

Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens.1

THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE
AT ATHENS

THE FIRST FIVE LECTURES

Edited by Øivind Andersen and Helène Whittaker

Athens 1991

Cover: Caryatid porch of the Erechtheion

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Øivind Andersen

Helène Whittaker

Athens, March 1, 1991

THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS FOR CLASSICAL STUDIES,
ARCHAEOLOGY AND CULTURAL HISTORY

An Introduction

"The growing cultural cooperation between Greece and Norway is entering a new era today with the establishment of The Norwegian Institute at Athens for Classical Studies, Archaeology and Cultural History." Thus the Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland, in her message to the inauguration of the Norwegian Institute at Athens on May 8, 1989. There was every reason to celebrate the fact that Norwegian scholars now had secured an operational base in the Greek world to serve "as a focal point for continued Norwegian studies of the cradle of European civilization", to quote Mrs. Brundtland again.

Among the approximately 250 persons attending the inauguration were representatives of Greek authorities and academic institutions, directors and members from many of the other foreign schools at Athens, as well as friends and supporters from many quarters. Numerous Norwegians were present, both residents of Greece and people who had travelled to Greece for the occasion. The latter group included the members of the Board of the Institute and many other representatives from the Norwegian universities and other institutions. The guests coming from Norway took part in an extended program of meetings, excursions, and social events. The inauguration and a lecture meeting on the following day were held in the Acropolis Research Centre in Makrijanni. We are very grateful to Evi Touloupa, the then Ephor of the Acropolis, and to her staff for all the assistance given to us during the inauguration. We also wish to thank the Royal Norwegian Embassy and the Ambassador to Greece at that time, Mr. Tancred Ibsen, both for unfailing interest and indispensable assistance during the period which led up to the establishment of the Institute and for the part they undertook to play during the days of the opening events. As always, the Swedish Institute and its Director, Professor Robin Hägg, must be thanked for their contribution to the Nordic and Norwegian cause and particularly for hosting some of the events during those busy and memorable days.

The Norwegian Institute at Athens was established under the auspices of the Council of Norwegian Universities which embraces not only the universities proper, but all the specialized colleges on university level in Norway, e.g., for architecture and for art. The Institute is run jointly by the four universities of Norway (Bergen, Oslo, Tromsø, and Trondheim). It is in fact their first joint venture of this nature and so represents an innovation in Norwegian academic life. You may if you like take the four front

figures of the Karyatid porch of the Erechtheion, who make up the emblem of the Institute, to represent the four universities supporting the Institute (in the Odos Erechtheiou, near the Acropolis). The planning for the establishment of the Institute goes back several years before the inauguration, and dreams about it even further back. After sustained effort and concerted action by a few determined enthusiasts, both scholars and administrators, the materialization of the idea was made possible by a generous grant from the Norwegian Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, matching initial funding from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, and by the use of various legacies administered by the universities of Oslo and Bergen. Both the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters (Oslo) and the Royal Norwegian Society for Sciences and Letters (Trondheim) gave initial contributions to the research activities of the Institute. The regular financing of the Institute's operating costs is secured through annual grants from the universities in proportion to their total budgets. Each university appoints two members to serve on the board of the Institute.

From the very first contacts, the Greek Ministry of Culture and its Directorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities gave us the feeling that a Norwegian Institute would be welcome in Greece, and on February 28, 1989, the Central Archaeological Council approved the Norwegian Institute at Athens as a "Foreign School of Archaeology". To have obtained this status is a privilege, one which we did not take for granted. We appreciated the warm words of welcome and the sincere wishes for an extended cooperation and collaboration between Greek and Norwegian scholars which Mrs. Maria Pentazou of the Greek Ministry of Culture conveyed during the inauguration of the Institute. As was stressed by our Ambassador, Mr. Ibsen, the Institute represents a strengthening of Norway's presence in Greece and should function "as a catalyst for an increased and widened scope of cultural contacts between the two countries". One may also like to share his conviction that the results of the work done in Athens will catch the public at home and arouse more widespread interest in knowledge about our European past: "The establishment in Athens of a Norwegian Institute for Classical Studies, Archaeology, and Cultural History is not an event which concerns only a small group of scholars. It is a manifestation of Norway's recognition of its European roots." It is a long way "From Akershus to the Acropolis" as the President of the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, Professor Kolbjørn Skaare reminded the audience in his address at the inauguration, quoting the title of a book by the Norwegian archaeologist Ingvald Undset, who would sometimes come to dinner at the Schliemanns' in Athens during the year 1883. But, as he also stressed, there are lines of communication: if you are going by bus or tram to the Parliament Building in Oslo, you must get off at Athenaeum.

The Norwegian Institute joins, as the fourteenth member, the community of foreign institutes or schools of archaeology and classical studies

which are based at Athens. In his message to the Institute at its inauguration, Dr. Hector Catling of the British School at Athens, then dean of the foreign schools, welcomed it to the community and expressed his conviction that "this youngest member will undoubtedly uphold the standards and traditions first established with the founding of L'Ecole Française d'Archéologie 143 years ago." The Norwegian Institute certainly will try to live up to standards; in our effort to make our own and unique contribution we shall, however, benefit greatly from the very varied and vital scholarly activity in the other foreign schools as well as from contact and cooperation with our Greek hosts and colleagues. In the Greek capital, Norwegian research and scholarship are set in a truly international context. Mr. Magne Lerheim, chairman of the Board of the Norwegian Institute at Athens and at that time also Secretary General of the Council of Norwegian Universities and Director of the University of Bergen, stressed that the Institute must become part of a broad international collaboration:

"The Institute may well be regarded as part of the program for the further internationalization of Norwegian academic institutions. We live in an age primarily characterized by extensive internationalization at all levels. We even begin to see the outline of a common global culture. New nations that are being born, are faced with the difficult task of finding a balance between adapting to the international community and developing a respect for the unique cultural values of their own nation. Internationalization does not only give rise to global cultural features, but also underlines the values of the various national cultures which provide people with a feeling of security.

No single sector of the emerging international and global culture has as much in common as the academic one. The community of thoughts, of methods and working forms experienced by scholars is independent of social conditions and political systems, and is more distinctive than in any other area of human activity. The roots of this academic culture are found here in Greece, in Athens. We are gathered now at what is not only a cradle of our own Western culture, but also the cradle of our international academic culture. We are happy to establish a meeting place just here."

Among the foreign schools already in existence, the Norwegian Institute has a special relationship with the Swedish Institute and with the Finnish Institute, the latter our senior by a couple of years only. It would have been very much more difficult to establish a Norwegian Institute at Athens had it not been for the existence there already of a well-established and well-disposed Swedish Institute. It was important in the rally for support at home that it was never a question of Norway starting from scratch in Greece. The idea was always that we should build upon the present, Swedish, infrastructure, complement the existing library, pool our resources so as to benefit - mutually - from cooperation in teaching and

research. For many years in the past the Swedish Institute has been used by Norwegian scholars and students. It has given Norwegians access to field work and it has hosted seminars, housed individuals, and received whole groups. It is good that the Norwegian Institute can now relieve them of some of this and contribute with resources of its own. The prospects were well put by Professor Hägg of the Swedish Institute in his address at the inauguration:

"Being neighbours at home we shall be neighbours here as well, at the foot of the Acropolis, and not only neighbours. Following the best precedents of Nordic practical cooperation, we shall work together without giving up our national traditions or individualities. At the same time as we shall all carry on independent programmes of teaching and research, we shall also combine our resources to create a joint Nordic library and a hall for lectures and exhibitions ... Furthermore, beyond the basic practical questions of books and localities, we also foresee the creation of joint courses for students as well as scholarly projects of various kinds. This gives us yet another reason to feel especially happy that our Norwegian colleagues have finally established a base of their own in Athens, since they are doing excellent and highly respected work particularly in some fields where we Swedes have been traditionally weak. Thus the Norwegian Institute at Athens will add new dimensions and new specialities to our common endeavour to study the history and culture of Greece, our host country, in all its aspects."

As the Institute has broad support from all four universities of Norway, so it has a wide scope and generously broad aims. The Institute's full name is a lengthy one: "The Norwegian Institute at Athens for Classical Studies, Archaeology and Cultural History" (Det norske institutt i Athen for klassiske studier, arkeologi og kulturhistorie). Its commitment, according to its statutes, is to research, teaching and publication "within the fields of archaeology, history, languages, literature, and the cultural traditions of Greece and the Mediterranean area". While archaeology will be one of the Institute's concerns, it will not necessarily be at the very centre. We may safely say, however, that the centre of gravity will always lie somewhere within Ancient Greek civilization represented by classical studies in all their ramifications; while the Greek tradition in general - Byzantinology certainly, but also modern Greek studies - will constitute a strong magnetic field. The statutes of the Institute stipulate that the director should represent a subject which is essential to the work of the Institute; the first director is a professor of Classics with certain leanings towards ancient history.

The establishment of the Norwegian Institute at Athens represents a show of good will and indeed a very concrete strengthening of the field of Classics especially and the Humanities generally by Ministry, Research

Council and universities alike. In the course of his inauguration speech the Director of the Board, Mr. Lerheim, expressed his hope that the Institute become "a centre for Classical studies". Even though Classical studies are represented in all four Norwegian universities, it must be said that "relatively speaking they are not strong enough, based on an academic assessment of the importance and time span of the cultural tradition involved". The Principal officer of the Norwegian Ministry of Scientific and Cultural Affairs, Mr. Arve Kjelberg, in his speech on behalf of the Minister, stressed that the establishment of the Institute must be seen in the light of "some obvious trends these days in the life of the Norwegian universities, and probably also little by little in the Norwegian society at large - the need to look backwards into history at a time when changes occur at a rather desperate haste." We should all feel happier, Mr. Kjelberg said, when the Humanities regain some of their strength. The Director of the Norwegian Research Council (Humanities), Professor Arne Hannevik, stressed that the Council's support for the Institute must be seen in the light of its interest in the future of Classical studies in Norway and in the function of Classics within the universities as well as within the totality of cultural life in Norway. Research and teaching on the Ancient World do not occupy a very strong position within Norwegian universities. But where the point of departure is not far advanced, there is definitely space for progress. With the resources that have come forward for the Institute and with the enthusiasm that it has generated, prospects are not altogether bad.

Hoc erat in votis.

*

By the time this volume is due to appear, the Norwegian Institute at Athens will have been in existence for approximately two years. There is more to report than the speeches at the inauguration. First of all we are pleased to announce that His Majesty King Harald V has undertaken to be the Patron of the Institute. We take this as an important recognition of the role that the Norwegian Institute at Athens has already come to play and as a great obligation for the future.

The Norwegian Institute did not make a spectacular appearance in terms of territory, manpower, and means. It is still based in the apartment that was bought in Odos Erechtheiou 30, just south of the Acropolis and in the immediate vicinity of the Swedish, Finnish, and Australian institutes and of the Italian School of Archaeology. The apartment, apart from serving as the domicile of the director and his wife, also contains the director's office and that of the Institute's part-time secretary, at the moment the sole staff. In addition, the Institute rents a couple of flats for resident and visiting students. The Institute hopes within the foreseeable future to be able to buy a house or other suitable premises.

Members of the Norwegian Institute so far have to use the libraries of the other schools and particularly that of the Swedish Institute, which has now become rather crowded. A dramatic change for the better should take place by the winter of 1991/1992 when the joint Nordic library building, situated in the same block as the Swedish and Finnish Institute, will be finished. The project has been funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers and will provide the Nordic institutes and the wider scholarly community of Athens with a contemporary, well organized, and well stacked library. During the autumn of 1990 the magnificent private research library of Professor Emeritus John Triantaphyllopoulos became the possession of the Norwegian Institute at Athens. When that library in its entirety is eventually transferred and arranged in the premises of the Norwegian Institute, the resources of the Nordic library will become a great asset.

The Norwegian Institute has come to serve as a base for study and research more quickly and for more people than most of us could have envisaged at the inauguration. During the first two years, apart from the Director, who has been seconded by the University of Trondheim to serve in Athens, two senior research fellows, financed by the Research Council and representing Archaeology and Ethnology respectively, have been attached to the Institute for extended periods of time; while two research scholars in the fields of Archaeology and Classics have been assigned by the University of Bergen to stay at the Norwegian Institute for up to four years. Through a special grants programme from the Research Council, the Institute regularly has two graduate students in residence for periods of six to twelve months; the present holders represent the fields of Ancient History and Classics. Apart from this long-term "scholar population", others have also come to use the Institute for longer or shorter periods of time. The Institute also assists organized groups, especially of students and teachers from Norwegian universities, to organize and carry out study tours to Greece.

Seminars and lectures both for a Nordic and an international audience is another feature of the Institute's work. Two international seminars on "Greece and Gender" have been organized, as well as a seminar for scholars from Norway centred on the theme of comparison, contact and contrasts between Greece and Norway in ancient and modern times. A seminar on the writer Pausanias is scheduled for May, 1991, while other events are on the planning stage. In addition, the Institute will hold an annual student course in Greek civilization. The first such course took place during October, 1990. It is hoped that the course at some later stage can be extended and integrated into the degree system of the Norwegian universities so that specific credit for it can be given. That can hardly happen before a regular teaching post has been established at the Institute to supplement the Director.

That an archaeological project could be launched by the Norwegian Institute already in its second year of existence was a great satisfaction to us. The campaign of July/August, 1990, was the first in a projected five-year

scheme of investigation and excavation at the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in Arcadia. While the project is under the auspices of the Norwegian Institute and the field director and several participants come from Norway, there is also broad international participation on many levels, both in the funding and in the field. The Norwegian Institute is obliged to the Ministry of Culture for the permission to undertake this project, which is organized in close cooperation with the archaeological ephorate of Tripolis and with Greek colleagues.

Publication is also part of the business of the Norwegian Institute at Athens. It is in the nature of things that the Institute will wish to cater for two different audiences, i.e., on the one hand readers back in Norway and on the other hand the international scholarly community. Consequently the Institute will publish books both in Norwegian and in international languages. Two books for the home market are already out; the first is a collection of essays and studies on Greek religion (Dionysos og Apollon, 1989) and the second a collection of articles dealing with aspects of Greek culture and history in comparison with and in relation to Norway (Hellas og Norge, 1990). We take it as a good omen that the earlier book is already sold out.

*

The present volume introduces the Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens. The Papers will appear at irregular intervals and comprise both monographs and collections of articles, either on specific subjects or varia, as the present volume. The Papers will present the work of the Norwegian Institute at Athens and publish scholarly contributions relevant to the Institute's fields of activity.

This first volume of our Papers serves the additional function of presenting the Institute and its background to a wider audience. The volume's special character is indicated by its title: The Norwegian Institute at Athens. The First Five Lectures. We thought it appropriate to publish here the three public lectures which were delivered in connection with the inauguration of the Institute and have added two lectures given by guest speakers from Norway during the first year of the Institute's operations. Apart from the intrinsic value of the contributions separately, collectively they are suited to convey an impression of the poikilia which characterizes the Norwegian scholarly commitment to things Greek.

The lecture on the evening of inauguration, May 8, 1989, was given by Professor Hjalmar Torp of the University of Oslo, acknowledged expert in the field of Ancient and Medieval Art and Architecture. Nothing could be more fit for presentation in an inaugural lecture than some results from longstanding studies of one of the major late antique and Byzantine monuments of Greece. There was another point also in the choice of Professor Torp as the main speaker on that occasion. As assistant to the late Professor H.P.L'Orange, Professor Torp was deeply involved in the

establishment of the Norwegian Institute in Rome in the 1950's. In Athens he conveyed an air of apostolic succession and the promise of future growth. On the evening of May 9, 1989, the Institute offered two lectures. One was by the archaeologist Dr. Erik Østby, then at Rome, now ever more closely associated with the Norwegian Institute at Athens and director of the Tegea project. Dr. Østby reported on his studies of the temples of Pallantion, which could be carried out thanks to the good will of the Italian School and its director Professor Antonio di Vita and in collaboration with Italian and other archaeologists. The second lecture was by Professor Synnøve des Bouvrie, who is engaged in pioneering work on myth, tragedy, women and society and is sole classicist in the University of Tromsø in the very north of Norway. In the spring of 1990 Professor Knut Kleve of the University of Oslo gave glimpses of his work on the papyri of Herculaneum. His lecture at the Institute was organized in cooperation with the Greek Papyrological Society. Finally, when the Norwegian Institute at Athens celebrated its first birthday in May, 1990, Professor Per Jonas Nordhagen of the University of Bergen gave a richly illustrated lecture on Byzantine art and the West for a packed audience in the lecture hall of the Italian School. We are pleased to be able to present the lectures here.

The Norwegian Institute at Athens for Classical Studies, Archaeology and Cultural History hopes to soon be able follow up the present, first volume of its Papers with other contributions to the exploration of the Greek and Mediterranean world past and present.

Athens, January 1991

Øivind Andersen
Director of the Norwegian Institute at Athens

THE DATE OF THE CONVERSION OF THE ROTUNDA AT THESSALONIKI INTO A CHURCH

Hjalmar Torp

Introduction

The Rotunda was erected as part of the vast imperial palace at Thessaloniki, constructed by Galerius around the year AD 300. In a second period, this large, domed structure was turned into an even more grandiose church with choir, apse, and ambulatory, magnificently decorated with multicoloured marble incrustation and golden mosaics. The question of the date of this conversion of the Galerian Rotunda into a church is obviously of considerable interest and has been a question of learned dispute for over a hundred years (Ch. Texier & R. P. Pullan 1864), with views ranging from the time of Constantine the Great to the seventh century.

The Rotunda as an Apple of Discord

Broadly speaking, theories on the chronology of the early Christian Rotunda have today crystallized around two main points of view: an early dating to about AD 400, and a later dating to around the middle of the third quarter of the fifth or the opening years of the sixth century. Preferring one date to the other does not make this monument less great, its mosaics less beautiful. And yet, the dispute is not a totally academic one, especially with regard to the considerable parts that still remain of the original mosaic decoration. If they are of the earlier date, these mosaics may be considered to be the very *propylaeum* to Byzantine church art; on the other hand, if they are of the later date, they may conceivably be understood as the product of a retarded, perhaps provincial school somehow reflecting the otherwise practically undocumented initial phase of the metropolitan Christian art of the Eastern Empire.

The Mosaics

There is no time at present for a systematic description of either the structure or the preserved mosaics, both of which I am certain will be well-known to most of my audience. Let us content ourselves with admiring the technical perfection and perfect beauty of a few selected sections and details (Figs. 1-4).

Principally, the contenders have brought three orders of arguments to bear on the dating of the Christian Rotunda. These arguments are based on: the brick-stamps; the architectural sculpture; the ornaments, motifs, and style of the mosaics. However, the basis and point of departure for any

serious discussion on the chronology of the monument must necessarily be knowledge of the monument itself. If this requirement had been satisfied, much ink - and reading time - might have been saved.



Fig. 1. Rotunda, section of dome mosaic (photo, author).



*Fig. 2. Head of an angel,
section of dome mosaic
(photo author)*

The Structural History of the Monument

Even though this is not the right moment for a detailed technical analysis of the Rotunda, it is indispensable to consider a few essential points concerning the structural history of the monument.

Fig. 3. Rotunda, ornamental border, detail of mosaic decorating the fenestral vault (photo author).



Fig. 4. Rotunda, Corinthian capitals, detail of dome mosaic (photo author)



Firstly, at the death of Galerius the Rotunda was not finished, either with regard to its structure or its decoration. In particular, in this phase, Period I, the dome was left unfinished. On the basis of an accurate and repeated inspection of the masonry, it has been shown that the construction of the upper half of the cupola forms an integral part of the programme of rebuilding which, in Period II, turned the Galerian Rotunda into a church.

As I have already mentioned, this rebuilding programme comprised the erection of a large choir with an apse and a broad ambulatory in the east part of the Rotunda. Of these, only the choir and the apse are now extant; not, however, in their original shape. Likewise, as is well known, the dome has also been partially rebuilt. As a matter of fact, not considering the sundry piecemeal repairs suffered by the masonry during the centuries, and not counting the restoration carried out subsequent to the earthquake of 1978, the monument displays *four* main building stages; besides Period I and II, that is, the initial Galerian and first Christian phases of construction, there are two additional, major phases of repair and rebuilding that have to be taken into account when discussing the chronological problems of the Christian Rotunda.



Fig. 5. Rotunda, bema arch, successive springs, Periods II-IV (photo, author).

In the earliest of these phases of repair, Period III, the choir (Fig. 5, III), apse, and ambulatory were more or less completely rebuilt and - according to my interpretation of the remains - the large, octagonal baptistery, excavated by D. Lazarides and N. K. Moutsopoulos between 1973 and 1980, was erected, replacing the left west tower of the main, south gateway, constructed in Period II.

In the following phase of rebuilding, Period IV, the apse and choir were once more extensively repaired, and the triumphal arch was completely rebuilt along with the eastern section of the dome (Fig. 5, IV). Furthermore, the ambulatory, which for a second time must have been seriously damaged, was now abandoned. The fate, at this stage, of the baptistery is uncertain. The Rotunda itself, after the Period IV restorations, presented itself more or less as it did until 1978. It is worth noting that the relic-tomb beneath the altar, excavated in 1953, likewise shows evidence of two, possibly three periods. This is a clear indication that after at least one of the major destructions a new consecration was obviously felt to be necessary, perhaps even accompanied by a different dedication.

Regarding the building materials employed in the various phases, and especially the bricks, it is important to note that, while there was only a very limited use of Galerian bricks in the first Christian phase of construction (Period II), there was an extensive use of early Christian bricks - and green schist rubble stones - in the subsequent reconstruction of choir, apse, and ambulatory. This reused material, characteristic of Period III, was obviously taken from the partly collapsed church of the preceding Period II. In fact, the masonry of the repairs and reconstructions executed in Period III, which comprised large parts of the early Christian additions to the Galerian Rotunda, is often difficult to distinguish from the original Christian masonry of these same parts. This obviously is the reason why the important, intermediary building phase of Period III has not been noted by the many scholars and others who have written about the monument. On the other hand, the masonry, and especially the brickwork, of the following stage of reconstruction, Period IV, is more distinctive and therefore easier to recognize.

The Chronology of Periods II - IV

In her study of the architecture of Hagia Sophia at Thessaloniki, Kalliopi Theoharidou has remarked on the similarity between the materials found in certain parts of the Rotunda, parts that belong to our Period IV, and materials characteristic of the masonry belonging to the first construction phase of the present church of Hagia Sophia. I accept her arguments for dating that building to around the year AD 600. In fact, the destructions repaired in Period IV, such as the partial collapse of the dome, may well have been caused by the earthquake of 618, documented by the second Book of Miracles of St. Demetrios.

When it comes to determining the positions of Period II and Period III in the long interval between the years 300 (Period I) and 600 (Period IV),

the architectural sculpture and the much-discussed and rather abused brick-stamps enter the scene.

The brick-stamps

These latter are abused in that they have been improperly exploited in order to lump together to around the middle of the fifth century most of the principal early Christian monuments of the city. Besides the church of the Acheiropoietos, a structure that rightly may belong to that period, these are: St Demetrios (probably of the early sixth century), the main, early Christian portions of the city walls, the huge first Hagia Sophia (according to Theocharidou likely to date from the end of the fourth century, but conceivably even older), a postulated new, second imperial palace, and finally the converted Rotunda. The historical situation supposed to have prompted this building activity is believed to have been the transfer from Sirmium to Thessaloniki of the residence of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum. However, as any historian could have pointed out, the prefect of the new prefecture of *Eastern* Illyricum dwelled in our city for some months or years already in the days of Theodosius the Great, and resided there permanently from the time of the division of the Empire following upon the death of that emperor on January 15, 395.

A score or so of a particular category of monogrammatic brick-stamps from the post-Galerian Rotunda have been published, and Dyggve has collected a considerable number of similar marks, long kept in the museum of the Rotunda but now apparently dispersed. On the authority mainly of the pioneer topographer of Thessaloniki, O. Trafali, and of the first excavators of the Rotunda, E. Hébrard and E. Dyggve, these stamps are generally held to originate from the early Christian conversion of the Galerian building. This, I think, is quite correct. However, the three scholars failed to state whether the stamps were found on bricks *in situ*; as I have already intimated, they likewise failed to recognize the existence of our Period III. I myself have observed one such stamp *in situ* in a section of wall which I think may be ascribed to the original church, Period II, and two other similar stamps in Period III masonry.

Bricks with stamps of the type under discussion were thus employed in two distinct building stages of the Rotunda. Similarly, stamps more or less similar to these have been recovered in or at practically every early medieval structure in Thessaloniki. Bricks displaying variants of the common, monogrammatic stamp obviously were in use in Thessaloniki over a long period of time, at least up until the end of the seventh century (Hagia Sophia, second phase). Even if found *in situ*, it is inappropriate, therefore, to date a handful of monuments to around the middle of the fifth century on the basis of such stamps. In view of the unfortunately very meagre information obtainable concerning brick production in Thessaloniki, one obviously must exercise considerable restraint with regard to relying exclusively on brick-stamps for dating purposes. Consequently, taken by themselves, these stamps are of limited help in

connection with our specific dating problem. On the other hand, with a view to an early, fourth century dating of the conversion of the Galerian Rotunda, it is indispensable to raise the question of the first appearance of the monogrammatic brick-stamp in our city.

Since such stamps appear *in situ* in original sections of the city walls, we cannot avoid the vexed question of the date of these fortifications and of the identity of the elusive person Hormisdas who, on one of the towers of the east walls and a short distance from the Rotunda itself, perpetuated himself in a brick verse inscription, some nine metres long. The translation of the inscription runs roughly thus: ". . . by invincible walls Hormisdas accomplished this city . . .". In order to corroborate a mid-fifth century dating of the walls (and the Christian Rotunda), this Hormisdas has been tentatively identified with a prefect of the Orient, unrecorded, however, in any official capacity related to Eastern Illyricum, Macedonia, or Thessaloniki. Luckily, the recent restorations of the tower, consequent to the earthquake of 1978, have permitted the reading of the following additional words: *XEIPΑΣ ΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΑΣ*, having clean hands. I do, of course, agree with my Greek colleagues that these words recall the dreadful incident of 390, when Theodosius, himself absent in the West, ordered the slaughter of thousands of innocent Thessalonians in the hippodrome. If this is so, our Hormisdas, declaring his innocence, can hardly be any other than the general of Theodosius of this name, reported by Zosimus, *Historia Nova* IV.30,5, to have been present at Thessaloniki in connection with the military preparations during the first period of the emperor's reign. With regard to the walls, Hormisdas may have finished what the emperor had launched some ten years earlier; the verb he employs is *EKTEΛΕΩ*, to bring to a complete end, to accomplish, to achieve. In fact, in agreement with Ch. Edson in his volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* and with earlier scholars, I think that the inscription on a long marble block now lost, but formerly at the gate called Litea in the west walls, refers not to the second Theodosius, as some recent scholars assume, advocating a mid-fifth century date for the walls and the main early Christian monuments of the city, but to his grandfather, the first emperor of that name: "Theodosius, sovereign holder of the sceptre, built this town wall." If this is correct, then we may also have the answer to the question of why Hormisdas, fulfilling a work initiated by his emperor, should have put up his inscription in a relatively modest place.

The architectural sculpture

The sculptures in question are capitals, pilaster-capitals of at least two series, one larger and one smaller, and numerous fragments, about three score in all (Fig. 6). This architectural decoration belongs to a well documented type datable to between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the sixth centuries. According to recent studies, the material from the Rotunda should be dated rather late in this period, to the end of the fifth or the first quarter of the sixth century.

Perhaps even more than the brick-stamps, this sculpture has been thought to form a firm foundation for a late dating of the conversion of the Rotunda. But did it really, as is generally claimed, belong to the first Christian phase, to our Period II? It may, but it may just as well belong to the subsequent Period III. In fact, the Period III piers at either side of the apse are provided with dowel holes for the fastening of carved pilasters and pilaster-capitals. Moreover, on either side of the choir arch, below the present arch of Period IV, there still exist vestiges of the springs of Period II as well as of Period III; both periods show holes for the fastening of architectural members, that is, of pilaster capitals (Fig. 5, II, III).



Fig. 6. Rotunda, pilaster capital, probably from beam arch, Period III (photo, author).

I cannot prove that the architectural sculpture in question belongs to Period III rather than to Period II, but I think it is more reasonable to associate them with the more recent of the two phases, assuming that two of the larger pilaster-capitals marked the springing of the triumphal arch while, correspondingly, specimens of the smaller pilaster capitals belonged to the apse windows.

Contemporary with this group of fifth - sixth century architectural sculpture is the monumental ambo, now in the Archaeological Museum at Constantinople (its large base still remains in the vestibulum of the early Christian Rotunda). To this same period III belong, as you will recall, the baptistery that was built as a replacement for the western tower of the gateway and the first of possibly two successive reconstructions of the altar-tomb. Finally, the Period III springing of the triumphal arch indicates that a partial collapse of the eastern parts of the dome may have occurred already at this time. In other words, there is a clear indication that Period III comprised an extensive rebuilding and a complete refurbishment of the Rotunda.

Of the earthquakes reported by P. E. Comninakis and B. C. Papazachos (Geophysical Laboratory, University of Thessaloniki), in their catalogue of historical earthquakes, published in 1982, those of 480 and 518, centred in North-West Turkey and South Yugoslavia respectively, appear to be the catastrophes which can most likely be connected with the severe devastation suffered by our monument and the ensuing renovation of Period III. The earthquake of 518, of an intensity estimated at 6.9 on the Richter scale, totally destroyed the large Macedonian town of Stobi. The epicentre of the earlier earthquake, dated to September 25, 480, was near Gallipoli, its maximum intensity calculated at 6.8. Either of these earthquakes may have caused the described near-ruin of our monument.

Sometime around 500, then, our church appears to have been thoroughly renovated. In fact, the exquisite sculptured decoration, the manufacturing of a monumental marble ambo, and, not least, the erection of a baptistery, this whole extensive and costly programme may have been executed because, from this time on, the Rotunda was intended to serve as the city's cathedral church. It may have served as such until the rebuilding around 600 of the probably totally destroyed fourth century cathedral church of Hagia Sophia.

The date of Period II: the conversion of the Rotunda

In my view, then, the principal flaw in the conjectures claiming the late dating of the conversion of the Rotunda is a somewhat facile attitude towards history and, related to this, the handling of the archaeological facts. One such fact is the circumstance that, even after its conversion, the soie, or at any rate, the principal access to the temenos remained the Galerian approach to it from the south. By a colonnaded processional street, the Rotunda was linked with the triumphal arch, the vast, 40x18 m hall of the imperial vestibulum, and the palace. This approach appears to have been in use until the first destruction of the Rotunda according to my chronology around 500. On the other hand, there exists conclusive evidence in the form of Period II masonry (and vault mosaics) that the palace itself underwent extensive restoration, rebuilding, and decoration about the time of the conversion of the Rotunda. Actually, after having housed Galerius and for some time Constantine, between 379 and 438 the old palace again intermittently served as an imperial residence. In particular, it was the domicile of Theodosius from shortly after his elevation to the purple, on January 19, 379, until November, 380, when he finally decided to move the court to Constantinople, and again from September, 387, until the end of April, 388.

The city of Thessaloniki was not only the imperial residence for almost two crucial years but, in addition, during practically the whole of Theodosius' reign served as the base for military operations against the barbarians who continually made deeper and deeper incursions into the Greek mainland. It was, above all, in order to project and execute defensive preparations that the emperor Gratian at Sirmium elevated Theodosius to

the rank of *augustus*, with the jurisdiction of the *praefectura Orientis* and, for some time, also of the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.



Fig. 7. Bust of Eutropios found at Ephesos, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (after L'Orange: *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*)

Why this concern with palace and walls? With regard to the palace, because it supports Dyggve's main conclusion based on his excavations in 1939 (a conclusion supported by recent Greek investigations): that the Rotunda, also after it had been turned into a church, remained an integral part of the palace. In other words, the Galerian Rotunda, whatever purpose it initially may have served, was rebuilt by an imperial founder in order to function as a palace church. The walls are important for chronological reasons. This is so, because there is absolute identity between the limited extant sections of early Christian Period II masonry in the church and the masonry of the original, in my view, Theodosian sections of the city-walls. At this point, I should like to add two observations. Firstly, there exists, besides the monogrammatic brick-stamps already referred to, a second type of stamp *in situ* in the early Christian parts of both the city-walls and the Rotunda. Secondly, at the site of the Rotunda, there are numerous pieces of architectural sculpture that may be ascribed to about 400 or earlier, some of which stem from excavations at the Rotunda and may therefore reasonably be associated with its conversion into a church.

The Mosaics as Works of the Theodosian Renaissance

The date of the conversion is valid also for the mosaics. One of the fruits of almost five months of co-habitation, on shaky scaffolding, with the saints and angels in the dome of the Rotunda, was the demonstration on archaeological grounds of the contemporaneity of the early Christian masonry of the crown of the dome with the setting-bed of the mosaics. Duly published, this finding has not been contested.

On this occasion, we will have to content ourselves with some few indications that the late fourth century date, so to speak imposed by the structure itself, is conceivable also from an art historical point of view. This, more than anything else, is the fundamental problem of the converted Rotunda. This is the case, because from the Greek, East Roman cultural and artistic area to which the mosaics belong, hardly the tiniest bit of fourth century Christian wall or vault mosaic has been preserved. From a methodological point of view, the situation creates an interesting but extremely difficult - and I should like to add - dangerous situation. In particular, there has been much argumentation *ex silentio* of the following type: this formal feature or that motif is not documented before such and such a date and therefore this date must provide the *terminus ante quem* for our mosaics. The danger of this approach is apparent, not least from the fact that it has served the champions of a fifth century as well as those of a sixth century dating.

In support of a sixth century date, much importance has been accorded a selection of ornamental motifs which occur in the mosaics of the barrel-vaulted passages and fenestral openings (Fig. 3). Regarding the motifs themselves, there is little difficulty in producing acceptable sixth century parallels. On the other hand, without exception, all these ornaments belong within the Roman to early Christian ornamental tradition; with regard to the formal qualities of the individual ornaments, particularly satisfactory parallels for most of them are found before or around 400. Moreover, considering these ornamental decorations as a whole, the best preserved counterparts exist in catacomb and tomb decorations from the second half of the fourth century.

Yet another argument advanced against the early date of the mosaics is the rich variety of physiognomic types represented in the mosaics by the portraits in the gallery of martyrs (Figs. 8-10). This diversity of human depiction is, however, not the least interesting of the characteristics of the art of the expiring fourth century - I remind you of the obelisk base of 390/392 in Constantinople and, from the other end of the Empire, the slightly earlier *Hermengallerie* excavated at Welschbillig, not far from Trier.

Turning from typology to the formal language of the mosaics, I confess I feel at a loss; even a quite superficial consideration of the difficult and idiosyncratic domain of style would, in this particular case, demand more than a double lecture. Therefore, I have to limit myself to challenging the comparison between the so-called Eutropios in Vienna and a group of

martyrs from the Rotunda which has been adduced in support of an advanced fifth date of the latter (Fig. 7). The question involves in part minute nuances and shifts in accent, but fundamentally the formal language is not only different, but downright antithetical. Where in the martyr's heads we encounter vaults and arcs - not only in the youthfully



Fig. 8. Rotunda, head of St. Kosmas, detail of dome mosaic (photo author).



Fig. 9. Rotunda, head of St. Porphyrios, detail of dome mosaic (photoauthor).

rounded heads of the types of Porphyrios and Basiliskos (Figs. 9, 10) but also in the emaciated ascetic heads, such as the marvellous portrait of Kosmas (Fig. 8) - in "Eutropios" planes and angles, rectilinear incisions (compare eyes and brows in Kosmas and in "Eutropios", and the lines of beard and hair) dominate. Undulating vaulted surfaces in gliding transition and domed and concave spaces in the martyr's heads contrast with an angular bony structure in that of "Eutropios". As different as the external configuration is the inward emotion conveyed; in contrast to the overabundance of ascetic energy and ecstatic *pneuma* expressed by "Eutropios",

there is in our group of martyr portraits an untroubled, relaxed self-absorption. This frame of mind is communicated by the entire figure of the martyrs and can be seen in the softly rounded contours and volumes of the torsos and the graciously moved and subtly modelled, descending waves of drapery folds which create an impression of a gliding scale of colour tones; all this is in the true spirit of the so-called Theodosian renaissance, as represented, for instance, by the large, icon-like silver missorium of Theodosius the first, dated to 387/388, or by the diptych of Stilicho at Monza, probably a few years later in date (Fig. 11).

Fig. 10. Rotunda, head of St. Basiliskos, detail of dome mosaic (photo author)



Fig. 11. Monza, San Giovanni Battista, Tesoro, diptych of Stilicho, rear panel (Hirmer Fotoarchiv)





Fig. 12. and 13. Lady musicians, detail of mosaic found at Mariamin. Hama Museum (after Balby: *Mosaïques de Syrie*).

It is possible to point to *reflections* of this Theodosian art in certain mosaic pavements. Hardly, however, in the material from Antioch, commonly cited by champions of a late fifth or sixth century date for the Rotunda. I would rather point to the large, almost 4x3 m, delicate and lovely "Mosaic of the Lady Musicians" found at Mariamin in Syria, now in the Museum of Hama (Figs. 12, 13). As in the Rotunda (Fig. 10), silver cubes are employed even in the rendering of the dresses. In my opinion, this work of art - attributed to the last quarter of the fourth century by Janice Balby - must depend, in technique, structure, and formal language, on early Byzantine, metropolitan art as represented by the mosaics of the Rotunda. Another glimpse of this same or a closely related art is offered by a fragmentarily preserved wall mosaic decoration found at Ephesos (Fig. 14). The fragments are dated to 400-410 by Werner Jobst in his monumental publication of the mosaics from Ephesos. They represent a station, I think, on the way back from Syria and the "Lady Musicians" towards where I suspect the new, great Greek art of the last quarter of the fourth century, so spectacularly epitomized by the mosaics of the Rotunda, had its origin, namely Constantinople.



Fig. 14. Ephesos, Hanghaus 2/D, detail of vault mosaic (after Jobst).

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HELEN OF TROY:
A SYMBOL OF GREEK CULTURE

Synnøve des Bouvrie

Introduction

"She grew up and one day a prince came sailing by and carried her off. They married and lived happily ever after."

We usually call this type of story a *folk-tale* and, whatever definition we may attach to the term, the most striking characteristic of such a tale is, I think, that it does not tell the truth. While the prince carries off his princess, the tale carries off the listeners into a dreamland of fears and wishes.

We tend to attach the term *myth* to another type of tale. Its plot may be similar to that of a folk-tale, but essentially a myth pretends to convey the truth. However fantastic their adventures, the heroes of myth are firmly anchored in time and place.

"Many generations ago, an eastern prince by the name of Paris, crossed the Aegean sea in search of the most beautiful woman in the world. He found her in the kingdom of Sparta and carried her off to his homeland, Troy. Her name was Helen and she was the wife of Menelaos. Her husband Menelaos rallied a host of warriors and a thousand ships from all over Hellas in order to recapture her and to punish the people of Troy. And so, tradition says, Helen caused the Trojan war."

From the time when the Homeric poems were first composed, this story has fascinated listeners and inspired artists, both poets and painters. Those who heard or watched the tale felt they were in touch with historical truth. We are no longer in this privileged position. To us the tale of the woman whose beauty caused a ten-year war means no more than an entertaining fancy. And in studying fancies like this we might be accused of indulging in a less than useful occupation. Of course, studying the tale of Helen cannot be said to be useful in any strict sense. Attempts have been made, however; some years ago the periodical *The New Scientist* discussed the measurement of beauty and proposed applying the "millihelen", a unit sufficient to launch one ship, as a means of measuring the beauty of women (I owe this information to M.L. West).

This admirable proposal for putting an ancient tale to practical use, referring to quantifiable entities, may be persuasive to some. Students of mythology, however, are in a less enviable position since our methods lack the precision of science. What may, then, be *our* reward for studying the myth of Helen of Troy? What significance did the tale have in Antiquity? Was it no more than an enchanting prelude to their history?

Were stories like this just creations of fantasy, disconnected from the serious business of life?



Fig. 1. Menelaos woos Helen, grave stele from Sparta, 580-570 BC. Sparta Museum no. 1 (German Archaeological Institute at Athens).

My rhetorical questions suggest that there was more to the tale of Helen than just entertainment. In addition, my title has already suggested one answer: that *Helen of Troy* was a symbol of Greek culture. However, a bald statement like this will not convince you. In fact, it may not even be intelligible. For what do we mean by "a symbol of Greek culture"? And in what sense can Helen of Troy be said to be a symbol of Greek culture?

What I propose to do in the next couple of minutes is to offer some reflections upon both questions and to sort out some conclusions.

Of course, our research can never be said to be useful in the stern sense of *The New Scientist*. Yet, it may carry us off into the fascinating world of Greek and human culture.

Some Versions of the Helen Myth

The tale of Helen has come down to us in various versions and through different media. Throughout Antiquity artists and thinkers have elaborated upon her adventures and speculated upon causes.

Why did she leave her husband and follow Paris? Why venture on this elopement? Why risk her own reputation and that of all future women?

The sophist and Grand Master of rhetoric, Gorgias, composed a speech in defence of Helen. Gorgias' model speech, however, aimed at proving the impossible. Gorgias' line of defence was to *deny* that Helen consented to the abduction. It was a *tour de force* demonstrating the surpassing power of rhetoric; Helen had been forced by the spell of speech. It was precisely her *willingness* to follow Paris that had offended all people and poets and had turned Helen into the prototype of the unfaithful wife. To be sure, the Homeric poems present a rather appealing picture of Helen. Subsequent generations, however, have seized upon the tale and cast their suspicion and disgust upon this specimen of weak and fickle womanhood. Hesiodos, Alkaios, Stesikhoros, Ibykos, all concur in the condemnation, culminating in tragic drama where Helen advertises the destructive power of the female, the source of all evil.



Fig. 2. Menelaos woos Helen,
lekythos by the Brygos painter,
after 500 BC, ARV 383, 202
(Staatliche Museum Berlin F 2205).

From Homer's time onwards, various episodes of the Helen myth have been presented in the form of decorations on vases, arms, grave monuments, and other objects. We find Helen's birth, adolescence, wedding with Menelaos, and especially Paris abducting Helen to Troy and Menelaos taking her back to Sparta.

These images demonstrate the striking traditionalism of a motif: it can be found unaltered in different areas and over several centuries. If poetry

emphasised Helen's infidelity, painting seems to focus upon her proverbial beauty and irresistible attractiveness: It was told that, when Menelaos found Helen in Troy he rushed off to kill her but seeing her breast he threw away his sword.

The Theory of Myth

What did the figure of Helen mean? I started by presenting the tale of Helen of Troy as a myth. The most widely held definition of myth is that it is a *traditional tale*, handed down by earlier generations and not having any known authorship. The ancient Greeks, in fact, held that the Helen myth had been kept alive by their ancestors and they considered it to be the true beginning of their history. Historians such as Herodotos and even Thoukydides commence their histories with Helen and the Trojan war, while Hesiodos accommodates the Trojan war at the transition to the present Iron age. A traditional tale, then, is the traditional tale of a group of people; it is their common possession.

Furthermore, the historian of ancient religion, Walter Burkert, has pointed to the fact that we cannot understand myths unless we *know* the group who told them. Burkert defines myth as an *applied tale* (eine angewandte Erzählung). A myth is a tale that refers to a reality that is crucial to the community.

This criterion is an important addition to the definition of myth. It transfers our attention from the tale to the teller and his audience, and I think this bridging is essential: the meaning of a myth is not just something hidden in the tale; it is the order and meaning *found* in the tale by the audience who applies the myth. Seen in this perspective, any tale may serve as a myth, provided it is felt to be traditional and true. According to Fritz Graf, a pupil of Burkert, the truth of a tale may be guaranteed by staging the gods and heroes of the community.

A myth, then, according to these theories, is a traditional tale, it is handed down, and somehow anchored in social time as well as in the metaphysical world. Secondly, a myth is an applied tale, a tale which somehow lives within a group and relates things that are of crucial importance concerning their social order and institutions. Thirdly, Burkert and Graf suggest that myth is *not* identical with some particular poem or picture. According to Burkert a myth is *independent of its various versions*. On this view a myth may be expressed in a brief allusion as well as in an extensive poem: the myth is an abstract independent of concrete texts (and pictures), a résumé or synopsis, according to Graf.

Using these three criteria, we should be able to disclose the meaning of the Helen myth. I want to know, however, if this meaning is really to be found in some résumé or abstract lying behind the numerous poems, speeches, or visual representations of the Helen myth. Furthermore, I will ask a serious question: if the meaning of a myth is something of crucial importance, why is it concealed in fanciful tales? Finally, is the definition of myth exhausted by the three above-mentioned criteria?

Expansion of the Definition

In his definition of myth Burkert has in mind some schematic patterns of action (Aktionsprogramme). He recognizes e.g. male and female initiation patterns and a crime and punishment pattern. He has, I think, successfully traced some myths that accompanied initiation or new-year rituals. In fact, when we examine the versions of the Helen myth we find that in Ancient Sparta girls' initiation rites were held under the protecting guidance of the goddess Helen and her husband Menelaos.



Fig. 3. Menelaos threatens Helen. relief pithos, seventh century, Mykonos Museum (German Archaeological Institute at Athens).

Pausanias and Theokritos record some details of the ritual. At their transition from girlhood to womanhood and marriage, the girls at Sparta oriented themselves toward this myth. Helen and Menelaos, as ideal bride and ideal groom, prefigured the crucial events in the life of the worshippers. We might with Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood label this role of the myth an "ideal representation".

However, other episodes in the tale of Helen will certainly resist this interpretation. In general, we have to ask: does it suffice to abstract some schematic pattern of action from the various versions of a myth? Can a myth be defined as a résumé independent of its concrete artistic manifestations, as Burkert and Graf suggest? In my opinion it cannot; I think we

have to distinguish between two dimensions in the phenomenon, one its passive, the other its active dimension.

As a traditional tale, a mythical scheme is grasped by the artist and moulded into a concrete artistic shape, into a poem, a ritual text, or an image. Even if the artist may modify the myth, his audience will accept it as *their* myth, owing to a minimal number of constants which are always present and recognized as being traditional. We may call this the *identifying function* of myth. In applying the tale, the members of the group revive their sense of identity, their sense of belonging together and feel that this is *our* history. The tale of Helen found its way into different communities in different guises. Witness the story told about Stesikhoros who wrote a song on her infidelity and - so it was told - was blinded by the goddess Helen. Only after having composed a new song in praise of Helen was he cured of his blindness.

It seems that Stesikhoros presented his two versions for audiences in different parts of the Hellenic world, for different identities; the song of praise, apparently, was sung in Sparta. The historians' use of the Helen myth, on the other hand, was appropriate for creating a sense of Pan-Hellenic identity. Thoukydides observes that it was at Troy that the Greeks collaborated in action for the very first time in their history, and Isokrates praises Helen for having united the Hellenic world.

However, myths are not only passively given shape by the artist and acknowledged by the community. Myths *act upon* those who listen to or watch them. And here it does not suffice to know the group in order to understand a mythical tale; we also have to know the concrete situation when the tale was told or where the image was presented. We have to trace not only how a version of a myth was acknowledged by its audience as being true to their tradition but also to imagine in what *mood* it was received and how its meaning was constituted.

This working upon the imagination and emotions of the audience I will call the *symbolic function* of myth in an anthropological sense. By virtue of this function, myth is related to rituals and visual symbols. These order the concepts of their audience, affect their feelings, and direct their actions. As an "ideal representation" the Helen myth oriented the mind and feelings of Spartan girls and transformed them into adult women.

We have to invoke the concrete occasion at which a myth was presented, a religious celebration, a symposion, a wedding ceremony, or a dramatic performance and, as well, we have to take into account the particular mood of the occasion. The massive condemnation of Helen's infidelity belonged to male congregations as Alkaios' poetry suggests. In Sappho's female circle the myth carried another emphasis.

Indeed "a traditional tale" does not mean "an unalterable tale". The right to modify particular details of a myth or to shift its emotional emphasis characterises living myths. It is precisely the flexibility of traditional plots, within the constraints of some minimal constants, which accounts for their vitality.

Myths operate through their own logic: they may present themselves as history or as geography while in fact they construct the social world-order. On the temple of Zeus at Olympia the depiction of the myth of Pelops and Oinomaos pretended to commemorate an historical event. Pelops was the first victor at Olympia and the prize was Oinomaos' daughter. However, this victory was not just a matter of athletic achievement; by defeating Oinomaos, Pelops put an end to the king's disgusting and barbaric practice of killing his daughter's suitors and attaching their heads to the temple wall. Pelops, in fact, establishes marriage as a crucial element of civilisation.



Fig. 4. Menelaos threatens Helen, grave stele from Sparta, 580-570 BC, Sparta Museum no. 1 (German Archaeological Institute).

In the ancient Greek world marriage regulated social relationships; it distributed and secured private property and social privileges. The institution of marriage guaranteed the continuity of the social order and its hierarchies. Oinomaos represents the stage before social life was ordered, the pre-civilized state of the world.

Ancient Greek geography knew a territory where once the Amazons had lived, at the far north-east of the inhabitable world. These formidable females, by waging war and refusing marriage, represented an affront to the social order, an anti-civilization. By turning the normal Greek social order upside down, the faraway race of the Amazons served to define what was normal and natural to the Greek mind. The horrifying details of the myth underline the absurdity of anti-civilization, and by situating the

Amazons in the far east, the myth implicitly conveys the strongest possible condemnation.

I hope these brief remarks are sufficient to suggest *why* the crucial meaning of myths is clothed in a concrete presentation. Myths do not *state* the truth directly but only implicitly, and in doing so they affect and shape the mind and feelings of their audience more effectively.

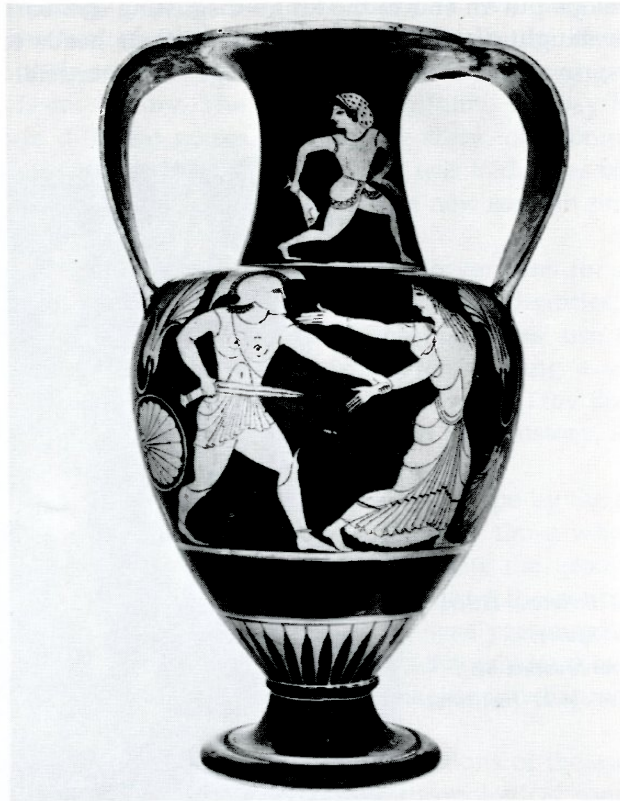


Fig. 5. Menelaos threatens Helen, red figure amphora, Oltos 520 BC, ARV 53,1 (Louvre G3).

I will conclude with a presentation of the Helen myth as it was staged in Euripides' tragic drama *Helen*. In contrast to the rest of Greek tragedy, this version of the myth presents the innocent Helen. We are informed that the real Helen was carried off to Egypt by the gods, while a false Helen joined Paris and was the cause of the Trojan war. While in Egypt, Helen was at first protected by the honest king Proteus. He was, however, succeeded by his aggressive son who tries to force Helen into marrying him. In the course of the drama, Menelaos arrives in Egypt. After some misgivings, husband and wife are reunited and in the second part of the drama they manage to escape from the cruel king of Egypt and arrive safely at Sparta.

This is the drama in bare outline. Does this abstract also disclose the meaning of the myth? To be sure, we recognize the names and some min-

imal constants of the tale, and certainly the Athenian audience recognized this drama as a version of the Helen myth. But does the résumé provide us with its meaning? In short, can we discard the concrete drama and the occasion of its performance?



Fig. 6. Menelaos threatens Helen, red figure plate, Oltos 515-500 BC, ARV 67, 137 (Odessa Museum O. 577).

Greek tragedies were presented for the collective of Attic citizens at their central national and religious celebration. According to Aristoteles, tragic drama creates a particular mood and provokes emotions of tragic shock and horror. I cannot go into detail here, but according to my interpretation of Aristoteles these emotions were reactions against the disruptions of the world- or social order presented in tragic myth.

In rousing emotions of shock at a world turned upside down the drama revived the community's feelings towards the *correct* world order.

Euripides' *Helen* myth cannot be understood by abstracting an elementary pattern of action from the drama. Nor can we follow the acts and experiences of the dramatic characters in order to 'explain their motives'. Here the myth *manifests* itself as 'the acts and experiences of some individuals'. On my reading, however, what the drama really conveyed was the crucial importance of the institution of marriage and the value of female marital fidelity. It does not *state* this truth but conveys it *implicitly*, by eliciting reactions of despair and horror at moments when the marital union of Menelaos and Helen is disrupted or threatened.

Helen's laments at being falsely accused of infidelity, her despair at the rumour of Menelaos' death, her excessive reactions when threatened by the Egyptian king, all amount to an underlining of the value of marriage. Helen's concern for protecting and professing her chastity underscores the value of female marital fidelity. When husband and wife are reunited, the drama evokes their wedding celebration and when they arrive home, all join in the rejoicing. Thus the drama, by presenting the separation and reunion of husband and wife, Menelaos and Helen, implicitly demonstrated the crucial value of marriage and revived the correct feelings towards the institution. In this way the mythical drama of Helen served a symbolic function.



Fig. 7. *Menelaos threatens Helen*,
red figure amphora, Oinokles
470-460 BC, ARV 647, 14
(British Museum 294).

Conclusion

Summing up, we may say that myths present an exciting story, pretend to offer glimpses of early history or remote geography, and may disguise themselves as 'individual experience'. However, they do not belong in the realm of rational, temporal-causal thinking. Symbolic phenomena are neither an outdated response to the world nor an infantile mode of thinking. Mythos was not replaced by logos. Rather, myths follow their own aims and laws and are an indispensable part of human activity. They work upon the imagination creating contrasts, ordering the world, and charging it with value. Their ring of antiquity lends them authority, their anonymity as well as the metaphysical world in which they are situated guarantee their truth. Their tolerance of being modified lends them flexibility and makes them easily adjustable to new audiences and new meanings. Myths may appeal to feelings of awe and admiration in their audience by offering positive "ideal representations". Or they may turn the world upside down and present negative images such as the horrors of

pre-civilization and anti-civilization. They may disrupt the ideal social order thereby chilling the audience in the theatre with tragic shock. In order to grasp their symbolic power, we cannot divorce a myth's pattern from its concrete artistic manifestation.

We can identify *a* myth, a theme with variations, but we cannot speak of *the* meaning of a myth. We have to take into account the audience and the mood of the occasion in searching for the meaning of a particular version.

The myth of Helen of Troy recounts tales of love and romance. To the ancient Greeks they meant more than an entertaining romance. The tales conveyed the crucial value of their social institutions.

For a brief moment I have carried you off into the world of ancient Greek culture and mythology. You *may* doubt whether Helen of Troy ever existed. The myth of Helen, however, because of its identifying power, without doubt united the Pan-Hellenic world. By means of its symbolic power, it strengthened communities and shaped their institutions and culture.

Myths certainly belong to the serious business of life.



Fig. 8. Menelaos seeing Helen's breast throws away his sword, red figure amphora by the Altamura painter, 470-450 BC, ARV 594,54 (British Museum 263).

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THE TEMPLES OF PALLANTION: ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLABORATION IN ARCADIA

Erik Østby

Hardly anybody with some knowledge of art and history would have difficulties in recognizing a Doric temple; hardly any other manifestation of Classical Greek culture has the same immediate and direct appeal to us as these buildings have. In today's world, where comparatively few people are equipped with the linguistic competence and cultural insight which is essential in order to fully understand the literature and much of the figurative art of the ancient Greeks, the strict, clear, and purely abstract character of the Doric temple strikes chords which we recognize in our own culture, and the Doric temple is perhaps the most accessible statement of some of the deepest forces of the ancient Greek civilization. For good reasons the Parthenon, generally acclaimed as the supreme masterpiece of the Doric style, is today considered the principal symbol of the finest moment in Greek history.

When the Parthenon was conceived and constructed in the years after 450 BC, the Doric style had already been developing for a period of about 200 years. In order to fully understand and appreciate a building such as the Parthenon, it is obviously necessary to know as much as possible about its background in the Doric tradition, a tradition which is known to us exclusively through the buildings from an earlier period which happen to be preserved. Unfortunately, only a limited number of Doric temples antedating the Parthenon are preserved to such an extent that their visual effect can be immediately appreciated; most of these are located in Southern Italy and Sicily. Their importance in documenting that particular branch of the Doric tradition is obvious, but on essential points the rules they followed were different from those that applied to most temples in Greece. There is also some material from Greece, where the entire style was doubtless created, and in some cases there is enough evidence to allow extensive and precise reconstructions on paper of buildings which today appear, to the casual visitor, only as desolate ruins. For such reconstructions even modest fragments may suffice, thanks to the rigid, inherent logic of the Doric temple style; publications of recently excavated temple sites have provided quite astonishing demonstrations of what modern methods applied to this material can achieve.

Not all the available evidence, however, has been treated in this way. Particularly in Greece, and to a lesser extent in Southern Italy, modest temple foundations with only fragmentary remains of the elevations have been excavated. Most of these excavations, however, were conducted by

archaeologists with other aims and interests and not always equipped with the necessary architectural competence, which, indeed, was scarce decades ago when most of these excavations took place. Some sort of preliminary publication usually exists and is as a rule sufficient to establish the potential value and importance of the building concerned; such notices, however, are no substitute for full publication according to modern standards and they have tended to be overlooked and forgotten, just as the buildings themselves have been overlooked and forgotten. Several of these temples, earlier in date than the Parthenon, belong to those important early stages, during the sixth and early fifth centuries BC, of the Doric style, for which more documentation is particularly needed. To bring this material into the academic discussion by means of adequate publication should, therefore, be a task of high priority.

The Italian Archaeological School in Athens, under the direction of Professor Antonio. Di Vita, has in recent years made a conscious effort to conclude and publish various old, unfinished archaeological engagements. The Italian School has, since it was established early in this century, been engaged mostly in Crete, where the Minoan palaces of Phaistos and Hagia Triada and the urban centres of Prinias and Gortyn have absorbed most of its energies. On occasion, however, the Italians have taken up minor enterprises elsewhere, and I became involved in one of them when I was cordially invited by Professor Di Vita in 1983 to undertake the study and publication of the temples at Pallantion in Arcadia, in collaboration with Italian and Swedish colleagues.

Pallantion, with a territory of a few square miles, wedged in between the far more important and powerful states of Tegea and Asea, must have been one of the smallest city-states anywhere in the Greek world. Since next to nothing is known about its history, we do not know by what miracles it managed to maintain its independence until the *synoikismos* of Megalopolis in the fourth century BC, and then to regain it again afterwards. Pausanias visited the site in the second century AD and described the principal buildings of the small urban centre, including an old sanctuary, dedicated to gods whom he calls the "pure gods", situated on a low acropolis. After some vain attempts to identify the site early in the nineteenth century, it was found by the French Morea-expedition on a low foot-hill to Mount Kravari, some eight kilometres south-west of Tripolis. No precise description of the visible remains was given and no formal excavation undertaken at the time, and the delay, as often is the case in Arcadia, had fateful consequences; in the 1930's, a modern chapel was constructed on the hill, on the exact site of an ancient temple which was thereby almost completely destroyed. The archaeology of Arcadia had not until then received much attention, and beyond a couple of French excavations at Tegea and Orchomenos and a British undertaking at Megalopolis, the territory had been left to a small group of Greek enthusiasts such as Leonardos, Rhomaios, and Orlandos, who had not shown any interest in the remains at Pallantion.

Pallantion might not have attracted the attention of the Italians either if it had not been for the particular conditions in which they had to operate in 1940, before the war broke out between Italy and Greece towards the end of October. That year their traditional excavation sites in Crete and Lemnos were not accessible to them owing to problems of communication and to the sensitive military character of those islands. In order to maintain their activity in Greece, it became necessary for them to find more accessible sites on the Mainland, where they had never before conducted excavations. Their choice fell on Arcadia, where the recent Swedish excavations at Asea had demonstrated what wealth of prehistoric material one might hope to recover at a well-chosen site. On account of its traditional connection with the oldest history of Rome, Pallantion must have seemed a particularly attractive choice to the Italian archaeologists of that period. Various Roman authors of the Augustan period, taking up a tradition probably from the Republican annalists, described the emigration of a group of Arcadians from Pallantion under the leadership of the hero Evander at the time of the Trojan War to the site of Rome, where they founded a settlement on the Palatine hill whose name was thus derived from Pallantion. The encounter between Aeneas and Evander on the Palatine is the principal theme of the eighth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the Roman national epic. In 1940, two years after the impressive celebration of the Augustan bimillenary in Italy, this tradition could not be overlooked, and the hope of recovering traces from Evander's period and perhaps even confirmation of the Augustan legends were probably an important motive behind the Italian decision to excavate Pallantion.

The excavation lasted for some weeks during August and September, 1940, under the director of the School, Professor Guido Libertini. He was assisted by one of the School's students, Alfonso De Franciscis, who after the war had a brilliant career in the archaeological service of Southern Italy, concluding it by holding the chair of archaeology at the University of Naples. The political tensions of those months, just before the war broke out, must have weighed heavily on the atmosphere of the excavation, but the collaboration between the Italian archaeologists and their Greek workmen and colleagues does not seem to have suffered. The generosity of the Greeks towards their archaeological guests is well demonstrated by one astonishing fact; when Italy attacked Greece on October 28, the Italian archaeologists who were still in the country were allowed to leave with the Italian diplomats although they did not have diplomatic status and according to international law should have been interned.

The excavation was concentrated in two areas which a preliminary survey had picked out as particularly promising: in the plain behind a small, modern Byzantine church and on the Acropolis. In the plain, a couple of minor Byzantine churches, late graveyards, and some indications of a Classical sanctuary were uncovered, but nothing from any earlier period. More interesting results were obtained on the acropolis where considerable remains of a polygonal fortification wall enclosed four modest,

but interesting temples from the Archaic and Classical periods. The temples are not impressive but they constitute the largest concentration of religious buildings anywhere in Arcadia and, moreover, they belong to the early period of Greek temple architecture for which more documentation is needed. Considering the circumstances at the time of excavation, it is evident and understandable that it was not possible to publish the results; later, when the storm had passed, and the Italian School could again resume its activities, under the long and prestigious direction of Doro Levi, other tasks were more pressing and more appealing. An unusually full and informative preliminary notice had been given in the first volume of the School's "Annuario", first published after the war, but neither the school nor the persons involved in the excavations seemed to have any intention of carrying on what had been, after all, just a minor episode of the School's activity.

When my own research on the early formative stages of Doric temple architecture brought the preliminary notice on Pallantion to my attention, I got in touch with Professor Di Vita and the Italian School. Since his interest in concluding the School's old and half-forgotten obligation with a definitive publication coincided with my own wish to do some further research on these buildings, a joint Swedish - Italian mission was set up with the support of Dr. Robin Hägg at the Swedish Institute at Athens (who among other things, took care of the financial backing and the necessary permission from the Greek Archaeological Service) and of Dr. Th. Spyropoulos, director of the Archaeological Ephorate of Laconia and Arcadia. The mission consisted of an archaeologist, dott. Mario Iozzo and an architect, arch. Alan Ortega, from the Italian School, and of three Swedish students, Marie Jansson, Anne-Charlotte Nordfeldt, and Ewa Samuelsson and worked at Pallantion for three weeks during August and September, 1984, under my direction. Since time, means, and staff were strictly limited, it was possible to clean, study, and draw only the two better preserved of the four temples; the other two have been studied and will be published on the basis of the records from the 1940-excavation and the assistance of, until his death in 1989, Professor De Franciscis and one of his pupils, dott. Mario Pagano. All the above mentioned are to be thanked for their contribution to the project, which will be published in the "Annuario" of the Italian School. Meanwhile, some preliminary conclusions can be presented here.

The four temples on the acropolis of Pallantion are situated within the fortification wall, two on the summit and two on the South-Eastern slope of the hill. They probably all belong to a single sanctuary; two of the temples, called C and D, even share the same orientation. It seems likely that this was the sanctuary of the "pure gods" mentioned by Pausanias, as was also proposed by Libertini. Unfortunately, none of the objects discovered, either in 1940 or in 1984, were of any help in identifying more closely these mysterious deities.

The Temples of Pallantion

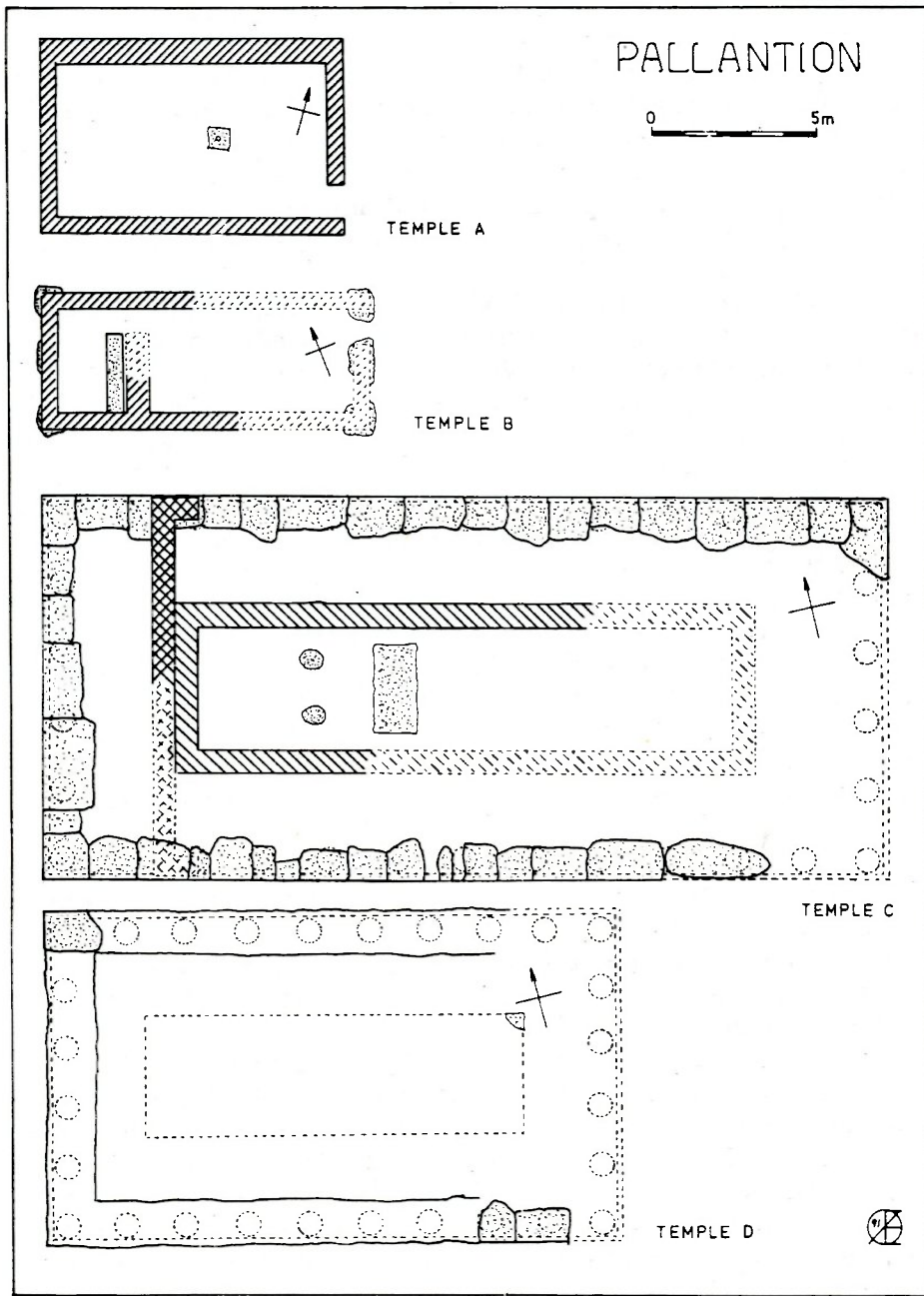


Fig. 1. Temples A-D at Pallantion (drawing author).

simple and efficient way of setting out right angles which probably had some influence on the proportions of these early buildings. The plan is slightly more complex than that of A, with an inner room - adyton - where, as the foundation for some sort of bench or shelf along the inside of the dividing wall suggests, ritual objects were kept. The passage between the two rooms was close to the Northern wall of the building and probably corresponded with the entrance on the Eastern facade. Precise parallels for the shape and disposition of this building are scarce but those that can be found tend to suggest a date early in the sixth century, that is, somewhat later than the construction of temple A.



Fig. 3. *Temple B at Pallantion, after the cleaning in 1984 (photo M. Iozzo).*

The investigations of 1984 concentrated on the large and complex temple, called C, located on a shelf of the Southern slope, above temple A. This was doubtless the largest and most important of these buildings. Stratigraphical trial trenches within the building gave good hopes for the possibility of recovering further information. This part of the investigation was brilliantly directed by the Italian archaeologist Mario Iozzo and provided, along with the new architectural drawing of Alan Ortega, the key to understanding the unusually long and complicated building history.

The temple appears as a normal peripteros but has an unusually long and narrow cella which is evidently derived from earlier local forms. The simple walls of rubble and clay, which support a structure of sun-dried brick, are technically similar to earlier buildings but are slightly thicker, perhaps because constructors were now more aware of the problems connected with the weight of the roof tiles. The external dimensions of the cella, reconstructed as 5.20x17.68 m, are in a proportion 5:17, evidently developed from the triangle 5:12:13 with the addition of a square lengthwise. The inner division in the large space just behind the entrance and the

smaller, separate room in the rear part of the cella repeat the layout of temple B, but the division is created not by a wall, but by two, probably wooden, columns whose stone bases are preserved behind a large rectangular foundation which was probably for the cult image. This foundation practically blocked access to the rear part of the room although it was fully visible behind the columns to anyone standing in front of the cult figure. This unusual arrangement has a close parallel in the Classical temple of Apollo at Bassai where the open adyton was separated from the cella by the famous Corinthian column. The arrangement at Bassai had an evident precursor in the plain and unpretentious temple at Pallantion.

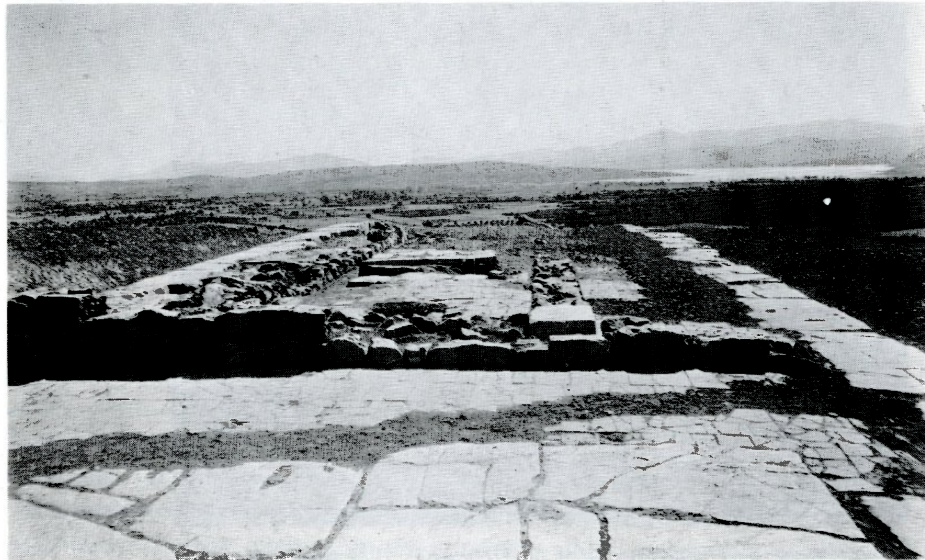


Fig. 4. Temple C at Pallantion after the excavation in 1940, viewed from the west (courtesy of the Scuola archaeologica italiana di Atene).

In 1940, the floor inside the cella was still covered by a pavement of terracotta tiles; these had, however, in the succeeding decades been almost completely destroyed. A stratigraphical section could therefore be made in 1984 in the inner part of the room behind and between the column bases, and three stages in the pavement were distinguished. The first was of beaten earth and was found a few centimetres below the column bases. A second pavement of the same material was laid on top and reached the level of the column bases. In the last stage, the pavement was of terracotta tile, covering the column bases. The few objects discovered in the fill of the two earthen pavements provided a general indication of their dates. A plain Corinthian *louterion* of a seventh century type found englobed in the first pavement provided a *terminus post quem* for this pavement, while a few bronze objects - a fibula, the handle of a bronze vase, and the tip of an iron lance - found on its surface and, it seems, datable to around 500 BC, indicate the time when the first floor was in use, before the second

floor was laid. The tiles are probably of a much later date since they are very similar to examples of a certainly Hellenistic date from other Arcadian sites. The records from 1940 inform us that a small Hellenistic lamp was discovered under one of the tiles.

The first of these levels, dated to around 600-550 BC, evidently coincides with the construction of the cella. The second phase, probably of the early fifth century, appears to represent just a modest rise in the level of the pavement for which there is no obvious explanation in the cella. The suggested date seems, however, convenient also for the external foundations, whose large, coarse blocks of irregular dimensions can be compared with the similar foundations of several other Arcadian temples constructed in the decades around 500 B.C. In these temples they always support a regular krepidoma or, at least, a stylobate of more regular blocks. Since it would have been impossible to avoid setting some of the columns over the open interstices, a foundation of this type could not have been used as the immediate support for a colonnade. At Pallantion, as elsewhere, the intention must have been to construct an intermediate layer of more regular blocks between the preserved foundation and the colonnade. This intention explains the raised pavement in the cella; a stylobate of normal height could not have found place between the levels of the external foundation and the first pavement in the cella, but the few centimetres added to the pavement level could make it coincide with the upper level of a normal stylobate thus providing a single floor level inside and outside the cella. For these reasons, it seems necessary to connect the second pavement level with the construction of the external foundation, evidently intended to support an external colonnade as an additional embellishment to a plain temple originally without columns.

If the date of this project is correctly established to about 500 BC, it belongs to a period covering the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the fifth centuries, a period when temple architecture had an extraordinary flowering in Arcadia. The immediate model was almost certainly the small temple of Athena and Poseidon at Vigla, just a couple of miles away from Pallantion, but in the territory of Asea near its boundary with Tegea and Pallantion. This small, but elegant building was constructed entirely of marble. It had an external colonnade of 6x13 columns, and its dimensions, 11.60x24.00, are very close to those of the projected colonnade of the temple of Pallantion; they are almost exactly equal in width and about one metre shorter in length. Evidently this is another example of the not infrequent building competitions between neighbouring Greek states; in order to be able to boast of possessing a larger temple than their neighbours at Asea, the Pallantiotes repeated its width but added a few feet to the length. The date of the temple at Vigla can be estimated to around 520 - 510 BC from fragments of the elevation and it provides a useful confirmation of the stratigraphically established date of the temple at Pallantion.

It is evident, however, that the attempt of the Pallantioes to outdo their neighbours was never realized. No trace of a stylobate or of a colonnade - column fragments or pieces of elevation - has ever been found. When the tile pavement was laid in the cella and between the cella and the external foundations, it was joined with full precision to the preserved blocks, demonstrating that at that time no stylobate existed and that any plan to add one had been abandoned. Basically, the temple must have appeared as before, a plain cella surrounded by an open rectangular terrace - a form which is not unknown and has recently been identified in a small, roughly contemporary temple at Kombothekra in Triphylia. At Pallantion, however, this was hardly the original intention since the shape and dimensions of the external rectangle are so perfectly suited to a normal colonnade of 6x13 columns, following the model of the temple at Vigla. If the intention was to construct, as at Vigla, a stylobate and a colonnade of local marble from the Doliana quarries, some sudden change in the economic or political situation of this small state may explain why the project was abandoned; the expenses involved in constructing a fully fledged Doric peripteros of marble might easily have overtaxed their resources.

This would be particularly true if the project involved not only one but two temples. The temple called D is somewhat smaller but has a more prominent location on top of the hill. It is situated at exactly the spot where the modern chapel was built in the 1930's and is consequently poorly documented and badly preserved with only two blocks of its flank foundation extant today. These blocks are of precisely the same material, type, and workmanship as the external blocks of temple C and could also belong to a foundation for a planned, but never executed, colonnade around a modest, earlier building. The identical orientation of the two temples, differing from the independent orientations of the two other temples, suggests that they were from the outset planned in relation to each other. This is likely to have been the case also for the planned external colonnades, although the evidence is insufficient to prove it. If this is the case, the planned colonnade around temple D must have been unusually short, perhaps 6x10 columns.

The normal Classical type of colonnade with 6x13 columns, which was quite certainly used in the temple at Vigla and planned for temple C at Pallantion, appears as the dominant form surprisingly early in the group of late Archaic temples from Arcadia. It seems to have been introduced into this region with the little-known and unimpressive temple at Arcadian Orchomenos, which was excavated by a French mission in 1911 and only superficially published. This temple is important also for another reason since it seems to be the first example in Doric architecture (earlier examples in the Ionic order possibly exist) where an external colonnade was planned with the axial spacing from column to column as a standard module, of identical size on both the short and the long sides. For such an arrangement, the 6x13 colonnade is particularly convenient since its number of axial spacings represents the short sides of a Pythagorean

triangle with the sides 5, 12, and 13 units long. At Orchomenos this simple and straightforward system had to be somewhat adjusted for the angle contraction; a slight reduction of the axial spacings near the corners is generally thought to be connected with a problem frequently arising at the corners of the Doric frieze. The temple at Orchomenos, dated to around 530 BC by the shape of the capitals, seems to represent the first clear example of what became in the fifth century the normal system for Doric temples; it is a surprise, however, to find it in such a remote and insignificant place, and there can hardly be any doubt that it reflects developments at some more important centre, the identity of which remains unknown to us owing to the hazards of preservation.

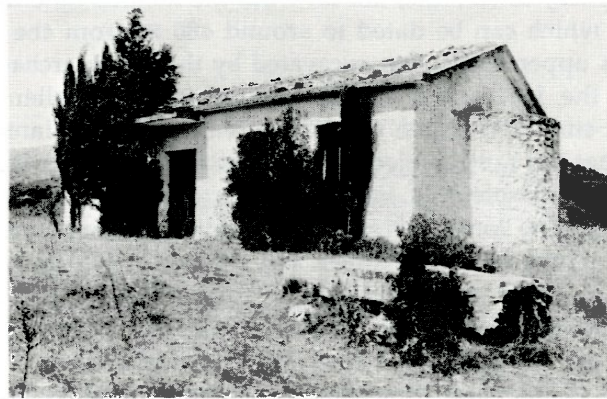


Fig. 5. Temple D at Pallantion, the two remaining blocks of the southern foundation in front of the chapel of Hagios Ioannia (photo Marie Jansson).

If the introduction of the 6x13 colonnade was originally connected with the standard axial spacing, one would expect both elements to be connected also in the Arcadian temples, dating to the decades around 500 BC, where the 6x13 colonnade was used. This, however, is not the case; in the temples at Vigla, at Pallantion, and in the somewhat later temple near Asea which follows the same pattern, the more normal Archaic distribution of the axial spacings with a slight difference between front and flanks was followed. This, apparently insignificant, detail has considerable importance since it demonstrates that the axial spacings were derived from the general external dimensions and not the other way around as in the temple at Orchomenos. At Vigla, moreover, the modest fragments of the upper levels of the building seem to confirm the hypothesis that the temple had no angle contractions; there was, at any rate, almost no conflict in the frieze which a contraction could compensate. The same arrangement is better attested in a small prostyle temple, dating to around 550 BC, at Psilikorfi near Tegea. The Arcadian tradition, connecting these two buildings as well as the later temple near Asea, may almost certainly be taken as a basis for the reconstruction of the planned colonnade at Pallantion. This particular Arcadian tradition, which has been overlooked

up until now, should be of considerable interest to Italian scholars since it coincides with what has been considered to be distinctive elements of the Archaic Doric temple architecture of Sicily and Southern Italy. Any direct connection between the two regions does not seem likely, but both regions might be drawing on the tradition of a third centre from which we have no documentation - a different centre, however, from the one we presumed to lie behind the very different temple at Orchomenos and whose influence on the Arcadian tradition was apparently limited to the 6x13 colonnade.

The final outcome of these complicated developments can be studied in the remains of the small temple dedicated to Athena at Alipheira in the western periphery of Arcadia, not far from the famous sanctuary at Bassai. This temple, which can be dated to around 480 BC from the considerable remains of its upper levels, was excavated by the Greek archaeologist A. K. Orlandos in the 1930's and can be studied in his excellent publication from 1967. Its similarity to the unfinished temple C at Pallantion gives the impression that the same project, which was abandoned at Pallantion, was carried out and completed a few years later at Alipheira with only some minor changes. The long, narrow cella building, without inner divisions, is of the same type in both temples and the width 5,20 m is identical; at Alipheira, the length is increased to a proportion of 5:22, adding two squares lengthwise to the basic rectangle 5:12. The external foundation is an almost exact replica of the foundation at Pallantion, with the same coarse blocks of irregular dimensions carrying a more regular stylobate. Some blocks of this were found and provide useful support for the reconstruction suggested above for the temple project at Pallantion. The longer cella required a longer colonnade, which was consequently increased to 6x15 columns with small differences between the axial spacings on the short and long sides in line with the tradition at Psilikorfi, Asea, and probably Pallantion. At Alipheira, however, larger spacings are found on the flanks, something which occurs very rarely in Greece but more frequently in Sicily and Southern Italy. Particularly interesting is the solution at the corners where the remains from the upper levels of the building are sufficient to justify a reconstruction with double angle contraction, involving not only the last axial spacing towards the corner but also the penultimate one; this is seen at the flanks but not at the front. In the fifth century this emerged as a favourite solution to the corner problem in Sicily and Southern Italy, following the example of a few earlier temples in Greece where it, however, always remained rare. The parallel development of this important feature in the Arcadian and Southern Italian tradition - from no contraction at all in the Archaic period to a double contraction in the early Classical period, avoiding the single contraction which was the rule elsewhere in Greece almost from the outset - is too striking to be fortuitous, although it is not easy to suggest likely points of contact between the two traditions.

The Temples of Pallantion

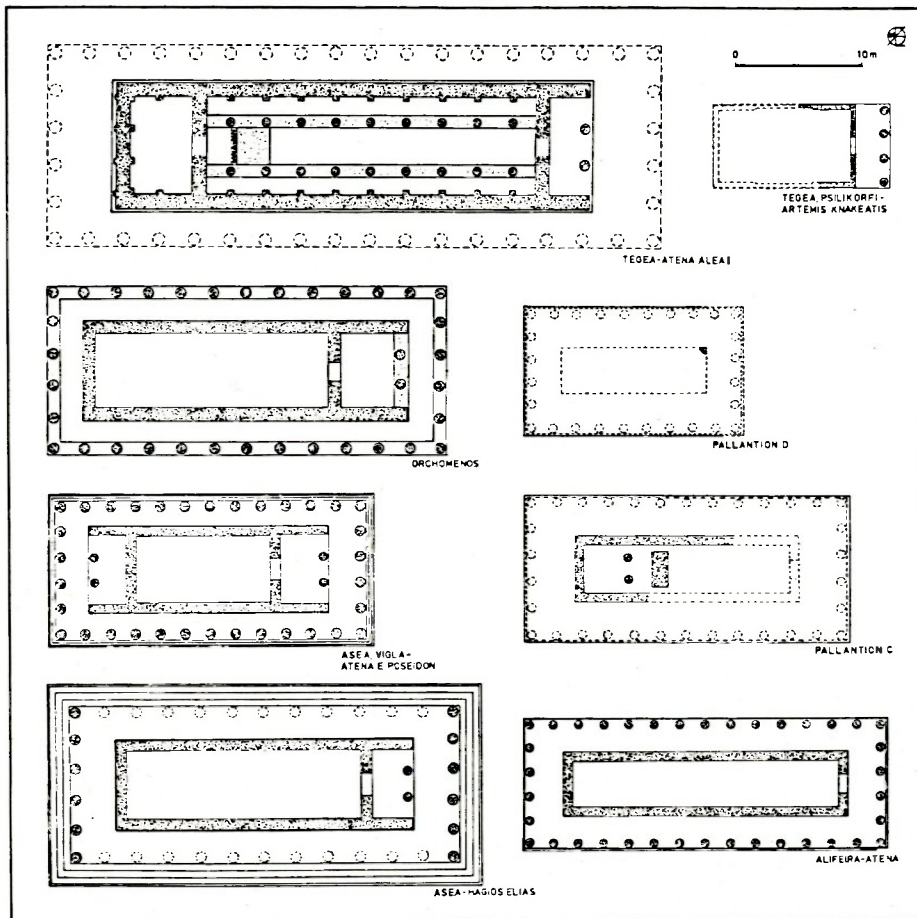


Fig. 6. The Principal Archaic temples of Arcadia, comparative plans on the same scale (drawing author).

Field archaeologists must always be prepared to find something other than what they were looking for, but this is not necessarily a bad thing. The Italian engagement at Pallantion seems to be a good example of this and it has had positive effects at several levels. It may have been a disillusionment for the archaeologists of 1940 that they could recover no traces of a prehistoric settlement and no evidence of Evander, who remained an elusive phantom and will probably always remain so. In compensation, the publication of the material which they actually found will not only emphasize the importance of a much neglected part of the architectural inheritance from ancient Greece but will also quite unexpectedly throw some light on one of the archaeological treasures of their own country, the Greek temples in Southern Italy and Sicily. The Swedes, whose contribution to the mission of 1984 was so essential to its success, may consider its positive outcome as an encouragement to take up again their old activities in Arcadia which have languished since the 1930's. And the Norwegians, who by pure coincidence took up again the old dream of a national institute in Athens, at the very moment when for the first time an international archaeological mission under Norwegian direction was working in Greece, can profit by some of our more general experiences. For a small, marginal nation, now entering the lively, international arena of Classical research which Athens is today, with limited resources of people and of means, such limitations are not fatal as long as we can join forces with other people sharing our wish to have certain things accomplished. It is my hope that this experience, which was one of the most productive results of the mission to Pallantion, may serve as a guidance for the future activities of our institute.

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Generally on cults and sanctuaries of Arcadia:

M. Jost: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*; Paris, 1985.

The final publication of Pallantion: A. De Franciscis, M. Iozzo, M. Pagano, E. Østby: *Scavi di Pallantion 1940-1984*, is in preparation for the *Annuario della scuola archeologica italiana di Atene*.

**PHOENIX FROM THE ASHES:
LUCRETIUS AND ENNIUS IN HERCULANEUM**

Knut Kleve

Otto Skutsch in memoriam

The Library in Herculaneum

When the king of Naples dug for art treasures under the lava in Herculaneum in the 1750's, he also came upon a library consisting of two thousand heavily carbonized and petrified papyrus scrolls. By means of a glue method invented by A. Piaggio eight hundred scrolls were unrolled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The remaining one thousand and eight hundred scrolls were regarded as hopeless.¹ In the 1980's, however, Piaggio's method was refined by the Norwegian Brynjulf Fosse and the opening of the scrolls has now started again in the National Library of Naples, where they are housed.²

The papyri aroused great expectations when they were found. One looked forward to new tragedies of Euripides, the Annals of Ennius, and unknown books of Tacitus. The disappointment was great when what came to light were dry, philosophical works in Greek. The so-called Papyrus Villa, where the library was found, turned out to be an Epicurean school on Roman soil with Philodemus of Gadara, a contemporary of Cicero, as head master. Scores of treatises under his name were unrolled: "On Rhetoric", "On Signs", "On Death", "On Music", "On Economy", "On Piety", "On the Gods", etc.³ When Fosse resumed the opening, Professor M. Gigante, who is the director of the international papyrus centre in Naples, prayed: "no more Philodemus!" There *was*, of course, more Philodemus, but also something different and interesting which indicates that the old expectations had not been all that unrealistic.

Some fifty Latin papyri had been unrolled using Piaggio's method but they were so damaged that practically nothing could be read; an exception was a poem by an unknown author on Octavian's victory at Actium.⁴ New works by Philodemus, on slander and on other philosophical schools, have come to light with Fosse's method, but also fragments from two Latin authors: Lucretius and Ennius.

Lucretius

The remains of the Lucretius papyri, crushed into numerous pieces, had been stored away, without numbering, in a drawer. The pieces contained text from *De Rerum Natura*, Books 3, 4, and 5 (an example is given in fig. 1). This means that the whole of Lucretius had once been present in the library of the Papyrus Villa.⁵



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of PHerc. senza numero from cassetto CXIV, fr. A. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm. Interpunction between words in the first line helps to identify the text as Lucretius V, 1301-1302:

[et quam falciferos arma]tum esclendere currus.]
 [inde boves lucas turr]ito] cor]pora, taetras.]

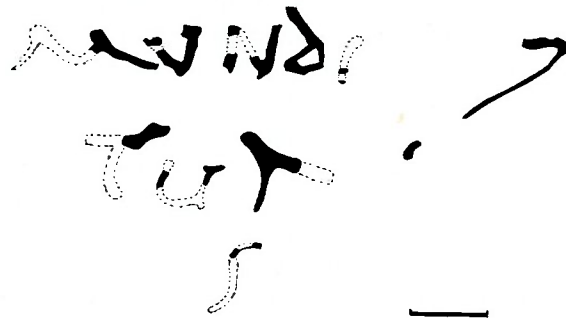


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of PHerc. 21, pezzo 2, fr. 1, lower part. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm. Transcript:

IMUNDI >[
]TUR·[
]SI

Distinction mark at end of first line. Interpunction after word ending second line.

This discovery links Lucretius firmly with the Epicurean school in Herculaneum. Modern and popular theories advocating that Lucretius was a lone wolf having no contact with contemporary Epicureanism have suffered a serious set-back. The exceptionally large letters in the Lucretius papyri⁶ as well as the thin quality of the papyrus⁷ point to the central position of Lucretius in the school.

The Microscope Method

A microscope method was of help in reading the blackened and tiny Lucretius fragments.

The text was microphotographed with colour slides, the slides put under a stereomicroscope with an illumination from below, and then studied in magnification. The handwriting was copied by means of a drawing device attached to the microscope which gave an accurate representation of the letters (cf. figs. 1-4).⁸

This method is of general palaeographical interest and has also helped greatly in deciphering the Ennius text (figs. 2-4).



Fig. 3. Reconstruction of PHerc 21, pezzo 1, fr. 1. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm. Interpunction in second line helps to identify line 2-4 as Ennius, *Annales VI*, 183-185 (Skutsch). An important tool of identification was I. Vahlen's *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, *Index sermonis*, which is virtually a concordance, giving "*non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes.*"

The Annals of Ennius

Papyrus Herculaneensis no. 21 was partly opened in 1965 by A. Fackelmann.⁹ In 1988 the unrolling of the papyrus was resumed by T. Starace using the method developed by B. Fosse.¹⁰

The identification of the text was hampered by the state of the papyrus and the archaic forms of the Latin letters (cf. figs. 2-4). Before the unrolling was resumed, the material was also too scanty to allow any certain identification. Professor F. Sbordone, who was the first to read the papyri in 1965, took it to be a sacred text,¹¹ and for a while we thought it was a Roman comedy.¹² That was before, however, a distinction mark (>) had been observed in one of the new fragments (see fig. 2). This sign is known from the *Actium* poem as indicating the end of a hexameter. In addition, in another new fragment (see fig. 3) one could read the left part of verses 183-185, Book VI (Skutsch) from the *Annals of Ennius*. The verses contain King Pyrrhus' answer to Fabricius when the consul came to ransom the prisoners after the Battle of Heraclea:

Nam [

[Ne]ç mi [aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis:]

Non c[au]ponantes bellum sed belligerantes]

Ferro, n[on auro vitam cernamus utrique.]¹³

"Gold for myself I ask not; no, to me ye shall not pay a price. No chaffering war, but waging war, not with gold, but with iron - thus let us of both sides make a trial for our lives" (Warmington's translation).

When Lucretius has been found in Herculaneum, it is not surprising that Ennius should also be there.¹⁴ Ennius was Lucretius' master of poetry (cf. *Lucr.* I, 117, 121), and it is not impossible that it is Lucretius' own copy of Ennius we now see before our eyes.

The Inglorious End of King Pyrrhus

The theme of Book IV of Ennius' *Annales* was the war with Pyrrhus. Some of the new fragments appear to come from this book. The king's notorious impudence (*petulantia*) seems to be mentioned. Decius Mus' devotion in the Battle of Ausculum has apparently been described. The book seems to end with the very name of Pyrrhus, in its Archaic form "Burrus", together with the *coronis* or the concluding sign which is known from several Greek papyri from Herculaneum.¹⁵

The papyrus is badly broken and most of the fragments are deplorably tiny. Best preserved is fragment 1 from *pezzo* (piece) 7 (cf. fig. 4). It has an extension that may give hopes of regaining something new of the Pyrrhus story. The transcript runs as follows:

1]RÇI[

2]N̄UMQU[.] M̄[

3]R̄TUR̄·IN̄ORA[.]>[

4]N̄T̄·ET̄MAGIS̄I[.]S̄[

5]Ç[.]N̄TRAR̄[.]Ī[.]RA[

6]ĀUERUNT̄·ĀUR[

7]REGES̄·SUD̄.[

8]N̄TUR̄ NEFRAT̄.[

9]M̄MORSESTESETA[

10]ERUNT̄·INDUP[

11]..ET̄UIMAR[

12]AT̄[.]A[

Worth noticing are the interpunctuation (cf. fig. 1) between words in lines 3,4,6,7,8,10, and the distinction mark (cf. fig. 2) after line 3. The second E in line 9 is inserted under the preceding T (cf. fig. 4). Lines 11 and 12 have been lost since 1965. They have been reconstructed from a photograph taken by Professor Sbordone (cf. note 11).

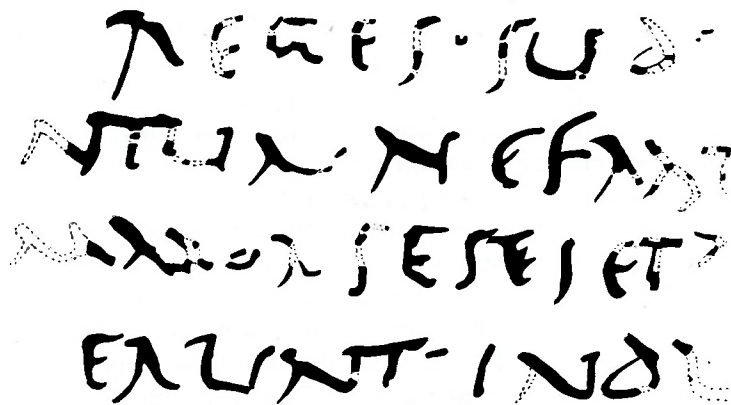
In my presentation of the papyrus fragment in *Cronache Ercolanesi*, I had restricted myself to just this transcript. But in a lecture which is what this paper started out as, it is tempting to let the imagination flow a little more freely.

There is a certain story about Pyrrhus, related by Dionysos of Halikarnassus, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, Cassius Dio, Livy, Plutarch, and others,¹⁶ which could fit the expressions found in the transcript. It is the story of how Pyrrhus, bankrupt after his Sicilian campaign, robbed the temple of Porserpina in Locri and the dire consequences this sacrilege had for him.

Already in line 1 we seem to be in the realm of death; ([O]r̄ci) might point to the temple of Porserpina at Locri. The ancient authors write that the enormous wealth of the temple had never (numqu[a]m, line 2) been touched but was buried out of sight (in ora[s], line 3) of the multitude.¹⁷ Pyrrhus had his scruples (cf. c[on]tra[r]ia i[u]ra, line 5), but his financial need was more (magis, line 4) pressing.¹⁸ He plundered the temple and placed the gold (aur[um], line 6) in ships which he sent along to Tarentum.¹⁹

Then something happened which could scare even a king (reges suda[sse], line 7):²⁰ a storm sprang up and, although the seamen perished in the waves (cf. vi mar[is], line 11), the ships laden with the treasures were driven back safely ashore on to the beaches at Locri.²¹

Pyrrhus tried to appease Porserpina with numerous sacrifices, even letting his own comrades (fratre[s], line 8), who had assisted him in the temple robbery, be killed ([neca]ntur, line 8), but the goddess remained inexorable.²²



ΠΕΡΕΙΣΤΕΙΣ
 ΝΥΝ ΝΕΦΑΤ
 ΝΥΝ ΝΕΦΑΤ
 ΕΛΥΝΤ-ΙΝΔΕ

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of PHerc. 21, pezzo 7, fr. 1, lower part, left side = text lines 7-10. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm.

It was because of this sacrilege, and not for any military reason, that Pyrrhus was defeated by the Romans.²³ That Pyrrhus himself was not unaware of the wrath of the goddess, is shown by his own memoirs.²⁴ Porserpina even demanded his death which he met in Argos.²⁵ In our Ennius-text, the goddess seems to reveal herself (in a dream?) in order to tell the king of his imminent end ([ia]m mors est, es et, line 9).

Pyrrhus' last campaign (cf. *indup[er]ator*, line 10) took place in the Peloponnesus against Antigonos.²⁶ Plutarch reports that Pyrrhus "saw the stormy sea that surged about him" ²⁷ during a street fight in Argos, although in Argos he must have been on dry land indeed. Presumably he had a vision of the storm which Porserpina had sent against his ships outside of Locri (*et vi mar[is]*, line 11). The king was lightly wounded by an Argive soldier and turned upon the man. The soldier's old mother, who was watching from the housetop, lifted up a tile and threw it at Pyrrhus. The king's neck was crushed, he fell from his horse and was beheaded by one of Antigonos's men.²⁸

We may perhaps add that this mother was Porserpina in disguise and clad in black (*at[r]a*, line 12).

The Future of Herculaneum Studies

In 1985 the Piaggio Laboratoty was established in the Officina dei Papiri in the National Library in Naples. This has greatly forwarded the new glue method of unrolling the papyri.²⁹

A method of removing so called *svrapposti* by means of an alcohol solution has also been developed by B. Fosse.³⁰ *Svrapposti* are layers of papyrus which conceal the underlying text. New texts have been revealed in Epicurus' *On Nature*, Philodemus' *On Rhetoric* and other works.

Under the surveillance of F. C. Störmer the insects which house in the papyrus collection,³¹ the ink used in the papyri,³² and the curious white covering which can be observed on a large number of the scrolls, have been examined.³³ The white stuff tells something about what happened to the books during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79; a cloud rose from the ground and covered the papyri, among other things with particles of lead. Lead does not regularly appear in lava. An obvious theory is that it stems from the plumbing system in Herculaneum.

There already exists a computer-compiled concordance to Philodemus in the Officina.³⁴ Two computer methods for the reconstruction of texts have been developed in pilot projects, mainly under the surveillance of E. S. Ore.³⁵ So far, however, it has not been possible to put them to practical use owing to lack of funds and personnel. It is to be hoped that this situation will not last very much longer. The methods may revolutionise Herculaneum studies.

The greatest difficulties for the text reconstruction are the numerous *lacunae* and the fragmentarily preserved letters. The one method can be termed *lacunology*; the computer can present possible supplements to the *lacunae* drawn from the whole of preserved Greek and Latin literature.

The other method can be termed *literalogy*; by comparing fragmentary letters to whole letters from the same hand, the computer can assist in reconstructing the original letters.

The possible applications of the methods go beyond the Herculaneum papyri to papyrology in general, to epigraphy, to the reconstruction of all fragmentarily preserved texts, and even to the reconstruction of partially preserved artefacts.

Notes

¹ Cf. M. Capasso: *Storia fotografica dell'Officina dei papiri ercolanesi*; Napoli, 1983, 116 ff.

² B. Fosse, K. Kleve, F. C. Störmer: "Unrolling the Herculaneum Papyri"; *CErc.* 14, 1984, 9-15; M. Capasso: *Nuovi esperimenti di svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi*; Napoli, 1987; M. Capasso, A. Angeli: "Papiri aperti col metodo Osloense (1983-1989): descrizione e classificazione"; *CErc.* 19, 1989, 265-269.

³ Complete bibliography can be found in M. Gigante: *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi*; Napoli, 1979.

⁴ Cf. M. Gigante: *op. cit.*; W. M. Lindsay: "The Bodleian Facsimiles of Latin Papyri from Herculaneum"; *CR* 4, 1880, 441-445.

⁵ K. Kleve: "Lucretius in Herculaneum"; *CErc.* 19, 1989, 5-27.

⁶ Compare the size of the letters in fig. 1 with the Latin letters in figs. 2-4. The letters in the Greek papyri are even smaller.

⁷ Cf. the *carta regia* of Catullus 22.6.

⁸ K. Kleve, E. S. Ore, R. Jensen: "Letteralogia: computer e fotografia"; *CErc.* 17, 1987, 141-150 (English version *SO* 62, 1987, 109-129).

⁹ Fackelmann made some experiments in opening the papyri during the 1960's, but eventually gave up. Cf. M. Capasso: *Op. cit.*, 1983, 122 ff.

¹⁰ K. Kleve: *Ennius in Herculaneum*; *CErc.* 20, 1990.

¹¹ F. Sbordone: "Nuovi frammenti dei papiri ercolanesi"; *PP* 103, 1965, 107-113, esp. 108-110.

¹² K. Kleve: *op. cit.*, 1989, 6, n.9.

¹³ A dot beneath a letter indicates that the letter can only be read partially.

¹⁴ Cf. M. Gigante: *Introduction to "La Villa dei Papiri"*; Second Supplement to *CErc.* 13, 1983, 5; "La biblioteca di Filodemo"; *CErc.* 15, 1985, 5.

¹⁵ K. Kleve: *op. cit.*, 1990.

¹⁶ See D. Kienast: "Pyrrhus vom Epeirus"; *RE* XXIV, 47, Halbband, SP. 153, 49-63. According to our reconstruction Plut. Pyrr. 34 should be added to the sources mentioned there (cf. Kienast: *Sp.* 161, 17 ff.). In relating the story we have used Cary's translation of Dionysos, White's of Appian, Moore's of Livy, and Perrin's of Plutarch.

¹⁷ D. H. 20.9 (19.9); D. S. 27.4.2; Liv. 29.8.9, 18.4.

¹⁸ D. H. *loc. cit.*; App. Sam. 12.1.

¹⁹ D. H. *loc. cit.*;

²⁰ D. H. *loc. cit.*, (19.10); App. Sam. 12.2; D. S. 27.4.3.

²¹ D. H. *loc. cit.*; App. Sam. *loc. cit.*; Liv. 29.8.10-11, 18.5. The reason why the expression "vi maris" appears so late will be made clear below.

²² App. *loc. cit.*; D. S. *loc. cit.*; Liv. 29.18.6; D. H. *loc. cit.*; (9-10).

²³ D. H. *loc. cit.* 10 (19.11); Liv. *loc. cit.*

²⁴ D. H. *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Liv. *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Plut. Pyrrh. 22 ff.; Liv. *loc. cit.*; Aur. Vic. Vir ill. 35.10.

²⁷ Plut. Pyrrh. 34.1. B. Perrin's translation.

²⁸ Plut. *loc. cit.* 2f.

- ²⁹ Cf. the article by Capasso, Angeli mentioned in note 2 and M. Gigante, M. Capasso: "Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano"; *SIFC*, S.III, vol. 7.
- ³⁰ see the forthcoming issue of *Cronache Ercolanesi*.
- ³¹ F. C. Störmer *et al.*: "Insects in Herculaneum Papyri"; *CErc* 16, 1986, 159.
- ³² F. C. Störmer *et. al.*: "Ink in Herculaneum"; *CErc* 20, 1990.
- ³³ F. C. Störmer *et. al.*: "What Happened to the Papyri during the Eruption of Vesuvius?"; *CErc* 16, 1986, 7-9.
- ³⁴ K. Kleve, J. Songstad: *A Concordance to Philodemus*; 1975.
- ³⁵ K. Kleve, I. Fønnes: "Lacunology. On the Use of Computer Methods in Papyrology"; *SO* 56, 1981, 157-170.

**BYZANTINE ART AND THE WEST:
THE LEGACY OF O. DEMUS**

Per Jonas Nordhagen

Today I shall discuss a work which, in Byzantine scholarship, ranks among the most important that have come out of recent decades. Twenty years ago, in 1970, Professor Otto Demus of Vienna published a book from which I have stolen the title of my lecture, *Byzantine Art and the West*. This book, which contains the Wrightsman Lectures he delivered in New York some years earlier, is a seminal work. I will try, briefly, to outline some of its ideas and state its position within scholarship.

Already in the last century, there were scholars who claimed that the culture and arts of the East Christian Empire had exerted a long-lasting and decisive influence upon the West in the course of the Middle Ages. There were clues, they insisted, which pointed to there having been a Byzantine *dominance* in the art of the West for a considerable period. But at that time, at a stage which we may call the pre-scientific phase in the study of cultural history, the thesis of such a perpetual Eastern inspiration carried scarcely more conviction than other dogmas bred by the loose and quasi-empirical methods then in vogue. So little was known of the cultural products of the Eastern Empire at the time, and so vast were the *lacunae* concerning the forces and circumstances that conditioned them, that the claims about their role as decisive sources for the West might seem exaggerated and downright false. Students of the development of Western art in the Middle Ages would therefore pay little or no attention to the ideas there proclaimed. Thus the Byzantine paradigm as sketched by pioneering figures such as Charles Diehl, Louis Bréhier or Gabriel Millet, all great connoisseurs of Greek Medieval art, had very little impact on the general thinking concerning our medieval past.

In the years between the two great wars, Otto Demus, together with colleagues from many nations, worked to fill the gaps that were still open in the vague and spindly overview of the Byzantine question offered by the generation of scholars before him. I can give no full account of his work here, only mention a few of its stages. In an unbelievable effort, he carried through pioneering investigations on a long series of monuments of Byzantine or pseudo-Byzantine art and craftsmanship in the Mediterranean. Among his early works are his study on the mosaics at Daphni and Hosios Loukas in Greece (published in 1931), and his first observations on the mosaics in St. Mark's in Venice (1935). He returned to St. Mark's forty years later with a team from the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Centre in the

United States to make a thorough examination of it, and the ensuing publication, which appeared as four volumes in 1986, ranks as the largest and most magnificent publication on mosaics ever printed. Equally important is the extensive study he wrote on the great Normanno-Byzantine mosaics in Sicily (1949). Further, he has written brilliant surveys of special phenomena or incidents within the Byzantine development. To mention only two of these, there are his classic *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1948) and a pioneering study on the evolution of Late Byzantine, Paleologean art (1958). Demus' field does not restrict itself to the art of mosaic and frescoes. In a series of important studies he has dealt with problems in Byzantine and Byzantinising sculpture, one of these is contained in the book entitled *The Church of San Marco in Venice, History, Architecture, Sculpture* (1960). This dynamic and searching scholar has wrestled several times with his colleagues over points of academic discord, yet his style, even in the hottest debate, is fair.

Now back to the book he published in 1970. The thirty years of research that preceded it were uncommonly fruitful ones in our field. I have outlined his own contribution to that research, and it must be stressed that he worked shoulder-to-shoulder with a host of other determined researchers of whom many came from prestigious milieus of Byzantine studies in Greece. The work produced remarkable results. Thus the pre-war period saw a dramatic break-through in the establishment of systematic exploration of Constantinople, which had long remained a virtual *terra incognita* as to its output in painting and mosaics. In addition, scholars roamed the former Byzantine provinces in the East, and published crucial material from such outlying places as Cappadocia and Mount Sinai. The treasures of Armenia were also put on the map. After 1945, research coincided with the repair and restoration of Byzantine or Byzantinizing monuments everywhere, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the Balkans, and in Russia. These activities brought forth a vast amount of new information and prompted a reevaluation of many of the prevailing theories concerning the spirit and character of Byzantine art. Demus drew on all these results when he restated the claims of a lasting and decisive impact on Europe from the Byzantine East during the Medieval period. He could speak with the new assurance and authority instilled by the exploration of an enormous number of monuments both in the East and in the West.

His synthesis seems to demonstrate that there *was* an almost uninterrupted flow of Byzantine influence westwards, but that this influx had had its periods of flow as well as its ebbs. A fluctuating, not to say bouncing, curve appears, that seems to denote the level of intensity in the West in its desire for Byzantine cultural goods. A major question therefore which emerges from his study is *why* this fluctuation of interest occurred. What forces actually motivated the West in its search for Byzantine prototypes? Was there a *constant urge*, released regularly at intervals? Or were there continually *changing needs*, from one epoch to another, that led to the

taking-over of Byzantine matter? Demus' book also provides clues towards the answers to these questions, which embrace fascinating ideological perspectives. More than to the many suggestive details it is to these larger perspectives I want to direct my comments today.

First, however, a note on methodology. Demus, as a practical researcher with a keen eye for the technical aspects of art, lists and discusses several different mechanisms that were crucial in the transmission of Byzantine artistic influence into Western territory. One of these consists of the export, into Western churches, courts and treasuries, of Byzantine *art objects* of all kinds. Among these, particularly relevant for the diffusion of Byzantine style were the *illuminated manuscripts* coming from innumerable scriptoria of high quality in the Eastern territory. Such manuscripts were often subjected to close imitation by Western hands, and contributed vastly to the dissemination of Eastern styles. Demus also includes among the decisive carriers the *pattern books* used by artists (Fig. 1), the traffic in which must have been considerable. But he rightly points out that impulses having the greatest force of penetration occurred only when Byzantine *artists* were called in to execute projects of decoration for Western patrons. Some of the highpoints of the long relationship between East and West were produced in places where this particular prerequisite was found. In two places, both studied by Demus, such immigration of Greek artists is especially well documented, namely in Venice and Sicily. The great merchant city of Venice and the brilliant court of the Norman rulers in Sicily both became ports of entry for a particularly strong influx of Byzantine forms and ideas into Western Europe.

What, then, were the principal reasons for this readiness of the West to adopt Byzantine patterns of art and culture? Demus mentions a series of such reasons, and notes that some may be classified as eternal or everlasting, and some as temporary but recurring. By studying them more closely, we gain a deeper insight into the forces of diffusion which were active in this long process, one of the longest, incidentally, to which Europe has ever been subjected. The theme is so vast that my comments will have to be summary.

I find it refreshing to start with the motivations that sprang from the more practical and technical considerations. There can be no doubt that Byzantine cultural goods were desired in the West because of their supreme craftsmanship and for the intricate artistic techniques with which they were manufactured. In the production of luxury goods, such as textiles, glass, ivory and goldsmith's works, and above all works in enamel, the Byzantines could draw on Greek and Roman traditions of crafts that remained unbroken despite the catastrophes of Late Antiquity. Similar crafts, but carried out in a rudimentary, coarse way, were found in the overrun, semi-barbarized territories in the West, where, therefore, the Byzantine objects were looked upon as miraculously wellwrought and a delight to the eye, as they in fact are (Fig. 2). The treasury of St. Mark's in Venice became a storehouse of Byzantine *preziosa* after the sack and plun-

der of Constantinople in 1204, and illustrates more eloquently than anything else what people from the less developed West longed for, and imported as much of as lay within their means - the goods produced by the competent Greek workshops.

Also, Venice is one of the places where one can best study the effects of the need for *mosaic technology* that forced the West again and again to call in Greek specialists. Countless times this quest for aid to renew and improve the faltering, Western tradition of mosaic occurred, with whole groups of Greek artisans leaving their homeland and bringing their own glass materials and other trade secrets with them to the West. I have myself studied a work executed by such Greek mosaicists in Rome, several centuries before St. Mark's was built and decorated for the first time (Fig. 3). The mosaic in Rome was that done for Pope John VII about the year AD 705 and stood in the old basilica of St. Peter's. Several fragments of it are preserved, and these reflect a sophisticated technique with a splendid manipulation of glass and stone cubes. I also believe that it was the desire for art of the highest possible technical quality that led the people at Gotland, the wealthy island off the Swedish shore of the Baltic, to hire Russo-Byzantine painters to decorate some of their churches with frescoes (Fig. 4). This instance, which is also recorded by Demus, is the North-Westernmost example of Byzantine penetration to be found in Europe. The technique is an excellent, if slightly provincial version of the craft of wall painting as it was practiced in Constantinople.

Aided, as I have stressed, not least by the research in depth pursued by Demus himself, we are at present capable also of judging to what degree Byzantinism was spread westwards by another basic impulse, that which is engendered by *political ambitions*. As was shown long ago, aspirations of a political kind were subtly built into Byzantine art by its rulers. Through its many layers of religious symbolism this art also expressed the idea that the prince was God's vicar on earth, and the visual splendour of Byzantine churches thus promotes and celebrates the temporal powers. Again, we must limit our choice to a few cases. The pageantry of rulership developed by the Byzantine emperors found its most fervent imitators among the European princes and church dignitaries. The catalogue of instances of such imitations is a very long one, and ranges from Byzantine court procedures reflected in the courts of Charlemagne and his contemporary, Pope Leo in Rome, to those of the later Ottonian kings of Germany. It reaches, finally, a high point at the court of the Norman kings of Sicily, who actually vied with the Byzantine emperor for the control of the Mediterranean. In the twelfth century, the Sicilian kingdom saw some of the most magnificent Byzantine monuments ever erected in the West, the most stupendous and most authentic being the central church of the Martorana at Palermo, with its domed interior and its correct display of the full pictorial program of Middle Byzantine church building (Fig. 5). The portraits of the church's patrons are also preserved here, a rarity, as in most churches of this kind in the East such portraits have been erased. The

lay patron, the king's chief admiral, here kneels in adoration of the Virgin, while in another panel the Norman king Roger II is crowned by the Saviour (Fig. 6). Such donor pictures, which polarize the idea and content of large religious compositions, hold the key to an understanding of why Byzantine imagery became so popular with the Western rulers.

Venice, a city closely linked to Constantinople by trade and treaty, also had good political reasons to emulate Byzantine splendour in its state apparatus. The very form of its largest church, in which all the great ceremonies of state occurred, is drawn from Constantinople and mirrors the enormous Early Christian church of the Apostles. The interior of St. Mark's, with its series of domes glittering in mosaic, manifests the will of the Venetians to express their state ideology through an apparatus analogous to that of their Eastern neighbour and trading partner. With this will went the necessity of procuring the specialists that could uphold this similarity. Down to the threshold of the fifteenth century the Venetians continued to import, at regular intervals, such Byzantine specialists. Such was the urge to implant the purest form of Byzantine style into Venice, that even native, Italian artists of that city were spurred on to an unsurpassed imitation of it. They rendered it with an authenticity which in some cases makes it almost impossible to distinguish their work from that of the foreign specialists (Fig. 7).

Turning now to the most obvious sphere of interconnection between the two cultural worlds, the West and Byzantium, we come to the question of *religious imagery*. It takes no great intuition to discover that for the Christian West access to the source of image-making that lay in Byzantium was a matter of the highest importance. In the East the pace of the production of new picture-types was at times feverish, under the stress of procuring new illustrations for a perpetually developing and highly complex liturgy. Up to now, not many attempts have been made to trace the causes for this exceptional, never-ceasing flow of visual thinking that went on within Byzantium. It is, however, thought-provoking that it seems to have had its most fertile periods in epochs that were marked not only by religious conflicts but by political ones as well. Thus, in addition to the very active period of picture-breeding that took place in the ninth and tenth centuries, just after the end of that large religious upheaval, Iconoclasm, one finds an exceedingly rich production of new images in the seventh century, as well as in the eleventh and the thirteenth. Through all the channels that were open for such import the West sought to profit by this image-making and poured into its own church art the spoils of a continuous act of imitation. In this way an enormous amount of iconographic matter was brought out of Byzantium for use by the Western church. I have above enumerated some of the means by which this gallery of Byzantine image types was passed on. Now let us look briefly at the outcome of this transplant.

This theme is endless, but a selection of a few high points must suffice to illustrate it. Many of the most frequently-used categories of religious

pictures in the West were actually built on prototypes which artists lifted out of the mighty image reservoirs of Byzantium. This goes even for common themes such as the evangelists' portraits used in sacred books or in monumental church art. The type was taken over wholesale from a product evolved by Eastern iconographers on a theme they borrowed from the Philosopher figure in Greek and Roman art, and which shows the sage sitting on his chair with his writing table and his author's paraphernalia on display around him. Further, vast inspiration was drawn from Byzantine New Testament illustration and from the representations of the figure of Christ. Also, legendary stuff was eagerly copied, and many such scenes were a large success with their new public. One scene which emerged relatively late is the Death of the Virgin, or Dormition. It appeared in Byzantine art in the tenth century but took several centuries to travel to Western Europe, where it became part of the repertoire of Gothic sculpture and found its most noble expression in some of the tympana of the cathedrals in the Ile-de-France region (Fig. 8). Another large scene, partly based on texts and partly symbolical, was that of the Last Judgement. It was composed in the East, probably some time in the Early Middle Ages, and in the twelfth century a particularly monumental instance of it was executed in the church at Torcello in the lagoon at Venice. It is characterised by its systematic listing of the horrors of Hell, which are described step by step with close adherence to the texts. The type was thoroughly re-elaborated by Western iconographers who imitated some of its salient points but ignored others. A Western variant emerged as early as around A.D. 800, and seems from the very beginning to have been stamped by a much freer and more imaginative depiction of the Punishment. Thirty years ago, fragments of a Last Judgement carved in wood were published in Iceland. The work reflected, surprisingly, the original Byzantine lay-out of the scene and *not* its Western counterpart (Fig. 9). Selma Jónsdóttir of Reykjavik who published it, deduced that this strange occurrence of direct Byzantine influence on Iceland was caused by the presence there of a Byzantine work of art, a Last Judgement scene perhaps carved in ivory, of a kind of which we possess several examples (Fig. 10).

As I have pointed out, few of the imported scenes escaped remodelling, although some survived the transplant in almost unaltered form. On the other hand, there were Byzantine picture types which barely penetrated to the West and which, for some reason, had a relatively limited impact there. I should have wished to dwell longer on this theme, which is immensely revealing for the processes we discuss here. However, I will point to one particular instance, the absence in the West of the most central of all Byzantine Christ types. That is the Pantokrator type, which is the *focus* of all Eastern cupola compositions, and of which one of the most spectacular examples is to be found a short distance outside the gates of the city of Athens (Fig. 11).

The Christ Pantokrator type is, as we all know, the picture of Christ in the form of a bust and set in a *clipeus* or medallion in the centre of the

decoration of the cupola. It can be regarded as one of the most typical of all Byzantine picture forms and has an interesting genesis which lack of space prevents me from unravelling here. It was tentatively transposed to a Western setting in the large Norman churches in Sicily, where it was moved from its original cupola surroundings into the apse of basilicas. Demus was the first to point to the stupendous change that occurred when this picture was finally fully adapted to its new setting. This moment occurred in the great church at Monreale outside Palermo, in the late twelfth century, when a gifted artist - either a Byzantine or a Westerner with good Byzantine training - discovered that the curvature of the apse could be used to give the movement of Christ's hands sweeping emphasis (Fig. 12). Nevertheless, this apsidal Pantokrator was no great success and seems to have been little emulated in the Western sphere. It may have given impetus, though, to the embellishment with smaller Christ busts in decorative work on a smaller scale, such as lunettes on church facades. For apse decorations, however, the full-length Christ surrounded by other figures continued to be the form preferred by Western churchmen. When Pantokrator-like figures crop up in the stained glass of small church windows on the island of Gotland, it may be a reflection of larger compositions in the same medium (Fig. 13). But Christ busts in stained glass presumably never had the position of preeminence nor the size of the Pantokrator figure of a Byzantine church.

I have reserved some minutes for a discussion of another and final category of Byzantine influence on the West, in which basic principles of motivation were a driving force. It regards the *Byzantine style*, a cultural product as much sought after by the Western artistic milieu as the rest of the factors I have listed above. There can be no doubt that there lay in the Byzantine form an appeal that to the eyes of foreigners was equal to that of its political and religious messages, and which was closely interwoven with the latter. Demus is keenly aware of this property and points to its central function within the larger problem; in fact, the story of how the Byzantine style, or better, the Byzantine succession of styles entered Western art, is the main thread in his masterly survey. Yet, it is perhaps along this path that we may go if we want to follow up and add to the thoughts and ideas that he has here disseminated. What that particular appeal consisted in, and what needs were fulfilled that made the Byzantine form so desperately sought after, are problems worthy of consideration by able minds. I place before you a handful of reflections, triggered by Demus' observations, and hope thereby to stimulate a discussion on these crucial points.

Demus pinpoints these issues when he describes how a particularly strong wave of Byzantinism hit Europe in the seventh century AD. In the West one attempted, at that particular time, to reconstruct from its foundations a Christian art that was under pressure from, and about to be swept away by, the rich ornamental art of the new Germanic peoples. The centre, from which this effort of reconstruction was directed, was Rome, and in

the monuments of that city a succession of competent Greek artists have left their imprints. Some of their work is found in the church of S. Maria Antiqua, where part of my own research has taken place. It was the task of the popes to secure for their own churches and palaces the proper kind of embellishment and also to supply all the outlying Christian communities farther West with the stock of pictures that were the prerequisite for a correctly conducted Christian cult. As Demus shows, the crisis was partly overcome by enlisting artists who were willing to take up the long journey from Byzantium to Rome, and I have myself suggested that some of them travelled even farther. Evidence from manuscripts produced in Northern England suggests that some of these Greeks were engaged by the abbots of Anglo-Saxon monasteries to produce the right kind of art in this distant borderland of Christianity (Fig. 14). But the Anglo-Saxon examples tell us that this transport of style in fact had a very shortlived after-effect: The native artisans who picked up so many of the tricks of the trade from their Greek teachers found it impossible to retain a grip on the style and soon fell back to the crudest of imitations.

What was, then, "the right kind of art" that the churchmen of the West tried so hard to get hold of? This is a crucial question, which requires us to move somewhat further into the matter than Demus has allowed himself to do. The art that was to serve the Christian cult was one that was based on the *narrative* or *story-telling picture*. As we remember, the sacred Christian texts are made up, principally, of the events and stories from the life of Christ, his companions, and forefathers. Therefore the art of the Church came to be built up largely of pictures that illustrated these stories, episode by episode. The Old and the New Testament furnished the textual material for these pictures, and the scenes thought fit for a church were carefully chosen on a basis of what each one of them would express of the tenets and dogmas of Christian belief. Thus the scenes from His Childhood illustrated the theme of Incarnation, His Miracles attest to His Divine Power, the series of scenes illustrating His Passion would emphasize the central tenet of Resurrection. In other words, the story told by each scene was essential for the instruction that took place in the church. This story-telling aspect the art of the Christian church had inherited as a true child of Classical Antiquity. But to function, it had to possess the quality of being readable, of being understood. The signs, so to speak, which it contained, had to be recognizable if its message were not to be lost. To use a jargon that has crept in even into my own field of study, its *semiotic code* had to be clear, consistent and unequivocal.

What happened in the Early Middle Ages, before the popes of Rome called in Byzantine artists to re-establish a correct Christian art, was that the semiotic code was disintegrating in the West. I will show you a few examples of its decay, dating from the time even when the work of improving upon it was well under way. I choose an illustration from the Book of Kells, painted in that Anglo-Saxon-Irish milieu from which so much splendid church art sprang in this early period. Without any accom-

panying text or caption it would be hard indeed to recognize in these dolls the Capture of Christ in Gethsemane (Fig. 15). To choose another object coming from the same milieu, it takes long training to pick out the scene of the Three Magi in Adoration of the Christ Child in the mass of distorted and simplified figures on the so-called Franks Casket, which was made in the eighth century (Fig. 16). When representation was reduced to such simple outlines, identification of scene or figure became almost impossible, *illegibility* was threatening, and the message became lost. Byzantine art, on the other hand, with its virtuosity in shaping scenes and figures with a high degree of realism, still possessed the crucial element of semiotic congruity. This art could still be read almost as easily as the texts from which it was derived. This made it a matter of supreme urgency for the Church in the West to get access to Byzantine artistic expertise.

In fact, at the very moment when the threat of a nonfigurative, ornamental art was closing in on all sides, even the Byzantines themselves seem to have felt the necessity to make their own art more readable, persuasive, and communicative. In the art that was produced by the Byzantine artists in Rome in the early eighth century, it is possible to observe the emergence of a new dogma of visual clarity. This phenomenon, which almost certainly had its origin in Constantinople, was largely directed towards the layout of scenes, to their scenography, so to speak, and involved the adding of innumerable "signs" that were to elucidate the narrative and make the scenes cohesive, while at the same time they heightened the dramatic expression. Outstretched hands mark figures that are engaged in speech, heads are thrown into profile or turned backwards to show where the gaze of onlookers are directed, backs are bowed to show energetic movement, legs are depicted in broadly striding poses to indicate speed (Fig. 17). I would like to call these features semiotic and see them as part of an effort to increase the readability of pictures. With Otto Demus, Kurt Weitzmann, and other Byzantinists I feel that it was the classical Greek and Roman works of art preserved in Constantinople that provided the models for these improvements. Thus, these works from the seventh and eighth century, brimming with dramatic pathos, represent the very first wave of what we call the Byzantine "Hellenism".

Demus stresses that it was the same urge for a functional, readable art that brought Charlemagne, around AD 800, on a hunt for Byzantine artists. Scholarship now accepts as a fact that teams of Greeks were among the artists who brought about the famous Carolingian Renaissance. Among my last slides I bring glimpses of a few of their products, with the stupendous handling not only of figures and objects, but also of *space*. Pictorial space, the illusion of depth, was another of the instruments used to sharpen the storytelling capacity of images. It made action unfold in an uncluttered way, it placed the actors more surely on the stage, and allowed for a clearer distinction between the main character and those surrounding him (Fig. 18). In their experiments with space, Byzantine artists again and

again drew information from the works of Antiquity and again and again they passed information about this essential effect on to the West.

Personally, I think the semiotic question is a more persistent factor in the artistic East-West dialogue than is allowed for by Demus. Even after the establishment of a lasting Western tradition of Christian art in the ninth and tenth century, artists at intervals felt the pull of ornamentalisation, lapsed into the abstract, and abandoned iconographical clarity. Thus they repeatedly needed lessons from their Byzantine colleagues; and energetic popes, priors, and princes saw to it that teachers were called in who could give such lessons (Fig. 19). In the twelfth century, for example, during the very flowering of Romanesque art, ornamental and abstract trends were rampant and disturbed the clarity of messages. Therefore, the particularly strong flow of Byzantine style that spread through Western Europe in the course of that century, and held in its grip local artists from England to Spain, may again have supported the reconquest of the narrative picture. According to many, this outburst of Byzantinising efforts was just another of the after-effects of the Byzantine milieu established for political reasons by the rulers in Palermo. However, I believe that there were larger issues at stake. Christian art was again in crisis, a crisis which necessitated a new infusion of Byzantine pictorial thinking into Europe.

In prompting questions of this kind, Demus' survey is more than a handbook in Byzantine art history. It is a guide to the forces which control the processes called *cultural diffusion*, or the spreading of cultures. By following such a process as it unfolds in space and time, Demus has identified and labeled some of these forces. It is in this perspective that his grand survey acquires its extraordinary significance.

Postscript

Professor Otto Demus died in Vienna in November 1990 at the age of 88. His obituary and a bibliography of his works will appear in the forthcoming volume of *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*.



Fig. 1. Pattern book with sketches made from Byzantine works of art by a Western artist, Wolfenbüttel Library, Germany (after K. Weitzmann: *Zur byzantinischen Quelle des Wolfenbüttler Musterbuches*, 1965).



Fig. 2. Byzantine book cover in enamel and precious metal, Tesoro di San Marco, Venice (after S. Bettini: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venezia 1974).



Fig. 3. Christ from the Entry into Jerusalem, mosaic fragment from the chapel of John VII, St. Peter's in Rome, Vatican Grottoes (photo Nordhagen).



Fig. 4. Saint, wall painting in the church at Garda, Gotland, ca. AD 1200 (photo Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).



Fig. 5. Mosaics in the cupola of the church of Martorana, Palermo (after O. Demus: *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949).



Fig. 6a,b. Donor pictures, church of Martorana, Palermo (after Demus).

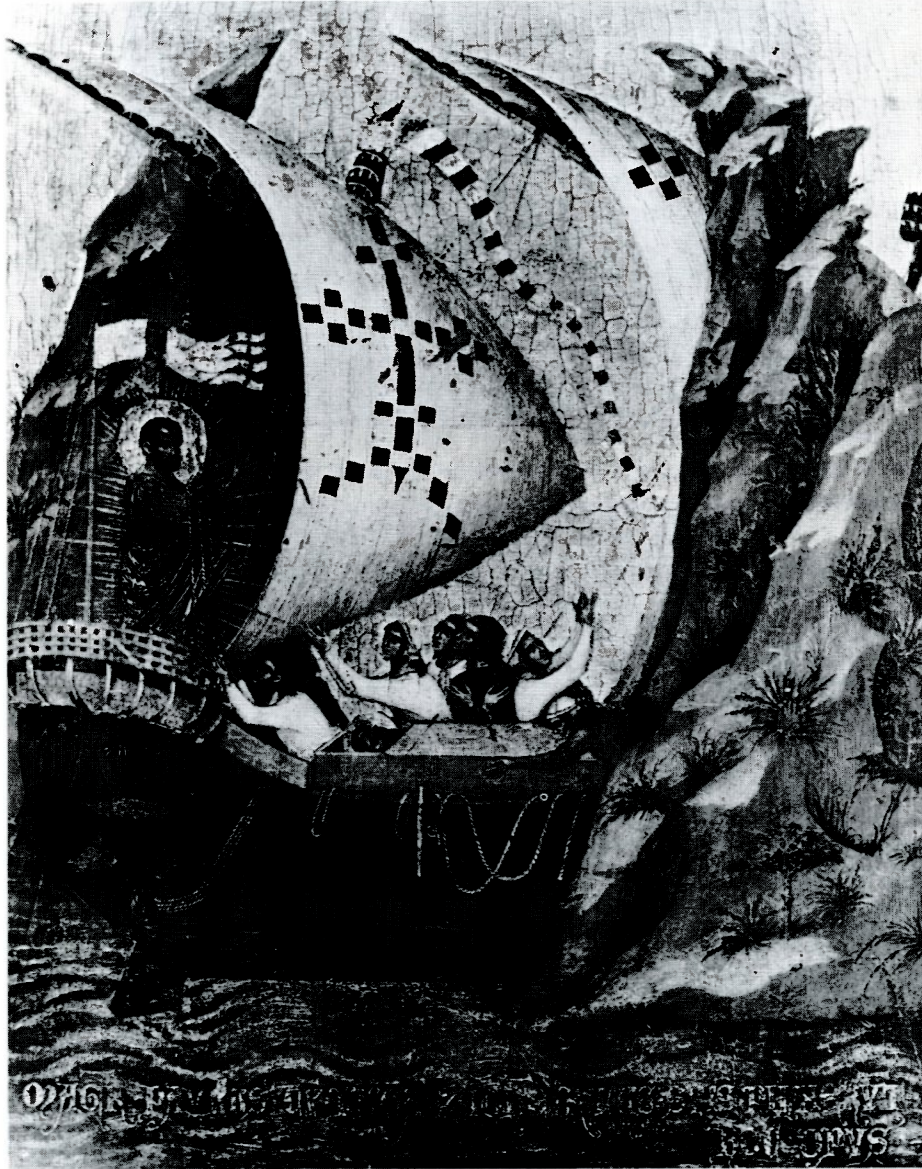


Fig. 7. Scene from the legend of the translation of the body of St. Mark by Paolo Veneziano, dated to 1346 (after Bettini).



Fig. 8a. Dormition, from the mosaics in the Martorana, Palermo (after Demus).



Fig. 8b. Dormition, relief from north Tympaneum of the façade of Notre Dame, Paris (after E. Male: *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, Paris 1963).



Fig. 9. Fragment from a representation of the Last Judgement incised on wood, from Bjarnastadahlid, Iceland, eleventh century, Historical Museum, Reykjavik (after S. Jónsdóttir: *An 11th Century Byzantine Last Judgement in Iceland*, Reykjavik 1959).



Fig. 10. Byzantine ivory with a representation of the Last Judgement, Victoria and Albert Museum (after Jónsdóttir).



Fig. 11. Christ Pantokrator, in the cupola of the church at Dafni (after J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth 1970).



Fig. 12. Christ Pantokrator from the apse of the cathedral at Monreale, Sicily (after Demus).



Fig. 13. Christ from a stained glass window in the church at Dalhem, Gotland, first half of the thirteenth century (photo Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).



Fig. 14. The Scribe Ezra, illuminated page in the Codex Amiatinus, painted by a Byzantine in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium in the late seventh century, Bibliotheca Laurenziana, Florence (after P.J. Nordhagen: Jarrow Lecture 1977, Newcastle 1978).



Fig. 15. Christ in Gethsemane, illuminated page in the Book of Kells, British Museum (after F. Henry: *Book of Kells*, London 1974).



Fig. 16. Scene from the story of Veland the Smith and the adoration of the Magi, the Franks Casket, British Museum (after D. Wilson: *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London 1984).



Fig. 17a. Christ on the road to Calvary, fresco in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome (photo Nordhagen).



Fig. 17b. Christ on the road to Calvary. detail of 17a (photo Nordhagen).



Fig. 18. *The four evangelists, from a Carolingian manuscript at Aachen (after C.R. Dodwell: *Painting in Europe 800-1200*, Harmondsworth 1971).*



Fig. 19a,b. *Christ Emmanuel and the prophet Jeremiah, details from mosaic decoration in the Cappella Zen, St. Mark's, Venice, executed ca. 1300 by a Byzantine workshop (photo Alinari).*