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FRONT COVER: Terracotta Votive Shield, Hellenistic period. Acc. No. 57.17 (see article, pages 23-37).

BACK COVER: New England Landscape No. 8 (Mt. Monadnock), by Charles Demuth, oil on board. Acc. No. 76.3. 31 x 41 cm.

*Museum photographs by Ronald G. Marquette, except pages 56, 57, 58, 59 by William H. Barnes and pages 6, 8 upper right, 9, 14 upper and lower right by Jeffrey B. Wilcox*

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## A Terracotta Votive Shield: Style and Iconography



Traits of Greek Archaic art constantly reappear in works of the late fifth century and the fourth century B.C., in the Hellenistic Age and in the Roman period. The terms “archaistic” and “archaizing” are understood to include a wide range of works which incorporate features inspired by the Archaic or intended to suggest it. Scholarly literature has been devoted overwhelmingly to the elegant poses and stylized drapery of the Neo-Attic reliefs; however, late Hellenistic archaizing art combines Neo-Attic motifs and a more general group of works which reflect Archaic elements, these often eclectically combined with fifth-century B.C. and early Hellenistic types.<sup>1</sup> The Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia possesses a unique example of late Hellenistic archaizing — a terracotta shield with figures in relief (Cover and Figs. 1-3).<sup>2</sup>

The form of the shield (Fig. 3) follows a long tradition of votive shields in metal, stone and terracotta from the early seventh century B.C. into the Roman period. Agnes Stillwell, in discussing the terracotta shields found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, compiled a list of Greek votive shields, most of them found in shrines.<sup>3</sup> Votive shields were offered for a variety of reasons: in gratitude for victories, as prizes in

games and contests, or as dedications to various gods.<sup>4</sup> Other votive shields found in connection with tombs have been interpreted as indications either of a cult of the dead or of a hero cult.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of the Missouri shield, however, is uncertain.

When the shield was purchased, it was so covered with dirt and with wax used to fill damaged spots that it was not possible to determine its true state. Only after cleaning were the uniformity of the clay and the added blue and red colors (described below) revealed. A thermoluminescence test on the clay confirms the object's antiquity.<sup>6</sup>

The shield was made by pressing manually into a mold, as is shown by the innumerable fingerprints on the roughly finished reverse (Fig. 4). There are no apparent devices for attachment of the shield to a background.

The focal point of the relief decoration is the gorgoneion in the middle of the shield, placed slightly off-center to the left. The face is round and the forehead is bordered by corkscrew curls painted red and surmounted by a row of bluish-black dots. The ears protrude and are flattened against the background; the eyebrows

1. Above: the Missouri shield before restoration.



2. The shield in its present condition. The figures are numbered to facilitate discussion of the various groups.

3. Profile of the shield, shown half actual size. Drawing by Dona Barton.



4. Reverse of the Missouri shield, showing maker's fingerprints.



are sharp and angular, joined in a continuous curve with the long nose, ending in flaring nostrils. The upper eyelids are also sharp and extend beyond the outer edges of the large round eyeballs. The low, protruding cheeks emphasize the grinning mouth. The thin lips disclose ten upper teeth and only four lower, the rest being covered by the tongue. On each side of the mouth project two long fangs, one curving outward from the top, the other inward from the bottom. The long, broad tongue extends over the entire chin.

Twenty figures placed around the edge of the shield and often overlapping are all apparently nude male warriors in various attitudes of battle. Sixteen of the figures (I-III, V-VIII, X-XI, XIII-XVIII and XX) wear dark blue helmets with red plumes, most identified as probably Corinthian, e.g., XVIII, some possibly Thracian, with the cheek-pieces detached, e.g., XV. The helmets of figures IV, IX, XII and XIX are without plumes, probably owing to the positions of the heads. Eleven figures carry circular, convex shields bordered by wide rims, often showing

hand grips and double arm bands. Most of the figures are pictured in the so-called Archaic composite pose — head in profile, frontal torso and legs in profile. The head is often fully articulated, with frontal eye (eyebrow and eyelid indicated), long pointed nose, lips (sometimes upturned as if smiling), and generally a long, pointed beard. The pectoral muscles may be delineated, and the navel, genitals and pelvic area are often shown. The leg muscles are sometimes indicated, and the legs, feet, arms and hands are often elongated. Some of the figures are posed partly in the more advanced three-quarter view, e.g., II, VII and XVIII.

Figure I kneels on his right leg; both hands are clenched as if grasping a bow and bowstring (not visible, perhaps added in paint). Figure II crouches on his right leg, carrying a shield on his left arm and perhaps holding a spear in his lowered right fist. Figure III strides to the right, confronting V above the fallen body of IV; his right arm, bent upward, perhaps held a spear, and on his left arm is a shield. The frontal figure IV rests on his right arm; the shield on his left

arm is partially hidden by the body. His lower right leg is bent under at the knee; the left lies outstretched. Figure V strides to the left, confronting III. His right hand, possibly holding a spear, extends above the shield which, as in XX, covers his left arm and chest. Figure VI kneels on his left leg. His raised right hand possibly clenched a spear. The shield covering his torso is tilted to reveal the body underneath. Figure VII crouches on his left leg; again both hands are clenched as if holding a bow and bowstring. Figure VIII, with torso hidden by his shield, bends to the left, carrying IX on his back. The body of IX, shown completely in profile, flows along the curved body of VIII in a gentle arc from the head along the side of the torso and right leg to the downward pointing foot. These two figures are poorly preserved and discolored. Figure X reaches down to pull on the arms of the fallen figure XII. Figure XI strides to the right to confront XIII with his right fist raised (perhaps holding a spear) and a shield on his left arm. This figure is placed behind X and XII and is overlapped by XIII. Figure XII, his body frontally outstretched, his arms extended above his head, is pulled in opposite directions by X and XIV. Figure XIII strides to the left, confronting XI and perhaps holding a spear in his raised right fist. His torso and left arm are hidden beneath the shield. Figure XIV bends to the left to grasp the feet of XII. Figure XV bends to the right as if giving aid to XVI, a fallen warrior who is supporting his weight on his shield. Figure XVII strides to the right, confronting XX, his right arm raised, hand clenched in a fist to hold a spear (no longer visible). On his left arm is a shield. Between XVII and XX, XVIII bends forward to support the collapsing body of XIX

upon his left knee. Figure XX strides to the left, confronting XVII, his torso and left arm covered by a shield, his right arm raised as if he were holding a spear.

Few published votive shields are comparable to this one in form and composition. The wide, flat rims on most shields are noticeably different from the narrow rim surrounding the convex center of the Missouri shield. The absence of any attachment device or an interior handle also differentiates it. The composition of the decorative elements — painted or in relief — on the majority of shields is most often one central device on the boss, for example, a gorgoneion, a wreath or some other simple design, or a tightly composed group of two figures, for example, the fighting warriors found at Corinth.<sup>7</sup> Although there are few comparable examples, the Missouri relief is not unique in its multi-figured composition. Copies of the Athena Parthenos shield not only reproduce interwoven groups of figures but also have narrow rims such as that on our shield (Fig. 5).<sup>8</sup>

THE TWENTY FIGURES are interrelated in varying degrees of compositional unity. There is a distinct unevenness in the layout. Figures VIII-IX, X-XIV and XVII-XX are tightly interwoven in overlapping or interrelated groups. Figures I-VII are symmetrically united over the fallen body of IV, yet are generously spaced as individual, separate forms. The spacing between the figures varies from well integrated groupings to figures which overlap or even fuse for no apparent reason except lack of space, for example, figures XIV-XV and XVI-XVII. Although most of the figures do fall into logical, planned compositions (such as I-VII and X-XIV), other

5. *The Strangford Shield of Athena Parthenos. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.*



figures or groups seem detached, almost isolated, such as VIII-IX and XVIII-XIX. The craftsman obviously displayed an interest in details both in the gorgoneion and in the figures (treatment of facial features, especially the eye area, delineation of muscles and hands, etc.), but he distorted the compositional unity by an irregular and at times seemingly illogical placement of figures. One might reasonably hypothesize that the artist began his composition spacing the figures widely but, as the area decreased, was forced to squeeze and make them overlap.

A repetition of poses is also evident within the composition. Figures X and XIV bend forward over the body of XII in a pose which resembles that of XV. Figures III, XI and XVII stride forward in combat attitude to the right; figures V, XIII and XX stride to the left. Figures I and VII represent kneeling archers, again sym-

metrically opposed over the body of a fallen warrior, figure IV. These various poses are basically familiar Archaic attitudes. The frontal eye, profile head, frontal chest and hips blending into profile legs and feet compose the standard Archaic formula found on reliefs and in vase decoration. K. Friis Johansen, in his work concerning the *Iliad* in early Greek art, analyzes the Archaic "conventional formulae" which represented various incidents from the Trojan War. These types, employed to depict certain frequently recurring situations, such as combat over the body of a fallen warrior, were commonly combined, regardless of the unity of time and space, to form one composition.<sup>9</sup>

The repetition of poses within the Missouri shield relief and the variations on a common theme, such as figures IV and XVI (a fallen warrior) and figures II and VI (a crouching or kneeling spear-bearer), point to the firmly estab-

6. *Battle of Gods and Giants*, detail from north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. Archaeological Museum, Delphi.



7. Detail of a krater by Exekias, depicting the battle over the body of Patroclus. Archaeological Museum, Volo, Greece.

lished types of the Archaic period, as does the union of related yet separate combat scenes within the whole composition. Yet, despite a seemingly uniform Archaic appearance, strong stylistic discrepancies are obvious. As mentioned, several figures are not depicted in the composite Archaic pose but are shown either partly in three-quarter view, completely in profile, or even totally frontal. The arms, legs and feet of several figures (such as XIV) have been unnaturally elongated, contradicting the short, stocky proportions found in Archaic works such as the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps even more important, not all

the groups recall Archaic types, but often types of the late fifth century and the third century B.C. (such as figures X-XIV and XVIII-XIX). This combination of late stylistic characteristics with early ones, and Archaic poses with Classical and Hellenistic types, must point to the eclectic period of late Hellenistic archaizing. A discussion of the figural parallels and prototypes of the relief will demonstrate this.

OUR GORGONEION is difficult to categorize stylistically. The nose, mouth, tongue and teeth are exaggerated, yet the usual almost animalistic distortion and stylization are absent. The Ar-



chaic spiral curls frame a face too pleasant to inspire fear. It seems as if the attempt to create an Archaic apotropaic type had become confused with the benevolent gorgoneia of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>11</sup> Although the gorgoneion does not resemble exactly any one regional type, the broad, round face and large, protruding tongue resemble certain Italian examples. These western types contain only some similar elements, such as the facial shape or rounded eyes.<sup>12</sup> No published example offers an exact parallel. It is of interest, however, to note that the western types are often slightly archaic and at least in that sense related to our gorgoneion.

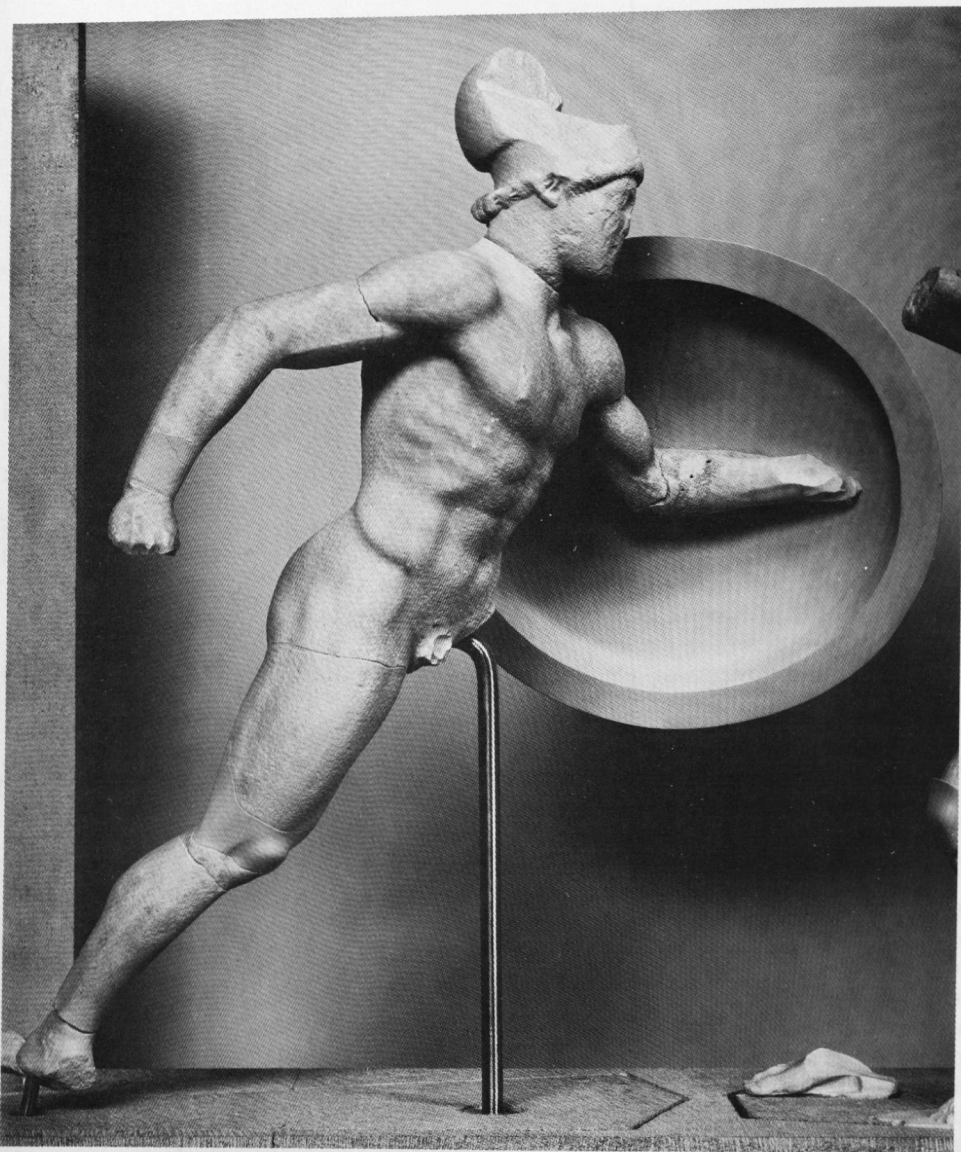
Examples of the striding warrior (figures III, V, XI, XIII, XVII and XX) abound in Archaic art. The battle of gods and giants on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (Fig. 6) shows striding warriors in the Archaic profile-frontal composite pose commonly found in two-dimensional representations such as vase paintings and low reliefs.<sup>13</sup> Examples of striding warriors or groups of warriors in combat scenes are not only similarly composed in the standard Archaic stance (rushing forward with raised spear) but also are similar physically. The figures tend to be stout and of heavy proportions, an element observed most often in two-dimensional representations, although found in some free-standing *kouroi* and pedimental statuary as well. Post-Archaic examples of striding warriors also exist, drawing upon the early formulae, but they are often slimmer and more naturalistic. Arretine reliefs also display warrior figures with more slender proportions.<sup>14</sup>

The archer or kneeling spear-bearer (figures I, II, VI and VII) occurs in Archaic representa-

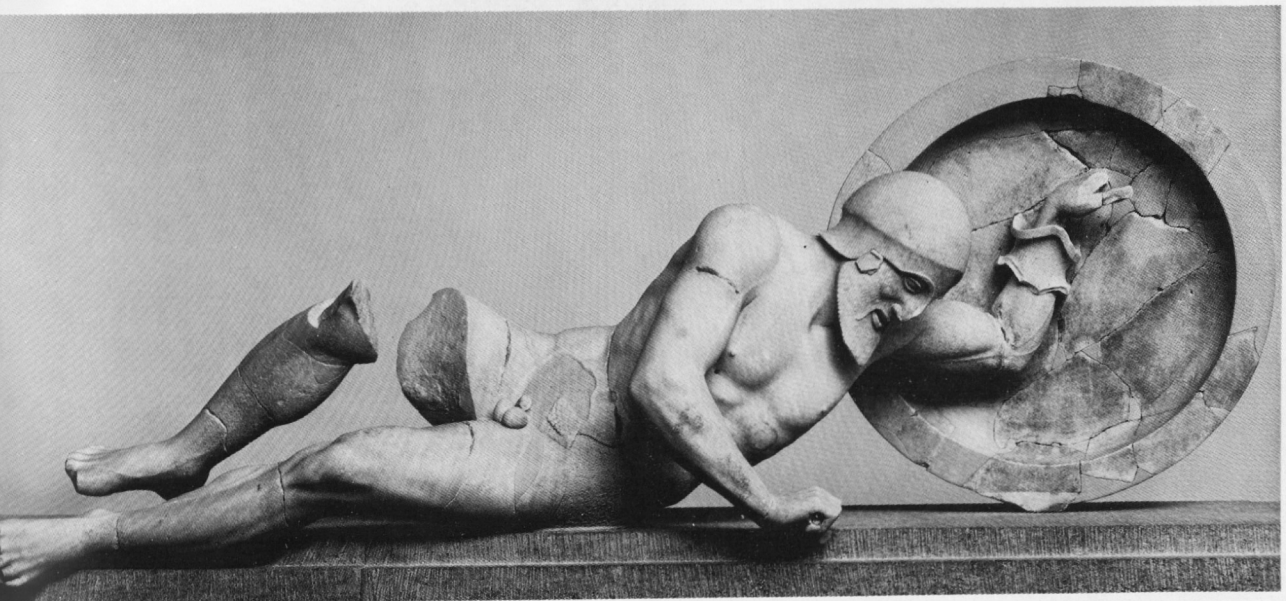
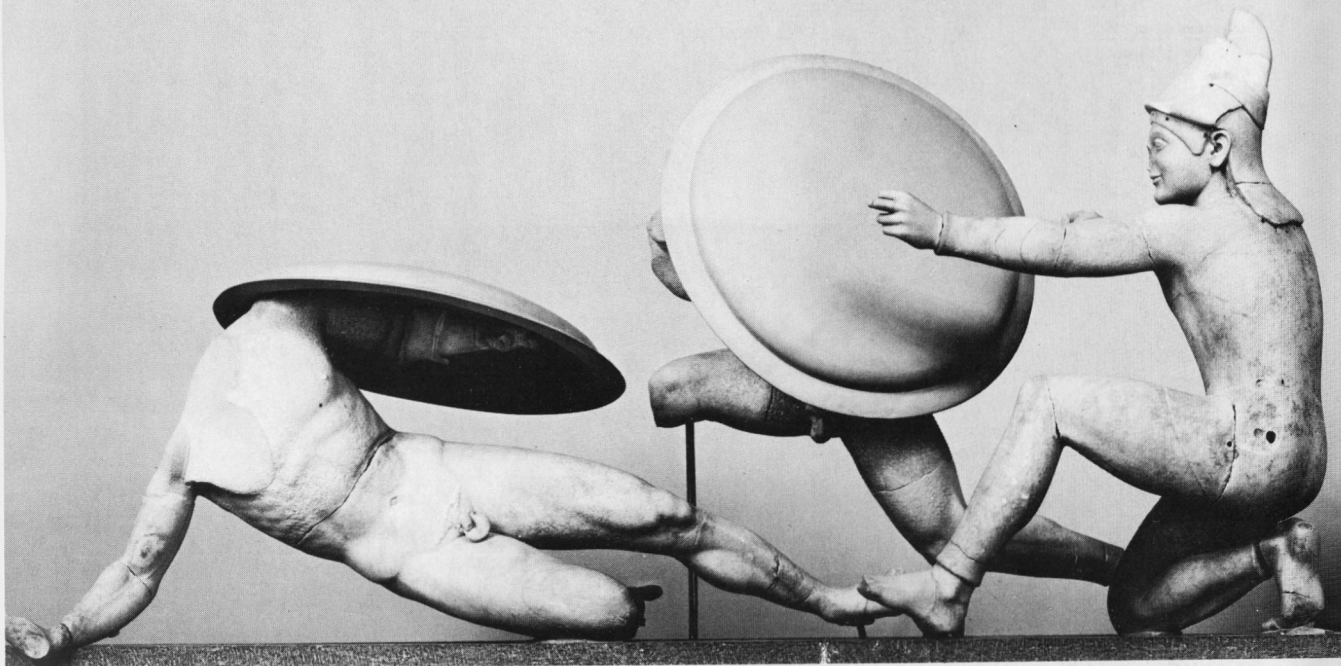
tions either singly or in combat. Examples of both are found on gems and black-figured and red-figured pottery.<sup>15</sup> More important, however, is the use of the archer and crouching spear-thrower together, to fill the sloping corners of pediments, such as on the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina. It is from these diagonal compositions that the relief draws these four figures, as will be shown.

A more complex variant of the Archaic combat formula is the battle over the body of a fallen warrior, fought by two warriors or by several, often with the addition of two opposing warriors pulling on the fallen body. The contesting figures are represented in the standard striding pose, with bending figures (shown in composite view) reaching for the fallen body. Most often the latter is in profile with the back leg bent. The shield relief contains several sections of this scene: figures III-V, XV-XVI and, most complete and complex, X-XIV. Many examples of this scene exist in Archaic art, especially in vase painting.<sup>16</sup> Two almost identical calyx kraters by Exekias depict three sets of warriors battling over the naked, outstretched body of Patroclus, who is represented in the common Archaic manner with the right knee raised (Fig. 7).<sup>17</sup> An Attic amphora in Leipzig, closely related to the Tyrrhenian group and dated to shortly before the middle of the sixth century B.C., shows two warriors pulling the fallen body so fiercely that it is raised off the ground.<sup>18</sup>

The evidence for conventional formulae in Archaic art extends even further. In some cases (figures I-VII, XV-XVII and XX) there are parallels with statues on the pediments of the Aegina temple (Fig. 8, a-c).<sup>19</sup> This is not surprising, for



8. Pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina. Above: striding warrior from the east pediment. Opposite page, above: fallen warrior and archer from the west pediment; below: fallen warrior from the east pediment. Photos courtesy of Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.



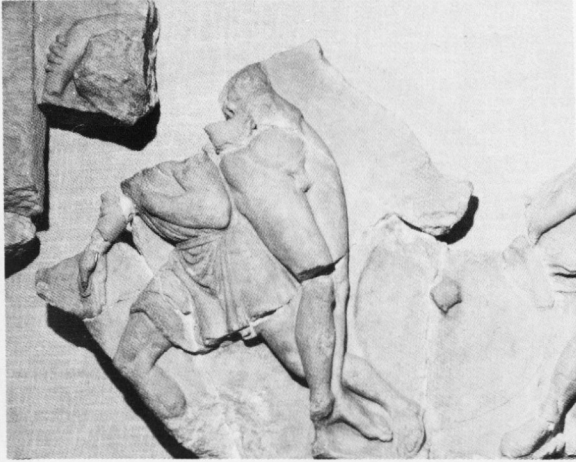


9. Above: *combat over a fallen warrior, from west frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike. Acropolis Museum, Athens.*



10. Left: *Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, from the François Vase. Museo Archeologico, Florence.*

11. Opposite page, above: *warrior carrying a dead comrade, detail of frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.*



the various poses on the Aegina pediments are typical of the Archaic period. Figures I-VII, moreover, compose a triangular group so close in style and posture to the heavily proportioned Aegina statues that it can be identified as a copy of the pedimental statuary.

The eclectic character of the shield relief is revealed through comparisons with works of later periods. Figures X-XIV are struggling over the body of a fallen warrior, a type of Archaic combat scene. As mentioned, both bending figures X and XIV are not shown in the Archaic composite pose, but in a somewhat distorted three-quarter view, a later element. Also the fallen warrior, XII, is depicted frontally, rather than in the typical Archaic profile pose. The frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, dated to ca. 425 B.C., depicts this scene in a freer, more naturalistic composition (Fig. 9).<sup>20</sup> Although the six figures (rather than four) are interwoven in a more complex and animated group, a similarity exists.

The Archaic representation of a warrior carrying a wounded or dead comrade, typified by the depiction of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles as shown on the "François Vase" by Kleitias and Ergotimos (Fig. 10),<sup>21</sup> is not found on the shield relief. Rather, figures VIII and IX show the warrior carrying the lifeless body completely on his back, and the most convincing comparison is found on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Fig. 11).<sup>22</sup>

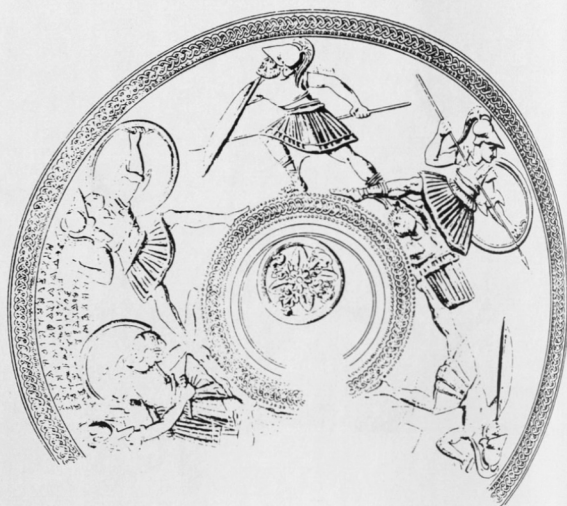
The scene depicting a warrior bending forward to support a collapsing comrade occurs in

12. Left: Menelaus and Patroclus, group as reconstructed by Schweitzer. Antikenmuseum, Leipzig.

Classical and post-Classical art in divers contexts including wounded amazons and drunken bacchantes. For example, a segment of the Bassae frieze shows an amazon grasping her falling companion under her arms in an effort to raise her from the ground, but not resting the backward bending body against a leg, as in figures XVIII and XIX.<sup>23</sup> This group does resemble closely the Hellenistic group of Menelaus and Patroclus, reconstructed by Schweitzer and dated to the third quarter of the third century B.C. (Fig. 12).<sup>24</sup> The lifeless body of Patroclus rests against Menelaus' left thigh and the right arm against his left shoulder, as on the shield. On the relief the warrior bends forward but does not look back, as does the figure of Menelaus. The twisted pose of the dead body, shown in three-quarter view, is definitely Hellenistic.<sup>25</sup>

One more comparison is a Boeotian "Homeric" relief bowl dated by Hausmann to 150 B.C. (Fig. 13).<sup>26</sup> This Hellenistic work contains three combat scenes from the *Little Iliad*, by Lesches of Mytilene, describing the battle over the corpse of Achilles: a combat over the fallen warrior, a simple duel, and the third scene with Ajax supporting the falling body in a pose directly reminiscent of the Menelaus and Patroclus group discussed above.<sup>27</sup> Each of these three scenes is found on the shield: figures XVIII and XIX — the falling warrior, XVII and XX, etc. — the duel, and III, IV and V — combat over a fallen warrior. The figures on the Homeric bowl are clothed and, in some instances, in slightly different poses, but the overall similarity is remarkable.

An analysis of the iconography of the battle scenes on the shield relief would seem to place it logically within the large group of works relat-



ing to the Trojan War. The majority of stylistic comparisons, such as the various combat scenes on black-figured pottery, the Aegina pediments, the Ajax-Achilles group and the Menelaus-Patroclus group, relate to the Trojan War, yet they are not limited to the Homeric formula. The epic cycle continues beyond the *Iliad* in other works such as the *Aethiopis*, the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliupersis*, which relate the legends concerning Penthesilea, Memnon, the death of Achilles, the suicide of Telamonian Ajax, and the fall of Troy. Nevertheless, the Hellenistic world displayed considerable enthusiasm for Homer, reflected, for example, in the "Homeric" relief bowls.<sup>28</sup> This interest extended into the Roman period and was reflected in an appreciation of existing works and new compositions.<sup>29</sup>

The Trojan War pervades the iconography of Greek art. The scenes became so standardized that one cannot accurately identify specific incidents in the cycle if the artist did not add explanatory inscriptions. The stock types shown on the shield relief may be interpreted as any conflict within the war. Even groups such as figures VIII and IX or XVIII and XIX cannot be identified as Menelaus and Patroclus or Ajax

13. Left: Homeric relief bowl from Anthedon, with three combat scenes. *Antiquarium, Berlin*. Drawing from Robert, *Winckelmannsfeste 50* (1890) 30.

and Achilles, for the *Iliad* alone contains numerous battle scenes fought over fallen comrades who are eventually carried off the battlefield.<sup>30</sup> The scenes on the shield must be viewed simply as reflecting the epic tradition.

The gorgoneion is an apotropaic device typical on shields. It is found upon the shield of Agamemnon mentioned in the *Iliad* and is represented on many later votive shields and in vase painting.<sup>31</sup>

The combination of eclecticism and archaism displayed in the composition of the shield relief is indicative of the Hellenistic style, but it also raises questions concerning the familiarity of the ancient artist with types and individual compositions from diverse periods. The concept of copybooks or books of cartoons in the ancient world has attracted many scholars. Both Becatti and Havelock distinguish between pattern books and pointing machines, the former aiding in the crystallization of the profile type so prevalent in Neo-Attic archaistic reliefs.<sup>32</sup> Bianchi-Bandinelli theorizes that compositional and iconographical schemes were widespread in the Graeco-Roman world and that from the mid-second century B.C. artists had access to cartoons of the great master-

pieces.<sup>33</sup> There is no direct evidence of the existence of copybooks containing schematic drawings of the major monuments, books whose contents Hellenistic and Roman artisans freely adapted. Nevertheless, such books or scrolls may reasonably be hypothesized. Roman Imperial gems reflect strong borrowing from earlier, Greek compositions for, as Richter points out, the same composition recurs not only in the work of several engravers but also in other media. Arretine and other ceramic and metallic relief wares also draw upon figures recalling Greek works of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>34</sup> Through some means, whether copybooks or sketchbooks, the artist who created the Missouri shield relief appears to have been aware not merely of different styles, but also of individual works. It seems reasonable to assume that if copybooks did exist in Hellenistic artistic circles, the artist adapted to his composition standard types and specific monuments within the existing repertory.

THE MISSOURI TERRACOTTA relief shield is an excellent example of Hellenistic archaizing art. The combination of Archaic conventional poses and scenes from major monuments of Classical and Hellenistic art reflects the eclectic, disjointed style of archaistic works. Considering the volume of archaistic works in the late Hellenistic period and the stylistic evidence analyzed above, a late second-century B.C. date seems reasonable. The shield is a unique piece in the large group of archaistic works reflecting the eclectic adaptation and copying of the late Hellenistic period.

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*Abilene, Kansas*

- <sup>1</sup> For bibliography see Christine M. Havelock, "Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *American Journal of Archaeology* 68 (1964) 43-58, and Evelyn B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora* 11, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton 1965) 50 ff.
- <sup>2</sup> Acc. No. 57.17. Provenance unknown. Diameter 25.9 cm., thickness varying from 4 mm. to 9 mm., apex of curve 4.8 cm., width of border ca. 7 mm. Pinkish-buff fabric, identified as Corinthian by Dr. S. S. Weinberg. Before acquisition broken and roughly mended with gum arabic. Present condition, after restoration: considerably pitted, several mended breaks with plaster reinforcement, part of gorgoneion's face and right ear missing. Traces of bluish-black and red pigment (see pp. 23 and 25). H. of gorgoneion 9.5 cm., W. 10.2 cm.; figures 8 mm. to 17 mm. from border, H. 1.8 cm. to 6 cm., L. to 7.7 cm. H. of relief varies to 7 mm. This article has been adapted from the author's M.A. thesis, "An Archaistic Terracotta Shield Relief. A Stylistic and Iconographic Study" (May 1975).
- <sup>3</sup> Agnes N. Stillwell, *The Potters' Quarter, Corinth* 15, 2. *The Terracottas* (Princeton 1952) 216-231, describes shields with flat rims, rounded central bosses, small loop handles and frequently small suspension holes placed close together in the rims, dating from the late sixth to the first half of the fifth century B.C.
- <sup>4</sup> W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1902) 97, 105, 153; Arthur Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (New York 1910) 92-97. See also Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.10. 4-5; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.54.
- <sup>5</sup> A. N. Stillwell, op. cit., 217-221; Cornelius C. Vermeule III, "A Greek Theme and Its Survivals: The Ruler's Shield (Tondo Image) in Tomb and Temple," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 109 (1965) 367-368. See also Oscar Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 128-161; Ernst Pfuhl, "Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 20 (1905) 147-150.
- <sup>6</sup> I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Ralph M. Rowlett, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri-Columbia, for conducting a thermoluminescence test, which produced a date of  $110 \pm 90.25$  B.C.
- <sup>7</sup> Gladys R. Davidson, "A Hellenistic Deposit at Corinth," *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 121, describes painted shields with two warriors fighting, a warrior and a woman, and a warrior and a horse. Also A. N. Stillwell, op. cit., pls. 48-50.
- <sup>8</sup> The multi-level composition of the Athena Parthenos shield is far more complex than the Missouri shield; Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos - a Reconstruction* (Toronto 1971) 41-50, and Evelyn B. Harrison, "The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 107-133.
- <sup>9</sup> K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967) 36-40, 57.
- <sup>10</sup> Charles Picard and Pierre F. de la Coste-Messelière, *Fouilles de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes, sculptures grecques de Delphes* (Paris 1927) 14-18, pl. 13.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I, 1695-1727, s.v. *Gorgones und Gorgo* (Adolf Furtwaengler); Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia, a Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford 1931) 82 ff.; and Ernst Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (Stuttgart 1958) pl. 15, 2.
- <sup>12</sup> E.g., Arvid Andréén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etruscan Temples* (Lund 1940) pl. 72, no. 243, from Orvieto; Gisela Walberg, "An Architectural Terracotta from Veii," *Opuscula Romana* 6 (1968) 193-195, Augustan period; Elizabeth D. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia* (London 1923) 137-150, pl. 14; and Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld, *Architektonische roemische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1911), show various archaistic gorgoneia of the Roman period.
- <sup>13</sup> E.g., Edmond Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1897-1901) Vol. 1, pls. 44, 45, Vol. 2, pls. 58-60, and Gisela M. A. Richter and Lindsay F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven 1936) pls. 19, 34, 99.
- <sup>14</sup> George H. Chase, *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* (New York 1908) pls. 16, no. 102, 17, no. 150, 18, no. 154.
- <sup>15</sup> John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London 1970) 184, pls. 352, 356; C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) pl. 35, no. 3, spear-thrower behind shield; Joseph C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases* (Cambridge 1919) Vol. 2, 282 f., archer in combat scene.
- <sup>16</sup> E.g., Pottier, op. cit., Vol. 1, pl. 49, Vol. 2, pls. 54, 63; Hoppin, op. cit., Vol. 2, 248 f., 418 f. Also George Dennis, "Two Archaic Greek Sarcophagi, Recently Discovered in the Necropolis of Clazomenae," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4 (1883) 4, fig. 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Oscar Broneer, "A Calyx Krater by Exekias," *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 468-486, from the fill of the North Slope of the



- Acropolis; Nicholas M. Verdels, "Kalykoeides Krater tes Technes tou Exekiou," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1952, 96-116, found at Pharsalus in 1951.
- <sup>18</sup> Johansen, op. cit., 192 f., fig. 78, Leipzig University Archaeological Institute T 2176.
- <sup>19</sup> Adolf Furtwaengler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia* 1 (Munich 1906) 174-274; Dieter Ohly, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 81 (1966) 515-528.
- <sup>20</sup> See Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (Paris 1909-1912) Vol. 1, 17; Elizabeth G. Pemberton, "The East and West Friezes of the Temple of Athene Nike," *A.J.A.* 76 (1972) pl. 61, fig. 3.
- <sup>21</sup> See also Johannes Sieveking, *Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Sammlung Loeb* (Munich 1930) 52 f., pl. 38, Munich SL 458, manner of the Lysippides Painter.
- <sup>22</sup> Reinach, op. cit., 222; William B. Dinsmoor, "The Sculptured Frieze from Bassae (A Revised Sequence)," *A.J.A.* 60 (1956) pl. 141.
- <sup>23</sup> Reinach, op. cit., 222, 224. This Phigaleian pose is echoed in other reliefs, including a Hellenistic cista from Praeneste, published by Georg Matthies, *Die Praenestini-schen Spiegel: ein Beitrag zur Italischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* (Strasbourg 1912) 35-43, and a Roman plaster cast of a late fifth-century B.C. Greek metal bowl in the Vatican Library, discussed by Gisela M. A. Richter, "Ancient Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware," *A.J.A.* 62 (1958) 374, pl. 95, fig. 35.
- <sup>24</sup> Bernhard Schweitzer, "Die Menelaos-Patroklos-Gruppe. Ein verlorenes Meisterwerk hellenistischer Kunst," *Die Antike* 14 (1938) pl. 2, Antikemuseum, Leipzig; Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (New York 1961) 78 ff., figs. 274, 275.
- <sup>25</sup> The gender of the fallen warrior (figure XIX) could be disputed owing to the treatment of the genitals and the pectoral area. Perhaps this is simply the result of poor workmanship, but it could be due to confusion with the female counterpart of a similar Hellenistic group of Achilles and Penthesilea or earlier amazon groups. In any case, figures XVIII and XIX take their inspiration from a Hellenistic group of the late third century B.C.
- <sup>26</sup> Carl Robert, "Homerische Becher," *Fuenfzigstes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der archaeologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (1890) 30-38; Ulrich Hausmann, *Hellenistische Relief-becher aus attischen und boeotischen Werkstaetten: Untersuchungen zur Zeitstellung und Bildueberlieferung* (Stuttgart 1959) 54, #16. For bibliography see Hausmann, op. cit., 15-58, and Adolf Greifenhagen, "Beitraege zur antiken Reliefkeramik," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Ergaenzungsheft* 21 (1963) 52-65.
- <sup>27</sup> Robert, op. cit., 32, points this out.
- <sup>28</sup> Ptolemy IV commissioned a shrine for Homer, known as the Homereion; Eumenes II included a statue of Homer in his library, Hiero II of Syracuse placed a mosaic floor depicting the story of the *Iliad* in the ship he presented to Ptolemy IV, and Archelaos of Priene created a sculptural group, the Apotheosis of Homer, dated to the third or second century B.C. See Schweitzer, op. cit., 61 ff.; T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Art* (London 1967) 35, 102 ff.; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 5. 207, c. d.
- <sup>29</sup> Pliny (*NH* 35. 144) reports that Theoros, an early third-century B.C. artist, produced a cycle of pictures of the Trojan War, later placed in the Gallery of Philip in Rome; Vitruvius (*On Architecture* 7. 5. 2) suggests the battles at Troy as subjects for fresco paintings. The *Tabula Iliaca*, Graeco-Roman reliefs dating from the first century B.C. to the Antonine period, containing bands of figures illustrating the Greek text, are discussed by Anna Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques* (Warsaw 1964).
- <sup>30</sup> Battles over the body of a fallen warrior in the *Iliad*: 4. 470-472, over Elephenor; 13. 496 ff., over Alcathous; 16. 532 ff., over Sarpedon; 16. 755 ff., over Cebriones; and 17. 1 ff., over Patroclus.
- <sup>31</sup> Thalia P. Howe, "The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head," *A.J.A.* 58 (1954) 212 f.; Homer, *Iliad* 11. 36, describes the gorgoneion with Terror and Rout as its companion pieces on the aegis of Athena and the one on the shield of Agamemnon; Caroline A. Hutton, "Votive Reliefs in the Akropolis Museum," *J.H.S.* 17 (1897) 315 f., fig. 7, discusses an Archaic gorgoneion on a votive shield; A. Furtwaengler, Friedrich Hauser and Karl Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei, Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder* (Munich 1932) Vol. 3, 228, fig. 110, shows a shield of Achilles not like Homer's description in *Iliad* 18, 468 ff.
- <sup>32</sup> Havelock, op. cit., 48 f.; Giovanni Becatti, "Lo Stile Arcaistico," *La Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) 47 f. See also F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* (Stuttgart 1889).
- <sup>33</sup> Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Ilias Ambrosiana)* (Olten 1955) 18.
- <sup>34</sup> Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge 1959) 3; Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Subjects on Roman Engraved Gems, their Derivation, Style and Meaning," *Revue archéologique* (1968) 279-286; George H. Chase, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Arretine Pottery* (Boston 1916) 24 f.