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Missouri in Cyprus: The Kourion Expedition

In 1978 the University of Missouri and the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore conducted archaeological excavations at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion in southwest Cyprus.¹ This major cult center was first excavated by General Luigi Palma di Cesnola during his tenure as American Consul to Cyprus in the 1860s and 1870s.² Cesnola's aim was to hunt for treasure, as a newly uncovered letter to his friend Hiram Hitchcock shows, and to rival the great discoveries of Schliemann then being made at Troy:

.... your friend Cesnola has just made the discovery of many *gold* things, beneath a temple here; the quantity and quality of which throws into shade Schliemann's so-called Treasure of Priam.³

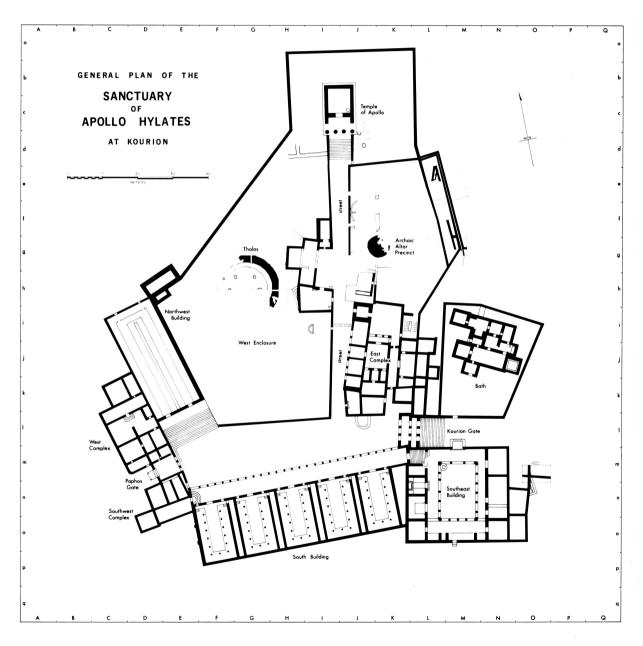
The first serious work at Kourion was conducted from 1935 to 1953 by archaeologist George McFadden working with the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. B. H. Hill of the American School in Athens. Unfortunately McFadden drowned near the site in 1953 prior to publishing his work in detail.⁴ A useful synthesis of previous work at the site and some new interpretations were provided by Dr. Robert L. Scranton.⁵

Since Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, Director of the Cypriote Department of Antiquities, turned the site over to the authors, two campaigns have yielded some extraordinary discoveries. The sanctuary dates back at least to the seventh century B.C. and was rebuilt extensively in the Roman period, particularly under Trajan. At that latter time, the pilgrim entered through the Kourion Gate to the southeast (Fig. 1) or the Paphos Gate to the southwest. The large South Building was either for lodging worshipers or used as a series of cult rooms.⁶ A paved street led past a small stoa to a Central Court.

Just to the northeast was the so-called Archaic Altar and its precinct enclosed by temenos walls. ⁷ Strabo, writing about the time of Augustus, recorded that anyone who touched this altar would be flung to his death from the edge of the nearby cliff. ⁸ Next to the altar (which was cleaned in 1979), Professor Scranton located a large ashlar stone with a roughly rectangular hole in the upper part. He believed that this was a stone fence post and it was therefore set on end just north of the altar in 1979. But research begun only a few days before the submission of this article suggests that the single "fence post" may be in fact a sacred stone or baetyl, of which quite a few similar examples are known in Cyprus. ⁹

Continuing northeast on the main street the pilgrim arrived at the focal point of the Roman sanctuary, the Temple of Apollo, built by Augustus and remodeled in the later first or early second century. Worshipers could also enjoy the bath complex in the southeast area of the site or the palaestra (Southeast Building) near it. The large Northwest Building may have been a dormitory area.

The Kourion team has concentrated its work in five critical areas and each has yielded sig-



1. Plan of the Apollo Sanctuary area of Kourion.



2. The Tholos of Kourion during the course of excavation in 1979.

nificant results: the Archaic Precinct and its eastern temenos wall, the Temple of Apollo, the West House, the Palaestra and the Round Building. For this report only the last area will be discussed.

The most important and exciting result of the 1979 season was the finding of an apparently round building or tholos complete with a well preserved floor of mortar and river pebbles (Fig. 2). Enclosing the floor was a wall or curb, the wide rubble foundations of which survive. There would be enough area for a wall and a colonnaded façade or interior as one finds in other tholoi, but such a conclusion is mere speculation at this point.

The structure was no doubt hypaethral. There is no trace of an inner floor and the curved mortar floor continues carefully down to bedrock, which is quite high in this part of the sanctuary. What was inside? Field Director Joseph Greene supervised the uncovering of four man-made pits in the rock. Is this then a tholos around a sacred grove to the woodland divinity? Darice Birge, an authority on sacred groves, believes the pits to be the proper size and shape for containing trees. In addition, numerous terracotta figurines on Cyprus depict ring dancing to the accompaniment of pipes and tambourines and such dances are often specifically associated with sacred



3. A terracotta model of a sacred tree from the sanctuary (No. T1357). Actual size.

trees. 12 It is not unreasonable to think of an ecstatic procession of worshipers holding hands or playing music around the walkway of our tholos, perhaps offering gifts to be hung from the sacred trees for the elimination of evil. 13 No doubt this would have originally occurred in the open air but perhaps by the time of Augustus it was ritually acceptable to formalize the ceremony in stone architecture. Whatever else may have stood in the open central area, the trees could be at least one focus of attention, symbolizing the power and force of the vegetation deity who dominated the sanctuary before Apollo became syncretized to him (Fig. 3). 14

Only a few months ago, Georges Roux published an important account of the Pythion, an extraordinary sanctuary of Apollo at Delos which had an interior colonnade enclosing a thalamos or open space with a sacred palm marking the birthplace of Apollo. He discusses an altar area marked out with goat horns and

reserved for ritual ring dancing around a little tholos which was quite ancient but still preserved into the Roman period. 15

The discovery of the Tholos of Kourion has already provided the answer to one of the biggest mysteries of the sanctuary: the function of the West Enclosure. Instead of being simply a park without architecture as earlier researchers suggested, the area is a large artificial terrace. ¹⁶

It was made by pitching in fill from a variety of sources, probably all from within the sanctuary, since it is full of dedications, including statue fragments, scarabs and small libation vases. The fill was thrown in helter-skelter with Archaic layers above Hellenistic, Classical mixed with early Roman, all serving to make a high place on which to build the large circular monument.

It seems that the terracing was part of an overall redevelopment of the sanctuary. Not a single sherd associated with the Tholos can be dated later than the Augustan-Tiberian period and it is tempting to see the first temple, its temenos wall, the artificial terrace and the Tholos as part of the same Julio-Claudian building program.¹⁷ The wall in grid area **Hh** appears to have been realigned at this time, probably to avoid having it jut obliquely into the area of the Tholos and its terrace.¹⁸

A little over half of the structure has been uncovered to date, with the rest slated to be exposed in 1980. One of the sacred pits breaks the line of the walkway to the north. This means that the pit is in an entrance to the Tholos or that the pit predates the building and the floor has not been preserved in this area. In favor of the north entry is the fact that the temenos wall to the north is slightly depressed just opposite the Tholos and could have contained a very wide opening.

IT IS STRIKING TO COMPARE the Tholos with the plan of the Conway "High Place" in Petra, Jordan. The latter was once believed to be an example of a Bamah, a high sanctuary with either funeral or fertility god connections, but Peter Parr has shown that the Petra example was really the corner tower of a late Hellenistic defensive wall. 19 This appears to leave our Tholos in a unique position in Mediterranean archaeology. Is it a High Place? That would indeed account for the need to create the massive, elevated terrace and the account of the Bamah by Albright could apply:

. . . . they were also unquestionably paganizing rustic sanctuaries, which played a very important role in the "fertility cult," that is, in the beliefs and practices of the Canaanite and backward Israelite population with respect to the increase of field and garden crops, flocks and herds, welfare of mothers and children, increase of families and healing from illness, etc. ²⁰

Indeed such a sanctuary would not be inappropriate for Resef-Apollo or Hadad-Apollo, a divinity assimilated from Syria as the Lord of Superabundance and the Promoter of Fruitfulness in Harvest, to whom sacred trees were commonplace.²¹

While references to ancient sacred groves abound on Cyprus, it is not so easy to find evidence of hypaethral round cult structures. But if one is permitted to speculate dangerously in print, one could examine the unusual representations on the Roman coins of the city of Paphos, barely forty miles west of Kourion.

These coins show a shrine to Aphrodite featuring within it an odd conical baetyl as the central cult stone. On many of these coins—including

a bronze coin of Septimius Severus in the Cyprus Museum (Fig. 4)—the shrine is preceded by a semicircular open court inside of which are sometimes indicated an amazing variety of objects which vary from coin to coin.²²

Can there be a connection between the semicircular court shown on the Paphian coins and the partly excavated hypaethral Tholos of Kourion? The Roman historian Tacitus tells us that in 69 A.D., during the visit of the emperor Titus to Paphos, the shrine of Aphrodite may have been outdoors in a grove:

It is forbidden to pour blood on the altar; the place of sacrifice is served only with prayers and pure flame and though it stands in the open air, it is never wet with rain. The image of the goddess does not bear the human shape; it is a rounded mass rising like a cone from a broad base to a small circumference. The meaning of this is doubtful.²³

Another relation between the two structures is that the Paphos shrine begins to show up on Augustan coinage about the time when the Tholos of Kourion appears to have been built. But even though there are a number of similarities, it must be cited that there are many differences. The sacred objects found within the Paphos court representations are not oyet able to be related directly to finds from the Tholos. The coins show an apparently semicircular court while ours may be round. No trace of a shrine has yet emerged in our structure nor has any trace of a sacred grove appeared on the coins. And of course no conical baetyl from Kourion has ever been published—not until now!

In 1935 George McFadden, excavating within the South Building, found a conical stone which



4. Coin of Septimius Severus, Cyprus Museum, enlarged three times.

he noted in his field diary as resembling the baetyl on the coins of Paphos (Fig. 5a).25 Amazingly, McFadden never published his remarkable find, so that it had to be "rediscovered" in 1979 sitting unlabeled on the bottom shelf of a display case in the Episkopi Museum. This is the first published photograph of this virtual twin of the Paphos stone and it includes details which might offer insights for the coin image.26 When the conical stone was pointed out to Mr. Socrates Savva, custodian of Kourion House, he immediately brought out a second stone similar to the first yet thicker and fitted out with four rows of bosses (Fig. 5b).27 This had been found by workmen in 1978 during construction of the new reception house at the Apollo Sanctuary some sixty meters southwest of the South Building.

These baetyls suggest that Apollo or the pre-Apollo divinity of Kourion was worshiped aniconically just as Aphrodite was at Paphos.²⁸ It also seems clear that this practice must have continued right down to late antiquity.²⁹ Conical objects of worship are not uncommon on Cyprus

although they are usually attributed to Aphrodite. The Kourion examples suggest that Apollo too was worshiped in this same manner and perhaps the lesser cones which sometimes appear next to the great baetyl on the Paphos coins stand for subsidiary divinities or aspects of the great mother goddess there. That such cones have fertility significance has been demonstrated repeatedly, and that there is a definite relationship between such cones, bull representations, trees, snakes and ring-dancing is certain.³⁰

It is too soon to know if the Tholos of Kourion was intended to be a monumentalized version of a sacred grove full of objects which could be honored during sacred circular processionals. But it is perhaps instructive to note that sacred trees remain to this very day an important aspect of Cypriote folk religion.

At Nea Paphos in the 1890s, Max Ohne-falsch-Richter reported seeing a sacred terebinth tree growing over a Roman tomb known as Hagia Solomoni in Nea Paphos. He pointed out that the tree was "regarded with great reverence by



5a. Left: baetyl from the sanctuary discovered in 1935. 5b. Right: the baetyl discovered in 1978.

Greeks as well as Turks who hang on its branches ribbons and shreds of clothing, in order to obtain healing from various diseases, especially fever."³¹

Although this is just one of dozens of reports of sacred trees on the island, we decided to revisit the tree in 1979 and found that it is doing as fine a business with its worshipers as it did in the 1890s. There was one innovation. Instead of rags, some of the worshipers were tying plastic bags to the tree branches!

The mysteries of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates will take years to unravel but the major archaeological discoveries of the first two seasons have illuminated some obscurities and have opened the door to further research on the ancient cults of Cyprus. A generous grant from the University of Missouri Development Fund will allow at least two more seasons of excavation and it is hoped that the bountiful god of Hyle will consent to yield up more of his most intriguing secrets.

DIANA BUITRON Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

DAVID SOREN University of Missouri-Columbia

¹The project was supported by generous grants from our co-sponsors including the National Endowment for the Humanities, Dartmouth College and the University of Maryland-Baltimore County. We wish to thank Dr. Vassos Karageorghis and the Cypriote Department of Antiquities for their continued support and cooperation. The term *Hylates* refers to the woodlands.

²See Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Cities and Tombs* (London 1877) 343 f.

³This letter of October 7, 1875 was one of two located in the Dartmouth College library collection by Brian McConnell, a sophomore at Dartmouth and former member of the Kourion team.

⁴For his publications, see *University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 7, 2 (1938) 10-17; 8, 4 (1940) 22-28; 14, 4 (1950) 14-26. Additional articles appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951) 167-168; 56 (1952) 128-129 as well as the *Illustrated London News* 130 (1952) 588-590.

⁵Robert L. Scranton, "The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57, 5 (1967) 3-85. Dr. Scranton is the architectural consultant for the present Kourion expedition.

⁶Scranton (p. 67) suggests that the South Building was used for "essentially dormitories" intended to provide sleeping accommodations for sanctuary visitors. See also Terence Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society 1971) 207 f.

'Geological examination of the stones of the altar by Dr. Reuben Bullard shows that they are composed simply of caliche (the solution weathering of carbonate bedrock) but

are slightly different in character from all other stone in the Archaic Precinct. This may be an indication that the altar is of great antiquity. The altar area was rich in animal bones and most were sheep or goat which showed signs of being cut for eating, perhaps for use in soups, according to Dr. Giraud Foster of Johns Hopkins, project osteologist. For the goat sacrifices at the Apollo Sanctuary at Agia Irini, Cyprus, see E. Sjöqvist, "Die Kultgeschichte eines Cyprischen Temenos," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 30 (1933) (1933) 314. The goat as an evil animal which through sacrifice can bear the sin of man (hence the term scapegoat) is discussed in W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," Vetus Testamentum Supplement 4 (1957) 244-245. He also cites the practice mentioned in the Mishnah of pushing goats over cliffs.

sStrabo 14.6. 3. Dr. Bullard believes that the site of the sanctuary was selected because it was "above the area of maximum vertical bluffs of this region of Cyprus." He has also traced metaling on the caliche between the sanctuary and the cliffs approximately one mile away: "Traffic could have caused this abrasion which lines up with the cliff and there is a long local tradition of such a road as well as traces of ancient construction on the edge of the cliff itself."

⁹Scranton (fig. 2c) illustrates the stone as a fence post but the fence by his reckoning (p. 7) would be just forty centimeters high. No other posts have been recovered. For other stones which are similar but appear to be baetyls see Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros: The Bible and Homer* (London: Asher and Co. 1893) pls. XVII.4, LXIZ.77-8, 99. He asserts (p. 352) that the venerated divinity resides in the open space of the stone. Such a stone would be appropriate in the immediate vicinity of an altar. It may also be an anchor.

¹⁰The dating of the temple was accomplished in the 1978 campaign and is being published by David Soren in the forthcoming issue of the Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.

¹¹The possibility that the palaestra was actually an heroon in the manner of the Pergamene kings is being investigated by Jan Sanders, graduate student in Archaeology at University of Missouri-Columbia.

¹²For these see Sjöqvist, 347 f; Ohnefalsch-Richter pl. XVII.5. The latter flatly rules out tympanum playing in honor of Apollo but this attitude may be insupportable. See now John and Suzanne Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (University of Pennsylvania Museum Monographs 1955) 220 which includes also lyre players. See also Hélène Danthine, *Le Palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'Asie orientale ancienne* (Paris: Paul Geuthner 1937) 205-206, Figure 1093, including representations of ringdancing around a sacred tree found at Kourion itself. The ring-dancers will be investigated by UMC graduate student Hillary Browne.

¹³On the hanging of votives from sacred trees see J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough 2 (London: Macmillan 1911) 10. For this practice to ward off evil see Sjöqvist, p. 346. Darice Birge, project consultant on sacred trees, will deal with the question in more detail.

¹⁴Sjöqvist, p. 352. On syncretization of Apollo, see Olivier Masson, "Cultes indigènes, cultes grecs et cultes orientaux à Chypre," Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne (Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1960) 129-142. For Resef-Apollo see Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 322. For Hadad-Apollo see Sjöqvist, p. 319.

¹⁵Georges Roux, "Le vrai temple d'Apollon à Delos," Bulletin de Correspondance Héllénique 103 (1979) 109 f.

16 Scranton (p. 64) says it "must also have been throughout its history what it now appears—an empty space," but he adds, "It is perhaps fair to assume that it was left as a park, within which may have been trees and shrubs as well as an occasional bench or dedication, and in which may even have wandered some specimens of the stag sacred to Apollo" See Aelian, De Nat. Anim. 11, 7 for a second century A.D. account of the sanctuary including a discussion of a vast sacred grove wherein female deer take refuge. It is intriguing to wonder if Aelian refers to our terrace and Tholos as a place where deer might have been kept. Bronze deer votives have been found at the site along with representations in terracotta.

¹⁷Two fragmentary Arretine sherds (No. 767) were found in a locus (layer) sealed well below the wall in the terracing fill. One has an appliqué volute and dates from the late Augustan to Claudian period. These will be studied in 1980. Another locus associated with the fill over the west wall of grid area **Hh** was also part of the terrace fill for the Tholos and contained yet another poorly preserved Arretine sherd (No. 1186) among the earlier material.

¹⁸Grid reading is done vertically by the capital letters along the top of Figure 1 (for example H) while horizontal readings are done by the small letters along the left column of the

figure (for example h).

¹⁹Peter Parr, "Le 'Conway High Place' à Petra: une nouvelle interpretation," Revue Biblique 69 (1962). For the Conway ruin as a High Place, see W. F. Albright, "The Excavation of the Conway High Place at Petra," Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research 57 (1935) 18 f. By the same author see "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," op.cit. 253.

²⁰See last reference of the previous note. A High Place need not be particularly high. Cf. James Hastings, editor, *Dic*tionary of the Bible (New York: Scribner's 1968) 383.

²¹Sjögvist, 319, 358.

²²Inv. No. 1933/XI-20/38. I wish to thank Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, who is director of Antiquities of Cyprus, for permission to use this photograph. For the best collection of Paphian coins of the shrine of Aphrodite see G. F. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni 1964). He points out (p. cxxxiv): "No satisfactory explanation has been found for the other objects beside the dove in the court." See also Alfred Westholm, "The Paphian Temple of Aphrodite and its Relation to Oriental Architecture," Acta Archaeologica 4 (1933) 217. He pays special attention to the forecourt problem and gives a summary of earlier interpretations. More recently see the useful photographic enlargement of a Paphian coin in Cornelius Vermeule, Greek and Roman Cyprus (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1979) pl. III, no. 28. Phalli were found at the sanctuary in a structure just south of the Central Court. For these terracottas see Young and Young, 222 f. and for bronze phallus dedications elsewhere see Ohnefalsch-Richter, 328.

²³Tacitus, Hist. 2.3. This is the Modern Library translation by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb.

²⁴The entry to the court on the coins is asymmetrical. See Westholm, 218.

²⁵On page 39 of his 1935 field diary (used courtesy of Dr. G. R. Edwards and the University of Pennsylvania Museum), McFadden lists St 447 as: "Marble cone 20.6 by 8.7 cm (base). Like conical object on reverse of coin found in Trench 3 find no. 9, p. 13." On page 13 he shows: "No. C35



6. Priest (?) donning bull mask for a ritual ceremony at the sanctuary. Episkopi Museum No. CH8820. Actual size.

(coin of) Septimius Severus 193-211 A.D. See catalogue of Greek coins of Cyprus in British Museum pp. 85 and 86 and pl. XVII 4 Ae."

²⁶The baetyl appears to have a covering of some sort which, in the original stone (assuming this is a copy), may have been of animal hide studded with metallic bosses. There are two horizontal projecting bands framing the two rows of bosses and there is a projecting flap on each side beneath the lower horizontal band. There is a hole (for attachment to a wall?) in the center of the body. Rebecca Mersereau, a graduate student at UMC, has uncovered additional information about the interpretation of these stones which will be presented in a future article.

²⁷This stone seems almost like a squat column. Its flap has become an almost arm-like boss, the body is thicker and more cylindrical, there are now four rows of bosses and a broad undecorated back projects flatly downward from the top horizontal band. For the cone as a possible sacred column or pillar see A. J. Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations," Journal of Hellenic Studies 21 (1901) 203 f. who sees the Paphos-style cone as an adaption of the Oriental conical form which then fuses with a capital more characteristic of the Mycenaean sacred pillar. He suggests that such cones might have been used to receive offerings. For other cones as well as some striking Sardinian parallels see Ohnefalsch-Richter, pp. 261, 351, 437 and pl. LXXXIII. See also François Lenormant, "Les bétyles," Revue de l'histoire des religions 3 (1881) 31-53 and Lammens, "Le cult des bétyles," Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 17 (1920) 39.

²⁸A small marble cone was found in the south chamber of the Aphrodite complex at Paphos in 1888: Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 262. F. G. Maier, "The Temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos," RDAC (1975) 79 suggests that the cone symbol may go back to the time of the Achaean colonists on Cyprus. Sjöqvist (p. 317) discusses an ovoid black stone found beside

²⁹Maier (p. 79) observes that a large limestone block in the north stoa of the Aphrodite complex at Paphos is still

venerated by the women of Kouklia.

30An extraordinary clay cone with boukrania (bull skulls) in relief was reported by Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, "A Favissa at Kazophani," RDAC (1978) 182, no. 208. The bull is much in evidence at the Apollo sanctuary and was the city symbol of Kourion. The bull is of course a sacred fertility symbol. Several terracotta figures from the sanctuary wear bull masks (Fig. 6) while bulls with snakes crawling up their feet have also been found (Young and Young, p. 218). See Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, "Notes on Some Cypriot Priests Wearing Bull Masks," Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971) 261 f.: "The idea of entering into a direct association with the god by putting on the divine image led to the invention of masks which were worn during religious rituals." For snakes and bulls as harvest and fertility symbols see Sjöqvist, pp. 330-332 and for bull masks, p. 344. For astral connections of the bull see the eighteenth-century writer Jacques Antoines Dulaure, Les cultes Priapiques (Paris: Eric Losfeld 1953) 20 f. and Sjöqvist, pp. 310-321. Most recently see M. Loulloupis, "The Position of the Bull in the Prehistoric Religions of Cyprus and Crete," Acts of the International Symposium on the Relations between Cyprus and Crete ca. 2000-500 B.C. (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities 1979) 215 f. Of interest for the remote antiquity of the cult is P. Dikaios, "Les cultes préhistoriques dans l'île de Chypre," Syria (13) (1932)345. He presents a terracotta temenos model (dated by him to ca. 2000 B.C.) which shows four bulls fed by a temple servant and three priests with bull masks leading a hand-holding procession in dance as snakes dangle down among them. ³¹Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 352. He also illustrates (p. 29 f.) a seal from the Nicosia area showing a bull head and sacred tree together. See also Sjöqvist, pp. 340-342. For the Arab practice of sprinkling sacred trees with the blood of sacrificial victims see Lenormant, p. 37. Darice Birge reports that prisoners at ancient Phlius hung up their chains on trees at liberation. For sacred poles (asherim) see William Dever and S. M. Paul, editors, Biblical Archaeology (New York:

Quadrangle 1974) 271.

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DAVID SOREN, who conceived the Kourion Excavations, is co-director with Diana Buitron. He is presently also Director of Graduate Studies of the Art History and Archaeology Department of the University of Missouri-Columbia, where he has taught since 1972. Previous archaeological excavations include Thuburbo Maius, Utica and El Djem in Tunisia. The first volume of Kourion material has been accepted for publication by the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

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