ma ancora un'altra ipotesi è possibile. Il termine 'Αδριανὰ potrebbe significare non 'di Adria', ma 'dell'Adriatico'. La fonte in questo caso sarebbe chiara, e non più contraddittoria, in quanto significherebbe che le anfore di Corcira sono i tipici contenitori usati in tutto l'Adriatico, grazie al commercio corcirese.

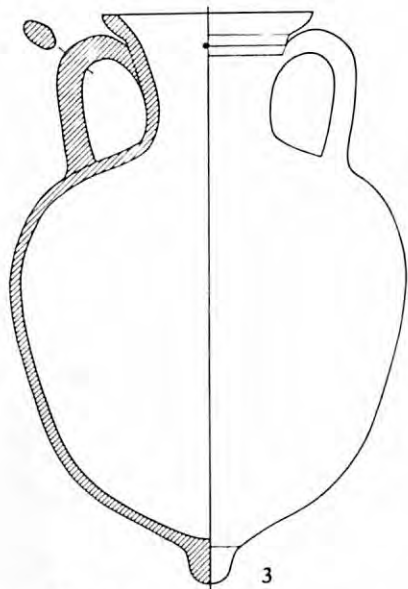
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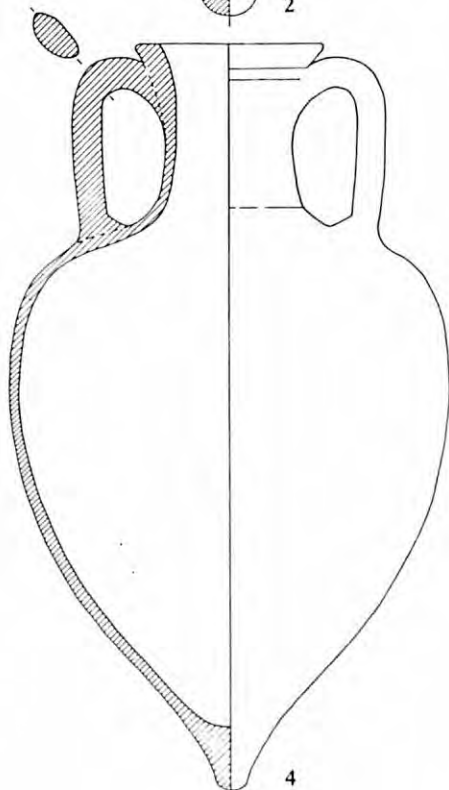
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2



3



4

Tav. I

CLASSE I - CORCIRESE o CORINZIO B

Variante A:

- n. 1 - da Valle Trebba, T. 603;
- n. 2 - da Valle Trebba, erratico.

Variante B:

- n. 3 - da Valle Trebba, erratico.

Variante C:

- n. 4 - da Valle Pega, erratico.

Tav. II

Variante D:

- n. 5 - da Valle T

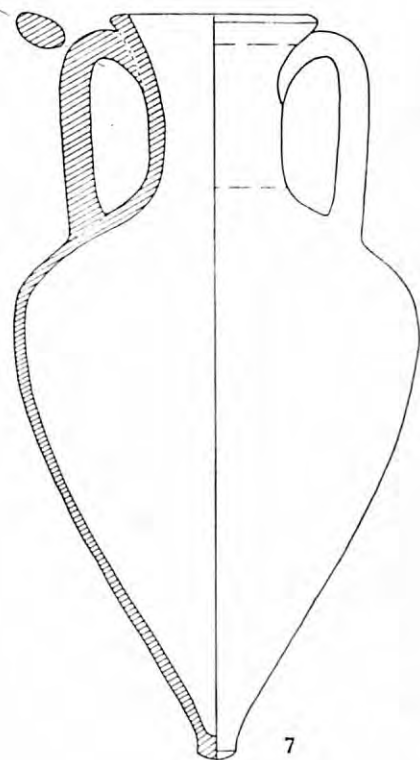
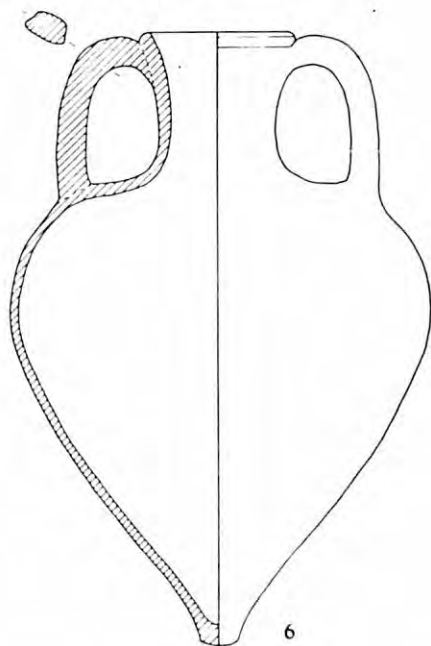
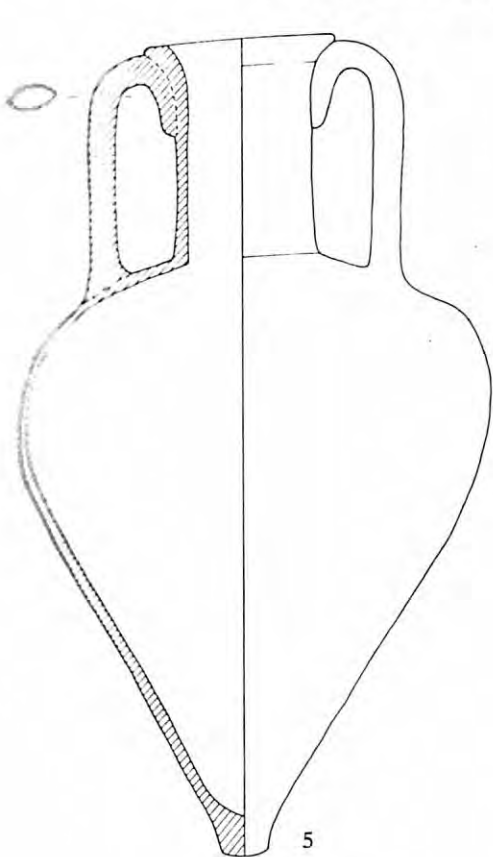
Variante D<sub>1</sub>:

- n. 6 - da Valle T

Variante D<sub>2</sub>:

- n. 7 - da Valle T





## Tav. II

## Variante D:

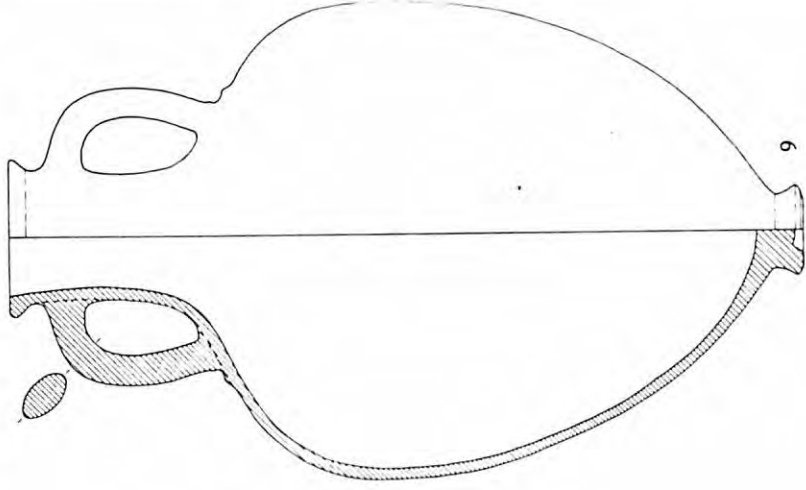
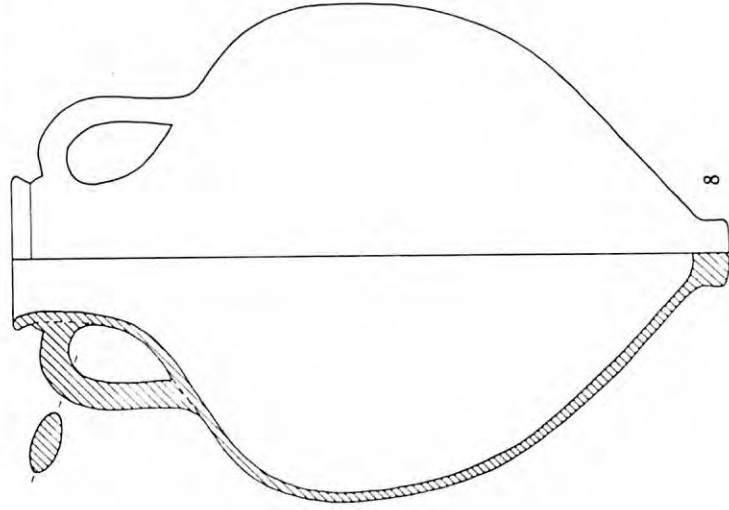
n. 5 - da Valle Trebba, T. 613.

Variante D<sub>1</sub>:

n. 6 - da Valle Trebba, T. 342.

Variante D<sub>2</sub>:

n. 7 - da Valle Trebba, T. 623.



Tav. III

CLASSE II - CHIOTA

Variante A:

n. 8 - da Valle Trebba, T. 642.

Variante B:

n. 9 - da Valle Pega, erratico.

Variante C:

n. 10 - da Valle Pega, erratico.

Tav. IV

CLASSE III - IONICA (?)

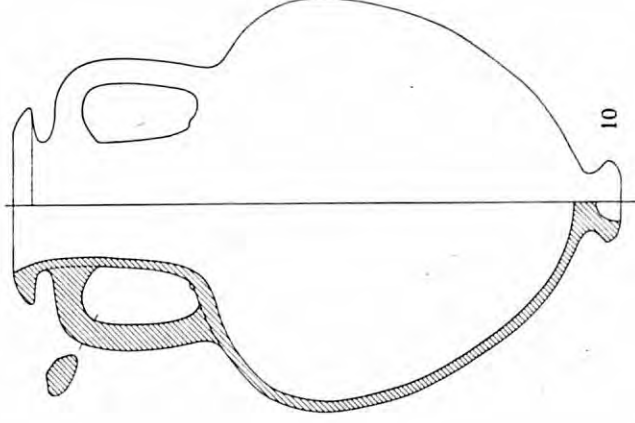
n. 11 - da Valle Trebba,

n. 12 - da Valle Trebba,

n. 13 - da Valle Trebba,

n. 14 - da Valle Trebba,

MEFRA 1979, 2.



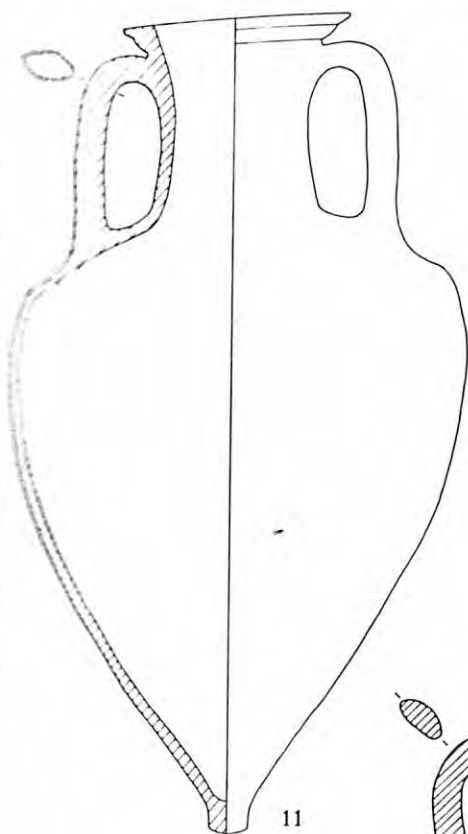




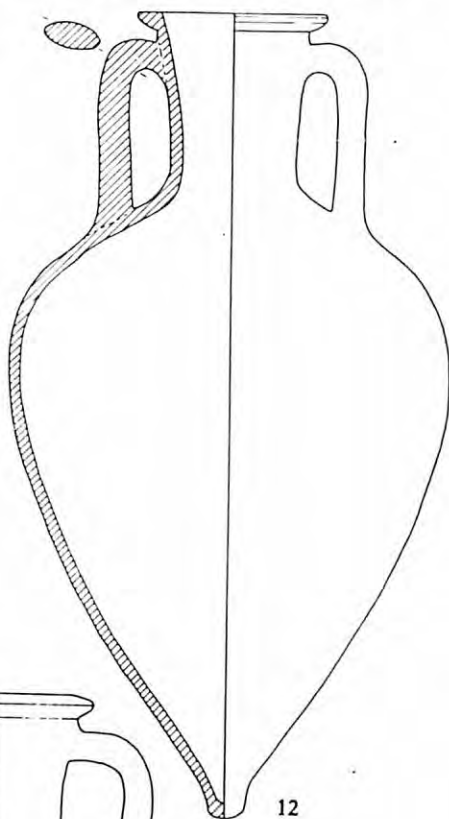
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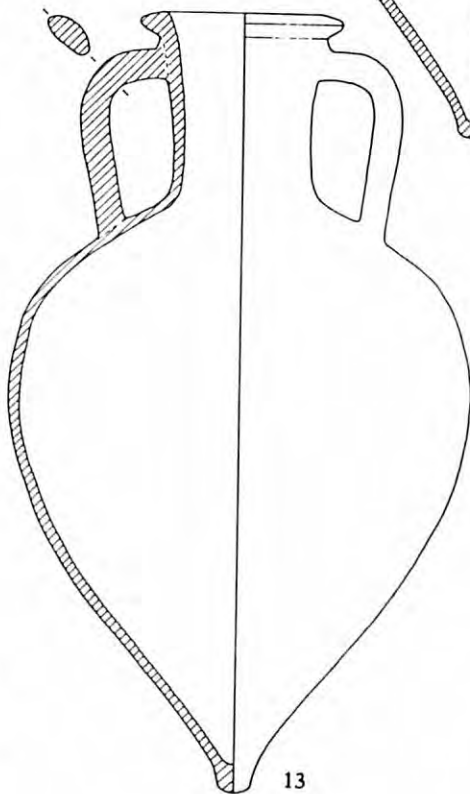
10



11



12



13

Tab. IV

CLASSE III - IONICA (?)

a. 11 - da Valle Trebba, T. 1152;

a. 12 - da Valle Trebba, T. 779;

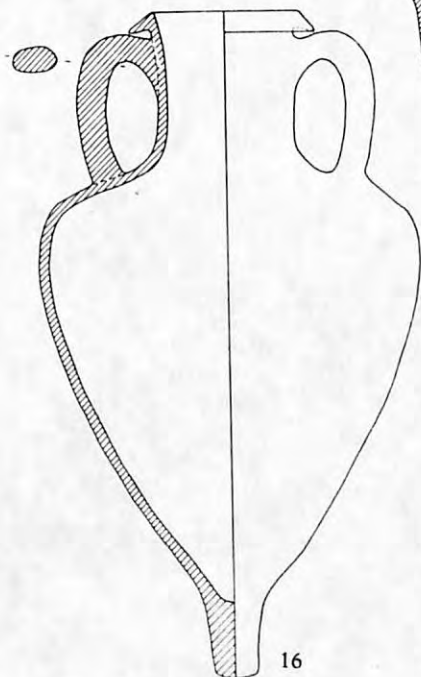
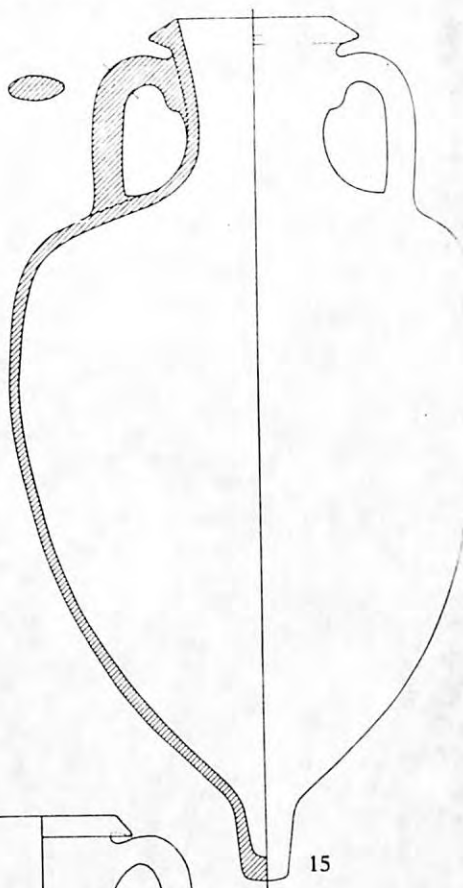
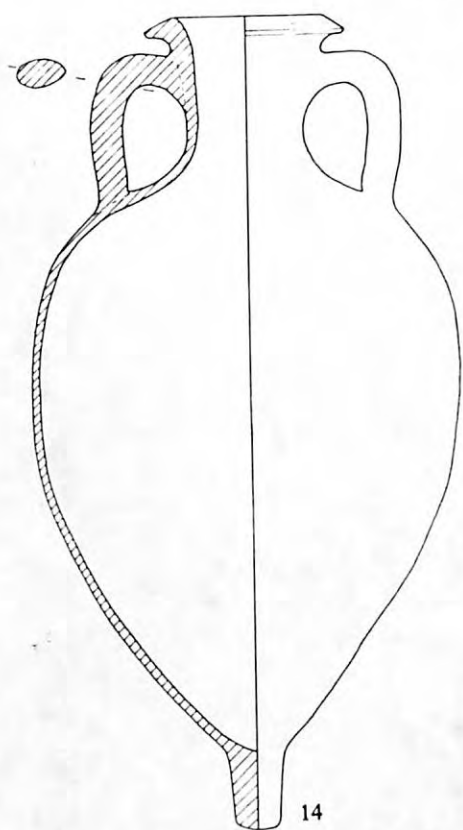
a. 13 - da Valle Trebba, T. 1182.

MEFRA 1979, 2.

W d. l. l. E  
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of accuracy  
of drawing

cf. Quar. Ital.?



Tav. V

CLASSE IV - GRECO-ITALICA

n. 14 - da Valle Trebba, T. 106;

n. 15 - da Valle Trebba, T. 779;

n. 16 - da Valle Trebba, T. 995.

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l'œuvre de F.

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l'œuvre de 193  
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ITALY - SPINA

54, 228

ref. 8.1  
9.VII.59

See also

From tombs in Spinaunder ~~CORCYREAN~~ CORINTHIANS B"Various  
Muses  
Classical"See S. Averagema, Se Musee di Spina in Ferrara,  
Ferrara, 1936

Corcyrean: see p. 129, pl. LXII, Tomb 779 cleared  
LT shows in a plot, see good part of <sup>(Corc.)</sup> jar, but the last says  
new art. "2 grandi anfore greche, a punta." See also p. 45, pl. XX

(Aris Agnani  
1955), p. 28, further illustr. of items from this tomb: pl. LXIII,  
showing figured zone on a Campanian krater

ref., but no  
more on date. Nothing precise on date, in text, only p. 128, "relatively  
late." But L.T. investigated the bell krater shows pl. LXIII,  
finds it called "very late red figure" by JDB, <sup>(X)</sup> i.e. late 4<sup>th</sup>, early 3<sup>rd</sup> <sup>(+)</sup>

see Roll 420 Western (Spanish?): p. 133, pl. LXIV, objects from  
Tomb 369. Two jars with shoulder-stops, like one pl. in  
Karyotes. Context at Spina (per L.T. from a later pub.)  
2 at  $\frac{1}{2}$  4<sup>th</sup> cent.

(i.e. I can't see what)  
Miscellaneous jars: p. 39, pl. XIX, <sup>Tomb 773</sup>  
as cleared

\*  $\phi$ 

Minutiae: p. 119, pl. LVI, p. Tomb 761 <sup>and</sup> 606  
(the latter shown as sitting in a ring stand).

see Roll 420 Refus.: pp. 1, 54, 228

OVER

\* Etruscan Vase Painting, Oxf. 1947, pp. 177, 179  
+ ibid., p. 8.



ITALY - SPINA

[2301]

54, 228

ref. 9.VII.59

See also

From tombs in Spina

under ~~CORCYRAN~~ CORINTHIAN B"Various  
Mans  
Chassis"See S. Arrigemma, Se Musei di Spina in Ferrara,  
Ferrara, 1936

Corcyran: see p. 129, pl. LXII, Tomb 779 cleared  
LT shown in In the plant, see good part of <sup>(Corc.)</sup> jar, but the last says  
new ant. "2 grandi anfore greche, a punta." See also p. 45, pl. XX

(Anna Agnini  
1955), p. 28, showing fragment zone on a Campanian krater

ref., but no  
was on date. Nothing precise on date, in text, only p. 128, "relative  
date." But L.T. investigated the bell krater shown pl. LXIII,  
finds it called "very late red figure" by JDB, <sup>(X)</sup> i.e. late 4<sup>th</sup>, early 3<sup>rd</sup> <sup>(+)</sup>

see Roll 420 Western (Spanish?): p. 133, pl. LXIV, objects from  
Tomb 369. Two jars with shoulder-stops, like one ph. in  
Karyotes. Context at Spina (per L.T. from a letter pub.)  
2<sup>nd</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  4<sup>th</sup> ant.

(i.e. I can't see what)  
mixed jar: p. 39, pl. XIX, <sup>Tomb 773</sup> as cleared

\*  $\phi$ 

Minutaria: p. 119, pl. LVI, p. Tomb 761, <sup>and</sup> 606  
(the latter shown as sitting in a ring stand).

see Roll 420 Refers: pp. 1, 54, 228

[OVER] <sup>(+)</sup> Etruscan Vase Painting, Oxf. 1947, pp. 177, 179  
<sup>(+)</sup> ibid., p. 8.



1. VI. 61

See letter of today to Brian Sparkes, filed  
under ELEUSIS BURIALS.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON



SOUTHAMPTON

TEL.: 54071-2-3-4

8.x.61.

Dear Virginia,

I realise that I haven't replied to your letter of this summer, saying that Prof. Mylonas wanted to publish those little pots himself. I haven't taken umbrage or anything like that, it's simply discourtesy on my part and I do apologise.

You did ask in one letter for me to give my opinion on Spina tomb 369. I have looked at this closely and would say that the tomb can't be any earlier than late 4th, the kantharoi, bull askos and rf bell-kbater belonging far down in the century. You will find a great deal of information on the tomb and on the Etruscan items in it in Beazley's Etruscan Vase-Painting. He gives many other examples of the shapes and the cross-checks are pretty conclusive.

This should have come first in the letter, but as I wished to apologise and not to forget the Spina item, I have had to delay congratulating you on the Picture Book until the third paragraph. It really is a magnificent affair and I am sure you will think all that tinkering with the text to make text and pictures march side by side worth while, as this is what they undoubtedly do. You also seem to have packed in everything you wanted, including the underwater scene and the Rhodian cellar.

Term starts tomorrow and the work I did on my black glaze during the vacation seems already far away. It was a pity Lucy couldn't come to London the other week, but I think it would just have been too much for her. I have to give a lecture next week to the Local grammar school (200 girls) on Ancient Life. What can I say in 50 minutes? It's going to be what the ASCS Publ. Committee would call 'heavily selected material'.

My apologies again for the long delay in answering your letters.

Best wishes,

Brian Sparkes.



ITALY — SPOLETO

[25]

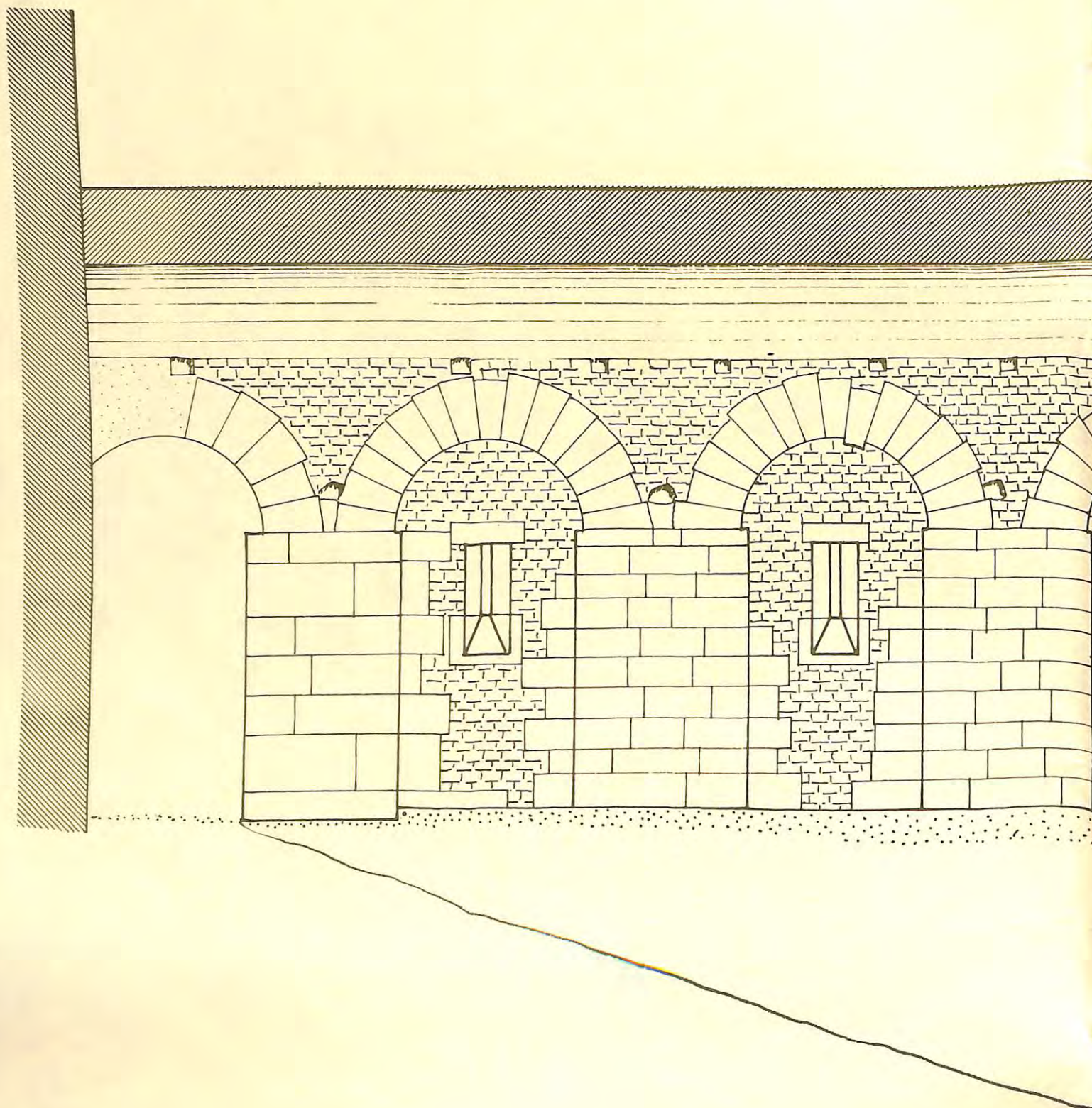


*GESTA*

INTERNATIONAL CENTER  
OF ROMANESQUE ART

NUMBER 1 and 2, 1964





Cover: Bronze Plaque from San Zeno, Verona.  
Photograph Henry J. Heinz II.

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for Ann Virginia Pace with  
thanks HB

When the material for the second issue of GESTA began to arrive, it soon became clear that its quality would provide for lively reading. Most of the contributors have worked at one time or another under the guidance of Prof. Harry Bober whose suggestions give this issue a lively flavour.

The articles were already at the printers when we completed the ICRA excavation in Spoleto this past summer. The preliminary report was to constitute GESTA Nr. 3. The cost of printing however convinced us that a double issue would allow for a better paper quality.

This volume ranges over a wide variety of subjects. It includes two original pieces of research on Ottonian metalwork and Spanish Romanesque painting. The articles on Autun and Romanesque architecture as seen through 18th century eyes deal with a new aspect in humanistic studies, the history of taste or the history of the history of art. (See Frankl's important contribution in his volume *The Gothic*.) George Nebolsine's account on monuments in the Como area is as useful as is his film on the Pilgrimage Roads which he just completed, and which we hope to present to the membership at large in the near future.

Bulletin Nr. 3 bound into this volume gives a preliminary insight into the mysterious structure which may have been Theoderic's Palace in Spoleto.

### THE FRENCH CENTER

The French Center has increased its activities to include study tours as a regular feature. The General Assembly of June 13, 1962 was followed by lectures on Vézelay (Francis Salet) Saint Denis (Summer McKnight Crosby, Yale) Enamels of Limoges (Pierre Verlet), the Treasure of Conques (Jean Verrier). Four bulletins were published with articles by Messrs. Grodecki, Reinhardt and others, including Mr. Berenguer's important discussion of the wall paintings in Asturian churches. (Nr. IV, 1962). The excursions included a trip to the Romanesque exhibition in Barcelona, a voyage to the Provence directed by Marcel Pobé, an excursion into Burgundy directed by René Louis and a series of smaller trips.

In 1963 the French center offered talks by H. P. Eydoux, Gilbert Tournier, Jean Ache.

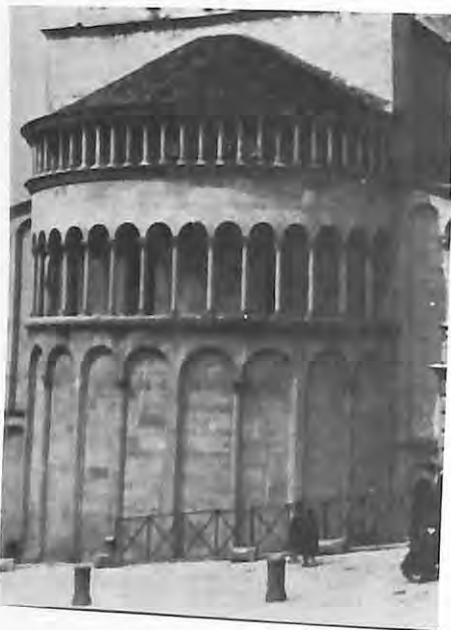
### IN MEMORIAM

Two of the founding members of our Society in France have died. Monsieur Eugene Gentil the enthusiastic and gentle president of the Centre International d'Etudes Romanes not only shaped the character of both the French and American group, but also willed to the French centre an important part of his estate. Marcel Aubert who died on Dec. 28, 1962 was one of the most colorful figures of French art history. His immense scholarly output, his sometimes ironfisted rule over French art commissions and his important impact on the Yale history of Art department will not be forgotten. He served on the administrative council of the French center.

With the death of Prof. Walter Cook who had been on our University Committee, American art history has lost its most direct line of communications with Spanish medievalists. His knowledge of medieval art which he was always willing to share, his tact in dealing with our Spanish colleagues, and his fundamental publications on Spanish medieval art, made him one of the irreplaceable people whose loss one almost resents. He died on a liner in the Atlantic on his way to Spain.

Francois Bucher  
Secretary

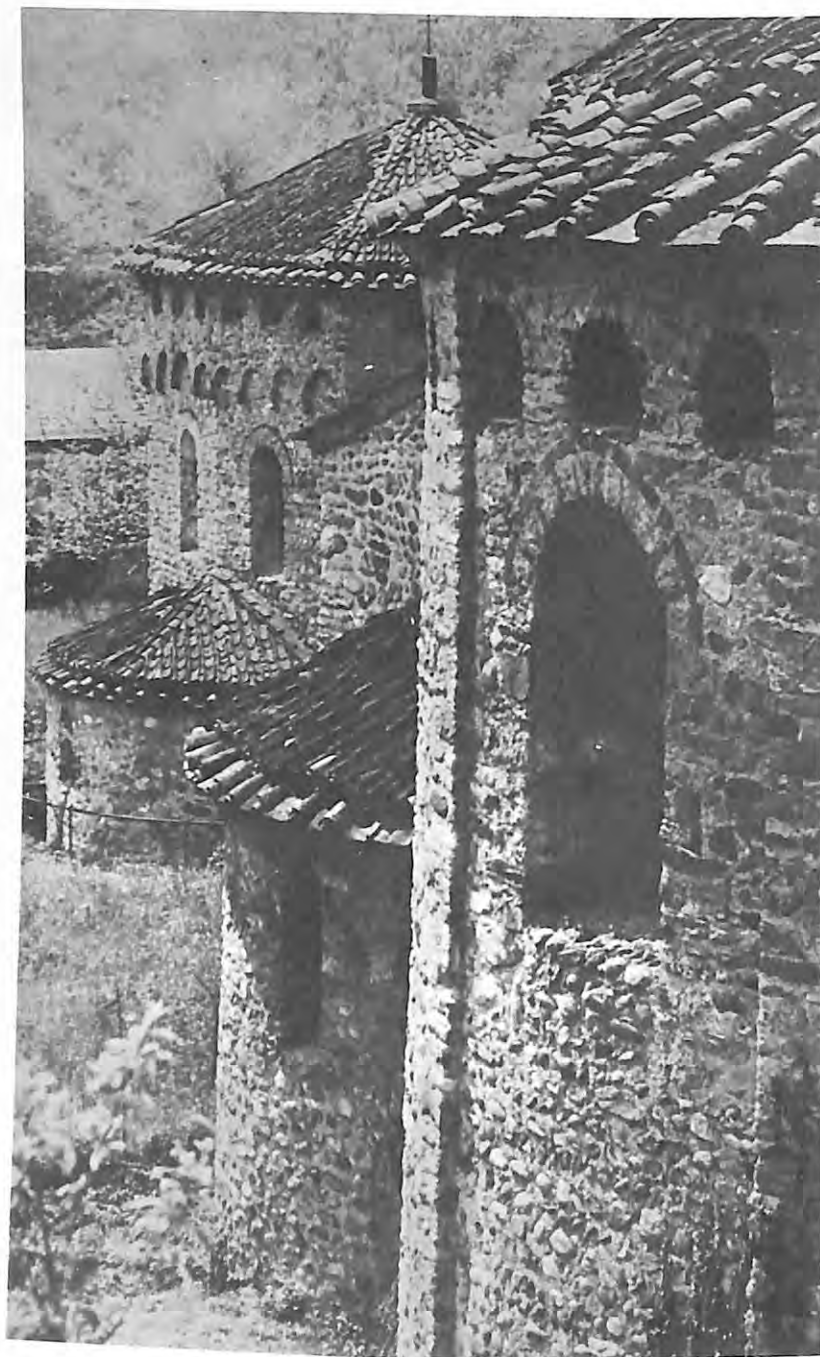




#### LOMBARD NICHES TO ROMANESQUE ARCADES

The decorative niches prominently piercing the exterior of the central apse of S. Pietro, Agliate, (left illustration) are found also in a number of 9th century churches in Milan and regions under Lombard influence. These niches have been credited by archaeologists as being the precursors of the elaborate decorative arcades which were introduced in many 12th century churches.

The two opposite illustrations show the Cathedral of Arezzo (top) and S. Anosteln, Cologne (bottom). The lower portions of the two apses are decorated with blind arcades attached to pilasters. This decorative element stems from much older source.



## The Pilgrimage Route to Rome

... by  
George Nebolsine  
(Excerpt)

### THE COMO-MILAN REGION

After crossing the Alps, the Route to Rome spills into Lombardy at the old city of Como.

We have already considered the character of traffic which in the middle ages used this Route. It will be recalled that, following the Saracen conquest of the Mediterranean, virtually all commerce which originated in Byzantium of the East had to use overland routes to reach northern markets. Traffic in the other direction was made up by a considerable flow of pilgrims, who streamed down from the North to visit the tomb of S. Peter in Rome and to embark upon the perilous trip to the Holy Land from Bari, Venice or other ports.

During the 9th and 10th centuries, missions were exchanged between the western rulers and the emperors of Byzantium. These missions account for the increased influence of Byzantium in the arts of the 9th and 10th centuries in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The skills of the Eastern artists and craftsmen exceeded those available north of the Alps and examples of their work reached such centers of illumination as Reichenau on Lake Constance and Monte Cassino. Eastern craftsmen were called to work on the rebuilding of Monte Cassino and, we must suppose, many other abbeys.

There occurred, nevertheless, a reciprocal flow of ideas southward along the pilgrimage route; thus German sculptors worked in Lombardy and the legend of Roland appears in sculptures on the pilgrimage route to Bari. The cubic capital so common in Romanesque architecture may have come from the Rhineland to Como.

The Como-Milan region, with its deep-rooted traditions in ancient Rome, its exceptionally capable builders and its continuous exposure to foreign ideas, was ideally situated to absorb art influences from afar and to exercise its own influence in turn on artistic development throughout Europe.

Evidence of the artistic ferment of the 9th and 10th centuries can readily be identified in monuments of this region. They reveal to the thoughtful observer some of the first signs of the revolution which, in the next two centuries under the name we have given it—"Romanesque", transformed European artistic expression.

### THE 'COMACINI' MASTERBUILDERS

One factor which gave Lombardy preeminence in early medieval architecture was the skill of its stone masons.

The eminent Italian scholar Rivoira accepted the hypothesis that the secrets of construction known to the *collegia* of master-masons of ancient Rome were never lost, but were passed on in an unbroken chain by a guild of masterbuilders which survived the barbarian invasion and continued to practice their skills on an island called Comacina in Lake Como. This supposition rests on a number of slender and ambiguous clues. The laws of the Longobard kings Rotharis (636-652 A.D.) and Luitprand (712-744 A.D.) accorded certain privileges to builders termed 'Magistri

*comacini*'. The interpretation first given these words was "Masters from Comacini", thus identifying the island of the name in Lake Como as their place of origin. The island had been the refuge of wealthy Romans during the first barbarian invasions and treasures were supposedly hidden here; the tiny island was later fortified and churches were constructed, though none of these has survived to our days. The idea of a survival in an unbroken line of Roman mastermasons on this little island hideaway surrounded by a sea of barbarism had romantic appeal, but, unfortunately, has not withstood critical evaluation. The key word 'comacini' is now interpreted by scholars as having no connection with the name of the island, but to mean 'mason'. 'Magistri comacini' is now interpreted as meaning 'master masons'.

The Longobard kings no doubt favored their masons, whose skill became renowned. The name of Lombard masters became, in time, synonymous with that of a skilled builder-architect. In the later middle ages, Lombard masters travelled and built churches and castles in England, France, Germany and even in far off Russia. Parts of the Kremlin, it must be recalled, were built by Lombard masters.

### LOMBARD OR 'FIRST ROMANESQUE' ARCHITECTURE

The architectural style of around 1000 A.D., formerly called 'Lombard', was given a new name—"First Romanesque" by a Spanish archaeologist Puig i Cadafalch. Many of the finest survivals of this style are to be found in the Pyrenees. Puig i Cadafalch finds the roots of this style in the Lombard churches, examples of which are to be found particularly in the Como-Milan region.

### S. PIETRO, AGLIATE

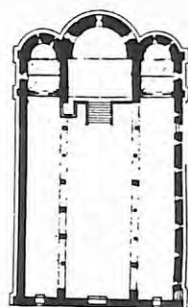
The 'First Romanesque' style is well illustrated by S. Pietro, situated in the tiny village of Agliate between Como and Milan. It is a small, crude church which, at a quick glance, would scarcely attract a visitor. Its construction is not of cut stone, but of broken rock and pebbles embedded in mortar; it has no sculptured decoration; its appearance is extremely modest (Plate 1), but despite this lack of obvious features its interest to us is quite special.

S. Pietro dates to ca. 875 A.D. It is a poor village version of the early Christian basilica which made its appearance in the 4th century Rome and thus belongs to an unbroken tradition of church construction in the West.





The interior arrangement of S. Pietro is typically basilican, consisting of a nave and side aisles. It has three apses covered with quarter domes, a design evolved in the Middle East during preceding centuries and represented in Rome in S. Maria in Cosmedin of the 6th and 8th centuries.



S. Pietro Agliate



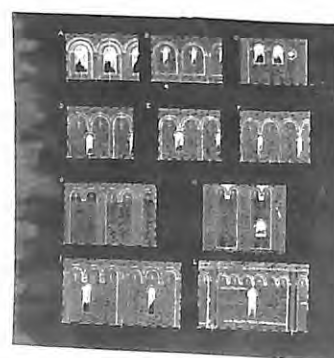
S. Maria in Cosmedin

Of interest in the interior is the use of cannibalized columns from antique ruins and of capitals appropriated from other structures rather than designed for use in this church. If A. K. Porter, the American authority on Lombard architecture, called it 'as uncouth a building as can be found in northern Italy', it nevertheless breathes an air of dignity and reveals its direct ancestry from the noble architecture of Rome. It has the shabby elegance of an impoverished aristocrat. More than that, it bears in it the seeds of the new 'Romanesque' style that was to sweep Europe.

There are other churches with these features in the region, notably S. Vincenzo in Prato, Milan, which even predates S. Pietro. S. Vincenzo lacks, however, the authenticity of S. Pietro having been much reconstructed. At S. Vincenzo in Prato we can observe the use in First Romanesque architecture of decorative blank arcading. The exact origin of this decorative treatment of walls is not clear. We can find blank arcading of different kinds in Ravenna churches of the 6th century; it was a dominant feature of 9th century Armenian architecture and was perhaps reimported into Italy.

#### S. VINCENZO, GALLIANO

The church of S. Vincenzo at Galliano, near Como, is dated 1007 A.D. It is interesting to us in three respects. It has some remarkable frescoes, which we will consider later, and a well preserved baptistery of around the same date. The church is also decorated with blind arcading. The baptistery of S. Vincenzo is a more important building than the smaller baptistery of S. Pietro, Agliate. Its importance to art historians lies in the construction of its small cupola, which rests on an octagonal drum. The construction of this drum involves the use of squinches, which were used in dome construction in the East, particularly in Armenia and in Persia as well as in ancient Rome. Some scholars contend that they were imported into Lombardy about this time from these Eastern lands. The polygonal or round 'drum' under a dome is a characteristic feature of Byzantine architecture, particularly in Spain. It is, of course, also characteristic of Renaissance church design, as for example at S. Peter's, Rome.



#### BLIND ARCADING

Blind arcading of the type used in many Romanesque churches appears to come down from the earliest Ravennese constructions. Thus it is to be found on the exterior of the 6th century Baptistry, Ravenna (Top). It is found again in the church of S. Pietro Bagnocavallo near Ravenna (8th century) (Middle). Its many varieties are illustrated (Below).



#### III. 34.—LANGOBARD CARVINGS

The Museo Civico of the city of Como contains an exceptional collection of 8th century Langobardic carvings. The Langobard style is identified as the style of the Langobard tribes up to the 9th century. Interlace designs of very varied types were employed (Lower Illustration). In the 12th century, Lombard builders used these barbaric designs in their decoration of churches (Upper Illustration). This has led to no little confusion in the dating of monuments.

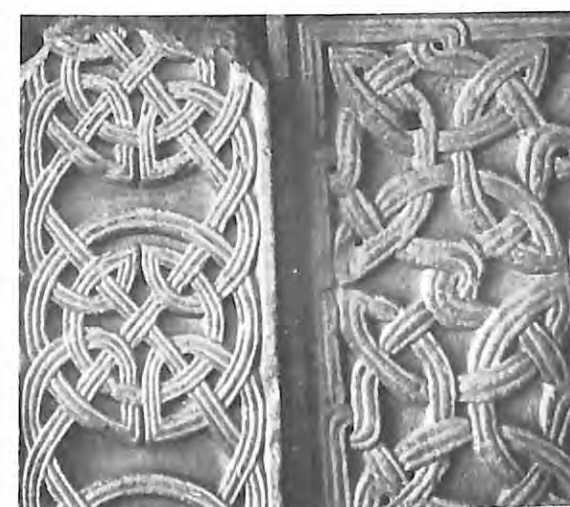
#### S. ABBONDIO, COMO

The exterior wall treatment of S. Abbondio (1063-1095 A.D.) combines the use of the blind arcades and niches we noted at Galliano and Agliate. This combination became the dominant decorative motif of Romanesque in the Rhineland and on the Route to Rome. Another feature of S. Abbondio is its towers which are incorporated into the church's chevet, or eastern portion. Round bell towers are found in Ravenna and in Carolingian churches of the 9th century. They stood separately from the church. In Lombard architecture the tower is connected into the church and this innovation came into general use in the North.

The interior of S. Abbondio offers a kaleidoscopic review of pre-Romanesque and early Romanesque construction. Here we can find three successive stages in the medieval design of free standing supports. First, there is the use of small monolithic cannibalized antique columns with ill-assorted capitals. The practice of using such reclaimed material persisted in Italy until around 1000 A.D., when most usable material seems to have run out. Second, large diameter round columns made of carefully tailored stone (ashlar). Monolithic columns, such as were made in Egypt for use in Rome, were more rarely used in medieval times. Yet, as the desire to build large structures became most insistent, a substitute had to be found. The ashlar columns of the Lombard masons at S. Abbondio were the solution. Similar columns can be seen in other 11th century churches, for example at Jumieges, Durham and Tournus.

There was a parallel difficulty in obtaining antique capitals of the required size. The skill to carve them was also lacking. A solution was found in the use of simple cubical type capitals, which became universally used in 11th-12th century Rhineland architecture (Fig. 3). Whether this type of capital was first developed north of the Alps and brought to Como or in the Como-Milan region and taken to Germany is not certain, but the capitals of S. Abbondio are certainly among the early examples of this type.

The third innovation was the use of a massive, reinforced pillar to carry heavy loads. There are two such piers at S. Abbondio with engaged rounded pilasters, a design which is basically Roman (Fig. 4). It appears in 11th century churches, such as Jumieges in Normandy and elsewhere in the North, again possibly a Lombard import.





## COMO'S MEDIEVAL ART TREASURES

*S. Fedele*, a 12th century church with sculptured animals on its apse.

*S. Giacomo*, ca. 1100 A.D., is believed to have initiated the use of a decorative columnar frieze in Lombardy.

The *City Wall Tower* (1192 A.D.) and the *Palazzo del Broletto* (1215 A.D.) are rare survivals of secular architecture in the Romanesque style.

### MURALS

In the vicinity of Como: *S. Maria di Castelseprio*, *S. Vincenzo*, *Galliano*, and *S. Pietro, Civate*, contain murals which are among the most important early medieval paintings in Italy.

The murals discovered in 1944 in the forgotten chapel of *S. Maria di Castelseprio* rank with the great discoveries of the 20th century. Experts have found few close analogies and do not yet agree on their dating. The outstanding quality of the drawing and movement of the *Castelseprio* murals has gained this chapel the designation of the "small Pompeii". If the murals are hard to date, so is the architecture of *S. Maria*. Attributions range from the 6th to the 11th century. It is agreed, however, that the architecture and frescoes reflect Byzantine usage.

The frescoes, though faint, are perfectly clear; the liveliness and force of their drawing is striking. Weitzmann<sup>1</sup> regards them as belonging to 'one of the most creative phases of the art of the capital (Constantinople)'. Since there was considerable Byzantine influence in Lombardy in the 10th century, it is not unlikely that their author was a Byzantine painter. The nearby transalpine route points to a possible connection between this chapel and the Eastern traders who are known to have frequented the route.

*S. Vincenzo, Galliano*, has frescoes, which date to around 1007 A.D. and are regarded as one of the 'key works' standing at the threshold of Romanesque painting. The iconography of the central scenes of "Christ in Glory" is in the Byzantine tradition. Grabar<sup>2</sup> remarks: "... in the nave we can trace the change-over from an art that is still basically Carolingian to one that is typically Romanesque. Indeed, probably no other edifice provides so lucid an epitome of the stylistic evolution that took place during the transition from the Carolingian to the Romanesque epoch."

*S. Pietro, Civate*, is located on a mountainside near Lecco, some two hours hard walk above the village of Civate. It is a fine example of the Lombard style (ca 1040 A.D.) decorated with very elaborate frescoes dating to around 1100 A.D. Here again, as at nearby Galliano, Eastern influence is seen. The church and its paintings are among the great treasures of medieval art in Italy. The ciborium over the altar is a very fine specimen, superior in workmanship to the ciborium of *S. Ambrogio*, Milan.

### MONZA

At Monza, near Milan, Queen Theodolinda of the Longobards, built a palace and a great church. These disappeared to give way to a Gothic cathedral, whose Treasure preserves some priceless early Christian ivory carvings as well as early metalwork.

A full catalogue of this extraordinary collection would be out of place here. Some of the most interesting objects can, however, be briefly referred to:

—The collection of small decorated lead containers for oil or holy water brought by pilgrims from the Holy Land. These are notable to archaeologists as, under careful scrutiny, they show reliefs of biblical subjects done in the Syrian style. It is believed that these are reproductions, in miniature, of the lost murals of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem dating to the 4th century and are therefore a unique indication of these important early Christian works.

—Ivory carvings, both pagan and Christian, in this collection show the continuity of this art. Portable works of art, such as these, could be easily carried to the most remote abbey and there reproduced in stone sculpture. We know, for instance, that Charlemagne had small ivory capitals imported into Germany to be copied in stone.

—The iron crown used by Longobard kings and their successors, the medieval German emperors in their coronations. According to legend, it was made from a nail used in the crucifixion of our Lord.

### MILAN

Milan has a series of monuments marking every style since Roman times. It is particularly rich in medieval churches dating to around 1000 A.D., of which it possesses no less than seven.

We will examine, particularly, *S. Ambrogio*, which in itself alone contains almost every feature of the transitional period leading to Romanesque architecture.

#### S. AMBROGIO

*S. Ambrogio* is a large church equipped with two bell towers, a large atrium, or forecourt, and a stocky polygonal tower over its central portion. These features belong to different periods of construction which straddle the 9th to the 12th century. There is, however, considerable controversy as to the dating of particular features, causing A. K. Porter to call it "the most discussed and the least understood church in Europe".

Avoiding the fine points of the great debate, we may perhaps venture some general observations. The oldest portions are undoubtedly the short tower, known as the *Campanile dei Monaci*, and the apse. These are given a 9th century dating, i.e., roughly contemporary with *S. Pietro, Agliate*.

Somewhat later, but of much disputed age, is the nave with its alternating piers and columns, a design of both strength and beauty. This design shows a distinct development beyond the arrangement at *S. Abbondio* at Como and probably dates to the 12th century. The 12th century atrium follows the lines of a 4th century atrium, such as the one which stood before the old basilica of *S. Peter* in Rome, but uses building conventions of its age.

Turning to the sculpture: The main portal has carved wooden doors of the 4th century.

The celebrated gold and silver altar screen of Wolvinus is believed to have been commissioned by King Louis the Pious around 835 A.D. This, from every standpoint, is among the finest works of early medieval goldsmiths that survives.

The door jambs and the atrium capitals reveal a re-



Milan, Sant Ambrogio

markable collection of barbaric animal designs. These are reminiscent of the 7th and 8th century work of Longobard sculptors and are close examples of sculpture of that period in the Como museum. The question whether they are original 8th century work or copies done in the 12th century is a fascinating one for archaeologists to probe. The sculptor's treatment of the beasts is definitely barbaric, but this is not unusual in 12th century art and it is not a certain sign of early workmanship.

The sculptured pulpit of *S. Ambrogio* is a very important example of the 12th century Lombard work. It may incorporate pieces of very much earlier date. It certainly uses the designs of 8th century Longobard interlace and animals. Its human figures, however, appear to be late 12th century work.

The ciborium over the altar is a complex and baffling work, very much restored. It sometimes is attributed to the 9th century, but more likely belongs to the 11th or 12th century.

#### OTHER MILAN ARCHITECTURE

Milan's remarkable assembly of medieval churches is notable for their bell towers, which trace several steps in the architectural evolution of this typically medieval feature.

—The *Campanile dei Monaci* (9th century) is the oldest of the series and the plainest.

—The tower of *S. Satiro* is pierced with four stories of openings and has decorative corbel courses. In the opinion of the Italian archaeologist Rivoira it is the prototype of the Lombard church tower, such as we noted in *S. Abbondio*, Como. Its dating is hazardous.

—The tower of the *Monastero Maggiore* is given a 9th century date. Aside from these towers, Milan offers several churches of great interest:

—*S. Babila* (1000 A.D.) marks a landmark in the evolution of Romanesque architecture. It has a form of decorative arcading which stylistically includes both the modest niches of *Agliate* and the blind arcades of *S. Pietro, Galliano*, which we have discussed above. *S. Babila* has barrel vaulting typical of the 'First Romanesque' churches in Pyrenees.

—The centrally planned small oratory of *S. Satiro* is an example of a building that might have been designed in antique Rome, in the 9th century or in the Renaissance; certainly its inspiration is found in the Roman design. *S. Satiro* has some remarkably early medieval capitals and is given the date of 876 A.D.

Additional pre-1000 A.D. churches:

*S. Calimero*, apse, 9th or 10th century.

*S. Celso*, apse 10th century.

*S. Eustorgio*, 9th and 10th centuries.

#### MILAN MUSEUMS

Three museums of Milan contain medieval collections:

The *Ambrosiana Library* is famous for its priceless illuminated manuscripts; the *Museo Archeologico ed Artistico* in the *Castello Sforzesco* has a variety of stone carvings of the early medieval period; the *Museum of S. Ambrogio* has a wide range of medieval art objects.

#### SECULAR ARCHITECTURE

Secular Romanesque architecture is represented in Milan by the *Palazzo della Ragione* (1228 A.D.) and the *Porta Nuova* of the 12th century.

#### NOTES

1. K. Weitzmann: *The Fesco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio*, 1951.
2. A. Grabar: *Mural Painting in Romanesque Painting*, Skira Geneva, 1958.





Milan Sant Ambrogio



Milan Sant Ambrogio

## The Frescoes From San Baudelio De Berlanga

WALTER COOK  
IN MEMORIAM

. . . by  
Mojmir S. Frinta  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The frescoes from the church of San Baudelio de Berlanga were first described in 1907 and their art historical evaluation as well as their recent history, may be found in Spanish and American literature.<sup>1</sup> The suggested dating of the frescoes varies between the middle and end of the twelfth century, although the Mozarabic church itself is considered to be from the eleventh century. It stands near the hamlet of Casillas, nine kilometers from Berlanga de Duero which is in the province of Soria. According to J. A. Gaya Nuno the building was recently under the care of the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano. (Ill. 1)

This highly interesting example of Mozarabic architecture (so Moslem in character that some people wondered whether it was not built by some of the builders coming from Cordova) is thought to have been a hermitage church. It was suggested that it is a remnant of a monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga mentioned in two twelfth century documents.<sup>2</sup> This assumption is supported by the dedication of the church to San Baudel or Baudelio who was represented on the front wall of the apse. A winding cave hewn in the rock and accessible from the SW corner of the nave might have been a hermit's dwelling; this may have provided an impetus for the foundation.

Although this theory may appear satisfactory, still I would like to explore another possibility which is based on the importance accorded to the secular frescoes in the lower zone of the walls, an unusual feature of the interior architecture. I am referring to the elevated tribune which was originally accessible from the outside by a door. It has been assumed that exterior stairs led up to this door. Would it not be just as logical to propose that the door might have been connected by a bridge to, or directly adjoining, a residence which has since totally disappeared?<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the stairs leading from the tribune down into the nave are of cruder craftsmanship than the tribune itself, suggesting that it may have been a later addition. It has also been said that the small enclosed oratory projecting from the center of the tribune served some hermit's private devotions. (An Epiphany adorns its interior.) The tribune with an oratory is an unusual feature for the communal life in a monastery and leads me to explore the idea that the church may have been rather part of some seignorial dwelling at its origin, in any case before 1136.<sup>4</sup> The hypothesis that the church at Casillas may have been con-

nected with a signorial power could account for the prominent placing of the hunting scenes and for the paintings decorating the tribune and the oratory in a way reminiscent of heraldic hangings thrown over a balustrade. It may be paralleled with the mood of the hunting palaces of the Moslem princes in the East which is present also in the hunting scenes in the Alhambra. Some baron of the entourage of Alfonso el Batallador, king of Aragon, might have been conceivably involved. A certain Fortún Azenáres is mentioned in the documents of the region up to the year 1130 as "senor de Berlanga" following its repopulation just after 1108.<sup>5</sup>

There are other puzzling features about the structure: one of them is the original function of a cylindrical enclosure forming a lantern in the top of the powerful central column. The elaborate vaulting of this little space with Moorish ribs in a Cordovan type of dome, though barely visible through a row of small openings between the horse-shoe ribs of the vault, testifies to the importance assigned to this curious enclosure.<sup>6</sup> Was it a repository for sacred objects or rather a lord's treasury?

The entire surface of the walls and vaulting of the nave and the apse was once decorated with painting (Ill. 2) The wall of the nave was divided into three zones: the upper two contained the religious cycle and were separated from the hunting frieze underneath by a wide band of "perspective" meander.

In our time fate has been unkind to the monument. The church was declared a national monument in 1917. Yet, the frescoes were acquired in 1922 from the local people by an art dealer named Levi and were detached from the walls despite the opposition of the bishop of Sigüenza. Only some of the ornamental decoration and insignificant fragments of the scenes remain *in situ*. The circumstances of the removal remain obscure. According to two Spanish authorities the painted scenes were pulled off the wall in a way which was technically imperfect.<sup>7</sup> In 1927 the paintings (said to have been transferred on canvas in London) were shipped to the United States as the property of a French dealer Gabriel Dereppe. The frescoes did not belong to any of the categories which would call for their detaching as a measure of preservation. This chapter in their story was closed by the present regrettable dispersion of the two cycles into five different museums.<sup>8</sup>



During the restoration of the two scenes from the Christological cycle, namely the Miracles and the Temptation of Christ, which are at the Cloisters in New York, I have made a few technological observations which have a bearing on the problems covered by art history.<sup>9</sup> (Ill. 3) First, the painting technique was investigated and the results point out to a mixed technique of *buon fresco* and *secco* which was usual during the Middle Ages. In this particular procedure the large, uncomplicated color surfaces, such as the bands of the background, and the sketching of the scenes appear to have been done in the true fresco, i.e. on the still wet lime plaster. Then the figures and architecture were painted with some tempera medium over the sketched forms so that two sets of images exist superposed. The evidence for this assumption was furnished by the appearance and a varying solubility of the painted surfaces. Quite resistant to the steam were the colored zones, less were the red, green, and blackish garments and white flesh parts; quite soluble were the areas of ochre paint. Significantly, no joints can be ascertained in the painting which would be necessary if the entire paintings were executed on the wet plaster.

The three upper background zones have polished surfaces and the middle one shows in addition an effect of mottled, fused paint which is hardly feasible on the dry plaster with tempera paint. A minute evidence was found that two of these bands were probably overlaid with *secco* layers of strong blue and red-purple, incompatible with the alkaline condition of the fresco. Finally, the paint on the figures is thicker in general and the brushstrokes of the flesh parts achieve a relief quality.

The distinct style and technique of the heads and hands are of great interest as they emphasize the exceptional character of this painted ensemble. The flesh is uniformly white and flat, the lines of the features, almost calligraphic in their sure execution, are black and the limited modeling is provided with thin washes of terra verde color. Conspicuous is the absence of brown or reddish color in the execution of the faces which otherwise occur currently. The green modeling used here may be possibly a remote remembrance of the Byzantine *proplasma* which the painter might have seen on the faces of Italo-Byzantine frescoes. The curved stroke in green on the forehead which appears as a depression may have been perhaps a distortion of the schematic conformation of the center of the forehead in the Byzantine tradition. However, the possibility of the schooling of the painter in the Byzantine painting method must be ruled out because the affinity does not go beyond a solely visual experience and the process itself is reversed. In Byzantine painting the green *proplasma* is the first layer over which lighter flesh colors and finally whites are placed on the protruding portions to model the face while in our painting green is glazed over the white flesh paint.

The painting of the faces with a thick continuous layer of white was confined in Berlanga only to the religious cycle in the nave. In the religious scenes in the apse and in the hunting scenes an orangy-pink color was used as a foundation and strokes of white, thickly painted, modulated the surface.<sup>10</sup> This suggests, along with stylistic differences, that two painters who were trained in two different painting traditions worked in San Baudelio. I feel that

the usual attribution of the Berlanga frescoes to two masters, assigning to one the entire secular cycle and to the other the religious cycle, is arbitrary and that in reality there is a more intricate division: the decoration of the apse with religious subjects is by the painter of the hunting scenes, the same morphology prevails (*vide* the peculiar trees, the flaring garments, shape of the hands). The execution is more careless. The differences in quality in the panels on the tribune also seem to indicate more than one painter; for example, the camel may possibly be by the master of the religious scenes.

It may be perhaps argued that the master of the Hunting Scenes was older of the two, and certainly of a less international outlook, and that he painted his share first as the apse was usually decorated first. On the other hand, it may be mentioned that by reason of practicality the painting was usually started at the top of the walls which would make the hunting frieze the last. Nothing really contradicts the proposition that both worked simultaneously, one starting in the apse, the other in the vault.

The concept of the white flesh and black lines with green modeling shadows is personal to the master of the religious scenes in Berlanga and is rare in wall painting. A slightly amended version of it is used, significantly enough, in the frescoes from a hermitage church of the Holy Cross at Maderuelo (Segovia). This representational principle for flesh was not entirely adhered to as brown shading is used instead of green and large rouge-like dots are placed on the cheeks of some faces. The general color scheme is warmer and sandy and red-brown colors predominate. (Ill. 4)

The style in Maderuelo is obviously close to that of the San Baudelio frescoes as may be seen in the formulae of drawing the faces, drapery and architecture—yet the patterns of the design are more exaggerated, flat and ornamental. The forms are less subtle and more crudely drawn. Although the workshop connection is certain I do not think, as did the authors in the *Ars Hispaniae*, that all the religious Berlanga and Maderuelo frescoes are by the same master. I feel that an assistant of the Berlanga master, who was thoroughly imbued with the vocabulary of the Christological cycle in San Baudelio, worked in Maderuelo and not the master himself.

The consideration of the kind and degree of relationship, so important for the art historical classification, brings us back to a close look at the style throughout the San Baudelio frescoes. The Maderuelo paintings are closer to some of the Berlanga scenes than to others. They are closer to the Miracle scenes than they are to the Temptation. Differences between the latter two may be recognized in the canon of the figures, in the degree of sensibility in the drawing of forms, the different rhythm of the drapery, and in the coloring. As to the last, a reddish color was used for the hair and beards of the figures in the Miracles, and a dull brownish green in the Temptation. Another, more subtle difference may be seen in the coloring of the architecture. While the basic color in both is a grayish white with white accents there is a difference in the drawing of the masonry. Only burnt umber was used in the Miracles while in the Temptation the entire drawing was

done in burnt siena and a few lines in burnt umber were used for fortifying the structure. This subtle multiplication of the coloristic means is a sign of a greater sophistication.

The Marriage at Cana in the Indianapolis Museum of Art coincides with the Temptation in the sensitivity of line, a certain feeling for the bodily volume, guarded use of boisterous drapery conformations, svelte bodily proportions, as well as in the gentle nobility of the mood. (Ill. 5) The Marys at the Tomb in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts are relative in some respects. On the other hand, a lesser consistency and schematization of shapes, and greater exuberancy and irrationality in the sweeping drapery organization are apparent in the Miracles as well as in the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (Indianapolis); yet the quality of the last is inferior. I propose that the chief master painted the Marriage at Cana and the Temptation which were on the west wall over the tribune while his associate painted the north wall (the Marys at the Tomb and the Temptation of Christ); it is conceivable that a close cooperation existed and that the master might have finished his associate's work by drawing some features of the faces. The scenes of the Last Supper and Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (the former in Boston) are much weaker and cannot be from the hand of the master nor the other painter. Let us, for example, compare the monotony in placing the feet of the Apostles in the Last Supper, forming an abstract zigzag pattern, with the greater sensitivity in conceiving this motif in Cana or with the inventive spacing of the soldiers' feet in the Sepulcher scene. The least accomplished two scenes were on the south wall where the conditions of light were the worst. It is quite understandable that the master would have left the decoration of the wall above the entrance door entirely to his assistant and kept for himself the most important wall from the standpoint of the worshippers on the tribune, the one which was the best accessible and well lighted by the door, a little window, now walled in, and furthermore by the window in the apse.

It is precisely in those two weakest paintings that the Berlanga frescoes can be convincingly compared with Maderuelo, e.g. with the scenes in the lunettes. A dehumanization of the countenances with blank, staring gazes and an inaptitude to render the stereoscopicity of the heads reveals a helper in both cases. He and the associate of the chief master were most likely responsible for the entire wall decoration in Maderuelo.

The suggested connection of the Catalan frescoes in Santa Maria de Tahull to Berlanga appears to be much looser than that of Maderuelo to Berlanga. It can be, however, perceived easier between Maderuelo and Tahull. For example, the elongated faces in which the over-sized eyes, nose, and mouth consume, so to speak, the entire surface of the face occur in both (the angel above the Magdalen on the East wall at Maderuelo and the Magi in the apse of Santa Maria de Tahull.<sup>12</sup> Reddish dots on the cheeks are used in both ensembles. I cannot accept the assertion that the same painter painted all three cycles; although some kind of connection must have existed as shows the comparison of the traits of the face and hair, architectural framing as well as the ornamental borders and medallions. Yet in Tahull the linear ornamentalization of forms is much

stronger, I would say it is more brutal, and the forms have less reference to the reality than in either of the other two. (Ill. 6) The contention has been made that the painter, called the Master of Maderuelo, worked first in Catalonia where the Italian influence would have penetrated more easily and then he was called to Castile. As a supporting historical web it was used that the owner of Tahull, baron of Erill, was vassal of Count of Palars-Jussá and that he took part on the campaign of Alfonso el Batallador. Count of Palars-Jussá was member of the king's court. Moreover, the churches at Tahull were consecrated by San Ramón de Roda, almoner at the court of this king.

The frescoes are important from the standpoint of chronology because their dating may be inferred from the date of the consecration of both churches in Tahull, San Clemente and Santa Maria, namely in the year 1123.<sup>13</sup> This would mean, following the above theory, that the Berlanga paintings would be later than this and the Maderuelo later still. It may be noted at this point that the Maderuelo frescoes have been dated in a recent publication ca. 1125.<sup>14</sup>

The study of these three painted ensembles suggests to us a different interpretation of their sequence. The fact of the superior quality and formal sophistication of the Berlanga frescoes, or at least those by the chief master, raises the question as to whether it was on the contrary the influence of the master's atelier active in Castile that reached Catalonia rather than the usually accepted assumption that it was the reverse.<sup>15</sup> It is plausible to propose that the style of the Berlanga Master became more formalistic and abstract in the paintings of his Catalan follower. The unvarying details such as the less daring drawings of the nose are less personal by the latter. If this kind of relationship is to be accepted, then it will ensue that the Berlanga and Tahull frescoes must belong to the same time. I think that the Berlanga frescoes can be tentatively dated to the last years of the first quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>16</sup> The fact that in Berlanga we are facing a fully developed Romanesque style, pointed out as an argument for a late dating, needs not to disturb us because the creative artists lead the evolution and cannot be measured by the yardstick of the evidence gained from the only average works which happen to be dated. The Berlanga Master, as I prefer to call the author of the best religious scenes, may be regarded as one of the artists who transcend the boundaries of regionalism to create a more international style in the same way as did the best image makers of the Pilgrimage Roads sculpture.<sup>17</sup>

#### NOTES

1. M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes. Arte Español de los siglos IX a XI*, Madrid 1919, pp. 317ff; José Garnelo, "Descripción de las pinturas murales que decoran la ermita de San Baudelio en Casillas de Berlanga (Soria)," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXXII, Madrid 1924, pp. 96-109; Charles H. Hawes, "Two Twelfth Century Frescoes from the Hermitage Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Febr. 1928, pp. 6-11; Walter W. S. Cook, "Romanesque Spanish Mural Painting (II)—San Baudelio de Berlanga," *The Art Bulletin*, March 1930, pp. 21-42; W. W. S. Cook and José Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e imaginaria románicas*, *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. VI, Madrid 1950, pp. 139-149; Chandler Rathbone Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. I, Cambridge, Mass. 1930, pp. 197-201, 208f.; María Elena Gómez-Moreno, *Mil joyas del arte Español*, vol. I, Barcelona 1947, p. 255f.; Edgar Waterman

- Anthony, *Romanesque Frescoes*, Princeton 1951, pp. 181f., figs. 443-9; Juan Antonio Gaya Nuno, *La pintura románica en Castilla*, Madrid 1954, pls. 22-31, p. 35f.; Idem, *La pintura Española fuera de España*, Madrid 1958, cat. nos. 549-563; André Grabar, *Romanesque Painting*, Skira Geneva 1958 (The Great Centuries of Painting), p. 77f.; David G. Carter, "Two Romanesque Frescoes from San Baudelio de Berlanga," *Bulletin—John Herron Art Institute*, vol. XLVI, Indianapolis 1959, pp. 3-18; Philip R. Adams, "Mural Paintings from the Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Province of Soria, Spain," *The Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin*, vol. VII, No. 2, March 1963.
2. Bull of Pope Innocent II from 1137 and a donation decree of the bishop of Segovia, Bernardo in 1144. Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
  3. Especially if the building was of wood. It may be noted that the exterior of the church had not always had the same appearance. Series of holes in the masonry of the north wall show that a covered wooden porch existed there at one time. (*Ibid.*, pl. CXIX).
  4. If one assumes that the church is the part of the monastery mentioned that year.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 319. P. R. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "Scholars currently agree that about 1140 some rich baron commissioned a complete series of mural paintings for the interior." On page 8 he suggests that the figure of a falconer riding a mule may perhaps represent the noble donor of the paintings.
  6. G. G. King in her article "Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain," Bryn Mawr College 1924 tried to justify the lantern by supposing that it might have been first constructed as pendant open from below and only later the central pier inserted to support the vault. It is, however, difficult to imagine how would the heavy ribs originally have ended.
  7. According to a recent written communication of G. Menéndez Pidal the paintings were removed in a clandestine way by Italian craftsmen. In their rush to avoid being discovered they left one painting half removed.
  8. Almost all the secular scenes are now in the Prado on a Metropolitan Museum of Art exchange loan of an indefinite duration. The Camel, however, and two religious scenes (The Miracles and the Temptation of Christ) are at the Cloisters in New York. The Falconer, St. Nicholas, *Noli me tangere*, and the Ibis (the latter three are from the apse) are in the Cincinnati Museum of Art. The Last Supper and the Marys at the Tomb are in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The Marriage at Cana and the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem are in the John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis. The third zone with the scenes from the Gospels remained on the walls of the vaulting as it was very fragmentary (*vide* Gómez-Moreno, pls. CXX, CXXII, CXXV). The figure of St. Baudelio and

the half-ruined scene of the Lamb of God Attended by Cain and Abel likewise remained *in situ* in the apse.

9. It is planned that my article dealing with the restoration of the frescoes and more extensively with the conjectural reconstruction of the painting procedure will be published in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
10. The orangy flesh with the white, reserved to the eyes only, exists in the Mozarabic illumination such as for example in the Apocalypse in the Morgan Library in New York.
11. The entire cycle was removed from the wall in 1947 by Ramón Gudiol and installed in the Prado.
12. W. W. S. Cook, "Romanesque Spanish Mural Painting (I)," *The Art Bulletin*, December 1929, fig. 18; *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. VI, fig. 20.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
14. Juan Ainaud and W. W. S. Cook, *Spain/Romanesque Painting*, Unesco World Art Series, 1957, pls. IX, X.
15. A stylistic continuation of the master's style in Castile may be detected in the fragments with two archangels in the ruined church in Tubilla del Agua which is north of Burgos. They may be perhaps dated to the second part of the XII century. (Fig. 32 in Cook, *The Art Bulletin*, 1929). A fresco of unknown provenience featuring apostles almost identical with those in Maderuelo was at a Swiss art dealer's; it is certainly by the Maderuelo Master.
16. Gaya Nuno, *La pintura . . .* p. 35 sets up a *terminus post quem* of 1090 by suggesting that the representation of the camel from the tribune wall presupposes an actual knowledge of these animals that were first brought from Africa to Andalusia at that time by the Almorávide caliph Yusuf ben Tashfin.
17. Monumental painters had the advantage of a long, uninterrupted tradition going back to the Carolingian times which was enriched by the Byzantine influences, especially in the Cluniac art (Berzé-la-Ville). Itinerant shops of mural painters must have possessed sketches of compositional schemes, individual figures, and patterns handed down as precious part of their equipment. The occasional emphasis on book illumination as a source for the murals is only exceptionally appropriate. The recollection of painted ensembles seen *in situ* played surely an important role in the propagation of distinct forms as the visual memory of those painters must have had a greater keenness than does ours which is constantly distracted and disturbed by the avalanche of images coming from books, posters, exhibitions, movies. Pattern books of some kind and travels may perhaps explain the wide distribution of debased classical ornamental motifs (e.g. three dimensional meanders, palmettes) in Romanesque paintings in Spain, France, and Germany. Compositions similar to the Berlanga hunting scenes (Ebreuil, Castel Appiano) were not unique and may hark back to the representations of the venatio.



- 1.—View from the East, San Baudelio De Berlanga. Photo C. W. Bostain, Cincinnati.
- 2.—Reconstruction of the Apse of San Baudelio. Cincinnati Art Museum.
- 3.—Temptation of Christ, East Wall of San Baudelio. The Cloisters Collection, Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Cloisters Purchase and Gift of Elijah B. Martindale, 1961.
- 4.—Right Portion of Seated Apostles, South Wall of Hermitage of the True Cross in Maderuelo. Prado Museum, Madrid.
- 5.—The Marriage at Cana. San Baudelio The Herron Museum of Art, Indianapolis.
- 6.—St. Paul and St. John from the Apse of Santa Maria De Tabull, Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona.



# Aspects Of The Development Of Ottonian Repousse Gold Work

. . . by  
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*Note: This paper is intended as an exploratory examination of Ottonian goldsmith work. Many of the conjectures and conclusions are presented in the most extreme terms in order to emphasize the nature of the existing problems.*

One must inevitably turn to Carolingian roots in order to explain the stylistic and iconographic base of specific Ottonian works. For our purpose two major examples of Carolingian gold repoussé work will serve as a departure point. These are the Arnulf Altar (Fig. 1) and the Milan, "Wolvinus Altar" (Fig. 2), the two major examples of Carolingian repoussé extant.

The Arnulf Altar reliefs fall stylistically within the workshop that also produced the gold reliefs of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram's, (Munich Staatsb. Co. Lat. 14000) and the Lindau Gospels (Morgan Ms. 1)<sup>1</sup>. This style, the linear, non-plastic illusionism of the Utrecht Psalter, generally known as the "Reims School" style, is clearly evident in all three works. Before describing its manifestations on the Arnulf Altar, it is necessary to indicate an additional gold-relief tradition in Carolingian times. This tradition appears in the Milan Altar. This work, from an inscription, can be dated ca. 835. The Arnulf Altar has generally been regarded as dating ca. 870. The difference in dates aids in establishing a provenance for the *Milan Altar*. If it were executed in northern Europe (within the Reims ambient) at this date (835), one would expect it to be in closer stylistic relationship to the Utrecht Psalter. Inasmuch as it does not manifest the Psalter style, one can hypothesize that the *Milan Altar* is of north Italian provenance. Its stylistic character not only bears out this assumption, but places it within a different stylistic tradition than the Arnulf Altar.<sup>2</sup>

Stylistically, the Arnulf Altar reliefs show an active, linear illusionism with thin, fluttering draperies molded to gesticulating figures. The non-plastic, linear quality of the reliefs is particularly apparent in the scene of the "Raising of the Youth of Naim", where the tufts of grass appearing behind the hillocks are engraved lines. In the same scene, the light, dancing quality of this energetic style can be seen in the ballet-toe position of the figure to the right. Such stylistic similarities to the Utrecht Psalter are borne out by the iconography. The Psalter scene of the "Healing of the Leper" is paralleled in the Altar scene of the "Raising of Lazarus". In both, the scene is placed within an architectural setting. Christ advances with His left foot, appearing to dance as He does, and gestures with His right arm extended. The hand gesture itself is almost identical—palm down, forefingers extended, and thumb well separated from the hand. This peculiar thumb convention appears frequently on the Altar, and is one of the particular traits of the Utrecht Psalter. Comparable goldsmith work, stylistically, is found on the upper cover of the Codex Aureus of St.

Emmeram's and the Lindau Gospels. On the basis of style these reliefs have been given a Reims provenance.<sup>3</sup>

One Carolingian stylistic tradition has been discussed above; the other is represented by the Milan antependium. In this work, the figures appear weightier, are less energetic, and are rather more plastic than linear, with a certain heaviness to the drapery. If one accepts Elbern's thesis that the Milan Altar was wrought in Milan or Lombardy (not unlikely, due to the residual, classical plasticism indigenous to the area, as also evidenced by the near contemporary, stylistically akin, stone reliefs on the ciborium of St. Ambrogio), then we deal not only with two different stylistic manners, but two distinct geographical centers. Hence, one cannot speak, as H. Swarzenski<sup>4</sup> does of a single, overriding Carolingian tradition that runs like a red thread through Ottonian art into Romanesque. The repoussé gold work, in any case, as I shall demonstrate, reveals two stylistic traditions that are not only operative in Ottonian art, but together form the base of Romanesque style.

The first Ottonian work to be considered are the reliefs of the cover of the Codex Aureus of Echternach (Fig. 3). The reliefs, in very bad condition, are inscribed with the name of the donor. The work was commissioned by the Empress Theophano at the workshop of Bishop Egbert of Trier, between 983-991. Despite the bad state of the reliefs, one immediately recognizes the light, attenuated figures of the Reims style. This stylistic relationship to the Arnulf Altar is clearly established in the figures of Otto III (lower left corner of the side panel) and the Empress Theophano (in the comparable opposite position), *who "dance" in toe-pointed stances*. Some have gone so far as to see a direct development from the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram's and the Arnulf Altar, through Metz, to Trier and the Echternach cover.<sup>5</sup> This is an intriguing proposition, and one would like a few more monuments of that one hundred year interim to establish such a link more firmly. However, in this monument, one wonders if we are speaking of Ottonian art or a very late Carolingian manifestation. (If we consider the total cover however, the integration of decorative framing strips, jewels, enamels, reliefs, and ivory, give an over-all surface pattern associated with Ottonian.)

Nearly contemporary are the reliefs of the Aachen gold covers (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> The reliefs surround a Byzantine *hodegetria* ivory, and stylistically seem related to the reliefs we've been discussing. Before we can relate the covers to a stylistic tradition and attempt a provenance, however, other works must be mentioned which enter into the problem. These works which are nearly contemporary, include the Aachen Pala d'Oro, (Fig. 6a) the single extant, silver repoussé plaque of St. Matthew from the Ambo of Henry II, (Fig. 5) and the great Basel gold altar of Henry II

(Fig. 7). All of these works can be safely dated within a period of twenty years, 1000-1020. However, their stylistic evolution and provenance bring us to the crux of our problem. Much current literature has dealt with this problem and could probably best be summed up by the title of H. Schnitzler's recent paper, "Fulda oder Reichenau?"<sup>7</sup>

I would give the Aachen gold cover, contrary to almost all opinion<sup>8</sup> to a center closely related to the Trier workshop that was responsible for the Codex Aureus of Echternach cover. Perhaps it should be to Echternach itself and date ca. 1000-1005. Although the reliefs of the Aachen cover have little of the linearity and attenuation of the Reims tradition we've discussed, their greater plasticity is charged with a vibrant energy that is strongly consistent with this stylistic tradition. In the panel of the Crucifixion (Fig. 6b) on the Aachen covers, Longinus and Stephaton move forward to their prey, lance and sponge poised at ready (reminiscent of 9th century ivory Crucifixion depictions of the Liuthard and Metz Groups). In the "Assumption of Christ" scene on the covers, He steps upward on His mandorla, actively assisting the Father to raise Him. W. Otto<sup>9</sup> in attempting to designate a Reichenau provenance for the cover, while recognizing the difference between its depiction of the "Assumption" and that in an illumination of the same subject in the Egbert Codex (a Reichenau work), resorts to explaining away the differences by a change in format. (The Egbert Codex illumination is a vertical composition, while the Aachen cover composition is horizontal, thus forcing the mandorla, in the latter, to be "tipped" over.) This question aside, Otto does not recognize the totally different spirit that animates the respective scenes. Whereas the Aachen cover scenes vibrate with light, activity, and energy, the Egbert Codex scenes seem to present action, distilled and frozen.

I would place the repoussé plaque of St. Matthew from the Ambo of Henry II slightly later (possibly ca. 1005-1010), but within the same Reims stylistic tradition. The Evangelist appears to be derived from the St. Matthew of the Vienna Schatzkammer Gospels, for that is the only representation I know of which depicts the Evangelist from the side, facing to the right, with his inkhorn in his left hand, and his left foot resting upon the pedestal of his writing desk. (The St. Matthew of the Ebbo Gospels has a different foot position, although the inkhorn is held in the same manner.) Aside from similarities of the lecterns, all other details differ from the illumination. What is more to the point is that the Reims tradition is manifest in the attenuation of the figure and the architectural setting within which he is placed. In addition one notes the naturalistic treatment of ground with engraved tufts of grass (similar to those previously noted on the Arnulf Altar).

The Evangelist's hair and beard is given an engraved, linear, treatment quite distinct from the hair conventions of contemporary relief work. This feature clearly distinguishes the ambo-plaque from the Aachen covers, but may be accounted for. It is generally acknowledged that the ambo-plaque is the earliest of Henry II's extant donations. As one recalls, Henry had been brought up at Hildesheim, where "He received his first groundings in an education which made him in all ways a cultivated man . . ."<sup>10</sup>

The early connections between the Reims school and Hildesheim are well established, hence it would appear natural that Henry's first stylistic enthusiasms should come from this source; especially since at this time, Bernward's bronze workshop was beginning its activity in a continuation of the Reims style. The likelihood of a Hildesheim provenance for the ambo-plaque is slight in light of the aforementioned similarities to the Vienna Schatzkammer St. Matthew, of Aachen provenance. In light of the above, I would tentatively suggest a provenance for the ambo-plaque of the Aachen, Echternach, Trier area—perhaps some center (un-named) related to all three.

The next work to enter into the discussion is the Pala d'Oro of Aachen. This work, a gift of Otto III, has been dated ca. 1000.<sup>11</sup> I find myself in agreement with prevailing opinion inasmuch as historical, iconographic and stylistic observations bear out this date just prior to Otto's death. In general composition and disposition of scenes, including the disposition of the Evangelist symbols around the central Majesty (as convincingly reconstructed by W. Otto<sup>12</sup>), the Pala d'Oro is undoubtedly derived from the Milan Altar. The Lombard Kingdom which had successfully revolted against Otto III and was not reconquered until 1004 by Henry II, was one of Otto's main imperial interests—with the ultimate goal of a true unity of Italy and Germany.<sup>13</sup> One therefore has the historical basis for the relationship of the Aachen and Milan Altars. More specifically, one finds stylistic and iconographic relationships that place these two works within an orbit other than that circumscribed by the Reims tradition.

The figures of the Pala d'Oro tend to a shortness and heaviness that are reminiscent of the Milan Altar. In both works, action is restrained and reserved—a far cry from those works we've related to the Reims tradition. The earlier description of the Crucifixion scene on the Aachen cover, for example, which I associated with the Reims tradition, is totally different in spirit from the frozen symmetry of the scene on the Pala d'Oro. The dependence of the Pala d'Oro on the Milan Altar is readily apparent when one compares its representation of "Christ Entering Jerusalem" with the depiction of a horseman in the lower left panel on the back of the Milan work. In both works the mount moves to the right with its left forefoot raised and advanced. The landscape (diminished and de-emphasized in Ottonian fashion) rises from left to right, giving the overall direction to the composition. Finally, in relating the Aachen and Milan Altars, the central "Christ in Majesty" shows iconographic and stylistic affinities which undoubtedly point to the latter as being the inspiration for the former.

The stylistic tradition of the Pala d'Oro which we have found to be distinct from the Reims tradition is modified and carried on in the Basel Altar of Henry II. This work has been associated stylistically with the Pala d'Oro, but has continually raised questions as to provenance. The majority of opinion has given it to Reichenau and dated it ca. 1016-1020. The greatest uncertainty was expressed by von Falke and Frauberger<sup>14</sup> who couldn't decide between Trier, Reichenau, or Brunswick. Hauttman<sup>15</sup> tentatively suggested Regensburg. Regensburg is known to have been

a large and important goldsmithing center at the time of Henry II, but except for filigree and jewelled work, as on the cover of Munich Latin ms. 4452, it has been difficult to establish a Regensburg provenance for any known Ottonian gold reliefs. Schnitzler<sup>16</sup> decided in favor of Fulda, but did so by including the Aachen Pala d'Oro and the Henry II Ambo-plaque as earlier phases of Fulda work. He thus constructed a Fulda goldsmith workshop of monumental proportions, with varied iconographic and stylistic roots. Whereas I tend to concur with a Fulda provenance for the Pala d'Oro, I cannot agree with one large Fulda workshop of such varied styles within a short span of two decades. For the present writer, nothing mitigates against separate workshops for these pieces, each operating independently within its own stylistic traditions, and borrowing from such sources as were available or "stylish". Thus I would give the Aachen Pala d'Oro a Fulda provenance, while retaining a Reichenau provenance for the Basel Altar.

Taking these works in turn, the Aachen Altar has been seen as Reichenau work by W. Otto<sup>17</sup> and A. Haseloff and H. Sauerland.<sup>18</sup> This opinion has been rejected by W. Schmidt and E. Basserman-Jordan<sup>19</sup> and H. Swarzenski,<sup>20</sup> who tentatively suggest Aachen. My concurrence with a Fulda provenance for the Aachen Altar is based upon the strong connections between Fulda and Metz, and the manifestations of a late Metz style and iconography in the Aachen reliefs. The generally short, awkward figures of the Pala d'Oro are suggestive of the ivories of the cover of the Drogo Sacramentary. In both cases the scenes in individual compartments have a low-relief plasticity which takes precedence over any sharp, active linearity. In an ivory of the Metz School (ca. 850?), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Latin ms. 9388), there is a crude, blocklike ground convention similar to the treatment of the mountain in the scene of "Christ on the Mt. of Olives" in the Aachen Altar. Iconographically, there is a similarity between the soldiers crowded behind the tomb in the scene of the "Maries at the Tomb" in the Pala d'Oro and this scene on the ivory of the cover of Munich Latin ms. 4452. This ivory has long been considered part of Goldschmidt's "Liuthard Group" of Reims provenance, but questions can be raised about this attribution (Metz being a much likelier provenance). Thus I believe there to be sufficient stylistic and iconographic evidence for placing the Aachen Altar within a Fulda orbit.<sup>21</sup>

The Basel Altar stands apart from the Pala d'Oro in many ways. As an altar, its form is totally different from the Pala d'Oro and Milan Altar tradition. The placing of full-length, standing figures within framing arcades is different in concept from the many-figured narrative scenes of the Pala d'Oro. A good deal of this change in concept can be credited to the full evolution of an Ottonian style, with its attendant emphasis on an overall, integrated surface pattern (evidenced in the Basel Altar by the rich profusion of its numerous rinceaux borders); and to the tectonic structural quality of a nascent Romanesque. The question of provenance has been decided in favor of Mainz by H. Swarzenski<sup>22</sup> on the basis of the very close relationship of the rinceaux borders of the Basel Altar to a manuscript drawing of known Mainz provenance. Although the evidence is striking, it is by no means conclusive or limiting.

The rinceaux work of the Tuotilo ivory of St. Gall provenance, ca. 900, especially in the foliate endings of its vines, is equally close and relations between St. Gall and Reichenau could easily explain an influence moving to Reichenau. In addition, the figures of the Basel Altar have drapery treatment close to the conventions characteristic of Reichenau manuscripts, as in the drapery treatment of Christ's robes in the Basel Altar with their appearance of frozen, suspended animation. One also finds in the Basel Altar the hierarchic frontality, and empty gold backgrounds that are not only indicative of Byzantine influence (strongly felt at Reichenau), but also of the clear gold backgrounds of Reichenau manuscripts (Egbert Codex, Pericope of Henry II, etc.). The rinceaux motifs of the Basel Altar also find a more direct prototype in the gold cover of Munich Latin ms. 4454. An early 11th century work of the Reichenau School,<sup>23</sup> the cover is of repoussé inhabited scrolls. The twisting, turning vines can certainly be seen as forerunners of the most highly organized, symmetrical Basel Altar rinceaux, while the precedent for bird and beast inhabitants of the scroll is also there. Further, the Munich cover with its beasts *adossé* is reminiscent of Byzantine influence. Hence prototypical sources for the Basel Altar can be seen in the Reichenau ambient, while an equally substantial case can be made for the Pala d'Oro at Fulda. One must therefore recognize at least two major goldsmith workshops at the height of Ottonian times.

One should not assume a direct line of development from the Aachen Altar to the Basel Altar, and account for differences by supposing them to arise purely from the distinction of originating workshops. Between the Aachen and Basel Altars, one should interpose such Byzantine work as the plate with reliefs in the Cathedral Treasury at Halberstadt. Here one finds the rigid, frozen classicism of the mid-Byzantine style, in full standing figures—suggestive of the Basel Altar and distinct from the figural treatment of the Aachen Altar. The Halberstadt plate also displays rondels with busts similar to those found in the Basel Altar. This is by no means to suggest that the Halberstadt plate was a direct stylistic prototype for the Basel Altar. The intention, rather, is to indicate the type of influence the Basel Altar displays which further demarcates it from the Aachen Pala d'Oro and a Fulda workshop (where Byzantine influence was not as manifest as that at Reichenau).

During the latter portion of the hegemony of Henry II, his major interests and attention were devoted to Germany and the Saxon base upon which its strength rested. His imperial ambitions in terms of Italy and other areas outside of Germany, were negligible as compared to the Ottos'.<sup>24</sup> After his death in 1024, Henry was succeeded by Conrad II whose interests centered in northern Germany and Lorraine. During the internal political unrest of the first years of Conrad's reign, Reichenau and St. Gall were sacked and destroyed (1025-1027), while at the same time the old Lower Rhine (Cologne) and Saxon (Hildesheim) centers received royal patronage in return for their political support and loyalty. Thus one may attempt to explain the shift North and West in the art production centers of the third and subsequent decades of the 11th century.

The last three works we wish to consider in this paper all have Lower Rhine, Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon prove-

nances, and date from the end of the '30's to the '50's of the 11th century. The first of these to be considered is the Portable Altar of Gertrud (Fig. 8). It has been given the date of ca. 1038 by H. Swarzenski,<sup>25</sup> while Schnitzler<sup>26</sup> would date it 1040-50. Von Falke, Schmidt, and G. Swarzenski<sup>27</sup> tend to relate it to the Basel Altar, but date it slightly later—which might bring it to the date suggested by H. Swarzenski. I would agree with this dating.

Although the general format of the portable altar suggests the Basel Altar (on a smaller scale) i.e., single figures standing within framing arcades, the relationship is quite different. The figures, in relatively low relief, are shifted to a side or head turned position so that they all relate to the central image of the cloisonné enamel cross. The separating arcades are hardly relief frames at all, but rather surface bands decorated with niello-work. This very aspect not only separates the Gertrud Altar from the Basel Altar, but moves it from a fully developed Ottonian style to the formative phase of the structural, compartmentalization of the Romanesque. The decorative arcade with the low-reliefs (combined with the jewelled and filigree border), however, still give an overall surface pattern more Ottonian than Romanesque. The relative activity of the figures suggested by their hand gestures and the thin, fluttery drapery, bring to mind the Reims tradition as modified by Hildesheim and dispersed from there. Hence the Brunswick provenance and suggested date are in accord with the visual evidence.

The gold cover of the Abbess Theophanu (Fig. 9) can be dated, through the activity of the Abbess, between 1039 and 1056. Although the Abbess and saints depicted are all associated with Essen, and would argue for an Essen provenance, the central ivory, of the same period, seems to show a Cologne provenance (related stylistically to the ivory from the cover of the evangelary of St. Mary, in Cologne). On this basis, Elbern<sup>28</sup> would suggest a Cologne provenance for the covers, while H. Swarzenski<sup>29</sup> suggests Essen with a date of 1040-50. Although the general composition of the Theophanu cover goes back to that of the Echternach cover, significant changes have taken place. The decorative borders and jewelled framing of the Theophanu cover stand in higher relief and have less surface unity with the total cover. The relief figures fill their allotted space, and are more fully plastic than the dancingly linear figures of the Echternach cover. Empty spaces left by the diagonal framing strips are filled in an almost "structural" manner by twisting vines that fill in the triangular wedges in the upper and lower right and left sides. In like manner, the figures in the top and bottom horizontal registers are designed and composed to fill their odd-shaped space. In the upper register, Christ in Majesty is flanked by angels, moving away from Him. Their wing tips are extended to fill out the diagonal space, just as their legs move in the same direction and at the same angle as the diagonal strip so as to function tectonically within the space. In the lower register, the "Virgin and Child Enthroned" are adored by Ss. Pinnosa and Waldburg, with the donatrix kneeling at the Virgin's feet. The saints step and lean forward at an angle almost equal to that of the diagonal, jewelled strips, becoming a structural unit within

the spatial compartment. The architectonic nature of the composition is emphasized by the columns which frame the Virgin. They visually act as supporting members for the central plaque. The side panel figures, standing within their separate arches are still reminiscent of a Byzantine tradition, but are vitalized and charged by the more nervous folds of their drapery and by their shift from frontality.

Stylistically, it is these very qualities that support the Cologne provenance suggested by the ivory. The light and shade shimmering on the gold reliefs, with their irregular surfaces appear related to Byzantine painting, as modified in such Cologne manuscripts as the Hitda Codex. Although I find it difficult to agree with Swarzenski on an Essen provenance for the cover, I would accept his later dating of 1040-50, inasmuch as the structural use of the figure within the framing devices is suggestive of the development of Romanesque reliefs and their adjustment to an architectural setting (as on church tympana).

Purely as an epilogue to the foregoing study, one might consider the gold cover of Judith of Flanders (Morgan Ms. 708). Dated 1040-50 by H. Swarzenski,<sup>30</sup> and sometime before 1066 by M. C. Ross,<sup>31</sup> the work seems to be the product of an Anglo-Saxon workshop. For it was only in England, at this time, that one can account for the confluence of styles evident in the work. We can decognize the Reims/Winchester style mixed, possibly, with Liege and Mosan work of the mid-11th century. The very high relief of the figures (in places full-round) and the monumental concept expressed in a broad plasticity, bring us to the verge of a Romanesque sculptural style, and thus beyond the scope of this paper.

A general summation would lead us from the nervous, illusionistic style of the Arnulf Altar through a small group of stylistically related gold reliefs, bringing us to the end of the first decade of the 11th century in Germany, and keeping us in the area of the Lower Rhine, West and North of Fulda. This line of development is largely free of Byzantine influence. Another, contemporary line of development, grows from the Milan Altar, travels as far North as Fulda, but is more closely related to Reichenau. This development is more susceptible to Byzantine influence. Last, we return to the Rhineland, by the middle of the 11th century, to find the various influences Ottonian art was prone to, synthesized into a proto-Romanesque style—the Theophanu cover for the "architectural" relationship of design and figures to the whole, and the Judith of Flanders cover for its fully plastic, near monumental (conceptually) figures.<sup>32</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lürer and Creutz, *Geschichte der Metallkunst*, Bd. II, Stuttgart, 1909, pp. 95ff., go so far as to state that all three works were from the same hand.
2. Cf. V. H. Elbern, *Der Karolingische Goldaltar von Mailand*, Bonn, 1952; G. B. Tatum, "The Paliotto of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan", *The Art Bulletin*, V. 26, 1944, p. 25ff.
3. But on the basis of the lost, gold altar-frontal of St. Denis (visually known only through a 15th century painting by the Master of St. Giles), and iconographic material related to the translation of the *Celestial Hierarchy* by the Pseudo-Dionysius, made for Charles the Bald when he was lay-abbot of St. Denis, an abbey of St. Denis goldsmith shop, responsible for all the above pieces, has been proposed. Cf. A. M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis", *Art Studies*, Vol. I, 1923, pp. 67-75. I don't believe the evidence is sufficient to



support a St. Denis provenance, but the arguments against it would take us out of the realm of this paper. In any case, the determination of a Reims or St. Denis provenance for these works is of relatively minor consequence for the relation of the Arnulf Altar to Ottonian gold reliefs.

4. *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Chicago, 1953, pp. 11-36.
5. O. von Falke and H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelaltars*, Frankfurt a.M., 1904, p. 7.
6. O. von Falke and H. Frauberger, *Ibid.*, and W. Otto, *Reichenauer Goldtreibarbeiten*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. 19, 1950, pp. 39-67.
7. *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, Vol. 19, 1957, pp. 39 ff.
8. Lür and Creutz, *op. cit.*, p. 118, W. Otto, *loc. cit.* place them as an early work of the Reichenau school, ca. 980-1000.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, 1936, Vol. III, p. 218.
11. H. Schnitzler (*Rheinische Schatzkammer*, Düsseldorf, 1957, p. 29) at first dated it ca. 1020, and then "Fulda oder Reichenau?", *loc. cit.*, returned to the generally agreed upon date of 1000.
12. *Loc. cit.*
13. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III, p. 214.

14. *Op. cit.*
15. *Die Kunst des Frühen Mittelaltars*, Berlin, 1929, No. 339.
16. "Fulda oder Reichenau?", *loc. cit.*
17. *Loc. cit.*
18. *Der Psalter des Erzbischofs Egbert von Trier*, Trier, 1901.
19. *De Bamberger Domschatz*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1914, pp. 54ff.
20. *Op. cit.*
21. Additional evidence, related to manuscripts and frescoes of Fulda provenance is presented by H. Schnitzler. "Fulda oder Reichenau?", *loc. cit.*
22. *Op. cit.*
23. W. Otto, *loc. cit.*; A. Boeckler and O. Homburger, *Kunst des Frühen Mittelaltars*, Exhibition Catalogue, Bern, 1949, No. 116.
24. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III, pp. 215ff.
25. *Op. cit.* p. 44.
26. "Fulda oder Reichenau?", *loc. cit.*
27. *The Guelph Treasure*, Frankfurt a.M., 1930, pp. 41-43.
28. *Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, Exhibition Catalogue, Villa Hügel, Essen, 1956, No. 504.
29. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
30. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
31. *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 22, 1940, pp. 83 ff



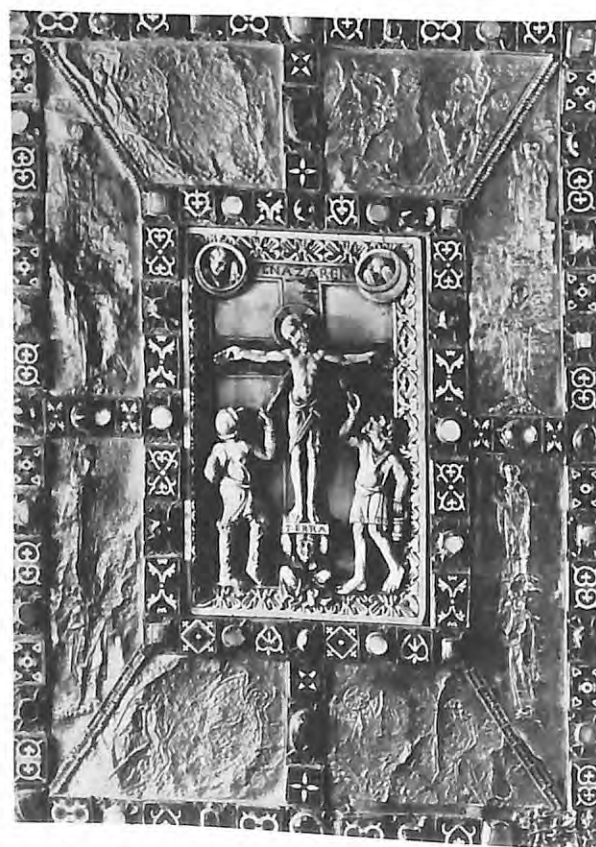
1.—Arnulf Altar Reich Kapelle, Munich.



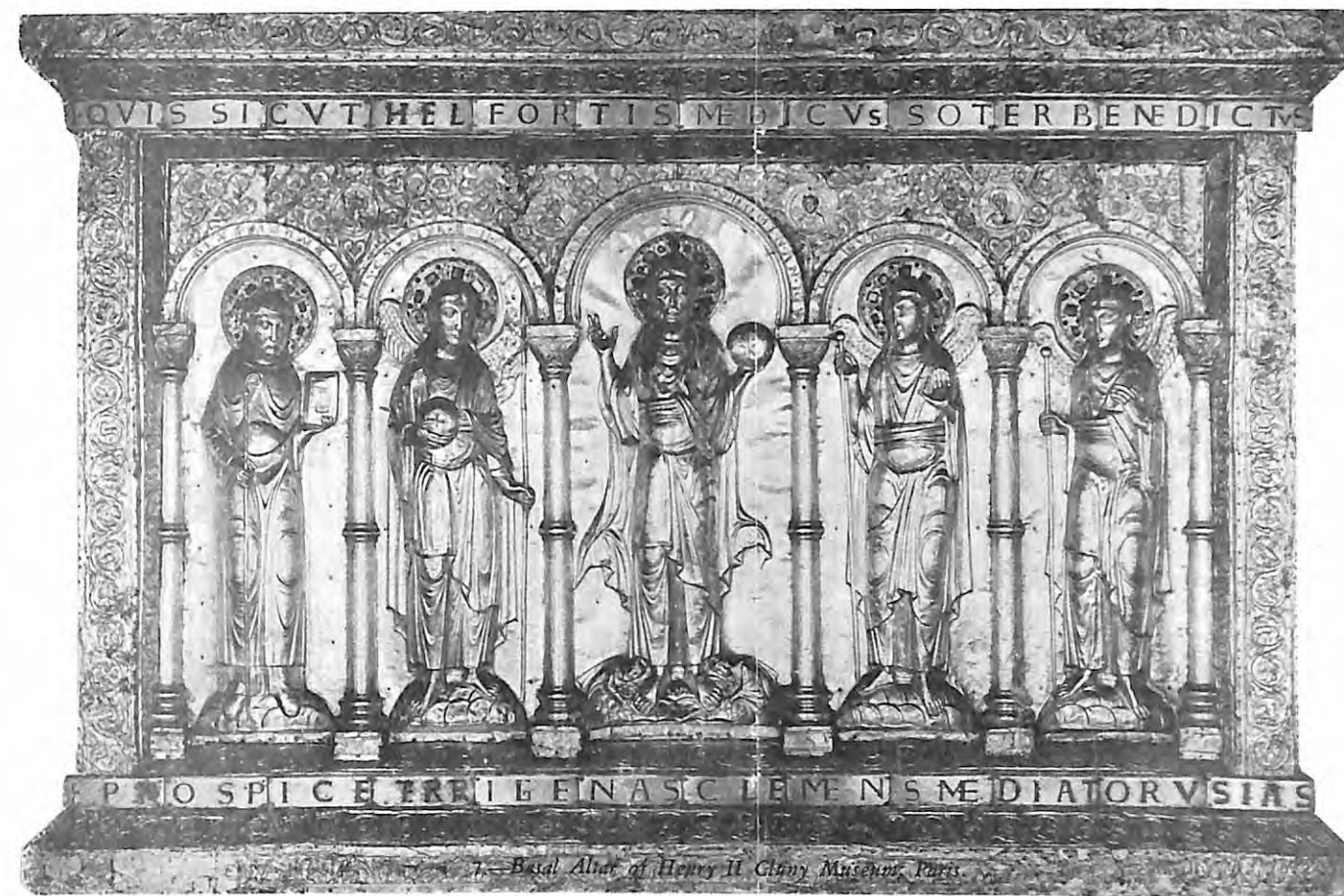
2.—Wolvinus Altar St. Ambrogio, Milan.



4.—Cover, Aachen Schatz Hammer Gospels Cathedral Treasury, Aachen.



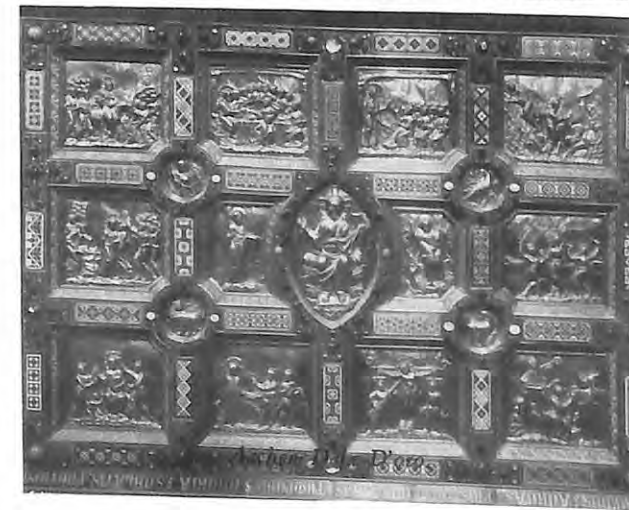
3.—Cover, Codex Aureus of Echternach, National Museum, Nuremberg.



7.—Basil Altar of Henry II Cluny Museum, Paris.



8.—Altar of Gertrude, Cleveland Museum.





# Romanesque Architecture and some Eighteenth Century Critics

. . . by  
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For many eighteenth century Englishmen of taste Gothic was fine in the garden, but Romanesque was best in oblivion. No one used the word Romanesque, of course; it had not been invented. And disapproval extended to the whole range of architecture between Constantine and the thirteenth century since writers were unable to distinguish changes in style before the pointed arch and flying buttress gave them simple clues. Nevertheless, remarks about pre-Gothic works are usually comments on the Romanesque style because most of the available earlier buildings were eleventh and twelfth century structures. Men faithful to their classicist upbringing, as well as early romantic writers, each for their own reasons regarded these early buildings as decadent or as still unformed. It was natural, then, that Romanesque would be largely ignored.

In the midst of this general apathy, it is interesting and even surprising to find a substratum of early and positive interest in Romanesque. It will be the purpose of this paper to trace the emotional and aesthetic response to it in statements by English architects, poets, and antiquaries who wrote before handbooks and art historical surveys obliged their authors to speak of the style.

Seventeenth century classicist writers, such as Jean Francois Félibien<sup>1</sup> and Florent LeComte<sup>2</sup> found Romanesque architecture noteworthy only for its size and solidity. In a treatise of 1713, Sir Christopher Wren brought a more affirmative viewpoint to the discussion by associating the style with Roman work and contrasting Romanesque with Gothic, of whose structural system he disapproved. The man who had substituted a Baroque St. Paul's for the burned Gothic one was probably drawn to Romanesque architecture because it preserved the round arches and massive qualities which Wren associated with Roman art. No doubt, too, he was drawn to Romanesque because it was clearly not Gothic. Apparently believing that Gothic art was a Norman import into England, he described what we know now to be post-Conquest Romanesque as Saxon architecture, and implied approval of it on grounds of structural strength:

"Sebert, King of the East Saxons, built a Monastery and church here [at Westminster], in 605, which, being destroyed by the Danes, was about 360 years after repaired by the pious King Edgar. This, it is probable, was a strong good Building, after the Mode of that Age, not much altered from the Roman. We have some Examples of this ancient Saxon Manner, which was with Peers or round Pillars, much stronger than the Tuscan, round-headed Arches, and Windows; such was Winchester Cathedral and such at this Day the Royal Chapel in the White-tower of London; the Chapel of St. Crosses; the Chapel of Christ-Church in Oxford . . . and diverse others I need not name, built before the Conquest . . .<sup>3</sup>

The notion that there was aesthetic pleasure to be derived from Romanesque architecture appeared in *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, written by Henry Bourne, a young minister of the city, before 1733, the year of his

premature death. In discussing the late twelfth century keep of the castle there, he described it as having "been a building of great Strength and no little Beauty; the vast Thickness of the Walls speaks the one, and the Ruines of some curious workmanship speaks the other".<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, comments on Romanesque style were rare until the middle of the century, in part because little descriptive vocabulary existed. But by about 1750, the desire to promote Gothic or to import other styles to rival or vary or supplement the classical one led increasing numbers of writers to study styles in architecture.

According to Dr. Andrew C. Ducarel, an English antiquary, in "about the year 1742"<sup>5</sup> the Right Reverend Charles, Lord Bishop of Carlisle and President of the *Society of Antiquaries of London*, addressed some fellow students on the differences between the Norman structures and those of the Saxons. Although we do not know what he said, we can deduce from remarks made by Dr. Ducarel that the Lord Bishop was discussing the characteristics of specifically Romanesque architecture, remarkable indeed at this time. Perhaps the Lord Bishop was really interested in establishing the historical changes introduced at the time of the Conquest, a problem that absorbed English attention then as it has down to our own time, but art historians will observe that he used monuments of art to help him write his dissertation, and that style criticism of some sort was among his tools.<sup>6</sup>

Not long afterwards, men of letters joined the discussion of medieval architecture. The first systematic description of Romanesque architecture was written by Thomas Gray, who is better remembered for his "Elegy" than for his remarks on this style, which remained unpublished until 1814. In 1754, Gray composed a short treatise on "the old Norman (or as Sir Christopher Wren calls it) the Saxon Architecture" which "seems to have lasted in England from the time of the Conquest (if not earlier to about 1216." He found that this style of "great solidity, heaviness, and rude simplicity" was derived from late Imperial Roman work in a "degenerate state" but said that since local building traditions and ecclesiastical use had become associated with this style, it was entirely reasonable for the descendants of Saxons, Gauls, and "other barbarous nations" to build in this manner rather than in imitation of the "beautiful remains of a better age." Gray listed five major characteristics of Romanesque architecture: round-headed arches, massive piers, varied but squat and gross capitals, timber ceilings, and types of ornament which he considered as crude as the capitals. He suggested that further study might enable students to discern other characteristics of the style and also its development; this suggestion implies that for all the crudity in ornament, he found material worth studying in these buildings. In fact,

his concluding remarks show the attitude that early romantic writers might be expected to adopt:

"Upon the whole, these huge structures claim not only the veneration due to their great antiquity, but (though far surpassed in beauty by the buildings of the three succeeding centuries) have really a rude kind of majesty, resulting from the loftiness of their naves, the gloom of their aisles, and the hugeness of their massive members, which seem calculated for a long duration."<sup>7</sup>

Six years later, William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, published the works of Alexander Pope, Warburton was Pope's literary executor. In volume 3, dealing with Pope's moral essays, Warburton offered severely critical remarks on Romanesque architecture, which he felt was a poor imitation of such debased structures as the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. He explained the massiveness of the style as the preservation of the appearance of sepulchres and subterranean caverns where early Christianity was practiced. Warburton's ideas were garbled, but they were widely distributed, and from a positive point of view they popularized an awareness of some relationship to Roman art which Wren had mentioned earlier, and an interest in the solemn effect of mass to which Gray had also been sensitive.<sup>8</sup>

The Bishop's negative remarks did not, happily enough, prevent others from examining Romanesque architecture. Reverend Thomas Warton, professor of poetry and history at Oxford and poet laureate of England, offered the first division of all medieval architecture into periods, rising above previous considerations of Saxon and Norman origins of Romanesque to suggest that it was a style practiced not only in northwest France and England but also throughout Europe until about 1200. Romanesque was still debased antique architecture for him, and his list of its characteristics did not exceed Gray's, but his historical analysis and perspective were new and provided the basis for further refinements in periodization.<sup>9</sup>

The book published by Dr. Ducarel, with its hints about the interests of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle and a theory about Romanesque style, appeared in 1767. Ducarel had visited Normandy about a decade earlier in an effort to determine the truth of the Lord Bishop's studies, and the book presented Ducarel's point of view with the aid of large engraved plates and the first handy list of Romanesque buildings in Normandy and England. His thesis was that the difference between Norman and Saxon work was to be found in the arch moldings—plain in Norman and ornamented in Saxon work. The theory is of less interest to us than the presentation in words and pictures of examples of Romanesque art, and the evidence of the pleasure he took in certain aspects of it. At La Trinité in Caen, he observed that:

"The church of this abbey is a plain near building, both within and without, and entirely free from Gothic ornaments. The two square towers at the west end were anciently extremely lofty, and built in a taste which did honour to the judgment of the architect; but their upper parts were demolished by Charles, King of Navarre, in 1360 . . ."

St. Etienne at Caen was also described as "free from ornaments" and "neat," in opposition to the prevailing taste for Gothic ornament—not to speak of the Rococo.<sup>10</sup>

Ducarel's contemporary, the antiquary Francis Grose, also showed some aesthetic response to Romanesque. He had reservations about the style in general, and called its ornament grotesque. But in the midst of what he considered a jumble of types of ornament, he found that some Saxon (i.e. Romanesque) arches could be quite beautiful, especially those with geometric designs, and he said that the contrast of plain areas with ornament at a few points pleased him. He preferred this arrangement to the Gothic buildings "which, being equally ornamented all over, fatigue and distract, rather than gratify the eye."<sup>11</sup>

Ducarel's and Grose's appreciation of aspects of Romanesque style did not gain wide acceptance. When Romanesque was discussed by other writers, its forms were

enumerated but further judgments were omitted. Reverend James Benthams, for example, who published a widely read *History of the Cathedral Church of Ely* in 1771, spoke of Romanesque in more detail than most writers did, but despite his intelligent description of its features and his statement that the Norman churches were to be differentiated from the Saxon ones essentially by the Normans' greater massiveness and size, he had nothing to say about the aesthetic effect of the style. For forty years, Benthams' remained the most extensive discussion available on Romanesque architecture.<sup>12</sup>

The Gothic revival was the important thing, and until the twentieth century, Romanesque was to be considered as a mere way-station en route to Gothic. Mr. J. Taylor, who collected and published the Warton, Grose, and Benthams accounts of medieval architecture, summarized contemporary opinion when he wrote that Gothic was introduced under the Saxons but was perfected under the Normans who used the pointed arch. Later functionalists, romantics, and handbook writers seconded his opinion. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that it was an Englishman, Thomas Rickman, who was the first to give Romanesque architectural details a relatively extensive treatment in his 1811 handbook of medieval architecture<sup>13</sup> which, issued in many subsequent editions, became a standard text on the subject down to our own century. And it is indicative of the important role played by the eighteenth century English "discoverers" of Romanesque that the notes of Arcisse de Caumont<sup>14</sup> reveal a greater dependence upon English works than on those of the scholars of any other nation. Although Caumont, lecturing at Caen, might have been drawn to the English writers who frequently spoke of Norman buildings (for their own historical reasons), it may on the other hand have been the very existence of English studies that drew him, and through his extraordinary work, later scholars, to the modern study of Romanesque architecture.

## NOTES

\*The material contained in this paper formed part of a report presented in a seminar in the Historiography of Medieval Art held under the direction of Professor Harry Bober at New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, in 1962. I should like to express my appreciation to him for his interest, and for his excellent criticism and advice.

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# Gislebertus Hoc Fecit

. . . by  
Marthiel Mathews  
Frenchtown, N. J.

The publication of *Gislebertus, Sculpteur d'Autun*\* caused considerable stir in France about two years ago. This was not a usual "art book", although the photographs alone would justify it. It was the painstaking documentation by text and photographs of a theory: that someone named Gislebertus had done, singlehandedly, the entire ensemble of sculpture (with few and minor exceptions) for the Cathedral of Saint Lazarus at Autun in Burgundy. What the book did was to rediscover a great 12th century sculptor. And one of the interesting facets of this rediscovery is the chapter it makes in the history of taste. One wonders if it can be an accident that this happened now. The name of Gislebertus has been known for more than 800 years: he signed the great tympanum of the west door: GISLEBERTUS HOC FECIT (Gislebertus made this). His work had been regarded and disregarded. As recently as 1923, Emile Male, in his *Art Religieux du XIIIe siècle*, wrote of this tympanum: "A giant Christ dominates the immensely tall figures; they make you think you are looking in a deforming mirror. In truth, the artist divided the space so badly that in order to fill up the middle section, he had to elongate his figures beyond any resemblance." But in 1960, the French press called Gislebertus one of the most remarkable sculptors in the history of Western Europe, and André Malraux officially pronounced him a "Romanesque Cézanne". (Ill. 1)

Now, Gislebertus has had an exhibition at the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, and, although the portable sculpture (portable because it had been knocked off the cathedral) went back to France when the exhibition closed, the life-size photographs of all the known works of Gislebertus at Autun, at Vézelay, and other parts of Burgundy, are making a tour of American cities. Keeping the photographs of the tympanum (which Gislebertus signed) before us, and comparing with it the fifty sculptured capitals of the cathedral or that famous Eve (Ill. 6), we are compelled by a style so singular, so homogeneous, to agree that one man, and that one Gislebertus, alone could have done them. And we wonder why no one had thought of it before. According to a press release, Mr. Arnold Fawcus, head of the Trianon Press, made his first visit to Autun in 1949 and was struck by the beauty and the consistent style of the ensemble of sculpture. Abbé Denis Grivot, choirmaster of the Cathedral and student of Romanesque art, had long thought one sculptor had done them all. They invited Professor George Zarnecki of the Courtauld Institute and the University of London to join them, and this book is the result of their research. It is not only a documentation of their theory; it is a work of homage to Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun.

\*Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, Paris, Trianon Press, 1960. Published simultaneously in England.

No doubt it is not an accident that this sculptor has been rediscovered now. But why should this be? Why does this sculpture speak to us? Sculpture that treats most forms abstractly, as triangles, trapezoids, circles, according to the space they are to fill, that treats the human figure not as "a fixed idea, a theme with variations," as Henri Focillon has said, "but as compressible or extensible matter." Sculpture that takes hold of the turbulent chaotic world of man and animal and subjects it to a geometrical order that is almost completely indifferent to the natural world. Has something happened to our taste? The history of Gislebertus and the Cathedral of Saint Lazarus, of their fate and fortunes, serves almost as a paradigm of the fortunes of Romanesque art in the history of taste since the 13th century.

In the first place, absolutely nothing is known about Gislebertus; no document mentioning him has survived. He must have had considerable fame in his time to have signed his work so boldly, under Christ's feet, and to have had an entire church turned over to him to decorate. But all we have is his signature.

About the church of Saint Lazarus, we know that it was consecrated in 1130 by Pope Innocent II, but we do not know when it was begun or finished or even why it was built, almost in the yard of the already existing Cathedral of Saint Nazaire, whose title of "Cathedral" Saint Lazarus shared after 1195. Even its form, its large covered porch, is something of a mystery. Perhaps it was built to shelter and to isolate the lepers who came on pilgrimage to pray to Saint Lazarus whose relics lay in the great tomb beside the main altar. There is even confusion about Saint Lazarus, *amicus Christi*, raised from the dead, who set sail from the Holy Land with his sisters Martha and Mary Magdalene, to become the first bishop of Marseille. Somewhere along the way, between the time of his burial supposedly in Provence, and the 10th century, when he began to be venerated at Autun, he got mixed up with the poor Lazarus of the parable whose wounds were licked by dogs, and he became the patron saint of lepers.

Another mystery is why so much of the architecture and sculpture has survived intact from the 12th century. This is not so rare for small churches in out-of-the-way places, but large ones, cathedrals, almost invariably underwent the modifications necessary to make them conform to the taste of the time, or the necessary repairs which were always carried out according to contemporary fashion. For instance, flying buttresses were added in the 13th century to reinforce the vaults; a late Gothic bell tower replaced the 12th century tower when it fell in 1469. As Viollet-le-Duc has pointed out, the idea of "restoring" monuments in the style in which they were built is an idea not much older than a hundred years.

Things went along in this way for Gislebertus and Saint Lazarus of Autun until the 18th century. The church had been modified in one way and another, but the sculpture had never been tampered with. Then, in 1766, the canons of the Cathedral, "ashamed of these shocking survivals of a barbarous age", had the 12th century apse entirely covered with marble, and they had Gislebertus' signed tympanum above the west door covered with bricks and plaster. Whatever stuck out too far for a smooth plaster job was knocked off: the head of the "giant" Christ, the medallions of the inner archivolt above Christ's head, and all of the sculptured trumeau, the pillar in the center of the doorway that supported the tympanum. But on the north door, where the reclining Eve had formed half the lintel, instead of plaster, sledges were used and all the sculpture — tympanum, archivolts, and trumeau — were knocked down. The carved capitals of the nave could not be knocked down, the vault would have fallen; nor were they defaced. If we owe all this destruction to the reason and taste of the 18th century canons, we no doubt owe to them also the preservation of what remains of the 12th century sculpture. Twenty years later, Saint Lazarus might have met the same fate as the great monastery of Cluny. In any case, the sculpture, covered with marble and plaster, was forgotten.

In 1837, Abbé Devoucoux, a local archaeologist, discovered in the proceedings of an inquiry made in 1482 into the authenticity of the relics of Saint Lazarus, a description of the Cathedral and a mention of a sculptured relief over the west door representing The Last Judgment. He recorded in his diary for the 23rd of May: "Today I had a sounding made in the plaster of those tasteless architects of the last century. Happily, the sculpture is preserved; they were satisfied to plaster over this work which seems very good for its time."

In 1858, the restoration of the Cathedral of Saint Lazarus was begun under the supervision of Viollet-le-Duc, General Inspector of Church Buildings. The fragments of the sculpture were collected, wherever they could be found, and were eventually put in the Rolin Museum toward the end of the century. One of the first finds was the reclining Eve, and she is the sole survivor of that famous triumvirate which formed the lintel over the north door: Eve plucking her apple. All that is left of Satan is his claws, sunk in the tree of knowledge. Eve, used as a building block, was found in the wall of a house that had been built in 1769 and torn down in 1866. Now she is the chef d'oeuvre of the Rolin Museum. In 1939, the marble was removed from the apse and there, in its integrity, stood the 12th century structure and its capitals, among them what must be the first work Gislebertus did for the Cathedral. And it was a great event for Autun when, in 1948, a detailed head of Christ was identified as that of the Christ of the tympanum, and restored to its place.

Now, in the 1960's, we pay homage to Gislebertus. Looking at this from the point of view of taste, we may very well ask: *Why?*

Since Gothic cathedrals are on the itinerary of every tourist who goes to Europe, it is certainly superfluous to point out that Gothic art and architecture are now considered important. But their rehabilitation did not come of

itself; it was a hard fought battle, and Viollet-le-Duc was a warrior in the cause. To him, Gothic, "the secular art and architecture", as he called it, was the high point of medieval art. The centuries before, the Romanesque period, he saw as one of preparation (as Emile Mâle also saw it). Although Romanesque art and architecture achieved a "relative perfection", they were not based on solid and absolute principles, on "the verities". They were "hieratic" and thus "non-progressive"; they were derivative and the civilization that produced them was "winded", "decadent". The Gothic movement came about because "lay artists" took it over, threw off the "yoke of the church"; because a new spirit, in architecture geometrical principles inherent in nature, and in art, the idealized imitation of nature, informed their work. Its generating spirit was "in the use of materials according to their own properties, and in allowing the means used in construction to be seen, as, in the human body, we can distinguish the skeleton, where the muscles are fastened, where the organs are located. Form," he said, "is the result of this use . . ." Romanesque monuments were important because they were part of the legacy of the French people. They should be restored and preserved as demonstrations of the evolution, the progress of French art and architecture toward the summit: Gothic.

This is not to denigrate Viollet-le-Duc, whose dictionary of French medieval architecture is a great mine where scholars still dig to their profit.

And he was a man of great intelligence and prodigious activity. He had a hand in all the important restorations of medieval monuments in France from 1840 on, among them, beginning in 1858, the Cathedral of Saint Lazarus in Autun. Indeed when we look at some French medieval buildings, we don't know whether we are looking at something from the Middle Ages or from Viollet-le-Duc. Along with his other work, he wrote his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, published in 1854 in ten volumes. In it, Viollet-le-Duc not only sketched out the main lines art scholars and historians have followed in their study of Gothic, but of Romanesque as well. And it is a capital work for the history of taste.

By the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, he said, a few writers and scholars were studying the Middle Ages seriously. This avant-garde no longer saw Gothic cathedrals as capricious imitations of "the forests of Germany", nor the pointed arch as "sick because it was broken". Viollet-le-Duc lectured his contemporaries endlessly. It might be, he said, that some medieval sculptors (and he was no doubt thinking of Romanesque) had been "incapable of carving anything but long, skinny figures encased in sheaths and drapery that look like organ pipes, and with faces whose sole expression was ascetic, morbid, sickly". But this was not true for all: witness the sculpture at Rheims. The great originality of medieval art, he pointed out, was its "expressionism", making "le sentiment moral" prevail over plastic form. As Meyer-Shapiro said later of the ecstatic prophets at Moissac: they are "symbolic projections of inward metaphysical states."

In his article on Sculpture in the Dictionary, Viollet-le-Duc sketched out the great currents that operated on and were absorbed in the development of the Romanesque international style. Even a listing of them gives an idea of

his (and their) scope: the importance of the Benedictine monastery of Cluny in the renaissance of figure sculpture in the 11th century, and the relations of Cluny with the Orient; Byzantine manuscripts; Gallo-Roman remains; the Greek churches of Syria between Antioch and Aleppo and their painting; Irish influence (of Coptic derivation, in part); Coptic sculpture in Egypt; Scandinavian and Norman influences; the survival of ancient forms (Indian, Far Eastern, Persian, among others); Oriental textiles. And in his article, "Symbol", he recognizes the fundamental symbolic character of Christianity, based on Plato, and the richness which this symbolic view of both organic and inorganic nature produced. Yet, he persisted in seeing this art through the frame of an aesthetic, based on Aristotle, that belonged to Greece and Rome. And this, no doubt, accounts for his low opinion of Gislebertus' sculpture at Autun which, he said, was "flat and without effect". But there was, in fact, this same split between the Romanesque and the Gothic periods, when the Aristotelian revolution modified and even transformed the Christian view of the world.

One might wonder why Viollet-le-Duc discussed sculpture at such length in a dictionary of architecture, and he begins his article with an explanation: in the Middle Ages the two were so closely linked, one can't be discussed without the other. "A unity of principle directed the builders of the Middle Ages"; the building and its decoration were all of a piece.

But it is in his analyses of architecture that his seminal ideas are to be found, and they are seminal for Romanesque sculpture as well. For him, architecture was the greatest of the arts because it is a purely human creation, created by man's reason out of the geometric forms inherent in nature; it is, in fact, only an application of the principles that are outside us and that we learn by observation. "If we penetrate into the knowledge of the great principles of the universe we recognize quickly that creation developed in a logical succession, and to do this it had to submit to laws that existed anterior to the creative idea. This is so true one might say, 'In the beginning were numbers and geometry'. The Egyptians and the Greeks understood this very well. For them, numbers and geometric forms were sacred."

And Viollet-le-Duc might have said: they were sacred also to the Christians of the Romanesque world. For Romanesque cosmology, its view of the geometrical structure of the universe, derived from Plato. (Ill. 5)

These are ideas that have led to important work. In France, Henri Focillon (*Art d'Occident*) has insisted that Romanesque art and architecture can no longer be dismissed as "a step in the evolution toward Gothic", nor as an accumulation of "influences". They have their own proper laws which have to do with the perception and representation of the geometrical forms in nature. It is only through the study of forms, the technique of decoration, that we can resolve the apparent contradiction in this art between the power, the stability, the reasonable quality of the buildings, and the tumult of their sculptured imagery. That technique has a double character: it is architectural in that it subjects figures to the frame around them, and it is ornamental in that it designs and combines figures according to the same schemas that are used for ornament. And

the genius of this art was to associate sculpture with function.

Jurgis Baltrušaitis (*La Stylistique ornamentale dans la sculpture romane*), has developed these ideas. It is the frame that organizes the interior and what it contains, imposing its structure and economy on the sculpture. People, animals, plants are used geometrically as triangles, rectangles, circles, cubes. They are mutilated and recomposed by the schema of the frame. "The human form is constantly transformed. Subjected to the frame, to an architectural element, it is partly destroyed, it loses something of its personality, its own life, in order to be recreated under a new aspect." Abstract form presides over the Romanesque sculptor's creation. He is not only an image-maker (*imagier*), he is a mathematician, with a concern for measure. He is a geometrician who speculates about straight lines, angles, curves. For any line, whether it makes the image of a man or of an ornament, can be interpreted in two ways, as a mathematical solution or as the contour, the silhouette, that tells a story. The medieval sculptor lived in the world of reality, and also in the world of his imagination. In him, these two worlds, so opposed in appearance, encounter each other: the turbulent, chaotic world around him and the immobile world of schemas and structures, of an abstract order. A look at the Last Judgment of Gislebertus' tympanum, the side representing Hell and the damned, will demonstrate what Baltrušaitis is getting at: the strict geometrical layout, the turbulence within the limits imposed. (Ill. 4) And a look at any one of the capitals will do the same. When a sculptor carved a story on a capital he was not carving a frieze to decorate it. The carving grows out of the stone, becomes part of the internal coordination with its own points of support and equilibrium. He is not carving an art object, but an architectural member; its forms are the same objective forms as in nature. In it we can see a whole geometry; by looking through the combination of these geometric forms, the Romanesque sculptor saw his universe. (Ill. 2)

But why should the Romanesque sculptor, Gislebertus for one, have seen nature in this way? Why was he not concerned with representing the "natural world", the "world of appearances"? Where did this view come from and why was it common to the whole of Romanesque art, an art that covered the entire Christian world?

These are questions that Professor Harry Bober, of the New York University Institute of Fine Arts, has asked, and the answer has to do with the Christian view of the world, of reality, and it has to do with Plato. At the very base of Professor Bober's ideas is this: that Romanesque was a Christian Platonic art and it must be seen as such. It developed a new means of expression to deal with the fundamental questions of its time, the questions Christianity posed: its dogmatic and symbolic ideas, its abstract concepts. A naturalistic, illusionistic system would no longer work; a schematic system was developed to represent the "unreal reality" of Christian theology and physical theory. Professor Bober has uncovered this schematic system as it was developed graphically in medieval manuscripts. The "schemas" became the standard illustrations of schoolbooks, and their composition lay behind the composition of medieval art, whether an illumination of a manuscript or of a tympanum

in stone. What they taught was basic: the nature of the universe and the harmony of all its parts. They are neither illustrations in the sense of scenes, nor diagrams in the usual sense, although some give simple scientific data. For the most part they go far beyond that, and embrace every area of medieval theoretical and practical knowledge: God and man, the heavens and earth, doctrine and history, their interrelations and correspondences. They provided a system for representing such abstract ideas. (Ill. 5)

The central problem for Christian physical theory (as it is for modern physics) was a unified concept of reality, and the Christian concept is based on the cosmology of Plato as described in the *Timaeus*. From Plato comes the idea common to the Greeks, the Middle Ages, and to modern physics: the belief in the mathematical structure of reality. The Church Fathers, Saint Augustine among them, fused the Platonic account of creation with the account in *Genesis*, and with the verse from *The Wisdom of Solomon*: "By measure and number and weight God ordered all things." (Ill. 3) Numbers and geometric forms were studied as keys to the knowledge of the universe, the knowledge of its nature, "the immutable and unchanging reality, the number pre-existent in the mind of the world-creating God." In taking over Plato's account of the nature and creation of the universe as a unified harmonious whole, each part of which is related to every other part by constant mathematical proportions, the Church Fathers took over also the arithmology or "mystical arithmetic" that played such a large part in medieval thinking and in medieval art and architecture. By it, they attempted to penetrate to the order of causes and to demonstrate mathematically the relations or "correspondences", the harmony between all parts of the universe, physical or spiritual. By it they justified the proportions and relations between the parts of their churches; by it they ordered and arranged the composition of their sculpture and painting. And in taking over Plato's idea that the physical world was modelled on an ideal world of which it and everything in it was the mirror of a greater spiritual reality, a sign of something beyond itself, they created a symbolic view of the world, a conception of the universe as a system of signs and symbols capable of revealing aspects of reality that defied other means of understanding.

To come back to the present for a moment, and to the history of taste, there are certain "correspondences" between this view of the universe and our view which may have some bearing on our rediscovery of Romanesque art and Gislebertus. Our consciousness of the geometric structure of organic forms lies behind Malraux's comparison of Gislebertus to Cézanne. And there are other correspondences between the symbolic view of Platonic Christianity and the views of modern physics (which is our view, consciously or not).

Although the Greeks proposed that the atom was the one indivisible unit of matter, modern physics has discovered it to be composed of many particles. Although the search for "final causes", has been abandoned, it goes on for "unity", for some "underlying simplicity". The Greeks (and the Romanesque world) had at their disposal a very limited mathematics—geometrical forms related to natural phenomena—and conceived of atoms as occupying space.

But it is not possible, Werner Heisenberg has said (*Philosophic Problems of Nuclear Physics*), "to fit the modern atom into a materialistic concept of the universe, because atoms are not material bodies in the proper sense of the word: they are symbols which can be represented mathematically and they can be perceived only through the mind." Nor could Plato, and after him, Christianity "explain" the universe in materialistic terms.

Platonic Christianity kept another Greek idea, and, Heisenberg says, it has been retained by modern physics: "the belief in the purposely directive power of mathematical structures." This idea was first expressed by Pythagoras in relation to his study of musical harmony: a totality of sound appears to the human ear to be in harmony only if certain simple mathematical relations are realized. (Ill. 3) So, if the essence of musical harmony or of a form of art can be discovered in its mathematical structure, then the rational order of surrounding nature must have its basis in "the mathematical nucleus of the laws of nature." This conviction, which was also Plato's, found its first expression in the Pythagorean teaching of the harmony of the spheres, in the attribution of regular shapes to the elements. "Thus in the *Timaeus*," Heisenberg says, "Plato explains the atoms of earth, fire, air, and water, as cube, tetrahedron, octahedron, and icosahedron respectively. But in the last resort the whole of mathematical natural science is based on such conviction." (Ill. 5)

It is out of such a view of the universe, Professor Bober says, that Christian-Platonic theology developed, and Christian art. A new system was needed to express these abstract concepts, and the new system was schematic. The "schemas" are a kind of mathematics that could be applied to any theme and to many themes at once and they allowed for the simultaneous interpretation of many levels of meaning: typological, eschatological, anagogical, allegorical. It was not enough to present events; their Christian meaning must be presented also. The schemas were a new system of abstraction (abstract in the sense Brancusi used when he spoke of his work as dealing with "essential forms", "universal reality", "ideas made palpable"; in effect, with what lies behind appearance), and this meant a new scale of relations. The "giant" Christ in Majesty of the Saint Lazarus tympanum is larger than the angels, the angels are larger than men. It is hardly likely, as Mâle thought, that this was due to the incompetence of Gislebertus; such a scale is as common to Romanesque as it was to Egyptian art. Metaphysical states, moral conditions, Good and Evil, Heaven and Hell, all were as "real" to this Christian world as the geometrical structure of nature. The "expressionism" developed by Romanesque artists could represent these states also, as we see in the beatific expression of Gislebertus' angels, in the inhuman stalky figures of the devils.

The schematic system that lies behind the tympanum of Saint Lazarus is less complicated than many schemas developed in manuscripts, yet it demonstrates Professor Bober's explanation of how the schemas work. The subject is the Last Judgment, but its theme, its main concern, is an abstract one: the Creation, and End, of the World in Time, and Salvation, the object of man for whom the world was created. At the center is the great Christ in Majesty, Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, with the saved at



his right hand and the damned at his left. But to the right and left of Christ's head are the sun and the moon, and in the outside band of sculpture in the archivolt, beginning at the left, are the four seasons (combined in two medallions), and the signs of the zodiac alternating with the labors of man characteristic of each month. The central medallion directly above Christ's head contains a round squatting figure which Abbé Grivot and Professor Zarnecki have identified as *Annus*, the Year, by means of its similarity to such a figure found in a schematic illumination in a Romanesque manuscript. Time, the Seasons, the labors of man: all have to do with the earth, with creation in time.

The central band of the archivolt is ornamental, but perhaps its flowers and leaves also refer to the earth.

The inner band is now bare; no doubt it was carved

in too high a relief for the smooth plaster job of the 18th century canons; but it contained, without much doubt, medallions of the "four and twenty elders", a common feature of Romanesque Last Judgment scenes, who are described in St. John's apocalyptic vision of the end of the world as sitting before the throne of God, crowns on their heads, harps and vials in their hands. Among the debris knocked off the cathedral, crowned heads, hands holding harps, hands holding vials have been found, but no whole figure has survived, unless one turns up sometime in a wall or in the ground at Autun.

Thus there are many levels of meaning to be found in the work of Gislebertus in the Cathedral of Saint Lazarus by those wise in the Romanesque way of seeing.



6.—Eve from Lintel, North Door Autun.



1.—Tympanum of Autun, Christ in Majesty.



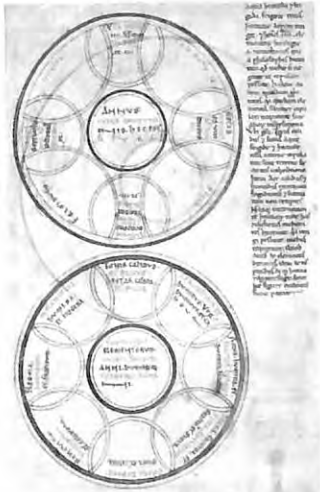
2.—Capital the Tree of Jesse.



3.—Autun Nave Capital: 4th Musical Note of Gregorian Plain Song.



4.—Devils and the Damned Tympanum, Autun Cathedral.



5.—Cosmography North France ca. 1220. C. Harry Bober.

# I. C. R. A. Excavates in Spoleto.

## The Palace of Theoderic (?) in Spoleto.

IN MEMORIAM  
GIUSEPPE SORDINI  
1853-1914

... by  
Francois Bucher and Bruno Toscano

The article by Professor Francois Bucher appearing in this issue gives the academic background of a venture which from its inception was romantic, exciting and at times dramatic. This writer is proud to have been part of it from the beginning. The whole venture was inspired and guided through its first stage by Professor Bucher. When he first proposed the excavation there was some doubt about whether I.C.R.A. could undertake the venture. But as we got into it, it became more and more apparent that Professor Bucher was right about the concept and approach. All of us at I.C.R.A. want to express our gratitude for the work and our admiration for the way in which the difficulties were overcome. (At one time Professor Bucher was hospitalized due to an accident which occurred at the site.)

It gives the writer great pleasure and satisfaction to acknowledge the help received by the Associazione Amici di Spoleto and the Italian government represented through Professor Martelli. They have greatly contributed to make this a truly international event. We are indebted to Professor Bruno Toscano and our Italian friends who recognized that the great monuments of the past transcend to all who dedicate themselves to their rediscovery.

Thus Professor Bucher and his friends in Italy deserve our thanks for discovering and developing one of the most exciting archaeological "digs" in recent times.

DAVID M. FREUDENTHAL,  
President

On Monday, June 24, 1:30 p.m. the representatives of the I.C.R.A., the archbishopric, City government and the association Amici di Spoleto as well as members of the Italian Press assembled at the foot of a towering wall on the Via dello Spagna in Spoleto. In his short address Mr. David Freudenthal stressed the importance of international cooperation in cultural undertakings. While he was speaking some loose material tumbled down the 45 foot iron tube which had been erected to remove the debris and which was to be dubbed "Anonymous sculpture: Elephant's Trunk" by some Spoletini.

Thus the International Center of Romanesque Art had finally embarked upon its first excavation which was to prove bountiful, but was also to produce results so mysterious that even now only tentative answers to the enigma of the monumental gallery embedded in the walls can be given. (Plan 1, Ill. 1)

The success of the excavation must be fully attributed to the dedication and commitment of a number of persons, who encouraged us not only through generous gifts but even more so through their fascination with the past and their unprovincial support of an international venture. Mr. Henry J. Heinz II provided for a third of the excavation costs. So did Mr. and Mrs. David Freudenthal who encouraged us at the site and who with Messrs. G. Nebolsine and Morichelli gave us legal advice. The Spears Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University paid for the plans, photographic materials, enlargements and measuring equipment. The unexpected generous gift of the Associazione Amici di Spoleto who contributed 1 Million lire, and finally a benevolent promise of the Italian Government to look after the completed excavation gave us a financial base from which we could operate without a feeling of restriction.

The contracting end of the dig was in the hands of Alberto Mariani and Oscar Progetti. Their dedication never stopped to amaze us. Structural problems were analyzed by Engineer Oscar Rosini whom the city of Spoleto put at our disposal. The workmen with whom we shared pick and shovel were as enthusiastic as they were capable. Their names alone as—Dante, or Pasqualino—evoked Italy's medieval past. Another word of thanks goes to the helpers who were ensnared by the site: Betty Land, a housewife from Minnesota and George Grogan from the Ballet Rambert, London. The owners of the adjoining properties, the families Bellani and Viola not only gave us permission to enter the site, but also put up with the continuous noise of falling rock and added to our energy through their hospitality.

In its second stage the excavation moved into the garden of H. E. the archbishop of Spoleto, Msgr. Raffaele Radossi. His generous permission to explore the arian or pagan past, and the support of his gardener Mr. Mario Zago in spite of our destructive influence on his tomato plantation is deeply appreciated. This report bears the name of Bruno Toscano as well, since we both shared not only all our ideas and our material continuously, but worked together at the site and spent many evenings in speculations on the day's harvest. In addition Prof. Toscano provided the link with the City of Spoleto whose mayor and City Council facilitated our work whenever possible.

The excavation would probably never have been undertaken without the preliminary advice from my colleagues Messrs. G. Forsyth, R. Krautheimer, H. Thompson, F. Brown and Miss L. Banti.

At the site we enjoyed continuous support from Prof. Gisberto Martelli, Sovrintendente alle Gallerie e ai Monumenti dell' Umbria and architect Pardi of the Sovrintendenza. Messrs. Alceo Rambaldi and Umberto Ciotti as well as Mr. Luigi Antonini, president of the Amici di Spoleto took a very active interest in our finds. After the excavation we received information from Miss M. Lang, L. Shoe, V. Grace and Mrs. E. Ettlinger, as well as from Messrs. H. Belting, A. von Gerkan, Richard Brilliant, A. Alföldi, E. Sjöqvist, R. Stillwell, and especially C. Pietrangeli and F. Brown who visited the site.

Our architect, Jacques Vicari who had worked in Iran and Palmyra is responsible for the plans published here for the first time.

Finally Maestro Gian Carlo Menotti gave us through his *Festival dei Due Mondi* the élan to return from the past to the present without resentment.

### I LOCATION

The Umbrian city of Spoleto lies on a hill which rises sharply from North and West to a plateau on which the "most splendid" Roman Spoletium was located. A branch of the *Via Flaminia* crossed the still existing first century B. C. *Ponte Sanguinario*, bypassed the second century A. D. Amphitheater, turned into the city through a northern gate and then rose sharply toward the *Forum* which today lies buried under the market place. From here one narrow slope climbs eastward toward the medieval castle, the Rocca. The small plateau of ca 300 x 200 m. contained a theater, baths, the forum flanked by a temple to which the arch of Drusus is attached, other still existing temples, and presumably administration buildings. (Bruno Toscano, *Spoleto in Pietre*, 1963). The frequently unchanged character of certain sections of Roman cities throughout the Middle Ages (Capitol in Rome) makes it likely that, continuing an established tradition, the administrative center was located close to the most easily defensible northeastern edge of the plateau where we today find not only the municipal buildings grouped around a medieval tower but also the archbishop's palace. Between them lies the early eleventh century church of St. Eufemia which is unique for Umbria since it contains a matroneum and tastefully reused Lombard sculptural remains indicating that an earlier church which may have stood on the same site could have been a Palace Chapel.<sup>1</sup> Its apse faces the stairs leading to the



twelfth century cathedral under which lies an unpublished and still accessible ninth or tenth century church. Its north wall, however, faces the towering palace of the archbishop which overlooks all the territory to the North and East. It is thus almost unassailable, a fact corroborated by a description of Barbarossa's siege of 1155.<sup>2</sup>

This fifteenth to seventeenth century Palace and the garden on its north side rest on a monumental structure clinging ponderously to a 35° incline. (Plan 1.) This structure enlarged the central plateau of the city in a northerly direction. Originally its north wall stood above a very steep drop of ca. 180 feet since all the buildings existing on the slope today are built on medieval fill.<sup>3</sup>

## II PUBLICATIONS

The structure which popular tradition calls Palazzo Regio or Palazzo Ducale has been carefully studied only by Giuseppe Sordini who never published his handwritten notes on which he based the talk he gave on September 26, 1905. (Report in "Il Messaggero" Rome, September 28, 1905.) A list of further descriptions follows, none of them complete or conclusive:

- G. Sordini, "La Nuova Umbria" 1877, Nr. 15-17-18.  
G. Sordini, "Boll. di Storia Patria per l'Umbria", 1907.  
G. Sordini, Notes; Arch. Sordini P. 2, 17, presso Arch. di Stato, Spoleto.  
Carlo Bandini: *Spoleto*, p. 40, Bergamo, 1924.  
Carlo Cecchelli: *Motivi Orientali e Occidentali in I Goti in Occidente*, Centro Studi sull'Alto Medioevo III, Spoleto, 1956, p. 50-51.  
B. Toscano: *Spoleto in Pietre*. Spoleto, 1963, p. 168.  
G. Antonelli: *Il Ducato in Immagini e Memorie di Spoleto*, Spoleto, 1963. Ill. 12 following p. 32.  
D. M. Freudenthal: *Search for Great Castle*. Bucks County Gazette, July 4, 1963.  
Associazione Amici di Spoleto. *Assemblea Generale*, Spoleto, 15 September, 1963, p. 6-9.  
C. Pietrangeli. *L'interesse storico e archeologico dello scavo in via dello Spagno*. Il Messaggero, Rome, 21 September, 1963.  
R. Morghen: *L'Excidium di Spoleto*, *Spolegium*, December, 1955.

## III TECHNIQUE OF EXCAVATION

From June 24 to July 22, 1963, about 200 tons of earth were removed from the galleries and an equal amount from the interior. (Plan 2) In the galleries we worked our way down in horizontal layers of 30 cm. at one time except for an earth ramp which was left for the removal of the debris through two iron tubes. One of the tubes led from the archbishop's garden through a destroyed segment of the wall into the north gallery and the other through the northern-most arcade of the west gallery down to street level. This permitted us to check the contents of each shovel-load and to recheck it a second time at the openings of the tubes. We are confident that through this method of analysis no object was missed in spite of the large volume of earth. Ca. 3000 shards and other fragments went through our hands of which we kept approximately 500. Objects were photographed immediately. This proved of vital importance for the amphorae which seemed whole but which collapsed in situ after drying.

Due to stringent time limits which were not entirely imposed by us the exploration of the interior of the structure had to be concluded with a vertical shaft whose purpose it was to ascertain the original interior ground level. (Plan 6) The carbon samples which we gathered will probably remain inconclusive since we discovered still living grape vine roots close to carbonized dead ones at the depth of 21 feet.

The excavation in the garden has been protected with steel beams and terracotta plaques which were laid over the

diagonal wall (Plan 2) at a height of 5.50 m. measured from the foundation of the gallery walls. Thus the thrust of the earth exerting an ever increasing pressure on the severely damaged northern wall has been eliminated. This part became accessible through an opening measuring 100 x 70 cm. made through a destroyed portion of the interior west gallery wall. The cracks in the vaults and in the north corner were filled with mortar by June 27th and the severe lesions of the walls were repaired by a technique which would make the additions easily discernable from the original wall. Electric lighting was introduced and the galleries as well as the interior space are now accessible through the freed original entrance which is protected by a gate.

## IV DESCRIPTION

### THE STRUCTURE AND THE FINDS

#### 1) THE EXTERIOR (Ill. 2)

The impressive pile of masonry consists of layers of cut gray limestone which alternate with huge binders, some over six feet, of a brown porous limestone resembling tuffa. The north wall was dangerously dislocated—over a length of 4.70 m.—by an earthquake and was probably restored in the thirteenth century through the aposition of a new layer of masonry which prevented the collapse of the structure. It had again reached a very precarious state before we repaired it. (Plan 2) The total original height is difficult to determine since the stone facing which originally protected the vaults has disappeared. At its highest point the building measured at least 12.20 m., at its south corner 7.0 m. (Plan 3)

#### 2) THE GALLERIES

The outer walls of the galleries rest on bedrock and are composed of facing blocks and binders. (Ill. 3) At the gallery level the wall is reinforced with monumental blind arcades varying in depth from 0.75 m to 1.0 m. The piers are composed of beautifully cut limestone blocks of considerable size, one of them measuring 1.75 m. (Plans 3, 4, 6) They rest in a relatively thick bed of mortar (average 3 cm.). Some of the ashlar masonry is bonded with the wall closing the arcades thus establishing that an open system was never planned. A further proof of this is found in the voussoirs of the arches which encompass the full thickness of the walls. (1.75 m to 1.80 m.) Their keystones have a protruding catch designed to hold the filling wall which is composed of smaller more roughly cut stones anchored within the solid ashlar system of the piers and arches. (Ill. 4) In addition to the "catch" the arches have three peculiarities. Their voussoirs are of differing size and form an extremely irregular extrados. The arches are wider than the interval between the piers providing an edge on which the beams supporting the centering could be placed. Finally a mistake in the spacing of the piers in the north gallery would have raised the crown of the two western arches above the crown of the others. They were therefore reduced to an irregular elliptical shape. (Ill. 5)

A zone between 1.60 and 2.85 m. from ground level was reserved for slits providing ventilation and light but unsuitable for defense. Their sills are extremely strange monoliths cut in a complex pattern. (Ill. 6 showing a broken sill.) The outer opening measures 0.1 x 0.75 m. The interior opening widens to 0.5 x 1.10 m.

Spoleto being near the center of an earthquake region (we had three quakes during the excavation) it was justly felt that the north-west corner needed reinforcements. Thus the two corner piers were connected with a diagonal body of masonry. The same precaution was taken in the interior

and one must therefore assume that it was accessible when the gallery was built. (Plan 2, Ill. 5)

The galleries were accessible through two doors. The entrance at the eastern end is very narrow. (1.0 m.) At present it leads into a semicircular, probably post-medieval wall which may have contained a large well. (Plan 5) The sill was detached perhaps for drainage purposes and shows a great deal of use. Two square cavities in the lowest voussoirs may have held a door swinging on two hinges. The original entrance on the west side is monumental. (1.80 x 3.80 m. Ill. 9)

The interior wall is definitely of *two periods*. (Plan 6) Its lower part of 3.20 m. including the foundation never reached down to bedrock. It is composed of irregularly hewn stones embedded in a great deal of mortar. The surface facing the garden is even more irregular. (Plan 6) The upper wall is contemporary with the vaults and arcades. It is built of regularly cut rectangular limestone blocks. The courses are not and never were horizontal and the joints are emphasized with sculpturally treated layers of mortar. (Ill. 8) This upper wall is so sturdy that an earthquake dislocated only the lower, earlier portion, damaging the crown so severely that grave lesions occurred, some of them penetrating to the interior. These lesions must at first have not been visible and would if not taken care of, have endangered the total structure in the immediate future. The only severe break in the upper wall occurs in the north-west corner. Strangely enough it contained the bones of a pig. The sturdy diagonal wall found under the garden is more closely related to the lower interior gallery wall than to the upper wall. (Plan 6)

Embedded in the crown of the upper walls we found the square holes designed to carry the wooden centering for the concrete and rubber vaults. We used them again for the consolidation of cracks. The vault itself still shows the imprint of the boards on top of which it was poured in a process very akin to our modern concrete construction. (Ill. 7) Above them rests a bed of humus (ca. 1.50 m.) which is contained by a thin wall built probably in the 18th century. (Plan 6)

#### 3) THE OBJECTS IN THE GALLERIES

Our primary aim was to reach the original floor level which was probably never more than packed earth with a thin layer of water resistant cement. Eventually the original fill will have to be analyzed as well.

The *southern section of the north gallery* (9.40 m.) was never disturbed and was separated from the north section by a 15th or 16th century wall which we took down. (Plan 2) A drainage canal through the southernmost section of the wall left the building under the door and contained no datable shards. A fragment of an unguentarium or perfume bottle (6 cm.), the cover of an amphora (diameter 14 cm.), fragments of Roman type tiles, and a few 16 to 18 century shards were the only objects found in this area.

The *dividing wall* contained a small brick chamber (3.50 m. from floor level) with the bones of a cock or hen, most probably a witness of the widely spread and only recently abolished practice of sacrificing an animal in the process of construction.

The fill in the *northern part of the west gallery* had accumulated to a height of 1.75 m. and contained an array of objects, pottery and bones. First appeared early 19th century pottery of the Delft type, then a very large number of 18th and 17th century shards. reddish brown glazed with white baroque designs. Near the door leading into the Bellani property half a mortar was found and at

irregular intervals going down, spouts from large water vessels, the largest one at 0.50 m. above the original floor. (Ill. 10) In this area there were also a few badly cut up fragments of human bones. In a layer ca. 10 cm above the original floor we found a phial of very thin glass, two small pieces of *terra sigillata*, more spouts, a few 16th century and perhaps 15th century painted and glazed shards. We recomposed whatever we could but most vessels were in a very fragmentary state.

The problems encountered in the *north gallery* were more complex due to the lesions beginning at the crown of the older interior wall and continuing down as far as 1.0 m. forming occasional holes through which seepage of the fill in the archbishop's garden could penetrate. Along the south wall we found first tiles which are probably Roman or early medieval, parts of amphorae and an 18th century porcelain terrine. On a layer averaging 1.0 m. above the floor 15th and 16th century shards appeared, many of them from beautifully painted large vessels, some with a spotted "tiger" glaze. A triangular tripod (side-length 20 cm) of iron and another iron piece resembling a scraper (17.5 cm long) were embedded below the central arcade. Our complex spout continued to appear. One example was dated by a specialist as being from the second Millennium B. C. which was somewhat frustrating since it lay close to a reasonably recent wooden pen holder. We finally resolved the spout problem by finding a magnificent complete jug of the same type among the objects dug up in the Roman theater at Spoleto and many water-jugs of the same basic type being sold today on the market-place of Spoleto. The *tenacious continuity* of certain *well established practical forms* was as bewildering to me as it was to the specialist who was present when we visited the market.

Placed immediately above the original floor level the north gallery produced a series of fragments of a water-tight reddish sand and cement floor varying in thickness between 4 and 7 cm. It is of a type frequently found in baths and kitchens and even churches from the Roman period into the twelfth century. It may have been the original floor covering over the compressed earth.

#### 4) EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

The galleries enclosed a large interior space which was filled with earth and debris in successive periods as indicated in the schematic and as yet incomplete cross section D-D (Plan 2) shown in Plan 6.

LAYER A. 0.5 m.

The humus layer averaging 0.5 m. produced little more than an enlisted man's army button (0.4 m.) which we brought back to its original splendor in a bath of hydrochloric acid. (Ill. 11)

LAYER B. 0.85 m.

The density of stones was markedly increased and the first fragments of painted stucco from a bold, probably mostly geometric wall decoration began to appear at 1.40 m. About 250 pieces were found down to layer I. They varied in thickness from 3.5 to 4 cm. The colors ranged through the whole spectrum. Blue, red, green were predominant but also yellow, white and black were found. Since these pieces were usually located in the proximity of the walls with a greater density occurring in the more narrow, southern part of the hole, we must assume that the walls were painted. But only the diagonal wall shows a mortar base which could have supported the stucco layer. Only three pieces showed abstract floral (?) decorations. (Ill. 12, length 14.5 cm) These were painted with a freedom found in earlier Roman painting, in the fourth century



28.7.64

26.01

## Spolito

The other day Dick Stillwell mentioned Bucken's dig, and asked me if I could date such amphorae as he had found. His opinion of the body itself as surely 2nd or 1st B.C., does not at all agree with the later date proposed by Bucken.

I gradually remembered this correspondence - which does not seem to have taken place very long ago.



run into a small amphora museum.

An exact date for these amphorae is the key for the dating of the galleries since they cannot have been made much earlier than the wall. But the opinion of the specialists varies considerably the general consensus being that they stem from the first century B. C. to the first century A. D. but three specialists consider it possible that they are as late as the sixth century.

We must reserve our judgment until the final reconstitution of all of the pieces. Nevertheless and judging from the spouts of the water-jugs found in the galleries, we must admit of a possible persistent almost unchanging continuation of established practical forms over long periods of time. Thus in Rhodes or in Tunisia amphorae are sold today which depart very little from Greek or Roman prototypes. Furthermore we have as yet not found a stamp which would allow us to identify a potter's shop securely.

The squat jars of the fourth century B. C. resembling those found in the Agora<sup>22</sup> reappeared again in a seventh century A. D. Byzantine shipwreck where they are flat bottomed and found side by side with the "typical" forms.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of these possibilities we must admit that the general habitus of our amphorae fits smoothly between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. The sharply undercut lip of Jar A. (Ill. 20) is related to a group of Amphorae from Nyon dating from 7 B. C. to 53 A. D.<sup>24</sup> But their pear-shaped body is very different. The undercut lip appears already in amphorae from Roman Spain one of which was found in Corinth and pre-dates 146 B. C. Here the neck is long, the shoulder energetically set off.<sup>25</sup> A Rhodian jar which can be compared with our piece showing the sharply broken handles is seen in the same picture.<sup>26</sup> H. S. Robinson shows some related examples which range from the first to the middle of the third century A. D.<sup>27</sup>

Some post second century A. D. Roman examples in Cyprus can be compared with our Jar A.<sup>28</sup>

At the moment only one thing is certain. The amphorae came from at least two different sites since half of them are made of clay which fired yellow and the other half of clay which fired red. The yellow pieces are heavier, their surface is never even or treated with slip and their form is not very elegant. The red pieces vary greatly in type and possibly also in age. Their form indicates a tradition which evolved in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Close to the upper row of the amphorae (depth 3.47 m., diameter 23 mm) a Roman Ass of 87 B. C. appeared. The bronze coin shows a *triremis* with a scroll shaped prow and a standing ancestor of Licinus holding a spear. He is flanked by the inscriptions S C (Ex Senatus Consulto). (Ill. 21, 22)<sup>29</sup> The obverse is provided with a ianus type double profile of a bearded man. The dating of the coin could indicate an early dating of the amphorae, that is, after 87 B. C. if we assume that the coin was not contained in the fill.

LAYER E. 1.50 m.

The lower row of amphorae was probably inserted into a trench dug into layer E which contains a great deal of stones. A transitional campanian or neapolitan, two drachme piece from the late 4th or 3rd century B. C. appeared (depth ca. 4.50 m. diameter 17 mm.). Only the reverse of the copper coin could be cleaned sufficiently to identify an androcephalic bull. Above its back a victory flies to the right to crown him. (Ill. 23) The obverse showed Parthenope, her profile turned to the right and at the left probably a letter E.<sup>30</sup>

Three more objects of interest were found in layer E

between 4.50 and 5 m. One is a limestone fragment, 20 x 13 cm. showing a still polychromed palmette under an arch. (Ill. 24, 20 x 13 cm. Colors green, yellow.) This piece is too fragmentary to be securely dated. I am quite certain that it is not later than the 6th century A. D.

The other limestone fragment measuring 15 x 10.5 cm. shows a rather dry closed palmette found in the 5th century doors of S. Sabina and very frequently in Italian Romanesque capitals. (Ill. 25) A much freer, but related form can be seen in the 4th century portal of San Salvatore in Spoleto and especially on one of its capitals.<sup>31</sup>

A commercially manufactured fragment of a lamp of gray clay varying in thickness from 2.5 to 5 mm. was found at a depth of 5.0 m. (Ill. 27, left center.) The same type of lamp was found in the Agora excavations and is dated from the first to the third century A. D.<sup>32</sup> But the globular surface treatment still is used in the seventh century A. D.<sup>33</sup>

LAYER F 0.85 m.

This layer consisted of earth mixed with yellow sand. Except for pieces of painted stucco which appeared in every layer it contained nothing of importance.

LAYER G 0.5 m.

A terracotta fragment of an ornamental tile (9 x 7.7 cm without the flange) was embedded in brown earth at a depth of 6.50 m. and therefore perhaps already part of layer I. (Ill. 26) One can suggest that it was one of a series of ornamental tiles running either above or along the eaves of an Umbrian house of the third or fourth century B. C.<sup>34</sup>

LAYER H 4 cm.

A thin layer of gray sand which dips down toward the diagonal wall could be the remains of a stuccoed ceiling decoration which fell down or even more likely disintegrated stucco from the interior gallery wall.

LAYER I 1.80 m.

With layer I composed of very dark earth we reached the bottom of the foundation of the gallery wall at 8:30 m and continued down to 8.40 m. The ornamental tile described above could have been at the top of this layer which showed a marked increase in the number of objects. Many pieces of painted stucco, mainly blue, red and green were found here also, some of them showing traces of a fire. Another coin-like iron object turned up (depth 7.50 m.) It was more corroded than the piece in layer C and had a diameter of 2.4 cm. (Ill. 14) The greek cross was discernible but the globules seemed to have been larger. The back was completely corroded.

The working conditions at this level became dangerous due to small landslides. But the objects mentioned here were embedded firmly.

Almost reaching the foundation level many examples of "campanian" black ware appeared, some with a matt and others with a glazed surface, a few of them with walls as thin as 3 mm. As far as could be determined they stemmed from vases of different types including a *pelike*, a stemless *kylix* and an *oinochoe*. (Ill. 27) In date they may go back as far as the fourth century B. C. The same level showed also covers of amphorae and other containers made of extremely coarse, porous clay which had suffered from a fire. (Ill. 28, right side.) At the foundation level lay a fibula of silver, 7.4 cm long and complete except for the pin which was originally attached to the still extant spring. It is most closely related to the celtic fibulae of the years between 400 and 500 as seen in the large collection of the Historic Museum in Bern.

A piece of azurite (length 2 cm) lay nearby. It may

Noname

Note 23  
does not  
document  
this statement



A.D. and again in Carolingian decorative elements, one example being the church under Spoleto cathedral.<sup>4</sup>

At the bottom of layer B a fragment of a pilaster capital (22 cm long) appeared. The hard limestone shows tightly wound linear spirals flanking the remains of what was possibly a stylized eagle. (Ill. 13) The date could be as early as 6th but not later than the eighth century. A great variety of similar objects exist ranging from a capital in Spoleto with concentric rings<sup>5</sup>, S. Salvador in Toledo<sup>6</sup>, S. Vincenzo in Prato and San Simpliciano in Milan, the crypta of the basilica in Agliate<sup>7</sup>; and a delayed example of the early tenth century in Rueggisberg<sup>8</sup>.

LAYER C. 1.0 m.

This layer measuring ca. 1 m. was of a markedly different grey color and reached down to fragments of water resistant cement of an inferior quality. It contained many roof tiles, larger stones and again fragments of painted stucco as well as an iron disk (diameter 2.5 cm) of a type which appeared once more at a depth of 7.50 m. (Ill. 14) One side shows a greek cross with four globules between its arms. The other side is convex and too corroded to reveal any design. It is extremely tempting to identify this piece as a barbarian coin. An almost identical design is found only on very small Greek coins from Calabria<sup>9</sup>. The motif becomes frequent on Byzantine gold coins and abundant in the Carolingian period<sup>10</sup>. The coinage of two spoletan Dukes shows the cross with globules<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand no examples of iron coins of this type are extant, and the possibility of emergency money is not likely either during Theoderic's reign over Spoleto or the duration of the Langobard Duchy<sup>12</sup>. The more unstable situation arising from the Carolingian occupation could temporarily have led to a strange coinage. However another possibility exists. Since according to local tradition the medieval mint was located over the excavation site, the pieces may have been either Carolingian or Langobard monetary weights<sup>13</sup>. These weights were made of lead. One piece from St. Quentin of 846 A. D. shows a cross. Our pieces then could be weights used by the dukes.

Other interpretations of these objects range from branding irons, horse-trappings, bottom of crucibles and more unlikely, nailheads.

Equally strange and still not securely dated are the three relief heads of fauns or satyrs which originally formed part of a large vessel, probably a krater. (Ill. 15, depth over 2 m. Measurements: l. 16.2 x 10 cm, center c. 12 x 10 cm right : 7 x 14 cm average thickness of pot 2, 2 cm.) These masks were near the rim of the vessel and formed with a mold which slipped in the case of the example on the left. Some of the heads were connected with garlands. The same mold was used for the faun at the right which is covered with a heavy calcium deposit.

Different dates have been suggested, the most likely being first century B. C. to first century A. D. and 16th century. One such krater with faun masks is in Warwick Castle<sup>14</sup>. Detached faun masks on garlands adorn the Julii Monument in St. Rémy of the end of the first century B. C. Repoussé and appliqué work in metal and terracotta was so popular in the first century A. D. that it was imitated even in stone sculpture the most famous example being the Augustus Primaporta<sup>15</sup>.

The objects in layer C do not necessarily provide any evidence since the fill taken from almost any spot of central Spoleto may contain anything from the sixth century B. C. to the 20th century.

However the east side of this layer was limited by a badly made wall of one meter length and 0.8 m. height

and 4.5 m. width running diagonally and merging with the contemporary fragment of another wall which was 2.35 m. long, 0.85 m. wide and 1.16 m. high. (Plans 2, 6; Ill. 17) This partially preserved wall has all the earmarks of a seventh or eighth century construction. I certainly cannot think of any other period producing similarly bad work. On its east side this wall contained a room whose earth floor, found at a depth of 3.25 m. was covered with makeshift pieces, tiles, stucco, flat stones and a shard with an inscription which may have been part of layer D. (See below) The foundations of this construction were immediately revealed.

LAYER D.

At the depth of 2.75 m. a very solid wall of 0.75 m. width running diagonally toward the west gallery became visible. (Plan 2, black) This wall is most closely related to the lower interior gallery walls. Its great stability, its mortar covering which probably supported stucco, its probable foundation over bedrock make it possible that it pre-dates the gallery. Unfortunately its ends could not be explored and a final analysis cannot yet be given.<sup>16</sup> The badly made wall described above was riding on top of its crown. The makeshift floor on its east side contained one shard which may be part of layer D. This fragment from the shoulder of an amphora measures 13.5 x 12 cm (Ill. 16). It contains the following incomplete inscription in red letters applied with a brush:

... O • M • LEPIDIO • U ...  
... RUS • MUSTUM • ADDIT •

The P of 'Lepidio' could also be read as a C. According to A. Alföldi the cognomen Lepidius was restricted to the Aemilii in the last centuries of the Roman Republic. On the other hand the name LISSIDIUS appears on an inscription in the church of the Madonna della Neve in Spoleto.<sup>17</sup> C. Pietrangeli states that our inscription is of a consular date.<sup>18</sup> The very rich Monte Testaccio material published by H. Dressel,<sup>19</sup> shows only three somewhat related examples.<sup>20</sup> The inscription itself which states that cider was added to the vine seems unique. But many inscriptions identifying the owner, the vineyard, praising the quality of the wine or all three exist.

THE AMPHORAE OF LAYER D.

A few inches below the crown of the diagonal wall 30 amphorae appeared. Since the full area has not yet been liberated (Ill. 17 dotted surface) as many as seven pieces may still be buried. The amphorae had been stacked right side up and upside down against the wall in a tight row for drainage purposes and possibly a reduction of weight and insulation at the moment when layer D was filled in.<sup>21</sup> To place the lower row with fewer amphorae a ditch was dug into layer E. The vessels showed signs of use and contained fig seeds and a black substance clinging to the interior which must be carbonized oil. The possibility that we deal with a storage room is excluded due to the arrangement in two superimposed vertical rows. All pieces were originally intact though some were slightly chipped. The earth pressure produced hairline cracks and once liberated they collapsed quickly. (Ill. 18) At present only three pieces have been reconstructed and are available for study. (Ill. 19, 20) As far as we were able to ascertain their types were as varied as their sizes. (Ca. 60 cm to well over one m.) The example shown in Ill. 20 is typical. But a very much more stocky group with double shouldered and a short neck appeared as well as others with sharply pointed handles indicating a possible origin from Rhodes. In fact, judging from handbooks, we seem to have

run into a small amphora museum.

An exact date for these amphorae is the key for the dating of the galleries since they cannot have been made much earlier than the wall. But the opinion of the specialists varies considerably the general consensus being that they stem from the first century B. C. to the first century A. D. but three specialists consider it possible that they are as late as the sixth century.

We must reserve our judgment until the final reconstitution of all of the pieces. Nevertheless and judging from the spouts of the water-jugs found in the galleries, we must admit of a possible persistent almost unchanging continuation of established practical forms over long periods of time. Thus in Rhodes or in Tunisia amphorae are sold today which depart very little from Greek or Roman prototypes. Furthermore we have as yet not found a stamp which would allow us to identify a potter's shop securely.

The squat jars of the fourth century B. C. resembling those found in the Agora<sup>22</sup> reappeared again in a seventh century A. D. Byzantine shipwreck where they are flat bottomed and found side by side with the "typical" forms.<sup>23</sup> In spite of these possibilities we must admit that the general habitus of our amphorae fits smoothly between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. The sharply undercut lip of Jar A. (Ill. 20) is related to a group of Amphorae from Nyon dating from 7 B. C. to 53 A. D.<sup>24</sup> But their pear-shaped body is very different. The undercut lip appears already in amphorae from Roman Spain one of which was found in Corinth and pre-dates 146 B. C. Here the neck is long, the shoulder energetically set off.<sup>25</sup> A Rhodian jar which can be compared with our piece showing the sharply broken handles is seen in the same picture.<sup>26</sup> H. S. Robinson shows some related examples which range from the first to the middle of the third century A. D.<sup>27</sup>

Some post second century A. D. Roman examples in Cyprus can be compared with our Jar A.<sup>28</sup>

At the moment only one thing is certain. The amphorae came from at least two different sites since half of them are made of clay which fired yellow and the other half of clay which fired red. The yellow pieces are heavier, their surface is never even or treated with slip and their form is not very elegant. The red pieces vary greatly in type and possible also in age. Their form indicates a tradition which evolved in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Close to the upper row of the amphorae (depth 3.47 m., diameter 23 mm) a Roman Ass of 87 B. C. appeared. The bronze coin shows a *triremis* with a scroll shaped prow and a standing ancestor of Licinus holding a spear. He is flanked by the inscriptions S C (Ex Senatus Consulto). (Ill. 21, 22)<sup>29</sup> The obverse is provided with a ianus type double profile of a bearded man. The dating of the coin could indicate an early dating of the amphorae, that is, after 87 B. C. if we assume that the coin was not contained in the fill.

LAYER E. 1.50 m.

The lower row of amphorae was probably inserted into a trench dug into layer E which contains a great deal of stones. A transitional campanian or neapolitan, two drachme piece from the late 4th or 3rd century B. C. appeared (depth ca. 4.50 m. diameter 17 mm.). Only the reverse of the copper coin could be cleaned sufficiently to identify an androcephalic bull. Above its back a victory flies to the right to crown him. (Ill. 23) The obverse showed Parthenope, her profile turned to the right and at the left probably a letter E.<sup>30</sup>

Three more objects of interest were found in layer E

between 4.50 and 5 m. One is a limestone fragment, 20 x 13 cm. showing a still polychromed palmette under an arch. (Ill. 24, 20 x 13 cm. Colors green, yellow.) This piece is too fragmentary to be securely dated. I am quite certain that it is not later than the 6th century A. D.

The other limestone fragment measuring 15 x 10.5 cm. shows a rather dry closed palmette found in the 5th century doors of S. Sabina and very frequently in Italian Romanesque capitals. (Ill. 25) A much freer, but related form can be seen in the 4th century portal of San Salvatore in Spoleto and especially on one of its capitals.<sup>31</sup>

A commercially manufactured fragment of a lamp of gray clay varying in thickness from 2.5 to 5 mm. was found at a depth of 5.0 m. (Ill. 27, left center.) The same type of lamp was found in the Agora excavations and is dated from the first to the third century A. D.<sup>32</sup> But the globular surface treatment still is used in the seventh century A. D.<sup>33</sup>

LAYER F. 0.85 m.

This layer consisted of earth mixed with yellow sand. Except for pieces of painted stucco which appeared in every layer it contained nothing of importance.

LAYER G. 0.5 m.

A terracotta fragment of an ornamental tile (9 x 7.7 cm without the flange) was embedded in brown earth at a depth of 6.50 m. and therefore perhaps already part of layer I. (Ill. 26) One can suggest that it was one of a series of ornamental tiles running either above or along the eaves of an Umbrian house of the third or fourth century B. C.<sup>34</sup>

LAYER H. 4 cm.

A thin layer of gray sand which dips down toward the diagonal wall could be the remains of a stuccoed ceiling decoration which fell down or even more likely disintegrated stucco from the interior gallery wall.

LAYER I. 1.80 m.

With layer I composed of very dark earth we reached the bottom of the foundation of the gallery wall at 8:30 m and continued down to 8.40 m. The ornamental tile described above could have been at the top of this layer which showed a marked increase in the number of objects. Many pieces of painted stucco, mainly blue, red and green were found here also, some of them showing traces of a fire. Another coin-like iron object turned up (depth 7.50 m.) It was more corroded than the piece in layer C and had a diameter of 2.4 cm. (Ill. 14) The greek cross was discernible but the globules seemed to have been larger. The back was completely corroded.

The working conditions at this level became dangerous due to small landslides. But the objects mentioned here were embedded firmly.

Almost reaching the foundation level many examples of "campanian" black ware appeared, some with a matt and others with a glazed surface, a few of them with walls as thin as 3 mm. As far as could be determined they stemmed from vases of different types including a *pelike*, a stemless *kylix* and an *oinochoe*. (Ill. 27) In date they may go back as far as the fourth century B. C. The same level showed also covers of amphorae and other containers made of extremely coarse, porous clay which had suffered from a fire. (Ill. 28, right side.) At the foundation level lay a fibula of silver, 7.4 cm long and complete except for the pin which was originally attached to the still extant spring. It is most closely related to the celtic fibulae of the years between 400 and 500 as seen in the large collection of the Historic Museum in Bern.

A piece of azurite (length 2 cm) lay nearby. It may

have been used to produce the blue color of the wall decoration. At this point even rougher shards appeared with a few human teeth, some vertebrae, a boar's tusk still within the broken jawbone, a sea shell which would have had to be transported over 70 miles. (Civitavecchia Spoleto: 118 km. Spoleto, Grottamare 95 km. air distance.) A few inches below (8.40 m) a silver buckle (length 3.5 cm) of the simplest type turned up. (Ill. 28) Furthermore we found two pieces of terra sigillata, one with a series of tiny globules (3 mm. thick) and another one of dark brown color with a relief ring of cuplike oval forms. (3 mm thick, 4 cm wide.) One last piece of the sigillata type with an extremely fine scratched circular design was 8 mm. thick and was found at the depth of 8.50 m. (Ill. 29, top center) One thin sliver of polished marble may be the only trace of a revetment which could have covered the lower parts of the wall.

#### 6) THE INTERIOR WALL

By this time the interior wall had been stripped down to its foundation. (Plan 6) It reflected exactly the disposition of the gallery with its two distinctly different types of wall. The lower part being extremely solid and done with roughly hewn blocks and a great deal of mortar, the upper part being made up of more carefully cut limestone with carefully indicated mortar joints. (Ill. 30, 31. Ill. 30 does not show the lower part of the wall but gives a view of the diagonal wall in the foreground.)

#### V CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FINDS THE GALLERY

In spite of the quality of certain objects we must consider them precious rubbish which accumulated from the fifteenth century onwards. This and the fact that the south end of the west gallery was never touched indicates that the corridors were never used for anything which would have left identifiable traces. The unguentarium and fragments of Roman type tiles could have belonged to users of the thoroughfare which most likely led from the city to a point in the direction of the lower plateau now taken up by the cathedral square or then into a building which the galleries contained or thirdly into the substructures of a large building. It is extremely surprising that this eminently defensible pile was never integrated into the city fortifications but we must recall that Barbarossa's attack took the citizens by surprise. When they finally retired from the Porta Ponziana to the high place near the cathedral it was too late to make use of the galleries whose ventilation slits were placed too high for any effective last minute defense. The badly mangled human bones appearing in the debris (hip, thigh, parts of a hand) may have belonged to a lonely defender who was followed. Exploratory trenches below the original floor level have produced nothing as yet. The character of the structure resembles that of a Roman cryptoporticus of which we have many. (Arles, Anxur-Terracina, and the many galleries under the capitoline hill in Rome or under Roman theaters.) This point must be discussed at length.

#### THE INTERIOR

The finds of the interior admit five possibilities. 1) The galleries may have surrounded chambers. The distinctive layers of fill indicate a sequence of time. The fibula which is identical with examples of the fifth century A. D. was found below the first fill with its fourth century pieces. Painted stucco was found from the bottom of layer C to I. The "newer" wall was very carefully built and its joints were tightly closed with mortar indicating the layers thus making it flat and if need be, at the same time, dry and

rough enough to carry stucco. We would then have to assume one or two levels of painted chambers reaching slightly above the level of the amphorae.

2) The galleries may have formed a cryptoporticus in this case a monumental retaining wall designed to contain a large volume of earth or substructures supporting a terrace on which a small building could have been erected. (Ill. 33) We would then have to assume that the painted stucco is part of the fill and that the fibula could be dated from any period, its form being very simple. The wall beginning with layer E (Plan 6) could be consciously dislocated toward the interior, a clever move introduced to buttress the earth more securely. The fill would have been put in in successive stages up to the top of layer D. The amphorae embedded in this layer for the purpose of drainage and pressure relief prove that at one point fill was systematically added. The compressed earth was then covered with a layer of watertight cement of which we found pieces. The amphorae could be contemporary with the coin which would date the major parts of the galleries as some time after 87 B. C.

3) Both possibilities must be considered side by side. The galleries may have protected painted chambers for a few decades. The first fill would then be I. The dislocation of the wall may have indicated the changeover from a marble revetment to stucco. Then the whole space including layer D was filled. The masonry housing the vault would then have formed a parapet around a terrace.

4) If the amphora forms current between 100 B. C. and 100 A. C. survived stubbornly we could assume that we deal with an early medieval cryptoporticus filled in several slow stages as the construction proceeded. The diagonal wall, pre-existing or built at that time, would have been used to relieve the earth pressure originating from a terrace reaching up to the top of level D.

5) The possibility that the fill up to level D already existed and that the mass of debris was cut vertically to accommodate the wall is remote since the layers are undisturbed and horizontal.

Whatever happened it is certain that at one point the space was filled up and that a renewed building activity produced a different type of wall riding partially on the diagonal wall below. Only from this layer up do we find objects which can be identified with certainty as medieval and recent.

#### VI THE DATE OF THE GALLERY

There is a good deal of evidence for the dating of the lower gallery wall as early as the second century B. C. and further evidence that the upper wall was built in the early first century B. C. Level D may then have supported a small temple or may have served as a terrace. Our purpose was and is to establish the identity of the building and its date. At the moment both questions cannot be answered but we can safely say that we deal with a structure erected either in the first century B. C. or around 500.

The most important factors for a late dating are the character of the masonry, the proportions of the galleries and historical factors. (Ill. 32) The piers of the arcading system with their magnificent ashlar blocks and their unnecessarily thick mortarbeds, the irregular extrados of the arches, the diagonally reinforced corners, monolithic windowsills, the botched up intervals of the north gallery and finally the very narrow proportions of 1:3, 33 as well as the unusual treatment of the upper wall cannot be found in any extant Roman monuments either in or around Spoleto and to my knowledge in any of the extant Roman galleries.

#### WALLS IN SPOLETO

We have in Spoleto a magnificent collection of walls from different periods. Along Via Cecili a har. book in stone shows at the bottom the heavy and awkward Umbrian polygonal wall of the sixth century B. C. When Spoleto became a Roman colony in 241 B. C. the wall was heightened in a regularized polygonal style. Then in the first century A. D. 18 courses of well cut rectangular blocks of varying size forming a reasonably horizontal arrangement were superimposed on the old walls, the seventh course being made of slightly larger blocks. Above this point we have thirteenth century walls paid for in yard widths by certain families whose names and contributions are known. This part is of roughly hewn blocks embedded in a good deal of mortar. Then above a set-back we have later walls up to the twentieth century.

None of these walls resemble any of the galleries.<sup>35</sup> The Porta Monterone which is attributed to the third century B. C. but which is certainly heavily restored shows a clearly recessed arch and on its west side slabs covering and following the vousoirs of the extrados.<sup>36</sup>

In 80 B. C. Spoleto was sacked during the civil war. If the first century B. C. theory should prove correct the shards of level I might have been in a fire at that time. It is unlikely that in the period of reconstruction immediately following something as "useless" as a cryptoporticus would have been erected. An existing wall, now in the Giardino Piperno however was restored right after the war. The wide, rectangular blocks are related in material and technique with the upper walls of our galleries which were also smoothed down with an axe. But in the Piperno wall little or no mortar was used.<sup>37</sup>

The great rise of Spoleto to a city which Cicero called "most splendid" came in the Augustean period of the late first century B. C. and continued into the early second century A. D. The so-called Ponte Sanguinario was built shortly after 27 B. C. Its heavy, magnificent ashlar construction uses embossed blocks to heighten the impression of solidity.<sup>38</sup>

From the early first century A. D. we have the house possibly owned by Vespasia Polla, Vespasian's mother, which is not related to our construction. I have to say the same for the arch of Drusus and Germanicus of ca. 23 A. D. Its heavy, relatively clumsy ashlar masonry seems to lack mortar, the vousoirs are short and form regular extrados.<sup>39</sup> Equally unrelated are the two most magnificent Roman remains of Spoleto. One is the temple near the arch of Drusus with a beautiful ashlar masonry, heavy cornices and very strange proportions. It now contains the crypt of S. Isacco of the eleventh century which once again bears no resemblance to our structure. The walls contain possibly Roman ventilation slits measuring 50 x 105 cm.<sup>40</sup> The so-called basilica is an amazingly preserved first century structure built of large embossed blocks with no visible mortar.<sup>41</sup>

The theater of the first half of the first century A. D. presents difficult problems since its east sector was badly damaged by earthquake shortly after its completion. Additionally it was transformed into a fortress in ca. 546 A. D. The masonry closing the arches of the original facade could have been restored in the Roman period or in the sixth century.<sup>42</sup> The courses are laid in a haphazard manner weaving up and down and resemble rather closely the lower walls of our galleries which are even more irregular. The late dating of the arcade repairs can be supported by the fact that the restorations were undertaken in opus reticulatum. Interestingly enough the narrowest ambulatory

shows the proportions 1:2, 3.

The situation is even more complex in the amphitheater built probably in the second century A. D. and transformed into a fort by the Ostrogoth Totila shortly after 545. The inner wall of the wide not completely excavated ambulatory is once more rather closely related to the lower wall of our galleries. The arcades of the eastern part were closed in the sixth century. The wall was hastily built of roughly hewn, rather small stones and contains ventilation or defense slits measuring 43 x 120 cm in the interior.<sup>43</sup>

Our uninterrupted series of construction finds another climax in the monumental church of San Salvatore of which the larger parts including the magnificently dignified facade are undoubtedly of the fourth century.<sup>44</sup> San Salvatore was followed by the miraculously preserved fifth century Tempietto del Clitunno on the Via Flaminia. Of these two structures the Tempietto has more in common with our galleries. An uneven extrados of the north portal, a heavy ashlar wall with mortar, a rubble and concrete vault and strangely stilted overall proportions bring it close to the final stages of a thousand year architectural tradition which begins with the similarly awkward treasure houses at Delphi, and finally ends with the pseudo Romanitas of Theoderic as expressed with dignity in his barbarian Mausoleum.

We now come to the strange vacuum during which Spoleto became an important city in Theoderic's realm, as we know from his letters, then the capital of a very powerful Langobard Duchy and finally part of a Frankish Province. In contrast to all earlier periods only a ninth (?) century church under the cathedral and a few scattered fragments seem to have survived. Among them are reliefs integrated into the church of San Giuliano and an eighth century lintel reused in a house on Via Saffi. With the eleventh century construction of St. Eufemia in which another lintel serves as a column, the building activity in Spoleto is renewed.

We can deal only briefly with the medieval structures since they are related to our building only through a continuing building tradition. S. Eufemia which makes use of the terrace held in by our galleries shows a careful application of mortar along the courses of its facade which was touched but little by the fire erupting during Barbarossa's assault of 1155.<sup>45</sup> The well known cathedral with its facade mosaic under which the artist declares in 1207 that he is a leader of "arte modernus" is important to us through its tower built between 1173 and 1198. Its ashlar masonry containing Roman inscriptions and reliefs which may be from the early middle ages must have come either from the Forum or from a structure built over our galleries.

A series of highly interesting twelfth and thirteenth century houses show the quick treatment of the stone blocks with an axe, leaving a surface which is characteristic for the upper gallery walls. These houses are located at the foot of the Via dell Assalto, on the Via San Gregoria della Sinagoga, on the Via della Terme near the Roman theater and finally off Via Cecili where the beautiful wall of the so-called Cassero rests on the Umbrian polygonal masonry.<sup>46</sup> Some of this building activity may be related to the temporary residence of Pope Gregory IX (+1241) in Spoleto. And finally we again find in the lower town walls of 1349 along Viale Martiri a technique which in its general character reminds us of the upper gallery walls. We must once more remind ourselves of this uninterrupted building activity in Spoleto through the centuries, to better understand the strangeness of the void occurring at a time



when it had lost nothing of its importance: namely through the periods of the reign of Theoderic and of the Langobard Dukes who not only threatened to conquer Rome, but on two occasions were elected kings of Italy.

#### ROMAN WALLS

We found no Roman monuments in which the peculiarities of the Spoleto galleries are repeated. A list of the titles mentioned in the text is found in a note.<sup>47</sup>

The irregular extrados of the arcades is rare in the second century B. C. It occurs in the Villa Galba in Terracina (Lugli 69.4). In the first century B. C. we find the irregular extrados in Terracina's Piccolo Tempio and in the substructure of the temple of Jupiter Anxur where we have a cryptoporticus in wider proportions done in opus mixtum; (Lugli, 119, 120 No. 4) and in substructures at Todi (Lugli, 60). The smooth semicircular extrados was so much the rule that it was used for purely utilitarian structures as bridges or cloaca openings. (Kähler, 55)

Other large Roman substructures which at first glance seemed rather similar turned out to be less closely related than we expected. Praeneste-Palestrina or the wall of the amphitheater in Pompeii both of the early first century emphasize the opus mixtum and precision in the arcades. (Kähler, 44, 45, 51) The large substructures of Grottaferrata and Tivoli (Lugli, 117, 144) have no relationship to Spoleto.

Some provincial walls, however, are of a similar type as our lower gallery walls. They are in the baths of Fiesole, the theaters of Sepino, Assisi and Gubbio. (Lugli, 191) Only late in the first and in the early second century the proportions of these galleries become narrower and higher as those of the Capitoline hill and the east exedra of the Forum Traiani both in Rome. (Kähler, 164, 183) On the other hand some of the corridors mentioned above are not yet fully excavated and their proportions may well be steeper. The interior passage-way through the arcades of the Jupiter temple in Anxur-Terracina dated the early first century B. C. unites two characteristics found in Spoleto. (Kähler, 47) This passage shows the same proportions as our galleries, the extrados are somewhat irregular. The masonry, however, is opus mixtum, the voussoirs are of roughly cut stone, the arches are not recessed and the passage opens into large outer arcades.

#### POST-ROMAN CONSTRUCTION

We must exclude the possibility that we deal with a Langobard work since Langobard masonry is either irregular or mixed with brick courses. (Belting, 3, 6) As in the seventh and eighth century sculpture the classical tradition is now at the most recreated. But it lingers on in the Visigothic structures of Spain as in San Pedro de la Nave, Quintanilla de las Vinas and other churches which show magnificent ashlar work, stone vaults reminiscent of Syrian examples and recessed arches. (P. Palol de Salellas, 15-19) And strangely enough the first successful revival of a theoderician antiquity, the palace chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen revives some of the practices found in Spoleto as for instance the irregular extrados of some arches, the use of binders in the wall and of ashlar for the carrying parts. (A. Haupt, 8, 12, 21, W. Schone, 5, 6, 8, F. Kreusch, p. 77)

The combination of carefully worked ashlar embedded in a thick layer of mortar and of stone courses whose joints are carefully worked over is rare. Except for St. Eufemia it appears also in the cloister of Vaison la Romaine where it probably pre-dates the twelfth century. (Ill. 34)

#### THE MAUSOLEUM OF THEODERIC

The medievalists (including G. Sordini) who have

visited the Spoleto corridor have been immediately reminded of the Mausoleum of Theoderic dated before 526 A. D. Except for a general feeling which should not be underrated, only four elements are closely related. The arcades of the Spoleto gallery are exceptionally deep and the structure is very much "overengineered." The bottom of the spandrel is filled with a carefully cut block which gives the impression that the arches are connected by a huge monolith. This is actually the case in Ravenna. Thirdly, the ashlar blocks are worked with only seeming precision which is corrected with a relatively thick bed of mortar. Some of the blocks of the interior piers are bonded with the outer wall. The most important and rare element which both structures have in common is the monolithic sill of the openings. The east wall of the lower story in Theoderic's Mausoleum contains two openings cut right into the center of four monumental blocks. (F. Deichmann, F. X. Bartl, Ill. 69-73) It obviously would have been very much easier to leave an opening between two block though this could have facilitated entry into the chamber. I have as yet been unable to study in detail the stone and tuffa wall built by Theoderic in Verona.<sup>48</sup> I haven't seen the Clivus near San Giovanni and Paolo in Rome nor the stadium and Palatine chapel which are supposed to be Theoderic's work, both in Rome. I also have to reserve judgment on the Palatium in Ravenna. What I have seen is much restored and bears little resemblance to Spoleto. We therefore must analyze the historical possibilities.

#### VII THE PALACE OF SPOLETO

When we found that the door of the north corridor led right into the wall of a well the workmen matter of factly declared that in spite of the wall this was the door through which Theoderic went to church using the covered passageway. This type of specific statement never stopped to amaze us. These men did not know of the three letters in which Theoderic refers to Spoleto making it likely that he had visited the strategic city more than once due to its location on the shortest route from Rome to Ravenna. The facts are the following. On August 28, 489, the thirty five year old prince accompanied by perhaps as many as 300,000 Goths including women and children crossed the Isonzo and began the conquest of Italy which he completed with the murder of Odoacre on March 15, 494. In the preceding year he is supposed to have passed through Spoleto. Theoderic was proclaimed king, took the title Dominus and considered himself the sovereign of the Goths and West Romans whom he wished to reconcile. In 498 the Byzantine emperor legitimized his claims and he assumed from then on an imperial role. He conquered the Provence, began to restore Roman structures which he protected through edicts and erected new ones in Verona, Pavia, Modena and especially in Ravenna where he built a large palace. His initially successful federation of barbarians began to disintegrate in 509. He spent his later years in a somber mood which led to the execution of Boethius and Symmachus and the imprisonment of the pope. He died on August 30, 526 haunted by the thought of failure.<sup>49</sup>

Theoderic's knowledge of Spoleto is expressed in three letters which his personal minister Cassiodorus transmitted to us in his *Variae*.<sup>50</sup> In his first letter given in full in the appendix Theoderic gives leave to Deacon Elpidius to raze a porticus behind the Baths of Turasius in Spoleto and to build a new structure on its site including an adjoining small square. The building may only be razed if they are of no public use. The reflections on the need of restoration of monuments "covered with the squalor of

age" makes the statement of Cassiodorus characterizing Theoderic as the man "sub cuius impero renovantur urbes" believable. The second letter concerns a gift to the citizens which will allow them to be admitted to the baths free of charge. In the third document, Honoratus, an advocate in Spoleto, is named Quaestor on September first, 509. These letters give us little beyond the fact that Theoderic was in contact with Spoleto and interested in its monuments. Unfortunately the location of the baths of Turasius is not known.

The tradition seeing Theoderic as a great builder lived on. Paulus Diaconus states that Theoderic "regia sibi habitacula per singula quoque celeberrima loca construxit."<sup>51</sup> Was Spoleto among these cities? The Renaissance humanists thought so. Among those who describe Theoderic's building activities in Spoleto are Flavio Biondo (+ 1463), Marcus Antonius Coccio Sabellico, Gian Filippo da Bergamo, Giovanni Magno and especially Landro Alberti (1479-1552) who according to Sordini discussed the Gothic restorations of the Roman theater which was then buried underground.<sup>52</sup>

A more direct source speaking of a Palace are the Langobard documents found in an eleventh century cartulary from Farfa.<sup>53</sup> Twenty eight charters dated between 739 and 814 A. D. end with the words "*actum Spoleti in palatio*", "*in palatio nostro Spoletano*", etc. One charter of 750 A. D. mentions a large crowd being present. The "palatium" must mean an actual structure since charters at that time are often specific about location.<sup>54</sup> In 798 one of the missi dominici of Charlemagne resided "in palatio," and finally in 814 "*cum venissem ego Adalhardus abbas, missus domini imperatoris caroli civitatem Spoletium et resedissem in iudicio in palatio*," that is Adelardus de Corbeil resided and sat in judgment in the palace. The texts make it clear that the Langobard dukes had a palace which was erected before 739 and survived into the ninth century and perhaps as late as the destruction of the city in 1155. These dukes were a splinter group which had detached itself from the main throng which settled northern Italy in 568. Faroaldus had founded the Duchy in 571. De facto independent he had conquered Classe and by 600 A. D. the dukes were strong and rebellious enough to threaten Rome. They founded the abbey of Ferentillo which became their Pantheon, and protected the monastery of Farfa. The threatened popes finally called the Franks who took over the Duchy in 789 if not earlier. But once more Spoleto did not remain a Carolingian fief. In 889, Guido II the Frankish Duke of Spoleto was crowned King and in 891, Emperor. He died in 894. His son Lambertus followed him as king until his death in 898.

It was probably the Franks who introduced the division of the city into twelve regions or Vaita (Wahta-Wacht) which had to be patrolled by guards including an area named Palazzo which covered the section adjoining but not including our excavation. This may be due to the fact that in 1016 the Ottonian Emperor Henry II gave S. Eufemia and a monastery near Fermo to a Count Acodo having been urged by Heribert, archbishop of Cologne to do so. This presupposes that the Emperor was the legal owner of the area and may indicate that it had been successive royal possession for some time and thus detached from the regions.

In the early eleventh century S. Eufemia was already a convent which had been founded by Gundereda between 973-983. As pointed out earlier Sydow saw in the matroneum of the eleventh century church the continuation of a type introduced by a palace chapel which might have

been on the same site. (J. Sydow, op. cit.) Another strange event pointed out by Morghen is Barbarossa's attack of July 27, 1155 which was directed not against the more easily accessible center of the city but against the almost impregnable area delineated by our excavation site. This may have been simply due to the fact that the Spoletini took refuge on the terrace, but this sounds unlikely. It may on the contrary have been a prestige point which had to be taken.

With this we should move to an analysis of early medieval palaces. But at the moment the original intention of the builders is still too obscure to give us any indication of where within a palace complex—if indeed we deal with a palace—the galleries would have been. Could it be that we deal with a symmetrical porticusvilla? (K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und Romanische Paläste*, Vienna, 1919) Or could the structure have housed a peristyle similar to that in the palace of the Byzantine emperors. (Brett, Macauley, Stevenson: *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, London, 1947) Or could the gallery just have been an access route to a great interior complex as that found in Theoderic's Palace in Ravenna? (K. M. Swoboda, *Palazzi antichi e medioevali*, in *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura*, 1957.)

There is a splendid description of a palace in the lectionary II of the cathedral. It contains a vestibule, a reception room, an aula, a dining room, a trichorum, summer and winter quarters, baths, kitchens, a hypodrome, etc. But Sordini found the text to be derived from an apocryphal gnostic fantasy attributed to the Apostle Thomas in the third century.

Sordini was certainly right but it remains to be seen if those who thought that this indeed describes a palace in Spoleto were entirely wrong.

#### THEODERIC'S LETTER TO THE DEACON ELPIDIUS

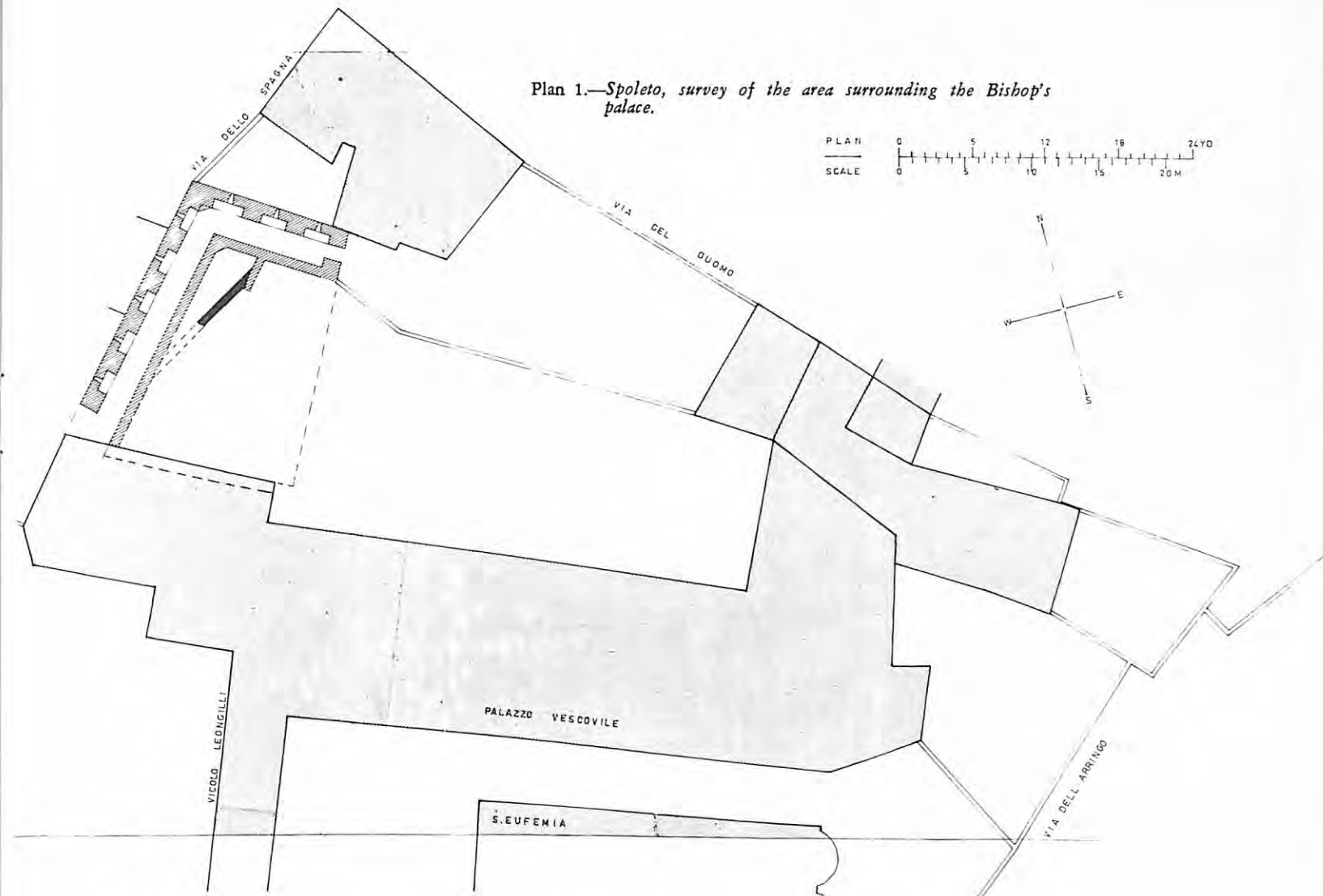
"Elpidio (Hespido?) Diacono Theodericus Rex. In lucrum cedunt quae benemeritis confererunt, et de ipso munere magis acquiritur, cum optimis digna praestantur. Petitionis tuae proinde tenore comperimus, loca in Spoletina civitate, quae jam longo situ squalor vetustatis obnupserat, splendorem reparationis expetere; ut rebus antiquitate confusis novitatis facies adulta reddatur; et beneficio tuo rediviva consurgant, quae annositate inclinata corruerant. Quod nos, respectu meritorum tuorum, et impensis longa sedulitate servitii, libenti animo duximus annuendum; ut et votis justa proscantium tribuatur effectus, et civitati reparationis crescat ornatus. Atque ideo petitioni tuae robur praesenti humanitate largimur, ut porticum cum areola post Turasii thermas, si tamen publico cuius non deservit, absoluta liberalitate potiaris: quia in licentiam reparationis accipiuntur potius praemia quam donantur. Has igitur auctoritate suffultus, in supradictis locis aedificandi summe fiduciam; nec aliquam imposterum metuas quaestionem cum te et civitatis tueatur utilitas, et principis reverenda voluntas.

Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, Liber IV, Epistola XXIV. Patrologia Latina, Vol. 69, I Col. 625. "*areola*" usually means a small square or garden, see Jerome Epist. 125, Ezekiel, 17:7.

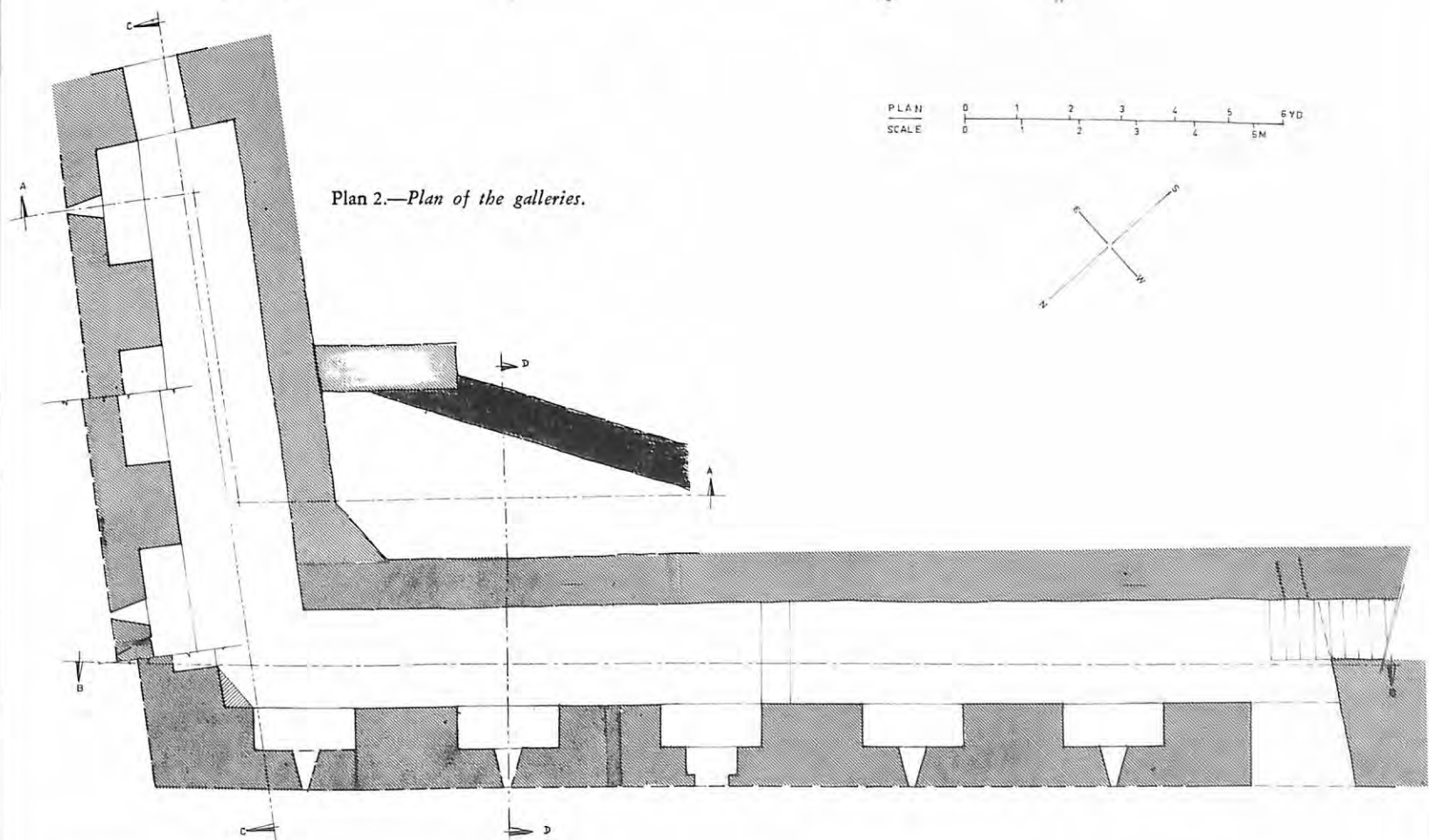
# NOTES

1. J. Sydow, *Sul problema di Sant Eufemia*, Spoleto, April, 1957.
2. R. Morghen: *L'Excidium di Spoleto*, Spoleto, December, 1955.
3. Toscano, op. cit., p. 117 ff.
4. The eighth century (?) trees in the Tempio di Clitunno are stiffer, see *Immagini di Spoleto*, op. cit. Fig. 17, after p. 24.
5. J. Serra, *Scultura preromanica a Spoleto* . . . "Spoleto," December, 1959, Ill. 8.
6. P. Palol de Salleras in *I Goti in Occidente*, Studi Centro Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 1956, Pl. 12, 22.
7. G. Panazza, *Lapidi e Sculture Paleocristiane e Preromaniche di Pavia*, Congr. Int. poul l'étude du haut moyen age, Pavia 1950 ed. Torino, 1952 (?) under title Arte del primo Millennio. See pp. 211 ff. and Ill. 139, 144, 145.
8. H. R. Hahnloser, *Das Cluniazenserpriorat Rueggisberg*, Ill. 8.
9. A. Sambon, *Monnaies*, Paris, 1903, Pl. II, No. 3, 5. 16 and 15 mm. idem: *Medailles*, Paris, 1907, p. 33. 10 mm.
10. J. Mertens, *St. Lambertuskirche* in Bulletin de la Com. Roy des Monuments et des Sites, Vol. I, Brussels, 1949, p. 186; Treasure of Muizen found 1909.
11. Immagini, op. cit. Ill. 10, 11 after p. 32.
12. For Visigothic coins see G. C. Miles, N. Y. 1952.
13. Karl F. Morrison, *Numismatics and Carolingian Trade*, Speculum, July, 1963, p. 403.
14. A. Michaelis, *Das Altertum Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 202.
15. H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, Munich, 1958, Ill. 117-137.
16. A very similar wall surrounds the Dionysos Mosaic of the second century A. D. near Cologne Cathedral.
17. A. Rambaldi, *Epigrafi Romane a Spoleto*, Spoleto, Dec., 1962. No. 10: Salvio Lissidio, Caio Lissidio.
18. Messagero, Rome, September 21, 1963.
19. C. I. L. Volume 15 Pars posterior, Fasc. I, part 3, p. 565 ff.
20. 4536, 6265, 4539, the latter dated 18 B. C.
21. E. Pélichet, *Amphores Romaines trouvées a Nyon*, Nyon, 1948, p. 189 quotes this use.
22. Virginia Grace, *Amphoras*. American School of Classical Studies, 1961, Ill. 42.
23. A. J. A. 65, 1961. See also for "typical" forms V. Grace, op. cit. Ill. 67 and G. F. Bass, Underwater excavations at Yassi Ada, Archaeologischer Anzeiger, 1962.
24. E. Pélichet, op. cit., p. 189 ff. especially the lip of Example 46.
25. V. Grace, op. cit. Ill. 31.
26. Pottery of the Roman Period, Agora Vol. V, 1959, Pl. 28-31.
27. Robinson J. 13, G. 228, and F 93 of the first century B. C. of the Rhodian type. The fragment P 21330 of 88 ca. 225 A. D. is related to our wide bodied type.
28. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 40-48, chamber 5 No. 126.
29. H. A. Grueber, *A Catalogue of Roman Coins in the British Museum*, Volume 3, London, 1910, Pl. 38 and also H. Villers, Bronzeprägung.
30. A. Sambon and C. & E. Canessa, *Medailles*. Auction Martinetti & Nervegna, Paris 1906, Pl. I, No. 198, 19 mm. The inscr. below the bull reads NEOPOLITHE in greek letters. Also Sambon, Canessa: *Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, Sale Maddalena, Paris 1903 Pl. I, Nr. 19, 20 mm. and Sambon, *Les Monnaies Antiques*, 1906.
31. B. Toscano, *Per la Storia di San Salvatore di Spoleto*, Scritti M. Salmi, Rome 1961, Fig. 1.
32. J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. VIII. Lamps of the Roman Period, Princeton, 1961. See Pl. 25 No. 1259, 1233 and No. 418.
33. G. F. Gass, *Underwater excavation at Yassi Ada*, Archaeologischer Anzeiger, 1962, p. 554.
34. H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, Munich, 1958, Ill. Pl. 24, 25 with examples from Chiusi, Cervetri, Nemi.
35. Toscano, *Spoleto in Pietre*, Spoleto, 1963, Ill. 4.
36. Toscano, Spoleto, Ill. 5.
37. Immagini, op. cit. Ill. 12.
38. Immagini, op. cit. Ill. 9.
39. Immagini op. cit. Ill. 15, 16. U. Ciotti in Spoleto, 1957, p. 3 ff.
40. U. Ciotti, Spoleto, December, 1957, pp. 8-10.
41. B. Toscano, Spoleto, p. 177, Immagini op. cit. Ill. 9.
42. Immagini, Ill. 17. U. Ciotti in Spoleto, December, 1960, Ill. following p. 17.
43. Immagini, op. cit. Ill. 18, B. Toscano, Spoleto, op. cit. Ill. 8.
44. M. Salmi, *San Salvatore di Spoleto*, Centro Studi sull Alto Medioevo IX, Spoleto, 1962, p. 488 ff.
45. R. Morghen, *L'Excidium di Spoleto*, Spoleto, December, 1955, p. 3 ff. and J. Sydow, op. cit.
46. See R. Morghen, Spoleto, December, 1955, p. 11.
47. G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia Romana*, vol. 2 Rome, 1957.
48. H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, Munich, 1958.
49. F. Brown, *Roman Architecture*, New York, 1961.
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51. H. Belting, *Studien zum beneventischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1963.
52. W. Schöne, *Die Künstlerische und liturgische Gestalt der Pfalzkapelle Karls des Grossen in Aachen*, Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 15, 4. Berlin 1961.
53. F. Kreusch, *Ueber Pfalzkapelle und Atrium zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*, Aachen, 1958.
54. P. Palol De Salleras, *Esencia del Arte Hispánico de Época Visigoda*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo III, p. 64. Spoleto, 1956.
55. Silvio Ferri, *Per la storia del Mausoleo di Teoderico*. Same volume as above, Spoleto, 1956, p. 57.
56. F. W. Deichmann, F. X. Bartl, J. Boehringer, *Ravenna*, Baden-Baden, 1959, vol. 2.
57. A. Da Lissa, *La Fortificazione di Verona, dai tempi romani al 1866*, Verona, 1916.
58. G. A. Punzi, *L'Italia del VI secolo nelle "Variae" di Cassiodoro*, Aquila, 1927.
59. Patrologia Latina, Vol. 69, *Variarum Liber* 2:37, 4:24, 5:4.
60. De Gestis Romanorum, Book 17.
61. Flavio Biondo, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum III*, Book 3, Decade 1 a, p. 34, ed. Basel, 1531 and VI, p. 80, Ibid. and idem *Italia Illustrata* p. 329-30: "Nos historiarum duodecim ostendimus Theodoricum regem primum Gothorum Spoleti amplissimas aedificasse aedes."
62. Most of this material is found in Sordini's notes. The cartulary was compiled by Gregorio da Latino in the eleventh century and has been published by J. Giogi and U. Balzani, *Bibliotheca della Societa Romana di Storia Patria*, 1879, 2 vols.
63. Charlemagne acts "in Ghilinhaim in villa nostra" in 788 or in "regansburg in palatio publico" in 791.

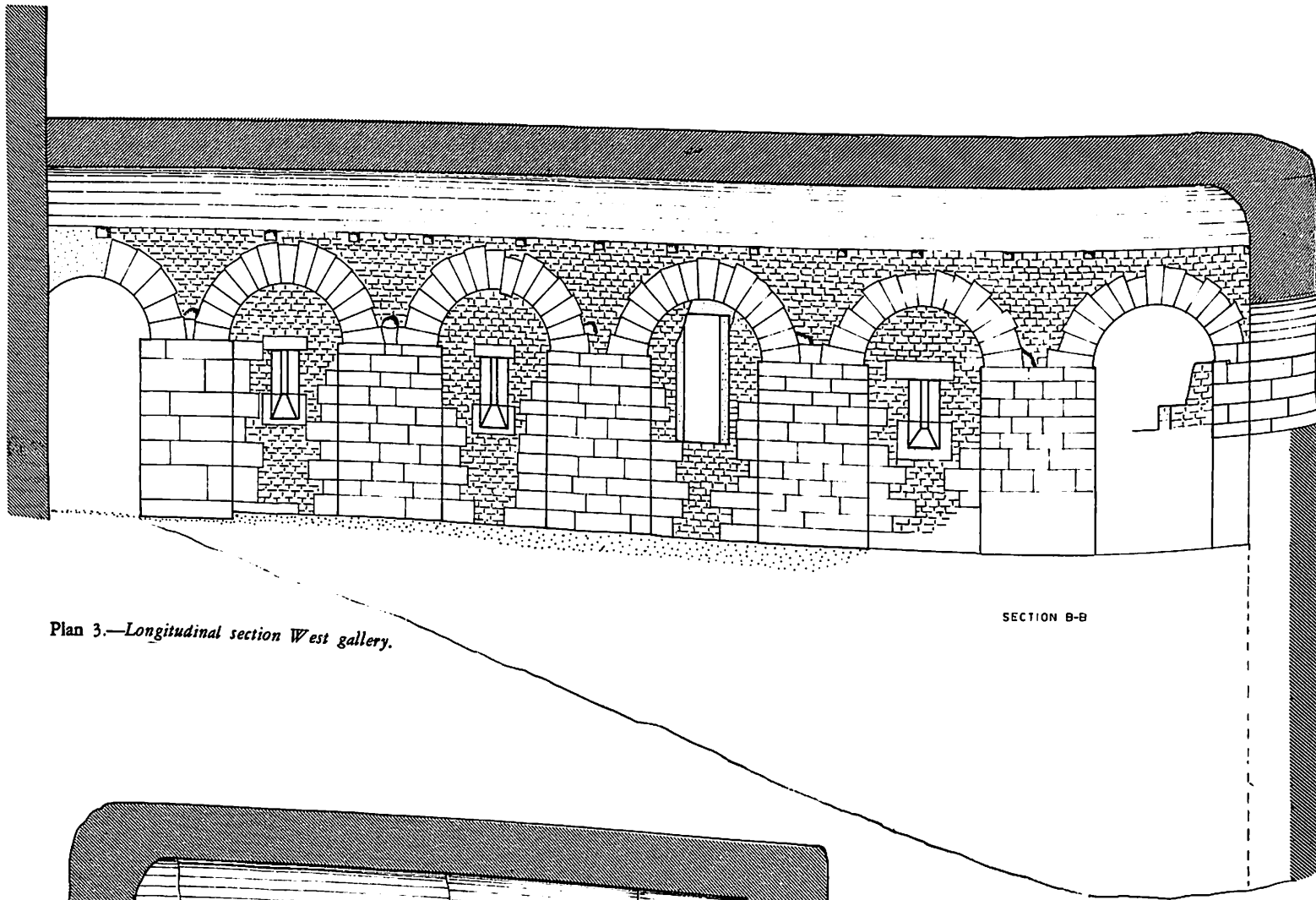
Plan 1.—Spoleto, survey of the area surrounding the Bishop's palace.



Plan 2.—Plan of the galleries.

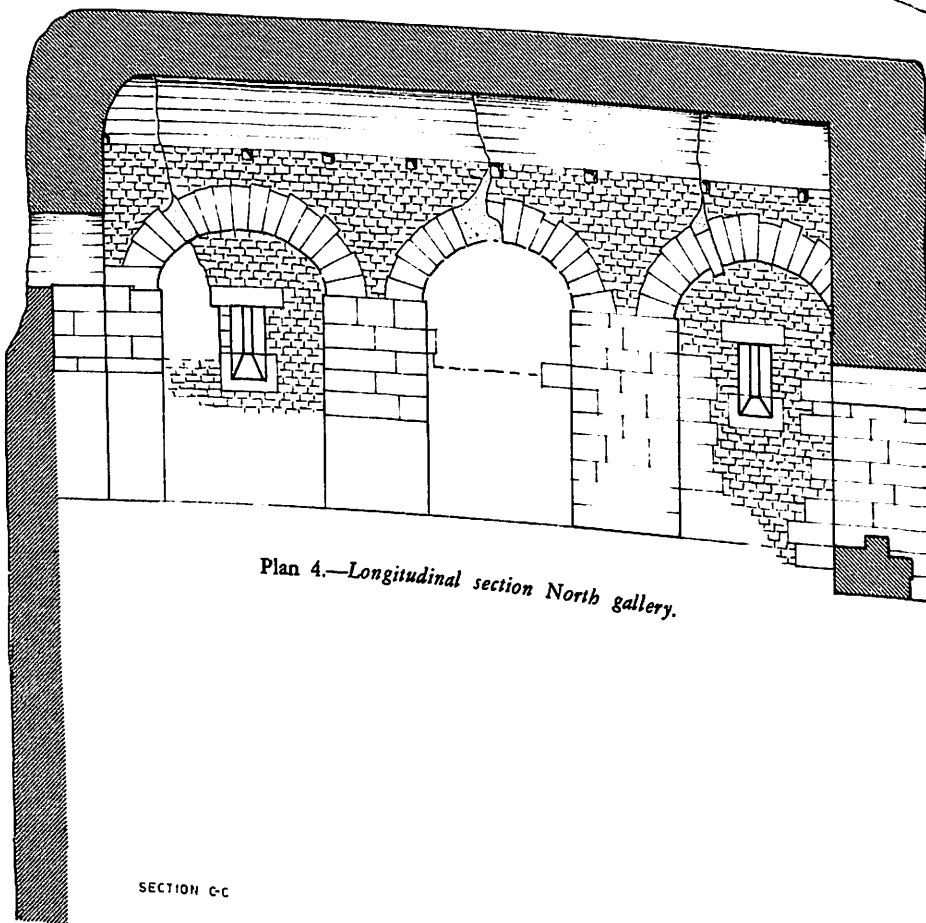






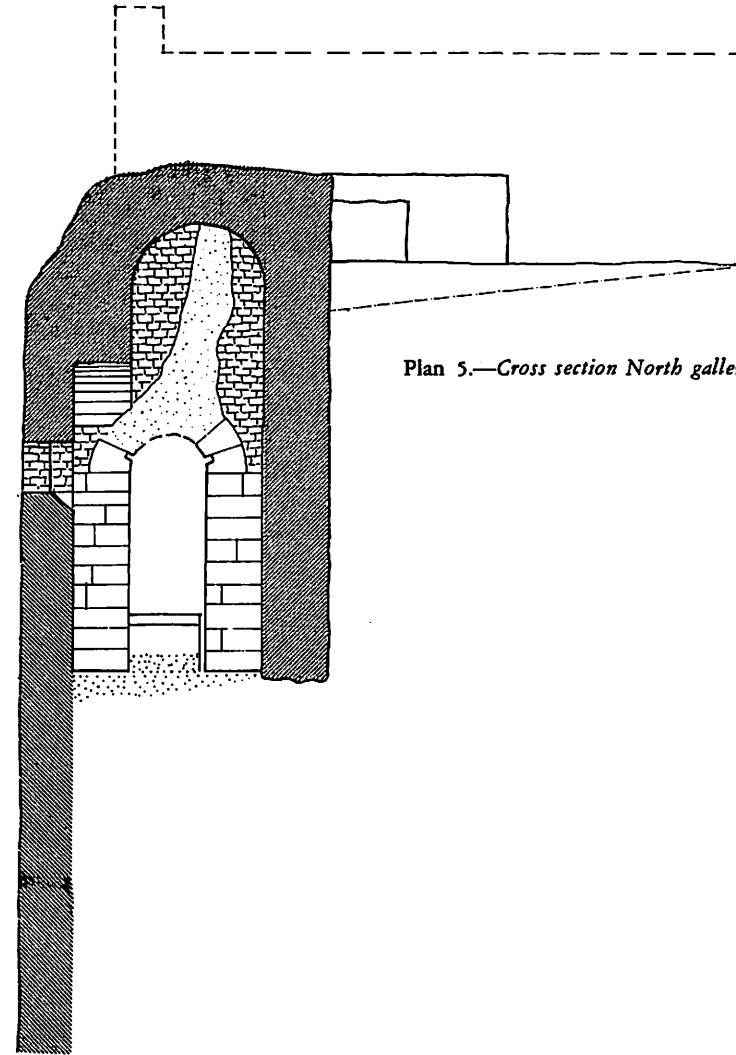
Plan 3.—Longitudinal section West gallery.

SECTION B-B



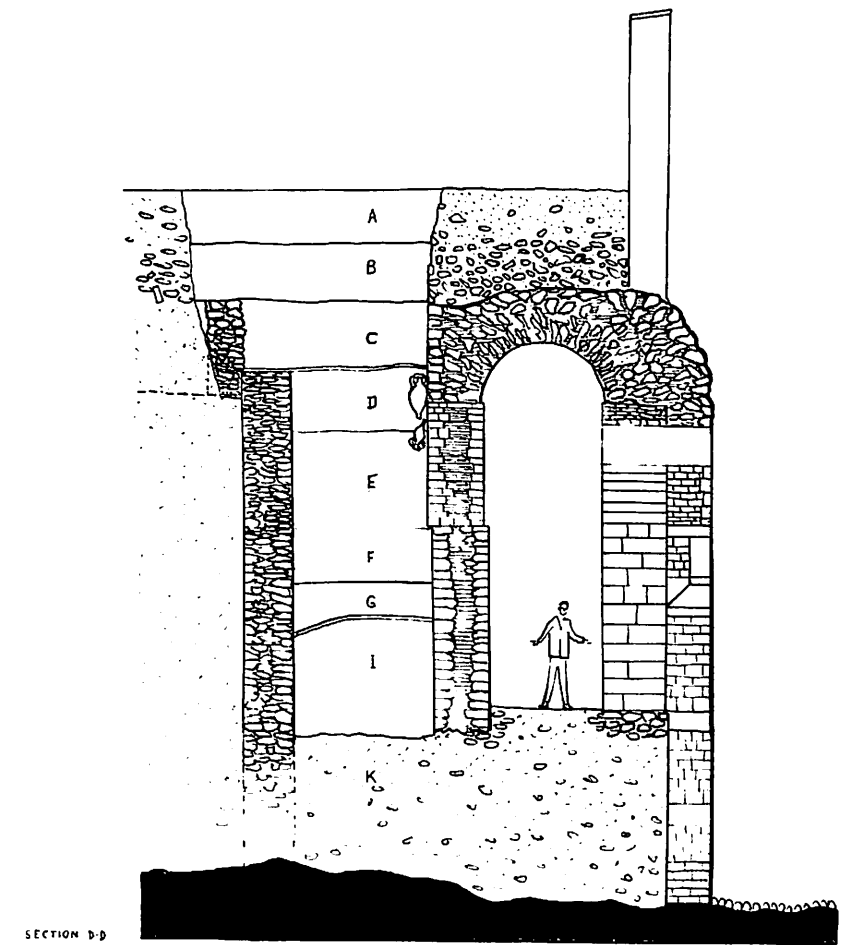
Plan 4.—Longitudinal section North gallery.

SECTION C-C



Plan 5.—Cross section North gallery.

SECTION A-A



SECTION D-D



Illustration 1.—Medieval Spoleto.



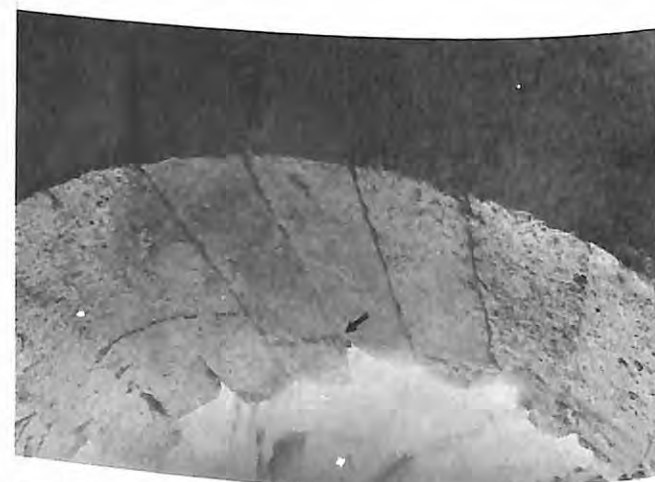
III. 5.—Lowered arch, North gallery.



III. 2.—Exterior from North-West.



III. 3.—Bottom of West wall.



III. 4.—North arch West gallery. The arrow points to the catch.



III. 6.—Wall slit, West gallery, with monolithic sill, broken later.



III. 8.—North end West gallery with 16th cent. wall.



III. 10.—Spouts from the galleries. Recent: top left.



III. 7.—Vault of West gallery showing use of construction method.



III. 9.—South entrance.



III. 11.—Army button after cleaning.





III. 12.—Fragment of painted stucco 14, 5 cm.



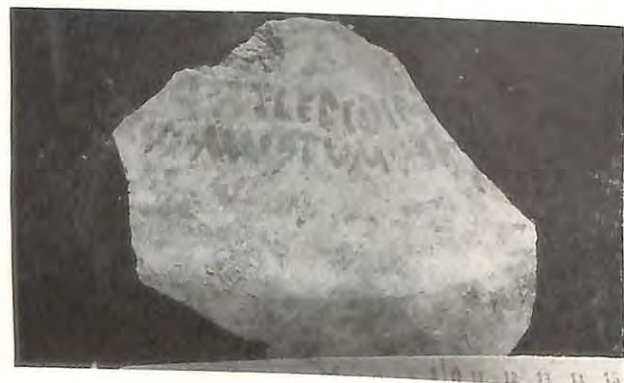
III. 13.—7-8th century pilaster capital.



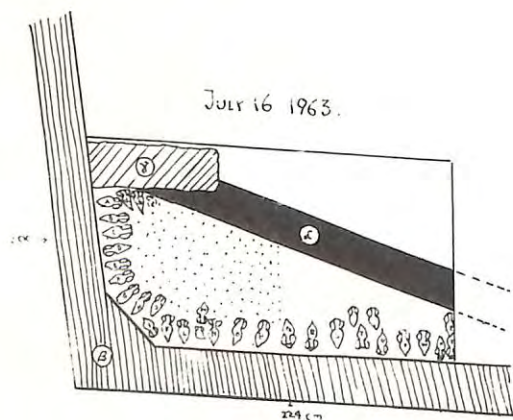
III. 14.—Iron disk 25 mm.



III. 15.—Fauns from krater, layer C.



III. 16.—Amphora fragment with inscription.



III. 17.—Location of the amphorae, diagonal wall (black).



III. 18.—The amphorae in situ along West gallery wall.



III. 19.—Partially reconstituted amphorae.



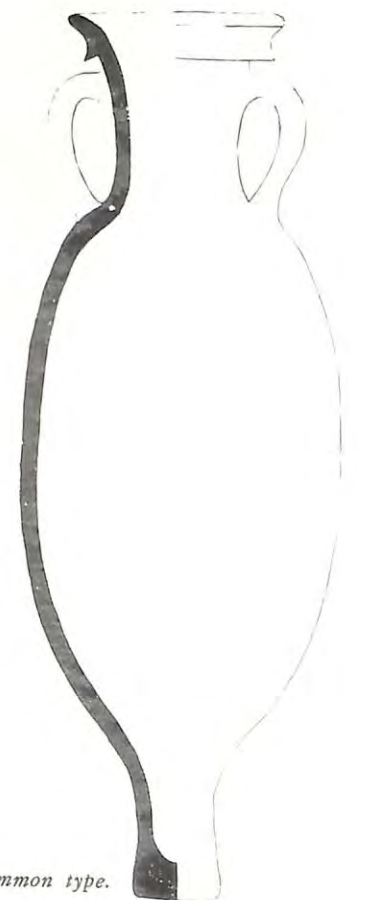
III. 21.—Roman Ass, layer D. Obverse.



III. 22.—Roman Ass. Reverse. 23 mm.



III. 23.—Two drachme piece, layer E. 17 mm.



III. 20.—Amphora A. Most common type.





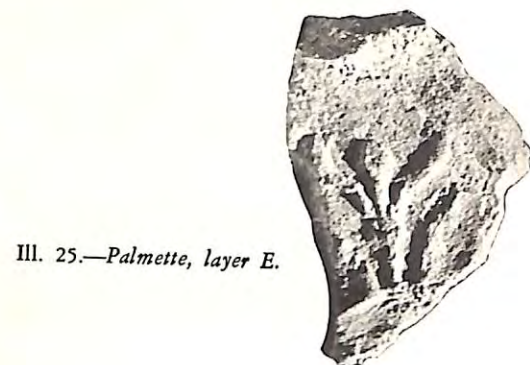
III. 24.—Polychromed palmette, layer E.



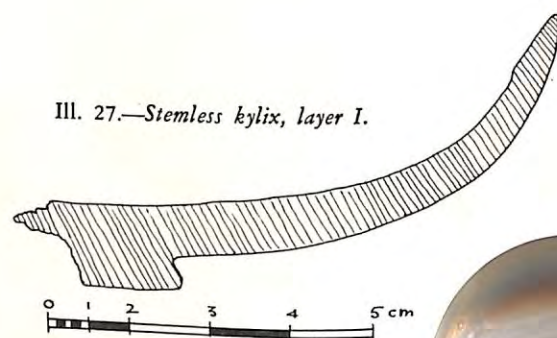
III. 26.—Ornamental tile, layer G or I.



III. 28.—Objects from layer I, except for lamp fragment in center.



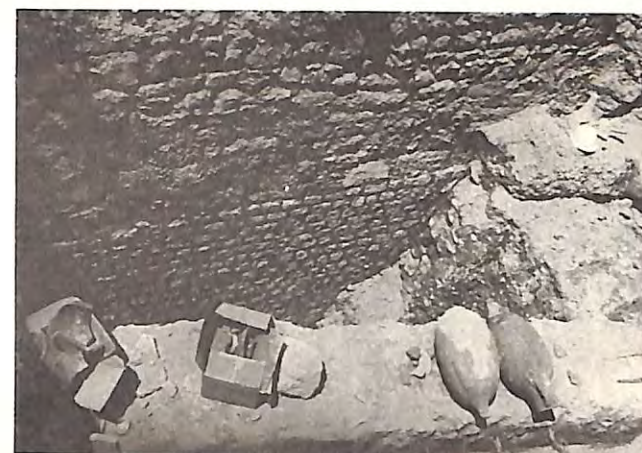
III. 25.—Palmette, layer E.



III. 27.—Stemless kylix, layer I.



III. 29.—Layer I. Fibula, terra sigillata, azurite. Lamp center left from layer E.



III. 30.—East face of West gallery wall. Diagonal wall in foreground.

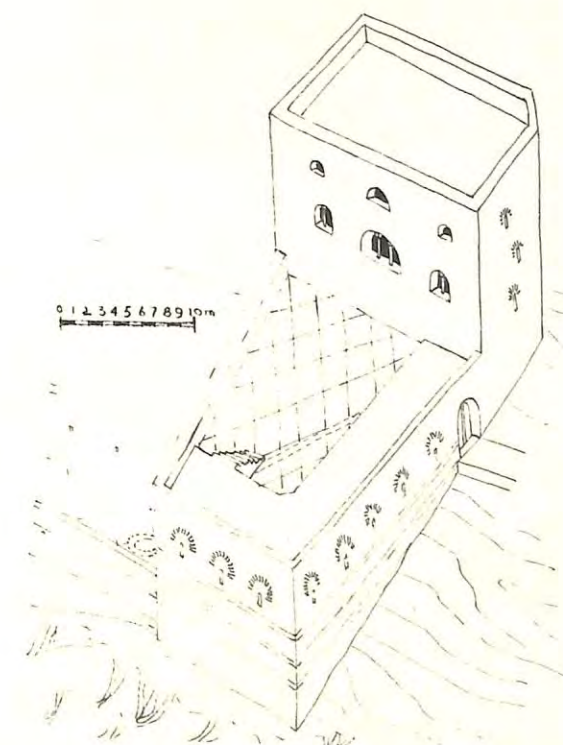
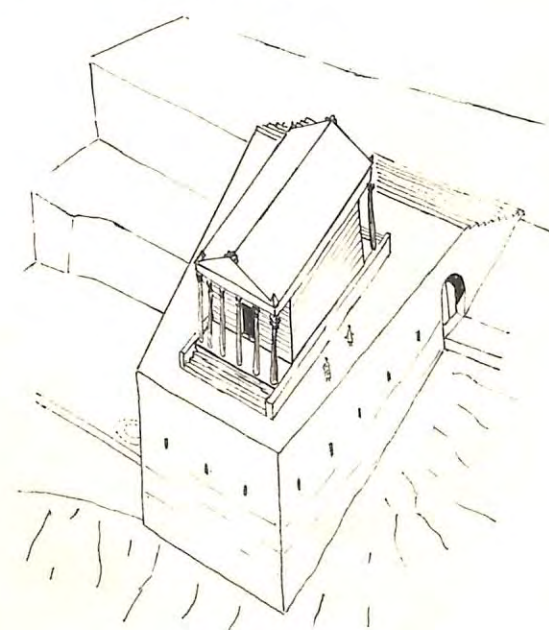


III. 31.—Detail of Ill. 30.



III. 32.—West gallery looking South.

III. 34.—Cloister in Vaison-la-Romaine.



III. 33.—a) b). Possible reconstructions. The shape of the palace tower is derived from Plan I





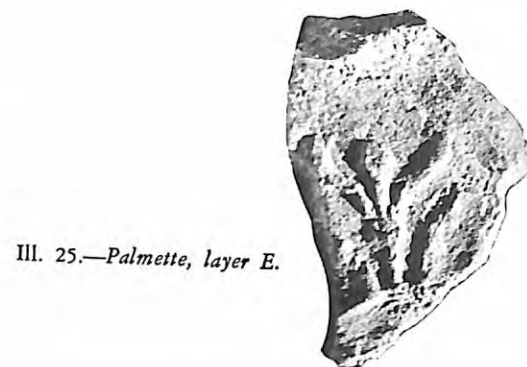
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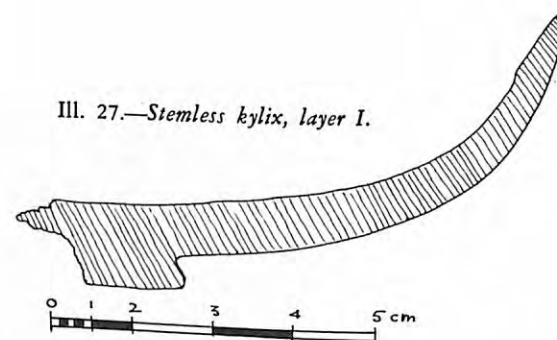
Ill. 26.—Ornamental tile, layer G or I.



Ill. 28.—Objects from layer I, except for lamp fragment in center.



Ill. 25.—Palmette, layer E.



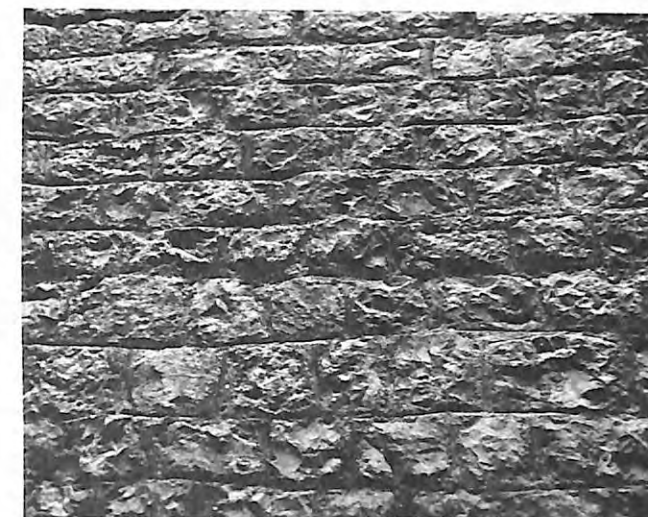
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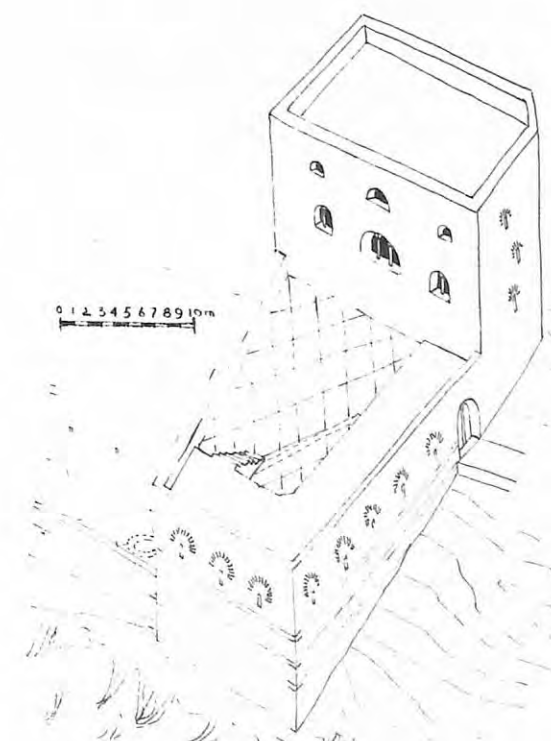
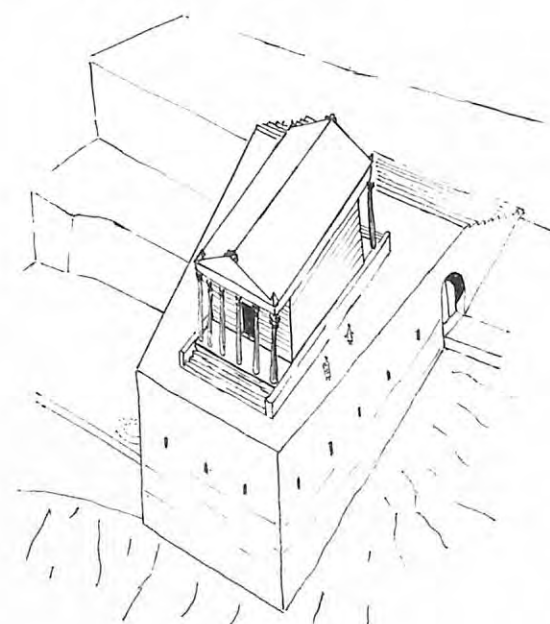


Ill. 31.—Detail of Ill. 30.



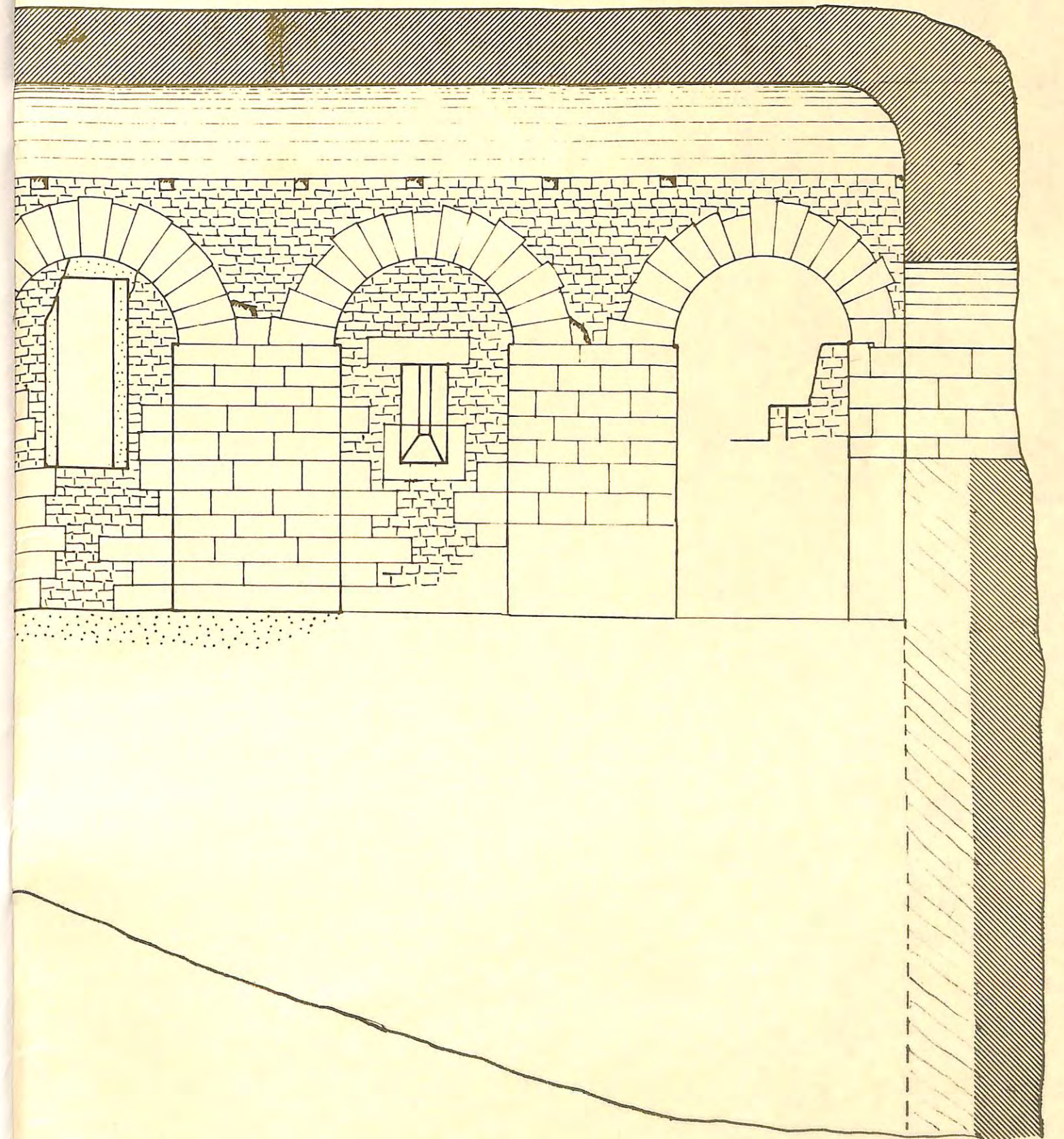
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### ISSUE II

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### CENSUS OF ROMANESQUE ART. URGENT REQUEST.

The Census of Romanesque Art in the United States, which was described in the first issue of GESTA still has only a minimum of material. Any member who has photographs of Romanesque objects in the U. S. and Canada or who owns an example of metalwork, a manuscript, a tapestry, statuary or early stained glass, is urged to contribute to our files. Information needed if possible:

- 1) One or several photographs of the object, if possible 8 x 10 inches.
- 2) A short description. Material, size, color, etc.
- 3) Location of the object, its history.

Any contributions will be thankfully received. Correspondence should be addressed to F. Bucher, MILLSTONE, New Jersey.



28.7.64

26.01

# Spolite

The other day Dick Stillwell mentioned Bucher's dig, and asked me if I could date such amorphous as he had found. His opinion of the clay itself as surely 2nd or 1st B.C., does not at all agree with the later date proposed by Bucher.

I eventually remembered this correspondence, I seem to have later plans

26.09



AIR

Prof. Christophe CLAIRMONT  
Athens College  
BOX 175  
ATHENS

Greece



1-1-65  
Prof. St. Clairmont  
Athens College

BUCHER

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540  
Department of Art and Archaeology



## Spolite

The other day Dick Stittwell mentioned Bucken's dig, and asked me if I could date such a specimen as he had found. His opinion of the blade itself as surely 2nd or 1st B.C., does not at all agree with the date date proposed by Bucken.

I gradually remembered this correspondence, - which does not seem to have taken place very long ago.

26.02-6

Polito

place of Theodore?



ITALY - SPOLETO

January 28, 1964

Dear M. Bucher,

Thank you for sending me the copy of Gesta containing your article on discoveries at Spoleto. I should be interested to know who your amphora specialists were, especially the three who assigned your amphoras to the 6th century A.D. I myself would think the date suggested by the Roman coin of 87 B.C. was probably nearer the mark. Could one associate the deposit in some way with the destruction of 80 B.C.?

I look forward to the more formal publication of this material which you will give us.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

I hope it may be possible to repair the full shapes of some of the other classes of amphoras represented in the deposit, especially those with double-barrelled handles.

See Gesta, 1964,  
unpaginated ! article  
by Bucher

He states that a  
Roman coin of 87 BC  
was found near to  
upper end of amph.

Also that in 80 BC  
Spolito was sacked  
during the civil war.





AGORA EXCAVATIONS  
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
ATHENS, GREECE

July 18, 1963

Miss Sarah Marquis or Mr. Richard Whale  
Sarah Marquis Travel Service  
257 Park Avenue South  
New York 10, N.Y., U. S. A.

Dear Miss Marquis and Mr. Whale:

ITALY - SPOLETO

ca. 80 BC?

October 24, 1963

M. Francois Bucher  
Department of Art and Archaeology  
Princeton University  
Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.

Dear M. Bucher:

I received last night your letter of October 15.

One of your amphoras appears to be Rhodian of the 1st century B.C. This is the one to the left if one looks at the picture with the tops of the jars upward, but the one to the right if one looks at the jars upside down as they were set to be photographed. I could tell a little better about the date of this jar if the photo showed the handle in full profile. The top of this handle may show a stamp, or traces of one. Has this been noticed or looked for?

Are the other two jars of the same shape with each other? Are their handles alike? Since one is shown in profile and the other with the handle forward, I cannot be sure. I have no close parallel to this shape on file. I believe it to be from the western Mediterranean. On such shapes, consult Mrs. Elizabeth Lyding Wall, Route 7, Box 990-B, Austin, Texas; or M. Fernand Benoit. I think, however, that the shape of your two similar(?) jars is early rather than late in the Roman period, although perhaps not as early as the Rhodian in your group.

If the construction of the palace is of the 6th century, then evidently the builders used some old stuff, unless they laid their walls next to an older deposit.

I am afraid your letter was delayed several days by not being sent directly, even though M. Clermont must have made a special trip into the city to deliver it.

Virginia Grace

Yours sincerely,



Chronologie, could you get this to Miss Grace, it might reach her faster. f. 26.07

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Art and Archaeology

Oct 15 1963

Dear Miss Grace,

Mr. Thompson told me that you might be able to date these amphorae at a glance - - -

Facts: SPOLETO ITALY, used against a palace wall for drainage. Probable date of the palace 500-550 AD. The pieces are heavy. The amphora at the left originally measured ca. 30 inches. It shows turning marks on the exterior surface as well. (Never smoothed out) The piece at right was complete, but had been treated with a hammer (?)

All the amphorae were put into place unbroken.

Since I have to write a preliminary report by Nov. 4 I would appreciate your

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

informal opinion as soon  
as possible. If you wish to keep  
the photograph, please do so.

With very best wishes,  
— sorry to bother you

Raouls Bucher.





PF



September 16, 1972

Dear Dr. Stöp,

Thank you for your good letter of August 24. I do remember that you called not very long ago at the Stoa, though I had forgotten the date.

Your material from the Sanctuary of Athena near Sybaris is certainly interesting. I think you are right in assigning your (1) (together with your 2-5, since you tell me they are of the same kind) to Corinth and in placing them about the <sup>same</sup> period as Hesperia 1937, p. 303, fig. 35. I should say that your (1) is a little earlier than that jar in Corinth, since the neck and handle of (1) are relatively shorter, and the tendency seems to be to ~~strengthen~~ lengthen in the 5th century. I cannot cite anything at all whole as yet published that is more closely at the stage of your jar than is the Corinth one mentioned; but of the fragments from the Boulter well group, Hesperia 23, 1953, pl. 40, 164. The date assigned to the Boulter group being ca. 460-440 B.C., probably no. 164 should date before the middle of the century, as so little of it was left. So, finally, yours also may be a bit before the middle of the century.

Your(A) looks in the photograph remarkably similar to your (1), and the dipinto letter on the neck is another characteristic feature of the series, of the theta (?) on your (1). If the clay is different from that of (1) etc., and like that of amphoras from Sybaris of the Roman period, is it local? and (A) a local imitation of Corinthian jars? I must say it looks rather too well made for the usual local imitation, but what else to suggest?

For nos. (6) - (9), I hope you will publish a photo also of (7), which from your description sounds better preserved than (6). Your photo of (6) indicates to me one of those West Greek amphoras of the series of which one has recently been published

Photo  
Bulter  
Cor. B.  
for

Photo  
Bulter  
Cor. B.  
for

in Archaeology, 24, 1971, p.125, upper right, from the Straits of Messina wreck, a group datable about second quarter of the 4th century, I think, according to the Mendeian amphoras in the same wreck. A couple of necks of apparently the same class have been found at Megara Hyblaea, see Vallet and Villard, Meg. Hyb. II, Paris 1964, pl. 71; these were identified by the authors (text, p. 83) as Chian, but mistakenly. I have records of a number of others, including a couple of pieces here at the Agora from a deposit (Q 15 : 2) of ca. 400 B.C. A fragment was found at Motya, and a whole jar by Sestieri in a tomb at Paestum. Dr. Fr. Papo sent me a photo of another whole one, perhaps closer in shape to yours, which he said came from the sea near Naxos, Sicily. Such a lot of sherds apparently of this class have been found by Elissa Lissi at Epizephyrian Lokri that possibly that is where <sup>these jars</sup> they were made? In any case I don't think they come from Corinth. For the chronology of this class, I don't feel I see as yet just how the shape develops; I am bothered by the Megara Hyblaea examples, which apparently have to date before 500 B.C. by context. But I see no reason not to date yours with the Corinthian in the same group.

I am sorry I cannot suggest anything for your graffiti, except to ask whether the one on (6) could be ONAZAN instead of ONIZAN. ONAZANAPOE is a perfectly good name. But I suppose it is one which would occur to Pugliese Carratelli if it had been possible. <sup>of the Athenian Agora</sup> The graffiti are being published by Professor Mabel Lang who may be addressed at Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; there are a great many of these, and the book is now far advanced.

Your stamp with amphora as device looks rather like some on the class of Corinthian to which your (1) should belong, but the handle itself does not look like those of that class. I note that the Pennsylvania Museum people found a stamped handle in 1962 at Sybaris (their SAH 3) of which the stamp had an amphora somewhat like the one in your impression, but in an oval field. As Sybaris and Thurii were I believe well-known wine-producers, there should be a local jar, clay permitting.

Thank you for the photographs, which will indeed be helpful, the Corinthian to Miss Carolyn Koehler, a graduate student at Princeton, who is taking over the two classes of Corinthian for her dissertation and eventual publication. She has been

working with me this summer, and would like to go to Italy next year.

Yours sincerely,



# RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN

ARCHEOLOGISCH INSTITUUT

27.03

Nummer

Uw brief

LEIDEN,  
Rapenburg 26  
Telefoon 43953

Onderwerp

August 24, 1972

Dear Miss Grace,

Perhaps you remember that I dropped in at the Stoa of Attalos, early in May this year. We talked about some amphora's I had excavated in a sanctuary of Athena, near Sybaris in South Italy. You kindly promised to have a look at the photographs and give your opinion as to what they might, or might not, be.

I now take the liberty of sending you a description of some of these amphora's (mostly fragmentary), of the conditions under which they were found and some photographs or tracings of the, to me, rather mysterious graffiti and dipinti, plus a stamped handle.

Remains of ca. 8 or 9 amphora's were found, close to the stone base of a temenos boundary; they were apparently used as a sort of packing, after they had been broken and burnt in a fire. Apart from everything else, their dating interests me as it might give an indication, on the one hand, for the destruction of a building, on the other hand, for the construction of the base. This group is indicated by numerals. No's 1-5, with low necks, seem to be more or less identical, and might be compared,

⊗ Photo unsatisfactory  
Compton B

No note  
in calendar,  
but I do  
vaguely  
remember  
that the  
was there.  
1972-73  
L.A. F.  
1972-73  
1972-73  
1972-73  
all ready  
in the  
1972-73  
1972-73  
1972-73  
1972-73

I think, to Hesperia 1937, fig.35, p.303, dated between 460 and 420 B.C. No's 6-9 are badly preserved. There are two tall necks, and the shoulders seem slightly sloping. What remains I have of bodies do not seem to differ greatly, in profile, from no.1.

I wonder whether they could all be Corinthian (from different workshops), and all of the second half of the V century. *Photo. now filed under LORIAN (?)*

At another spot of the dig, two fragmentary amphora's, A and B, quite different from the previous lot, were found - they can be considered as stray finds.

Yet another stray find is the stamped handle.

As you will see, many amphora's bear graffiti and/or dipinti. Although I have been browsing through most of the literature on this subject, in Hesperia and elsewhere, I cannot make much sense of most of them.

Since the material I have to deal with is rather overwhelming (abit like Perachora), I would be very grateful if you would allow me to pick your brain in this matter, as this would be a great help to me. Of course I would acknowledge my debt to you etc. Any information, especially about the dating of the tall-necked amphora's, will be useful, so if the problems are too many and would take too much of your time, would you mind telling me what you know, off the cuff, and I will just publish the things and leave mysterious details for the specialists to deal with. The snapshots are my own, so please don't bother to return them - may be you can use them for your files.

I do apologize for bothering you with all this and I hope I may hear from you, one of these days,

Sincerely yours,

*L. Stoop*  
(Jr. Dr. M. W. Stoop)

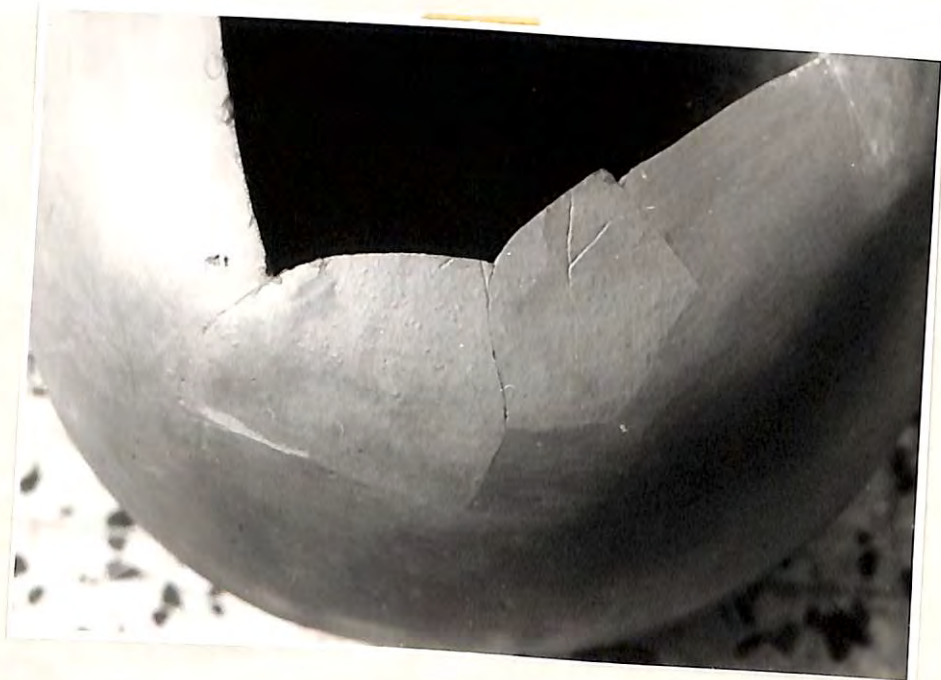
*label down  
to 12  
p. 17*



27.05



STRAY FIND FROM  
ATHENA SANCTUARY  
REDDISH CLAY  
H. OF IMPRESSED AMPHORA  
2.4 CM.  
CHIOS?



STRAY FIND, TOGETHER WITH A.  $3/4$  MISSING -  
HOPE PROFILE CORRECT. UNCERTAIN WHETHER BOTTOM  
HAD KNOB. REDDISH CLAY. NO SLIP. H. OF RECONSTRUCTION  
37.5 CM. ON SHOULDER REMAINS OF GRAFFITO  
UNINTELLIGIBLE TO ME. V CENT. ?



27.07

Mar 2  
~~Feb 19~~  
1964

Dear Virginia:

Re Sybaris:

SAT 1 - was  
bottom knob  
of an amp ph.  
Not important.

SAT 2 }  
+ 3 } photos  
enclosed.

no 4 yet

---

Sorry there aren't  
one to one but  
it is the best I

can get you at  
the moment -  
& you have the  
measurements.

Returning  
your Agora / pix.

If you have  
any further  
ideas I should  
appreciate them.

Thanks for  
your help & I'm  
~~sorry~~ I messed  
up your day before  
you left for Alexan-  
dria -  
always best  
Ellen







27.09-6

Journal

SAH 3

7625

neg

~~76852~~





27.10-6

Sybaris

1962

SAH 3

neg. = 76852

Kohler



27.11

# THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA



THIRTY-THIRD AND SPRUCE STREETS

PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNSYLVANIA

CABLE ADDRESS "ANTIQUE"

TELEPHONE: EVERGREEN 6-7400

(AREA CODE 215)

October 31, 1963

Dear Virginia:

These are the records of the only two stamps that emerged from the Sybaris campaign of 1962 (which was my year, the year of the drag-line steam shovel). The whole question of stratigraphy for the season is going to be embarrassing, but I do know for sure that these two objects came from exactly as I have described because I found them myself in places where I know the scoop had not yet scooped.

Can you tell me anything about them? They will help prove that the big wall belongs to Thurii at least, if not to Thurii-Copiae.

Hope you are already back from Alexandria, but if not, hope these find you well upon your return.

My ha-ha report on the 62-business is due very soon, so please?

Yours always,

SAH 2

SAH 3





Better rubbings are made if you are willing to dirty your finger with pencil filings dust. The pencil used directly makes confusing lines.

ITALY -  
SYBARIS

27.12

November 4, 1963

Dear Ellen,

Indeed, I am not yet back from Alexandria, but leaving tomorrow to go there. Much though there is to do in preparation, I hasten to write and tell you how little I know about the the two stamps from Sybaris.

What is SAH 1?

SAH 2. Maria Petropoulakou thinks it might be the type of Agora SS 9652 (an example of this type is published, see Pridik, Inventory-Catalogue of the Stamps . . . in the Hermitage, pl.XV, 5 (complete title, see almost any one of my works), or of the type of Agora SS 14053 and others. I enclose photos of SS 9652 and of SS 14053, which please return to me. I believe these two types to be datable in the second half of the 4th century; the second has duplicates from Agora deposits E 6 : 3, C 19 : 5, and J 11 : 1, which I think are all before about 300 B.C. and some probably before about 325 B.C. these deposits, i.e. summaries thereof Lucy Talcott is about to publish them, I believe in the great vol. on Classical Coarse and Glazed Wares, of the Agora final vol.s. The clay is near enough to your description. For the stamp, We are looking mostly at the beaded circle - is it there? C 37 2688,

SAH 3. The stamp is rather like some from Corinth, CP 1846, ~~xxxx~~ (Two different types.) especially. I am not sure of the provenance of these, I mean where they were produced. The shape of the represented amphora on SAH 3 suggests to me a date in the latter 4th or early 3rd centuries B.C. I suppose you are not unaware that Sybaris and Thuri were both well-known wine-producers, so very likely there was a local jar, from which one or other of your handles may come.

I keep the rubbings, but presume you want the cards back. Will you please tell me some time anything that the finding-places give as to date? And may I please have photographs of the handles? If I had them now, I

might have been able to help you more.  
Yours as ever,



9 in connection with  
P. Fraser's quarry  
(see RHODIAN  
folder)

ITALY - TARANTUM  
Total no. of Planch. fr. Tar. 155  
Pm - Perg. " " 43  
May be ca 300 30 of Agelastus  
213 of Agelastus  
387 of Agelastus (2)  
471-2 of Agelastus (3)  
12 March 48  
512 of Platanus  
547 Agelastus? 9

From Tarantum:

Pm - Pergam (?) Rhodian stamps are  
written out, others from Tarantum  
simply entered by number.

IG XIV, 2393, :

Nos. 11	ΘΕΛΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ	71
21		74
(-) - 25	ΑΓΗΜΩΝ "Titulus per orbem scriptus"	77 (2)
28	(Kud.)	81, 8
29	( " ? )	92
- 30	/ ΠΙΑΓΛΩΚΡΙ	93
35.	ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ	95
46.		97
56	(Thasian) (Aischon)	100
64		101
		102
70		104



107 (2)

176

116

180, 6.

119

182 (3)

121 (2)

187 *frax* ΕΠΙΓΟΡ  
*multiculis* ΓΕΝΟΣ

123

204 (3)

124 (2)

205

136

207 Δ |||| ΤΟΥ  
ΚΑ ||||

143

209

- 146 *sp. Harnosides*  
(3rd part 3rd?)

210

- 211 ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ  
ΑΡΤΑΜΙ- 147 *possibly also*- 148 *sp. Harnosides*- 213 ΔΙΟΝΥ  
CΙΟC- 149 *possibly also*- 216 ΟΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ  
ΔΙΣΚΟΥ

156

- 220 'ΕΝΙ ΔΟΡΚΥΔΕΩ  
'ΑΓΓΙΟΥCΟΥ

171 (Kudians)



- |       |                                 |       |                               |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| - 227 | Ελλανίκου<br>rose               | 274   |                               |
| - 230 | ΑΡΤΑΜΙ<br>ΕΠΙΓΟΝ mid 3rd?       | 275   |                               |
| - 231 | Θερμοφo<br>Επίγονος             | 276   |                               |
| - 234 | Επίγονος                        | 277   |                               |
| - 235 | also?                           | - 281 | Θερμοφo<br>Αγριανίου mid 3rd? |
| 238   |                                 | 282   |                               |
| 240   |                                 | 288   |                               |
| 241   |                                 | - 292 | Επὶ Θρασύ<br>δάμου mid 3rd?   |
| 244   |                                 | - 293 | same sp.                      |
| 246   |                                 | 295   |                               |
| 259   |                                 | 296   |                               |
| - 270 | sp. Theraïpohis,<br>Ars. 1 rose | 298   |                               |
| - 272 | same sp.                        | 308   |                               |
| - 273 | same sp.                        | 309   | (origi?)                      |
|       |                                 | 310   |                               |

314 sp. Kalilivatos  
(387 <sup>↑</sup> ~~time~~)

336

329 (Kini)

350

352

- 357 Μενεκρατέου  
3rd 1/4 93rd?

- 361 Μενωνο[s?]  
Δαδίου

- 362 ~~πανα~~μος Μένωνος  
rose

- 364 με  
θεσμοφορι  
ου

365

- 367 Μικύθου  
Σμυθίου

- 369 Επί Μυτιωνος Δαδίου  
rose

- 370 cypul Μυτι  
radiatum ων

374

377

378

381

384

- 387 α.) ΕΠΙΝΙΚΗΝΟΣ

- 387 β.) ΕΠΙΝΙ  
ΚΗΝΟΣ

ca. 300  
ω 2000  
ω 6000

391

- 392 Επί Ξυνοτρα (Vae.  
Δαδίου  
rose



(5.)

- 393 ~~am~~ sp.

452

397

418 (Σωκρατικός νομ.)

398

460

402, c

462

407

468 (ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΥ)

411

- 471 ΕΠΙΣΩΧΑΡΕΥΣ  
ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥearly  
3rd/10- 472 α ΕΠΙΣΩ  
ΧΑΡΕΥΣ

- 6 ΕΠΙΣΩΧΑΡΕΥΣ

- 420 (2) ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ

- 425 ΕΙΠΗΠΟΛΥΚΡΑ ~~κα~~ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ  
τομ476 ΤΕΙ 7  
ΧΕΩΣ .

426

480

429

485-

441, d

- 487 γ 55 actually  
sp. Timochleitas  
(may be for 9 Mann?)  
(title, no name, w. sp.)

448

493 (2)

449

497 (2) (?)



502

537

both have flav. Δεο.

538

without name

506 (Kinn)

546

507 ( " )

?

547

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ  
ΑΓΗΖ  
ΚΛΕΥΖ

508

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙ  
ΠΑΝΑΜΙ

(? have  
in photo.  
of this type  
ready available.)

552

554 ?

511

556 ?

- 512 sp. hier. Φιδων Εδα (str.)  
non

561

(562, 5) not, prob., Rhod.

513

564

516

567 not Rh.?

- 519 sp. hier. Καρμολιδος  
non

568

(w. Heter. signat.)

569 not Rh.?

- 520 same sp.

574 not Rh.?

= 521 (2) Χρυσίμοο

575

523

578 - 583 not Rh.

586 - 588 " "

525

590, 596, 598, 599, 601, 603,

604, 606 - 610 not Rh.

528



29.01

# JUGOSLAVENSKI LLOYD A. D.

G. J. MAROVIC

STEAMSHIP OWNER AND BROKER

INSURANCE AND AVERAGE AGENT

FORWARDING AGENT

C. P. E. C. TRIESTE N. 21024

Telegrams: MAROVIC - Trieste

Telephones: { N. 5934  
                  " 4973 (Private)

CODES: { BOE & APPENDIX  
          WATKINS'  
          BENTLEY'S PHRASE CODE

*Trieste also a  
B3 - 3 months  
collection of old post  
= whole from Cyprus  
all mixed up  
v. diff. to extract  
a map of 1911*

TRIESTE

VIA DELLA BORSA 2

P. O. BOX 104

Dearest Uncle,



I have gone looking for a

place to wash up and rest, perhaps "Hotel  
de la Ville" and will return here at

9:00



ADESTI



919A



Trieste - Taranto

Trieste A. J. MAROVIC LLOYD A. J. MAROVIC

From Taranto (purchasing, long ago)

must have been  
September 1936  
at start of my trip  
down Dalmatian  
coast with Emily  
(16.XI.39)

Rhodin, angular

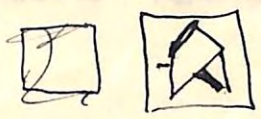
1731 Εἰς Ἀστυν  
δεὺς  
Ἀρταμετίου

filed

1729 Εἰς τοῦ Ἰωάννου Δαδίου  
head of Helios

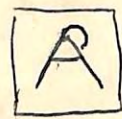
filed  
(but not in  
orig file)

subsiding, on side near ush:



Agv.

1734 Broadish bands, ~~into~~ fine, fine curv  
Rather fine massive red clay  
monogran



up & down to hand

1732 (Latin) yellowish buff clay  
Thickish, with probably a quick  
down curv. Lengthwise, left hand  
ADESLI (but thin  
broad - flat)

double 1730



on low of 2 handles

double, Latin  
Rough

Agv. cv [ Red red  
- Agv. cv clay  
club

1733 yellowish buff clay



on upper of 2 handles

Piero STICOTE  
(interior of room stuff)



See also under

WRECKS

at end of Geop. bit.

18.8.87. [31]

Combinations  
from Lilibeam: να γινουν καρτες. DONE

no. 20 and no. 68 (in do belyio rei di zbei quale.

22 and no. 63

no. 15 84

Λεγμένα: no. 15 + 84

α) Βαδρομίου  
επί Εὐδοκίῳ

β) Διοκλείας NEW Type <sup>μπαρά :</sup> Based on similarity  
of stamps and same  
finding place.

πίσω: Marsala (Lilibeam) A. Brugnone  
ΚΛΚΑΛΟΣ vol. XXXII, 1986 no. 15 pl. III (ep)  
" " " no. 84 pl. XV fab.  
11-82.

α) no 20 'Επί Θεωδώρου  
Υακινθίου

β) no 68 'Αριστέλιων

α) no 22 'Επί Μάρκου  
ΕΡΑΖΕΥΣ

β) no 63 'Θεοδοφόρο(ιου)  
Αγρίλλας

α) no 15 Βαδρομίου  
επί Εὐδοκίῳ

β) no 84 Διοκλείας

Comb.



4.8.87

Unredd from Lilibco

32.01

no. 112 απο-ειρα δὲ κειρα: ep. Αναζι, βοιζου;

113 " ep. Αρχιζαϊδα (Αρχοκρα)

115 " Καρχαρειους καὶ Καρχαραια

120 " — (Γόργωνες by A.Δ)

121 " — (Ibid [?])

1) Do we have publication of stamps found in Tell-Keisan see: Halpern-Zylberstein (1980)

2) Nicolau in RDAC 1970, 1965

Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

3) Tell Arqa (J. P. Thalmann in Syria LV, 1978) (kept in Syria General (let not -

For Andrea, COMB.

Jans: no. 84.  
~~done~~ no. 15 (new)

Διοκχεϊας ~ } from the same context)  
Ευδαμος ep. Bot.

~~done~~ a) Βαδρονιον  
Επι Ευδαμον

b) Διοκχεϊας (new)

based on similarity of stamps and finding place.

Marsala - (Lilibeum), κληκαλος vol. XXXII, 1986, no. 15, pl. III (no ep)  
" " " no. 84 pl. XV

SS

2075

2212

2533

2785

3825

3866

4093

4417

5018

5592

5799

6099

6278

7515

7907

8923

9055

6354



SICILY

BEHIND THIS

F. 63



.20

[33.02]



look up also

7. IX. 72 [34.01]

Cv 026.2 Villard, Céronique - grecque de Marseille, 1960  
L'air à Atte des Compagnons de l'Industrie de 1907

look up = ASCS

Cv 026.6 Bern... Bern... Meylan

Cv 023.20 a series? called Meligunis Lipara, ed. by Bernabé  
Brea and Mathélieu Cavalier.

The Lipari Wreck was <sup>perhaps</sup> to come out <sup>in this</sup> ~~last~~, such  
see my notes on it of 18.V.70, from <sup>Dr</sup> Michael Meades  
of Heidelberg - <sup>(under !)</sup> Through Vol. II, <sup>un clear it, not</sup>  
yet to wreck. (1969 and got it)

Jean de P.T. has numerous refs to it in the  
Molyb. ms.

Melo-Lip. II, Palermo 1965 on the gl...  
Roman cemetery of Contrada Diano.

See pl. XLI : Corinthe A (pl. 41, 1-3)  
"Lokern" (pl. 41, 8)

pl. ~~XLII~~ LII, 4 " "5" c"  
LIII, 1 and 3 " "5" c"

pl. 226, 1 African jar (add. 40)  
various kinds of amph...

On Melo-Lip., discussion pp. 200-201  
incl. Corinthe A

Fountain of Lipari 580 B.C.

Rh 45-43.4 Bernabé

(p. 200)

most common in L'Isle au pl. 41, 46, 79  
 called "massalots" but surely I am [73] included  
 ref. to M. Campbell Hesp. 1938, nos. 190-199 and  
 to Vg. fig. 35 and to Benoit "Amphes d'Isle  
 ou de port marseillais."

was listed & plates of  
 On my L'Isle (p. 1), he says (p. 201)  
 that the swelling of the neck suggests it is a  
 variety of *Chim*.

No descr. of clay of any of the.



ITALY - SICILY

B. V. 71 [35.01]

Amphora shapes in Italy (Sicily?)

This lady called 6.IV.71. She had a lot of photos

ROSA TEA BUSCEMI, via MILO, 11, CATANIA (Italy)

35.04

35.02

Catania, 15 aprile 1971.

Gentile Miss Virginia Grace,

La ringrazio di avermi accolto con tanta cortesia e mi  
perdoni se non ho saputo esprimerle, come avrei voluto,  
la mia gratitudine per i Suoi preziosi consigli -

Sperando di poterla nuovamente incontrare, La prego di  
credere alla mia deferente e vivissima riconoscenza e di  
gradire l'espressione dei miei più devoti sentimenti.

Rosa Tea Buscemi

via Milo, 11 - Catania (Italia)

of jars,  
perhaps  
all in  
Sicily.  
She wanted  
to look at  
ours for  
parallels.  
She looked  
at some of  
our files  
of shapes,  
also at  
actual  
jars at  
the Apoc.

(f.) jars, some  
parallels in the  
in the E basement  
and in front of  
she was able to  
on the floor, and  
of our number

35.03

amphora is Sicily



# ITALY - SICILY

B. V. 71 [35.01]

Amphora shapes in Italy (Sicily?)

This lady called G. V. 71. She had a lot of photos of jars, perhaps all in Sicily. She wanted to look at ours for parallels. She looked at some of our files of shapes, also at actual jars at the Apes.

She had a number of Attic (?) jars, some striped, for which we have parallels in the bottom row front of the radiator in the E. basement. A table that just been fastened in front of these (for shield work), but she was able to see them, perhaps by sitting on the floor, and to know their numbers because of our number tickets pinned below each jar.



Catania, 15 aprile 1971.

Gentile Miss Virginia Grace,

La ringrazio di avermi accolto con tanta cortesia e mi  
perdoni se non ho saputo esprimerLe, come avrei voluto,  
la mia gratitudine per i Suoi preziosi consigli -

Sperando di poterLa nuovamente incontrare, La prego di  
credere alla mia deferente e vivissima riconoscenza e di  
gradire l'espressione dei miei più devoti sentimenti.

Rosa Tee Buscemi

via Milo, 11 - Catania (Italia)

Rose Tree Buscemi

6. IV. 71

35.03

via Mils, 11

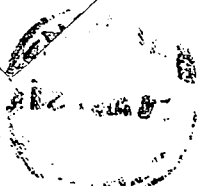
Catania (Sicilia)

with photo - 1) on photos in Sicily  
(~~from~~ ~~unseen~~)



ROSA TEA BUSCEMI, via MILO, 11, CATANIA (Italy)

35.04



35.05

Buona Pasqua  
P.T.T.



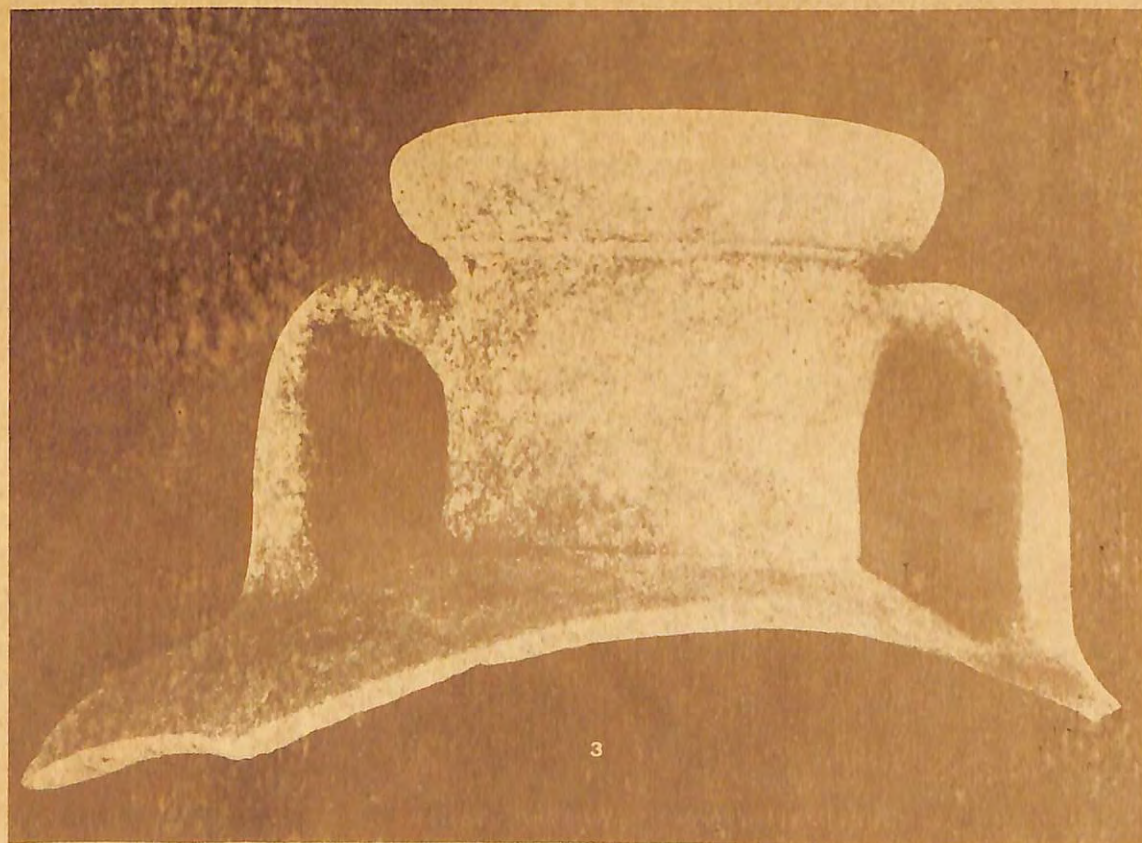
Miss Virginia GRACE

Agora Excavations

American School of Classical Studies

ATHENS (Greece)





on 11.11.69  
 Corcyra?  
 of the island of Corcyra  
 Samian?  
 or possibly  
 massiliote

all at  
 H. ant.



# SICILY - MEGARA HYBLAEA

27.IV.66

penins  
note [35.07]



G. Vallet & F. Villard, Megara Hyblaea 2

La Céramique archaïque  
Megara Hyblaea 2: pl. 70, 1-2; pag. 83 = Paris 1964  
and pl. 71, 1-2

Chios and  
"Lokrian"

"La céramique de (Chios) est représentée à Megara par de grandes amphores à vin bien caractéristiques et par quelques vases pour boire aux parois fines (calices et bols). L'ensemble de ces importations se place au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Amphores à vin; deux types différenciés par la forme du col (sur la forme de col cf Anderson, ABS A, 1954 pp. 168-9 pl. 7, no 75-77; Boulter, Hesperia, 1953, pp. 101-105)

Type I: col court et large, bombé, à petit rebord arrondi; pl. 70, 1 fragment, hauteur rebord compris 8,7 cm.

Type II: col allongé, plus bombé que le précédent, à rebord haut et large; la plupart des exemplaires sont dépourvus de peinture; quelques-uns sont décorés de bandes rouges sur engobe blanc porcelaine. Sans peinture fragment 16 cm: pl. 71, 1 and pl. 71, 2 hauteur, rebord compris 17,5 cm.

Photostat of this has been filed with  
"Lokrian(?)". It is just like the whole amphora found by Sestieri.



On the Book: the Lokrian identified as Chian may be part of a general fault that there are no descriptions of clay for the wine-amphorae. On the whole, though, the authors seem to know the literature

OVER



Megara Hyblaea 2, pl. 77: photos from p. 89.

Importations ioniennes: grandes amphores à vin (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle):

Trois types d'après la décoration:

Type I: amphores à bandes: peinture mate, décoration formée seulement de bandes droites ou ondulées; angle recouvert ou non d'un engobe: fragment pl. 77, 1.

Type II: amphore "à la brosse"  
1 fragment du bas de la panse: pl. 77, 2

Type III: amphore sans décor. (Villard, Céramique grecque de Marseille, 1960, pp. 49-50):  
Fragment du haut: pl. 77, 3.

Distastat cum  
attendant

Is this item Samian?  
Or possibly Massiliote?



G. Vallès - F. Villard, Mémoires Hyblées 2,  
p. 50, under III, 1, description of Corinthian  
amphorae of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, shown in  
pl. 32, 1 and 2; ref. to Weinberg - Brann.  
Photostat of pl. 32, see in folder with Corinthian



SICILY - CALTAGIRONE  
MORGANTINA

Athens, 26.II.60

Note to E. Sjökvist on ANTAAOZ

See  
OFFPRINTS  
with  
SJÖKVIST

In presenting your fascinating inkstands, AJA, 1959, pp.275-8 ("Morgantina: Hellenistic Inkstands"), you have picked up a wrong restoration in IG XIV, 2393, 7. This amphora <sup>ⓧ</sup> has to be Rhodian, because of the name of the Rhodian month IANAMOE which appears on the other handle. I think Kaibel knew it was Rhodian, but he certainly does not make it clear. Even Mr. Benachi, with 60,000 handles, mostly Rhodian, has not found ANTAAOZ on a Rhodian, so probably it is not to be restored here. We are guessing ANAPIKOE for this jar. We hope there will soon be published a place to look up Rhodian fabricants, and regret there is not one yet.

Mr. Benachi does have two examples of a stamp ANTAA(AOZ) (retr.) on handles of unknown origin, and there is another, not the same die, in the large collection of the National Museum in Athens, of which not all pieces were found in or near Athens. I don't know of any others. The name does, as you say, seem more at home in Sicily.

V9

ⓧ From Caltagirone in Sicily.



SICILY - HERACLEA MINOA

includes: Rhodian (8)  
local  
Latin  
Perrucian

From Heraclea Minoa, Sicily

E. de Miro, "XV, Heraclea Minoa, Scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955-56-57," Not. degli Scavi, 1958, pp. 232 - 287. Largely about the theatre, of 40 & 3 M.C.B.C.

Part of ~~the~~ a building attached to the theatre has amphora fragments (wds etc.) on a floor level which is dated by them in the 1st cent. B.C. (p. 260, and fig. 28 on p. 259). (Long pigs, I think.)

SAH, pp. 277 - 285.

filed

Rhodian

1.) Ἐντὶ Ἀδελφείας/Ἐντὶ Ἐπιτάφου

"Dalla sterna del banco di terra nell'area scenica: stilate superiori."

filed

2.) Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κόλπου

Fig. 49c (p. 280)

1051

(Same finding place)

filed

3.) Ἐντὶ Ἀδελφείας/Ἐντὶ Ἐπιτάφου Fig. 49b

1052

From under the <sup>west</sup> foundation of the wall of the "ambulatory" see p. 249 [Don't find anything dear him.]

(p. 278) filed

4.) Ἐντὶ Ἀδελφείας/Ἐντὶ Ἐπιτάφου (circles) [Rose?]

(Do not get anything from finding place.)

OVER



5.) <sup>Eni Timotikou</sup> <sup>Αποκαταστάσεως</sup> (rect.)  
 (under <sup>Eni Timotikou</sup> <sup>Αποκαταστάσεως</sup>)  
 Under a foundation of a building of the Roman  
 Colony, 8 i.e. of after 131 B.C., cf. p. 262.

(p. 279)  
 6.) <sup>Διοφανίτου</sup> (rect.)  
 (Context seems not useful.)

7.) <sup>Eni Απατοφάνους</sup> <sup>Αγρίου</sup> (rect.)  
 (Sporadic)  
 (under <sup>Eni Απατοφάνους</sup> <sup>Αγρίου</sup>)

8.) <sup>Φιδανίου</sup> (rect.)  
 (Sporadic)

6.) Bolli locali (4) on isozion grade (fig. 50)

9.) <sup>ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕ</sup>

(4) (Note) Handles curved, clay less pure, more  
 roughly made, letters not very accurate, type  
 entirely different from Plodion. Study of this  
 class apparently not yet made. General current  
 opinion that they were made in Sicily.

(See next of this, with reference,  
 on photograph of p. 280, bottom.)



Lettere chiare e rilevate; mancante per abrasione la 4<sup>a</sup> lettera. (Dallo scavo del banco di terra nell'area scenica: strato superiore).

10. — Inv. 651 — Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,045).

ΠΑΡΜΕ

Retrogrado; lettere molto sfumate e male impresse per punzone stanco. (Rinvenuto come sopra).

11. — Inv. 656 — Bollo rettangolare frammentato (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,024).

ΠΑΙΒ...

Lettere grossolane e rilevate.

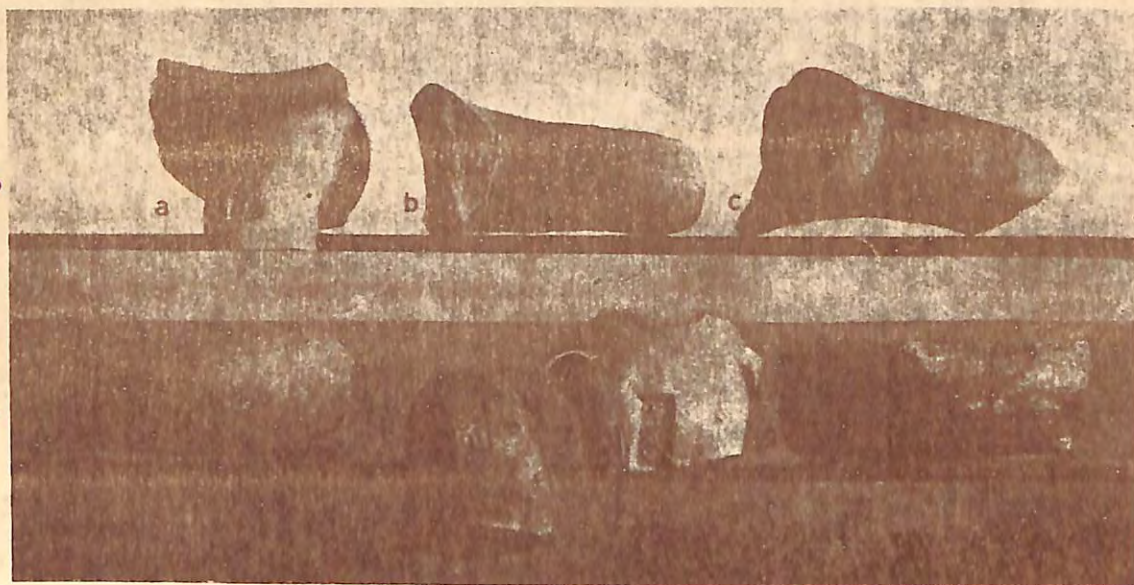


Fig. 49. — Bolli fittili.

12. — Inv. 644 — Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,025) (fig. 49 e):

TPE

Retrogrado, lettere schiacciate e grossolane. (Dall'insabbiamento dell'estremo tratto dell'analemma orientale; strato superiore).

13. — Inv. 641 — Bollo rettangolare (Altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,033).

ΛΙΟΙ

(Rinvenuto come sopra).

darie, della Sicilia stessa. Il PACE (*op. cit.*, p. 81) a ragione fa rilevare come questa classe di bolli, più tosto frequenti nella Sicilia occidentale, sia invece estremamente rara nella parte orientale. Vedi oltre al PACE, *op. cit.*, A. SALINAS, *Degli oggetti rinvenuti negli scavi eseguiti in Selinunte nel 1883*, in *Not. Scavi*, 1884, pp. 320 sg., PEPOLI, *Antichi bolli figulini e grafiti delle sacerdotesse di Venere Ericina, rinvenuti a Monte San Giuliano* (300 bolli anforici), PELLEGRINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 sg. Per i bolli romani, ved. A. FROVA, *Marche di anfore e altri bolli romani del Milanese* in *Epigraphica*, XIV, 1952, pp. 49-53 (contributo agli «strumenti domestici» del CIL).

(con  
local  
class)



14. - Inv. 645 - Bollo ovoidale (diametro maggiore m. 0,024) (fig. 49 d):

K A

(Da un cavo per la ricerca del condotto in cui si continua l'euripo teatrale, a m. 1,50 circa dal piano di campagna, nel riempimento di un ambiente).

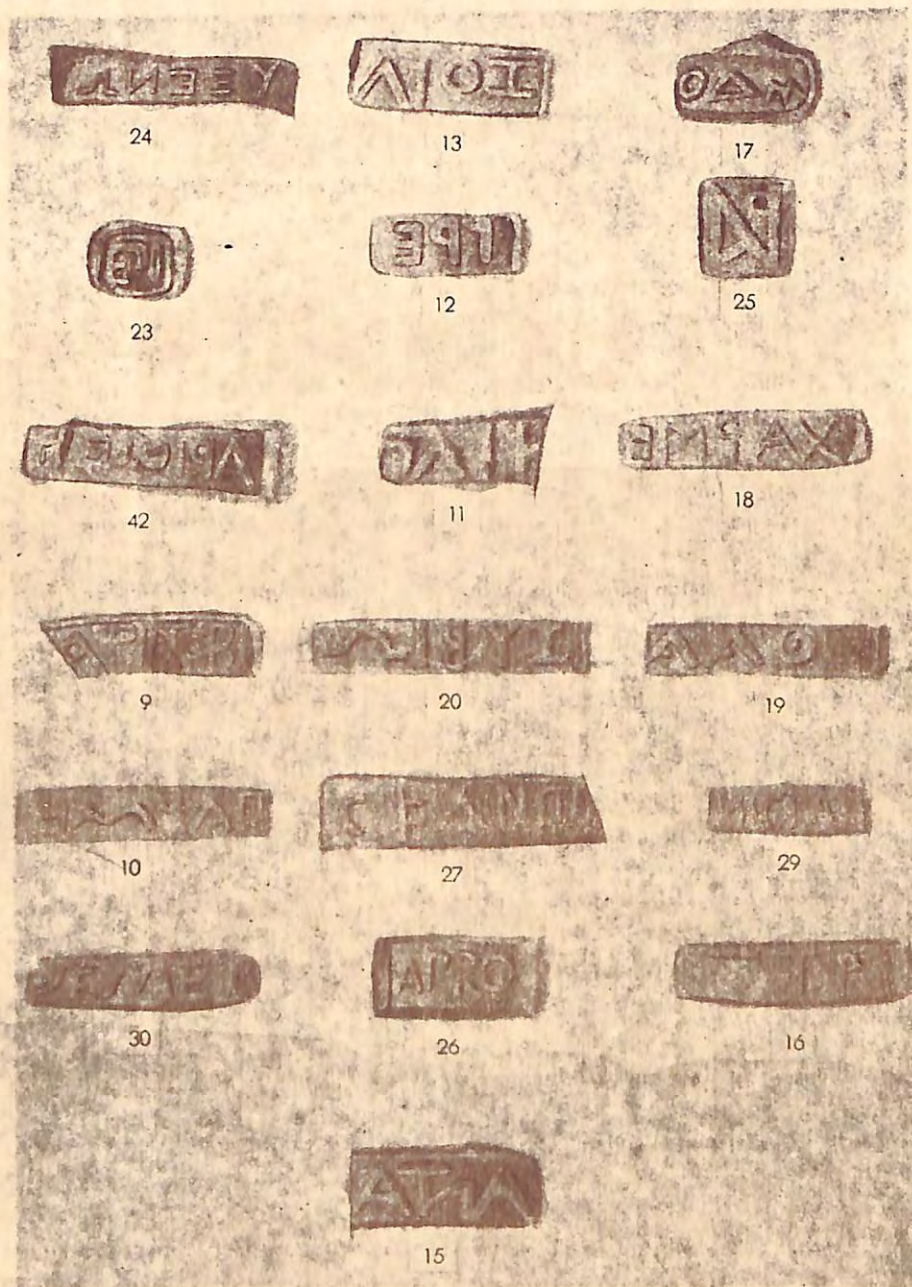


Fig. 50. -- Bolli con iscrizioni in lettere greche e latine.

15. - Inv. 648 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,011; larghezza m. 0,033).

ATTA

(Da un cavo a ridosso del muro di fortificazione descritto a p. 236 per la ricerca dello sbocco del condotto, a m. 1 circa dal piano campagna in uno strato di cm. 30 al disopra di un muretto con fornace).



16. Inv. 653 - Bollo rettangolare. (Altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,041):

... T P

Lettere molto consumate. (Dallo sterro dell'euripo teatrale).

17. - Inv. 647 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,02)

O Δ M

Lettere chiare e rilevate. (Dallo sterro del condotto in cui si continua l'euripo teatrale).

18. - Inv. 649 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,08; larghezza m. 0,045):

X A P M E

Retrogrado. (Dallo scavo della postierla che si apre nel muro di fortificazione descritto a p. 238; strato quasi a livello col piano della soglia).

19. - Inv. 654 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,009; larghezza 0,045):

A Λ ⊙ . . .

Lettere svanite. (Dal saggio lungo la fronte interna del muro di fortificazione, tratto C, descritto a p. 238; a m. 30 circa dall'angolo col tratto B; strato al di sotto del piano di posa cortina 2<sup>a</sup> fase).

20. - Inv. 643 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,009; larghezza m. 0,048) (fig. 49 g):

I I B I Q

Retrogrado; lettere sfumate e male impresse lungo il margine superiore. (Dallo scavo all'interno dell'ambiente di I strato impostato nell'area della postierla) ved. *supra*, p. 238).

21. - Inv. n. 652 - Bollo ellissoidale (diametro m. 0,02).

E . P

Retrogrado; lettere grossolane. (Dalla cisterna n. 2).

22. - Inv. 675 - Bollo ellissoidale (diametro m. 0,01):

E P

Retrogrado; ripunzonatura di bollo precedente cancellato.

23. - Inv. 650 - Bollo quadrangolare (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,017).

E I

Entro cartiglio; lettere chiare e rilevate. (Dallo scavo delle mura lato nord (terreno astratigrafico).

24. - Inv. 646 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,009; larghezza m. 0,03):

Y Ξ E N Q (1)

(Sporadico).

(1) Simile ad altro da Gela. (Ved. ADAMESTEANU-ORLANDINI, *Gela*, in *Not. Scavi*, 1956, pp. 360-1, fig. 5.



25. - Inv. 674 - Bollo quadrangolare (altezza m. 0,15; 0,017). (Sporadico).

A9

c) *Bolli locali con iscrizioni latine.*

26. - Inv. 659 - Bollo rettangolare. (Altezza m. 0,012; larghezza m. 0,028) (fig. 49 f):

APRO

LATIN

Belle lettere chiare e rilevate. (Dallo scavo nell'area della scena; strato immediatamente al disopra del battuto a) (ved. *supra* p. 252).

27. - Inv. 660 - Bollo rettangolare frammentato (altezza m. 0,01; larghezza m. 0,048).

CFANP...

Lettere schiacciate e grossolane. (Dallo scavo del banco di terra nell'area scenica; strato superiore).

28. Inv. 676 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,009; larghezza m. 0,03);

A · IT

Retrogrado; lettere schiacciate e grossolane, impresse solo in parte. (Rinvenuto come sopra).

29. - Inv. 657 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,08; larghezza m. 0,015):

NICA

LATIN

Lettere chiare e rilevate. (Dallo scavo del condotto in cui si continua l'euripo teatrale).

30. - Inv. 658 - Bollo rettangolare (altezza m. 0,009; larghezza m. 0,036):

SEMEI

LATIN

Lettere rilevate ma alquanto grossolane, sfumate lungo il margine superiore per imperfezione di stampo. (Dalla cisterna n. 2).

d) *Bolli con iscrizioni in lettere fenicie* (fig. 5r). (p. 284)

31. - Inv. 665 - Bollo quadrangolare (m. 0,015): Un *iod* e un *sain*. (Dallo sterro del banco di terra nell'area scenica; strato superiore).

32. - Inv. 663 - Bollo quadrangolare (m. 0,014): Caduceo tra un *chet* e un *sain*. (Dallo strato battuto su cui insistono i muretti dell'ambiente g).

33. - Inv. 667 - Bollo circolare (diametro 0,021): Simbolo di Astarte. (Dallo strato tra battuto scenico e piano di orchestra originario).

34. - Inv. 668 - Bollo ovoidale (diametro maggiore m. 0,022): Simbolo di Astarte e caduceo. (Rinvenuto come sopra).

35. - Inv. 669 - Bollo quadrangolare (m. 0,016): Caduceo tra un *chet* e un *Kaf*. (Rinvenuto come sopra).





39. - Inv. 671 - Bollo ovoidale (diametro m. 0,022). Due lettere non precisabili causa lo stato di conservazione. (La seconda forse un *kaf*).

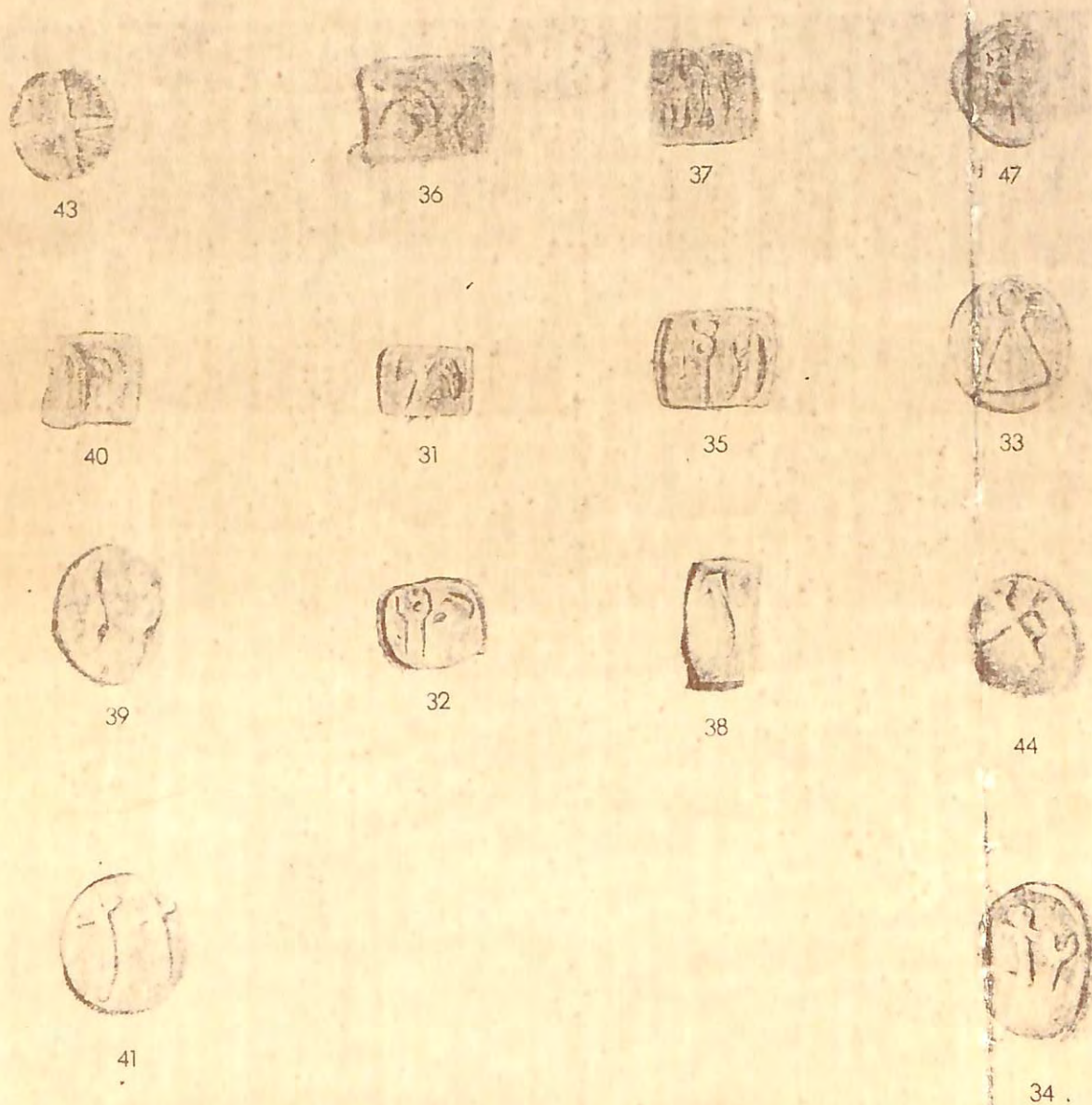


Fig. 51. - Bolli con iscrizioni in lettere fenicie.



ITALY -  
SICILY

American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

February 6, 1966

Dear Dr. Rizza,

Thank you very much for the photographs of three handles from Leontini, and the rubbings of two from Terravecchia di Grammichele. Both photographs and rubbings are entirely legible, and I look forward to receiving more of the latter when you have had time to go to Centuripe. Please let me know if there are any of these stamps of which you need to know the dates, in connection with dating your excavations. As probably you know, those you sent me are all Rhodian.

About a representation of the Iliupersis at the Agora, Miss Lucy Talcott has given me the following message for you:

"No one at the Agora can recall any vase or fragment of vase in this collection which represents a scene of the Sack of Troy. There are however a few pieces with scenes from the Trojan cycle. The finest of these are a red-figured cup showing the fight between Achilles and Memnon, and some fragments of a red-figured calyx-krater by the Kleophrades painter, showing the mourning Achilles. These are on display in our small museum. Could it be either of these to which you refer, or, if not, could you give us a little more idea of the piece, and particularly tell us if it was black-figure or red-figure? We should indeed be happy to send you a picture if we can identify the piece."

I suggest you write directly to Miss Talcott about this matter.

Yours very sincerely,

977 CLT



CATANIA

ARCHEOLOGIA

ERTINI ..

CATANIA, 26/ I/ 1956

TEL. 14-241

ina,

Le invio le fotografie dei  
 inesi di cui Le avevo detto, ed  
 hi di altri due bolli che ho ri-  
 anse che si trovano da poco nel  
 o. Questi ultimi provengono da  
 i Grammichele e sono sporadici,  
 superficie durante una escursione.

Dei bolli centuripini Le invierò i calchi non  
 appena avrò la possibilità di recarmi in quel-  
 la località, e farò del mio meglio per non fare  
 brutta figura di fronte a loro che sono così  
 abili e rapidi nell'eseguirli.

Approfitto dell'occasione per chiederLe un  
 favore. Ricordo di aver sentito, durante il mio  
 soggiorno ad Atene, che tra i vasi provenienti  
 dall'Agorà ve ne è uno con la rappresentazione  
 della Iliupersis. Le sarei grato se potesse far-  
 mene avere una fotografia. Mi interessa cono-  
 scerne lo schema per vedere se ci sono delle ana-  
 logie con un altro vaso del medesimo soggetto,  
 e pertanto sarebbe sufficiente un veduta di in-  
 sieme della scena figurata. Si intende che se il  
 vaso non è ancora pubblicato mi impegno a prender-  
 ne visione e a non darne notizia. Per il pagamen-  
 to della fotografia la prego di fare intestare  
 la fattura all'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Uni-  
 versità di Catania che penserà a far pervenire  
 la somma.

Grato per quanto Ella vorrà fare, e in attesa  
 di una cortese sollecita risposta, Le invio i più  
 distinti saluti.

*In dev. Giovanni Ripa*

40 Da TERRACINA  
 2/ Grammichele

NEI ISTITUTO DI ARCHEOLOGIA

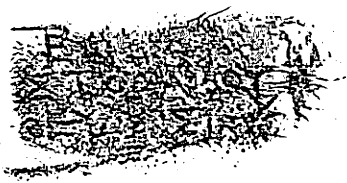
39.03

Da TERRAVECCHIA  
di GRAMMICHELE  
NELLO ISTITUTO DI ARCHEOLOGIA

---



2 TERRAVECCHIA



Hand copy  
200

200

52.03

1

39.04

2nd copy



filed



[40.01] January 8, 1976  
Anthony G. Butera  
10 Hempstead Rd.  
Trenton, No. J.  
08610

et your address from  
Princeton University. My  
tera and I'm hoping  
me.

le, Ida, had taken a  
ly. To be exact it was the  
arettime where she was given  
ae by her cousin. He found

it while pulling up his fishing net off  
the coast of Marettimo. He claims it is  
quite old from what he has been told.

I was hoping you could verify it in  
detail to make us more informed. Any  
information you might have would be  
greatly appreciated.

Surely, you will be reimbursed for  
whatever expenses arise. Feel free to keep  
the photo's if you wish. If it is easier  
for you, feel free to call collect. Our  
number is U. S. A. Trenton, New Jersey area  
code 609 585-2962. Thank You.

Sincerely,  
Tony Butera







40.33-4







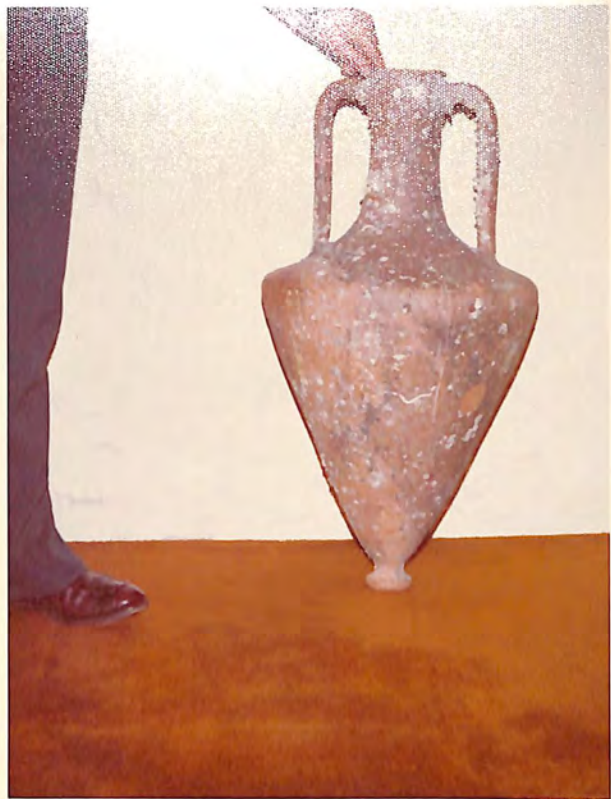
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19.05-6





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40.07-6







20.08-6




COLLECTION  
RIES

949.

was by inadvertence that I  
g in each of the Ordone graves.  
to use is "jar." The vessels  
n, and Captain Farwell left most  
however, he brought two from his  
shown in two of the photographs  
rd which certainly was used in  
cently the big jars fall into two  
rated and more or less like this



third piece, though with considerable variation in  
contour; the other comprising a number of forms,  
relatively elaborate, most of them easily named  
kraters from a Greek standpoint. One big jug, accur-  
ately so called, which Farwell acquired by purchase,  
probably had this role in a grave, though there is  
no evidence except its size. The plain ones occur in  
the latest of the Farwell graves; it is hardly clear  
whether the more elaborate are limited to any earlier  
period. As to the "dippers," they are pottery, usually  
small jugs or mugs, though there is some variation  
in form. Not. Sc. 1907, p. 30, shows a fully typical  
pair, jar and dipper. The jars are always flat on  
the bottom; at least I think so.

Thank you for the reprint of your Classical  
Journal article, which I had read with interest. In  
that and your Hesperia articles you have contributed  
a lot to an interesting subject.

Very sincerely,

*Franklin P. Johnson.*

## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS

DEPARTMENT OF ART

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UNION CATALOG OF ART IN CHICAGO • EXHIBITION GALLERIES

September 22, 1949.

Miss Virginia Grace,  
American School of Classical Studies,  
Athens, Greece.

Dear Miss Grace:

It was by inadvertence that I wrote of a large jug in each of the Ortona graves. The word I intended to use is "jar." The vessels were generally plain, and Captain Farwell left most of them in Italy. However, he brought two from his numbered graves, as shown in two of the photographs enclosed, and a third which certainly was used in the same way. Apparently the big jars fall into two groups: one undecorated and more or less like this third piece, though with considerable variation in contour; the other comprising a number of forms, relatively elaborate, most of them easily named kraters from a Greek standpoint. One big jug, accurately so called, which Farwell acquired by purchase, probably had this role in a grave, though there is no evidence except its size. The plain ones occur in the latest of the Farwell graves; it is hardly clear whether the more elaborate are limited to any earlier period. As to the "dippers," they are pottery, usually small jugs or mugs, though there is some variation in form. Not. Sc. 1907, p. 30, shows a fully typical pair, jar and dipper. The jars are always flat on the bottom, at least I think so.

Thank you for the reprint of your Classical Journal article, which I had read with interest. In that and your Hesperia articles you have contributed a lot to an interesting subject.

Very sincerely,

*Franklin P. Johnson.*





41.03-6





41.04-6

Hand 15-





42

41.02-6



Roma - March 8th, 1960

42

Dear Miss Grace

Arriving home after a lecture tour in Switzerland I found your kind letter with the news you had forwarded my inquiry (about the proper date of an amphora found in our excavations at Fore dl Sele) to Mrs. Will in the U. S. A.; and there was also Mrs. Will's answer with all the possible informations on the jar! It belongs to type 21 in her series, to be dated from the late 2nd to the middle of the 3rd cent. a.D. - And, since my amphora was used to bury the bodies of 2 little children some time after the Vesuvius eruption of 79 a.D., we can all be pleased to find out that there are no troubles about the evidence collected on different sides and grounds. Thank you again for your help: I do hope to see you one day or another on our field of work and I am pretty sure you would not be deceived in giving me the pleasure of showing you our recent finds!

Sincerely yours  
Paola Lanciani Montanaro

4303

to be

Gardens

n. S.W.I.

6/11/1962

7m

can

at the

shops -

with

and she

to

little places

seller

Telling her that it was found  
 on Pelion - It is found  
 practises, to help with pitia which

4301



trace

Classical Studies

vedias

ATHENS

140





43.01



Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical Studies  
Odos Soudias

GRECIA      ATHENS      140

4302

0. 6. 1940  
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140

TAMIEY THPION  
2.0VA TATAX/MEIA  
TPOT-ANOFEYMA  
8 KYPIAKAI TPOT



TAMIEY THPION  
2.0VA TATAX/MEIA  
TPOT-ANOFEYMA  
8 KYPIAKAI TPOT



Rome

4303

but en route for

128 A Ashley Gardens  
London. S.W. 1.

November 6th 1962

Dear Virginia;

I wonder if you  
would be an angel and tell  
me anything you can about the  
enclosed - such a curious shape -  
I have just been staying with  
Paola Zancani Montuoro and she  
bought this object during the  
summer at one of those little places  
in the Amalfi coast, the seller  
telling her that it was found  
off Positano - It is filled  
practically to top with pitch which

been involved in many family  
problems but expect to be in  
London from the end of this week -  
Let us hope I get to Greece again  
next spring!

Very good wish  
Yours ever

Edith (Laz)

---





43.05-6



ITALY-SICILY: VARIOUS

407