

CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, ARISTOTLE, AND TEIRESIAS IN SAMOTHRACE

The visit paid to the island of Samothrace by Cyriacus of Ancona in October, 1444,¹ interrupts fifteen-hundred years of almost complete oblivion from the end of the Roman Empire to the early nineteenth century. In view of the great reputation of the island and its mysterious religion in the classical age and the renewal of this reputation occasioned by studies in ancient religion and art since the Romantic period, this visit, its report in Cyriacus' letters, the copies of inscriptions and the drawings of monuments which he made on the island are an even more spectacular document of early Renaissance antiquarianism than are his records of most of the other sites which he visited.

The state of oblivion into which the great tradition of the past had fallen manifests itself in the very attitude of Cyriacus. To him, the island was one more place in which antiquities of the classical age were preserved. In his short report,² no mention is made of the famous cult of the Samothracian Gods. On the contrary, alluding to Homer,³ he labelled the ruins of the sanctuary a "temple of Neptune." He was looking for documents of antique life and culture in general and he related his finds to the ideas and interests of his age concerning the antique world. This is shown by the fact that he added inscriptions interpreting the monuments in his own way.

We have a clear case of this attitude in his drawings of an archaistic frieze which is now in the Louvre.⁴ These drawings, like all his sketches of Samothracian

NOTE. This study is, largely, the result of co-operative research by the staff of the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University which, in 1938 and 1939, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, began systematic excavations in Samothrace. Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Holsten, Mr. Stuart Shaw, and Miss Phyllis L. Williams have made valuable contributions. The drawings which are reproduced in Plates V c and X a were made by Mr. Shaw. For assistance and information generously provided, I am also obliged to: Professor Bernard Ashmole of the British Museum; Dr. Louisa Banti of the Vatican Library; The Prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; Professor E. Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; Director L. Pastorella of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin; Professor F. Saxl of the Warburg Institute in London.

¹ E. Ziebarth, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 405 f.

² O. Kern, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 360, note 1; Ziebarth, *loc. cit.* ³ *Iliad*, XIII, 12.

⁴ Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf, *Neue archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, 1880, pl. 11, pp. 13 f., 33; E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 1922, pp. 39 f., pl. 17, fig. 1; F. Saxl, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, IV, 1940/1, pp. 34 f., 44, pl. 7 b = our Plate II b. Ch. Picard, *La Sculpture*, vol. 1 (*Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, Paris, 1935), p. 393, note 6, still adheres to the very improbable, and rightly abandoned theory that this frieze belonged, as an architectural frieze, to the renewed "Old Temple."

monuments, are known only in Renaissance copies. For a critical appreciation of the relative merits of these copies and, also, for a correct understanding of Cyriacus' own attitude, these drawings offer valuable assistance. The relief frieze (Plate II *b*) shows twelve dancing girls in archaistic drapery followed by a musician, that is altogether thirteen figures. Only one copy of Cyriacus' drawings, from the Codex Ashburnensis Laurentinus 1174 fols. 123 v. and 125,⁵ was known until F. Saxl recently published a second, in his study of a sketchbook owned by Professor Bernard Ashmole which, for the sake of brevity, may be called Ashmolensis (fols. 137 v. and 138 v., here Plate II *a*).⁶ In both drawings only ten figures are preserved, nine of the dancing girls and, in addition, the musician at the end. Inasmuch as the thirteen figures of the original frieze are carved on two blocks, one of which shows six, the other seven figures, it is obvious that Cyriacus saw and drew the complete frieze of thirteen figures and that one of his drawings was lost either in his sketchbook or in a copy of it on which these two drawings may have been based. This is further borne out by the following fact: In the Ashburnensis as well as in the Ashmolensis the four last figures are inscribed (below) Αἱ τῶν Σαμοθράκων νύμφαι.⁷ In both, however, the other six figures are named as six of the nine Muses, but the three other names are missing (Plate II *a*).⁸ What happened here is obvious: Cyriacus interpreted nine of the thirteen figures of the relief as Muses; the rest he called by the vague term Nymphs, in this way accounting for the presence of thirteen figures, a number corresponding to no single mythological group. One of his drawings with three of the "Muses" must have been lost before the extant two copies were made. A third antiquarian, who copied inscriptions, but not drawings, the author of the Codex Tarvisinus,⁹ regarded the inscription Αἱ τῶν Σαμοθράκων νύμφαι as authentic and worth recording. In any case, it is obvious that the original interpretative inscriptions were added by Cyriacus himself.¹⁰ When he saw the relief in Samothrace, he did not relate it to any special religion there, but to such general concepts as Muses and Nymphs.¹¹

The inscriptions which Cyriacus added as labels are written in Greek capital letters in contrast to the Latin comments which he otherwise used to indicate a location or some other detail.¹² A natural result of this use of Greek capital letters was that

⁵ Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, figs. 1-2.

⁶ Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 7 a = Plate II *a*.

⁸ *Supra*, note 7.

⁷ Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, Saxl, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Bibl. Cap. 221, Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 408.

¹⁰ Saxl, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, leaves this undecided. But the combined labels of Muses and Nymphs can only have been created in view of the complete stones.

¹¹ In this connection, see Saxl's fine remarks, *loc. cit.*

¹² For example, in the drawing of the Samothracian bronze head of Medusa: Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 411, fig. 3; Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 8 d, p. 34. Saxl's comparison with the glass paste of the Evans collection (Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 38, 2, vol. 2, p. 181; Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 8 c) probably is correct as far as the style of the monument seen by Cyriacus goes. The glass paste

those who used and copied his sketches believed the inscriptions to be authentic ancient documents. Whether Cyriacus anticipated such abuse¹³ or not, this practice of fanciful interpretation in a quasi-documented form contrasts strangely with his well-known devotion to carefully copying preserved inscriptions, large or small, important or unimportant.

Among the Samothracian monuments, there is another which enables us to check on Cyriacus' activity as a copyist of inscriptions. While it is an additional and striking example of the great documentary value of his records, it also allows us to define the limits of his methods and attitude and, finally, to draw further conclusions as to the relative merits of the preserved copies of his sketchbook. It therefore deserves a brief discussion at this point.

Including the recently added Ashmolensis drawing (fol. 140 r., Plate III a)¹⁴ there are now three copies of Cyriacus' original sketch of a Samothracian stele with a relief of a round building, the other two being preserved in Codex Ambrosianus A 55 (fol. 69 v., Plate IV)¹⁵ and in the Ashburnensis (fol. 120 r., Plate III b).¹⁶

was undoubtedly cast from a mould taken from a Hellenistic original. Another greenish glass paste, from the same mould, which unfortunately has been lost in the meantime, was seen by me in Este, in 1927, a fact which proves the existence of a famous model. However, this evidently represented Alexander the Great with the Aegis and the wings of Hermes in his human hair. The paste from Este as well as the one in the Evans collection (of which the late Sir Arthur Evans kindly gave a cast to me) shows clearly hair without snakes, and this can even be recognized in the illustration. Furtwängler was misled by the free and curling ends of the hair around the upper outline. The question arises whether Cyriacus saw a similar bronze head but, because of the combination of Aegis and head-wings, interpreted it as Medusa. In this case, we should have another example of his generalization and conjectures. But he actually seems to indicate snakes in the hair, and it may well be that the monument was in reality a head of Medusa. His label "Medusae caput aheneum apud Samothraciam ad novam arcem positum" implies a large sculpture, probably a bronze relief, which at that time was inserted in the walls of the castle in the village. One feels reminded of the gilded Gorgoneion, which was certainly of bronze, on the southern wall of the Acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, I, 21, 3; V, 12, 4). This, too, was a Hellenistic work.

¹³ The fact that in the last discussed case (note 12) he also uses Latin maiuscule letters instead of the common minuscule script, though no deception could be intended here, rather indicates his innocence and naïveté in this respect. Kubitschek, *Arch.-ep. Mitt. aus Öst.*, VIII, 1884, pp. 102 f., accused Cyriacus of a deliberate forgery in regard to the Hesiod epigram. But it seems to me not excluded that he actually saw a Roman stone inscribed with it in Thessalonica ("Thelonica," of course, refers to that town, and has nothing to do with the Helicon). Why should Cyriacus have stressed the fact that the letters were "Attic," if he had not seen an actual stone? It is amusing to recall the fact that, still in the twentieth century, a learned man accepted the label of the Nymphs as authentic: R. Pretazoni, *Le origini dei Kabiri (Memorie della R. Acc. dei Lincei, 1908)*, p. 667.

¹⁴ Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 5 d. Here from an original photo given to me by Professor Saxl.

¹⁵ Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 414. Here, from a new photo, for which I am indebted to the Prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

¹⁶ A. Conze, *Sitzungsb. Ber. Ak.*, 1892, p. 213; O. Rubensohn, *Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, 1892, pp. 166 f., notes 50 f., fig. on p. 166; F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 1926, p. 177, fig. 17. No drawing of the stone is preserved in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5250 f., as Dr. Banti was kind enough to confirm, and none seems to exist in the Codex Tarvisinus.

The monument belongs to a series of Samothracian stones of which four examples are so far known, all of them representing the same curious and debated structure.¹⁷ These stones have had a particularly strange fate. The one seen and drawn by Cyriacus in the fifteenth century seemed, quite naturally, to have been lost for good.¹⁸ A second, which was brought from Samothrace to Athens in the eighteenth century, disappeared soon afterwards.¹⁹ Two more such stelae were seen by scholars in Samothrace in the nineteenth century.²⁰ Their actual whereabouts are unknown now, too. But the stone which Aberkladen and Fauvel saw in Athens in the eighteenth century was rediscovered in recent years in the garden wall of an English country house.²¹ And, finally, at least two fragments of the stone Cyriacus saw are once again at hand. In fact, O. Kern saw one of these fragments (Plate V *b*) in Samothrace in the late nineteenth century.²² But he did not recognize that it contained part of the long Greek inscription beneath the relief of the round building, as drawn and copied by Cyriacus. While this long inscription was published with emendations on the basis of Cyriacus' text in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII, 8 (1909) as no. 191, the fragment seen by Kern appeared under a separate number (192), though the editor considered a connection possible. During our excavation campaign in Samothrace, in 1939, we started a systematic attempt to recover all the scattered fragments of ancient monuments which had been reused in modern buildings and to exhibit them in a projected local Museum.²³ Among the stones which we thus obtained was this fragment. In the course of the preceding winter, the small ruined Byzantine chapel of Hagios Demetrios in the village of Chora had been partly demolished and renovated. The chapel must have been built shortly after Cyriacus' visit. With the co-operation of Mr. Platon Terziz, a well-to-do citizen of the island, we rescued a number of ancient stones which had been reused in the walls of the chapel. One of them is a second sizeable fragment of the Cyriacus stone (Plate V *a*). With the help of Cyriacus' drawing and copy and these two fragments, we can now restore the original monument, with a fair degree of certainty (Plate V *c*). The only uncertain point, in fact, is the upper ending, which may already have been destroyed in Cyriacus' time.

The first observation which we can make as a result of this restoration implies a rather severe criticism of modern epigraphists and their use of Cyriacus. The long-

¹⁷ O. Kern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 356 f.; O. Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f., 227 f.; F. Chapouthier, *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 259 f.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 191 with bibliography.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 188; S. E. Wiebolt, *J.H.S.*, XLVIII, 1928, pp. 180 f., note 3.

²⁰ *I.G.*, XII, 8, nos. 189 and 190; R. Altmann, *Die Römischen Grabaltäre*, 1905, p. 15, fig. 9 (brought to my attention by Phyllis L. Williams).

²¹ Wiebolt, *loc. cit.*, fig. 3; Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, p. 176.

²² *Loc. cit.*, p. 363, 7. From the same church of Hag. Demetrios in which the other fragment was found in 1939.

²³ See, also, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 355.

known Ambrosianus (Plate IV), as well as the new Ashmolensis (Plate III *a*), not only shows the lengthy Greek inscription beneath the relief, but also two additional Greek inscriptions *in corona*, and below them fragments of a short Latin inscription. In addition, above the Laurentinus drawing (Plate III *b*), one reads: *ad marmoream et ornatissimam basim graecis et latinis litteris epigrammata*. In spite of the obvious conclusion, available on the basis of Cyriacus' copies alone, modern scholars have not recognized the fact²⁴ that Cyriacus was correct in grouping the two "coronae" and the Latin text beneath them at the sides of the round building. In fact, even in the final edition of the *Corpus*, these two lateral inscriptions are listed as separate items (nos. 211 and 212), far away from the major document (no. 191). The additional failure to recognize the identity of the fragment discussed above (Plate V *b*, no. 192) led to the publication of various parts of one comprehensive monument as four different items! The recovered fragments indicate the reliability of Cyriacus' record, and though he made several minor mistakes in copying the inscriptions, it is now possible to arrive at an almost exact restoration of the monument (Plate V *c*). As to the general distribution, there is no doubt, and our illustrations relieve us of the necessity of a further discussion.

The preserved fragments include considerable portions of the first four lines of the major inscription below, the complete text of the Greek inscription in the left *corona* as well as the left part and some lower endings of the right part of the Latin inscription at the lower sides of the round building. The transcribed texts read as follows:²⁵

²⁴ Though Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 414, 10 suspected *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 212 to be part of the monument.

²⁵ In the transcription < > indicates parts which are now lost but were correctly copied by Cyriacus, () improvements of and supplements to Cyriacus' reading. These are based on the emendations which have been made by others and accepted in the *Corpus* edition. As far as the first lines of *a*, which are now preserved in part, and inscription *b* are concerned, these emendations prove to be correct. However, the preserved fragments confirm the correctness of Cyriacus' reading $\tau\omicron\delta$ at the beginning of line 3 against that of the editors of the *Corpus*. In *a*, line 8, I have preferred Boeckhs' reading ATTAΛΟΥ to the simpler improvement ΑΓΛΑΟΥ of Fredrich, in view of *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 188, line 9. It would, indeed, be an altogether phantastic coincidence to have two different Cyzicenes with the same name Asklepiades and with a very similar patronymic on two closely related Samothracian stones. It is obvious that we have to do with the same person who appears in our document as a simple mystes of the lower degree and on stone 188, which for this reason is slightly later, as an epoptes. See, also, Benndorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 1141; Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

The fragment Plate V *a* is broken below, above, and at the right side. Present height, 0.34 m.; present width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.; irregularly cut at the back.

The fragment Plate V *b* is broken on all sides. Present height, 0.135 m. (Kern, *op. cit.*: 0.20 m.); present width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; rough on the back.

Both fragments are of Thasian marble. Height of letters, *a*: 0.019 m. (line 1); 0.016 m. (lines 2-3); 0.014 m. (line 4); *b*: 0.012 m. (lines 1, 3, 4); 0.016 m. (line 2); *c*: 0.014-0.016 m.

In line 3 of the fragment Plate V *b* of inscription *a* the stonecutter had originally forgotten one Π of ITTTAPXEΩ. The erased original Α is visible beneath the second Π, the original X beneath the P, the original E beneath the X.

a. Lower Greek text:

<K>υζικηνῶν ἱεροπο<ιοὶ κα>ὶ μύσται
 εὐσε<β>εῖς ἐπ<ὶ Ἀντι>γένου
 τοῦ Ἑρμα<γόρου ἰ>ππαρχέω,
 (ὥς δὲ) Σαμο<θρᾶκες ἐπὶ βασιλέως> Ἀριδῆλου
 5 (τοῦ Συμμ)<ίχου: Παρμενίσκος Ἀριστέω>(ς),
 (Φιλό)<ξενος Φιλοξένου>.

(Μύσ)<ται εὐσεβεῖς: Ἀσκληπιάδης>
 <Ἀ>(ττ)<άλου, Θερσίων Ἡρογείτ>(ονο)<ς>,
 <Κυβερνήτης Μηνοφίλου>.

b. Left *corona*:

Ἀνδρό-
 μαχος
 Δημητρί-
 ου

c. Right *corona*:

<ἐφ>(π)<της>
 <Θε>(λ)<λας>
 <Μοιρα>(γ)<ό>(ρ)<ο>(ν).
 <Ζή>(λω)<τος>
 5 <Ῥοδοκλήου>(ς),
 <Ῥόδω>-
 (ν).

d. Latin text at lower sides of the round building:

Q. Visellius L. f. p̄re(c)<e pius>²⁶

Certain observations result from a comparison of the original fragments with the copies from Cyriacus' sketchbook. First of all, in spite of his careful observation of facts, a care which was remarkable, given the time and the novelty of the task, it is obvious that Cyriacus did not hesitate to replace actual observation by conjecture where such an opportunity presented itself. At the end of *a*, line 1 the *μύσται* is clearly preserved. Not being familiar with the ritual term (as is shown also at the beginning of line 7), he substituted the familiar *μυστηρίων*, adding three letters. Less surprising is his misreading, addition or omission of single letters.²⁷ Also, he did not pay much attention to the spacing of the lines. In the drawing of the relief representation, as far as we can judge from the consensus of the manuscripts, he was remarkably correct on the whole, but evidently more interested in the vivid and "telling" elements than in the architectural details of the building which, as a result, appears simplified, while

²⁶ Compare: *C.I.L.*, III, Supplement 7372 = *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 39, veneror precibus. The Latin text *d* is probably a later addition. The man might be a son of the Consul of 24 A.D. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, vol. 3, pp. 447 f., no. 488.

²⁷ See, for these, *I.G.*, XII, 8, nos. 191, 211, 212.

the snakes and garlands are even richer in the number of their curves than they were on the actual monument.²⁸ The existence of a figural scene above the building which is closely related in the three drawings has its parallel in a monument of the same kind mentioned before.²⁹

As to the relative value of the preserved copies of Cyriacus' original, it is obvious that, here too, the Ashmolensis (Plate III *a*) is superior to the other two: in it, the balanced position of the two *coronae* is preserved almost correctly, while they are shifted in a strange way in the Ambrosianus (Plate IV) and do not occur at all in the Ashburnensis (Plate III *b*). If the position of these crowns and their difference in size were the same in the archetype as they are in the Ashmolensis, we can understand the transformation of the Ambrosianus. The Ashmolensis alone has preserved the outward curves of both the base and top of the building. Only the latter occurs in the Ashburnensis, neither in the Ambrosianus. Only in the Ashmolensis is the detail of flames springing from the torches clearly indicated: in the Ashburnensis it is lost completely, while the draughtsman of the Ambrosianus seems to have interpreted the torches as spears. The Ashmolensis, also, is preferable to the Ambrosianus in preserving the exact distribution of the first two lines of inscription *a*, which is changed in the latter, and in not adding separating points between the single words of text *a*. Though the Ashmolensis, therefore, seems to be closer to Cyriacus' original than the Ambrosianus, the latter was certainly not copied from it. In line 6 of text *a* the Ambrosianus preserved the apparently correct first Ξ while the Ashmolensis gives a Σ instead. On the other hand, in *b*, line 4, the Ashmolensis has the correct ending *-ov*, while the Ambrosianus reads *-os*. The relationship, thus, is clear: both manuscripts were copied independently from Cyriacus' original or an archetype copy, but the Ashmolensis is generally superior and remarkably exact. On the other hand, the Ashburnensis shows direct connections with the Ashmolensis, in several points, in spite of its crudeness in many details and its omission of others. Among these connections is that of the figure scene on top, which completely got out of hand in the Ambrosianus. The latter also omits an indication of the natural ground which is found, beneath this scene, in both the Ashmolensis and Ashburnensis. To judge from the case of the dancer-frieze, too, the latter may have been copied from the Ashmolensis.

This is not the place to discuss the debated question of whether the round buildings represented on these dedications refer to the famous Arsinoeion in Samothrace or to a building in Cyzicus³⁰ or, finally, to a still unknown Samothracian building. Only

²⁸ The restored drawing, Plate V *c*, based on the actual fragment and the spacing of the preserved letters, makes it evident that there were only three, not four, garlands and four, not five, bucrania.

²⁹ See above, note 21.

³⁰ See bibliography above, note 17.

when the present excavations in Samothrace³¹ have been concluded, will it be possible to settle the problem definitely. Assuming that, in one way or another, the building refers to the Samothracian cult, which is nearly certain, the restoration of the complete monument (Plate V *c*) raises several questions. One of these questions has to do with the figural representation appearing on top of the building in the same place in which another badly destroyed representation is preserved on a second stone.³² In view of the results of the preceding discussion, we may assume a considerable exactitude on the part of Cyriacus in general, and of the Ashmolensis copy of his sketchbook in particular. The natural ground line on which the scene occurs here and in the Ashburnensis certainly appeared in Cyriacus' original drawing. Did it appear in the actual relief? And does this indicate that the scene takes place, not on top of the building, but behind it on a hill or mountain—which, for example, would fit the location of the Arsinoeion in Samothrace very well? The scene itself might refer to the Samothracian myth: Zeus attacking Iasion with the thunderbolt (not recognized by Cyriacus), while the corresponding figure at the left might be Iasion's twin brother Dardanus who, after his brother's death, emigrated to Asia Minor.³³ Zeus, attacking from a chariot enemies who are, naturally, mostly Giants, is known from many later monuments, but the tradition goes back to the archaic age.³⁴ This interpretation is only hypothetical. But it is the best I can suggest for the time being. Another interest of the restored monument lies in the two strange "crowns" at the sides of the building. Cyriacus reduced them to simple circles and modern scholars, not recognizing their connection with the original monument, have apparently thought of actual crowns containing names as they so often do on inscriptions of agonistic victories and funeral monuments. The object actually preserved on the stone however (Plate V *a*) is completely different from that familiar type. It is a heavy oval-shaped mass of metal or cloth and it tapers towards the upper center. In my restoration (Plate V *c*), I have indicated the latter alternative and my preference for interpreting it as the Samothracian *porphyris*, the purple scarf which the initiated wore around the abdomen for protection from evil.³⁵ Otherwise, one might think of the still enigmatic Samothracian iron rings³⁶ which apparently had a similar significance, provided these rings were huge necklaces. In any case, it seems that these objects were represented here for

³¹ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 133 f.; XLIV, 1940, pp. 328 f.

³² See above, note 21.

³³ Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, 3, 138; Strabo, 7 fg. 49 (C 331); Dionys. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 1, 61, 2 f.; Conon, *Narr.*, 21 (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 186, p. 134, ed. Bekker); Ps. Scymnus, *Perieg.*, 11, 676 f. (*G.G.M.*, I, p. 222). For exact references, I am indebted to Dr. Naphtali Lewis. See, Seeliger in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s. v. Iasion. Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, p. 181, thought of the myth of Harmonia. But all the figures are evidently male.

³⁴ For the motive of Zeus on a chariot, see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, vol. 2, pp. 755 f.

³⁵ See below, p. 134 and note 88.

³⁶ See, however, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 355.

the purpose of including the names of initiates, one in each. Nothing in the style of the letters of inscription *b* prevents it from being contemporary with inscription *a*, that is the original monument (first century B.C.). But as to inscription *c*, it is obvious from line 1 that here, too, only one name was originally inscribed and that, as is often the case in Samothracian catalogues of mystae, two more names were added later in lines 4 to 7. This inscription also contains a further indication of the *raison d'être* of these oval-shaped objects: Theollas was an epoptes, that is an initiate of the second higher degree, and Andromachos of inscription *b* was very likely of the same rank, while the people mentioned in text *a* are only mystae of the first degree, though two of them were official representatives of Cyzicus. It is, therefore, probable that these "crowns," whether they are scarfs or rings, are distinctive of the epoptae and inserted for that purpose.

Cyriacus' careful reproduction of this stone, its relief, and its texts has thus preserved the complete appearance of a very important monument.³⁷ With the exception of minor details, his record was exact, indeed, surprisingly exact. On the whole, it is the result of a painstaking observation of the object for the object's sake without any actual knowledge of its relationships and implications. Only at one point, in the copying of the inscriptions, did the other side of his nature creep up: that attitude according to which a conjecture is as good as a truth, provided it offers a natural and vital approach to antiquity. Keeping this double nature of Cyriacus in mind, we may now proceed to a discussion of another of his Samothracian drawings, one which has far more important implications for both Renaissance humanism and Samothracian antiquities.

The new copy of Cyriacus' sketchbook contains a drawing of a bearded, dignified male bust, wrapped in a cloak and explained by an inscription in Greek capital letters as a portrait of Aristotle (Plate VI).³⁸ Professor Saxl, in his publication of the manuscript, has already recognized the importance of this drawing: it evidently is the model of a type of ideal portrait of Aristotle which began to appear in the last decades of the fifteenth century and became a notable feature of Renaissance iconography (Plate VII *a, b*). As Dr. Planiscog has shown,³⁹ this iconographic tradition had become so well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century that when Leonardo da Vinci tried to make himself appear like Aristotle, in reality and in portraits, he imitated this type (Plate VII *b*). And, as Saxl has said, it took four centuries before the really documented and completely different portraits of Aristotle

³⁷ For another rediscovery of a stone copied by Cyriacus, in Chios, compare: J. D. Kondis, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 483 f.

³⁸ Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 6 A (= Plate VI), pp. 32, 34, 44.

³⁹ *Festschrift für Julius v. Schlosser*, 1926, pp. 137 f. See, also, E. Strong, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, IX, 1920, pp. 214 f.

were recognized.⁴⁰ In view of the new drawing, it is evident that this tradition was based on Cyriacus' pseudo-antique inscription ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ, which obviously belongs to the same category of conjectural labels as those of the Muses and Nymphs of the Louvre reliefs.⁴¹ Again, Cyriacus added his interpretation in the form of a seemingly antique inscription, and, again, later scholars took this label to be an authentic document. In this instance, however, the effect of the practice was far-reaching, inasmuch as an allegedly authentic portrait of Aristotle could not fail to evoke the greatest interest.

The pseudo-antique inscription already connects this bust with the Louvre reliefs from Samothrace. The drawing is found on folio 141 recto of the Ashmolensis. While it is succeeded in the sketchbook by a Roman altar from Italy (fol. 141 v.),⁴² the two immediately preceding drawings refer to two Samothracian monuments: our stele with the round building (Plate IV, fol. 140 r.) and a bronze head of a Medusa which Cyriacus explicitly located in Samothrace (fol. 140 v.).⁴³ For this reason, alone, there would appear to be a fair chance that the "Aristotle" too was seen and drawn by Cyriacus on that island.

Fortunately, we are in a position to prove that this was really the case and now, for the third time, to compare an original monument with a drawing by Cyriacus. This comparison, furthermore, will show why Cyriacus conjectured that this was a portrait of the king of philosophers and thus established a far-reaching iconographic tradition. And, finally, it will help us to understand the original meaning as well as some of the implications of an unusual work of ancient art.

In 1939, the same process of recovering scattered ancient monuments which had yielded the fragments of the stele with the round building (Plate V *a-b*) led to the removal of a marble bust of a bearded man (Plate VII *c, d, e*) from its position high up in the wall of a building in the modern village.⁴⁴ According to reliable information from the owner of the building,⁴⁵ it had been brought from the river bed west of the sanctuary of the Great Gods about fifty years before by his grandfather at the time he erected the building in which it still appeared. The bust is of Thasian marble and is badly weathered and severely corroded. In addition, it is unusually flat and its back was left unfinished. Its style is clearly that of the local island schools of about the middle of the fifth century B.C., of the so-called transitional period. All these features, material, technique, flatness, neglect of the back, style relate the piece intimately to a nearly life-sized female statue (Plate VII *f-g*) which we rescued in 1938 from the very same region in which the bust had been found in the late nineteenth century.

⁴⁰ F. Studniczka, *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles*, 1908. E. Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst*, 1927.

⁴¹ Saxl, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. 9 c, p. 44.

⁴³ See above, note 12.

⁴⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354, fig. 34. Height: 0.413 m.

⁴⁵ This is the same Mr. Platon Terziz whose helpfulness has been acknowledged above.

Apparently, both pieces belonged to a group of architectural sculptures which had fallen down into the river bed from a building in the sanctuary. Most likely, it was a pedimental group: this is indicated by the flatness of the figures as well as by the neglected backs and a difference in size. The bust is proportionately smaller than the female figure, a feature which points to their belonging to a pedimental composition, in which the central divine figures were larger in size than the lateral groups of heroes. So much we concluded immediately in Samothrace when we compared the two sculptures.⁴⁶

A comparison of the head (Plate VII *c, d, e*) with Cyriacus' drawing (Plate VI) of "Aristotle" makes it evident that the bust was Cyriacus' model. It also shows that Professor Saxl was wrong in assuming that in his drawing Cyriacus added a conventional draped bust of Renaissance style to the head of a Greek poet or philosopher;⁴⁷ such a practice, incidentally, seems to have been foreign to him. The proportion of bust and head, the drapery swathing the entire body and ascending to the right shoulder, the long beard and the hanging moustache of subarchaic style, the separated upper skull which Cyriacus and his successors interpreted as a skull-cap, the long strands of hair hanging forward at the sides and not at all in keeping with the appearance of a real portrait of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C., all these features are identical in bust and drawing. A unique technical detail which Cyriacus has indicated in his drawing removes any doubt about the identity; it reflects, too, the same devotion to the exact recording of facts which contrasts so strangely with his conjectural imagination: this is a horizontal line parallel to the lower edge of the bust and about an inch above it. This line clearly appears in both Cyriacus' drawing and the bust, where it is the upper edge of a slight projection made for the insertion of the lower part of the bust into a base.⁴⁸

Once the identity of the model of Cyriacus' "Aristotle" is established, it is easy to see what changes or inaccuracies he introduced. One has already been explained by Saxl:⁴⁹ the mistake in the rendering of the upper hair as a skull-cap. This is particularly understandable given the badly battered surface of the skull, where no details of hair are visible now, even if they were ever indicated. The hair of the bust is held together by a taenia, the knot and ends of which are sketchily indicated on the back. A second misinterpretation is found in the drapery of the right shoulder. On the bust itself, the cloak is wrapped around the body uninterruptedly, while, in the

⁴⁶ See note 44.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ I was therefore wrong in saying (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354, note 37): "modern cut below." The lower surface is, indeed, less weathered, as a result of its being protected, throughout eight centuries of antiquity, until, in the final catastrophe, the bust rolled down from its original location into the river bed. This statement did not take into consideration the obviously original feature of the lower projection, and was suggested by the seemingly unique existence of a male bust in this period, which appeared inexplicable before we had Cyriacus' drawing.

⁴⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.

drawing, Cyriacus inserted an imaginary knot of drapery into its ill-preserved outlines. In rendering the beard and face, as in representing the faces of the Louvre frieze,⁵⁰ Cyriacus has, again, translated the rigid formality of an ancient work into a more fluid, calligraphic and, at the same time, naturalistic rhythm of lines, loosening the masses and making them appear more like the actual texture of hair and flesh. This change of style and the resulting mixture of elements in the drawing give the head its curious appearance of a learned rabbi. It seems particularly suitable for Aristotle, and, indeed, survived in later tradition (Plate VII *a-b*).⁵¹

But there is one respect in which the Cyriacus drawing is strangely different from the bust, so much in fact, that at first sight its diversity might seem to balance the striking similarities which have been pointed out before: this is the curious character of the eyes. In the drawing, they appear to be almost completely closed; only above the lower lid does a small slit suggest that they are not actually shut. This curious feature contrasts strangely with the eyes of the Samothracian bust which are now deeply and roughly carved. However, the present form of these eyes is the result of modern recutting, as we observed immediately, in our first investigation of the head, long before Cyriacus' drawing was known.⁵² At that time, we saw no reason for this recutting of the eyes which evidently was done by an awkward local craftsman, when the bust was brought to the village, in the late nineteenth century, and used to decorate the façade of a building. Now, on the basis of Cyriacus's drawing, we may conclude that the ancient bust actually had its eyes either shut or nearly shut, and that, for this very reason the modern villagers, when they reused the bust, preferred to open them up. Once again, Cyriacus' sharp and detailed observation, which, in this case included such details as the lower projecting edge, has helped us to restore an ancient monument.

But the fact that the bearded Samothracian bust which Cyriacus, evidently, saw in 1444 in its original fallen position in the sanctuary, had closed or nearly closed eyes at once reveals the reason for his interpretation as well as the original meaning of the ancient work.

From Cyriacus' drawing (Plate VI) it is obvious that he interpreted whatever he saw as twinkling eyes in which only a small reduced section in the depth was rather suggested than actually visible. The ancient and medieval sources for the iconography of Aristotle stress three features which Cyriacus recognized in this bust: ⁵³ his long beard, mentioned in an Arabic text; ⁵⁴ his baldness, which evidently caused Cyriacus to interpret the upper part of the head as covered by a skull-cap; ⁵⁵ and, finally, most

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵¹ Planiscog, *loc. cit.*

⁵² I may repeat here the passage from our accession-catalogue, which was written in August, 1939, in Samothrace: "At the same time [that is, in the modern reuse] the eyes have been roughly deepened."

⁵³ Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

important, his small eyes.⁵⁶ Obviously Cyriacus considered the closed or nearly closed eyes of the bust, in conjunction with the two other features, as proof of the identity of the person as Aristotle.⁵⁷

At this point, it is legitimate to interrupt the factual argument for a moment and to imagine the actual scene on that day in the fall of 1444. There, in the deserted solitude of a mountainous valley on that remote island, an enthusiastic man searched among the scattered debris of the grandeur of the past for documents, tangible illustrations of the great artistic and intellectual inheritance, which he was striving to help "revive." He was on the island, on which, as tradition had it, Philip had fallen in love with Olympias. Macedonia was near. Facing a humble, badly destroyed piece of provincial sculpture, he recognized the bearded countenance of a dignified old man with what he took to be a bald head covered by a skull-cap. Above all, he noticed the unique rendering of the partly or completely closed eyes. His mind, constantly focusing on the intellectual greatness of the past, was struck by what must have been a most exciting flash of combination to a man of that age: here he recognized the essential features of the greatest of thinkers, as tradition of word had crystallized them; he had found a portrait of Aristotle himself! He made a careful drawing of the head and, inasmuch as a credible conjecture was as good as a truth, he added the name in good Greek capital letters, as if it were documented by an ancient inscription. A few decades later, when Cyriacus' sketches began to be used by scholars and artists, they found a documented portrait of the great philosopher among them and something of that humble Greek work of art remained alive in many succeeding portraits of Aristotle.

This interesting and amusing chapter of the reflection of antiquity in the Renaissance deals, however, with only one aspect of the matter. Another concerns the original significance of the ancient work of art which we can now understand on the basis of Cyriacus' drawing.

Who is the bearded old man wrapped up in a cloak, with his eyes closed and solemn taeniae in his hair? What part did he play in a large sculptural group of the transitional period and in the mystery sanctuary of Samothrace? The original closed eyes which only Cyriacus' drawing enabled us to restore, given the modern recutting, are not without parallel in this period of Greek art. The best known example is the Roman copy of a work of about 460 B.C.—that is, contemporary with our bust—which has been convincingly interpreted as the earliest preserved ideal portrait of the blind Homer (Plate VIII *a*).⁵⁸ This device of closing the eyes and thereby shutting off the

⁵⁶ Diog. Laert., V, 1, 2: *μικρόμματος*. Compare, Aelian, *Var. hist.*, 3, 19; Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵⁷ This detail of the drawing is preserved in the first idealized portraits of Aristotle which were based on it. Planiscog, *loc. cit.*, figs. 62-64. Our Plate VII *a*.

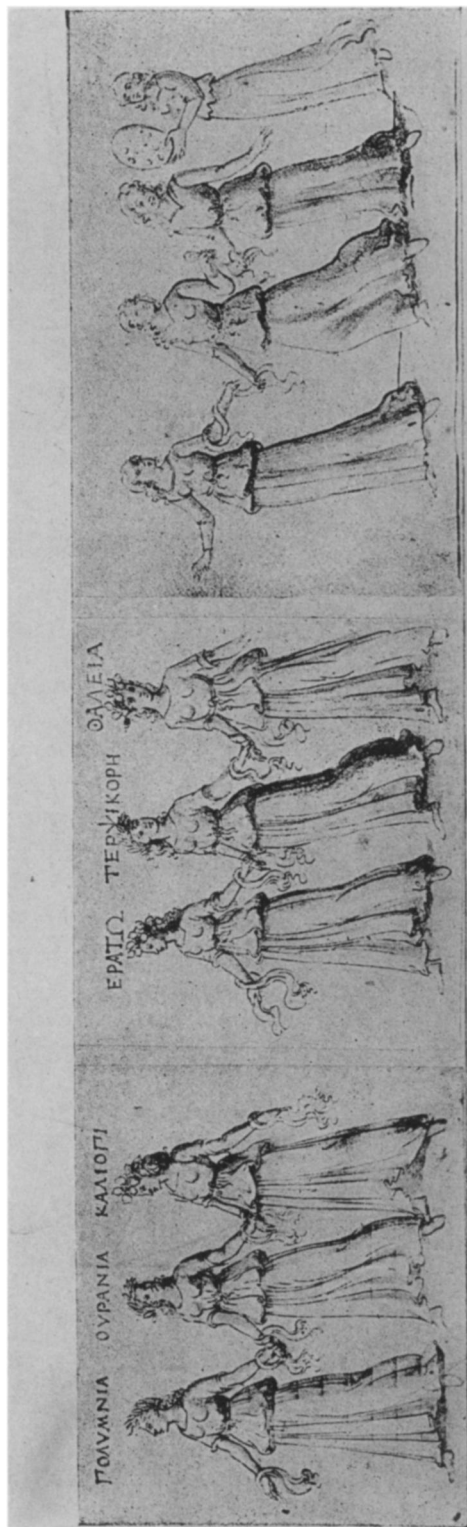
⁵⁸ Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, vol. 3, part 1, 1936, pp. 47 f., with bibliography.

light of the outside world was the early Greek convention for the representation of blindness. But our man is certainly not Homer, who could hardly appear, in this age, as part of an architectural group. Another unique feature of the head helps us to find out who he is. As we have seen, at its lower end the bust has a projecting band of stone for insertion into the ground (Plate VII *c-e*). Hence, this bearded, blind, old man, wrapped tightly in his cloak and wearing the taenia of a priest, is emerging from the ground. It is the blind Teiresias in the underworld, as he appeared to Odysseus, and he is approaching the pit in order to drink the blood of a ram, which will enable him to speak and prophesy the future.⁵⁹ He appears, thus, wrapped in his cloak, with white hair, and a long beard and moustache, and closed eyes, as he emerges from the ground, on a famous Apulian vase painting of the end of the fifth century B.C. (Plate VIII *b*).⁶⁰ Only, in the painting the position of the head is different from that of our bust, possibly as a result of the vase painter's need of relating the persons to each other within the narrow field of his picture. On the other hand, the strangely stooping, forward movement of our bust (Plate VII *c-e*) visibly illustrates Teiresias' thirsty approach to the pit from which he intends to drink.

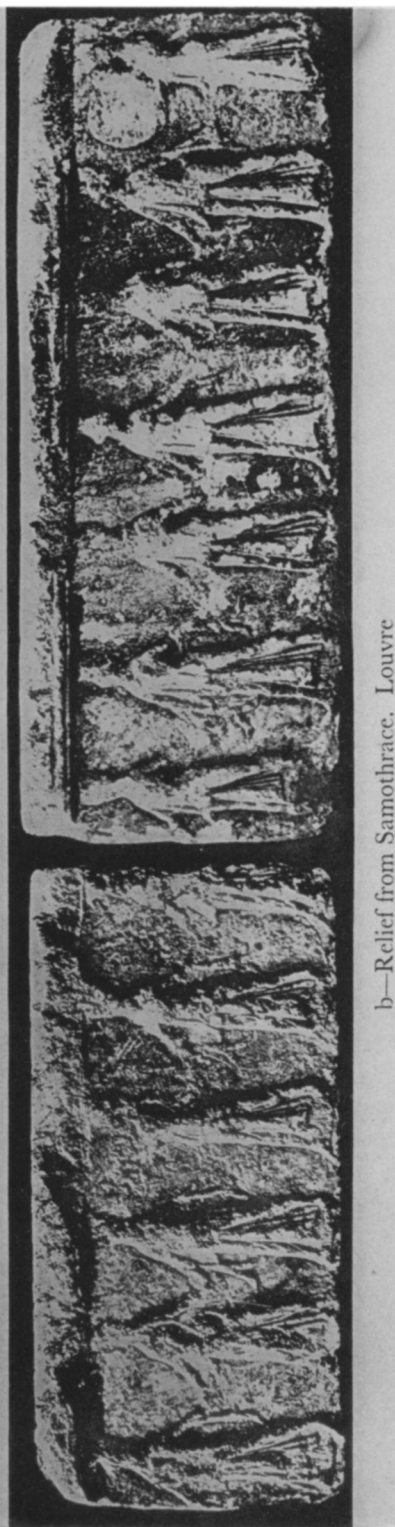
⁵⁹ Homer, *Od.*, XI, 1 f.

⁶⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, vol. 1, pl. 60, pp. 300 f. As to the preservation, Reichhold, *ibid.*, p. 305. As Reichhold explained, modern restorers have tampered with the head, but it is essentially old. P. Wolters (in Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 12th ed., vol. 1, 1923, p. 351), against his own former judgment (still, *ibid.*, 11th ed., 1921, p. 355), doubted the authenticity of the head and suggested interpreting the scene as Ajax after his insanity. E. Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, vol. 1, 1923, p. VI ad p. 598) accepted this verdict as based on observation of the original by Wolters (which Wolters does not say and which, as far as I know, is unlikely; Pfuhl's reference is also wrong). Wolters' only argument seems to have been the fact that the head uses the contour of the leg of the standing figure at the left as part of its outline. He admits the possible authenticity of the head, nevertheless. But apparently he was so fascinated by his new interpretation of the scene that he suggested the later addition of the head in antiquity—a completely impossible and unparalleled idea! It will be noted that the painter has used the contour of Odysseus' left foot for the outline of the head of the ram next to it, in exactly the same manner. Therefore, E. Löwy, *Polygnot*, 1929, p. 31, has rightly not accepted the wild theory. In the article "Teiresias" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, which otherwise too is worthless, the vase is not even mentioned. For the position of the head, compare also the Anodos of Kore, particularly *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 167, fig. 29.

It seems to me possible that in the Nekyia of Polygnotus the bust of Teiresias emerged from the ground in a similar fashion. Pausanias' expression (X, 29, 8) *Τειρεσίας πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν βόθρον* may as well mean that he emerges from below as that he approaches from the side, and does not necessarily refer to his walking. The "neo-attic" relief in the Louvre (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, vol. 2, p. 104, fig. 1255; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre, La Sculpture Grecque*, 1, 1938, p. 135) also shows the bearded old man with closed eyes derived from this fifth-century tradition. In representing Teiresias as a young man, the Etruscan mirror in Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 2, pl. 240, though retaining the motive of the closed eyes, may have been inspired by the figure of Elpenor from a more complex original (differently C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik*, 1919, p. 152; but compare scenes like *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 337 f. and Giglioli, *Arte Etrusca*, 1935, pl. 348, fig. 2, with bibliography). For the Tomba dell'Orco, see below.

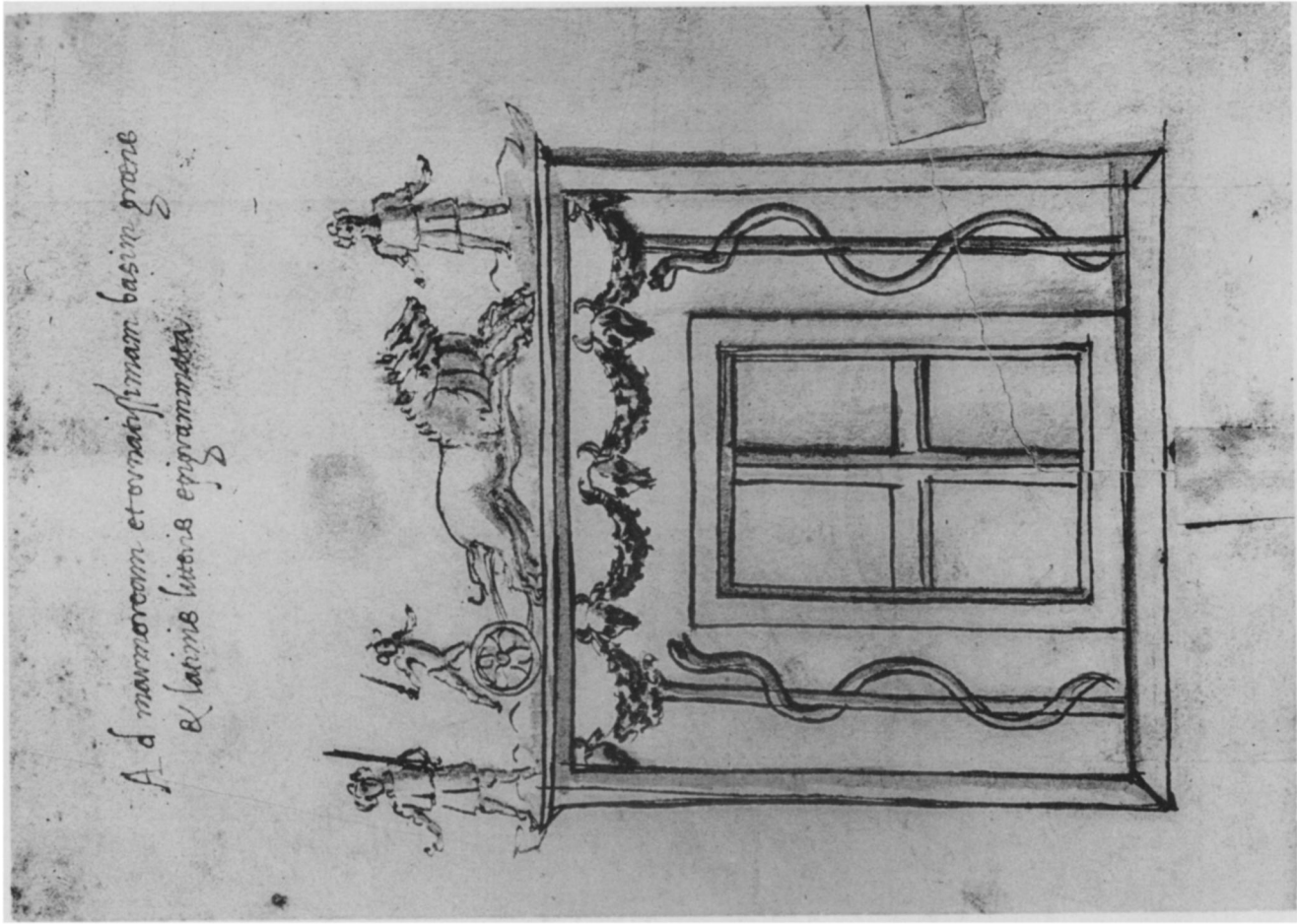


a—The Muses. Ashmole MS., f. 137v-138v



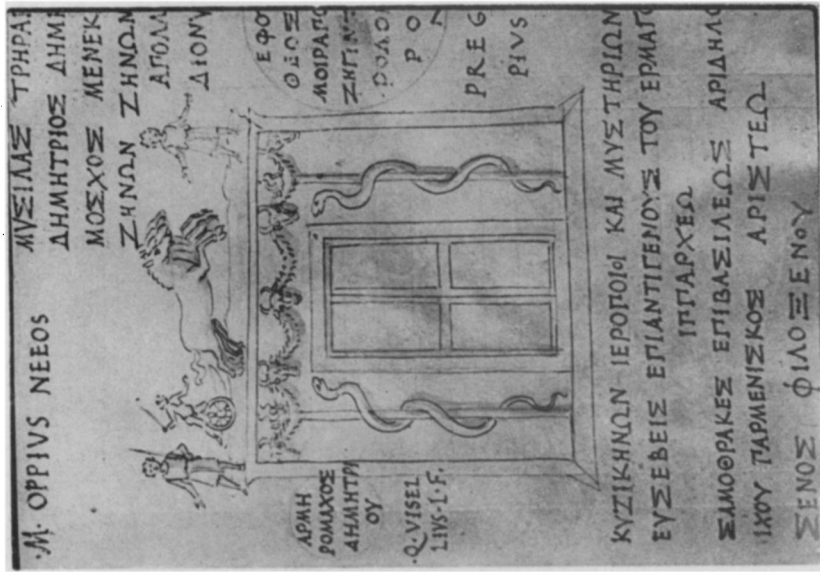
b—Relief from Samothrace. Louvre

Relief from Samothrace (*b*) and Copy of Drawing Made by Cyriacus of Ancona (*a*)

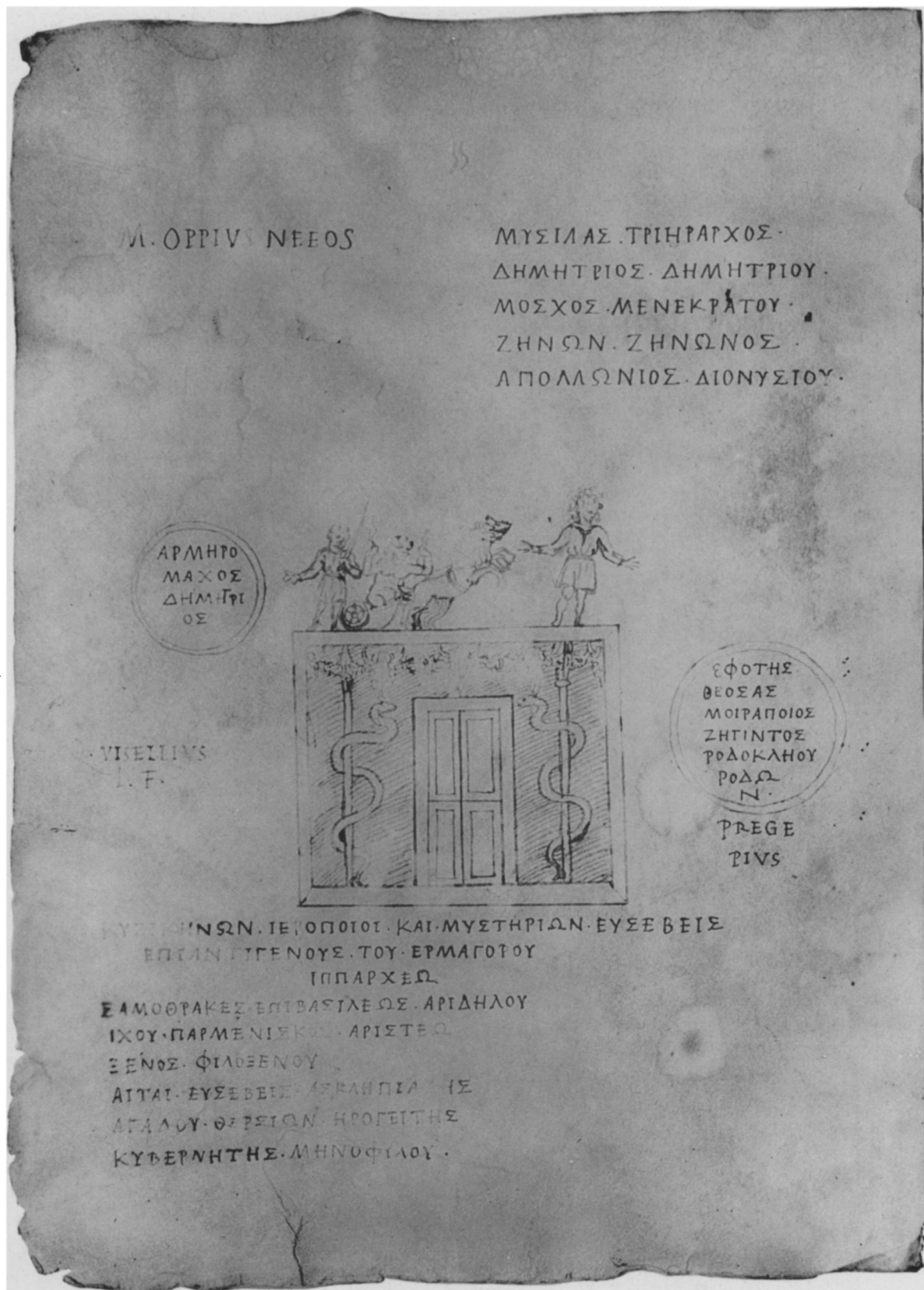


b. Ashburnensis Copy

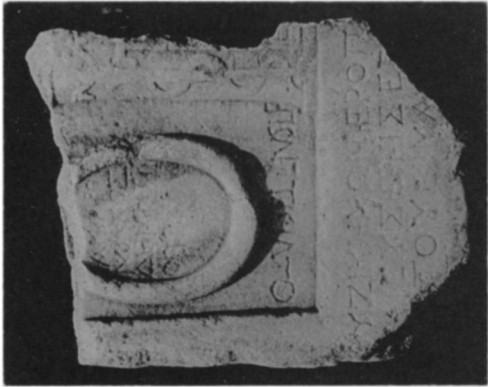
Cyriacus' Sketch of a Samothracian Stele



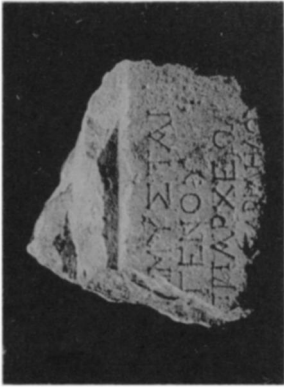
a. Ashmolensis Copy



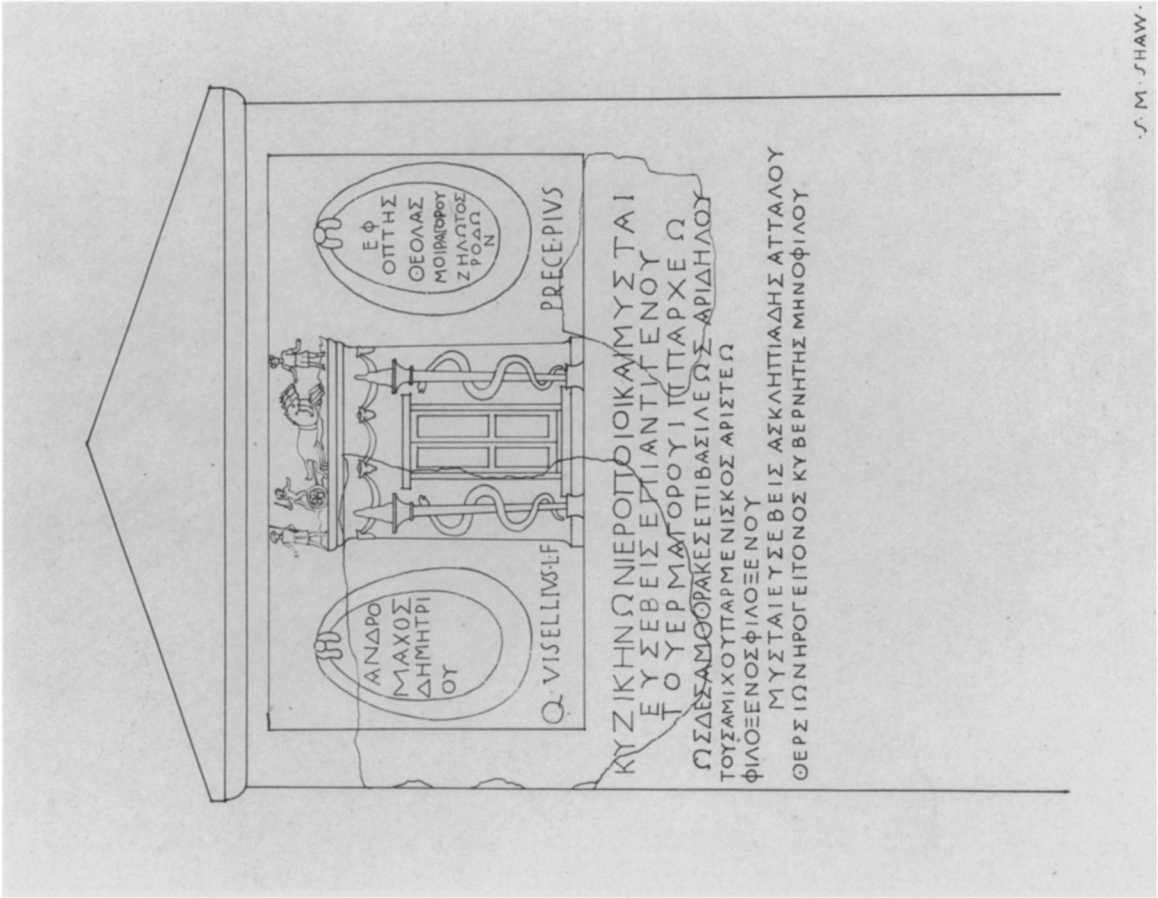
Ambrosianus Copy of Cyriacus' Drawing of a Samothracian Stele



a. Recently Discovered Fragment



b. Fragment I. G., XII, 8, 192



c. Restored Drawing of Stele

Fragments and Restored Drawing of Samothracian Stele Copied by Cyriacus



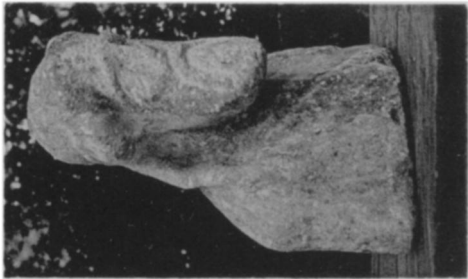
Ashmolenensis Copy of Cyriacus' Drawing of a Samothracian Bust



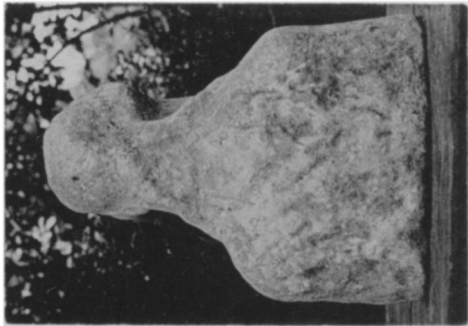
a. Ideal Portrait of Aristotle



c. Bust from Samothrace



d. Side View of *c*



e. Rear View of *c*



b. Leonardo da Vinci (Drawing) and Aristotle (Bronze Bust)



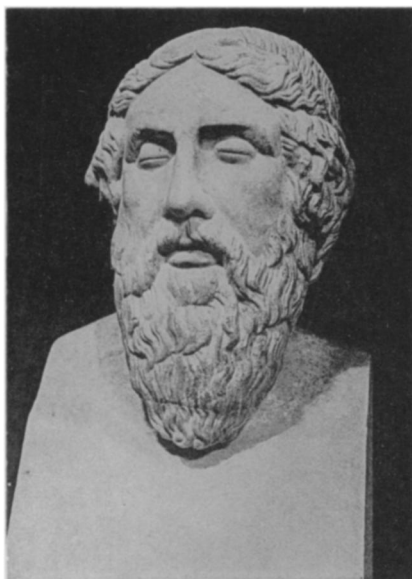
Renaissance Portraits and Samothracian Sculpture



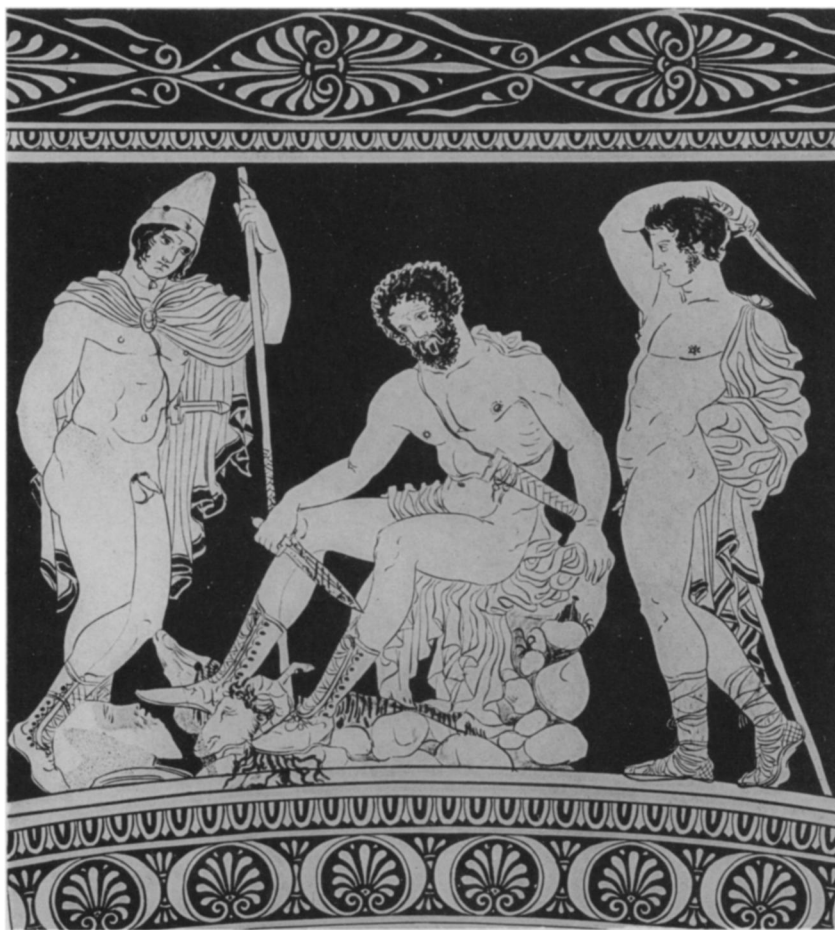
f. Female Statue from Samothrace



g. Rear View of *f*



a. The Vatican Homer



b. Teiresias Emerging from the Ground (Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, pl. 60)

PLATE IX



Relief from Samothrace (Louvre): Agamemnon, Talthibios, Epeios

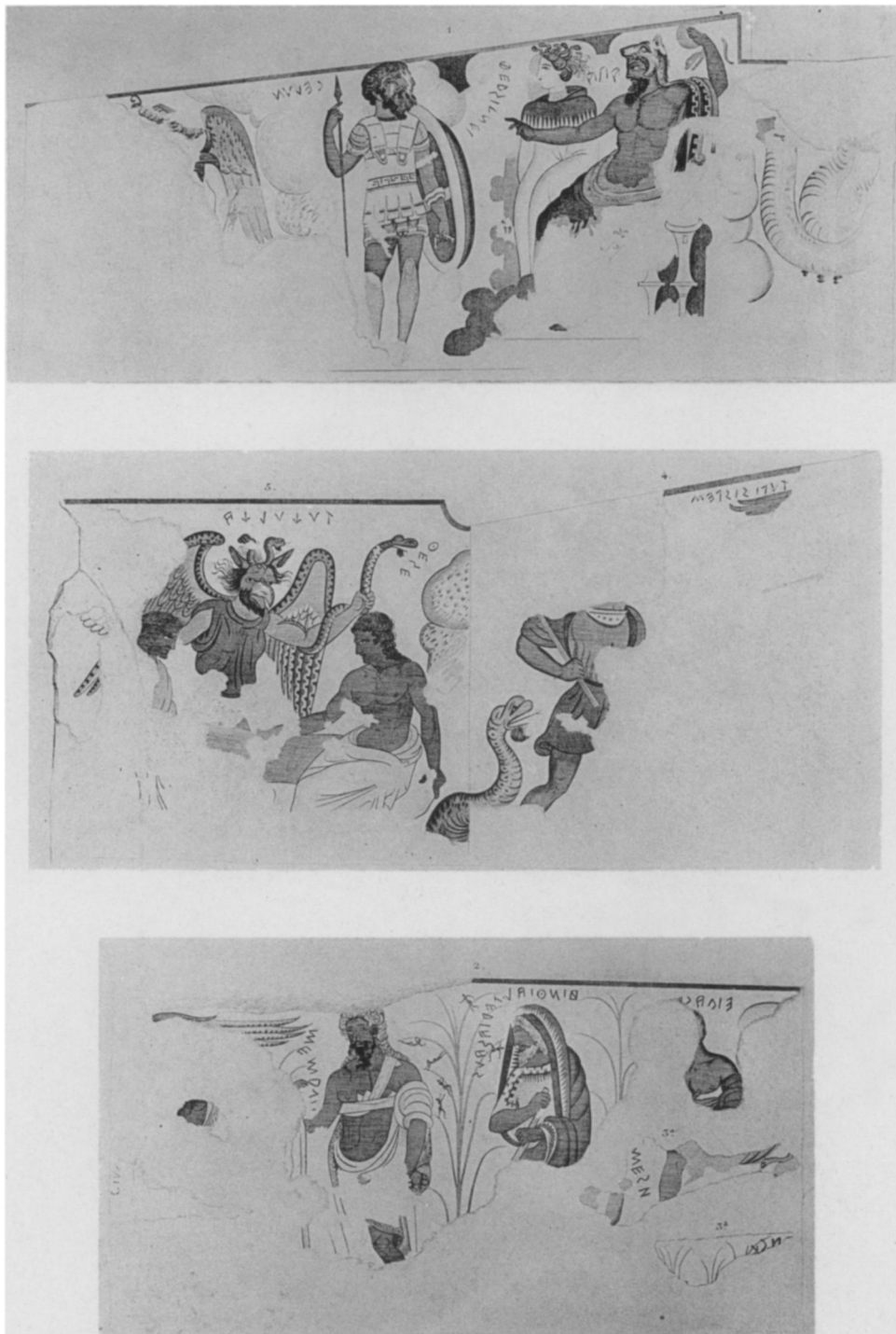


a. Reconstruction of Serpent in Louvre Relief



b. Spartan Hero-Relief

PLATE XI



Frescoes in Third Chamber of Tomba dell 'Orco in Corneto

The group to which our bust belonged was a representation of the Nekyia. If it was a pediment, as seems probable, Teiresias emerged from the ground at one side as a bust, near Odysseus and his companions. The female figure (Plate VII *f-g*)—of a goddess?—was closer to or in the center. The other half of the pediment must have been occupied by additional figures of the underworld.

This architectural group of Odysseus in the Underworld is of Thasian marble, and, most likely, was made by local Thasian sculptors at the same time that the great painter Polygnotus of Thasos painted his famous Nekyia fresco in Delphi.⁶¹ This fresco, in turn, may well have indirectly inspired the composition of the South Italian vase painting (Plate VIII *b*) which is so closely related to our Teiresias.⁶² It is important to note these connections between the work of the Thasian painter, who was also a sculptor,⁶³ and the Samothracian group. In his painting in Delphi Polygnotus introduced a clear reference to his native island, the neighbour of Samothrace, and to its local mystery cult. This was his representation of an otherwise unknown local heroine who was said to have introduced a mystery cult of Demeter from the island of Paros to Thasos.⁶⁴ This scene, at the left of the Polygnotan fresco, corresponded to another at the right alluding to the benefits of initiation into the mysteries by representing the unhappiness of uninitiated men and women who carry water in broken jars.⁶⁵ The Homeric scene of the Nekyia of Odysseus which was thus framed in the Polygnotan painting by religious allusions to mystery-initiation has been regarded as an archaic Greek contribution of a religious character having similar implications.⁶⁶ However that may be, the connection of this scene of the prophecy of Teiresias with the ideology of mystery religions is as evident in the painting by Polygnotus of Thasos as it is in the contemporary representation in Thasian monumental sculpture in Samothrace.

⁶¹ General bibliography: E. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 649 f., 671 f. M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 1930, p. 453.

⁶² Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁶³ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 85.

⁶⁴ Pausanias, X, 28, 3. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. 5, pp. 373 f.; Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 779; Göler, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Tellis and s. v. Thasos (p. 311). For an attempted restoration of this section: S. Pappaspyridi, *Ἀρχ. Δελφίων*, 1923, pp. 134 f., fig. 9. For the relationship of the Cabiric cult to that of Demeter in Paros: O. Kern, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Kabiroi, p. 1412.

⁶⁵ Pausanias, X, 31, 9 and 11. Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 388 f.; Hitzig-Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 802; E. Kühner, *Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1893, p. 109; H. Schöne, *ibid.*, p. 200, note 23. Carcopino, *Études Romaines*, 1926, pp. 282 f.

⁶⁶ See Wüst, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Odysseus, pp. 1970 f. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 1884, pp. 140 f., 199 f. Teiresias, whose tomb was shown in various places, and whose relationship to chthonic cults is evident from his function in the Nekyia as well as from his appearance as a snake, according to one version had been stricken with blindness by the gods *ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἃ κρύπτειν ἔθελον* [mysteries ?] ἐμήννε (Apollod., III, 6, 7). See Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Teiresias, pp. 181 f. For vague connections with the Boeotian Cabirium: C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 130.

In Polygnotus' painting, this relationship is the result of the painters' own personal allegiance to a native cult of his island home rather than of any interest on the part of his employers, the citizens of Cnidus, although in their town, too, there was a mystery cult of Demeter.⁶⁷ The only local allusion is to Thasos. That the Samothracian cult of the Great Gods used the Nekyia scene in the same period is, thus, not surprising, though its use in monumental architectural sculpture is a fact of considerable importance for the iconography of sculpture. For this revelation we are indebted to Cyriacus and, what is more, it leads to further important conclusions.

That the Samothracian cult was of chthonic character has long been established and it was confirmed by our excavations. But the very chthonic character of this mystery cult does not necessarily include a preoccupation with the destiny of the soul after death. Our literary sources are silent about this point, and the archaeological evidence available thus far has not allowed us to answer the question of whether or not initiation in Samothrace included the hope of a happy after-life, as it did in Eleusis.⁶⁸ Indeed, the occurrence of an Underworld scene as a major sculptural decoration of the Samothracian sanctuary about the middle of the fifth century B.C. is the first tangible indication that this was actually the case.

It is unlikely, at this early time, that such a fundamental concept of the Samothracian cult was the result of Eleusinian influence. On the other hand, we possess another, and considerably earlier, Samothracian monument which, in the light of this new discovery, may be explained as part of an Underworld picture, too. This is the famous archaic relief in the Louvre (Plate IX) which belongs to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and, so far, has not been susceptible of unequivocal interpretation.⁶⁹ Its use and function, though surely tectonic, are unknown.⁷⁰ It is the right end of a frieze in a local "Ionic" style of sculpture and represents the seated Agamemnon. Behind him, as the inscriptions in local characters⁷¹ indicate, stand his

⁶⁷ See the sanctuary from which the famous Demeter in the British Museum comes, and its interesting finds: Ch. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, vol. 2, 1863, pp. 375 f.

⁶⁸ See A. D. Nock, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 577.

⁶⁹ Often reproduced in handbooks. See Friedrich-Wolters, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik*, 1885, pp. 16 f. with the important earlier bibliography. Best illustration: *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre, La Sculpture Grecque*, I (25, no. 5 du tome III), Paris, 1938, p. 135 D.

⁷⁰ Friedrich-Wolters, *loc. cit.* Mrs. Edward Holsten has suggested that it may have belonged to a parapet surrounding one of the Samothracian bothroi, a very tempting hypothesis (see, already, C. O. Müller, *Kleine deutsche Schriften*, vol. 2, 1848, p. 598) which requires confirmation through a new investigation of technical details.

⁷¹ *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 226, with bibliography. Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 557 (contradicting his own note, in the same volume, p. 79, n. 2) has suggested a modification of the old explanation of Epeios: according to this theory, he is present in his quality of a famous sculptor, inasmuch as he contrived the construction of the wooden horse. In fact, Callimachus (see Pfeiffer, *Sitzungsb. Bayer. Ak.*, 1934, 10, pp. 23 f.) thought of him, centuries later, as a maker of wooden xoana in general. But there is no shadow of evidence for this being an old tradition. Neither, as Picard has stated himself, is Epeios characterized, in the relief, by any implement of the craft.

herald Talthybios and Epeios, generally known as the builder of the Trojan horse. Beyond Agamemnon, to the left, other figures must have followed. The scene has been interpreted as the moment when Epeios produced his wooden horse and showed it to Agamemnon. But such an explanation is impossible, inasmuch as Epeios is standing behind Agamemnon, even in the very corner, far off from the product which he is supposed to show. The clear language of archaic Greek narrative would never have permitted such an illogical arrangement. On the other hand, the combination of just these figures, to which others were apparently added in a quiet gathering at the left, has no basis in any specific Homeric scene. It looks like a rather casual assemblage of epic characters. And what is the meaning of the enormous snake coiling upward in a very spectacular fashion at the right end of the relief? This snake is now largely destroyed because of an accident when the relief was inserted into a wall in the Louvre. But part of the surface of its scaled body, and of the head with its open mouth, a split tongue and elongated eyes were formerly preserved and are known from old drawings.⁷² My reconstruction (Plate X *a*) is based on these. In a very archaic fashion, the monster is characterized as phantastic and of terrifying character by the presence of a big spiral curl hanging down from the back of its head.⁷³

The solution of these problems is offered by a comparison of the relief with a monument of a quite different region and period which, in turn, is clearly dependent on the Polygnotan tradition of Underworld paintings and its related religious speculation. I refer to the frescoes of the third chamber of the Tomba dell'Orco in Corneto (Plate XI).⁷⁴ Here, on one wall, we see Hades and Persephone within a cave, surrounded by the cloudy vapors of the netherworld⁷⁵ and giving orders to their demons, while an enormous snake coils upward behind Hades' throne. In spite of the greater naturalism, the size and position of this snake offer the closest analogy to the reptile on the Samothracian relief. Moreover, a similar if slightly smaller snake occurs again at the edge of another section of these frescoes in which Theseus and Peirithoös are represented in the underworld. Here, as in the relief, they evidently indicate the scenery of Hades. The position of the great underworld snake coiling upward behind

⁷² Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, vol. 2, pl. 1; Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, vol. 6, pl. D 6, 1; idem, *Galleria Omerica*, vol. 1, pl. 20; Clarac, *Musée*, vol. 2, pl. 116, no. 238; *Annali*, 1829, pl. C 2.

⁷³ Already recognized by Wolters, *loc. cit.*, who, however, speaks incorrectly about a "horned" monster.

⁷⁴ Chief bibliography: G. Helbig, *Annali*, 1870, pp. 16 f., 64 f.; *Mon. dell'Ist.*, vol. 9, pl. 15 (our Plate XI based on this most clear reproduction); Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria Maritima*, vol. 1, pp. 350 f.; Weege, *Etruskische Wandmalerei*, 1921, pp. 28 f.; F. Poulsen, *Helbig Museum*, 1927, pp. 207 f.; C. C. van Essen, *Did Orphic Influence on Etruscan Tomb Paintings Exist?*, 1927, pp. 1 f.; Messerschmidt, *Jahrbuch*, XLV, 1930, pp. 82 f.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, vol. II, part 1, 1936, pp. 206 f.; Pallottino, *Monumenti antichi Lincei*, XXXVI, 1937, pp. 403 f., 410 f.

⁷⁵ Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 350; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

a throne occurs already, indeed, in the very period of the Samothracian relief on the earliest Spartan Hero-Reliefs (Plate X b).⁷⁶ But in the Tomba dell'Orco, on the wall adjoining the picture of Hades, Persephone, and their acolytes, we find a quiet procession of Homeric Heroes: only three are largely preserved together with fragments of their inscribed names. By coincidence, it is again the right section which is preserved of a gathering which extended toward the left. There is no indication that this is a representation of the Homeric Nekyia of Odysseus.⁷⁷ Rather, we have a generalized picture of heroes in Elysium⁷⁸ and, in this case, they are accompanied by demons. The heroes preserved are Agamemnon,⁷⁹ the "shadow of Teiresias," who, wrapped in a cloak, bearded, and with closed, blind eyes feels his way forward with a stick, and one of the Aiantes.⁸⁰ The rest of the contemporary decoration of this tomb, which is the earliest in the complex and datable about 400 B.C.,⁸¹ represents the usual banquet scenes depicting the happy after-life in Elysium according to a long-established Etruscan funeral tradition.⁸² It is not necessary at this time to discuss the various problems of interpretation, of the history of religion, and of art which are connected with these frescoes and which will continue to be debated in the future. And we may leave aside the question of exactly what the connotations of the Underworld scenes in this and certain other Etruscan tombs may have been.⁸³ That they were ultimately inspired by Greek religious paintings, very likely from Southern Italy, is evident and cannot be disputed. In view of the presence of Hades and Persephone in the Tomba dell'Orco, of the appearance of the same divinities in Underworld paintings of "Polygnotan" derivation on funeral vases in Apulia shortly afterward, and of the great importance of cults of Demeter and Persephone in Sicily and Magna Graecia, cults

⁷⁶ Mrs. Edward L. Holsten has reminded me of this striking analogy. See, Wace-Tod, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906, pp. 102 f.

⁷⁷ Against Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, see *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

⁷⁹ *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Poulsen, *loc. cit.*; *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

⁸² The scene of Odysseus blinding Polyphemus is considerably later and has no connection with this cycle; see, Helbig, *loc. cit.*; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*; *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.* This was not considered by A. Neppi Modona in his otherwise useful study: *Annali delle Università Toscane*, XLIV, 1926, p. 230.

⁸³ Weege's theories, *loc. cit.*, about "Orphic-Pythagorean" inspiration have failed in two respects: first, because he undoubtedly went too far in assuming Greek influences in the general repertoire of Etruscan Underworld demons; second, because of the unfortunate terms "orphyic" and "Pythagorean." Van Essen's polemic, *loc. cit.*, therefore, was largely justified. How common or uncommon "orphyic" cults were in the fifth century B.C. is quite unknown. See, now, I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, 1941. On the other hand, the fundamentally Greek representations of gods and heroes in the Underworld must have been inspired by Greek religious art and must express the influence of actual Greek cults. The investigations of Alheim have added to our knowledge of the quite tangible and individual importation of Greek cults to central Italy in the early period. See, also, the careful judgment of Pallottino, *loc. cit.*

for which we have ample literary, archaeological, and numismatic evidence, it is logical to assume that the model of the heroes in the underworld was a painting in a South Italian Greek sanctuary of "Eleusinian" character.⁸⁴ This model must have belonged to a period contemporary with or not much later than Polygnotus. On the other hand, a number of tangible connections of single elements with the Polygnotan Nekyia have been observed, although the general character of the Etruscan painting is different.⁸⁵ The relationship may well be the result of dependence on a common pre-Polygnotan background.

The famous fresco of the Homeric Nekyia in Delphi, with its allusions to the benefits of initiation into a cult of Demeter, is related to the contemporary representation of the same subject in architectural sculpture in Samothrace. The quiet gathering of Homeric heroes in the underworld, the setting of which is characterized by monstrously big snakes, in the Tomba dell'Orco and in the considerably earlier Samothracian relief (Plate IX) connects these two works of art. In the fragmentary Samothracian relief, only Agamemnon and two acolytes are preserved.⁸⁶ There is a

⁸⁴ The influence of intermediary Etruscan temple paintings has been suggested by Pallottino, *loc. cit.*, p. 423. In another tomb in Corneto there appears a motive clearly derived from a model belonging to a Greek Demeter-cult: the snake chariot of Demeter (*Bull. Ist.*, 1831, p. 92, note 2) or of Triptolemos. A Hellenistic vase by Canoleius representing the Rape of Persephone with clear allusion to mysteries in the inscription *εὐσεβῶς*, was also found in a tomb in Corneto (*Bull. Ist.*, 1879, p. 82; P. Ducati, *Storia della ceramica greca*, vol. 2, p. 531; Pallottino, *loc. cit.*, p. 489; R. Pagenstecher, *Calenische Reliefkeramik*, 1909, pp. 74 f., no. 114 c; idem, *Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1912, p. 155, no. 114; C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, part 3, p. 454). Compare, also, the evidence for the Magna Mater cult in another fresco in Corneto: *Bull. Ist.*, 1831, p. 92.

⁸⁵ All the essential observations were already made by Helbig, *loc. cit.*; See, also, Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Weege, *loc. cit.*; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ His herald, Talthybios, quite naturally stands behind his throne. The presence of Epeios, however, may have a special meaning within the context of this underworld setting. The story told by Athenaeus (X, 456 e) is worthless as far as the aetiological explanation goes (see Maass, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Simonides, p. 187), but this explanation, in turn, is based on the following facts: a) An epigram, about contemporary with Simonides and our Samothracian relief, shows that Epeios was worshipped in Keos with sacrificial meals. b) In Karthaia in Keos, in the sanctuary of Apollo, there was a painting in which Epeios appeared carrying water, and Agamemnon and Menelaos were present in the same painting. c) Stesichorus is quoted as saying: *ῥκτειρε γὰρ αὐτὸν* [sc. Epeios] *ἵδωρ ἀεὶ φέροντα Διὸς κῶρα βασιλέσσιν*. d) For some topographical reason, later people connected Epeios with a spring in Karthaia. Keeping in mind that there was, from the archaic period on, a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Karthaia in Keos which was connected with a spring (*B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 333 f.; *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1, 569), it seems to me an obvious conclusion that Epeios the Waterbearer was a hero or demon worshipped here in connection with this sanctuary and that the *Διὸς κῶρα* of Stesichoros is Kore (and not Helen or Athena as modern interpreters have assumed). It is tempting to think that the waterbearer, like the uninitiated men and women in Polygnotus' painting, was punished in the underworld and released by Kore. Stesichorus, apparently, did connect him with the service of the Atreidai. It is also likely, that, in the painting, he appeared carrying water in the underworld, not far from Agamemnon and Menelaos. In other words, it was another painting of this kind, whether pre- or post-Polygnotan in origin.

literary tradition⁸⁷ according to which Agamemnon was one of several heroes who had been initiated in Samothrace. It was said that, through the protection afforded them by the purple scarf of the Samothracian mystae,⁸⁸ they were preserved from injury in dangerous exploits. If this interpretation is acceptable, the archaic relief showing them in Elysium may be an old document of this tradition; on the other hand, if the tradition was of later origin, it may well have been inspired by the appearance of such Underworld scenes in the Samothracian sanctuary. Among the heroes who were, thus, under the protection of the Samothracian Gods, Odysseus appears, too, in our literary source: he was, of course, a leading actor in the fifth-century Nekyia pediment.

Not only has Cyriacus' drawing revealed the correct interpretation of an ancient monument as part of the Nekyia of Odysseus, but this interpretation has also thrown new light on the basic creeds of this still most mysterious of ancient mystery cults. It has disclosed new connections in religious iconography, and the fact that, from the archaic period on, the Samothracian religion was concerned with the destiny of men after death as was the Eleusinian cult.

The provincial and badly destroyed bust of Teiresias, the humble work of a local sculptor of about 460 B.C. (Plate VII *c-e*), is nevertheless a clear expression of the concept of the unfailing soothsayer who, even as a shadowy ghost in the underworld, is called upon to reveal the mysteries of the future. By a strange coincidence, his blind prophetic face was later interpreted as a portrait of Aristotle, the creator of philosophical speculation. Thus, the long forgotten old prophet became the ancestor of an illustrious tradition of portraits of the reasoning mind. But, on the island, the poor fragment remained in the place where it had fallen probably about a millenium before Cyriacus of Ancona made his exciting discovery. It remained there for nearly another five hundred years. Then, the head was brought to the modern village, most likely as an image of a patron saint of the Christian church guaranteeing protection to a new building. Thus, after his career as a philosopher, the prophet now turned saint, and his blind prophetically closed eyes were roughly opened to look into a world completely different from his or from that of Cyriacus.

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⁸⁷ Schol. Apoll. Rhod., I, 916; compare Diod., V, 49, 6.

⁸⁸ Schol. Apoll. Rhod., *loc. cit.*