Michele Bacci
University of Siena, Italy

Byzantine Art and Identity: Greek Painters Working for Latin and Non-Orthodox Donors in Frankish Famagusta

The present paper deals with the description and interpretation of some hitherto neglected 14th century mural paintings in Famagusta, which were executed by artists from the Byzantine mainland within both Orthodox and non-Orthodox churches. My aim is to emphasize the different iconographic solutions and methods of work used by these painters in order to satisfy their donors’ requests, and to make some general remarks about the relationship between ‘style’ and the shaping of cultural identity.

Fabio Barry
University of St. Andrews, Scotland

Byzantine Architecture and the Idea of the Meadow

Byzantine ekphraseis abound in descriptions of marble floors, revetments and even figurative paintings as fields of flowers or meadows. This topos can be traced back at least as far as Lucian, for whom the image of the meadow subsumed the virtue of variety in artistic production. In Byzantine ekphraseis of the marble-clad, sacral interior, the idea of the meadow continued to prosper but in several registers: as paradisical; as geological (marbles were organic and rooted); and as a base image for an art that was as creative and multifarious as God’s Creation. The idea of the meadow also opened the door to a dialectic between “natural art and artful nature,” and diversity and unity, thereby leading the senses analogically back to the mind of the Creator Himself.

Rozmeri Basic
The University of Oklahoma, USA

Jeremias Palladas and the Post-Byzantine Mannerism

This paper focuses on selected works of 17th century iconographer Jeremias Palladas from Crete in an attempt to define the style that can be considered as the post-Byzantine Mannerism. His painted panels are on display in the collections and
churches all over the Mediterranean, in countries of Greece, Italy, Croatia, Egypt and Israel. Trained in the best tradition of conservative Byzantine iconography, he appropriate contemporary manners of the Venetian masters and further altered the unique blend of mature Latin and post-Byzantine cultures that served the needs of his diverse patrons.

My objective is twofold: first, to address the uniqueness of the cultural situation of the island of Crete that was under the Venetian rule and second, to examine the impact of the artists who mastered the style that was both, Byzantine in form but Western in practice.

Annemarie Carr
Southern Methodist University, Dallas, USA

The Greekness of El Greco: Image and Orthodoxy in Theotokopoulos' Espolio

Among the fundamental gifts of the Greeks to European culture has been the concept of the image: in Greek, the "icon." "Icon" also, of course, identifies the Greek art of the Middle Ages, the Byzantine holy image. But while we embrace the ancient Greek image, we view the icon as eccentric to our tradition. This has complicated our appreciation of the greatest Greek painter in our tradition, Domenikos Theotokopoulos (1541-1614).

El Greco's bond with his Greek background is usually linked with his style, which is identified by its strangeness and regarded as derived from icons. His style, however, is as alien to his great Cretan as to his European contemporaries. What allows one to surmise that his attention returned in his Roman years to the image-legacy of his Greek background is less his style than his use of images steeped in the art and poetry of Greek Orthodoxy.

Gerald L. Carr
Independent Scholar

'A large--God-like--air': Three American Artists in Greece 1869

During 1869 three eminent American artists, two landscape painters and a photographer, visited, or were resident in, Greece. Near-contemporaries, they knew one another. Traveling separately through Greece, they each took the measure of what they saw through sketches and/or still photography. Into the 1880s all subsequently produced public works of art for American and international audiences developed from their Greek experiences.

The painters were Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900) and Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823-1880); the photographer was William James Stillman (1828-1901). Around 1850, Stillman had been, briefly, a student of Church's. When not occupying neighboring studios in New York City or in Rome, Gifford and Church lived near each other in upstate New York. The Greek-related materials preserved for Church
are the fullest, including, besides two large studio canvases (1871; 1877-78), about 30 black-and-white and color sketches made in Greece and at Paestum, and approximately 150 black-and-white photographs of Greece and former Greek territories in the Mediterranean. Among the last are examples verifiably by, and others attributed to, Stillman.

My title for this paper derives from a phrase of Church's after he had just seen, and was smitten by, ancient Greek art and architecture. During May 1869 he wrote in a private letter that the Greeks gave "a large-God-like-air to all they did." In the paper, I will consider the artists' Greek contacts and the works they produced apropos questions of shifting historical ambiences: in post-Civil War America and to a lesser degree in contemporary Europe, how were Greek antiquities perceived among educated persons, and what was thought interesting or relevant about Greece itself, historic and modern?

Aleksandra Davidov Temerinski
Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia

The Role of Archangel Michael in the Last Phase of Post-Byzantine Art. Triumphal or Eschatological?

Although in Byzantine literature and art, the archangel Michael was honoured with several roles/functions, during that period they were not recognizable in his individual visual presentations, outside the narrative cycles, or symbolic scenes. He was usually seen as an archistratigos, a heavenly warrior. On the other hand, in Western Christian art, starting from the Middle Ages, the most popular subject of St. Michael was the one with Satan, defeated and bound, beneath the archangel's feet (Ap. 20, 1-3). This sacred image, strongly underlining St. Michael’s triumphal role, was rarely presented in Byzantine visual arts. Nevertheless, the formally, very similar image of St. Michael the warrior, who tramples the rich man, lying on his death-bed, and measures his soul on the scales of justice, became popular in 19th century Balkan painting, emphasizing the eschatological role of the archangel. The main narrative source of this complex iconographic subject is the Parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus (Lk. 16, 19-31).

This paper argues that the 19th century image of the archangel Michael, trampling the rich man and weighing his soul, was created by using two different sources. Its form had been borrowed from Baroque iconography. By transforming it into didactic, Eastern Christian subject, the image gained its true meaning. Consequently, the subject of the archangel Michael, trampling the rich man reveals the powerful influences both from the East and the West in creating a new, Eastern Christian sacred image in the 19th century, which is the least studied part of late post-Byzantine art.
A “Workshop Definition” of the Nikosthenic Atelier

Until recently scholars recognized that the Nikosthenic workshop was one of the largest pottery establishments in sixth century BCE Athens. In spite of recent efforts to “downsize” both the size and the importance of this workshop, there is evidence to show that it is, in fact, larger than previously thought. This paper will outline the size of the workshop (ca. 25-35 workers at any given time between 535-500), and the large number of identifiable painters who were at one time or another connected with the workshop. Some of these have not previously been associated with this workshop including the White Heron painters and the Krokotos Group. Furthermore there is reason to suggest a fluid relationship with the workers in the Andokides Workshop. Moreover, in spite of the well-known products that imitate and develop Etruscan shapes (Nikosthenic amphorae, kyathoi, pyxides), the major portion of the workshop production lies with the standard kylix, skyphos and amphora shapes.

Although Nikosthenes may have started his career as either a painter or a potter, the overall picture of the workshop shows a vital and prosperous operation in which one should see Nikosthenes himself neither as potter or painter but as entrepreneur and manager of the artistic work of others. Looking at this workshop helps define the business sophistication of not only this workshop but the entire pottery industry in Athens and by extension Greece as well.

The Chosen People and their Art: “Serbian-Byzantine Style” in the XIX Century as a Dossier of one Logical Wandering

As a result of a general redefining of the overall political-economic situation existent to that point, in the collective consciousness of the nations of Europe throughout the XIX century there grows a belief in the unlimited power of history which becomes the foundation for or in fact an “instrument” in creating or strengthening of their indigenous new identities. At the threshold of their final liberation from the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Serbs, too, found themselves amidst the framework of these massive processes, reconstructing their own past according to all the rules of ethnohistory, as analysed in detail in the recent study of Anthony D. Smith (Chosen Peoples, Oxford 2003). In the domain of artistic creation, the widely accepted and most explicit field of expression of such universal tendencies, Serbian historicism resulted in an intention to form a so-called "Serbian - Byzantine style”, a rather diffused range of artistic production which in its many different forms did not reject the new models of expression found in European art but was, nevertheless, essentially, in the domain of ideas, defined by a late medieval self-identification of the Serbs as a "chosen people", a fate actualized in 1690 in a massive exodus, a migration of the Serbian population from its homeland to the southern regions of the Habsburg
Empire. In the reception of that condensed historical experience, the motifs of sacrifice, migration, commandments are to appear during the XIX and at the beginning of the XX century as categories within the narrative branch of Serbian visual culture. Meanwhile, in the domain of architecture, the church will grow from a basically religious edifice into a symbol and sublimation of national myth. Sacral and secular buildings, based on East Christian medieval heritage and its contemporary interpretation will be produced in a broad variation of forms, ranging from eclectic to truly original, practically Gaudiesque solutions. An inevitable decline of value in this avenue of artistic production will ensue, logically, from the moment the authentic national myth and its manifold visual manifestations became an artificial axis of a new multiethnic and multiconfessional state entity, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which, in the domain of visual arts, shall result in ideas and creations quite affiliated with those produced for totalitarian regimes, initiated by artists originating from other constituents and nations conjoined under the common state boundaries of the short lived Kingdom.

Ron Fuchs
University of Haifa, Israel

**Rudolf Wittkower and the Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism**

The image of a Greek temple may instantly appear in our minds when we consider the heritage of ancient Greece. It may be argued, however, that Greek impact on Western architectural history was not achieved merely, or even primarily, through concrete architectural forms, but rather through the influence that Greek thought had on the long tradition of classical architectural theory. This tradition progressed and evolved from its Greek starting points, through Vitruvius, the Renaissance Tractatists, through the French academicians and many other thinkers, well into the 20th century. No discussion of the history of this tradition can avoid referring to the brilliant contribution of one scholar, Rudolf Wittkower (1901-1971).

Rudolf Wittkower's study on the architectural theory of the Renaissance, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, was recognized as a classic almost immediately after its publication in 1949, and it has remained a standard textbook on Renaissance architecture till this day. The way he combined a perceptive formal analysis of Renaissance monuments with a thorough examination of contemporary theoretical writing (and its ancient sources) was a historiographical breakthrough.

The suggestion that Wittkower was a 'modernist historian,' as asserted in a recent critique, is misleading. The relevance of *Architectural Principles* long outlived the period in which it was composed. The scholarly potential of his ideas has not been fully exhausted even now. The ultimate power of the work, however, lay perhaps in the various ways it inspired and stimulated architectural thinking and architectural design for almost half a century. It became topical immediately on its publication, when its treatment of the theory of proportion uncannily coincided with the publication of Le Corbusier's Modulor. The work further preoccupied post-war architects and critics, it inspired post-modern discourse and design in the 70s and 80s, and even anticipated the use of artificial intelligence and computer in architecture.
The paper will attempt to chart some of the impact that Wittkower's *Architectural Principles* had on scholarship and architectural thinking in the 20th century.

Rivka Gersht  
Institute of Art, Oranim College and Tel Aviv University, Israel

**Caesarea Maritima Sculpture: Roman Derivatives of Greek Works of Art**

Among the hundred of sculpted pieces found in Roman Caesarea many can be considered derivatives of famous Greek works of art. Images of dramatists (e.g. Sophocles and Euripides) and philosophers (e.g. Olympiodoros of Gaza and Carneades); images of deities such as Aphrodite, Athena, Hecate, Dionysos, Asklepios, Hygiea, Apollo, Artemis and Serapis; images of heroes such as Heracles and the Dioscuri brothers; and mythological scenes such as those of Dionysos and Ariadne, the punishment of Marsyas and the Amazonomachy; can all be traced back to their Hellenic tradition.

Other sculpted pieces from Caesarea partially depending upon Greek schemes are the fishermen; the monumental male statues seated like the Olympian Zeus; the Caesarea Tyche of the Amazon type; the female portrait statue from the Eastern Circus; the Actian relief from the Western Circus and the hunting reliefs uncovered in the Roman Domus.

First the visual resemblance of the Roman Caesarea derivatives to their Greek prototypes will be dealt with; then the meaning of the works of art in accordance with their context of display will be considered.

Obviously the generic duties of the deities derived from the Greek realm remained the same, yet in certain cases adjusted to the Roman sphere by means of slight changes in appearance or by placing the image in a different context. As for the other representations, their symbolic meaning was shifted in reference to their function as either funerary or commemorative.

Annette Hoffmann  
Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, Italy

**The Bolognese Bible of Gerona - Reflections on "Greek Mythology" and Macedonian Palaiologan Art**

The Bolognese Bible of Gerona, a preciously illuminated manuscript dating back to around 1280/90, contains various motifs deriving from ancient art. Furthermore, its maker is surprisingly familiar with contemporary Palaiologan art, especially that of Macedonia.

The talk will describe the in-depth analysis of a few exemplary miniatures in which both aspects are present, questioning different treatments and interpretations. How did the book's illuminator handle - translate and transform - the antique and Palaiologan models, or rather 'antique' motifs from the
Macedonian and Palaiologan Renaissance? By analysing different treatments the paper aims to point out and differentiate more clearly Byzantine Macedonia's role in the Italian adoption of specific motifs and style.

Fotios Kaliampakos
European University Institute, Florence, Italy

**From a Liberal Idyll towards a Greek Tragedy. Appropriations of the Greek Past in Viennese Fin de Siècle Culture**

This paper engages with the conference's overall topic on several levels: It explores the appropriations and affinities of Greek antiquity in Viennese Fin de Siècle culture and it investigates discrepancies in the adoption and modification of this pre-eminent referential frame as present in various sub-fractions of bourgeoisie. Different aspects became relevant as Antiquity formed a pervasive paragon for emulation and they became symbols of demarcation (Dionysian vs. Apollonian, classicist vs. archaic, rational vs. instinctive) within a generation. This shifting between different aspects of Antiquity – its (conceptual) "migration" within a culture made possible by its "migration" over time, its rediscovery in bourgeois culture – will be exemplified drawing on the case of Hofmannsthal and his social environment and by drawing on the function and character of architecture in the Viennese Ringstrasse.

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Yitzchak Kerem
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel and Aristotle University, Thessalonica, Greece

**The Research of Giulio Caimi on the Karaghiozi Puppet Theater**

The artist Giulio Caimi is considered by many to be the first to do systematic research and analysis on the Kharaghiozi shadow puppet theater. While others note its Ottoman or even Chinese and Indonesian origins, Caimi noted its origin in classical Greek theater and in Asia Minor in particular. He showed how it employed Greek mythology in classical Greece and even in the modern Greek theater. Not only does he trace the roots of the Karaghiozi in modern Greece or the Ottoman Empire, but he compares how the characterization varies in both Christian Greek and Muslim Turkish traditions.

Regarding its use in modern Greece, he begins by tracing the evolvement of the Karaghiozi from its proponent Vrachali in 1850 in Kalamata. Later others developed the Karaghiozi theater in Athens and Thessaloniki. He showed how Captain Gris was used as one of several characters to portray the heroic epic from the Greek Revolution; while in Muslim Turkish tradition, he is portrayed as the Mouchtar, the village head. He shows numerous variations of the Karaghiozi characters between the Turkish and Greek traditions. Karaghiozis himself is a poor and wretched Greek, who is interested solely in sleeping and eating; using mischief
and crude ways to attain money to feed his family. His wife, Aglea (also called Karagiozena), is much more complex. While she defends the home and nurtures her three children, is resented by her husband as a nag and viewed as his property, but outside she bullies the weak and asserts superior rank. In the Turkish tradition, she is the devoted wife, but often in the Greek tradition, she is the unfaithful wife who has a Jewish lover; the most despised figure of the Christian culture. The Jew is murdered in her bed by her husband Karaghiozi, his body is dumped into the street like a dog, and Aglea returns to her husband's strict control. In Constantinople, Muslim and Jews developed the Karaghiozi theater much differently than how it evolved throughout modern Greece, and Caimi is unique in that not only does he present the development of the Karaghiozi within a Greek nationalist framework, but also compares the theaters in Greek and Turkish traditions in both content and form.

In Vasilis Vasilaros' Karagiozis in America, produced in 1969 at Harvard, Aglea has a negative reputation within the Turkish pasha’s palace for her indiscretion; which negates how she is portrayed in Turkish Ottoman tradition.

Caimi even showed how Jews were portrayed in Kharaghiozi puppetry during the time of Ali Pasha and with the example of the exile of the Jew Yaakov to Constantinople and his plotting against the ruler and his wives. On the other hand, even in this sphere, Caimi the Jew, has limitations in his analysis and knowledge of the Karaghiozi tradition regarding his portrayal of Jews. He was unaware that in the performances of the Athenian Haridimos troupe from 1890 to 1910, the Jew is a Salonikan merchant, who not only is clever, capricious, powerful, and arrogant with his peers, but conversely attentive to those better than him.

While traditionally the puppets were made out of skin, Caimi traces the physical portrayal of the Karaghiozi at a later stage as the paper puppet. Caimi, and his collaborators Antonio Molla and the German Klaus Vrieslander portray the Karaghiozi Greek independence warrior mostly as a white man, but also as the black man of the East; much closer to the controversial image of "black Athena".

Anastasia Keshman
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

The Byzantine Origin of the Body-Part Reliquaries: Another Greek Myth?

The following presentation proposes to explore one of the central theories in the Medieval Art History – the Byzantine origin of the anthropomorphic relics. Anthropomorphic, or body-part reliquaries are containers made in order to keep holy relics, shaped in form of the parts of the human body, such as heads or hands. During the Middle Ages they were extremely popular in the western Catholic Church. The earliest known examples originate from the Ottonian era, but written sources attest for earlier date for these objects. Despite their uncontested connection to western Christendom, it was often argued that the origin of this kind of reliquaries was Byzantium. Though denied by number of scholars, this theory does not fade and keeps coming back in many publications. In my paper I will consider the arguments, pro and contra, of this haunting problem, aiming to cast new light on the “Byzantine theory”.

Anastasia Keshman
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

The Byzantine Origin of the Body-Part Reliquaries: Another Greek Myth?
Maja Kominko
Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey

**Syriac Word and Greek Image – Greek Influence in Syriac Manuscript Illustration**

From the beginning of its existence the Syriac Christianity was subjected to various cultural influences. Conspicuous among them was the influence of Greek culture, so prominent in the Late Antique period, that the extent to which the Syriac language was used along Greek is still debated. In that context the Syriac language manuscript present us with an interesting case study. Produced in the workshops of Syriac speaking monasteries, to which they are frequently attributed by a colophon, they contain illustrations which produced under strong influence of Greek art. This influence persisted into Medieval period, when it is combined with the influences of both Arab and Latin Medieval illuminations.

Concentrating on two manuscripts the Late Antique Syriac Bible from Paris and the Medieval Psalter manuscript in British Museum add. 7154 I would like to discuss the various ways in which the Greek influence is visible in Syriac language manuscript illumination.

Matthew M. McCarty
Lincoln College, UK

**Appropriation and Appropriateness: The Polyxena Sarcophagus**

Since its discovery, the early fifth century B.C. Polyxena sarcophagus, uncovered during rescue excavations near Gümüşçay, has been interpreted as a funerary monument intended for a young girl. One side depicts the sacrifice of Polyxena, a narrative drawn from the *Ilioupersis* and presented in a composition known from Attic painted pottery, while the other sides show various scenes of women in social settings. The predominately “female” imagery has previously been seen as a semi-biographical conflation of marriage and death. Such a reading, however, ignores the most important archaeological feature of the sarcophagus: it contained the bones of a middle-aged man. Rather than simply suggest that the sarcophagus must have been diverted from its intended use to house this man (as Sevinç, Reinsberg, and others have done), I will instead argue that the viewing of the piece was conditioned by the object’s use, and must have been understood in relation to the person buried inside. In order to make sense of the iconography, its function within funerary ritual must be re-evaluated: the sarcophagus was not meant to preserve the identity of the deceased in memory, but to help the living re-structure their lives in the rite of passage following death. Only in light of its social use and reception can the piece be understood within its original, Hellespontine-Phrygian cultural milieu. Contextualizing the sarcophagus in this manner demonstrates a major difference between the Greek iconography and its local representational goal, standing in contrast to the *mnema* of Attica and elsewhere.
Architectural Openings: Metonyms of Perceptions of Women in Byzantine Art

Images of women looking down from the height of a window are not exceptional in Byzantine art, mainly in the post-iconoclastic period. They are found mostly in illuminated manuscripts and wall paintings, and are used to illustrate a wide array of texts—mythological, biblical, as well as exegetical literature; and to lesser a degree genre scenes.

In this paper, I will first offer a brief outline of the image in Byzantine art, discussing the reasons behind the representation of women in this manner: theological, philosophical, social, and cultural. Following initial categorization, I will argue that the representation of this motif although meant partly as a commentary on Christological themes, such as were dear to Byzantine post-iconoclasm, can nevertheless provide a rare glimpse into the day-to-day life of women. Discussion of the portrayal of the woman at the window may on the one hand confirm the current idea we have of the Byzantine women that they were confined to the gynaikonitis throughout most of their lives. But, it may also well reveal outdoor activities, thus enriching our restricted notion of their daily existence.

Further, given our knowledge that Byzantine art is for the most the product of a restricted group of men in the imperial and monastic milieu, this could be a major factor in the construction of the image of the woman at the window. The architectural element, i.e. the window, possibly points to male perceptions related in general to women in Byzantium, reflecting the given set of norms of behavior and practice expected from them.

As part of this paper, I will present some of the ideas expressed on this topic in the past, and reassess their validity in light of the current debate.

From Ancient Greece to Baroque Rome: The Conception of Antiquity in Some 17th Century Restorations of Antique Sculptures

In 17th century Roman culture, antique sculpture played an important role. As the higher class got richer, new villas and palaces were built, foundations were dug and the Roman land began to bear the Greek and Roman pieces of sculpture it had in it. The interest and the demand were so tremendous that at times the city looked like a huge excavation site. The leading families of Rome filled their courts and villas with antique sculptures and put the good ones on display.

However, in accordance with the artistic and cultural taste, the sculptures had a higher value when they were complete, and it was not considered as good taste to display them in a fragmentary state. Hence, each collector usually had his own restorer, who was supposed to interpret the iconography and complete the piece. But
who set the boundaries of interpretation? Who decided what could be added to the sculpture and which additions were forbidden, if there were any? In the 17th century, "Restoration" did not exist as a profession, and the restorations were being held by sculptors. The rich families had the money to employ sculptors such as Bernini and Algardi. But that is precisely the point where our problem arises: if a Baroque artist performed the restoration, can we really be sure that what we see is still antique in style?

Greek works of art, or Roman copies of them, had turned many times under the hands of 17th century sculptors to works which represent in a way Baroque style and conception. Pieces like Ares Ludovisi, Barberini Faun and the famous Hermaphrodite – who was placed by Bernini on a most impressive modern mattress – represent a unique ensemble of antique spirit and Baroque touch. In this paper I will present some 17th century restorations of famous antique sculptures and will examine the way in which the conception of antiquity may have changed as a consequence of the re-modeled pieces. How indeed was the Greek style perceived by late-Renaissance society?

Obviously artists respected and admired the Greeks, but does it necessarily mean that they maintained it or worked on the sculpture in a similar manner? Was it the artist or the patron who decided on the style of the re-modeled sculpture? In this paper I will show different approaches towards the issue of restoration in the 17th century, and will also try to challenge our own perception of the antique style: the Greek style had found its way to our contemporary culture – as well as to Renaissance culture - mostly through Roman copies. Considering this, how can we define the role of the 17th century restorer, when we have no knowledge regarding the modifications and interpretations done by the Roman sculptor who related to a Greek original? How can we deal with the development of the conception of the Greek style through two millennia of emulation, reproduction and restoration?

Alexander Nagel
University of Toronto, Canada

"Ancient" Greek Painting in Renaissance Italy

The Byzantine icons exported to Europe in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were mostly late Byzantine, Palaiologan works and yet in the West they were received and venerated almost without exception as “operis antiqui,” examples of ancient painting. In this paper I concentrate not on the much-studied thirteenth-century exchanges but on the less familiar later fifteenth-century episode, which saw a new wave of icons arrive from the East in the wake of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. The “icon vogue” of the later fifteenth century was, in fact, an integral part of the antiquarian enthusiasms of Renaissance humanists. Their arrival was as important for the art of the period as the discovery of ancient statuary—perhaps even more important. This history is now coming clearly into view as the traditional Vasarian Byzantine/Renaissance opposition undergoes revision.

This paper investigates the European encounter with Byzantine icons as a quasi-ethnographic episode in which Western art reframed a system of artistic production, identified it with an “other,” and in the process came into a new
awareness of its own modalities. Through the reception and reframing of Byzantine icons Western art conceptualized a different model of artifact production, one that stood in contrast to a “philological,” or author-based, model, in which each artifact is considered a singular, unrepeatable event in time. The rhetorical complexity of works by Bellini, Antonello da Mesasina, Botticelli, and others derives in part from the fact that they are responding dynamically to this situation, staging these temporal models in their contention with one another. This self-referential function in turn became a basic feature of a new conception of art.

John H. Oakley  
American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece

**The Influence of Classical Athenian Grave Stones on Grave Monuments in the First Cemetery of Athens**

The First Cemetery of Athens, founded in 1833, is the burial spot for many famous Greeks and foreign archaeologists, such as Heinrich Schliemann and Carl Blegen. It is also a museum of modern Greek sculpture, whose amass of sculpted monuments evoke impressions of ancient Athenian classical graveyards that lined the major roadways going out of classical Athens.

The stone monuments in the First Cemetery take on an amazing variety of form, some of which are clearly copies of or influenced by classical buildings. The family tomb of the Karpanos family, for example, is a full-scale model of the Lysikrates monument, while others, as Heinrich Schliemann’s grave monument, are based on Greek temple architecture.

This paper will focus on the grave monuments which were clearly influenced by classical Athenian fifth- and fourth-century gravestones. By far the most popular are simple shaft stelai with an acanthus-palmette finial and a pair of rosettes on the upper shaft - just like those found in the excavations of the Kerameikos and other Athenian graveyards. Sometimes a Christian cross is added either amidst the acanthus leaves or on the shaft – so a mixture of Christian and Pagan. A few gravestones are direct copies of ancient works. For example, a copy of the Aeginetan Sphinx has been appropriately placed atop a stele on the tomb of the famous German archaeologist, Adolph Furtwängler, and a copy of the stone lekythos of Myrrhine marks the tomb of a famous Greek actress. Some modern gravestones are adaptations of classical types, such as the naiskos stele and the Bildfeld stele. Other types of classical monuments also influenced the scenes placed on the classicizing stelai, such as the ‘Mourning Athena’, a votive relief from the Acropolis, a copy of which decorates one stele.

Not surprisingly many of the classicizing gravestones are found on the graves of archaeologists or foreigners who lived and died in Athens, but not all are, for even today classicizing stelai continue to be placed on graves, such as the one erected on the grave of Melina Mercouri. Greece’s past in the form of classical gravestones still continues to influence today’s grave monuments.
Iossif P. Panagiotis  
Belgian School at Athens, Greece and University of Liège, Belgium

**Coins of Amastris: Illuminating Moments of the Avesta in the Early Hellenistic Period**

Amastris, a niece of the Great King Dareios III, was successively married to Krateros; to Dionysios, tyrant of Herakleia Bithyniae; and briefly to Lysimachos. After her repudiation by Lysimachos, she founded the city of Amastris in Paphlagonia. The city issued a compact coinage of Persic-weight staters, featuring a young head in a laureate Phrygian bonnet on the obverse and an enthroned goddess on the reverse. The first series, issued in the name of Queen Amastris, shows the goddess veiled, holding a wreath-bearing male figure, with a radiate head of Helios before the face of the goddess; a scepter is propped against the throne. A second series, still in the queen’s name, adds a polos beneath the goddess’s veil, replaces the male figure with a wreath-bearing Nike (?), and eliminates the head of Helios; the scepter, now lotus-tipped, is cradled in the goddess’ left elbow. After the death of Queen Amastris c. 284, the city itself was named as the issuing authority. A star was soon added to the Persian headdress on the obverse, and the identity of the goddess on the reverse was assured by the addition of a sunflower emerging from a lotus in left field. The iconography of these coins clearly associates Queen Amastris with Aphrodite Nikephoros-Anāhita and may even imply her assimilation to the goddess. Of the interpretations that have been offered, the most acceptable are that the head is that of Mithras, in which case the star would advertise his celestial qualities, or that the head is a portrait of Queen Amastris herself, in which case the star might mark her apotheosis. We will argue that all the hidden symbol(-ism)s depicted on the coins can be explained by precise references to the Avesta. More particularly the references come from the *Yasht* dedicated to the goddess Anāhita. The iconography demonstrates the importance of Avestan theology in early Hellenistic milieu.

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**Local Workshops in Arabia, Sculpture in Particular**

In an article recently published I have tried to clarify the origin of the mosaicists to whom we are indebted for such beautiful works discovered in the region east of the Jordan River. Consequently the title was: Local Workshops or Imported Artists in the Development of Mosaic Art in Jordan? I do not claim to have resolved definitively the problem we are faced with. I have only suggested some possible lines of reflection for a more balanced solution that is based more on the results of the archeological-documentary research, which is to be preferred to the stylistic arguments.

The discussion could be extended to other arts and in particular to sculpture. In principle, when discussing mosaicists, sculptors or painters, it is necessary to assume that local workers were responsible for monuments of the region, whether temple,
church, or palace, mosaics or fresco paintings, at least until the contrary is proved. I shall try to present the audience with some sculptures certainly locally made because of the materials used found in the excavations of Madaba, Mount Nebo, Ma'in and other localities of the province of Arabia directly related to the mosaic floors.

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"Sat upon the Mortar" (JT Yebamot 3a)

An explanation is suggested to the etymology of the Rabbinic expression "sat upon the mortar" (JT Yebamot 3a), because its current meaning: "deliberating at length in solving a problem" is not supported by its face value meaning, since a mortar is a device made for grinding and not for sitting. Mortars are frequently found in archaeological excavations. These are stone bowls with three legs. In the expression under discussion is mentioned the prophet Haggai, who is said to have been seated on a mortar when addressing three subjects. It is suggested that Haggai was prophesizing while sitting on a mortar-like furniture. Another Rabbinic saying relates to this subject:

"When the latter prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi died the Holy Spirit departed from Israel; nevertheless they were informed [from the unknown] by means of a Bath Kol" (Tosefta Sota 13, 2).

S. Liberman explained that Baht Kol is human speech heard from a person who is not aware of the meaning of his sayings (like small children), or is not at his senses, and the explanation of the saying was used as a quasi-prophesy. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi was transmitted by a priestess who was seated upon a tripod (a bowl with three legs). Some scholars hold the view that this person made use of drugged vapors which brought her to eject unclear sayings which were interpreted as the God's saying. In this sense Haggai's seat and nature of sayings should be interpreted.

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Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel

On the Lasting Presence of the Hellenistic Masonry Style in the Land of Israel and Neighboring Countries

During the Hellenistic period, the Land of Israel was a border state between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms, alternately belonging to one or the other, and influenced both by the art of the Oriental regions and of the Hellenistic world. From various excavations, it is clear that houses, palaces and temples from the Hellenistic-Hasmonean period (Tel Anafa, Omrit, Hasmonean Jericho, Iraq el-Emir, Gerasa, etc.) were decorated with mural paintings resembling those in the Masonry Style, common elsewhere during this period. It seems that the principal influence in the field of interior decoration came from the Masonry Styles variants prevalent in the
neighboring countries. The latter boasted a long tradition of wall painting decoration, rather than from the First Style Western type of decoration, which has different distinctive traits. The selective style of interior painting and stucco decoration, which developed in this region with its links to the regional architecture of the Late Hellenistic period, indicates the development of a local Hellenistic tradition which would exert its influence in later times. In fact, Masonry Style traits remained in vogue beyond the period in which it was the only known style of decoration, in spite of the growing influence of the Italian Styles. It continued to be used in the decoration of tombs, temples, and public buildings, and in the redecoration of important houses until the first century C.E. The imitation of ashlar construction - a common feature of painted wall decorations in this area during the Hellenistic period - survived even into the early Herodian period, as at Herodium or Masada, but started to disappear after the first century B.C.E. under the growing influence of the Second Pompeian Style common at that time in the Roman world. Yet, even later, a conservative Masonry Style of decoration appears also in a large Herodian villa at Khirbet el Muraq west of Hebron, at the City gate of Tiberias C dated to the second decade of the first century C.E., and in the Burial Cave of the Ariston Family from the first century C.E., in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem. In the so called “Mansion Palace” in Jerusalem dated to the first century C.E. a sumptuous large hall to the west of the courtyard was redecorated with white molded plaster on top of a former Third Style decoration. By that time the Masonry Style and the First Italian Style of decoration were no longer in vogue. Moreover, whereas stonework imitation was still customary in funerary architecture in Jerusalem of the Second Temple period, it was not usually employed in interior decoration. The molded stucco fragments at Gamla from the first century B.C.E-first century C.E. could also have been part of a renovated Masonry Style decoration, as in the Mansion Palace in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. The importance of the Hellenized Eastern Mediterranean antecedents of the masonry Style is also clear in many of the Nabatean examples in the area (as in the temples at Wadi Ramm and Qasr el Bint in Jordan, and many of the houses and tombs). The lasting presence of the Hellenistic traits raises questions about the significance of the Masonry Style unyielding perseverance. Of course significant patterns, motifs or schemes of decoration related to a specific style could have been used after its customary date of termination. In fact, their appearance can be independent of the chronological date of the style from which they originated. Various systems of decoration could have coexisted side by side, and old systems could parallel new forms and motifs of decoration. We know that motifs can derive from earlier systems or develop from them, and that sometimes old forms were retained in the spirit of conservatism or consciously recalled in a kind of retrospective tendency. It seems that these qualifying factors have to be taken into account in the analysis of the Herodian and Early Roman examples in order to understand the significance of the lasting presence of the Masonry Style in the later periods.
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British Museum, London, UK

**Athena and her Aegis: from Pheidias to Klimt**

Athena, the ancient Greek goddess of war and wisdom, has fascinated ancient and modern artists alike. Of uncertain origin and – as a female warrior – a somewhat puzzling presence in the Greek pantheon, she has been interpreted in countless different ways and harnessed to many different causes by worshippers, rulers, campaigners, poets, and ordinary people over the past three thousand years.

One feature of her appearance has played a particularly prominent role in expressing her various characters and roles: her aegis. No other attribute is as intimately connected with the goddess as is her aegis. Adorned with snakes and the terrible gorgoneion, the aegis is complex and magical. Interpreted variously as a goat skin, the flayed skin of one of Athena’s adversaries, friends, or even her father, or a piece of armour made by Hephaistos, Athena’s aegis could serve as a protective shield, a threatening weapon, or a decorative ornament – the fierce adornment of a warrior, the magical tool of a god, or the coquettish charm of a woman.

In examining the appearance (in shape as well as in the so far neglected aspect of colour) as well as use of the aegis in representations and descriptions of Athena, I will examine the development of the changing perception and function of the goddess as it is reflected in her most potent attribute, from the time of the Archaic Greeks to the 20th century art.

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**The Warren Cup: between Greece and Rome**

I will present and discuss the so-called Warren Cup, a remarkable Roman silver kantharos made in the first century AD, and said to have found at Bittir, close to Jerusalem. The low relief scenes on either side show a pair of male lovers. Although Roman, there are strong Greek connections in the scenes that will be explored in the paper.

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**Byzantine Art as a Conduit of Classical Forms to Mediaeval Anatolian Culture**

The attitudes of the Byzantines towards the classical Greek world and culture is becoming increasingly better known as a result of recent research.

The influence of Greek art had an important and basic role in the formation and development of Byzantine art through the Roman period. This was on the one
hand through the Romans’ national identity and on the other through the memories of Greece of which the land of Asia Minor was very rich.

Through its development over one thousand years Byzantine art always preserved its Hellenistic roots, which from time to time resurfaced, while at others fell into the background in favour of foreign forms.

The fidelity of Byzantine art to its Greek past right up to its final moments is made more evident in its ability to pass itself on to new recipients, namely the Ottoman Turks.

In my paper I shall try to explain the role of Byzantine art in the presentation of the Greek tradition and its influence on the Turkish arts of Asia Minor, those of the Seljuks and Ottomans.