



EULIMENE

Vol 17 (2016)

EULIMENE 17-18 (2016-2017)



The Lansdowne legacy A puteal in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta

Elizabeth Angelicoussis

doi: 10.12681/eul.32827

τόμος **17-18** Μεσογειακή αρχαιολογική εταιρεία ρεθύμινο 2016-2017

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ, ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

> Τόμος 17-18 Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία Ρέθυμνο 2016-2017

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ Αρχαιολογική εταιρεία

Π. Μανουσάκη 5–Β. Χάλη 8 GR 741 00–Ρέθυμνο

Χατζηχρήστου 14 GR 117 42-Αθήνα

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ-ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο) Καθ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Ρόδος)

ΒΟΗΘΟΙ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

Δρ. Δήμητρα Τσαγκάρη (Αθήνα) Μαρία Αχιολά (Ρόδος) Γεωργία Παπαγρηγορίου (Ρόδος)

PUBLISHER MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

P. Manousaki 5–V. Chali 8 GR 741 00–Rethymnon

Chatzichristou 14 GR 117 42–Athens

PUBLISHING DIRECTORS, EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymnon) Prof. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Rhodes)

ASSISTANTS TO THE EDITORS

Dr. Dimitra Tsangari (Athens) Maria Achiola (Rhodes) Georgia Papagrigoriou (Rhodes)

EYAIMENH EULIMENE 2016-2017 ISSN: 1108–5800

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Ομ. Καθ. Πέτρος Θέμελης (Ρέθυμνο) Καθ. Νίκος Σταμπολίδης (Ρέθυμνο) Ομ. Καθ. Alan W. Johnston (Λονδίνο) Καθ. Mariusz Mielczarek (Łódź) Καθ. Άγγελος Χανιώτης (Princeton) Καθ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Ρόδος) Δρ. Ιωάννης Τουράτσογλου (Αθήνα) Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο) Καθ. Αναγνώστης Αγγελαράκης (Adelphi) Καθ. Σταύρος Περεντίδης (Αθήνα)

ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

Em. Prof. Petros Themelis (Rethymnon)
Prof. Nikos Stampolidis (Rethymnon)
Em. Prof. Alan W. Johnston (London)
Prof. Mariusz Mielczarek (Łódź)
Prof. Angelos Chaniotis (Princeton)
Prof. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Rhodes)
Dr. Ioannis Touratsoglou (Athens)
Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymnon)
Prof. Anagnostis Agelarakis (Adelphi)
Prof. Stavros Perentidis (Athens)

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ είναι μία επιστημονική περιοδική έκδοση με κριτές που περιλαμβάνει μελέτες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, την Επιγραφική, τη Νομισματική και την Παπυρολογία εστιάζοντας στον Ελληνικό και Ρωμαϊκό κόσμο της Μεσογείου από την Υστερομινωϊκή / Υπομινωϊκή / Μυκηναϊκή εποχή (12°ς / 11°ς αι. π.Χ.) έως και την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα (5°ς / 6°ς αι. μ.Χ).

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ περιλαμβάνει επίσης μελέτες στην Ανθρωπολογία, Παλαιοδημογραφία, Παλαιοπεριβάλλον, Παλαιοβοτανολογία, Ζωοαρχαιολογία, Αρχαία Οικονομία και Ιστορία των Επιστημών, εφόσον αυτές εμπίπτουν στα προαναφερθέντα γεωγραφικά και χρονικά όρια. Ευρύτερες μελέτες στην Κλασική Φιλολογία και Αρχαία Ιστορία θα γίνονται δεκτές, εφόσον συνδέονται άμεσα με μία από τις παραπάνω επιστήμες.

Παρακαλούνται οι συγγραφείς να λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους τις παρακάτω οδηγίες:

 Οι εργασίες υποβάλλονται στην Ελληνική, Αγγλική, Γερμανική, Γαλλική ή Ιταλική γλώσσα. Κάθε εργασία συνοδεύεται από μια περίληψη περίπου 250 λέξεων σε γλώσσα άλλη από εκείνη της εργασίας.

2. Συντομογραφίες δεκτές σύμφωνα με το American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature, J.F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP.

3. Οι εικόνες πρέπει να υποβάλλονται σε μορφή αρχείου .jpg ή .tiff και σε ανάλυση τουλάχιστον 1,200 dpi (dots per inch) προκειμένου για γραμμικά σχέδια και 400 dpi για ασπρόμαυρες εικόνες (στην κλίμακα του γκρι). Όλα τα εικονογραφικά στοιχεία πρέπει να είναι αριθμημένα σε απλή σειρά.

4. Οι εργασίες υποβάλλονται ηλεκτρονικά στις ακόλουθες διευθύνσεις: <u>litinasn@uoc.gr</u> και <u>stefanakis@rhodes.aegean.gr</u>.

Είναι υποχρέωση του κάθε συγγραφέα να εξασφαλίζει γραπτή άδεια για την αναπαραγωγή υλικού που έχει δημοσιευτεί αλλού ή είναι αδημοσίευτο.

Οι συγγραφείς θα λαμβάνουν ανάτυπο της εργασίας τους ηλεκτρονικά σε μορφή αρχείου .pdf και έναν τόμο του περιοδικού.

Συνδρομές – Συνεργασίες – Πληροφορίες:

Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Π. Μανουσάκη 5 – Β. Χάλη 8, Ρέθυμνο – GR 74100 Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Τμήμα Φιλολογίας, Ρέθυμνο – GR 74100 (<u>litinasn@uoc.gr</u>) Καθ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Τμήμα Μεσογειακών Σπουδών, Ρόδος – GR 85132 (<u>stefanakis@rhodes.aegean.gr</u>) web: http://www.eulimene.eu/

EULIMENE is a refereed academic periodical which hosts studies in Classical Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, and Papyrology, with particular interest in the Greek and Roman Mediterranean world. The time span covered by EULIMENE runs from the Late Minoan / Sub Minoan / Mycenean period $(12^{th} / 11^{th} \text{ cent. BC})$ through to the Late Antiquity $(5^{th} / 6^{th} \text{ cent. AD})$.

EULIMENE will also welcome studies on Anthropology, Palaiodemography, Palaio-environmental, Botanical and Faunal Archaeology, the Ancient Economy and the History of Science, so long as they conform to the geographical and chronological boundaries noted. Broader studies on Classics or Ancient History will be welcome, though they should be strictly linked with one or more of the areas mentioned above.

It will be very much appreciated if contributors consider the following guidelines:

1. Contributions should be in either of the following languages: Greek, English, German, French or Italian. Each paper should be accompanied by a summary of about 250 words in one of the above languages, other than that of the paper.

2. Accepted abbreviations are those of American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature, J.F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP.

3. Illustrations should be submitted in .jpg or .tiff format of at least 1,200 dpi (dots per inch) for line art and 400 dpi for halftones (grayscale mode) resolution. All illustrations should be numbered in a single sequence.

4. Please submit your paper to: <u>litinasn@uoc.gr</u> and <u>stefanakis@rhodes.aegean.gr</u>.

It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission to quote or reproduce material which has appeared in another publication or is still unpublished.

Offprint of each paper in .pdf format, and a volume of the journal will be provided to the contributors.

Subscriptions - Contributions - Information:

Mediterranean Archaeological Society, P. Manousaki 5 - V. Chali 8, Rethymnon - GR 74100

Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymnon – GR 74100 (litinasn@uoc.gr) Prof. Manolis I. Stefanakis, University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Rhodes – GR

85132 (stefanakis@rhodes.aegean.gr)

web: http://www.eulimene.eu/

Περιεχόμενα ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 17-18 (2016-2017)

List of Contents EULIMENE 17-18 (2016-2017)

Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassuntivi
Μαρία Πατεράκη, Ομάδα ειδωλίων από το Σπήλαιο του Μελιδονίου1
Ιωάννης Φραγκάκης, Μαρμάρινη κεφαλή από τη Φαλάσαρνα
Stella Drougou, The lantern (lychnouchos) of Vergina-Aegae
Ευαγγελία Δήμα και Ελένη Τσακανίκα, Θεατρικά προσωπεία από τη Ρόδο ως πλαστικός διάκοσμος σε χρηστική κεραμική — Ι
Elizabeth Angelicoussis, The Lansdowne legacy: A puteal in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta
Κατερίνα Βουλγαράκη, Το νεκρομαντείο του Αχέροντα. Παλαιές ταυτίσεις, πρόσφατες θεωρίες, νέες ερμηνείες99

Παρουσίαση Συνεδρίου / Conference Review

Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen /

Sommaires / Riassunti

Μαρία Πατεράκη, Ομάδα ειδωλίων από το Σπήλαιο του Μελιδονίου, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 17-18 (2016-2017), 1-16.

A group of figurines from the Melidoni Cave. In this paper a group of five clay figurines from Melidoni Cave, at Rethymno, Crete, is examined. The earliest example is a male figurine (figurine 1) that can be dated in MMIII/LMIA period. Three figurines (figurines 2, 3 and 4) are dated to the Subminoan period. Figurine 2 belongs to the type of the goddess with the raised hands, but because of the find-spot it must be considered as a dedication and not as a cult idol. Figurines 3 and 4 belong to the type of the figurines that bear both arms at the flanks of the body. The type was considered to be an eighth century B.C. loan from the Eastern iconography, but this view must be reconsidered. Figurine 5 is preserved in a fragmentary condition and shows a standing woman that reproduces the pudency gesture. It is dated to the Protogeometric period.

With respect to the information drawn from this group of figurines concerning the nature of the worshipped deity or deities, it seems that the female figurines were dedicated by women to a female fertility deity. The existence of the phallus-like stalactite in the Raulin Hall, where all the figurines were found, might indicate a male deity. In that case one might assume that both male and female deities were worshipped, for instance, the well-known couple of Aphrodite and Hermes from the sanctuary of Symi Viannou.

Ιωάννης Φραγκάκης, Μαρμάρινη κεφαλή από τη Φαλάσαρνα, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 17-18 (2016-2017), 17-32.

Marble head from Phalasarna. A female marble head found in Phalasarna was a highquality work of sculpture and seems to be part of a large funerary monument. Compared to other sculptures of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. we can assume that it was the work of a sculptor from Athens, who most likely immigrated and worked in west Crete. Because of the resemblance of its characteristic details to fourth century B.C. sculptures, we can assume that this marble head can also be dated to c. 370-350 B.C.

Stella Drougou, The lantern (*lychnouchos*) of Vergina-Aegae, *EYAIMENH* 17-18 (2016-2017), 33-44.

Ο λυχνούχος από τις Αιγές-Βεργίνα. Στη μικρή αυτή μελέτη παρουσιάζεται ο χάλκινος λυχνούχος από τον μεγάλο Μακεδονικό Τάφο ΙΙ (του Φιλίππου Β΄) στις Αιγές-Βεργίνα. Όλα τα γνωστά παραδείγματα (από τη Μακεδονία και την Θεσσαλία, κατασκευασμένα από μέταλλο ή πηλό) χρονολογούνται στον τέταρτο αι. π.Χ. και χρησίμευαν ως ταφικά κτερίσματα. Τα δύο σωζόμενα χάλκινα παραδείγματα του ξεχωριστού αυτού σκεύους, κυρίως αυτό της Βεργίνας με την ξεχωριστή διακόσμηση του, αποδίδουν τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά της τέχνης της μεταλλουργίας στην αρχαία Μακεδονία κατά τον τέταρτο αι. π.Χ. **Ευαγγελία Δήμα** και **Ελένη Τσακανίκα,** Θεατρικά προσωπεία από τη Ρόδο ως πλαστικός διάκοσμος σε χρηστική κεραμική — Ι, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 17-18 (2016-2017), 45-86.

Theatrical masks from Rhodes as a plastic decoration in utilitarian pottery. Rescue excavations in the city of Rhodes during the last decades have brought to light numerous theatrical masks, which were used as relief decoration on pottery, specifically on the high pedestals and the supports of the Hellenistic braziers. This paper focuses on 74 terracotta theatrical masks and a mould. They can be divided in two groups based on their typology: (a) characteristic figures of the New Comedy and (b) Dionysian context (Dionysus, Pan, Silenes and Satyrs). Portable braziers were common cooking vessels, of which the manufacture has been dated from the second to the end of the first century B.C. Despite their wide distribution from Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea to Egypt, and from Syro-Palestine to South Italy and Sicily, scholars assume that their origin is from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

Elizabeth Angelicoussis, The Lansdowne legacy: A puteal in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, *EYAIMENH* 17-18 (2016-2017), 87-98.

Η κληρονομιά του Lansdowne: Ένα πηγαδόστομα στο μουσείο Michael C. Carlos στην Ατλάντα. Τον 17° και 18° αιώνα παρατηρείται μία ιδιαίτερη προτίμηση για τα αρχαία μάρμαρα στη Μεγάλη Βρετανία. Ανάμεσα στους μεγάλους συλλέκτες έργων της αρχαιότητας, που κατάφεραν να συγκεντρώσουν στη συλλογή τους υψηλής ποιότητας γλυπτά, βρισκόταν και ο Marquess of Lansdowne, ο οποίος δημιούργησε μία τεράστια συλλογή εντυπωσιακών έργων από τον αρχαίο κόσμο. Η συλλογή δημοπρατήθηκε και διασκορπίστηκε από το 1930 και μετά, με αποτέλεσμα ορισμένα από τα έργα αυτά να καταλήξουν σε συλλογές της Αμερικής. Ένα σπάνιο πηγαδόστομα εξαιρετικής τεχνοτροπίας, που το 2006 αποκτήθηκε από το μουσείο Michael C. Carlos, αποτελεί το αντικείμενο μελέτης στο παρόν άρθρο. Αρχικά παρουσιάζεται η πορεία του έργου μέχρι την κατάληξή του στη συλλογή του μουσείου του Michael C. Carlos. Ακολουθεί ενδελεχής παρουσίαση του έργου με λεπτομερή περιγραφή της διονυσιακής σκηνής που το κοσμεί και ανάλυση των συμβολισμών της.

Κατερίνα Βουλγαράκη, Το νεκρομαντείο του Αχέροντα. Παλαιές ταυτίσεις, πρόσφατες θεωρίες, νέες ερμηνείες. *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 17-18 (2016-2017), 99-140.

The Acheron Necromanteion: old identifications, recent theories, new interpretations. The present study re-examines the evidence concerning the use of the complex, which was excavated by Sotirios Dakaris on the hill of Mesopotamon in ancient Thesprotia and was identified with the Acheron Necromanteion. The complex was built in the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C., and consisted of a central three-aisled building with massive stone walls containing a main room and auxiliary chambers, an underground chamber underneath the main room -variously identified to a crypt, a cistern or a cellar-, three annex corridors and a later open courtyard surrounded by rooms. In 1978, the German archaeologist Dietwulf Baatz considered that the site was a fortified residence of a local ruler, also that the central building was a two-storied tower, where six catapults temporarily stood, in the times of the Roman invasion to Epirus (168/167 BC).

However, the architecture, the finds and the stratigraphy has proven that this is untenable. Similarly untenable are various alternative proposals regarding the function of the building, e.g. communal storage building, fortress. Thus, as it is supported by recent geological research, we have maintained the identification of this place with the Necromanteion. Furthermore, a new reconstruction of the ritual actions which were taking place there has been proposed, based on the recent studies which underline the sophisticated architecture of the underground chamber and its unique acoustic characteristics, similar to a modern anechoic chamber, which were certainly relevant to the necessities of the cult of the dead. -5-

THE LANSDOWNE LEGACY: A PUTEAL IN THE MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM, ATLANTA*

The 1st Marquess of Lansdowne and the 1930 auction

For well-to-do Englishmen of the 17th century, travel to the Continent brought direct experience of Europe's classical heritage –its architecture, carved gems and statuary– and an ardent ambition to collect souvenirs –especially figures from the past, both real and mythical. The allure of the antique increased with time and by the second half of the 18th century, the Grand Tour had become an indispensable qualification for a place in polite society.

Acquiring classical art was fashionable, but also highly competitive; noble gentlemen vied with one another to embellish their townhouses and country seats with ever more impressive works from the ancient world. This movement reached fever pitch in the 1770s and 1780s, when Henry Blundell, Charles Townley and the Marquess of Lansdowne amassed the three largest collections in Great Britain.¹

William Petty-Fitzmaurice (1737-1805), 2nd earl of Shelburne, was a Dublin-born British Whig statesman of considerable intelligence and independent ideas, who refused throughout his life to sacrifice principles to political expediency. As Secretary of State for the south under William Pitt, Shelburne's conciliatory policies toward the American Colonies and their fight for independence earned him vicious criticism, the enmity of King George III and loss of office.

As Prime Minister in 1782–1783, during the final months of the Revolutionary War, his sympathies made him a hero to American patriots, but at home he faced fierce opposition. In the end, political intrigues excluded him from power. To ensure he went quietly, in 1784 Shelburne was thrown the sop of another title: marquess of Lansdowne. His feat of securing peace with the United States remains his principal legacy, but he is also famous for creating the finest gallery of classical antiquities ever assembled in the British Isles.

^{*} I would like to thank D. Ben-Arie, independent researcher, for discovering the altar's whereabouts and Jasper Gaunt, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Michael C. Carlos Museum, for photographs, a detailed condition report and his insightful comments, especially during an on-site examination of the piece in November 2010. I would also like to thank An Jiang for sharing with me his findings on this marble, especially the technical evidence that he presented in a seminar at Emory University, Atlanta in 2013. Most of all, I am grateful for Antonio Corso's suggestion of turning my catalogue entry into a separate article, which the sculpture truly warrants.

¹ For surveys of the Lansdowne collection, see Michaelis 1882, 103-106, 453-71; Scott 2010, 160-168; Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 321-326. For Lansdowne the man, Oxford DNB 2010.

As a young man, Lansdowne had acquired some marbles in England, but it was only during his Grand Tour in 1771 that he began to buy classical marbles in quantity from the two principal dealers on the Roman antiquities market: the Scots history painter, excavator and genuine lover of the antique, Gavin Hamilton; and the notorious crook, Thomas Jenkins. Lansdowne's collection of ancient marbles –truly remarkable for its immense size and its high quality sculptures– was displayed at Lansdowne House, in London's Berkeley Square (**figs 1, 2**).

In 1930, at a time of worldwide economic depression, most of the Lansdowne collection was auctioned off by Christie's of London, in one of the most spectacular sales of the inter-war period; the residue was transferred to the family estate of Bowood in Wiltshire.² With the dispersal of this vast collection, Britain suffered an irreparable loss to its cultural heritage; however, the sale had one very positive aspect. American museums and individual buyers were given access to an absolute bonanza of classical marbles. J. Paul Getty, William Randolph Hearst and Wright S. Ludington swooped on truly spectacular Roman copies of lost Greek masterpieces, while other, more modest works found their way into smaller institutions and private caches.

Naturally, some later changed hands again, and in 2006, the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University, Atlanta, purchased a very rare marble *puteal* (well-head) of exquisite workmanship (**figs 3-6**) that deserves close study.³

The provenance of the *puteal*

This sculpture has a remarkably colourful past. It was first recorded in 1607 by the Neapolitan scholar, Giulio Cesare Capaccio. He noted that the marble was owned by Diomede Carafa (c. 1406-1487), 1st Count of Maddaloni. The count had amassed an outstanding collection of antiquities, which he used to embellish the interior and exterior of his palazzo in central Naples.⁴ Most of Carafa's marbles were antiquities of various kinds found in the city or the surrounding province of Pozzuoli, in the region of Campania. The well-head's carved detail of a snake twisted around a tripod (**fig. 4**) matches Capaccio's description of the motif "in marmorea basi pulcherrime effictum in aedibus Matalunensibus".⁵ Its provenance is further substantiated by the inscription carved into the marble's inner rim (**fig. 7**). It reads *XIDC*. Here, DC is the monogram of the owner, Diomede Carafa, and XI must be the marble's inventory number while in his collection.

The marble was also recorded in Lansdowne's day. De Divitiis has matched the Lansdowne marble with a drawing (**fig. 9**) –one of six made by the French artist Claude-François Nicole (d. 1783)– and Charles Townley was so intrigued by this work that he astutely acquired Nicole's detailed drawing for his "paper museum".⁶ On the verso of the

² Christie's 1930.

³ Accession no. 2006.38.1. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art. Measurements: H. 109 cm. Diam. at top 57 cm. Diam. at bottom 70.5 cm. Both the sculpture and repairs to its rim and base are of Carrara marble.

⁴ Dodero 2007, 119-140 for an in-depth study of the history of the Carafa-Colubrano family, their palazzo and its antiquities.

⁵ De Divitiis 2007, 104-105, fig. 6 and n. 17 with reference to Capaccio 1607, I 274. Matalunensibus is the Latin adjectival form of Maddaloni denoting items which they possessed.

⁶ The Nicole illustrations are contained in "Drawings from various antiquities", British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, ms. Shelfmark 59 c. De Divitiis 2007, 99-117 identified all six Nicole drawings with antiquities in the Carafa-Colubrano collection.

illustration leaf, the artist wrote "hotel Ronde Dans le Palais de Colu[m]brano Desi(g)né par Claude francois Nicole".⁷ From this note, we know that the well-head was located within the palazzo, rather than in its courtyard.

The Carafa-Colubrano collection, begun in the second half of the 15th century, remained essentially intact for almost three centuries. Then, in the late 18th century, the estate passed to a branch of the family who sold many of the antiquities. One of the chief buyers was Thomas Jenkins, and he undoubtedly purchased this marble and sold it on to Lansdowne.⁸ Townley, who bought the Nicole drawings, noted on the illustration of this *puteal "in ye possession of Ld Lans"*, thus confirming the marble's locale at that time.

The condition of the *puteal*

This sculpture's original function (*puteal* or altar) has been debated. However, based on its round shape, its heavily weathered interior with a wide, deep cavity and the runnels around the rim, the sculpture is a *puteal*. The runnels –regular, deep grooves– were caused over many years by ropes raising buckets of water (**fig. 7**). Well-heads often possess decorative schemes similar to altars, but high-quality examples rarely served a utilitarian function; normally, these were used as decorative receptacles for small fountains or plants.⁹ On the rim above the carved tripod, a crack opened in the stone –presumably due to the continual dragging of ropes under load. To prevent further damage, the owner fixed an iron clamp over the crack. A second iron clamp is evidence of another repair to the rim.

When Jenkins offered the piece for sale in the late 18th century, buyers of antiquities would have considered the marble as an ideal statue support. Its hollow body made it relatively light, and so reasonably portable with reduced transport costs. For its conversion, Jenkins added a base and lid with a triangular depression to receive a statue. Because of the marble's inherent weakness caused by the old crack, a reinforcing strut was inserted at each end that connected the original body to its new base and top. The interior of the rim also reveals that a recess was carved to accommodate the new lid.

Recently, when the sculpture was being relocated in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, this marble strut was exposed for the first time in centuries (**fig. 8**). It had been cut from a 12th century inscription naming Pope Clement III and Henry VI Hohenstaufen, King of Germany from 1190 to 1197. The inscription reads: ClEM(EN)TIS \cdot T(ER)T11 P(A) P(AE) \cdot ET HEN^IRC(I) II(=BIS) T(ER)TII (=SEXTI) IMPER(ATORIS).¹⁰ Above the inscription, remains of a delicate bead-and-reed border suggest that the marble was part of an ancient door jamb, which was left unfinished on the right side. This fact, together with its canonical architectural decoration, suggest that the strut was *spolio*, reused for the coronation inscription simply because the scrap was roughly the right length and included attractive ornament.

⁷ By the late 18th century the residence was known as the Palazzo Carafa di Colubrano.

⁸ Dodero 2007, 126-127 for some of Jenkins' purchases that he sold to Englishmen.

⁹ Golda 1997, 26. For well-heads decorated with flora and fauna and objects of the same high quality as the Lansdowne sculpture, see two examples at Newby Hall, Yorkshire: 88-89, nos 27, 28, pls. 52, 62. 1, 64, 2.

¹⁰ Ironically, the inscription commemorates an event that never occurred. Pope Clement III had agreed to crown Henry VI Hohenstaufen as Holy Roman Emperor, but the pontiff died in late March 1191, before the coronation. Pope Celestine III presided at the ceremony a month later.

Exposure to the elements has seriously degraded the surface and carvings on the *puteal*. A number of small holes scattered over the marble have been plugged, and a section of the rim above the griffin shows a repair –again using part of the medieval stone inscription. Both the head and neck of the swan are missing and there are several cracks along the lower edge.

Description of the *puteal*

The relief ground is divided into four fields by upright carved *thyrsi*. These sacred Dionysian staffs of giant fennel end in arrow-shaped points at the foot and are topped with ovate pine cones, thus uniting symbols of farm and forest, and conveying fertility. Just below the cones, delicately creased *taeniae* are tied into bows with their tails unfurling in the spaces between the *thyrsi*. Garlands, thick with foliage and fruit, are suspended from these ribbons. Along the base of the entire sculpture, rocky terrain indicates a rustic setting.

The top of the first panel (**fig. 3**) is filled with a heavy swag of large vine leaves and grape clusters. Beneath, the panther that Dionysos reputedly tamed and used as a mount stands on its hind legs.¹¹ With one front paw resting on the wide shoulder of a gigantic volute-krater, a vessel used for mixing water and wine, and the other reaching around to grasp the handle, the beast laps up this intoxicating mixture. The high volute handle rises from the container's shoulder and ends in a fanciful rosette embellishment, while a knopped stem links the vessel's body with its pedestal.¹²

Its bulbous bowl is fluted with broad ribs (gadroons) that divide into graceful, tapering segments. Such decoration recalls toreutic work and compares best with the Derverni krater and similar metal containers.¹³ Vases of precious metal were highly prized in antiquity and were quite rare; they are rarer still in the archaeological record because – unlike pottery vessels, they could be melted down and re-used. Both vessel and vegetation above it refer to the god of the grape, who journeyed around the earth presenting this gift to mankind.

Further Dionysiac paraphernalia –a *pedum* and an *oscillum*– are tied to a branch with a ribbon that flutters down in fanciful convolutions –just like the *taeniae* of the *thyrsi*. According to Virgil (*Geor*. II 388-392), whichever way the *oscilla* faced, the vines where it hung would become fruitful. Here, the *tondo* has a simple raised border and bears the image of a playful winged eros holding a torch in his lowered right hand and either a cup or grape cluster in his left.¹⁴ Ribbon ends dot the medallion's rim in four places. The relief ground of this quarter of the *puteal* is broken into a series of dramatic diagonals by the lurching panther, the slanting *pedum* and the arching vine spray with its medallion; this last element provides the focal point for the quadrant.

The panther's tail trails into the second field (**fig. 4**), which, under a riband joining the *thyrsi*, contains two sprays of bay laurel leaves with berries; this aromatic plant was used to fashion the victor's crown at the Pythian Games held every four years at Delphi in

¹¹ For Dionysos and the panther: *LIMC* 1986, 461 nos. 430-433 s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri).

¹² For its monumental size, shape and elaborate handles cf. Burn 1991, 107-127.

¹³ Barr-Sharrar 2008. Cf. the gadroon pattern on a "samovar": Pernice 9, fig. 7, pl. 2.

¹⁴ The *oscilla* of this type have fasciated edges and usually show single figures such as satyrs and maenads in the act of sacrificing or dancing. See Dwyer 1981, 251-253, 288-90; Dwyer 1982, 129-134.

Apollo's honour.¹⁵ Under the branches stands the oracle's tripod, representing Apollo's prophetic powers. Its legs are ornamented by square-topped capitals with triple *fasciae* and lion's paw feet. A snake entwines the central leg with its head inclined towards the viewer. Apollo took possession of Delphi by killing Python, the gigantic resident serpent, and thereafter, Pythia, his priestess and soothsayer, took her name from this creature.¹⁶

A swan with outstretched wings has just alighted on the tripod's bowl. Swans figure prominently in Apollonian mythology, especially as the god's means of transport. These birds carried the deity back to Greece from the northern land of the Hyperboreans, where he spent three months of winter every year. They also circled Delos seven times on the day of Apollo's birth.¹⁷ A red figure hydria in the Vatican Museums depicts Apollo sitting on a tripod equipped with swan wings, skimming over the seas; this combination of the bird with the tripod is similar to that of the Lansdowne piece.¹⁸ To the *puteal* tripod's right are the god's bow and a quiver with its baldric. The quiver has a scroll pattern in its middle segment and is crammed with six arrows. Its sinuous serpent, the swan's arching wings and the recurve bow offset the dominant tripod's strong verticals and horizontals.

The third scene (**fig. 5**) is densely packed with luxuriant foliage. A thick swag of ivy merges with the clustered needles and cones of a gnarled pine growing from the baseline of the *puteal*. Ivy was sacred to Dionysos and hardy evergreen pine was naturally linked to the god of wine making, since pine resin acted as a preservative.¹⁹ From one of the tree's branches hang double pipes and a *rhyton*, bound together by an elaborately looped and knotted ribbon.

The musical instrument is an $\alpha \vartheta \lambda \delta \varsigma$ or *tibia* (generic terms for various ancient woodwind instruments) of a type called $\delta \lambda \upsilon \mu \delta \varsigma$ or Phrygian pipes, because Phrygia was believed to be its place of its invention.²⁰ Such pipes are usually of unequal length, the shorter tube being straight and the longer one curving upward into a belled opening. The little bulb protruding from the body of one pipe is a collar or ring with a corresponding hole that could be swivelled to cover or uncover a pipe hole.

Most unusually for representations of this instrument, the straight pipe has been turned upside down to display its mouthpiece. A reed or $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma$ is would have slotted into its two bulbous sections, termed the $\delta\lambda\mu\sigma$ s and the $\dot{\nu}\phi\delta\lambda\mu\omega\nu$, which in turn fitted into the body of the pipe. In Rome, the use of Phrygian pipes was confined either to the worship of Kybele, or more usually, Dionysos; depictions of the god's *thiasos* often show satyrs and maenads piping on this instrument.²¹

The *rhyton* or drinking vessel was also a common feature in sacro-idyllic scenes. This container type terminates with a zoomorphic ornament and often has a spout in the lower

¹⁵ For laurel: Murr 1969, 92-98.

¹⁶ For the oracle of Pythian Apollo at Delphi and the legend of the site's foundation: Larson 2007, 93-94; *LIMC* 1994, 609-610, s.v. Python [L. Kahil].

¹⁷ Pollard 1997, 145-146. For Apollo's visit to the land of the Hyperboreans: Larson 2007, 137-138; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 162-168.

¹⁸ Attributed to the Berlin Painter: Vatican Museum, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Inv. 16568; Beazley Archive no. 201984: *LIMC* 1984, s.v. Apollo, 233, no. 382 (W. Lambrinudakis).

¹⁹ Murr 1969, 112-116 (pine), 141-148 (ivy).

²⁰ For the Phrygian pipes: Howard 1893, 35-38; Bélis 1986, 21-40; Zanopoulos 2008. For reed instruments including Phrygian pipes: West 1992, 81-107; Landels 1999, 24-46.

²¹ See e.g. the figure type of a satyr playing the Phrygian pipes: Matz 1966, I 42, no. 56.

part of the muzzle. Our example possesses a flared, moulded rim and a bent, elongated beaker rising from the back of an animal head. The vessel's bowl shape belongs to a special class of *rhyta* that are assimilated to the form of a horn, which is further emphasised by its lack of a handle.²² The terminal shows long ears and a rounded muzzle with fangs bared, suggesting a feline –most probably a lynx. Like the panther, the wild cat was one of the most bloodthirsty of all beasts of prey and an animal sacred to Dionysos.²³

The final scene on the well-head (**fig. 6**) shows two more laurel branches. Below them, Apollo's griffin poised on its haunches proudly stands watch; its gigantic, upswept wings fill nearly a third of the panel.²⁴ This legendary beast was depicted as the guardian of sacred sites and treasures, because of its supposed power to avert evil and protect against witchcraft. It was also Apollo's alternative means of transport to the idyllic land of the Hyperboreans.

The fusion of Apolline and Dionysiac symbols

One of the most interesting aspects of the well-head is the intermingling of Apolline and Dionysiac symbols.²⁵ This juxtaposition is extremely rare. The deities had opposite, yet complementary natures: one was associated with reason, the other with passionate emotion.²⁶ According to myth, Apollo assigned the Delphic oracle to his half-brother during his winter sojourns in Hyperborea. Like Apollo, the god of wine possessed the power of prophecy, and was therefore revered by Delphic priests. In addition, the two deities' similar appearance –comely young men with luxuriant hair– made them almost interchangeable in the visual arts.

Workmanship, locale and afterlife of the *puteal*

Although some of the individual features and fine detail of this superb marble have been lost through exposure to the elements, its high-quality carving is still manifest. For example, great care was taken to depict the working details of the Phrygian pipes, the eros on the *oscillum*, convolutions of the ribbons and delicately-graduated sculpting of the leaves.

Aesthetically, the fusion of flora, fauna and divine attributes creates a harmonious composition dedicated to the protection and prosperity of the living world. Its fine, intricate workmanship –including deep undercutting of ornamentation and copious bore holes defining the deeply-indented grape leaves– suggests a date in early imperial times.²⁷ Of the many art works of the Augustan era, this sculpture must rate among the finest

²² The von Mercklin class of *rhyta* is named after the scholar who first called attention to the group. For these vessels with various animal heads, see Ebbinghaus and Jones 2001, 381-394.

²³ Otto 1991, 112 and n. 57 with references to ancient literary sources.

²⁴ For the beast's connection to Apollo: *LIMC* 1984, 411, nos 345-347, s.v. Apollo/Apollon (E. Simon).

²⁵ In this connection, see an altar in the Museo Dieffenbach, Certosa di S. Giacomo, Capri, which shows a mixture of divine elements similar to the Lansdowne work. Garlands are suspended above paraphernalia symbolic of Dionysos and Ceres: Dräger 1994, 188-189, no. 9, pls 76, 77.

²⁶ Two architectural supports, found together in Tevere, show on one side Dionysos with a *taenia* and on the other, laurel-wreathed Apollo: Giuliano 1979, 336-338, nos 200, 201, Inv. nos 240, 234 (J. Papadopoulos). In the tradition of mixing Dionysos with Apollo: Schröder 1989. Further discussions of the syncretism of the two gods: Stewart 1982, 204-227; Zeitlin 2002, 193-218.

²⁷ Cf. the carving of the vegetation on the Ara Pacis: Castriota 1995, figs 10-16.

examples of craftsmanship. Promulgating the aura of a *felicitas temporum* as an integral part of state propaganda, sacro-idyllic landscapes were typical of Augustan culture.²⁸ It is possible that the Lansdowne sculpture was originally intended for ornamental use and later turned into a functioning well-head. At the Villa dei Papiri, a finely carved *puteal* originally stood above a cistern within a small, square peristyle.²⁹ Colonnaded courtyards, enhanced with statues, herms, *oscilla* and plant life, created an idyllic landscape. The superb Landsowne *puteal* may once have augmented the bucolic ambience of such an architectural lay-out surrounding an affluent citizen's villa. Sculptural references to rustic charms and symbols of holy protection on the Lansdowne marble would have complemented a peaceful retreat very agreeably.

In the 18th century, British connoisseurs were certainly well aware both of its beauty and its practical decorative value. Lansdowne used the marble as a base for a statue in the Sculpture Gallery of Lansdowne House (**fig. 2**).³⁰ The Nicole illustration (**fig. 9**) explicitly depicts the rich diversity of decoration on the *puteal*; the sculptor was clearly imaginative and resourceful enough to avoid repetition. He fashioned an appealing, varied design that invites examination of each of its self-contained panels, where the emblems and floral garlands are sacred first to one deity, then the other.

Nicole's ingenious "unwrapping" of the four panels of the marble allows us to appreciate fully their well-conceived format and elegant carvings (**fig. 9**). The artist obviously had a whimsical side to his talent, transforming the eros of the *oscillum* of the first panel into a grotesque fiend with withered arms and a long, beaked nose. However, the griffin in the fourth scene is more complex than the Frenchman's drawing indicates.³¹ Nicole drew a very detailed, eagle-headed lion with its head turned to its right, looking back over its shoulder. On-site examination, however, reveals that the sketchy carving allows the head to be "read" in two ways, and Nicole chose the more conventional one.

Close inspection confirms that the beast can also be understood as having an animal head, cocked back as far as possible and with its nose thrust straight up (**figs 10-11**). It has a blunt muzzle that curls up, a deep-set eye and a long, laid-back, lupine ear. The creature menacingly bares its sharp fangs, and beneath the substantial lower jaw, a scalloped ruffle forms a stylised beard. This head resembles a wolf, and the creature derives from a strong tradition of exotic landscapes, as in the Nile mosaic at Palestrina, which is populated by fabulous beasts.³² The ancient sculptor ingeniously created something much more fantastic

²⁸ Pliny (*NH* 35, 116-117) describes the genre as "villa landscape" painting as a genuinely new trend in domestic decoration. For an example: Settis 2008, 5-48. For the pioneering role of the Augustan painter, Studius, in the history of landscape painting: Vollkommer 2004, 427 s.v. Studius (R. Ling). For the simultaneous appearance of sacral-idyllic imagery in Augustan poetry and painting: Leach 1988, 197-260.

²⁹ Museo Nazionale, Naples Inv. 6676: Golda 1997, 86-87, cat. no. 23, pl. 60.1 and Beil. 1 with indication of its find-spot. Its place of discovery in a corner of the room points to a secondary use.

³⁰ Atop the altar was a statue of a boy restored as Harpokrates, which is now lost. For this statue: Clarac 1850, 342, pl. 763, no. 1877; Michaelis 1882, 456, no. 68; Sotheby's 1972, 28, lot 119; Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, II, 21, no. 28.

³¹ For the beast and its canonical forms: *LIMC* 1997, 609-611 s.v. Gryps (M. Leventopoulou).

³² Cf. the head of a creature, perched on a tree limb and called a "sphinx" from the Nile Mosaic, Museo Nazionale Archeologico: Whitehouse 2001, 90-91 no. 2. Further comparisons include a lupine-headed sea creature from the marine *thiasos* frieze of the Maritime Theatre, Hadrian's Villa, Villa Adriana Inv. no. 3127: Ueblacker and Caprino 1985, 67, pl. 58, 2 and a fabulous animal, labelled a "star canine": Gallazzi, Kramer and Settis 2008, 422-424, V29.

than the 18th century illustrator's stereotypical eagle head: a double-faceted, mythical monster possessing both avian and lupine features. On this marble masterpiece, the fertile mind of a classical artist far surpassed the imagination of his later interpreter.

Bibliography

Barr-Sharrar, B. 2008. *The Derveni Krater: Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwor*. Princeton. Bélis, A. 1986. "L'Aulos phrygien", *RA* 1986, 21-40.

- Bignamini, I. and Hornsby, C. 2010. *Digging and Dealing in Eigheenth Century Rome* I II. New Haven London.
- Burn, L. 1991. "A dinoid volute-krater by the Meleager Painter: an Attic vase in the South Italian manner", in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* vol. 5, *Occasional Papers on Antiquities*, 107-127.
- Capaccio, G.C. 1607. Historiae Neapolitanae I. Naples.
- Castriota, D. 1995. The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in Later Greek and Early Roman Imperial Art. Princeton.
- Christic's 1930: Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles, the property of the most honourable the Marquess of Lansdowne which will be sold by auction by Messrs, Christie, Manson & Woods (London, 5 March 1930).
- Clarac, F. Comte de 1850. Musée de sculpture antique et modern IV. Paris.
- De Divitiis, B. 2007. "New Evidence for Sculptures from Diomede Carafa's Collection of Antiquities", *JWCI* 70, 99-117.
- Dodero, E. 2007. "Le antichità di Palazzo Carafa-Colubrano: prodromi alla storia della collezione", *Napoli Nobilissima* 8, 119-140.
- Dräger, O. 1994. Religionem Significare. Studien su reich verzierten römischen Altären und Basen aus Marmor, RM Ergh. no. 33.
- Dwyer, E.J. 1981. Pompeian Oscilla Collections, Mainz.
- Dwyer, E. J. 1982. Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: a Study of Five Pompeian Houses and Their Contents, Archaeologica XXVIII. Rome.
- Ebbinghaus, S. and J.E. Jones 2001, "New evidence of the von Mercklin class of rhyta: a black-gloss rhyton from Agrileza", *BSA* 96, 381-394.
- Gallazzi, C., B. Kramer and S. Settis (eds) 2008. Il Papiro di Artemidoro. Milan.
- Giuliano, A. (ed.) 1979. Museo Nazionale romano. Le Sculture I. Rome.
- Golda, M. 1997. Puteale und verwandte Monumente: eine Studien zu römischen Ausstattungen. Mainz.
- Howard, A.A. 1893. "The Αὐλός or Tibia", HSPh 4, 35-38.
- Landels, J.G. 1999. Music in Ancient Greece and Rome. London New York.
- Larson, J. 2007. Ancient Greek Cults. A Guide. New York.
- Leach, E.W. 1988. The Rhetoric of Space. Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome. Princeton.
- *LIMC: Lexikon Ikonographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich München: Artemis; London BM: The British Museum, London.
- Matz, F. 1966. Die Dionysischen Sarkophage, ASR 4.1. Berlin.
- Michaelis, A. 1882. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Cambridge.
- Murr, J. 1969. Die Planzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie. Gröningen.
- Otto, W.F. 1991⁴. Dionysus. Myth and Cult trans. R.B. Palmer. Springfield, Texas.

- Oxford DNB 2010, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22070 (J. Cannon), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edn. May 2010.
- Pernice, E. 1925. Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii, Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze IV. Berlin. Pollard, J. 1977. Birds in Greek Life and Myth. London.
- Scott, J. 2010. The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome. New Haven London).
- Schröder, S. 1989. Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollon Lykeios. Studien zur Bildformulierung und Bildbedeutung in späthellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Rome.
- Settis, S. 2008. La villa di Livia. Le pareti ingannevoli. Milan.
- Sotheby's 1972. Sales Catalogue of Egyptian, Western, Asiatic, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities. Ancient Jewellery, Isnik and Islamic Pottery, London, 4 December 1972, 28, lot 119.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 2005. Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others. Myth, Ritual, Ethnicity. Stockholm.
- Stewart, A. 1982. "Dionysos at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and
- Religious Reform", in B. Barr-Sharrar and E.N. Borza (eds), Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times. Washington, 204-227.
- Ueblacker, M. and C. Caprino 1985. Das Teatro marittimo in der Villa Hadriana. Mainz.
- Vollkommer, R. 2004, Künstlerlexikon der Antike II. Munich Leipzig.
- West, M.L. 1992. Ancient Greek Music. Oxford.
- Whitehouse, H. 2001. Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings in A. Claridge (ed.), The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. A Catalogue Raisonné Series A – Antiquities and Architecture I. London.
- Zanopoulos, N. 2008. The Aulos-Players of the Ancient Greek World. Nicosia.
- Zeitlin, F.I. 2002. "Apollo and Dionysos: Starting from Birth", in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff, H.W. Singor *et al.* (eds), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 142. Leiden/Boston, 193-218.

Elizabeth Angelicoussis, PhD FSA Senior Associate Member, American School of Classical Studies, 6 Aravantinou, Athens 10674 elizabethangelicoussis@gmail.com



Fig. 1. Lansdowne House, Façade



Fig. 2. Lansdowne House, Sculpture Gallery



Figs. 3-6. *Puteal* © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photographs by Bruce M. White, 2009



Fig. 7. Part of the rim of the *puteal* with an inscription. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photographs by Bruce M. White, 2009



Fig. 8. The *puteal* support with an inscription. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photographs by Bruce M. White, 2009



Fig. 9. Drawing of the *puteal* by Claude-François Nicole. late 18th century.
Townley Collection of Miscellaneous Drawings © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 10. Detail of the griffin's head. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photograph by Bruce M. White, 2009



Fig. 11. Drawing of the griffin's head. Kate Morton