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Northern France, Parsii tribe; J. Pierpont Morgan, London and New York (until 1913);
Estate of J. Pierpont Morgan(1913–1917)
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Letter from the Editors

Chronika is an interdisciplinary journal of European and Mediterranean archaeology for graduate students in departments of Anthropology, Classics, Visual Studies, and Art History. Chronika is entirely produced and edited by University at Buffalo, State University at New York graduate students. The 2017 edition of Chronika is its seventh volume. Our goals for this year's volume focused primarily on the quality of the content and on our influence as a scholarly publication. This year, the Call for Submissions was distributed to an international list serve, and we received submissions from graduate students all over Europe and North America. We are taking additional steps to make Chronika more accessible in having it indexed on more open access databases and making the full content available on our website, www.chronikajournal.com. We aim to be a leading, internationally recognized journal for European and Mediterranean archaeology at the graduate level.

This year, Chronika received submissions ranging from the Neolithic through the sixteenth century C.E. and from the Levant to England. Themes of this volume include architecture, human-animal interactions, modern interpretations of the past, art, and symbolism. Heather Rosch begins with an overview of prehistoric architectural patterns in Anatolia with emphasis on comparing prehistoric peoples knowledge of such between the west and the east. Pinar Durgun continues the theme of Neolithic Levant studies through the analysis of human-animal relationships beyond the context of subsistence and economy. Moving forward, Florence S.C. Hsu compares the similarities between Minoan art at Knossos with the Art Nouveau style, which has led to the interpretation of Minoans as "modern". Then, Sara K. Berkowitz examines the way in which criminal executions in the Roman arena were staged as Greek myth. Max Huemer explores the symbolism embedded within oil lamps with Jewish symbols that have been unquestionable described as "Jewish Lamps". In a continuation of their previously published work "Through the Picture Pane: Movement and Transformation in the Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas at Primo Porta, Nils Paul Niemeier and Kaja Tally-Schumacher examine encoded narratives within the paintings. While, Ashlee Hart defines ceramics as identifying features of Thracian culture in a preliminary study. Finally, Miranda L. Elston utilizes digital recreations of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber to understand the use of space.

Without further ado we formally welcome you to the seventh volume of Chronika presented at the Tenth Annual Institute of European and Mediterranean Archaeology (IEMA) Visiting Scholars Conference held at the University at Buffalo on April 8-9, 2017 and hosted by the IEMA Postdoctoral Researcher Arnau Garcia.

Chronika Editorial Board

Emerging Evidence about Neolithic Western Anatolia: What can be Gained from Studying Architecture?

Heather Rosch

Knowledge of Neolithic western Anatolia has grown greatly over the last two decades due to an increase in systematic excavations undertaken in the Aegean and Marmara regions. A synthesis of the architecture and settlement organizational features of the settlements is important in expanding knowledge of both social organizations of the prehistoric peoples, and the relation of areas in western Anatolia to those to areas to the east and west at the time. This paper serves as a beginning of the comparison of some key features related to the built environment in western Anatolia. From here, the ideas about architecture that have already been applied to settlements in central Anatolia and southeastern Europe can then be used for a better understanding of western Anatolia and its role in the spread of the Neolithic way of life.

Introduction

Over the last two decades there has been a surge in information about Neolithic western Anatolia due to a number of new excavations undertaken in the area, more than 20 in the last two decades.¹ Previously, knowledge of the Neolithic period in this area had mainly come from surface surveys and from a small number of excavations in the northwestern part of the region.² The wealth of new information from the last two decades is still being added to through continuing excavations and publications expanding on preliminary reports of the completed excavations.³

Though the data is not yet complete, beginning an assessment of the sites that are finished is important. The description of architecture specifically has been done by a few authors as part of larger, general discussions for some of the sites in western Anatolia.⁴ However, there has been fewer comprehensive and comparative discussions for excavated sites in the Aegean and Marmara region, and the architecture has not been the singular focus of such comparisons. As a preliminary piece of research, a summary of the well documented architecture at excavated sites can serve as a starting point for the comparison. Such a comparison can then be used to understand more about each site, and about regional interactions between western Anatolia and areas to the east and west.

Background

The use of the term Neolithic can be vague or misleading because of the different meanings and implications it can have based on the intention of the person using it.⁵ Before examining the architecture of the Neolithic, and before comparisons can be made between sites given the label of 'Neolithic' it is

important to define. Neolithic can be defined as a set time period for a region, a 'package',⁶ or a way of life. Rather than picking a firm date for this comparison, it may be more meaningful to compare architecture based on the arrival of the Neolithic way of life, defined as sedentary village life with all of the social networks and regulations that would entail.⁷ The Neolithic settlements of western Anatolia do not all have the same temporal range of Neolithic occupation, and they certainly do not match the dates applied to the central steppe region of Anatolia.⁸ Not every site in western Anatolia has accurate radiocarbon dates from the Neolithic, and some of those that do either have very few dates or disputed results.⁹ According to the radiocarbon dates given at sites throughout Western Anatolia the 'package' arrived at various times, roughly beginning around 6500 BC.¹⁰ The designation of a settlement level as "Neolithic" is generally based on the presence of various components recognized as part of the Neolithic way of life. However, taking those factors into account, there is a general range that the majority of occupation layers attributed to the Neolithic fall within. Although there are outliers, the early occupation layers appear around 6500 BC, and the settlements in the western region transition into the Chalcolithic period after 5500 BC.¹¹

Western Anatolian sites, specifically those in the Aegean and Marmara regions, can be grouped together due to both the similar state of research throughout the area, and because of the apparent division of this region from others culturally and geographically during the Neolithic period. The Lake District is not included because it has been an area of focus for Neolithic excavations and research for many years, much like the central steppe region.¹² Accessibility to the hinterland via a number of east-west oriented rivers and the

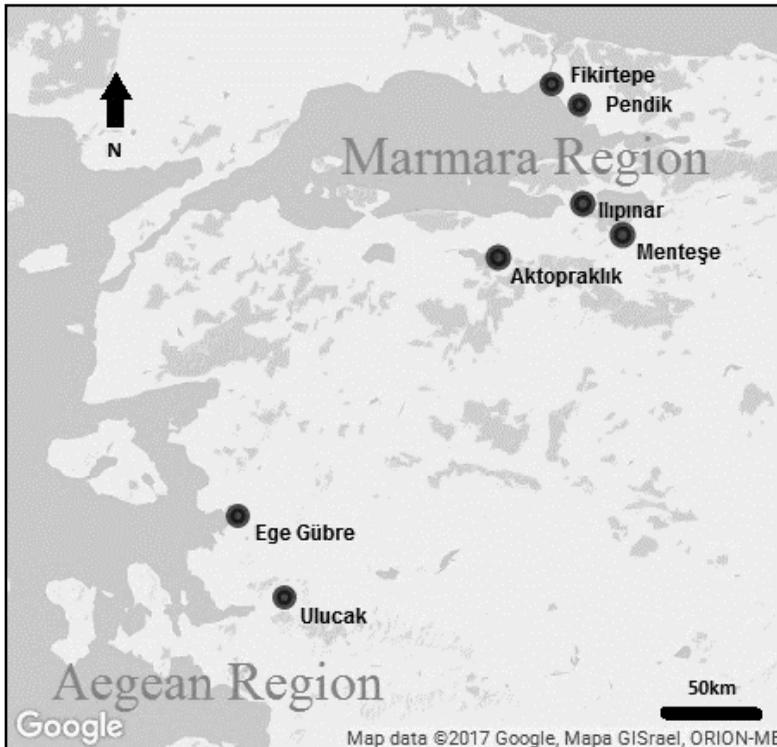


Figure 1. The location of the Neolithic sites in western Anatolia discussed.

presence of broad, fertile plains separated the west physically from the coastal regions of the south and the Black sea, where mountains limited access to the interior of the land mass.¹³ The best Neolithic sites for this brief comparison are those which have been excavated and for which the architecture has been exposed and outlined by published reports or articles. Ulucak¹⁴ was the first excavation, in 1995, of a Neolithic site in Aegean Anatolia. Ege Gübre, located within 50 kilometers of Ulucak in the northwestern direction, is important for comparison because it shows the variability in building form and settlement organization in the Aegean region, despite proximity.¹⁵ The sites of Fikirtepe and Pendik were first excavated more than fifty years ago in the Marmara region, and the two have very

similar architecture. The remaining sites in the Marmara region that fit the criteria for comparison includes Aktopraklık,¹⁶ Ilıpınar, and Menteşe. Neolithic occupations at Ilıpınar were present in levels 10-5A at the site, but distinct differences in architecture allow for the division and separate consideration of levels 10-7 and 6-5A. The map in Figure 1 shows the location of the sites in western Anatolia. There is an apparent clustering of sites in two areas, however this is not indicative of broad swaths of land outside of those areas without inhabitants. Surveys that have found sites throughout the western coast and northwest show that the two clusters may be the result of modern biases effecting excavation.¹⁷ There are currently far more prehistoric sites known than those seven, but some are only known through surface survey and others are without sufficient published

data yet available for comparison.

Western Neolithic Architecture

Organization of the features of the excavated sites in western Anatolia for the purposes of comparison can be difficult because there is so much variability between them. Descriptive features related to architecture can be divided into two general categories: features related to the buildings and those related to the overall organization of the settlement. Each of the two categories contains many different features, but there are several that are discussed most frequently in publications regarding western Anatolia and which would then be easiest to compare across a larger number of sites. The building features category includes the materials used for construction, the general shape, and the size of domestic buildings. Though not present for all sites, the number of storeys, floor composition, and the presence or absence of burials under the floors are also mentioned multiple times. These features are often mentioned in publications because, in general, they are discernable during excavation or shortly thereafter, and are often repeated features at multiple buildings across the same settlement layer. The settlement organization encompasses the orientation of houses to one another, presence or absence of communal space, partitions in or around the settlement, and the uniformity of building features throughout the settlement layer at one time. Settlement organization may be harder to discern from excavations because in order to understand how all of the settlement is arranged and how all buildings and open spaces relate to one another, a great deal more of the settlement needs to be exposed through excavation. This is not feasible at all sites for many reasons including the destruction of parts of the site due to later occupations in

the same location and the inability for the excavations to uncover the entire site when there is limited time or funding.

Building material, though somewhat dependent on available resources,¹⁸ can be highly variable due to the choices made by the builders about how the resources are prepared and combined within the building. Although there is some correlation between materials and the shape of the building, they are not always related and are also likely to vary due to cultural choice.¹⁹ The structures excavated at the sites of Fikirtepe and Pendik²⁰ were very similar, with both settlements comprised of irregular ovoid sunken hut structures. These structures measured between 3 and 6 meters in diameter, and were constructed of wattle and daub.²¹ Similarly, at Aktopraklık C the structures were wattle and daub, circular and some seemed to have had concave floors.²² Structures composed entirely of wattle and daub are also present in the Aegean region, at Ulucak. However, the structures at Ulucak were generally square. At Menteşe, wattle and daub may have been used in the rectangular buildings present during the Neolithic as part of an upper half of a structure, with a base of mud with wooden posts. The use of mud with wooden posts is seen also in the square structures of nearby Ilipinar levels 10-7, though the posts were only present in some of the buildings. Ege Gübre's Neolithic wattle and daub structures were rectangular buildings of one or two rooms, which measured either 9x6 meters or 10x8 meters.²³ This variability in size and shape is more pronounced than at the other settlements.

It is also worth noting the presence of smaller, potentially non-domestic construction or connected rooms related to the domestic structures in several settlements. At Ege Gübre some of the buildings have a side room,

and several round structures are seen within the settlement that were used simultaneously with the rectangular buildings.²⁴ As of yet, there are no parallels to these circular buildings in the Aegean region, nor are there other mixtures of circular and square building shapes simultaneously.²⁵ At *Menteşe* there are similar structures, referred to as silos, concentrated around a single building.

Table 1 displays the features of the buildings related to shape, size, and material only. The shaded division in the table replicates the division between the Marmara and Aegean settlements in order to display at the very least the general proximity of one settlement to another. As is visible in the chart and from the descriptions, the use of mainly wattle and daub and mudbrick, and with mostly rectangular, square or ovoid buildings is repeated throughout western Anatolia. However, the combination of said materials varies. Though there is some correlation, the differences in the architecture of closely related settlements shows that there are no similarities based solely on this proximity.

The excavations of several sites have yielded information about the open spaces that are incorporated into settlements. The entrances of *Ege Gübre*'s domestic structures all face a central courtyard that covers an estimated 900 square meters.²⁶ At *Ilipınar 10-7*, the courtyards were associated with single structures, rather than a large, singular courtyard for all houses. The later Neolithic occupation of *Ilipınar*²⁷ follows a radial plan of domestic structures, with a nearby spring as its focal point, and a large, open space within.²⁸

In addition to the empty space, the marked division of space by walls, ditches, and embankments is present at some sites. A

defensive wall made of stone was found in *Ege Gübre* level IIIb,²⁹ but was later replaced by an enclosure wall.³⁰ The occupation layers at the end of the Neolithic period at both *Aktopraklık* and *Ilipınar* are surrounded, though not entirely, by a ditch with an embankment. At *Aktopraklık*, the edges of the ditch was repeatedly plastered. Not all of these are seen as defensive structures, as several were too small to act as a barrier from intruders and most of them do not surround the entire living space of the settlement. Instead, these partitions are often assumed to be symbolic settlements boundaries.³¹ The wall present on the north-eastern axis of the settlement *Ege Gübre* was interpreted as a barrier from occasional flash-flooding.³²

Though the location of burials would not normally be considered a concern for those studying architecture, the burial of the deceased below the floor of houses is common across Neolithic Anatolia. Burials located below the floors are important to note because they would likely effect the residents, through the physical effects of burial in a living floor, and potentially through the social effect the burial would have on the people inhabiting the space. At *Aktopraklık* several burials were found within house floors. This is also the case at *Fikirtepe* and *Pendik*, however burials at these sites are also located in open spaces. *Menteşe* has only one burial under the floor of a building, also an outlier within the site because it is the only double burial present. Although there is only one known burial at *Ege Gübre*, it too was found under the floor of a building. Many burials were found at *Ilipınar* and, although their locations were poorly preserved, the bodies are all assumed to have been interred in open spaces.³³

Table 1. The building details of Neolithic western Anatolian sites discussed in the present article. The sites in the white rows are located in the Marmara region, while those in the shaded rows are located in the Aegean region.

Fikirtepe	wattle and daub	irregular ovoid	3-6m diameter
Pendik	wattle and daub	irregular ovoid	3-6m diameter
Aktopraklık			
C	wattle and daub	circular	3-6m diameter
Işımar (level 10-7)	mud with some posts	square or rectangular	6 m in length
			3.4-4.5 m
(level 6)	molded mudbrick	square	length
	mud with some posts, wattle and daub		
Mentesa	upper	rectangular	<6m length
		square (one room) or rectangular (two room)	
Ege Gübre	wattle and daub	with associated circular buildings	9 x 6 m or 10 x 8 m
Ulucak	wattle and daub	square	4.5 x 4.5 m

Discussion

Information about the buildings and the settlement organization at the site level alone is enough to begin to understand more about the Neolithic period in western Anatolia, however there is also the opportunity to delve deeper. As has been shown by other authors, there is a connection between architecture and the social organization of the people who occupied those structures.³⁴ Many publications linking architecture and social

organization have focused on the Neolithic settlements of southeastern Europe or central Anatolia.³⁵ As more data emerges, these same methods can now be applied in western Anatolia. Rather than being randomly created or organized, settlements are often planned and collectively produced.³⁶ After completion, the architecture is also interacted with daily, and shapes the way in which the residents interact and view their community.³⁷ With the understanding of these notions, one can then draw conclusions about the social

organization of inhabitants. Levels of private ownership can be demonstrated by the presence of nonvisible storage spaces, which allow people to accrue their own property.³⁸ Similarity of contemporary buildings throughout the settlement may show that there was some degree of equality, with no singular person visibly asserting their superiority or power over others. The repetition of house location through time, evident at sites like Illupinar 10-7, may indicate the physically enforced creation and repetition of the same social groups over time.³⁹ Central spaces may denote collective activity. These examples are some of the many ways that architecture can reveal the social organization of a group.

This preliminary information is also enough to begin to see the variability and trends of the western Anatolian Neolithic. With a more detailed analysis, and broader comparison of the exchange of ideas and potential relationships between sites may be discerned. Of great interest to archaeologists who work in both the Near East and Europe is the ability of such evidence to contribute to understanding how the Neolithic way of life spread out of the central Anatolian steppe region, into western Anatolia, and into Europe. There are many unanswered questions about exactly when, through what means, and along which paths the Neolithic way of life spread. Archaeological evidence in the decades prior to the intensification of research in western Anatolia focused on material gained in the region from surveys, and on the archaeological excavations located in Europe and central or eastern Anatolia. Archaeological evidence was also (and continues to be) supplemented with research in other fields, including, but not limited to genetic studies, linguistic research, and ethno-historic comparisons.⁴⁰ The combination of knowledge in western Anatolia with what has already been researched in the Lake District

and the central steppe region can be used to begin piecing together a more comprehensive understanding of Anatolia in prehistory. Western Anatolian research may also now be used to fill in some of the missing pieces of information about the origins of the Neolithic in southeastern Europe, and the relationship between people in what is now two separate continents during their prehistory. Already, the information obtained from western Anatolia and southeastern Europe shows that this process was more complicated than previously thought. Many arguments were based on a single means or path, but now it seems more likely that those arguments would have been too simplistic, with the movement instead resulting from multiple simultaneous occurrences.⁴¹ A great deal of attention has been given to northwestern Anatolia due to its potential role as the contact zone between Anatolia and southeastern Europe.⁴²

If architecture is treated as a form of material culture, then the shared characteristics over time and space can be used to see relationships between the people creating these structures. This application of buildings as material culture has been demonstrated by Serena Love based on research in the Near East, where she has focused on both the materiality of structures and the act of production.⁴³ If the act of creating buildings is understood as a craft that incorporates the choice, knowledge, and skill of the creators then it is similar to other materials such as pottery, tools, and figurines. Though the buildings themselves are not transportable, knowledge about their creation and ideas about their design can be spread just as methods of molding and decorating a pot may be spread. Architecture adds another dimension of material culture comparison that should not be ignored. It has already become evident that despite similarities in pottery across the Aegean regions, the architecture shows

considerable variation.⁴⁴ Without including this information, differences in cultural knowledge, and therefore perhaps a more complex relationship between sites, may not be fully understood.

Conclusion

A synthesis of the information about architecture at the sites excavated in western Anatolia over the last two decades is important. The full understanding of architectural elements and site organization is far too extensive to be fully elaborated on in one article, but the beginning of comparison and recognition of emerging patterns is useful. The brief comparison here, once expanded upon, can be used to gain a better picture of the similarities and differences in the built environment across a larger area. This information about architecture can then be given the same treatment that buildings and settlement organizations in the areas to the east and west have been given, that is, extrapolating more information about social organization and daily life. If architecture is also treated as material culture, then it can be used to infer the relationships within and between larger regions. Ideas that are transmitted about organization, material composition, construction, and other related aspects shows the transfer of ideas and relationships over time and space.

With continued intensive surveys in order to discover more sites, and with more extensive excavations of those Neolithic sites, the interactions within and between regions will become clearer. Additional publications about the excavations that have been completed or are still underway will add to the growing body of knowledge of Neolithic western Anatolia. The analysis of additional criteria, such as wall thickness, door orientation, internal building organization, or floor

composition, could also contribute to a more accurate understanding of the region during prehistory.

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Endnotes:

1. M. Özdoğan 2011, S420.
2. Lichter 2005, 63.
3. M. Özdoğan 2011.
4. Düring 2011, Karul 2011, for example.
5. For a detailed understanding of this issue see oilingiroğlu 2005.
6. 'Package' is defined generally as the material culture of the time. Though variable, it often includes the reoccurring elements found across Anatolia and southeastern Europe such as clay figurines, sling missiles, red painted pottery, or various ground stone tools.
7. M. Özdoğan 2011, S417.
8. Düring 2011, for example, marks the beginning of the aceramic Neolithic at 8500 BC in central Anatolia, and the end of the Late Ceramic there at 6000 BC.
9. Such as Fikirtepe, which was excavated in 1960, and is now buried by urban development (Düring 2011, 180).
10. There are some dates earlier than this, but they are few. 6500 BC seems to be when the majority of the earliest dates at sites in the western regions note Neolithic occupation. This date is used because by 6500 BC the Neolithic is present throughout the sites in the region, rather than at just a few scattered sites.
11. The division of the Neolithic into phases is not included in this comparison. As the focus is on the architecture, divisions are only necessary if there are major changes present in the architecture or settlement organization within the Neolithic.

Phase notations are difficult to rely on due to the potential inaccuracies between division designations and their associated broad/regional cultural changes. Periodization is especially difficult in western Anatolia where the characterization of material culture across the entire region is not complete, and the times for periodization in neighboring areas cannot be used accurately in this area. For a more detailed explanation of these issues see Düring 2011, 126-129.

12. E. Özdoğan 2016, 268.
13. Lichter 2005, 60.
14. The level dating to the Neolithic discussed throughout the article is Ulucak 5.
15. Düring 2011, 178.
16. Aktopraklık C in particular is used here because it appears to have been the earliest prehistoric layer at this location, and it is the occupation for which reports including details about the architecture have been published.
17. For a more detailed map of material known in western Anatolia through surface surveys see Lichter 2005, Figure 1 or Özdoğan 2011, Figure 1.
18. Serena Love demonstrates in her 2013 publication that although the environment dictates resource availability for housing materials, culture is more responsible for choice in architectural form and building material. Her study was based on pre-pottery Neolithic mudbrick structures from the Levant and Anatolia.
19. See Love 2013 for a more in-depth understanding of correlations between material choice and structure shape.
20. Both Fikirtepe and Pendik were rescue excavations of relatively shallow deposits where publications from the excavations are minimal (only preliminary reports). The exact chronology is still problematic due to lack of radiocarbon dates. Düring 2011, 180 and 182.
21. Düring 2011, 180.
22. Karul and Avcı 2011, 3.
23. Sağlamtimur 2012, 198.
24. Sağlamtimur 2012, 199.
25. Çilingiroğlu and Çakırlar 2013, 25.
26. Sağlamtimur 2012.
27. Ilpınar 6.
28. Roodenberg 2008, 11.
29. Ege Gübre's Neolithic deposits are found in levels IIIa, IIIb, and IV.
30. Sağlamtimur 2012, 197.
31. Düring 2011, 192.
32. Based on the orientation of the wall to a nearby stream and the accumulation of silt (Sağlamtimur 2012, 199).
33. Düring 2011, 189.
34. See Parker Pearson and Richards 1994 for demonstrations of this from various times and

- places; Düring and Marciniak 2005 and Nanoglou 2001 provide specific examples from Neolithic southeastern Europe and the Near East.
35. Bailey 2000 and Düring 2001 for example.
 36. Love 2013b.
 37. Parker Pearson and Richards 1997, 3.
 38. Bogaard et al. 2009.
 39. Düring 2011, 189.
 40. See Haak et al. 2010, Richards et al. 1996, and Semino et. al 2000 for example; Zvelebil 2001 offers a summary of the theories of European origins of the Neolithic (at the time of publication, which may therefore be outdated in parts), and evaluates the suitability of those methods.
 41. M. Özdoğan 2011, S416.
 42. M. Özdoğan 2011, S415.
 43. Love 2013a, 2013b.
 44. Düring 2011, 178.

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Human-Animal Interactions in Anatolian Mortuary Practice

Pınar Durgun

From the bull and deer paintings of Çatalhöyük houses to the lion and vulture carvings of Göbeklitepe pillars, Neolithic Anatolia has given us a glimpse of the variety of roles animals play in human imagination and in daily human life: in imagery, in symbolism, in stories and rituals. In cases where there is a lack of detailed imagery, conventional interpretations have focused on animals exclusively as resources for survival. This approach limits our understanding of the relationships humans had with their natural and material world.

Compared to the Neolithic, the Anatolian Bronze Age is poor in terms of representations of animals, however extramural cemeteries in this period have yielded a great variety of animal remains, both disarticulated and complete. By considering the different ways in which animals were interred in mortuary context, this paper aims to analyze the human-animal interaction beyond subsistence and economy.

Introduction

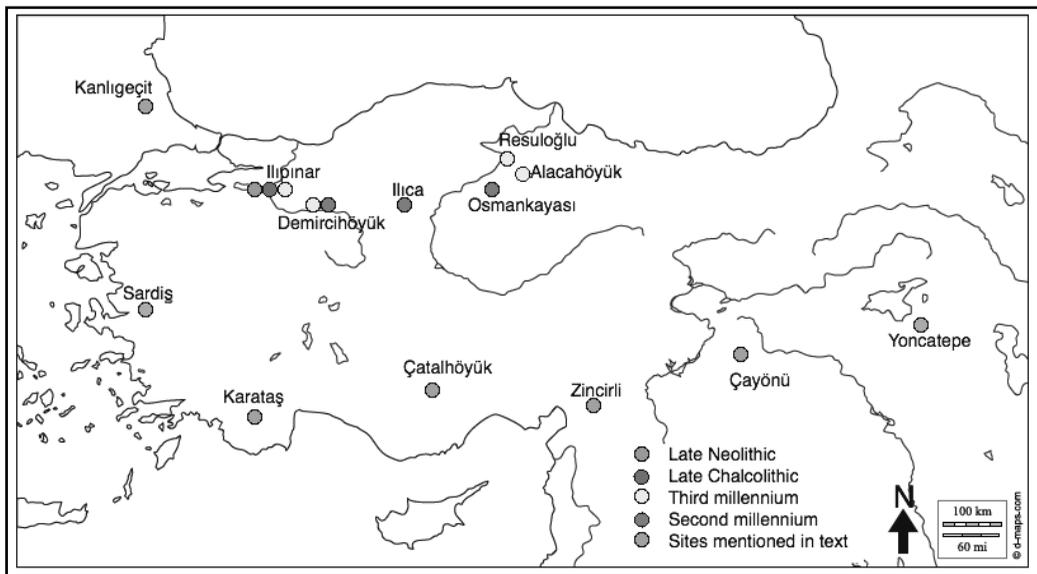
“Because we have viewed other animals through the myopic lens of our self-importance, we have misperceived who and what they are.”¹

Animals are great economic resources. However, they are not only a means for human survival, but also an inseparable part of human life. We admire animals, which is why they have been important components of imagery, religions, and other symbolic expressions throughout human history. Yet, we also exploit them; we keep, ride, eat, use, and kill them. It is these ambiguous human-animal relationships that define the roles of animals in mortuary rituals. Even though human-animal interactions have attracted scholars across different disciplines,² archaeological approaches to the study of relationships between humans and animals are often limited to practical and economic themes such as domestication and traction, where animals are regarded no differently from material resources.³ Despite the variety of burial practices including animals, burial

objects have dominated discussions in the study of death and burial. The remains of the living (both human and animal) in mortuary contexts have only started to receive attention recently. Still there is a need for studies that consider animals more than just “grave goods”.⁴

Animal imagery is commonly attested in the Neolithic period of Anatolia both in domestic and symbolic contexts; the famous the bull and deer paintings of Çatalhöyük come from houses, the lion and vulture carvings of Göbeklitepe pillars are located in a non-domestic site. During this period, when burials are interred only intramurally (i.e. within settlements, under house floors, or under public buildings), actual animal remains in mortuary contexts are very rare. However, with the emergence of extramural cemeteries, animal remains —complete and disarticulated— start to become more common across the Mediterranean.

The presence of animal remains in mortuary context is traditionally categorized as evidence for feasting or a belief in an afterlife



Map 1: Burial and cemetery sites used as case studies in the text.

without any further analysis. Even though there is evidence for the consumption of animals in relation to mortuary feasts, not all animal remains were part of a consumption activity. In this paper, by looking at the ways animals were interred, I present the evidence for the different roles that animals played in the formation and continuation of mortuary practices in Anatolia. I focus on the evidence from Bronze Age cemeteries while also referring to evidence from the other periods to see if there are differences between human and animal interactions in the mortuary context over time.⁵ Most of the evidence for animal remains comes from north-western and north-central regions of the Anatolian peninsula (Map 1), which will be the main cases studies presented here.⁶

Dying for the dead: Sacrificed animals

Sacrifice is difficult to identify archaeologically. Butchering of animals for food can leave the same archaeological traces as sacrifices for a feast.⁷ It is the context that makes the killing a sacrifice. The term “sacrifice” often indicates a religious or ritual function: in many cases animals are killed to satisfy the gods, ancestors, or to have effects on supernatural forces. A clear example for ancestral and mortuary sacrifice comes from the recently discovered Katamuwa stele at Iron Age Zincirli, which was found in a private mortuary chamber next door to a temple. In the inscription Katamuwa asks whoever comes to the procession of this mortuary chamber to sacrifice a bull and rams for gods, and for his soul.⁸ Without associated texts, it is more difficult to identify such sacrificial functions of animal remains.

Sykes has noted that there is a tendency to consider animals as a “sacrifice” only when their skeletons are complete ABGs (Associated Bone Groups) and deliberately interred.⁹ Not all sacrifices result in the use

of the same ways of killing or interacting with an animal. Leaving a complete animal by the human burial does not require much interaction with flesh and blood. The animal’s throat would be cut and blood would be spilled, but the bodily integrity of the animal would still be preserved. On the other hand, disarticulating an animal involves killing the animal and chopping it up, a completely different task and experience that would also leave different archaeological traces. It is very possible that disarticulated animal remains found in Anatolian cemeteries could be sacrifices as well. However, in many cases partial animal remains seem to point to an activity where the rest of the animal could be used or consumed for other purposes. In this section I will discuss complete animals, and animals that have a more or less complete ABGs found in and around burials as “sacrificial animals”. Due to these different ways of interacting with the disarticulated animal remains, these will be discussed in the following sections.

The earliest instances of complete animal burials in Anatolia come from Neolithic period. The first example is a puppy skeleton that was found lying on top of the northeast platform of Building 3 at Çatalhöyük.¹⁰ Excavators concluded that there was no direct connection between the puppy and the adult man who was buried beneath this platform, since the platform was re-plastered at least twice subsequent to this burial.¹¹ This makes it clear that the puppy was not a sacrifice for the human burial, but had a different function —perhaps it was a grave exclusively for the puppy. The second case is a double burial of an adult man and a young female sheep buried divided by a mat and facing opposite directions.¹² Russell and Düring argue that burials placed on top were oriented based on the memories of the earlier burials,¹³ since no human was buried on top of the sheep burial. They conclude that this

was an indication that it was inappropriate to bury animals and humans together.¹⁴ The fact that this burial did include an animal and a human together raises the question whether such assumptions are valid for all the burials, or all the burial phases. The sheep was put in the grave complete and fully fleshed, which made Russell and Düring suggest that perhaps this sheep's role was not to provide food for the afterlife, but to honor the dead person or propitiate their or other spirits.¹⁵

Even though complete animal burials are only attested in very few instances in Neolithic Anatolia, more evidence starts to appear with the emergence of extramural cemeteries in the Late Chalcolithic. Complete animal burials become a common practice in the Bronze Age. Cattle, sheep/goats, dogs, and equid skeletons were often found outside the human burials, sometimes in direct alignment with the human bodies. Cattle are the most common animals found in third millennium cemeteries. One of the richest cemeteries in terms of cattle is the EBA cemetery of Demircihöyük where seven cattle skeleton pairs were found in association with adult

human burials, sometimes placed directly outside the burial (see Table 1).¹⁶ The cattle were placed next to the head of the human burial, or on top of the burial container itself.¹⁷ More interestingly, the heads of the cattle were aligned with the heads of the humans in the burials (fig. 1),¹⁸ even though the human body would be covered and would not be visible after the burying. This is a good indication that the animals were killed simultaneously or right after the internment of the human. It is possible that there was a social memory surrounding the idea how dead bodies —animal and human— needed to be oriented. The completeness of the skeletons, and the aligned orientation of the animal and human bodies show us that there was careful attention given to the animals, and that perhaps the animal was not only a means to display one's (or one's family's) disposable wealth, as it is often suggested,¹⁹ but also to display the relationship between the animal and the human.

Seeher has suggested that these complete cattle pairs could have been used to pull the funerary wagons during the burial processions.²⁰ The possibility for dismantled wagons has also been suggested for the Alacahöyük burials,²¹ where cattle skulls were found oriented towards the west, just like the human internments.²² Equids were found together with vehicle remains in third millennium Mesopotamia,²³ but no actual wagons or other vehicles are known from any of Anatolian Bronze Age cemeteries.²⁴ Recently, it has been suggested that the metal socketed points found in Alacahöyük burials were probably used as cattle-prods designed to encourage animals to accelerate their

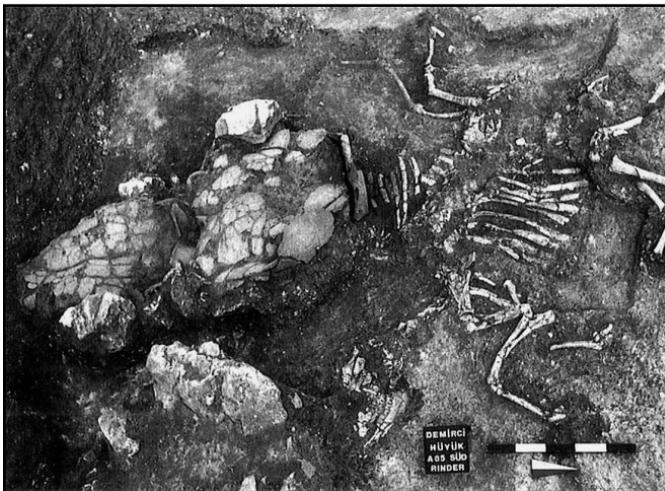


Figure 1. Cattle skeleton pair from Demircihöyük. Seeher 2000: Tafel 17-1. (Published with permission by Jürgen Seeher).

Table 1: Animal remains found in mortuary context in Anatolia.

Period	Site	Animal	Burial type	Complete/ disarticulated
Neolithic	Çatalhöyük	Dog puppy	Intramural	Complete
Neolithic	Çatalhöyük	Sheep	Intramural	Complete
Neolithic	İlıpınar	Sheep/goat	Intramural	Disarticulated
Neolithic	Çayönü	Dog	Intramural	Complete
Neolithic	Çayönü	Boar	Intramural	Disarticulated
Late Chalcolithic	İlıpınar	Sheep/goat	Extramural	Complete
EBA	Demircihöyük	Cattle	Extramural	Complete
EBA	İlıpınar	Cattle	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	İlıpınar	Dog	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	İlıpınar	Dog puppy	Extramural	Complete
EBA	Alacahöyük	Cattle	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	Alacahöyük	Sheep/goat	Extramural	Complete
EBA	Alacahöyük	Dog	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	Alacahöyük	Pig	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	Alacahöyük	Equid	Extramural	Disarticulated
EBA	Resuloğlu	Cattle	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA	Arıbaş	Cattle	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	Osmankayası	Equid	Extramural	Complete
MBA/LBA	Osmankayası	Equid	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	Osmankayası	Dog	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	Osmankayası	Pig	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	İlıca	Sheep/goat	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	İlıca	Cattle	Extramural	Disarticulated
MBA/LBA	İlıca	Pig	Extramural	Disarticulated

pace.²⁵ This suggests that cattle could be part of a funerary procession without being attached to a wagon, and that the absence of an actual wagon does not indicate that these animals were not used for traction. Detailed zooarchaeological analyses could also reveal evidence for pathologies on bones, which would answer our questions about traction.

Equids are discussed less frequently than

cattle in the context of traction.²⁶ Evidence for the earliest ritual use of equids in Anatolia comes from Kanlıgeçit's main megaron dating to the EBA, where horse skulls were found in a "ceremonial pit".²⁷ The earliest evidence for equids in mortuary contexts was found in the EBA burials of Alacahöyük. These were disarticulated remains of donkeys.²⁸ The only example for a complete equid burial in Anatolia comes

from the second millennium cemetery of Osmerkayası (fig. 2).²⁹ Even though equid use and consumption in Anatolia is not fully understood, rare evidence from cemeteries such as the complete equid burial from Osmerkayası, disarticulated remains from Alacahöyük, and objects such as the horse bridle from the second millennium cemetery at Miletos,³⁰ show that equids were part of certain burial rituals. On the other hand, the scarcity of equid remains from settlement assemblages makes it clear that equids were not a regular part of the everyday diet.

Another animal that is represented in small percentages in the faunal assemblages of Bronze Age sites is the dog. The only dog burial associated with a human before the Bronze Age comes from the southeastern Anatolian Neolithic site of Çayönü, where a dog was buried near a male human burial.³¹ In the third millennium we see dog remains in the cemetery of Ilıpınar, where burials of children and young adults were accompanied by canine skulls and other bones.³² Next to one of these burials (burial UM), which belonged to a 18-19 year old male, the only semi-complete dog burial was found.³³ This dog was decapitated and placed in the same alignment (N-S) as the human burial (fig. 3). A dog burial was also found in the MBA settlement of Demircihöyük, not far from a child burial.³⁴ The case of Demircihöyük makes it clear that this association between children and puppies was not an exceptional to Ilıpınar or to the mortuary context.

The association between children and dogs could have protective connotations,

or could represent a similar relationship between a pet and a pet-owner. Dogs may have had a “quasi-human status” if they were taken as pets.³⁵ This status could explain why dog skeletons were found in association with children, since children are also often treated differently by being buried within settlements, even when adults are buried elsewhere. The reason for the different treatment of children burials can be due to a ritual sanction due to their “not-fully-human” status in their communities.³⁶

Even though it is tempting to assume these dogs were pets, we need to be careful in applying our notions of pets and companion animals to archaeological situations. In the Neolithic: “not all dogs and cats (much less cattle and sheep) were treated as companion animals, as most get no special treatment in death and may have been skinned and eaten.”³⁷ However, the decapitation and the placing of dog burials in cemeteries show us that in the Anatolian cases dogs were definitely receiving special treatment, even if they were not “pets” in our modern terms. Whether this special treatment had positive

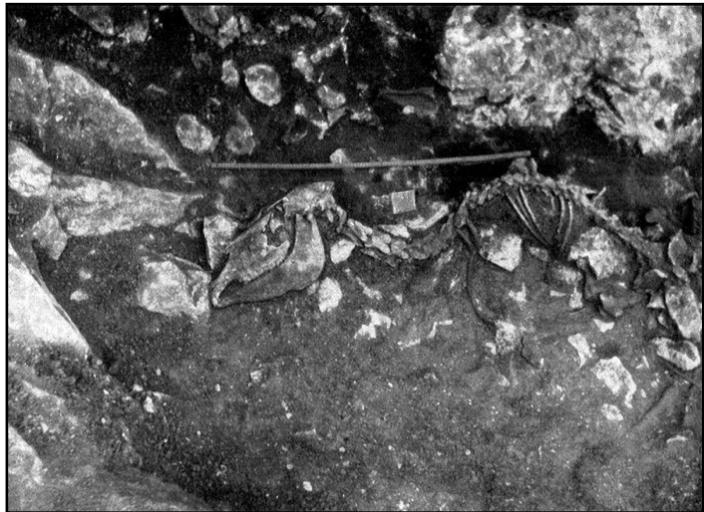


Figure 2. Equid skeletons from Osmerkayası. Bittel et al. 1958
Tafel XI.

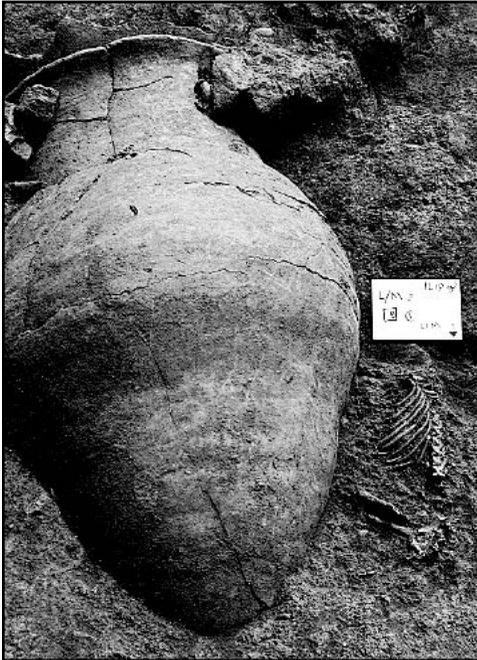


Figure 3. Decapitated dog next to pithos burial. UM, Ilıpinar. Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2002. (Published with permission by Alpaslan-Roodenberg).

or negative connotations is difficult to presume for prehistoric periods when there are no texts mentioning rituals or mortuary practices related to dogs.

Evidence for dog's positive status as both real and mythical companion can also be found in mythological characterizations. For example, the Greco-Roman goddess Hekate, who is a chthonic goddess,³⁸ would travel the night together with the souls of the dead and accompanied by her whining dogs.³⁹ She was connected to the realm of the dead and to funerals, and was also the messenger between the worlds of the dead and of the living.⁴⁰ Furthermore she was the one who could help women in labor at childbirth.⁴¹ It is perhaps through this connection that dogs, as Hekate's symbols, were associated with dead children. It has been suggested that

Hekate had Anatolian origins,⁴² which makes it possible that the tradition of infant burials with dog skeletons spread through Anatolia to the Greco-Roman world.

Textual evidence in the LBA suggests that in certain Hittite rituals, ritually "unclean" animals such as dogs and pigs could divert the anger of the deity from the threatened victim.⁴³ After they received the pollution or curse, the animals were killed, and either placed in a freshly dug hole in the earth and covered over, or else burned.⁴⁴ The treatment of sheep/goat in Ilıpinar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery could be evidence for a similar practice. At Ilıpinar complete skeletons of sheep/goat were placed among human burials, and were interpreted as offerings by the excavators.⁴⁵ Complete sheep/goat burials with human burials are not common, but examples are known from the EBA cemetery Alacahöyük.⁴⁶ What is distinct about Ilıpinar's examples is that the two sheep/goat burials had large stones placed on their skulls, and they were covered with and surrounded by smaller stones (Fig. 4). The Ilıpinar sheep/goat did not show any traces of burning. Moreover, unlike the Alacahöyük and Demircihöyük cattle, their heads were not aligned with the human heads: the animals were oriented towards the east, whereas the human burials in the cemetery were oriented to the west. We have already seen with the Çatalhöyük sheep that animal and human orientations could be exactly the opposite of each other. The difference in the orientation, and in the way the animal was buried could act as a way to mark the divergence or uncleanness of the animal. On the other hand, pollution was perhaps not too concerning since these animals were still buried with humans or close to humans.

More animals were part of mortuary interactions than they are represented archaeologically. Most simply, when dealing



Figure 4. Ilipinar sheep/goat skeletons with stones. Roodenberg 2008 Fig. 14 and Fig. 15 (Published with permission by Alpaslan-Roodenberg).

with dead humans and animals one has to interact (often involuntarily) with maggots, flies, and other insects. There could also be animals that would be active participants of certain mortuary rituals without being killed. In Indonesia for example, chickens are part of the Hindi cremation ceremonies to absorb evil spirits so that they cannot enter human bodies.⁴⁷ Contrary to what we would expect, the chickens are not killed after the ceremony; they are released. These kinds of interactions with animals would be extremely difficult to detect from the archaeological record without textual evidence. An interesting Hittite text describes a royal funerary ritual where goats are part of the mortuary ceremony, perhaps without being sacrificed:

“On the day, that s/he becomes god, they do as follows. They dedicate one plow of ox of the finest quality to his/her soul. They slaughter it at his/her head and speak thus: ‘As you have become, let this one become likewise, and let your soul descend in this ox.’ Then they bring a jug of wine and liberate it to the soul, then they break it. When it gets dark they swing one billy goat over the deceased. (...) Then they give him to drink (...), then in front of the t[able] and on [the table] and to the deceased [they ...] it. (...)”⁴⁸

They release it, sacrifice it? Or do they eat it? Even though we do not know what

exactly happens to the goat, it is clear that the presence of the goat in the mortuary context was not limited to its killing, if that happened at all. It is also important to note that the sacrificed ox had a very specific role in this ritual where it did not serve as a beast of burden, or as a means of food or display (as archaeologists often assume), but as a place where the deceased’s soul descends. This highlights the importance of considering animals not only as tools or passive elements in the ritual, but instead as important actors in the performance and outcome of the ritual.

To eat or not to eat: Animals in funerary feasts

Feasts are inherently about consumption, which includes consumptive display. Feasting in mortuary spaces or at funerary occasions can express the close relationship between death and the consumption of food and drink, connecting eating and digestion with death and decay.⁴⁹ Animals are very much linked in all of these aspects of feasting: they are killed, displayed, and consumed.

Consuming large quantities of meat can be considered a luxury.⁵⁰ One sheep or goat, for example, could provide about 35 kilograms of meat,⁵¹ whereas a bovine would provide between 350-500 kilograms of meat.⁵² Feasting therefore can be considered as an extension of the “gift economy”,⁵³ where the

sacrificed animal is physically destroyed in the giving.⁵⁴ As was shown in the previous section with the complete animal remains, sometimes animals are not eaten but are left for the dead. We could then distinguish between actual consumption of the animals (by the mourners who visit the cemeteries), and the symbolic consumption (by the dead). This distinction often goes unnoticed. In this section I will present the evidence for animal parts left for the dead that may be considered a result of an actual or symbolic feasting activity.

Animal remains associated with mortuary contexts in the third and second millennium are always domesticated species.⁵⁵ Wild red deer was one of the main staples in the Indo-European diet,⁵⁶ which makes their infrequent appearance in funerary feasts puzzling. Wild animals, including deer, are also not part of the Hittite sacrifices or other Bronze Age burials rituals. According to second millennium Hittite texts, wild animals were not desirable sustenance for the gods.⁵⁷ It is not clear whether there was such a religious restriction in the third millennium; however, the absence of wild species in burials may imply a similar belief. The main reason why deer do not appear in burials is perhaps due to the fact that the deer would not be readily available and would have to be hunted before the burial ceremony itself. The hunting of wild animals is unpredictable, especially during certain times of the year,⁵⁸ which perhaps made it difficult to have these animals as a regular element of the (unexpected) burial ceremonies.

Among the domestic animal remains found in cemeteries, cattle were the most common, and among the largest, most valuable, and most symbolically potent.⁵⁹ As has been demonstrated above, cattle played very specific roles in certain mortuary rituals.

Furthermore, cattle were also used to advertise conspicuous wealth and were redistributed, gifted, and feasted on in order to emphasize social position and relations,⁶⁰ while also feeding a large number of people. Evidence for the actual consumption of cattle comes mostly from central Anatolian cemeteries. In the EBA site of Alacahöyük, two burials yielded skulls and hooves of at least six cattle.⁶¹ In addition, there were intact carcasses as well as disarticulated bones, sometimes arranged in rows or piles between the tombs and throughout the necropolis.⁶² Even if the animal had not been killed specifically for the burial ceremony (skulls and hooves could have been kept from a previous butchering), the presence of carcasses around the burials is a good indication that a funerary consumption was taking place at different times throughout the cemetery. Similarly, at Resuloglu a few examples of cattle skulls and feet bones were found between the cover stones and on the sides or around the base of the burial containers.⁶³ The foot bones were interpreted as “gifts” since feet are assumed not to be eaten or cooked.⁶⁴ However, the fact that the rest of the animal was not deposited in the burial means that it was probably consumed. In such cases, it is ambiguous if the animal was consumed at the time of the burial or if the animal parts were remains of a previous non-mortuary consumption activity.

Evidence for cooking animals comes from the burned animal remains found in third millennium burial at Alacahöyük (Tomb R bas 102).⁶⁵ Interestingly, at Arıbas some vessels were left by the burials containing animal bones that were not burned. These were interpreted as food for the dead.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, cemetery publications do not analyze the butchering or cut marks on animal bones found specifically in the mortuary context.⁶⁷ Such analyses would enable us to

distinguish differences in killing, cutting, and cooking practices.

As we have already seen with the complete animal skeletons, not all animals that were brought to the cemeteries were eaten or were left as food for the dead. Dogs for example were not eaten, at least in the third and second millennium Anatolian sites. Even though cynophagy is a common practice in third millennium Attica,⁶⁸ dog remains from Anatolian sites have not been reported to have butchering marks or any other evidence that they were a part of the regular diet.

Disarticulated dog remains are found in third millennium cemeteries such as Alacahöyük (Tomb B) and Ilıpınar (Tomb UL, UG, UH, skulls and other parts),⁶⁹ and in second millennium Osmankayası (only skulls). This brings to mind the dog burials found in Sardis in the fifth century B.C. These dogs were killed, dismembered, and then buried in pots as part of the feasting ritual to Hermes Kandaoulas, but they would not be eaten.⁷⁰ It is therefore possible that the dogs, and perhaps other animals that are found dismembered but not burned were symbolically a part of the feasting rituals without actually being consumed.

The ways in which animals were treated and used in Anatolian cemeteries seem to be site-specific. On the other hand, one rule that seems to apply to the cases across the board is the strict exclusion of wild animals in the mortuary space, both in the third and second millennium sites.⁷¹ There seems to be also a general agreement across these sites on the consumption of dogs and equids, who were not often eaten in cemetery and settlement contexts, but could still be killed in activities related to feasting.

Burial gifts or animal burials?

Any of the animals mentioned above can be considered a burial gift: remains of a feast could be left at the burials as a gift, or animals that were sacrificed could have been killed to act as a gift to the dead. Some animals might not have been killed specifically during the burial ceremony, but their remains could have been kept to be put with the dead which could also be considered a burial gift. It has been suggested that the cattle skulls and feet bones from Resuloglu were “gifts” since feet are assumed not to be eaten or cooked.⁷² The same practice can be observed with the famous case of Alacahöyük, where two burials yielded skulls and hooves of at least six cattle.⁷³ It is possible that animal hides attached to the skull and hooves were left in some burials; however, at Alacahöyük the skulls and feet bones are next to each other, suggesting that they were perhaps placed separately, not attached to the hide. In cases like these it is difficult to draw a line between what could be considered food for the dead (symbolic food) and what would be left as a material “gift”.

Roodenberg makes a distinction between disarticulated animal remains and bovid mandibles found in the EBA cemetery of Ilıpınar (fig. 5), linking the former to food offerings, and the mandibles to “a different category”.⁷⁴ Sheep/goat mandibles are known to have been used as tools.⁷⁵ For instance, at Arıbas, the cattle mandible was found in the same context with the hearths, deer antler tools, obsidian and other tools such as grinding stones and pestles. This makes it possible that mandibles were used together with these other tools in a preparation or cooking activities.⁷⁶ These tools could have been made and used before the burial ceremony.

Also at Ilıpınar’s Neolithic cemetery, sheep/

goat scapulae and mandibles were found near human skeletons.⁷⁷ These could be considered gifts since in one of the cases the animal mandible was placed on a middle-aged man's upper leg and an animal scapula was laid close to his foot.⁷⁸ The mandible and scapula do not provide as much meat as the other parts of the animal just like the hooves and the skull. The careful placement of these animal parts suggests that they perhaps had



Figure 5. Bovine mandibles found in Burial UA, Ilipinar. Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2002, Fig. 3 (Published with permission by Alpaslan-Roodenberg).

symbolic purpose rather than having been left as food.

Burned animal remains have been found in relation to second millennium cremation burials. At Ilica for example, burned (and unburned) cattle, sheep/goat, and pig were identified in the cremation urns.⁷⁹ Moreover, knuckle bones of animals were commonly found in the urns of the second millennium cemetery of Aribas.⁸⁰ The fact that animal remains were found inside these cremation

urns raises the possibility that the animals were burned with the humans. This however, may or may not be the result of a consumption or gifting activity. It could instead be the result of a similar mortuary treatment that both animals and humans received.

Were animals also receiving burial gifts? Burial objects can be found in burials where humans and animals are interred together. For example, all the EBA burials at Demircihöyük with cattle skeletons had burial objects.⁸¹ At Ilipinar, some of the EBA burials that yielded dog remains contained burial objects including ceramic vessels, metal pins, a spindle whirl, and a shaft hole axe.⁸² These belonged to a child (burial UH), a young adult (burial UM), and an adult male and female (burial UN). On the other hand, some other burials with dog remains and which belonged to a baby (burial UL) and a child (burial UO), did not contain burial objects.⁸³ The burials with the disarticulated bovid mandibles at Ilipinar contained ceramic vessels, and belonged to adults. The evidence from Ilipinar suggests that both adults and children were buried with animal remains and burial objects. It is interesting that in contrast to the EBA animal burials, the Late Chalcolithic sheep/goat burials from Ilipinar did not contain any objects. There is not enough evidence to determine whether the lack of burial objects in the Late Chalcolithic Ilipinar was because these burials did not contain humans, or due to the differences in mortuary practices between the Late Chalcolithic and the EBA.

What part of an animal was considered as symbolic food, gift, or a burial in itself is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. The animals found in cemeteries may have been killed for the human burials, but they could also be animal burials interred in the same cemetery as humans. If killing

and consuming an animal was a way of displaying wealth, power, or any other social symbolism, burying an animal could have served the same conspicuous purpose without being connected to food or feasting. The fact that the direct relationship between the complete animals and human burials is often not clear⁸⁴ makes it even more challenging to distinguish between animals that were killed for humans and animals that were interred in a manner similar to that of deceased humans.

Secondary interments are known from various cemeteries such as Karataş and Alacahöyük, where disarticulated human skulls and long bones were reburied and relocated. It is possible that the disarticulated animal remains resulted in a similar secondary activity. Moreover, at Osmankayası, in the older burial group, human skulls and bodies were not interred any differently than the equid skulls and burials.⁸⁵ Therefore, the possibility that animal remains mirrored human remains (in orientation, location or treatment), or that in some cases humans and animals were treated similarly in mortuary contexts, should not be eliminated.

Conclusion

The categories used here to describe animal burials were created for the purpose of organizing the data into a coherent structure based on the types of animal remains and interments, not to suggest that there are limited types of interactions between animals and humans. As it has become clear throughout this paper, definitive categories are not sufficient for representing the variety of roles that animals played in mortuary practices.

In many of the case studies presented here the same type of animal appeared to have several roles in different mortuary practices

that were not all related to animals' economic function or value. If animals were only a means of displaying wealth and social power or a source of food, their killing and consumption would be enough to fulfill that purpose. Why also place animal parts next to humans, or decapitate them, place skulls and hoofs in pairs, or orient animal bodies in a specific direction? The fact that only domesticated species were found in contexts associated with mortuary rituals could be a practical response where people preferred using animals that were readily available to them. However, the careful arrangement of complete animals in cemeteries, or the specific use of disarticulated animal parts in certain mortuary rituals suggest that animals were important elements of the mortuary rituals, and they were not always responses to practicalities or socio-economic demands.

Perhaps our modern emotional relationship with animals hinders our interpretation about what constitutes an animal: a pet, a source of subsistence, a sacrificial victim, a burial gift? People who have experienced the Islamic sacrificial holiday, Eid al-Adha, can perhaps better understand how an animal can be *all of these* at once; you care for an animal for a certain amount of time, it is a pet that you buy to sacrifice, consume, and distribute as a gift for a ritual and religious purpose.

There is definitely a need for more studies that analyze the ways in which animals were killed, treated, prepared, or cooked in mortuary contexts. This could be achieved by zooarchaeological analyses, which so far have mostly focused on domestication and economic aspects of animals in Anatolia. The animal remains found in cemeteries should be studied separately than the ones found in habitation contexts to see whether specific ages, sexes, or properties of animals were preferred for certain mortuary activities. One example of such a study is the examination

of the bone weight of dogs buried in the first millennium BC. necropolis of Van-Yoncatepe. The large size of these dogs showed that they were close to the sporting breeds in the Gundog and Hound group, and may have served as hunting partners and as sheepdogs.⁸⁶ On the other hand, we should also be aware of archaeologically inaccessible features or characteristics of animals that could have affected their selection for certain rituals. For example, in Egypt the god Apis was worshipped in the form of a bull that specifically had to be black and have a diamond-shaped mark on its forehead.⁸⁷

The parallel alignment of animal and human bodies in cemeteries is an interesting practice that can be observed in different periods and sites. This is perhaps the best example for the human-animal interaction where the interment of one affects the interment of the other. The possibility of animals buried independently from human burials, especially in cases where there is no clear relationship between the human and animal burial, is often disregarded. Cemetery publications usually do not specify the location of animal remains unless they are found in relation to human burials.

Moving away from human-centered approaches can help us understand some of the ambiguities in the interactions between humans and animals. The evidence from Anatolian cemeteries shows that animal remains were used as tools, were consumed, and gifted. They were also buried in similar ways to humans. Animals were not only passive elements in mortuary practices. They played an important role in the lives and deaths of the Bronze Age communities, not only as a source of subsistence or transportation, but also in diverse ways as protectors, pets, sacrifices, companions, and ritual actors.

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Endnotes:

1. Tom Regan's foreword for Kowalski 1999.
2. Campana et al. 2010, Marom et al. 2016, MacGregor 2012, Desmond 2016, Freund et al. 2016, Russell 2014.
3. For studies that look at animals from a different perspective see Hamilakis and Overton, Russell 2014.
4. A section title in Collins 2002.
5. Neolithic: 9600-6000/5500 BC., Chalcolithic: 6000/5500-3100 BC., Early Bronze Age (EBA): 3100-2000 BC., Middle/Late Bronze Age (MBA/LBA): 2000-1200 BC.
6. There is naturally an imbalance between the detail of the archaeological evidence for different sites or periods: western Anatolia in the third millennium (EBA), and central Anatolia in the second millennium (MBA/LBA) have more evidence (and publications) for cemeteries and burials. Therefore, the readers should be aware of the fact that cemeteries not mentioned here might not have evidence for animal remains, or they might simply not be published in detail.
7. Russell and Düring 2006
8. Pardee 2015.
9. Sykes 2014, 121.
10. Russell and Düring 2006, 75.
11. Stevanovic and Tringham 2000 in Russell and Düring 2006.
12. Russell and Düring 2006.
13. Ibid, 78.
14. Ibid.
15. *ibid*, 81
16. Seeher 2000.
17. *Ibid*.
18. *Ibid*.
19. See for example Massa 2014.
20. Seeher 2000, 30.
21. Orthmann and Helmuth 1967.
22. Bachhuber 2015, 101.
23. see Kish Chariot burial, Gibson 1972.
24. This could be due to preservation. For a detailed discussion for the archaeological evidence see Bachhuber 2015.

25. Zimmermann and Genis 2011.
26. I use “equids” as a category that involves wild, semi-domesticated, and domesticated equids since the question of the domestication of horses is still ongoing (see Anthony 2007). Even though Bökönyi has shown that the horse remains from Chalcolithic sites in southeastern Anatolia were domesticated (1991), in many cases it is also difficult to distinguish between wild and domesticated horses (Anthony 2007), which makes the archaeological study of domestication even more complicated. For further discussion see Anthony 2007.
27. Özdoğan et al. 2012.
28. Kosay 1951.
29. Bittel et al. 1958, 16 see Tafel (Plates) XI-4: The forelegs of this animal were missing, but they were found close by suggesting that they were moved due to the later burials (ibid).
30. Potratz 1941.
31. Özdoğan 1999.
32. Roodenberg 2008a, 338, Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2002: 93.
33. Aslan-Roodenberg 2002.
34. Seeher 2000, 185.
35. Russell and Düring 2006, 81.
36. For example, in medieval Ireland, unbaptized children would be buried away from the scared ground. see Finlay 2000.
37. Vigne and Guilaine 2004.
38. Day 1984.
39. Sarian 1992.
40. Gräslund 2004.
41. Ibid.
42. Bachvarova 2010.
43. Gurney 1977, 52-8.
44. Collins 2002, 324.
45. Roodenberg 2008b, 320.
46. Arik 1937.
47. Squire 2012, 80.
48. KUB XXX 16+KUB XXXIX i 1-18, ii 1-14 in van den Hout 1994, 59. (Square brackets imply a break in the tablet or illegibility in the actual text, whereas parentheses indicate the parts of the text that were skipped here.)
49. Parry 1985.
50. Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2011.
51. Hesse and Perkins 1974, 159.
52. Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2011, Arbuckle 2014.
53. Russell 2014, 89.
54. Ibid.
55. Equids are questionable: see note #26 above. The only known boar skull in Anatolian burials was found in Neolithic Çayönü’s Grill Building very close to a male burial (Özdoğan 1999, 47). There is no detailed zooarchaeological information on the boar, therefore it may or may not be a wild suidae species.
56. Collins 2002, 311.
57. Ibid, 320.
58. Kelly 2001.
59. Arbuckle 2014.
60. Ibid.
61. Kosay 1944.
62. Arik 1937, and Kosay 1951.
63. Yıldırım 2006, 7.
64. Yıldırım-Ediz 2006, 58.
65. This was not a cremation burial.
66. Ibid.
67. Bittel 1958, Seeher 2000, Roodenberg and Roodenberg 2008.
68. Hadjikoimis 2016.
69. Roodenberg 2008a, 338.
70. Robertson 1982, 129.
71. This tradition seems to change in the first millennium in eastern Anatolia where fox remains were unearthed in the necropolis of Van-Yoncatepe (Onar et al. 2005).
72. Yıldırım-Ediz 2006, 58.
73. Kosay 1944.
74. 2008a, 338.
75. Hesse and Perkins 1974.
76. Öztan 1998, 171.
77. Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008, 46.
78. Ibid.
79. Orthmann and Helmuth 1967.
80. Berkcan 2006, 24.
81. Seeher 2000.
82. Roodenberg 2008, 340.
83. Ibid.
84. For example, at Demircihöyük, only one burial showed direct association with the cattle skeletons: the animal skeletons were located in the burial pit right outside the human burial. Seeher 2000.
85. Bittel et al. 1958 Abb. 6 pg. 13.
86. Onar 2005.
87. Herodotus 3.28.

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The Case of the Minoans and the Modern

Florence S.C. Hsu

Similarities between Minoan art and Art Nouveau style have been noted ever since the early stage of the excavation at Knossos. While previous scholarship has discussed the possible influence of Art Nouveau on the restoration of Minoan art, the significance of this modern art style in constructing the early perceptions of the Minoans has not been demonstrated. This paper aims to present how the Minoans came to be associated with the idea of the modern through a historiographical analysis. By examining the written texts of Arthur Evans and early visitors to Knossos in relation to contemporary artistic development, I argue that Art Nouveau style and the general impression for the style played a defining role in forming the perception that the Minoans appeared to be more “modern” than other ancient civilizations contemporary to their time.

Introduction

The word “modern” has been used to describe the Minoans ever since the earliest stage of the excavation at Knossos. In his first excavation reports on Knossos, Arthur Evans employed the word “modern” repeatedly in commenting on various aspects of his discovery: Fresco designs of “a curious modern manner” covered the porch at the Western Court, the wall painting of the griffins in the Throne Room had a “remarkable and curiously modern feature,” and the image of a “hand and forearm grasping a lily spray” presented on a sealing had a “curiously modern aspect.”¹ He was also impressed by the building complex, which included structures that recalled “a modern class-room” and “modern semi-detached villas.”² His descriptions of building features such as “arrangements for securing privacy and comfort, together with sanitary conveniences in some ways ahead of anything the world was to see for the next three thousand years” and “windows of such a modern aspect... for which no analogy of classical civilization could have prepared us” demonstrated that the Minoan civilization appeared surprisingly modern to Evans as one that even surpassed later civilizations.³ It could be safely assumed that such points of view were also delivered in the many lectures and talks given by Evans. As a pioneer in Minoan archaeology, Evans set the tone for the discipline, where his ideas have profound influence to the present day.

While the building complex at Knossos is indeed remarkable, the continuous use of the word “modern” in describing the site, as well as the civilization, is questionable. Being the son of an antiquarian and the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Evans was no stranger to Western ancient world and new archaeological discoveries. Earlier in the 1870s, Heinrich Schliemann had already discovered the Mycenaean sites of Mycenae

and Tiryns, which provided valuable insight into Bronze Age Greece. These discoveries became important references for Evans’ interpretation of Knossos since he originally believed that he had discovered another Mycenaean site due to the architectural and artistic similarities. Yet Schliemann’s publications on Mycenae and Tiryns did not associate the Mycenaean with the idea of the so-called “modern.” Another major reference for Evans’ interpretation was ancient Egypt: Evans drew countless parallels from ancient Egypt in his discussion on Knossos, including declaring that the early Cretan civilization was in “an ultimate indebtedness to Egyptian models” in one instance when he discussed the physiognomy of the Minoan houses.⁴ Since ancient Egypt was hardly associated with the idea of “modern,” Evans’ claim on the modern appearance of the Minoans seems to lack substantial support. How an ancient civilization that owed much to ancient Egypt and being similar to the Mycenaean, both of which had not been described as “modern,” would appear modern in the eyes of Evans is puzzling. The following discussion attempts to understand how Evans’ thought process and opinions developed by examining his depictions of Minoan art in relation to the artistic environment at the turn of the 20th century.⁵

Decorativeness of Minoan Art

Why did Evans associate the Minoans with the idea of the modern? The conception of this view could be observed in his impressions of Minoan art. Evans found Minoan art “decorative,” an adjective he used frequently in describing Minoan frescoes, as well as containing many decorative elements. In the Southern Propylaeum, he found “decorative paintings” of “a succession of rosettes with brilliant red, white, black, and orange coloring;” some miniature fresco fragments included those “of a more decorative nature

with bands of spirals, scroll work, rosettes and other motifs;” and the column base at the Northern Portico was of “an exceptionally decorative kind of limestone.”⁶

Among the many examples, the Throne Room fresco of the griffins could provide a detailed examination (fig. 1). Evans described the fresco as such:

... on either side of this opening were painted two couchant griffins of a curiously decorative type... The monster is wingless, an unique peculiarity due perhaps to an approximation to the Egyptian sphinx. It bears a crest of peacock's plumes, showing that this Indian fowl was known to the East Mediterranean world long before the days of Solomon. Pendant flowers, and a volute terminating in a rosette adorn the neck, and a chain of jewels runs along its back. A remarkable and curiously modern feature is the hatching along the under-side of the body, which apparently represents



Figure 1. Throne Room Fresco from Knossos (After A. Evans 1921-1935, IV, Pl. XXXII. Digitized image courtesy of the Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/evans1921ga>).

shading... The griffins... were backed by a landscape of the same kind as that already described, showing a stream with water-plants and palm-trees behind. This location of the griffins in a flowery landscape is characteristic of contemporary Egyptian art, as illustrated by the Theban paintings. Above the zone containing these designs is a plain upper frieze consisting of two dark red bands bordered by pairs of white lines...⁷

In this passage, Evans observed a resemblance between Minoan art and ancient Egyptian art in terms of the form of the griffins and the background landscape in which they were placed. While the Minoan fresco showed characteristics that were similar to contemporary Egyptian paintings, Evans did not associate it with the idea of “ancient.” Instead, the idea of “modern” was conveyed.

This paradox could be explained by understanding Evans’ idea of “modern” in art representation. Based on his description, these Minoan griffins, although wingless like typical ancient Egyptian sphinxes, were much more decorative due to the various ornamental elements that adorned the griffins. In other words, the decorativeness of the griffins distanced this wall painting from ancient Egyptian examples. Removing all the descriptive words from the passage, it becomes obvious that the two terms that summed up Evans’ impression of the fresco were “curiously modern” and “curiously decorative.” This clearly illustrates the relation that Evans saw between “decorative” and “modern.” It could thus be suggested that the idea of associating “decorative quality” with “modernity” was more or less the view of Evans.

Characteristics of Art Nouveau

This idea of associating decorative quality with modernity was most certainly formed by

the art development at the time when Knossos was excavated. The turn of the 20th century witnessed the height of the Art Nouveau movement, which aimed to create art that matched the modern society.⁸ The movement took many forms across Europe and America. Originating in Belgium and popularized in France, Art Nouveau was *Jugendstil* in Germany, the Secession style in Austria and Hungary, the *Modernista* movement in Spain, *La Stile Liberty* in Italy, and associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement in England and America. While Art Nouveau style in each country had its own roots, its development in these countries interweaved with one another. Despite regional differences, some of the major characteristics across all regions were: decorative in style, inspired by nature, and abandoning the classical traditions being taught in academic institutions.

These three characteristics—decorative, inspired by nature, and abandoning classical traditions—matched what Evans saw in Minoan art. In addition to describing the decorative quality of frescoes discussed above, Evans compared the Minoan wall painting of a group of lilies, unearthed from the South-East House, to the wallpaper designs of William Morris, one of the forerunners of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain.⁹ He even pointed out “how similar all Cretan decoration is to Art Nouveau” in a conversation with the British art historian Kenneth Clark, who also stated that the frescoes at Knossos resembled “the style dix-neuf cent (the 19th century style).”¹⁰ The curvilinear and sinuous renderings in Minoan art, such as the use of spirals and wavy lines, corresponded to the organic feature of Art Nouveau style.¹¹ Evans also saw nature as a major part of Minoan art, considering the numerous motifs taken from this source. He used the term “naturalism,” which appeared frequently in his writings, to refer to “the

sudden spurt of interest in the living world of nature, the flowers and animals of Crete, as well as the rocks and marine life of its coastline.”¹² In other words, the Minoans appeared to him as a group of nature-loving people who lived in harmony with nature. Moreover, Evans viewed the Minoan representation of their surrounding world as “naturalistic,” meaning that they displayed a sense of animation and spontaneity.¹³ He commented, for example, that some flower petals in Minoan frescoes were “delineated as half detached by the passing breeze” as an evidence that Minoan artists tried to convey movement in their paintings.¹⁴ The enthusiasm for nature, which played an essential role in the Art Nouveau movement, was reflected in Evans’ impression and interpretation of Minoan art.

Furthermore, the style of Minoan art did not have much in common with that of classical Greek art in Evans’ view. The Minoan civilization, upon its discovery, was naturally compared with classical Greece due to its location of Crete and its connection with the Mycenaean civilization from the Greek mainland. In his discussion of the miniature frescoes, Evans stated that some of the Knossian drawings of female figures called to mind “the white Athenian *lekythoi* of a much later age,” but were “incomparably more modern, and display[ed] a vivacity and a fashionable pose quite foreign to classical art” (figs. 2 and 3).¹⁵ With such statements, he implied that Minoan art was, first, different from classical art, and second, modern, despite the fact that the Minoans were dated to a much earlier age. This idea of associating non-classical features with modernity also originated from the Art Nouveau movement. As a reaction against traditional aesthetic views, the Art Nouveau movement abandoned the artistic style of classical Greece taught in academic institutions. Consequently, the

aesthetic tastes that developed from following the classical tradition to avoiding it signified progress and the advancement of the modern age. In accordance with the non-classical preference, Art Nouveau artists, as well as the general public in Europe, were fascinated by art and ideas from the so-called “exotic lands,” such as Japanese, Indian, Moorish, and Turkish culture. Calling the griffin in the Throne Room fresco an “Indian fowl,” Evans’ description revealed his inclination of seeing the Minoans as non-classical and exotic.¹⁶

With its decorative, “naturalistic,” and non-classical characteristics, Minoan art resembled Art Nouveau style to Evans more than classical Greek art, which led to his impression that Minoan art had a modern appearance. This impression of art was then extended to how he viewed the civilization as a whole. For example, Evans described the scene in the Temple Fresco as an evidence of the Minoans performing “a more advanced and decorative form of Pillar Worship,” where the words “advanced” and “decorative” were placed together without much explanation of their exact meaning in relation to the form of worship (fig. 3).¹⁷

Modern Civilization as a Shared View

Evans’ perception of the Minoans as a “modern” civilization was soon to be shared, or confirmed, by other scholars. Edmond Pottier, a French scholar who visited the site of Knossos, exclaimed “*Mais, ce sont des*



Figure 2. Sacred Grove Fresco from Knossos (After A. Evans 1921-1935, III, Pl. XVIII. Digitized image courtesy of the Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/evans1921ga>).

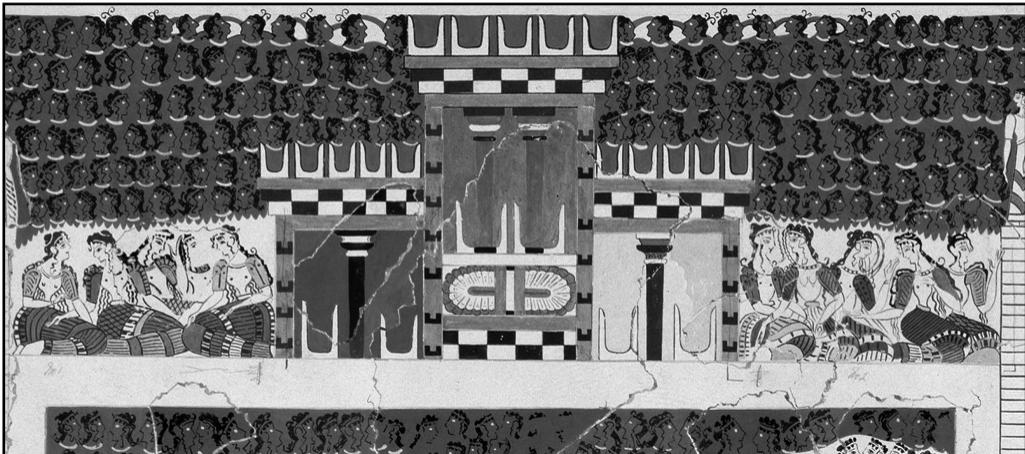


Figure 3. Temple Fresco from Knossos (After A. Evans 1921-1935, III, Pl. XVI. Digitized image courtesy of the Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/evans1921ga>).

parisiennes! (But, they are Parisians!)” at the sight of a fresco fragment of a female figure unearthed in 1901 (fig. 4).¹⁸ Preserved from the top to the chest, this female figure, known since as *la Parisienne*, had curly dark hair, elaborate clothing, and bright red lips, which reminded Pottier of modern women in Paris. He clearly expressed his thoughts on the “modern” appearance of the female figure:

Her disheveled hair; the provocative “kiss curl” on her forehead, her enormous eye and sensual mouth, stained a violent red in the original, her tunic with its blue, red, and black stripes, the mass of ribbons tossed over her shoulder in a “come-hither” gesture, this mixture of naïve archaism and spicy modernism, this quick sketch traced by a paintbrush on a wall at Knossos more



Figure 4. Fresco of *La Parisienne* from Knossos (After A. Evans 1921-1935, IV, Pl. XVI. Detail. Digitized image courtesy of the Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/evans1921ga>).

*than three thousand years ago to give us the impression of a Daumier or a Degas, this Pasiphaë who looks like a habituë of Parisian bars—everything about this work conspires to amaze us; in sum, there is something about the discovery of this unheard-of art that we find stunning, even scandalous.*¹⁹

In this description, Pottier presented his impression on the Minoan female figure as well as the modern women in Paris. The two, in his view, were comparable not only in their appearances, but also through the implication of their seductive characters. The fresco of *la Parisienne*, as a matter of fact, could hardly be perceived as a “scandalous” image. What made it scandalous was its association, made by Pottier, with the images of Parisian women under the paintbrush of Impressionist painters that often carried a social connotation of the time. Calling the female figure in the fresco “Pasiphaë,” the mythological figure who fell in love with a bull and gave birth to the Minotaur, although being somewhat abrupt, went well with the narrative of a scandalous woman. The parallel between “Pasiphaë” and “a habituë of Parisian bars” further strengthened the connection between Minoan women and modern Parisian women through their manner, which was not exactly presented in the fresco. Thus, Pottier’s interpretation of the figure was established upon his impression of modern women based on the fashionable appearance in modern standards.

Pottier visited Knossos and saw the fresco fragment only less than a year after the closing of the 1900 Paris Exposition, which ran from April 15th to November 12th, 1900. With the public enthusiasm over the exposition, it was not impossible that when Pottier exclaimed “*la Parisienne*” he had in mind the statue of *La Parisienne* at the top of Porte Binet, the main entryway of the exposition (fig. 5).²⁰ This exposition, likened to a vast “organism”

and an “immense reservoir of energy,” has been hailed as the hallmark of the French Art Nouveau movement.²¹ Porte Binet, designed by the architect René Binet, made a statement of the new aesthetics by combining zoological forms and decorative elements with oriental reference.²² The statue of *La Parisienne* itself was also a visual proclamation of the new era. Made by the sculptor Paul Moreau-Vauthier, *La Parisienne* represented a modern woman through her costume as well as her gesture. Her costume, designed by the couturier Jeanne Paquin, consisted of a long dress of delicate patterns, a cloak with ruffled fringes, and a headdress in the shape of the prow of a ship, which symbolized the motto of Paris, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*. She cast her look slightly upward and afar with her arms open in a welcoming gesture. Representing modernity and reflecting the modern taste, the Art Nouveau statue of *La Parisienne* drew both positive and negative criticism, ranging from “supple and vital” to “the triumph of prostitution.”²³ Interestingly, both comments also paralleled Pottier’s impression of the Minoan fresco *la Parisienne*, which would hardly be pure coincidence.

Pottier was not the only person who made a connection between Minoan women and modern women. Many others, who saw Minoan frescoes of female figures first-handedly, expressed a similar view. Some comments included “beyond classical art... one rediscovered the modern world, with an elegance at once more familiar and more affected...” and “the women of Knossos in 1600 B.C.E. shared with the Parisiennes of our day the notion that a dress should cling around the hips and widen toward the hem.”²⁴ The aforementioned miniature fresco scenes, in which Evans detailed the “court ladies in elaborate toilette...engaged in animated conversation” were later presented as demonstrations of “the astonishingly modern character of Minoan life” where “men and

women [mingled] freely with one another” (figs. 2 and 3).²⁵ The connotation of a modern society carried by images of stylish women was beyond doubt.

Impression of Modern Based on Art

The image of *La Parisienne* of the 1900 Paris Exposition would come to mind again when the faience female figurines, which Evans named the Snake Goddess and her attendants, were unearthed in 1903 (fig. 6). The Snake Goddess had a high tiara, a necklace, a long skirt, an apron, and a tight jacket with a laced bodice that revealed her breasts. Three snakes coiled on her body and arms, which extended forward. The posture



Figure 5. Postcard of the 1900 Paris Exposition with an image of the statue of *La Parisienne* (Used under the Creative Commons Attribution 1.0 Generic. Courtesy of L'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900 <http://exposition-universelle-paris-1900.com>).

of the Snake Goddess naturally evoked that of *La Parisienne* from the exposition. Her costume and that of her attendants were also comparable to that of *La Parisienne* in terms of the elaborate decoration. Evans, clearly fascinated by the meticulous execution of the costumes of the faience figurines, detailed the braids and patterns and pointed out that the jacket of the Snake Goddess was “richly embroidered.”²⁶ Although these were the only objects from Knossos that bore images of female figures handling snakes, Evans gave them major significance in his interpretation of the civilization and selected the Snake Goddess as the frontispiece for the first volume of his publication *Palace of Minos*. The Snake Goddess and her attendants, clothed in carefully decorated costumes, have since enjoyed the status as an iconic Minoan images, just as *La Parisienne*, which celebrated “the decorative art and the decorative women,” was the face of the 1900 Paris Exposition.²⁷

Thus, the perception that the Minoans were more modern than other ancient civilizations, even some after its time, was in fact a reflection of the ideas of the early 20th century. Explaining his new discovery by drawing parallels from other ancient civilizations, Evans certainly saw the Minoans as part of the greater ancient East Mediterranean world. The association between the Minoans and the modern, seemingly out of context, was in fact established upon the similar styles between Minoan art and Art Nouveau, the art movement that aimed to represent modern society. The decorative quality, the representation of nature, and the contrast to classical style placed Minoan art in alignment with Art Nouveau style as opposed to Neo-Classical style preferred by traditional institutions. The impression of a modern art style then led to that of a modern society. Since no written texts of a narrative nature were left of the



Figure 6. Snake Goddess from Knossos (After A. Evans 1921-1935, I, Frontispiece. Digitized image courtesy of the Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/evans1921ga>).

Minoans, the images naturally dominated the idea and the interpretation of the civilization. Conceived by Evans and supported by some of his fellow scholars at the very beginning of this discipline, the perception of the Minoans being modern would later play a significant role in reconstructing the image of the Minoan civilization.

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Endnotes:

1. Evans 1900, 12, 40; Evans 1902, 77-78.
2. Evans 1901, 97; Evans 1902, 16.
3. Evans 1902, 18, 45.
4. Evans 1902, 18.
5. The view that Evans' interpretation of the Minoans was influenced by the artistic practice and ideology of the turn of the 20th century has been expressed by a number of scholars. See Niemeier 1995 and Farnoux 1996b in particular relation to this paper.
6. Evans 1900, 15, 48, 54.
7. Evans 1900, 40.
8. While Art Nouveau style might not conform entirely to some of the 20th-century theories of what constitutes the modern, its breakaway from academic style certainly gave it a modern image at the turn of the century.
9. Evans 1903, 5. Evans did not specify which of Morris' wallpaper designs he had in mind. The comment most likely referred to his general impression of the design of Morris.
10. Clark 1974, 107.
11. The stylistic similarities between Minoan art and Art Nouveau style have generated much discussions. Opinions vary as to whether one influenced the other. Recent scholarship includes Blakolmer 2006, De Craene 2008, Farnoux 1996b, and Ilaria 2011.
12. Immerwahr 1990, 40.
13. It has been pointed out that Evans' use of the word "naturalism" was a misnomer. "Naturalism" in art theory means the representation based on the accurate depiction of detail, yet Minoan paintings are more often a free expression of the spirit than a scientific depiction of an object (Immerwahr 1990, 41).
14. Evans 1903, 5.
15. Evans 1900, 47.
16. The Sharabha, a mythical animal with part lion, part bird, and part human features, in Hindu mythology is relatively comparable to the griffin or the sphinx in Western mythology. Yet whether there is a link between the Sharabha and the griffin or the sphinx remains to be explored.
17. Evans 1900, 34.
18. MacGillivray 2000, 205.
19. Farnoux 1996a, 105.
20. 76,000 exhibitors from both France and abroad were presented at the 1900 Paris Exposition. According to official figures, there were 39,027,177 admissions using 47,076,539 paid tickets at two locations over the span of the

- exposition, not to mention the enormous amount of free tickets that were given to political figures, media, and embassies (Jullian 1974, 203-205).
21. Silverman 1989, 288.
 22. Jullian 1974, 39; Silverman 1989, 290.
 23. Jullian 1974, 38; Silverman 1989, 293.
 24. The first comment was made by Father Lagrange, a French theologian, and the second by Salomon Reinach, a French archaeologist (Farnoux 1996, 105).
 25. Evans 1900, 47; Hall 1914, 158.
 26. Evans 1903, 76, 80.
 27. Silverman 1989, 291.

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Staging Death: Performing Greek Myths in Roman Arena Executions

Sara K. Berkowitz

This paper examines how criminal executions in the Roman arena staged as Greek myths blended distinctly Roman practices of bloodsport with Greek theater tropes. Reserved for the worst offenses against the empire, these executions altered well-known mythological narratives in order to inflict as much pain and humiliation on the criminal as possible. At stake is how the performance and reinterpretation of Greek myths in a distinctly Roman space not only satisfied the host's and audience's thirst for new and exciting forms of entertainment, but also represents a coded political statement of Rome's superiority and dominance over Greek culture and territory. By analyzing a case in which a criminal was executed in the guise of Orpheus, recorded as an epigram in the Roman poet Martial's Liber Spectaculorum, I situate these fantastic events within the function and design of Roman entertainment spaces. A comparative visual analysis of how the arena invoked both the form and events of the Greek theater demonstrates that while these spaces presumed to operate under their own distinct rules and expectations, they were in fact permeable and subject to adaptive use and reuse. Through incorporating the Greek theater prototype in amphitheater design and in mythological executions, the emperor, audience, and criminal-turned-actor all participated in activating a space, that while deeply indebted to Greek architectural design and theater practices, was always under Roman control.

An epigram from the Roman poet Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum*, (Fig. 1), recounts the public execution of an anonymous criminal in the Flavian Amphitheater, ca. 80 C.E. (Fig. 2).¹ Unlike a typical arena execution, where convicted felons were customarily hanged or crucified, thousands of eager spectators instead witnessed an elaborate event, with moveable stage sets, props, and exotic animals. Martial's condemned man was forced to perform the Greek myth of Orpheus, assuming the role of the talented musician who retreats to the mountains after failing to save his wife, Eurydice. In the Greek myth, Orpheus charms all manner of living beings and inanimate objects with his lyre, before ultimately dying at the hands of a group of Dionysian nymphs whom he rejected in his grief.² Yet, in an ironic twist to this original ending, Martial reports that the criminal-turned-actor never met the scorned nymphs, instead prematurely encountering his end at the claws of an "ungrateful bear," evidently unmoved by the criminal's Orphic musical display.³

The introduction of Greek myth into the Roman amphitheater — of which Martial records three examples in *Liber Spectaculorum*⁴ — represents a significant departure from the spectacles typically housed in the Roman arena, such as *venationes* (wild animals hunts); *naumachie* (staged-sea battles); and gladiatorial fights.⁵ Like the structure of the amphitheater itself, each of these spectacles was a Roman invention and functioned as a celebration of Roman culture highlighting societal views on power, control, and death.⁶ While it was common to carry out public executions in the arena — typically in the form of crucifying, burning alive, or *damnatio ad bestias* (death by wild beasts) — the integration of theatrical elements was reserved for exceptional cases, such as the execution of prisoners of war or military deserters — in other words, people

Figure 1.

"Whatever Rhodope is said to have seen on the Orphic stage, Caesar, the amphitheater has displayed to you. Cliffs crept and a marvelous wood ran forwards such as was believed to be the grove of the Hesperides. Every kind of wild beast was there, mixed with the flock, and above the minstrel [Orpheus] hovered many birds; but the minstrel fell, torn apart by an ungrateful bear. Only this one thing happened contrary to the story."

who directly affronted the Roman Empire.⁷

By forcing a state criminal to conform his or her body to the movements, attitudes, and dress dictated by the Greek plotline, I argue that Romans, including those who sponsored and designed the event and the attendees who witnessed it, all participated in transforming the criminal into one of the most maligned figures in Roman society; an actor.⁸ Contrary to the elevated status of the actor in ancient Greek culture, Romans generally equated actors with prostitutes and slaves. The Roman denigration of the actor is substantiated by the fact that Roman citizens, and for a time women, were not allowed to become actors, which was in part due to the lewd and often politically critical nature of performances — including simulating sexual acts, cross-dressing, and performing naked on stage, which would have brought shame to elite families.⁹ For these reasons, I assert that to be forced to perform in the arena in a mythological execution was indeed one of the most humiliating punishments a criminal could receive. Thus, by forcing a convicted criminal to perform before an audience, the Roman government exerted complete ownership over the criminal's body and inflicted the maximum amount of humiliation.



Figure 2. Flavian Amphitheater, Rome - commissioned by Emperor Vespasian and inaugurated by Emperor Titus in 80 C.E. Photograph by author.

Through a close reading of Martial's epigram on the execution of the criminal-as-Orpheus, this paper examines what was at stake for both the audience and event sponsors in the mythological-themed executions held within the amphitheater.¹⁰ I first situate these executions within the larger frame of amphitheater games, particularly in relation to non-mythological public executions, to demonstrate how these Greek-inspired executions represent a significant divergence from the norm. Secondly, I offer a visualization of Martial's epigram on *Orpheus* and consider the implications of the myth's reinterpretation for its new venue. Finally, I explore how and why Romans sanctioned Greek entertainment tropes in a distinctly Roman-coded venue by contextualizing the mythological execution within the construction, use, and ideology of the architecture of the Roman amphitheater. I argue that by transforming the public execution from what was formerly a rudimentary event without fanfare, prior to 80 C.E., into a theatrical production predicated on surprise and amazement, Romans not only participated in and reinforced — whether actively as a sponsor or programmer or passively as an onlooker — control of the

criminal body and natural world, but also proclaimed ownership over the intellectual property and culture of the conquered territories.¹¹ As this paper demonstrates, these ideological underpinnings of control are also reflected in the design and function of the amphitheater space itself. I conclude that this relationship between venue and performance suggests that while theaters and amphitheaters purportedly operated under their own prescriptive rules and separate expectations, they were in fact permeable and subject to adaptation.

The Public Execution as Amphitheater Game during the early Empire

Public entertainment productions gained new importance following the fall of the Roman Republic and rise of the Empire under the Julio-Claudian dynasty (44 B.C.E. - C.E. 68) as signs of an emperor's power and support for his people.¹² These events provided an opportunity for his subjects to reciprocate these gestures of goodwill by attending and acknowledging their emperor.¹³ Like most aspects of Roman culture, the realm of entertainment was defined by a highly regulated, codified, and hierarchical system, which included rules for sponsorship, scale, attendance, seating, and the appropriateness of venues for certain events.¹⁴

Under Augustus these regulations extended to the organization of the day's activities.¹⁵ A day of games typically started with animal hunts in the morning, public executions at midday, and gladiatorial fights in the afternoon.¹⁶ According to Suetonius, the animal hunts and gladiatorial fights attracted the most attention from attendees, with many skipping the public executions for lunch.¹⁷

Compared to the dramatic and unpredictable competition of most animal and gladiatorial battles, I argue the public executions were largely static and scripted. The former two events were ripe with suspense, novelty, and variety. For animal hunts, it was never clear if the exotic creatures — often imported at great expense — would cooperate in their given role. In some instances, animal trainers would have to encourage a non-aggressive animal to attack another, while in other cases, animals would be too lethargic and sickly from traveling to fight. In gladiatorial battles, meanwhile, onlookers could only guess as to who would emerge victorious and possibly earn the right to live.¹⁸ As such, both of these events were contests where opposing parties were pitted against each other, whether fairly or not, and were encouraged to fight as competitively and aggressively as possible. Although the display of violence and death were integral to all three events, I believe it was the *guarantee* of death, the lack of a challenged contest, the absence of a novel outcome, and the clear distinction between executioner and the condemned that made the public slayings the most opportune time for a repast.¹⁹ The finite number of execution methods also contributed to their predictability, with beheading being the quickest and most humane form of death often reserved for elevated and high ranking citizens, and burning or crucifying for lesser members of society—the latter eventually used for the killing of Christian martyrs.²⁰

The inherent lack of spontaneity and surprise in arena death sentences is but one explanation for their adaptation into mythological reenactments. Compared to the other events, public executions were devoid of props, costumes, and moveable scenery.²¹ These sets were all part of what I consider to be the performance of animal and gladiatorial games, or in the specially occasioned *naumachie*, where a key component of the

event was witnessing the transformation of the arena into a body of water to recreate historic naval battles.²² These elaborate settings and technological feats contributed to a thrilling and immersive experience, whereby the arena was converted into otherworldly — yet ostensibly believable — environments.²³ Thus, the role of these additional materials to transform the site of the arena into a completely distinct environment was as critical to the audience's experience of these events as the anticipation of death. In contributing vast amounts of capital and other resources, emperors and sponsors demonstrated their power to transform a known quantity — the amphitheater — into numerous unimaginable new spaces. Beyond demonstrating political influence and financial power to commission expensive and lavish games, these expenditures also conveyed the emperor's control over nature.²⁴ These efforts were greatly appreciated by the audience, as Seneca attests in his disdain for *mera homicidia sine arte* — mere homicide without art or artfulness.²⁵

Tracing the Inception of the Mythological Execution²⁶

The beginnings of staged executions can be traced back as early as Octavian's reign, with the integration of theatrical props and stage sets generally increasing under the reign of Nero (ruled 54-68 C.E.), an emperor well known for his love of the arts.²⁷ His self-fashioning as an "emperor-artist"²⁸ starkly contrasted with his predecessor, Claudius (ruled 41-54 C.E.), which makes Nero's influence on the games all the more conceivable. As evidence of this contrast, Suetonius records that during Claudius's sponsorship of the games, prior to Nero, people often left the arena during the midday executions for lunch, while Claudius reportedly stayed behind, delighting in them with gory fascination, much to the disgust of the Roman people.²⁹ Suetonius's

observations suggest there might have been a negative colloquial association with enjoying the standard and unglorified execution of criminals, especially without the theatrics inherent in the other amphitheater games.³⁰

Once in power, Nero implemented embellished dramatic, myth-driven executions, reflecting his own love of the theater, self-performance and aggrandizement.³¹ Nero toured Greece during his reign and certainly was exposed to the culture of Greek theater.³² By instilling Greek theatrical elements into the otherwise hackneyed public executions, Nero strove to surpass his predecessors in greatness and innovation, while simultaneously making the events more appealing to his own tastes.³³ While Nero was disliked among the senate for his rejection of Republican ideals and the flaunting of his power, he was praised by the populace for providing never-ending sources of entertainment including extravagant parties and debauched festivals.³⁴ Nero's well-received innovations in entertainment, and their accessibility to all members of Roman society, continued into the Flavian period (69-96 C.E.).³⁵ It is in part thanks to Nero's love of theater and spectacular displays of self-aggrandizement to which we can attribute the development of these scripted executions that likely took place during the inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheater under Titus in 80 C.E., and were recorded in Martial's epigrams.³⁶

Martial's Epigrams on the Mythological Executions: The Case of Orpheus

Martial recounts only a few myth-driven executions of criminals in *Liber Spectaculorum*, although many more likely existed.³⁷ Each epigram generally begins with a description of the criminal's mode of death and ends with a mocking of his or her demise, by both Martial and the perceived audience. Martial also often describes the

stage props and set designs that accompanied the enacted executions — in order to testify to the spectacular nature and the immersive quality of witnessing the event firsthand — an experience he wishes to invoke in his writing.

Martial's epigram on *Orpheus* is arguably one of his most evocative examples. Significantly longer than the others, his recounting of the criminal-as-actor's death captures the visceral feelings of the arena experience through its detailed description and humor.

Martial writes:

*Whatever Rhodope is said to have seen on the Orphic stage, Caesar, the amphitheater has displayed to you. Cliffs crept and a marvelous wood ran forwards such as was believed to be the grove of the Hesperides. Every kind of wild beast was there, mixed with the flock, and above the minstrel [Orpheus] hovered many birds; but the minstrel fell, torn apart by an ungrateful bear. Only this one thing happened contrary to the story.*³⁸

From Martial's description we begin to visualize how the arena may have appeared during this grand execution. For one, Martial gives special attention to the marvelously rendered and realistic setting. He emphasizes the movability of cliffs and the forest's or trees' capacity to accelerate at fast intervals, noting, "cliffs [that] crept" and a "wood [that] ran forwards." Martial's description of the scenery indicates a command over technology and mechanics, most likely consisting of a pulley and track system below the arena floor, which raised and moved the props.³⁹ The account also suggests that an emphasis was placed on the importance of setting, in that it was not just serving as a backdrop for the action, but that it functioned as an integral part of the overall narrative. Evoking the drama of the elaborate *naumachie*, Martial

underscores the importance of creating a fully immersive experience for the audience — one in which the spectacle was not just about the suspense of the kill, but of creating a convincing environment.

Midway through the third sentence, Martial introduces the criminal “acting” in the role of Orpheus. The criminal presumably occupied a central position in the arena — perhaps forced to play a lyre — as first the cliffs and forest, so enchanted, moved towards him. Next, animals, also transfixed by his music, must have risen from either cages or subterranean traps to encircle him. Here, Martial not only helps readers visualize the scene, but also conveys the vast amounts of money and labor that must have been dedicated to the implementation of this extravagant display (or, perhaps, Martial’s desire for it to be perceived as such). “Every kind of wild beast” suggests the ability to import a variety of exotic and known animals, as well as the capability of the animal handlers to not only train the beasts to coexist amongst each other in a high-stress environment, but to also feign enjoyment over Orpheus’s music and move towards him on cue. The ability of the animals to perform roles like actors provided awe and amazement for the audience. This ability was also significant because — unlike standard executions — it was often the trained animal which was responsible for carrying out the death sentence.

Leading up to Orpheus’s execution, Martial alludes to the triumph of art and artifice over nature, a critical aspect of Roman imperial ideology.⁴⁰ By constructing large-scale and interactive scenery that was, in Martial’s own words, “believable,” the performance represented the ability to convey or to surpass reality through artifice. In this regard, the successful reenactment of the myth is wholly dependent on its performance in the arena—the only space where events of this nature

could take place.

In Orpheus’s death by an “ungrateful bear,” Martial articulates the role of irony and surprise, another theme inherent in these performances. The bear, rather than being lulled into tranquility by Orpheus’s music, is instead bestowed the emotional capacity and agency to reject the minstrel’s performance and carry out Orpheus’s fatal blow.⁴¹ Martial underscores this revision to the original myth in the last line of the epigram — “only this one thing happened contrary to the story” — to remind readers that Orpheus was indeed supposed to die, and by doing so, Martial drew attention to the tacit acceptance of the narrative change. I contend that this change reflects the authority of the emperor to alter original narratives. Thus, the revision to the myth’s ending was critical to the success and public enjoyment of the event by adding the element of competition that the previous public executions lacked.⁴²

The figure of Orpheus was not only familiar to Roman citizens by way of Greek mythology, but also through his adoption as a masquerade figure. Bettina Bergmann notes that the mythical musician inspired masquerade events as early as the first century B.C.E., in which wealthy Romans would have their slaves perform as Orpheus, accompanied with a lyre, to entertain at dinner parties. The mythical figure also appeared in mosaics and frescoes in private homes. This recognition of Orpheus as a figure with cultural caché would have only made the mythological reenactment all the more evocative for viewers at the event and later readers of Martial’s epigram, alike.⁴³ By altering the ending of a Greek mythological story — one that audience members would recognize as Greek in origin — the sponsor and audience participated in asserting Roman control and authority over the Greek world. The criminal, in turn, experienced an additional

layer of humiliation and degradation through his body's conversion into an actor—here analogous to the “Greek body,”⁴⁴ through Roman culture's association of the theater and acting with Greek attitudes of *otium*, or excessive pleasure.⁴⁵

Like the criminal forced to perform the role of Orpheus and the animals that serve as the executioners, the amphitheater itself becomes an actor and conveyor of experience and meaning. Martial states in the opening sentence, “whatever Rhodope is said to have seen on the Orphic stage, Caesar, the amphitheater has displayed to you.”⁴⁶ In the first clause, Martial contrasts the Greek stage—here referred to as the “Orphic stage”—with the amphitheater, which can replicate anything seen in Greek theater for the honor of the emperor. By referring to the Greek theater as the “Orphic stage,” Martial also draws the reader's attention to the inherent “Greekness” of the figure of Orpheus.⁴⁷

In the second clause, “Caesar, the amphitheater has displayed to you,” Martial assigns agency to the physical structure of the amphitheater, suggesting it played as significant a role as the emperor in the production and sponsoring of these events.⁴⁸ This phrase conveys a special relationship between the amphitheater and Caesar, a title bestowed upon the emperor. By directly addressing “Caesar,” Martial ingratiates himself with the emperor; in this case, we can presume he is referring specifically to Titus, the emperor who inaugurated the Flavian Amphitheater.⁴⁹ By putting the amphitheater in direct dialogue with Caesar, Martial significantly places the import of the amphitheater structure on par with the sponsor himself, alluding, I contend, to the all-encompassing expression of Roman control, evidenced as much by the space in which these events were held, as by the sponsor who organized and paid for them.

The Amphitheater as Actor: The Importance of Site for the Mythological Executions

In considering the purpose and implications behind mythological executions, it is necessary to examine the actual physical site in which they were held. The structure, design, and decoration of the amphitheater contributed to the reception and suspense of these events as Roman appropriations of Greek culture. Here I argue the blending of myth and reality — so critical to the message of the executions — was only possible in the liminal space of the amphitheater.

According to Katherine Welch, one of the most critical components of these executions was that they upgraded and enhanced the experience of the Greek stage.⁵⁰ Since almost every myth incorporated into a staged execution was Greek in origin,⁵¹ I contend that the Romans intentionally looked to Greek precedent as a means to illustrate and further extend their authority over the region and its culture.⁵² Similarly, the Roman amphitheater itself derived from an expansion of the Roman theater, which was an adaptation of the Greek theater prototype.⁵³

The Roman theater, both in its design and function, owes its origins to Greek architecture, as seen in the Theater of Marcellus (Fig. 3).⁵⁴ In bringing Greek myths into the distinctly Roman amphitheater, the emperor or host was exerting his influence over Greece and all Eastern provinces—exercised both through military and cultural dominion. This effect was not only achieved through the transformation of the amphitheater floor into a stage set and criminals into actors, but also through the actual space that all parties occupied, effectively turning the arena into an appropriated theater. The connection between Greek and Roman theaters and the Roman amphitheater indicates that these shared architectural affinities were

ideological in nature. As such, Roman theater and amphitheater structures signaled both the glory of Roman culture, as well as empire's dominion over its provincial holdings through the adaption of recognizably Greek architectural types.

While many similarities exist between Greek and Roman theaters, however, the adaption of the Greek prototype (Fig. 4) saw changes in architecture to suit the space's new Roman function.⁵⁵ A noticeable difference between the two, for example, was the arrangement of seating, dictated by cultural preferences.⁵⁶ Classical and Hellenistic Greek theaters were generally built into a natural hillside so that the theater could be cut into the rock, creating naturally sloped seating (Fig. 5).⁵⁷ While the lowest seats were reserved for priests, any person could occupy the rest of the spaces. Roman theaters by contrast, such as the Theater of Pompey,⁵⁸ were built up from level ground and erected with massive concrete or stone substructures, permitting the creation of passageways and vaulted spaces that could segregate audience members and guide them into assigned seats based on class, sex, and other markers of identity.⁵⁹

This system of designated seating, codified under the reign of Augustus, was a crucial component in the assimilation of the theater structure into the design of the Roman amphitheater.

The rise of imperial rule following the reign of Augustus coincided with the proliferation of a new form of entertainment space: the amphitheater.⁶⁰ Theaters, due to restrictions in space, seating, and technology, seem to have become inadequate sites in which to house the increasingly massive imperially sponsored games.⁶¹ The amphitheater adopted the semicircular seating of the theater and expanded it into a circular arrangement, so that performers and spectators alike were visible from all angles.⁶² This new emphasis on sightlines in the amphitheater was in opposition to the restricted viewing of the Greek theater, where all audience members unilaterally observed the actors in front of them.⁶³ By erecting an exceedingly vast and prolific structure, such as the Flavian Amphitheater, with which to house the increasingly popular imperial blood sports, the Flavians signaled a new era simultaneously characterized by the



Figure 3. Theater of Marcellus, Rome - 13 BC - started by Julius Caesar and inaugurated by Augustus. Photograph by author.

emergence of mythological executions and elaborate arena sets.⁶⁴

The Significance of Mythological Executions in the Amphitheater

As James Harley aptly notes,

*In the Romans' relentless quest for novelty and variety, the mythological executions in the amphitheater represented a continuation of Roman aesthetic traditions, which consistently adapted, altered, and assimilated stylistic forms from other societies to suit their desire for constant reinvention and heightened spontaneity.*⁶⁵

These attitudes were especially made manifest in emperors' unwavering desire to outdo the previous ruler as part of a culture preoccupied with immortality and legacy.

Mythological executions, and spectacles more generally, enjoyed popularity for over four centuries in the Flavian Amphitheater, as well as in the amphitheaters erected within the Roman Empire. The significance of these events is conveyed by iconographic representations of amphitheater scenes that adorn mosaics, wall paintings, lamps, statues, and other decorative types, ranging from elite to sub-elite objects.⁶⁶

In designing staged executions that relied on associations with Greek mythology, and incorporated theatrical elements including scenography, costumes, and technical machinery, emperors proved their powers of transformation by converting a banal punishment of death into a miracle of suspense. The impact of this spectacle extends as far as the reign of the Severans, who for the purpose of propaganda incorporated

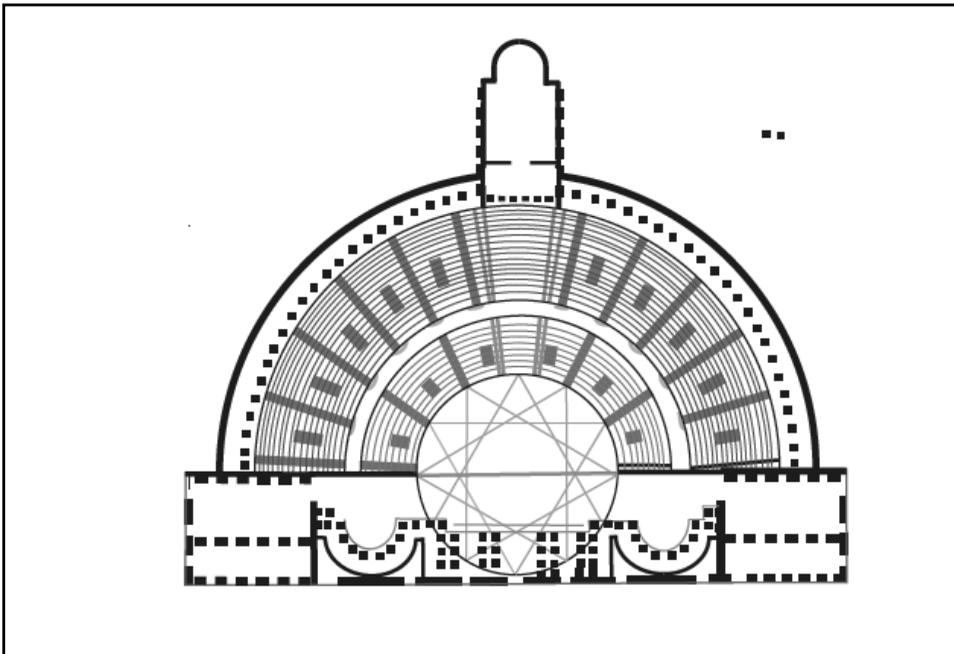


Figure 4. Model of the Theater of Pompey, by Miranda Elston (Inspired by a diagram from Frank Sear. 2006. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Plate 25, Page 134).

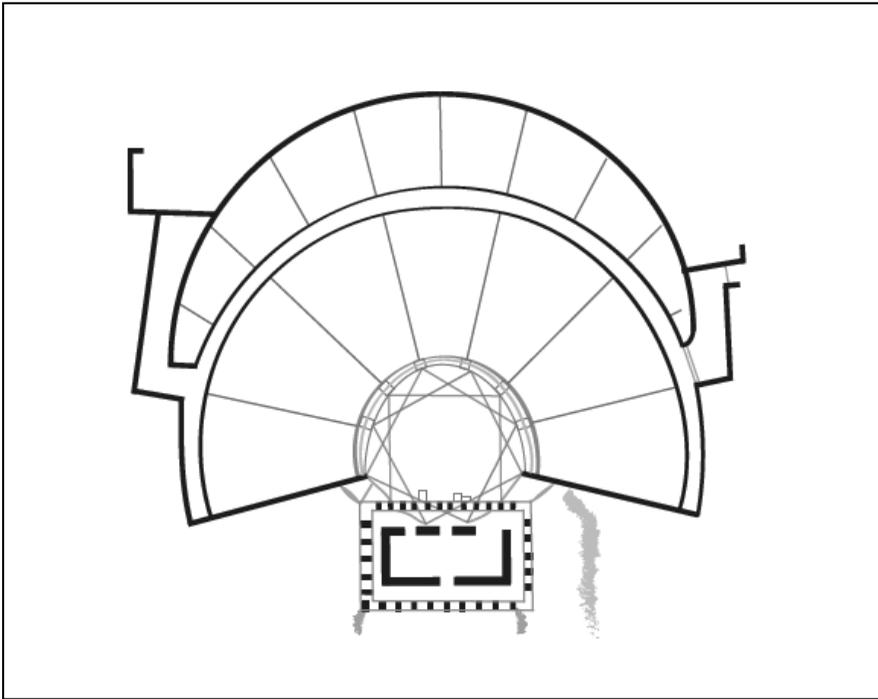


Figure 5. Model of a Greek Theater by Miranda Elston (Inspired by a diagram from Frank Sear 2006. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Figure 2).

theatrical displays into the execution of Christian martyrs. By transforming condemned criminals into actors, emperors not only participated in the declassification and denial of these figures' individual identities, but also made them Greek and thus inferior—a message that would have been comprehensible to all audiences. The choice of portraying the criminal as Orpheus was also deliberate because of the Greek hero's relationship with theater and music.

Associations with the theater also extended to the architecture of the Roman amphitheater. In contrast to its prototype, the amphitheater functioned as a dynamic and technologically flexible space, while theater plays and events provided limited opportunity for true suspense over the loss of life — a defining

characteristic of amphitheater games.⁶⁷ Unlike the generic public executions that could take place in town or a variety of other settings, the mythological performances in the arena provided greater variety, aided by the sponsorship of the emperor, and in particular, the vast technological advantages afforded by the scale and construction of the Flavian Amphitheater. By converting elements and connotations of the Greek theater into a Roman frame of entertainment, the emperor and audience participated in another form of imperial conquest.

Endnotes:

1. There are multiple possible explanations for the inspiration behind Martial's epigrams. A plausible option that I support is that they served as a record of the events that took place during the Flavian Amphitheater's inaugural celebration

games. It is also possible that Martial's writings describe a compilation of disparate celebratory events, and that his *Liber Spectaculorum* was published in honor of the Amphitheater's opening. Unfortunately, the literary record is not clear as to when this public execution occurred in relation to when Martial published his epigrams. Part of the difficulty in assigning particular dates to the epigrams is due to Martial's lack of identification of the name of each convicted criminal, which I contend was intentional and contributes to the believability of the criminal's transformation into the mythological figure he or she was forced to enact. For a discussion of the debate over the timeline and function of these executions, see Coleman 2006, xviii-lix.

2. Powell, Barry B.: 2015. For a full summary of the myth, see chapter 16: "Orpheus and Orphism: Mystery Religions in Roman Times."

3. Martial, *Trans.* 1993, 24 (21), 29.

4. The other two myths are of Daedalus and Pasiphae—the latter suggesting that convicted women too suffered this humiliating fate. Other writers, such as the Early Christian author Tertullian, also cite examples of criminals executed in the guise of mythological heroes, including figures of Hercules who is burned alive, and Attis, who is castrated. See Tert., *Apol.* 15.4-5, also discussed in Coleman 1990, 44-73.

5. For more information on these types of events see Beacham 1999; Coleman 2000, 227-241.

6. See Hazel 2011.

7. Coleman 1990, 45-50.

8. This form of execution was not restricted to men, as Martial cites at least one example of a woman forced to perform as the mythological figure Pasiphae, in which she is forced to couple with the bull of Dikte as part of her punishment. See Martial's epigram 6 (5), translated in Coleman 2006, 62.

9. The maligned status of the actor in Roman society is further compounded when considering the culturally embedded associations with the actor to "Greekness" and a Greek love of theater, which will be discussed later in the paper. This cultural phenomenon also explains why it was so problematic when emperors such as Nero and Commodus performed on stage as actors or in the arena as gladiators. See Toner, 2014. We also have evidence that writers such as Cicero and Quintilian warned against the dangers of appearing like an actor. See Bergmann and Kondolen, eds. 1999, 167. For a more detailed discussion on the reception of the theater and

emperor participation see C.E. Manning 1975, 164-175.

10. My paper is indebted to the scholarship of Katherine M. Coleman, particularly her 1990 article, which is one of the first and only works to identify and fully address the conundrum of the mythological execution, which she aptly terms "fatal charades." See Coleman 1990, 44-73; 1998 and 2006.

11. There is not a single identifiable catalyst for the change seen in the format of executions. It is likely that the more simplified versions also persisted alongside the grandiose iterations. What is clear from the historical record, however, is that we do not see the implementation of theatrical elements in executions until the first emperor. Theatrical elements coupled with Greek myths seem to have coincided with the reign of Nero, at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which will be discussed later in the paper. See Coleman 1990 for a discussion of Augustus's use of theatrics in public executions.

12. Beacham 1999; Kyle 2007.

13. Means of acknowledging the emperor included active gestures, such as cheering for him when he made a decision, as well as more passive or subtle gestures, such as making eye contact or gestures of reverence. I would also argue that the mere presence of citizens attending games sponsored by the emperor was also an act of acknowledgement.

14. For a larger discussion of the evolution of spectacle games and the first emperor Augustus' role in codifying other systems to promote his vision for Rome's social structure, see Bergmann and Kondolen, eds., 1999, 11-16.

15. Before the emperor Titus inaugurated the Flavian Amphitheater in 80 C.E., spectacular events often took place in temporary wooden structures during the Republican period (when senators were still permitted to sponsor games) as well as other venues throughout the capital city during the early Empire. See Welch 2007 for a chronology of the development of different architectural forms for entertainment from the Republic through the Empire.

16. Rawson 1987, 83-114.

17. Kyle describes a passage from Suetonius, in which he remarks that during the reign of the emperor Claudius, attendees left their seats during the requisite executions for lunch, while the emperor stayed behind to watch them (this point will be addressed later in the paper). See Kyle 1999, 51.

18. While it was rare for an animal to be spared his or her life in the arena (in fact, over 9,000 animals were slaughtered in the Flavian amphitheater during the inaugural games), there are certainly stories of gladiators, often slaves, who won their freedom, or at least the opportunity to fight in another event, for their valiant displays. See Bergmann and Kondolen, eds., 1999.

19. For Roman attitudes on death see Edwards 2007.

20. Kyle 1999, 53; Potter 1983, 53-88.

21. While I believe that it was during the Augustan period that we first start to observe the use of props and scenery, and dramatic effects in all arena games, including, in some instances, public executions (and especially in the staging of *naumachie*), I assert it was during the reign of Nero, and subsequently through the Flavian dynasty, that we see the systematic implementation of these aspects. For an attribution of the majority of these implementations to Titus, see Coleman 2006, xlv.

22. In these events prisoners of war and other criminals sanctioned to death would act out suspenseful battles with all participants expecting to meet their death in the end, regardless of which side won. For a greater discussion of *naumachie*, see Coleman 1993, 48-74.

23. The setting for *naumachie*, for instance, called for advanced technical skill at a great expense, including flooding the entire arena and the constructing of multiple life-size ships, naval weapons, and historical costumes for each opposing side. See Coleman 1993, 48-74.

24. For a discussion of dynastic control over nature see Newmyer 1984, 1-7.

25. Epist. 7.3-5, cited in Harley 1998, 91.

26. The beginnings of staged executions more broadly can be traced back to Octavian's execution of a man named Selurus in the late thirties B.C.E. in Rome by means of a fictitious Mt. Etna. We can imagine a helpless body being consumed into an all-encompassing volcano stage set. According to Strabo, a contraption was built, which collapsed and dropped the victim into a cage of wild beasts. See Strabo 6.273C, cited in Kyle 1998, 53.

27. Coleman 1990, 71.

28. Term "emperor-artist" coined by author. For more information on Nero and his interest in the arts, especially his desire to perform as an actor, see Bartsch 1994 and Manning 1975.

29. Suetonius, *On Claudius* 21.6, 34. Cited in

The lives of the twelve Caesars: an unexpurgated English version. New York: Modern library. Trans. Joseph Gavorse.

30. I believe Suetonius' characterization of Claudius goes beyond simply representing him as dutiful leader by witnessing the executions he ordered be carried out to portray him as someone who went so far as to delight in them. Emperors were often caricatured in the written record as one-sided with their interests, and in this case, it is conceivable that the intention was to contrast the stoic, yet unlikable figure of Claudius, with the absolutely out of control and excessive personality of Nero.

31. Harley 1998, 91.

32. Bartsch 1994.

33. (Supra n. 16).

34. For a larger discussion of Nero's attitudes towards the theater and how this contributed to his facilitating of the institutionalizing of mythological enactments, see Manning 1975: 165- 168. Additionally, for more information on emperors' roles in sponsoring the games, see Wiedemann 1992.

35. While Titus and his father Vespasian extended the tradition of the mythological executions that were integral to Nero's theatrical persona, I contend that the Flavians saw these events as an opportunity to imbue them with political significance through building associations to their military conquests, such as Titus' Sack of Jerusalem, which helped fund the Flavian Amphitheater, and thus transformed what was previously a spectacular display of theatrics into a presentation of the Romans' specifically the Flavians', triumph and control over their conquered territories and foes. In this regard, the Flavians were able to levy a critique against Nero through an appropriation of his own games.

36. Harley 1998, 91.

37. Martial's epigrams represent just one example from the literary record, and are here chosen for their thoughtful descriptions. This is not to suggest that only five cases of mythological executions existed, but rather that Martial's work is probably one representative example of what I believe was most likely a larger and more common phenomenon.

38. Martial, Trans. 1993, 24 (21), 29.

39. Coleman 2000, 227-239.

40. Newmyer 1984, 4.

41. Coleman 1990, 63.

42. According to Coleman, "in these charades reality does not necessarily endorse myth,

but sometimes, as with Daedalus, subverts it: compare the fate of Orpheus, overpowered by a creature over which he should traditionally have exercised power himself.” She notes that “myth[s] [are] reproduced faithfully when the central character enacts the role of a victim (as Pasiphae and Attis), but when the central character is traditionally in control of his environment (Orpheus and Daedalus), the myth is subverted to reduce his role to that of victim.” See Coleman 1990, 70.

43. Bergmann and Kondolen, eds. 1990, 26, n. 96.

44. The use of the phrase “Greek body” is my own, and connotes the Roman assumption of the Greek as marked different through a perceived “softness” and lack of discipline, as well as the association of the Greeks with idolizing the actor’s body and the youthful male nude as part of their Olympic sporting events. For the complicated nature of Roman attitudes towards Greek athletes, see Coleman 2000, 242.

45. Otium is part of a debate between negotium, put simply, the contrast between pleasure and work or business obligations. Romans tended to pride themselves, especially during the Republic period, as followers of negotium, and saw Greeks, who spent time studying art and philosophy, as champions of otium. These comparisons are not as black and white as they appear here, but for the context of this argument, it demonstrates that there were generalized characterizations of Greeks versus Romans that contributed to particular associations of the theater and the pleasure that comes from personal education that was seen as Greek and “soft.”

46. It is not exactly clear to what Martial refers when he states “Rhodope.” It is possible he is addressing Queen Rhodope, a figure from Greek mythology, who was ultimately transformed into a mountain, along with her husband Haemus—now commonly known as the Rhodope or Balkan mountains. Based on the sentence structure, it seems likely he is addressing a person, although the notion that the Greek myth contains the transformation of a couple into a mountain provides an interesting parallel to the use of stage sets, and especially cliffs and mountains, in the execution of Orpheus. Coleman associates “Rhodope” with the peaks of modern Zapadni Rodopi in Bulgaria, which were connected with Orpheus’ music. See Coleman 2006, 176.

47. Skinner relates the association of Orpheus with Greek culture also through the religious practice of “Orphism,” a loose set of Greek and Hellenistic beliefs that, on its most basic and general level, focused on venerating the musical dimension of Orpheus. See Skinner 2005, 135.

48. Martial reiterates this claim in another epigram describing the execution of a woman in the guise of Pasiphae where he states: “... Caesar: whatever legend rehearses, the amphitheater provides you.” See Martial 6 (5): 17. The usage of this language confirms that the amphitheater’s “autonomous” addressing of Caesar was not an anomaly, but represents a recurring theme in his accounts.

49. On the question of identifying Caesar, see Coleman 2006: xlv-lxiv.

50. Welch 2007, 147.

51. The one known exception comes from the conversion of a Roman mime from the time of Caligula in which a man named Laureolus performed as the character Prometheus and was crucified and mauled to death by a bear on stage in the amphitheater, suggesting Greek influence even if derived in part from a Roman mime. See Kyle 1998, 35, and n. 141.

52. It is important to note that in the context of mythology—which was understood as a form of religion—there are differences between Greek and Roman myths. While Romans adopted the Greek pantheon and polytheistic worship of gods and goddesses, it was not without a process of Romanization, whereby figures, stories, and names were altered, along with the invention of other Roman figures.

53. For more information on Roman theaters, particularly during the Republican period, see Manuwald 2011.

54. One of the clearest examples is that of seating, which according to Frank Sear “was arranged in a semicircle around the orchestra. The stage and scene building were joined to the auditorium and rose to the same height, creating a sense of enclosure similar to that of a modern theater.” See Sear 2006, 1.

55. Building on the theater’s adaptation for a Roman function, Mary T. Boatwright also suggests there was an association of the Greek theater to notions of shame and excess, where she writes: “In the Roman world from the second century B.C.E. through late antiquity, a theater and anything associated with it could be a source of civic or individual pride but was just as often a source of mistrust and shame. This was especially true for those in the educated classes, who sporadically

denounced theatrical shows as lascivious and soft and legally penalized performers but who also were fascinated with theatrical spectacles.” See Boatwright 1990, 185.

56. For a larger discussion on the issue of seating, and its reflection on Roman attitudes of control, see Rawson 1987.

57. Boatwright 1990, 185.

58. For more on the Theater of Pompey, the first permanent stone theater in the city of Rome, and, for what I believe is its importance as a precedent for imperializing decoration, see Gleason 1990, 4-13; Denard 2002, 25-43. For a detailed discussion of its architecture and the archaeological evidence see, Packer 2014, 9-40.

59. (Supra: n. 28).

60. Harley 1999.

61. Manuwald 2011

62. Bergmann and Kondolen, eds. 1998, 21.

63. Fagan 2011.

64. Coleman 2000, 227-240.

65. Harley 1998, 90.

66. Harley 1998, 92.

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Recreating Jewish Sacred Space: An Examination of Jewish Symbols on Ancient Oil Lamps

Max Humer

Oil lamps from the “Holy Land” of Israel, Syria, and Palestine have been the subject of much collection and debate. Many of these objects whether they possess religious symbols or not, have been labeled as “Jewish” without much thought as to what that label really signifies. For instance, does a menorah found on a lamp indicate that the buyer or seller was Jewish, or was it simply an aesthetic choice? The Jewish symbols found on lamps from the third century CE on are largely cult implements, objects from the Temple in Jerusalem, or even the Temple itself. I argue that these oil lamps recreated sacred space, both in synagogues and in homes where people read sacred texts. An analogue can be found in Roman lamps, which depict a cult statue, which Peter Stewart argues also created sacred space. This study does not seek to explain the meaning of every Jewish symbol on every oil lamp, but rather propose a common use or attitude towards lamps with Jewish symbols. Namely that these symbols, which referenced actual sacred spaces and items, recreated sacred space themselves.

“Jewish” Lamps

Beginning in the third century C.E. and continuing throughout Late Antiquity, a variety of Jewish symbols appear on oil lamps from the region of Syria-Palestine. These symbols include cult implements or objects such as the *lulab*, *ethrog*, *shofar*, incense shovel, menorah, and sacred spaces such as the Temple in Jerusalem.¹ This study seeks to understand why these symbols appear on lamps by placing them within the cultural and spiritual milieu of the Roman Empire and comparing them to other symbols from Greco-Roman religions. Peter Stewart argues that Roman lamps with miniature cult statues may recreate sacred space by reproducing the space within the gods corresponding temple.² This study argues that a similar phenomenon occurred with lamps with representations of objects found within Jewish sacred spaces and even the spaces themselves.

For some time oil lamps have been labeled as Jewish or Christian, without much thought being given to what that means or if the object warrants such a label.³ There are two core issues when it comes to the study of Jewish and Christian art and the history of the subject. Namely, the innate biases that come with the study of a currently practiced religion and the history of the development of the field. The study of Jewish and Christian art has its origins in the 1930's, during which the burgeoning field of art history was dominated by German scholars and subsequently influenced by Nazism.⁴ This created a desire to separate the art of Jewish, Christian, and other Greco-Roman religions into different categories and to not acknowledge connections or influences between them.⁵ In reaction to this earlier scholarship Jas Elsner argues for a pluralist approach, rather than examining one religion's art in isolation.⁶ Bearing Elsner's criticisms in mind, this study seeks to understand so-called “Jewish”

symbols by comparing them and putting them into context with Christian and Greco-Roman art.

Scholars like Rachel Hachlili argue simultaneously for a Judaism, which assimilated into the Roman Empire, but also asserts a specific Jewish identity through the proliferation of Jewish symbols.⁷ This argument not only isolates Judaism, but also assumes a monolithic Judaism as opposed to the multiple competing strands of the religion identified by Erwin Goodenough.⁸ Hachlili also assumes objects with Jewish symbols were exclusively used by Jews, while other authors have identified Jewish symbols appearing in Christian and other religious contexts.⁹ This study proposes one way in which an object with Jewish symbols could be used or viewed by a Jewish audience, instead of assuming every object with Jewish symbols was used by Jews or had a Jewish meaning.

Ancient attitudes towards religions necessitate a pluralist approach when discussing their iconography. It is important to examine the context of “religion” in its ancient context, as it is very different from its modern connotation. Ideas of religious choice, personal belief, and communities are all modern ones, especially the idea of exclusive belief in a single “religion.”¹⁰ Instead it is clear that for ancient people, religious practice could involve the worship of both the god of a mystery religion like Isis and a god from the traditional pantheon such as Jupiter without any sense of contradiction.¹¹ Even worshippers that believed in a single god did not regard themselves as members of a “religion,” but were simply doing the right things according to their god just as every member of the community did. This does not exclude any sense of belonging to a group, but participation in religious rites rather than a set of specific beliefs, provided a sense

of inclusion.¹² The ancient attitude towards religion necessitates a pluralist approach that does not separate religions but that treats spirituality in the ancient world as a whole. I use such an approach to explain at least some ways in which ancient audiences might have viewed Jewish symbols. This will be done by examining the symbols found on so-called “Jewish” lamps not in isolation, but rather among the many symbols used by religions in the Greco-Roman world.

Oil Lamps and their Use

Oil lamps were the main source of artificial light in the ancient world, and were available to all segments of society.¹³ The lamps themselves could be any vessel or container with some type of oil and a wick.¹⁴ The material used for vessels was usually clay or bronze, the wicks were made of any fibrous material, and the most common fuel was olive oil, although any oil could be used.¹⁵ In addition to being lit during the night, oil lamps would have been needed during the day in poorly lit interiors.¹⁶ Clay oil lamps were made in three ways during virtually every period: handmade, wheel-thrown, or mold-made. Mold-made lamps have their origin in the third century BCE, but are most common in later periods.¹⁷ These were made by pressing together molds made of clay, wood, or plaster for the top and bottom halves of the lamp.¹⁸ Afterwards the lamps may or may not have been covered with slip before finally being baked in a kiln.¹⁹

In Judaism, lamps were used in a variety of rituals in addition to being present in places of worship. Lamps were used at weddings to signify the couple’s married status to the public, and lamps were commonly lit at tombs.²⁰ Since lighting lamps or adding oil to them was forbidden during the Sabbath, a lamp was lit once at the beginning, and at the end of the Sabbath, the Havdalah light

was lit and a blessing was said.²¹ During the Feast of the Tabernacles many lamps were lit with wicks, which were made from the robes of rabbis.²² The menorah, a lampstand with multiple branches, which became the most common symbol in Judaism, would have been present in at least some synagogues.²³ Therefore, the lamp itself may be seen as a religious object in addition to the symbols commonly represented on them.

Jewish Iconography on Oil Lamps

A diverse range of Jewish symbols are found on oil lamps, and this study will examine the menorah, the Torah shrine, the temple façade, the *lulab* and *ethrog*, the *shofar* and incense shovel, and wine. These symbols appear alone and in many combinations, although some tend to appear together. While these symbols are strongly connected to the Jewish faith, they are still borrowed from, or borrowed by, other contemporary religions. This aspect of the symbols is often ignored, but becomes clear when examining the objects without the prescribed labels of “Jewish” or “Christian.” Finally, the meaning of the symbols in Judaism also warrants discussion, even if the symbols have meaning in other contemporary religions.

The menorah is the symbol most frequently found on oil lamps classified as “Jewish” and indeed Jewish art in general.²⁴ The depiction of the menorah in Herod’s temple in Jerusalem, from which the symbol likely originates, is forbidden by Rabbinic law, so it often appears with five, six, or eight branches. However, the prohibition likely only applied to the reproduction of a three-dimensional menorah, but not those in relief or made in other materials, since seven branched menorahs do appear in various representations including on oil lamps (See Fig. 1).²⁵ Other examples include an inscription, numerous depictions in art with

other cult implements, and a stone menorah found in a synagogue in Tiberias near the Sea of Galilee.²⁶ The symbol does not appear until after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, and does not become popular until the late second or early third century C.E.²⁷

Despite modern associations to the story of Judas Maccabeus and the oil which lasted eight days, Goodenough asserts that the menorah was originally highly abstract.²⁸ There are two main interpretations for the menorah, either that it symbolized the tree of life or that it represented the seven planets.²⁹ The former would tie the menorah back to the Sumerian cosmic tree, which grows from a mountain. Another representation of that tree from Susa dating to the fourth millennium B.C.E. offers another close parallel.³⁰ The large base of the menorah reflects the mountain and the circular buds often depicted on menorahs are meant to represent fruit or leaves, to show it was a living tree.³¹ The other and most common interpretation is that the seven lights represent the seven known

planets comes from Josephus.³² The menorah is represented on oil lamps in a variety of styles from simple lines to more elaborate designs, and it is the most common symbol by far.

The image of Torah shrine found on oil lamps represents a physical item in the synagogue. Both in reality and on oil lamps the shrine consists of a niche with a single arch supported by two columns or three openings with three arches supported by columns (See Fig. 2). Many depictions show a single oil lamp hanging in the middle, but other depictions show a variety of objects within the shrine including a menorah, a *lulab*, a fish, a sheep, a wine cup, and several others. Ovoid lamps with bow-shaped nozzles referred to as Beit Natif type lamps from the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. commonly show the Torah shrine with a single arch and a lamp hanging in the center.

The temple façade also represents a physical location, this time depicting the place of worship. This fact is confirmed by a lamp depicting the temple of the Samaritans, another Semitic group closely related to the Jews. This lamp depicts the temple at the top of Mount Gerizim with its identifying set of stairs leading up to it (See Fig. 3).³³ Other lamps from Syria-Palestine show a temple without the steps, either with columns depicted on the shoulders of the lamp and a roof or arch on the nozzle, or with the entire façade on the nozzle.³⁴ These lamps would probably be interpreted as a general shrine if it were not for the Mount Gerizim lamp, that indicates they may be depicting a specific building.

The *lulab* and the *ethrog* often appear together, especially in funerary settings on tombs but occasionally separately on many oil lamps.³⁵ The *lulab* can simply be a palm branch, but also appears as a bundle of twigs



Figure 1. Early Samaritan lamp depicting a menorah, dating from the fourth to fifth century C.E. Ruth & Stephen Adler.



Figure 2. Beit Natif type lamp with a torah shrine and hanging lamp on the nozzle, dating from the fourth to fifth century C.E. Ruth & Stephen Adler.

with myrtle and willow.³⁶ The *ethrog* was a special type of citrus fruit similar to a lemon or lime.³⁷ The *lulab* and *ethrog* were used in the Feast of the Tabernacles (where many lamps would have been used) and in the Temple by the altar.³⁸ Both were also associated with the Passover Feast, which had some messianic implications. This may be why it is adopted by Christians as the palm branch (*lulab*) and the fruit of the tree of life (*ethrog*).³⁹ While most commonly found in funerary contexts, the *lulab* and *ethrog* appear on oil lamps such as the Darom type lamps from the first and second century C.E.

It would be convenient to label every lamp with a *lulab* or *ethrog* as a lamp used in the Feast of the Tabernacles but this is unlikely since they often appear with other cult

implements not associated with the Feast of the Tabernacles. The Feast of the Tabernacles was a harvest celebration, which included a procession with people carrying lamps. The *lulab* and *ethrog* are clearly connected to the Feast of the Tabernacles both symbolically and as actual objects used in the procession.⁴⁰ The ritual occurred at the time when farmers harvested wine and fruit, and people would process carrying the *lulab* and *ethrog*. Along the procession were dancers and jugglers, and sometimes the festivals got out of control to the point where the courts ordered special stands to be built for women to keep them separated from the men. The Festival of the Tabernacles clearly has commonalities with the festival of Dionysus or Bacchus, and these similarities did not escape ancient authors either.⁴¹ Josephus calls the *lulab* and *ethrog* a “θύρσος” (*thyrsus*), a staff topped with a pinecone and covered in ivy and leaves.⁴² Plutarch outright calls The Feast of the Tabernacles the festival of Bacchus.⁴³ Just as the menorah (if one accepts the tree



Figure 3. Early Samaritan lamp depicting the temple of Mount Grizim with its staircase on the right shoulder, dating to the fourth to fifth century C.E. Ruth & Stephen Adler.

of life interpretation) may appear in slightly different forms in Judaism and Christianity, the *lulab* and *ehtrog* appear in similar forms both in the cult of Dionysus and in Judaism.

Although not symbolically connected like the *lulab* and *ethrog*, the *shofar* and the incense shovel often appear together. Often, both the *shofar* and the incense shovel appear flanking a menorah or a *lulab* but not as a pair alone.⁴⁴ The *shofar* is a horn made from a ram's horn, which was blown to mark important days or occasions.⁴⁵ The symbolism of the *shofar* as Erwin R. Goodenough puts it, "cannot be traced," but does have two important connotations.⁴⁶ It is more generally associated with the New Year, and more specifically with the story of the binding of Isaac, when Abraham agreed to sacrifice his son when commanded by god.⁴⁷

The incense shovel is depicted as a rectangle with a handle and sometimes circles or little mounds are present on the rectangle representing burning coals. Other Greco-Roman religions use this same ritual and it is likely the Jews simply borrowed the ritual.⁴⁸ There is some debate as to whether incense was burned in synagogues or only in the Temple at Jerusalem. Literary references, the fact that it was used by Chinese Jews and Yemenites, and countless depictions alongside other cult implements suggest that incense was burned in the Temple and synagogues. As to the incense shovel's symbolic meaning, much like the *shofar*, little is known. It was probably burned during prayer but beyond its use as a cult implement it is impossible to ascertain.⁴⁹

Finally the Jews also used wine in their symbolism, as did many religions around the Mediterranean. Wine is usually represented by vines with grapes on the end sprouting from a vessel variously interpreted as an amphora or a cup (See Fig. 4).⁵⁰ As to the

symbol's meaning, a connection to fertility seems to make the most sense. An amulet with this symbol found in a undisturbed Jewish grave where it was placed on the deceased's vulva supports this interpretation.⁵¹ Wine was used in Jewish ritual, most importantly at communal meals, when a group of ten or more men gathered to eat, and blessed the bread and wine. The ritual is the same one that Jesus performed in the New Testament before he died, which was then turned into the Holy Communion.⁵² Wine was also used in various rituals such as circumcisions, weddings, and funerals.⁵³ Although common in many religions this symbol brings to mind the cult of Dionysus once again. In the passage mentioned above Plutarch describes Jews as Dionysiacs, although some scholars do question the validity of this passage.⁵⁴

While some Jewish symbols seem to be mainly used in reference to that religion, it is not difficult to connect almost every symbol with an either earlier precedent or a later adaptation. This simply illustrates how symbols could be adopted and modified by various religions. When they appear on oil lamps however, it is difficult to say much about the person who used the object. Just because an object has Jewish symbols on it does not mean a Christian would not have used it. When lamps bear an overwhelming amount of Jewish symbolism on them it does suggest some sort of connection to Jewish meaning and use. Whether this means the manufacturer of the lamp was Jewish, or that the lamp was made for a Jewish audience, or it was made in an area where Judaism was the prevalent faith, cannot be said with absolute certainty. Instead this study proposes one way in which a specific audience may have thought about or used these objects.

Recreating Sacred Space

Comparing the symbols of Judaism with other

contemporaneous religions gives rise to new conclusions. Many of the symbols on lamps discussed above are cult implements, items found within Jewish sacred space, or the sacred spaces themselves. The temple façade is a recreation of the Jerusalem Temple, and the Torah shrine is an overt recreation of a space found within synagogues.⁵⁵ The *lulab* and *ethrog* were used in festivals and feasts not to mention the fact that they often appear on Torah shins and mosaic floors within synagogues, such as in the synagogue at Beth Alpha.⁵⁶ The *shofar* and incense shovel were also used in this way and also appear elsewhere in mosaics, usually flanking the menorah.⁵⁷ As both depictions of space and the objects found within them, these symbols recreate a sacred space.



Figure 4. Beit Natif type lamp depicting an amphora flanked by grape clusters, dating from the fourth to fifth century C.E. Ruth & Stephen Adler.

Peter Stewart asserts that Roman lamps with miniature cult statues may create a sort of sacred space that mimics the sacred space of the temple.⁵⁸ However, Stewart stops short of arguing that these lamps serve as portable shrines bringing a cult space with them wherever they are carried.⁵⁹ In addition to answering the question as to whether lamps with Jewish symbols recreate sacred space, this study must examine the idea of Jewish sacred space itself. Most of the lamps examined attempt to display images of objects within the temple or the Jerusalem Temple itself, which can be seen as Jewish sacred space *par excellence*.⁶⁰ The objects depicted on oil lamps also appear in synagogues and their decoration. The proliferation of synagogues begins in the second century B.C.E., when they served as places for reading and studying sacred texts.⁶¹ Whether or not synagogues are sacred space has been questioned, and the synagogues may have even been a recreation of the sacred space of the original Temple as opposed to being innately sacred.⁶² If true, this idea only further suggests that oil lamps with the same symbols as those found as decorative elements in synagogues, like the synagogues themselves, serve to recreate sacred space. Even if synagogues simply recreate the sacred space of the Temple, does that not in turn make them sacred? In this same way lamps can recreate sacred space without being innately sacred themselves.

By examining Jewish and Greco-Roman art together it becomes clear that some lamps in both religions were used to recreate sacred space. Lamps with Jewish symbols depict cult implements and spaces, and were themselves used both in cult activity, and within the synagogue. All this suggests they could recreate sacred space outside the synagogue, for instance in private homes when they worshipped or read sacred texts. There is even a degree of ambiguity between

homes and synagogues as the former was often turned into the latter.⁶³ While such lamps may not have been viewed as portable synagogues, they clearly reference sacred space, cult implements, and cult activity. In this way Jews used lamps with Jewish symbols in order to recreate sacred space. This conclusion not only has implications for lamps with Jewish iconography, but the study of artifacts with religious iconography as a whole. The fluid nature of ancient religions necessitates this pluralist approach, which examines one religion's art within the broad spectrum of religions found in the ancient Mediterranean. Using such an approach, this study demonstrates one way in which objects with a specific range of iconography were used or thought about by a specific group.

Endnotes:

1. Goodenough 1953, 78
2. Stewart 2003, 201.
3. Elsner 2003, 115.
4. Elsner 2003, 120.
5. Elsner 2003, 120.
6. Elsner 2003, 125.
7. Hachlili 1998.
8. Goodenough 1953, 184-5.
9. Hachlili 1998; Elsner 2003, 117.
10. Elsner 2003, 115.
11. Beard et al., 1998, x.
12. Rasmussen 2013, 20.
13. Bailey 1963, 11.
14. Bailey 1963, 9.
15. Bailey 1963, 10.
16. Bailey 1963, 11.
17. Bailey 1963, 13.
18. Bailey 1963, 13-14.
19. Bailey 1963, 15-16.
20. Westenholz 2004, 15.
21. Westenholz 2004, 17.
22. Goodenough 1953, 87.
23. Goodenough 1953, 79-80.
24. Goodenough 1953, 71.
25. Goodenough 1953, 71. I would like to thank Noam and Steve Adler for their permission to reproduce these photographs originally published in *Oil Lamps of the Holy Land: The Adler Collection*. These photographs and other information can also be found at [www.steve-](http://www.steve-adler.com)

[adler.com](http://www.steve-adler.com)

26. Goodenough 1953, 80.
27. Goodenough 1953, 77.
28. Goodenough 1953, 80.
29. Goodenough 1953, 81.
30. Goodenough 1953, 73.
31. Goodenough 1953, 73.
32. Joseph., BJ. 5.217
33. Westenholz 2004, 44.
34. Goodenough 1953, 85.
35. Goodenough 1953, 86.
36. Goodenough 1953, 143.
37. Goodenough 1953, 86.
38. Goodenough 1953, 143.
39. Danielou 1961, 6.
40. Goodenough 1953, 86.
41. Goodenough 1953, 87.
42. Joseph., AJ 13.372.
43. Plut., Quaest. Conv. 4.6.2.
44. Goodenough 1953, 170.
45. Goodenough 1953, 167.
46. Goodenough 1953, 188.
47. Goodenough 1953, 171-172.
48. Goodenough 1953, 91.
49. Goodenough 1953, 91.
50. Goodenough 1953, 106.
51. Goodenough 1953, 107.
52. Goodenough 1953, 124.
53. Goodenough 1953, 124-126.
54. Goodenough 1953, 124.
55. Goodenough, 83-85
56. Goodenough, 143
57. Goodenough, 170
58. Stewart 2003, 201.
59. Stewart 2003, 205.
60. Urman and Flesher 1995, 325.
61. Gutmann 1981, 4.
62. Urman and Flesher 1995, 320.
63. Urman and Flesher 1995, 330.

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Through the Picture Plane: Encoded Narratives in the Garden Room of the Villa ad Gallinas Albas at Prima Porta

Nils Paul Niemeier, Kaja Tally-Schumacher

Following our 2016 analysis of the Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas Albas and how its design accommodates viewers and makes them an integral part of its paintings, we now turn our attention toward the content of the paintings themselves. Prompted by recent discussions of how material objects and landscapes can encode meaning textually, we argue that such an approach can be applied to garden spaces, both physical and painted. Furthermore, we argue that aspects of garden design can be used to encode and present meanings to visitors and viewers. In applying the theory of “garden-as-text” to the Garden Room and building upon visual themes previously explored by Barbara Kellum, we find a deep narrative taking place in the garden. Through floral imagery, the Garden Room presents to its viewers a visual narrative not only depicting Augustus as an all-present entity in Rome, but also as a protecting force, bringing new life, safety, and prosperity to a Roman Empire still haunted by the specter of Actium.

Introduction

The Villa *Ad Gallinas* in Prima Porta, sits above the banks of the Tiber, 15 kilometers north of Rome.¹ The recent garden excavations at Prima Porta as well as significant new work on Roman gardens has led to a renewed interest in this otherwise relatively ignored villa.² In addition to the physical gardens, the villa also boasts one of the most famous garden frescoes, which is the focus of this analysis. The garden painting originally adorned an underground chamber, commonly called the Garden Room. The highly naturalistic painting spans continuously across the four walls of the room, creating the effect of one long view that has been stretched onto four interior walls.

The questions posed by the authors here build on an earlier publication and companion to this work, “Through the Picture Plane: Movement and Transformation in the Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas* at Prima Porta.”³ While the previous publication addressed the permeability of the picture plane within the Garden Painting at Prima Porta, as well as the application of green-screen technology, in this companion piece we identify the painted garden as a physical garden, rather than a mere painting, and suggest that real gardens maybe be interpreted in a similar manner to texts.

While multiple scholars have used iconography as an interpretive lens for the Prima Porta garden painting and other garden paintings more generally (indeed, it might even be the most commonly applied method), this approach prioritizes the work as a painting and undermines the artists’ illusionistic intent in painting a real garden space.⁴ As we argued in our companion piece, the design of this garden is not the whimsical fantasy of an artist, as the locations of plantings and

design patterns match planting patterns found in actual contemporary Roman gardens.⁵ As a result, if these walls are more than paintings, it is useful to ask how we might move past the iconography of a painting to the reading of real, physical gardens. Approaching gardens as texts may provide us with a new method of understanding the people who made them and how information is encoded within them. Using such an approach, we argue that we may further be able to discern an Augustan political narrative within the design of the Garden Room.

Defining “Texts”⁶

As it is most often used, the term “text” evokes an idea of written information, but this understanding of the term does not fully encompass all that “text” means.⁷ The word “text” is derived from the Latin *texere*, meaning “to weave,” (hence, “textile”).⁸ This suggests a “weaving together” of different components—in the case of a textile, different threads of possibly diverse colors and materials are brought together to create a unified whole. There is a similar pattern in “texts,” wherein various kinds of information are “woven” together to make a coherent whole. Thus, in written texts, the words, ideas, and the physical components of the text (ink, paper, glue, binding thread, etc.), as well as the work of its creation are all brought together to make the final product.⁹ An unwritten “text,” like the aforementioned textile, contains within itself its physical components, the ideas behind its design, the intentions of its maker, information about who made it, and information about the act of its creation. In this view, anything written, or non-written, can be a text.

Moreland helpfully expands the meaning of “texts” by describing them as “technologies of power” that exert influence upon those who “read” them.¹⁰ This means that the text

has a kind of agency that can exert power over a group or individual or, alternatively, can subvert the exertion of power.¹¹ They either encode and reinforce concepts and behaviors, thus giving them legitimacy, or they can encode opposition to behaviors and ideas by subverting their legitimacy and status.¹² Texts have the power to convey information and influence those to whom that information is communicated. A text, therefore, is not necessarily “literary”—it may be material, and it carries information and narratives about itself, its development, and maker, as well as any messages or other information its creator wishes to convey, including those that exert or subvert control over readers.

A text likewise serves to encode memory through allusions. Alcock’s argument that landscape, as a product of both physical and metaphysical human intervention and manipulation, is able to transmit memory within its physical form.¹³ Landscape can also be extended to texts, as can Ingold’s definition of the landscape as a “taskscape,” in which it encompasses space, movement, and action (of both human and non-human actors).¹⁴ Furthermore, we can apply Bergmann’s discussion of “memory theater,” wherein certain features or motifs present in an object can serve as loci for memory and experience.¹⁵ A text, in either written or material form, can function similarly to encode memory, experience, and action. Aspects of the “text” are imbued with meaning and become “physical setting[s] of remembrance,” bringing to mind memories or allusions when read.¹⁶ They can furthermore be manipulated by their creators to evoke specific allusions, which may thus evoke further allusions; these in turn become present within the text’s fabric, though they are not immediately apparent. A text may therefore evoke countless allusions that augment the narrative created by its author.¹⁷

With this discourse in mind, an exciting opportunity presents itself to researchers working with material culture, as we can expand beyond our bibliocentric understanding of what a text is in order to incorporate many other physical formats in which data from the past are encoded. Texts are no longer only books and scrolls—they instead range from small finds to highly figured artworks to the shape of the land itself. If texts can be anything that act as technologies of power or subversion, that encode meaning and memory, and provide information about themselves and the people or processes that made them, then it is possible to use an understanding of gardens as texts to undertake more nuanced interpretations and understandings of gardens’ creation and functions.

The Garden as Text

Gardens are the results of an intentional “unfolding of sequences,” derived from the work of designers, laborers, and horticulturalists to form them by grading subsoils, engineering drainage systems and planting pits, arranging plantings, bringing in topsoil, and choosing trees, shrubs, flowers, and other plants for their inclusion.¹⁸ In the case of a painted garden, like that at the Villa of Livia, the artist, and perhaps his patron, adopt these roles and hint at the actions involved in garden design through the painted image, while the painting itself includes the information of its creation as well as information about its creators. Like Moreland’s “technologies of power,” a garden can be designed to exert power or influence on a viewer by dictating their movement or ability to view it by using paths and hedges. These place the “reader” or viewer in positions desired by the garden’s designers. Furthermore, the inclusion of statuary, water features, or certain planting choices can create visual

narratives and allusions to further narratives within the garden's physical design. These narratives can be socioeconomic, displaying the garden owner's wealth and botanical knowledge through his ability to afford exotic species. They might also be political, communicating a narrative about the owner and/or designer using a variety of botanical, artistic, and architectural features embedded with their own symbolism and allusions.¹⁹ Alternatively, the real or simulated garden may be designed for the purpose of displaying multiple types of narrative, stressing power and wealth while also indicating the owner's appreciation of different narrative streams and stories (for example, the interpretation of the Garden Room previously argued by the authors as a "garden of transformations").²⁰ Meaning is imbued into these features, and the garden, either the real or simulated, becomes a "landscape of allusions."²¹

Augustan Narrative in the Text of the Garden Room

The world of Augustan Rome (ca. 27 B.C.E. - 14 C.E.) was suffused with imagery and symbols with political connotations, seen clearly in coinage, statuary, and monumental building structures from the period.²² It is therefore not surprising that we are not the first to note the presence of such political allusions embedded in the botanical motifs in the paintings of the Garden Room. Kellum treats the possibility of an Augustan program in the Garden Room by focusing on political associations between the laurels present in the painting and Augustan political symbolism.²³ There are other Augustan narratives present in the work that become apparent if we treat the garden as a text. These point toward an intent within the design of the garden to display a grander narrative of Augustus as a bringer of peace and unifier of empire in the Roman world during the period following his victory at Actium (31 B.C.E.).

A garden-as-text treatment allows for the identification and reading of narratives that are also applicable to physical garden spaces. In this approach, the joint use of painted and real garden evidence is necessary. The archaeological record preserves the arrangement of plantings and thus the garden's design (in the form of planting pots, root cavities, or pockets of introduced soil from root bulbs from nurseries), and new analyses of pollen captured in fresco plaster allow us to identify the genera of pollen-producing plants that existed in a garden. In spite of this, we are not yet able to identify the species of specific plantings. We may state that a particular variety of rose was present in a garden, but we are unable to say where the rose was planted in relation to other plantings. As the garden paintings depict plants that are also present in pollen analysis, painted gardens, like that at the Prima Porta or at the House of the Golden Bracelet in Pompeii, make it possible to identify the kinds of narratives Roman garden designers might have attempted to portray in actual garden spaces.²⁴ The exploration of these painted themes, then, allows us to transfer this language of narrative to real spaces.

The naturalistic representation of 24 individual plant species in the Garden Room allows for the identification of species that have various symbolic and economic associations in the setting of the Greco-Roman world [Fig. 1].²⁵ These include plants endemic to Italy and the Roman Empire at large, as well as exotic species from beyond the empire's boundaries. Flowers and ground cover (violets, ivy, ferns, and irises) bound the marble fence in the painting's foreground, and individual trees (Norway spruce, stone pine, and English oak) are set into niches along the wall located centrally on each panel. Behind the marble fence, the garden paintings are populated with a mixture of smaller woody trees and



Figure 1. The north wall of the Garden Room at the Villa of Livia ad Gallinas Alba (after Sikkard 1891, in *Antike Denkmäler*).

shrubs (including laurel, arbutus, oleander, myrtle, dogwood, box, and roses), fruiting trees (quince, pomegranate), and other larger trees including palms, oaks, and cypresses.²⁶ If the painting was reconstructed as a three-dimensional space, the plants depicted are arranged so that small flowers and shrubs appear in the foreground, medium-sized trees and shrubs in the mid-ground, and larger trees in the background. This seems to mirror actual planting arrangements in real Roman gardens from the Bay of Naples (based on root cavity arrangements), and the apparent “pruning” of depicted plants to create a layering effect highlights the Roman desire to create a simulated “wildness.”²⁷ The mid-ground of the painting is where plants with Augustan associations are most prevalent.

Roman gardens are able to speak to the circumstances of their creation and indicate the “seat and direction of power,” commenting on or displaying the power of those who owned or used them.²⁸ The emperor Caligula (12-41 C.E.) employed the gardens of the *Horti Lamiani* (Gardens of

Lamia) in this way when he broke protocol and used them as a meeting place for his audience with Greek and Jewish delegates from Alexandria. Caligula even made sure that the gardens were renovated to suit his tastes actively during the meetings, letting the delegation know that *he* was able to reshape his surroundings on a whim.²⁹ The depictions of trees and flowers on Augustus’ monument to peace, the *Ara Pacis*, likewise indicate a floristic narrative pointing to Augustus’ political power over the direction of the Roman state.³⁰ The Garden Room paintings work in a similar way, encompassing a variety of themes and narratives within the depicted flora.

The most prominent political theme in the paintings of the Garden Room is that of Augustus as a surrogate and devotee of Apollo, found in the extensive presence of laurel (*Laurus nobilis*) in the mid-ground of the painting. Reeder, Kellum, Klynne, and von Stackelberg have previously commented on this association between Augustus, Apollo, and the laurel within the context of

the Garden Room,³¹ but we propose that the association is not just one of symbolism. The laurel does not simply signal an Augustan presence through the laurels' allusion to the emperor, but the ubiquity of laurels may also be read as Augustus himself being present in the room. If so, he is everywhere, suffused in the space while also surrounding it, as the band of laurels in the paintings continues on all four walls. By the time of the Garden Room's completion (30-20 B.C.E.), Augustus would have solidified his control over the Roman state as *princeps*, and so his presence in the empire would have been likewise ubiquitous, on coinage, through decrees, and in images. The Garden Room may therefore be read as the empire in microcosm, with Augustus functioning as the sole power throughout it.³² Given that the *fasces* (the axes bound in rods that symbolized Roman political authority) were traditionally made from laurel, the trees in the garden allude to state power and may also indicate the boundary of Roman hegemony (and thus Augustus's influence), stretching into the distant background of the paintings.³³ The laurels also incorporate allusions to the god Apollo into the work, who was said to have sired Augustus and whom Augustus had chosen as his patron deity, as well as allusions to the life and career of his deified uncle and

adoptive father, Julius Caesar. This renders Augustus a demigod, protecting the realm of empire with the aid of his divine forebears.³⁴

A theme of botanical imperialism or colonialism is also present in the Garden Room, with its inclusion of exotic species within the laurel boundary [Figure 2] [Figure 3].³⁵ The vast majority of these come from the east, either from Rome's eastern provinces and protectorates, or from further beyond. The quinces and pomegranates especially evoke Persia (to which they are originally native), and the date palms Egypt.³⁶ After the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, Egypt became a full Roman province. The inclusion of Egyptian flora in paintings at the Villa of Livia would indicate that this region was now fully under the control of Augustus, and that he was responsible for their protection and perhaps their cultivation (that is, growth within the empire).³⁷ The inclusion of flora from further afield indicates that Augustus brought those regions under his influence as well, symbolically including them within his empire.³⁸ These fruit-bearing trees from the east therefore indicate a new inclusion and premise in Augustus' garden of empire, perhaps facilitated by his newly instituted *pax Romana* ("Roman peace"). Furthermore, a number of these species were considered to

Species Name	Common Name	Origin
<i>Cydonia oblonga</i>	Quince	Persia
<i>Nerium oleander</i>	Oleander	Greece (Plin., NH 16.79)
<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i>	Date palm	Egypt, North Africa, Levant
<i>Picea excelsa</i>	Norway spruce	Northern Europe, northeastern Europe
<i>Punica granatum</i>	Pomegranate	Eastern Mediterranean, Persia

Figure 2. Plant species exotic to Italy in the Garden Room paintings (after Caneva and Bohuny 2003).

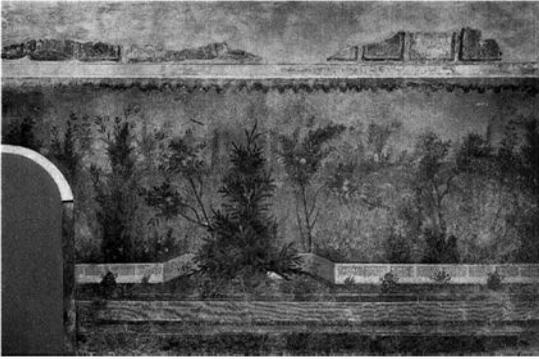


Figure 3. The southeast wall of the Garden Room at the Villa of Livia with quince, pomegranate, and Norway spruce on prominent display (after Gabriel 1955).



Figure 4. Norway spruce depicted on the southwest panel of the Garden Room (after Gabriel 1955).

have medicinal properties against snakes and other venomous animals in antiquity.³⁹ The medical benefits of certain flora and fauna gain added relevance when one considers that the cobra was a symbol of Egypt. That such plants guarded against venomous serpents may indicate that Augustus intended to prevent Egypt from coming to power a second time to threaten the empire.⁴⁰

Treating the paintings as a real garden further allows us to reconsider the relationship between the four walls and the illusionistic space. While the interpretations of the Garden Room paintings vary greatly,⁴¹ many of them tend to focus on the two short walls and particularly on the fecundity of Augustan Rome, as expressed by heavy, ripe fruit and a bounty of blooming flowers (hinting at future fruit at a later stage).⁴² No doubt, this is due in part to preservation, as the two short walls are better preserved than the two long walls. Yet the prioritization of the shorter and better preserved walls denies and even reverses the intended order in which the garden was meant to be viewed.

Visitors descended stairs and entered the vaulted chamber through the northeast wall. From the stairs, the landing, and the entrance the viewer first saw the long southwest wall [Figure 4]. This wall features a dark blue band in the foreground, followed by a crosshatched wicker fence, then a green path, and then by a low marble fence behind which we find a deep garden. The low marble fence features two wide deep niches, each accommodating young evergreens. These two evergreens dominate the composition, in part due to their size, but also because they are framed and separated from the rest of the garden by the white marble fence. The motifs on the southwest wall are mirrored on the entrance northeast wall.

The separation of the evergreens from the

rest of the garden by means of the marble fence and their framing by the niche walls creates a sense of emphasis and suggests that these plantings deserve further investigation. While Penso identifies the four trees on the long walls as *Albies alba*, or European silver fir, Möller, Gabriel, and Caneva's most recent horticultural examinations all agree that the trees are in fact *Picea excelsa*, the Norway spruce.⁴³ The correct identification of the species and its phytogeography, i.e. the distribution, are significant in reading the garden. While the European silver fir is common in south-central and southeastern Europe (indeed it grows in Italy itself), the Norway spruce is more northern, and is common in northern, central and eastern Europe, often at higher elevations. The two opposing identifications create distinctly different narratives: where European silver firs were native in Augustan Rome, Norway spruces were decidedly exotic.⁴⁴ Consequently, the first significant planting the visitor reads upon entering the space is not one that reinforces native Roman fecundity; instead, foreignness and the exotic take precedence. Further, as the opposite northeastern wall is a near mirror image, with two prominent Norway spruce trees, the viewer's last impression of the garden is again one of a foreign and exotic nature. If we read the paintings as a real garden, then we need to unfold the four walls into one long continuous walk. And, indeed, long alleys have been discovered in a number of Roman gardens, including at the first century C.E. Large Peristyle of the Villa Arianna in Stabiae.⁴⁵ When we unfold the image, the garden takes on an alternating pattern of foreign (Norway spruces), followed by local trees in niches (English oaks), Norway spruces, and again local trees (stone pines). Even more interesting, Caneva and Bohuny argue that based on the lack of cones these specimens are young, i.e. newly acquired

specimens.⁴⁶ As the painting has been dated to about 30-20 B.C.E.,⁴⁷ it is clear that these young, exotic northern specimens cannot greatly predate that era.

The regions to which Norway spruces are native, Germania Superior, Raetia, Noricum, parts of Gaul, and even Germania Magna, were relatively new areas of Roman expansion in the first century B.C.E. Most significant to the Prima Porta painting and the Norway spruces is Agrippa's appointment as governor of Transalpine Gaul (one of the phytogeographical regions of Norway spruces) in 38 or 37 B.C.E. According to Dio, during his governorship Agrippa led Roman troops against the Germanic tribes, including the feared Suebi, becoming the second general in Roman history to cross the Rhine in war (another phytogeographical region of Norway spruces).⁴⁸ The suppression of the Suebi was a significant enough event that it earned Agrippa a triumph from Octavian (though it was never celebrated).⁴⁹ The presence of four non-native Norway spruces in the most visually prominent location is not merely an expression of exoticism. The youthful state of the Norway spruces (at the time of their painting in the 30s-20s B.C.E.) recalls events that only occurred in the recent past. But this analysis raises several questions: did the artists have the botanical knowledge to depict a Norway spruce and how many visitors would be able to recognize this variety?

To answer the first question, Gabriel's close analysis of the hands of the craftsmen who worked on these paintings, shows that the process involved highly specialized painters.⁵⁰ The birds, for example, bear a remarkable level of anatomical accuracy and were completed by a specialist who does not appear to have painted other elements.⁵¹ As Caneva and Bohuny illustrate by examining

the morphology of the plants, including their shape, color, leaf layout, fruits and flowers, the treatment of the plants is likewise highly sensitive to botanical accuracy: the painters clearly intended to paint Norway spruces, not generic evergreens. The second question is more difficult to answer, but does not necessarily require a definitive answer.⁵² The highly-specialized depiction of the birds serves as a parallel example. We cannot expect that every Roman who may have had reason to view the paintings was an expert ornithologist, yet great care was taken to represent specific species. Moreover, the gardening and farming treatises of Varro and Cato aimed at elite readers illustrates that Roman elites were deeply invested in horticultural knowledge—certainly more so than in ornithology. But even more importantly, Horace, Pliny, and Martial criticize new first century C.E. gardens on the wastefulness of introducing purely aesthetic, “unreproductive” plants, i.e. plants that do not produce fruit.⁵³ Even if the visitor did not possess horticultural knowledge about specific plant species and was unable to appreciate the connection of the spruces to the expansion in the north, the very presence and prominence of non-fruit bearing trees is significant.

Conclusions

Approaching the program of the Garden Room as a text allows us to view a multi-layered narrative within the painted space, specifically one in which multiple allusions to Augustan policies and actions may be read, as well as allusions to deities, areas outside the empire, and foreign powers. All these data are incorporated into the botanical elements of the work, allowing for multivalent readings of the plants in their context. By understanding the Garden Room as a text that can be interpreted as a “technology

of power,” we can see how Augustus may have intended to use it to support political narratives he wished to make known about himself: that he was a protector of Rome and its environs, that he had vanquished threats to imperial stability, that he had brought the world into the bounds of his hegemony and that he was its protector as well. Treating the Garden Room in this manner informs us about the ideas behind its creation: that the designer understood plants and chose to include specific species, and that such readings allow the room to be understood simultaneously as both a garden and a commentary on Augustan political identity. Since the painted garden of the Garden Room may very likely represent a garden similar to physical gardens of the period, we can attempt to extrapolate this kind of reading from painted gardens to real garden spaces. Reading the Garden Room in this way thus opens up a new world of meaning and narrative in gardens throughout the Roman world.

Endnotes:

1. The authors wish to thank Dr. Kathryn Gleason and the Roman Gardens and Fora seminar participants who helped shape this companion essay.
2. Liljenstolpe and Klynne, 1997/8, 127-147; Klynne, 2004, 1-9.
3. Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier, 2016.
4. Kellum, 1994, 211-224; Andrae, 1999, 31-39; Settis, 1988, 3-39; Förtsch, 1989, 333-345.
5. Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier, 2016, 65-6.
6. A more complete treatment of this may be found in Niemeier, N. 2015.
7. Niemeier 2015, 4.
8. Niemeier 2015, 4; Hodder 2003, 203-205.
9. Niemeier 2015, 5.
10. Moreland 2001, 87-94. Reading here is used broadly to refer to the reception of information contained in “texts.”
11. Moreland 2001, 87-94; Niemeier 2015, 5.
12. Moreland 2001, 26; Niemeier 2015, 5.
13. Alcock 2002.
14. Ingold 1993.
15. Bergmann 1994. The “memory theater” is

tied closely to the memory house described by Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria*.

16. Alcock 2002, 24-25.
17. Wills 1998, 279, notes that it is difficult to close an allusion—once opened, an allusion may continue to expand. A helpful way of thinking about allusions in a work, either written or material, is as like footnotes in an article. Each note refers to an entire work, which in turn refers to other works, which refer to other works, etc. The scope of these allusions may be ever expanding, but may also be determined by the individual making them.
18. Gleason and Leone 2013, 120; Niemeier 2015, 6.
19. von Stackelberg 2009, 74-86.
20. Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2015, 64, 67.
21. Landgren 2004, 194.
22. See Zanker 1988 for a lengthy treatment of the use of images in Augustan Rome for political purposes and exertion of power.
23. Kellum, 1994a. Caneva 2010 provides further evidence for Augustan use of floral imagery for the purpose of expressing narrative.
24. Niemeier 2015, 6-7, 46, 57-60; Landgren 2004, 193-197; Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2016, 64-65.
25. Caneva and Bohuny 2003.
26. Caneva and Bohuny 2003; Niemeier 2015, 47-48.
27. Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2016, 64-65; Niemeier 2015, 57-59; Gleason 2010, 12-14.
28. Pagán 2006, 37-92; von Stackelberg 2009, 134-140.
29. von Stackelberg 2009, 140.
30. Caneva 2010, 57-58.
31. Reeder 2001, Reeder 1997, Kellum 1994a, Klynne 2005, von Stackelberg 2009, 90-92.
32. Niemeier 2015, 50.
33. Caneva 2010, 110.
34. Niemeier 2015, 50-51.
35. See Totelin 2012 discussion of 1st century CE botanical imperialism in reality and literature; Zarmakoupi 2014, 114-115. Images from Gabriel are used here in accordance with fair use, as Gabriel is now in the public domain.
36. Caneva and Bohuny 2003.
37. Niemeier 2015, 52-53.
38. Niemeier 2015, 52-53. This would be reminiscent of his alleged conquering of Ethiopia in the *Res Gestae*; he did not actually bring the region into the empire, but he did exert his influence with a military expedition.

39. These include chamomile, iris, myrtle, oleander, periwinkle, violet, and pomegranate; see Plin., *NH*: 1.21, 1.39, 13.9, 2.60, 13.103, 13.112–113, 13.118, 15.30, 15.39, 15.118–126, 16.79, 16.107, 17.62, 17.67, 17.95, 21.27, 21.40–41, 21.64, 21.68, 21.130, 21.172, 22.53, 23.105, 23.107, 23.114, 23.159, 24.90, 24.141.
40. Niemeier 2015, 54-56.
41. For a review of some of the most significant interpretations of the Garden Room and its paintings see the discussion in the companion work, “Through the Picture Plane: Movement and Transformation in the Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas* at Prima Porta” (Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2016).
42. Kellum 1994a, 211-224, Farrar 1998, 142.
43. Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 151; Möller, 1890, 78-80; Penso, 1986; Gabriel, 1955, 32-42.
44. Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 151.
45. Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2016, 65; Gleason, *et al.*, 2008; Gleason 2010.
46. Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 151.
47. Kuttner 2002, 23-24.
48. Dio 48.49.
49. Dio 48.49.
50. Gabriel 1955, 28-31.
51. Gabriel 1955, 31.
52. Caneva and Bohuny 2003, 150.
53. Mart., *Epigr.*, 3.58.1-7; Hor., *Carm.*, 2.15.5-12; Plin., *HN*, 12.6.

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Interpreting Social Changes Through Ceramic Manufacture: A preliminary analysis of Late Iron Age handmade Thracian ceramics

Ashlee Hart

The region of ancient Thrace presents an excellent case study for the interpretation of cross-cultural interaction. The establishment of foreign settlements or colonization across the Mediterranean during the fifth to the second century B.C.E. and the reinterpretation of cross-cultural relationships have been widely studied. However, the effects of intercultural interaction on non-elite indigenous Thracians have received less attention. The works of ancient Greek and Roman authors, as well as the archaeological record, identify the region as a place of bilateral exchanges, where ideas, goods, and people flowed between the indigenous Thracian populations and the Greek settlers during the Late Iron Age. Through the use of ceramic analysis, this study investigates the way indigenous peoples experienced, understood, and dealt with such interactions. A preliminary study of non-elite handmade Thracian pottery was analyzed through visual inspection during the 2016 field season. The results, revealing changes in identity through changes in ceramic technology, are presented here.

An Evaluation of Greek Colonialism

“(The Greeks are) like frogs around a pond,” said Plato, “we have settled down upon the shores of the sea”¹. Beginning in the eighth century B.C.E. culturally Greek speaking peoples began migrating out of rocky mainland Greece and settling into every niche of the Mediterranean, from the Iberian Peninsula to the shores of the Levant. Evidence of international contact during the Iron Age comes from foreign objects found across the Mediterranean. This may be initially ascribed to eighth century gift giving between elites rather than established mercantile networks as the distribution is limited². By the end of the eighth century however, there is clear evidence of an increase in the volume of trade between foreign entities. The increase is especially prevalent in ceramic forms that would have carried organic products such as olive oil or wine. The regularity of the trade identified in the archaeological record through consistency in quantity and material suggests the development of a mercantile system. Colonization then may have arisen out of the desire to broaden mercantile networks and create more financial opportunities for Greek traders³.

The movement of the Greeks between the eighth century and the second century B.C.E. has traditionally been known as the age of Greek colonialism. Traditional interpretations of Greek colonialism either portrayed indigenous peoples as eagerly accepting Greek styles and ways of life, or identified changes in Thracian material culture as signs of forced cultural adaptation⁴. In recent years, however, new theoretical approaches have arisen, challenging the projection of modern concepts on to the past. Postcolonial studies, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, focus on the reevaluation of colonial encounters through

individual agency, resistance, and cultural hybridity⁵. ‘Hybridity’ as a theoretical concept in cultural and postcolonial studies over the last decade has been defined as, “the creation of new transcultural forms within a contact zone produced by colonialism”⁶. It has also been defined as involving, “processes of interaction that create new social spaces in which new meanings are given”⁷.

The archaeological study of a colony, its existence and its transformation, can reveal processes of broad social constructs that are relevant to the creation of meaning and cultural order in society⁸. The maintenance of cultural structures, such as power relations in creating interaction networks, is an ever-changing activity, which does not necessarily cohere to a one-dimensional avoidance or acceptance of change. Cultural contact is ongoing and continually contributes to the creation of memory over time that serves to authoritatively rework long-term cultural structures for individuals as well as groups⁹.

Colonies represent important areas for archaeological study because they have the potential to show so much about cultural identity, memory, and how culture may have changed as the result of colonial encounters¹⁰. The colony is one of the places where a new collective memory can be created. Humans try to make sense of the world and their surroundings in a way that is logical consistent with a particular cultural system. This is partially done through the creation of meaning, which is linked to particular objects within a society. Objects are integral to the process as extensions of the human body and as part of the meaning packages that help to make the world stable and knowable¹¹. The human responses to interaction are meaningfully constructed and objects serve as the principle, but not the only, channel of exchange and redefinition

of value. Each party involved in the cultural interaction operates in accordance with their own cultural understandings of the world.

Generally, Postcolonial studies tend to lack an analysis of material culture¹². Postcolonial theorizing tends to invoke material culture but does not necessarily analyze the actual material culture. Material culture plays a critical role in colonial contact zones because it frames day-to-day realities of individuals' lives in cross-cultural interaction situations. In some cases, this can be shown through the unusually strong and inevitably visible differences between indigenous and colonial material objects¹³. Such changes may be revealed in areas of Greek interaction. Recent excavations in ancient Thrace are leading to new understandings of Greek migration and multicultural interaction during the Late Iron Age.

Understanding Interaction Through Material Culture

The Thracians did not have a written language and did not keep any records about themselves. The written records about them consist of names, dates, and locations of events deemed important by ancient Greek and Roman authors. For that reason the cultural identity of the Thracians is relatively unknown except through material culture excavated by archaeologists.

The production and consumption of material culture are heavily impacted by interaction. "Culture is constructed through consumption"¹⁴. This implies that, in the first place, objects materialize cultural order or render abstract cultural categories visible and durable. They also aid in the negotiation of social interaction in various ways and structure perceptions of the social world. The systems of objects that people construct

and/or consume serve both to instill personal identity and to enable people to locate others within social fields¹⁵. Consumption is a process that is highly structured working to continually materialize cultural order. An examination of consumption and agency theory allows archaeologists to understand the ways in which alien objects or practices were transformed or rejected¹⁶.

Ceramics are ideal for this interpretation because ancient potters, whose style was likely defined by the skills of the individual potter and by the market demand, made them based on cultural identity factors. These associations can be interpreted from them. Consumers can drive changes in ceramic technology, decoration, and vessel form. Through the examination of such changes, an archaeologist can attempt to interpret the degree of collective agency and social change that may have occurred as the result of intercultural interaction. When ideas of colonialism and acculturation are replaced with postcolonial theories, changes in material culture are allowed to reveal more about the conscious choices made by individuals within a society. The examination of indigenous Thracian handmade ceramics from an archaeological site called Emporion Pistiros in Thrace provides a better understanding of the situation.

The Site: Emporion Pistiros

Archaeologists discovered an inscription, now called the Vetren inscription, in 1990 and Domaradzki published the translated text in 1992. The inscription was discovered around 2 km north of the modern village of Vetren, Bulgaria in a Roman station known as Bona Mansio. The traces of mortar remaining on the stone suggest that it had been brought from another site to be used in the Roman construction, which was not uncommon

during the formation of the Roman Empire. A fifth century settlement near the town of Vetren in Adjyiska Vodenitza was quickly identified as the site mentioned in the inscription, which became Emporion Pistiros (see image 1)¹⁷.

There is some disagreement about the nature of occupation at the site and the ethnic group that initially established the location. One major argument is that the actual site would have represented strictly Greek culture because the Thracians would have been kept outside of the city wall¹⁸. The excavations, however, reveal both Greek and native material culture showing that both occupied the site. Before the discovery of the Vetren Inscription the first excavator M. Domaradski believed that the site was a royal residence for a local ruler in the Odrysian Kingdom. The royal residence hypothesis was generally considered an inappropriate analysis of the site by the late nineties¹⁹.

Tancheva (2007) went on to show that the site underwent significant changes in terms of economic structure after the Macedonian conquests when the Greek population from Apollonia was resettled in the Thasian peraea on the North Aegean coast. Similar practices are attested to at Kabyle during the Roman period, which had a dedicatory inscription dated to C.E. 144 demonstrating that the town was reorganized around the influence of foreign craftsmen similar to Pistiros²⁰. It can be asserted then that the development of crafts and trade operations was facilitated by the arrival of non-Thracian people and that the site had Thracian occupation prior to Greek colonization.

Emporion Pistiros is an urbanized settlement that represents an important commercial and cultural center set in the heart of indigenous Thracian territory, in southwestern Bulgaria. The site is located some 150 kilometers from the Aegean and separated from it by the

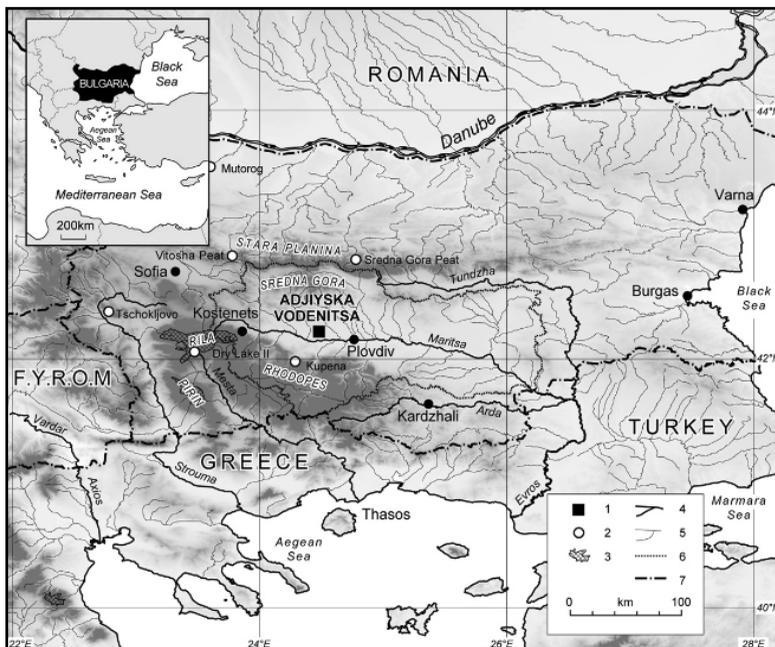


Figure 1. Map showing the location Thrace and specifically Adjyiska Vodenitza also known as Emporion Pistiros (Chiverrell and Archibald 2009).

Rhodopes mountain ranges²¹. Greek merchants, traveling by boat up the ancient Hebros River from the Aegean, established the fortified city with Greek style architecture in the fifth century B.C.E. A place of cross-cultural exchanges, the site remained active until its decline in the second century B.C.E.

There are several likely motives for the foundation of the site in this particular location, which was strategic and beneficial to both the Greeks and the Thracians. It is located in close vicinity to mineral deposits including copper, iron, and gold. The site was located strategically on the river at a place where several roads crossed leading in all directions. The river was navigable by small boats and Pistiros wagons were used to transport goods further inland²². Emporion Pistiros seems to have been created under a treaty produced in 431 B.C.E. between Sitalkes, the Odrysian Thracian king, and the Athenians. The treaty created an “Athenian-Odrysian Axis”, which was equally beneficial for both sides²³. The Vetren inscription is a product of the treaty, which allowed the Odrysians to extract tribute from the Greeks.

The accepted name of the site includes the term ‘emporion,’ which refers to a market center established by Greeks for the sole purpose of trade²⁴. The site plan reveals that it was likely designed based on Greek architectural styles, most notably the wall around the city, which was uncommon in Thrace before the arrival

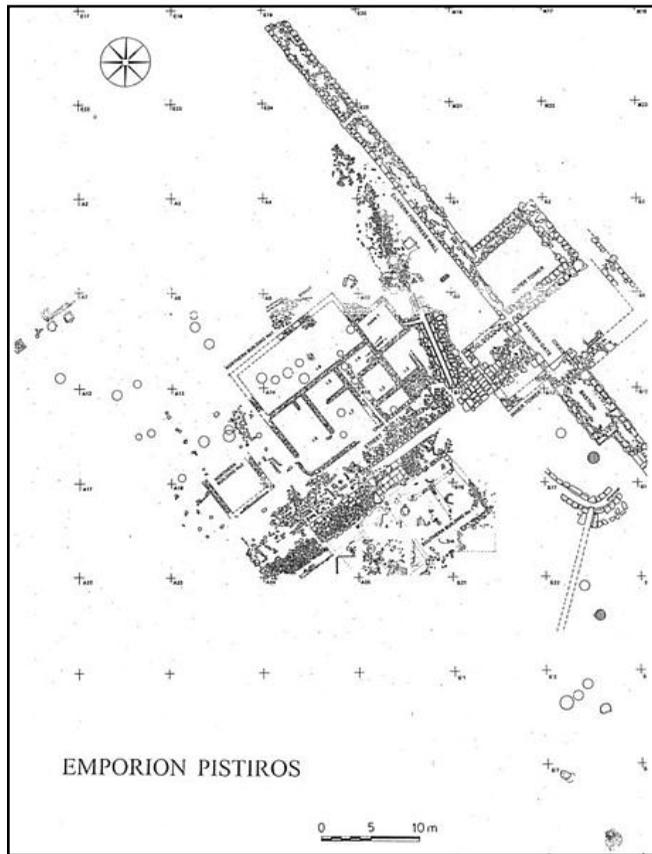


Figure 2. Site map of Emporion Pistiros (Bouzek, Domaradzka, and Archibald 2002).

of Greek colonies (see image 2). Other Greek settlements became fully functioning poleis but there were no such plans for Pistiros. As an inland market, the site presents unique possibilities for studying the interaction between indigenous Thracians and Greeks because the colonists were isolated and in the heart of Thracian territory unlike coastal colonies. The site presents a case of multiethnic collaboration, with Greeks and indigenous Thracians living together and relying upon each other.

Change and resistance to cultural interaction/transformation can be interpreted through the analysis of ceramics created before, during,

and after the initial contact with Greek settlers because ideology is often revealed/expressed/manifested through manufacture and consumption. If ideological changes occur as the result of cultural interaction, then a change in manufactured goods might be expected to follow. For example, if the images of Greek gods from black figure ceramics were considered beautiful and desirable, then the local Thracian potter may try to imitate the style. To gain a better idea of the changes that may have occurred at Pistiros during the era of Greek interaction a small-scale preliminary research project was conducted during the 2016 field season.

The 2016 Preliminary Study

The primary goal of the 2016 study was to ask if ceramic technology and decoration changed at all during the period of Greek interaction. Subsequently, the study compared aspects of the ceramic paste, temper, decorations, and vessel function to make observations about changes over time. A visual analysis of technological choice was conducted on 116 sherds of indigenous Thracian handmade ceramics from Pistiros that were excavated between 2012 and 2015 by members of the Balkan Heritage Field School. The sherds represent all the phases of occupation at the site from its formation, height as a trade location, and its eventual decline. The materials studied came from areas inside of, and adjacent to, the fortification wall on the eastern side of the settlement.

A previous study conducted by the author examined the distribution of 2054 sherds of imported Greek black figure and red figure ceramics excavated from across the site between 1987 and 1997. The largest proportion of Greek ceramic fragments was discovered near the city wall and the eastern gate in units E19, E25, A5, B1, B2,

B6, B7, B12. The total number of red figure pottery found in this area represents 40.81% of the total red figure pottery found across the site. Similarly, the black glazed pottery found in this area represents 40.52% of the site's total black glazed pottery. The highest concentrations in this area are in units B2 and unit B7, which represent the outermost part of the entrance gate to the settlement showing that the area may have been where trade would have occurred (see image 3). The area analyzed during the 2016 project had few imported Greek ceramics; making it an ideal location to test the impact of cultural interaction on locally produced ceramics.

Statistically, the number of indigenous ceramics far outnumbers the amount of imported fine wares from Greece. Although the finds from the site include a large quantity of Greek imports when compared to other inland sites, the majority of the pottery found at the site was locally produced²⁵. In the first 11 years of excavation there were 337 identifiable pieces of black and red figure pottery from Greece compared to several thousand pieces of Thracian pottery²⁶. The number of imported black figure ceramics suggests that non-local ceramics were available in limited quantities, and that either Greeks or Thracians could have used them. However, local handmade and wheel made ceramics continued to be produced at a much higher rate. This continuation of local production shows that indigenous Thracian styles, clays, and techniques maintained value within Thracian society. It may indicate a rejection of Greek styles or could possibly reflect a gradual adoption of Greek styles by local potters. Adoption of non-local styles, forms, and materials could lead to attempts to imitate Greek imports and ultimately to the creation of a hybrid culture and practice of ceramic production and consumption.

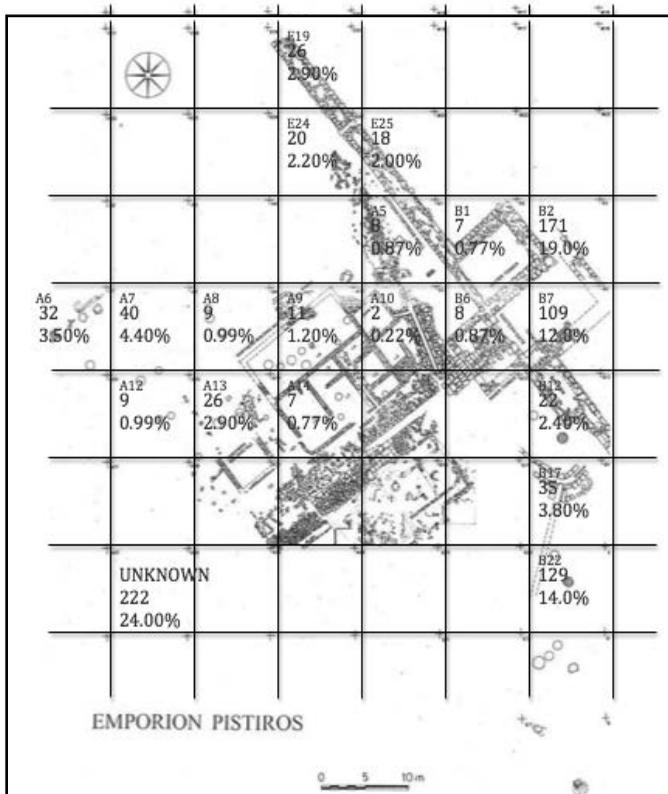


Figure 3. Emporion Pistiros site map with Greek red figure pottery distribution (Figure by author).

Discussion of Results

Certain diagnostic features remained constant throughout Greek interaction. Within the purely indigenous Thracian ceramics there was high degree of consistency in the shape of the vessels and their decorative elements. Of the ceramics surveyed for this study there were 43 rim sherds, 15 base sherds, 43 body sherds, and 15 handle sherds (see image 4). The general repetition of shapes between the individual pieces from different contexts and time periods revealed consistency in vessel form. The vessels examined in the study typically represented cooking vessels. They were thick bodied, meant to be heated, and had characteristic discoloration in areas where flames met the vessel. Of all of the sherds studied, 25% had representative burning and

13% possessed handles, a feature diagnostic of cooking or pouring vessels. The other common vessel shape is associated with drinking, including pitchers or jugs and cups used for the consumption of wine. The non-cooking vessels tended to have finer rims and round handles instead of flat ones. These two major vessel forms represent the dietary lifestyle of the Thracians before Greek interaction and the continuity of such practices after the arrival of the Greeks. Greek settlers may have also adopted and used indigenous Thracian ceramic styles and forms, showing the exchange of cultural elements (see image 5).

In addition to these formal consistencies, there was also continuity in the decorative elements of the Thracians ceramics. The typical geometric designs associated with Thracian

Late Iron Age ceramics include slashed incised lines, raised spheres, and checkered triangular patterns (see image 6). Of the ceramics analyzed, 24% had decorative elements designed into the clay body, including 10 with dashed lines, 16 patterned raised spheres, and 2 with checkered triangular designs. The designs were present on all of the different Thracian ceramic forms, even when the shape or material of the vessel changed. Decorative finishes added after the ceramics were fired are not common at Pistiros but they are present throughout ancient Thrace. The Thracians were known for gold and silver slip finishes on ceramics that have been interpreted as attempts to create ceramic vessels imitating metal vessels. This slip technology persisted throughout Greek interaction. Another

decorative element rarely found at Pistiros is the apparent attempt to replicate the Greek technique of black figure decoration. Such attempts are usually poorly executed and easy to identify as imitation wares. However, it is also possible that Greek settlers in the area may have produced the better examples of these pieces for their personal use instead of importing Greek fine wares.

The most noticeable change in ceramic production was the technology involved in their creation. The term technology refers to the different knowledge, skills, and tools

utilized in the manufacture of ceramics, including what type of clay is used, what elements are added to strengthen the body, how it is shaped, fired, and decorated. Early indigenous Thracian ceramics from Pistiros were handmade of grey clay, thick bodied, and poorly fired (see image 7). As Greeks moved into the area certain aspects of these technological choices changed. Imported Greek ceramics had thinner sections of red or orange clay, fine temper, and intricate decorative details. They were also wheel thrown and fired at high temperatures. The use of finer temper, higher firing temperatures,

and a pottery wheel indicate that new technologies were adopted by the Thracians, while the imitation of decoration styles and clay color further supports the idea that there was a desire to reproduce Greek materials.

Within the ceramics analyzed a marked change in the thickness of the vessels and the temper was noticed. The walls of the vessels became thinner and more uniform, while temper particles became finer, allowing for the observed thinning of the walls. This attempt to create slender, elegant pottery perhaps seems to represent an effort to replicate Greek examples imported from Attica. It may also speak to new techniques of ceramic manufacture taught to Thracian potters by Greeks. It is possible that the Greeks exposed the Thracians to different ways of preparing clay that removed impurities or large inclusions. They also may have taught them the size to which

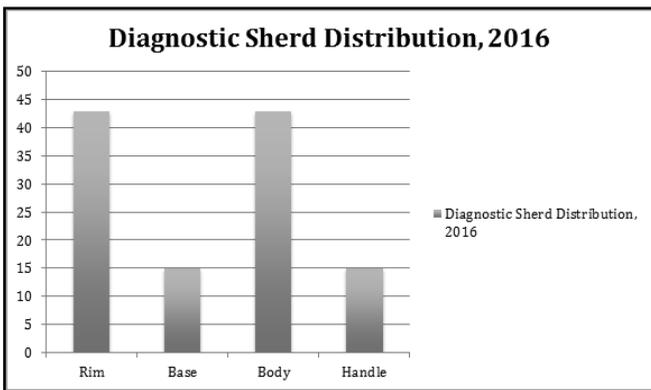


Figure 4. Graph showing the distribution of diagnostic vessel sherds from the 2016 study (Figure by author).

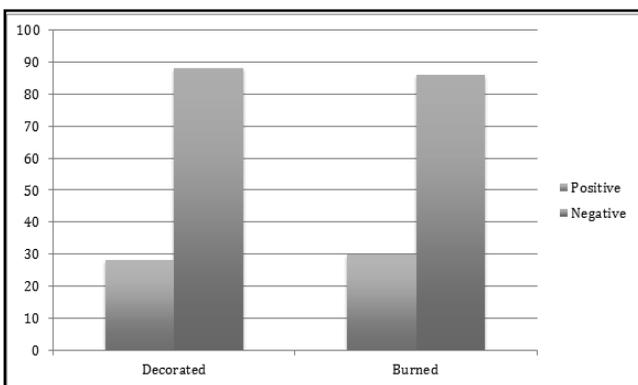


Figure 5. Graph showing the distribution of decoration types and use wear burning from the 2016 study (Figure by author).

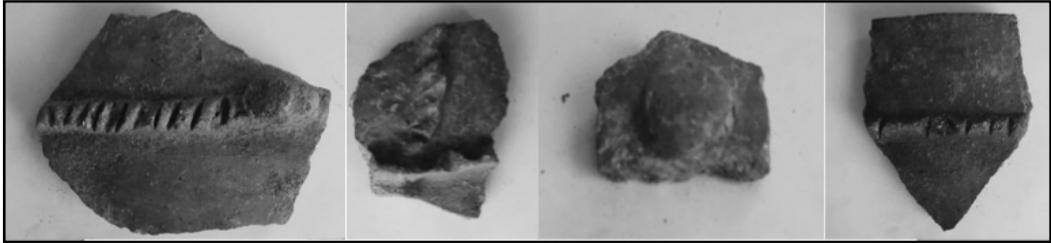


Figure 6. Image representing the different Thracian decorative designs (Figure by author).

temper should be crushed, such as grog from previous broken vessels, sand, or shells. This prevents vessels from shrinking without needing to create larger forms, which causes vessel walls to be thicker. Across Thrace potters also adopted wheel technology to form vessels, however it did not replace the handmade ceramics.

Planned Future Research

The preliminary studies of indigenous Thracian ceramics from an important site of long-term cross-cultural interaction revealed some consistencies and some changes in the formation of local ceramics during a period of Greek interaction in Thrace. The conclusions of the study allowed for the creation of broader research questions focused on the specific ways (processes through which) that ceramic technology is affected and transformed. However, analysis through visual inspection, measurement, and statistical comparison only allows for a certain amount of study. Further archaeological investigations will take place in order to gain a more encompassing and

testable theory about the changes that were observed through this preliminary study of Pistiros ceramics.

Future archaeological and archaeometric analyses will focus on establishing a typology and seriation of the Late Iron Age indigenous Thracian ceramics from southwestern Bulgaria using multiple site types that represent different forms and intensities of interaction between Thracians and Greeks. Then, ceramic samples will be cut into thin sections and examined for details about the clay, the firing temperature of the ceramic, and post-creation heating. Inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry will also be used to obtain a chemical fingerprint of samples, which will enable clay sourcing. This will show whether the clay employed was local or imported and if the vessels were manufactured locally. Together, these techniques will reveal the extent and pace to which Thracian ceramic traditions changed due to Greek interaction, and in what aspects of ceramic production changes occurred. These potential changes can then be compared to changes in the types of food prepared in the

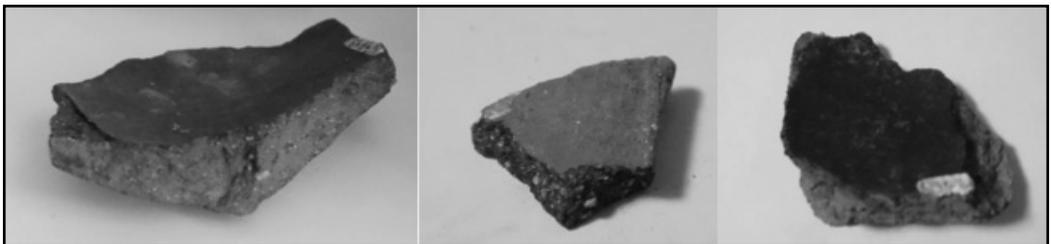


Figure 7. Image of different ceramic paste, temper, and use wear burning (Figure by author).

vessels themselves and consumed. Knowing the nature and extent of such changes can lead to a fuller understanding of non-elite Thracian identity during Greek interaction.

Conclusions

Trade throughout the Mediterranean during the Iron Age has been well documented in the archaeological record. One of the most thoroughly studied peoples of this period, the Greeks, traded across long distances and created settlements all around the Mediterranean. Traditionally, the establishment of Greek settlements in foreign lands has been associated with cultural domination and the enthusiastic acceptance of Greek materials or 'Hellenism'. The Greeks are considered colonists that conquered lands that possessed the most economic promise and subjugated the indigenous peoples. These concepts can be disproved through the analysis of the Thracian archaeological record, which speaks to a bilateral exchange of goods, ideas, and peoples.

The study of Thracian ceramics at an ancient emporion, or market center, reveals that some elements in the production and consumption of ceramics changed over time. These changes can be used to better understand the shifting identity of Thracians during this period of interaction. Future studies will utilize additional methodological approaches to help fully understand changes in ceramic material culture. Informing inferences about Thracian agency during the Late Iron Age, such investigations will lead to a reevaluation of colonial interpretations.

Acknowledgments:

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4. Attema 2008.
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6. Ashcroft and Tiffin 1998, 118.
7. Young 2003, 79.
8. Rogers 2005.
9. Stein 2005.
10. Rogers 2005.
11. Rogers 2005.
12. Gosden 2004.
13. Van Dommelen 2006.
14. Comaroff 1996, 20.
15. Baudrillard 1968.
16. Dietler 2005.
17. Demetriou 2012.
18. Hansen 2006.
19. Bouzek and Domaradzka 2008.
20. Nankov 2015.
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A Persuasive Interior: Reconstructing the Whitehall Palace Privy Chamber

Miranda L. Elston

One of the most distinguishable features of Henry VIII's reign was the meticulous use of architecture and the interior to instigate his supremacy as King of England. This research uses the king's Privy Chamber, a private apartment in the royal apartments, at Whitehall Palace as the paradigmatic example to critically assess the Henrician interior in an interdisciplinary study. Through an examination of the primary accounts and records, inventories, archaeological studies and visual evidence from extant interiors and visual representations, this essay digitally reconstructs the Whitehall Privy Chamber to analyze its function. The creation of digital reconstructions of the Whitehall Privy Chamber reveals tangible evidence allowing us to understand the Henrician interior as a holistic space that simultaneously aligned Henry VIII with his historic ancestry and imagery of the virtuous Renaissance Prince.

Introduction

Once situated along the banks of the Thames River, just north of Westminster, Whitehall Palace epitomized the architectural magnificence of the court of Henry VIII (1491-1547, ruling from 1509 until his death). Unfortunately, the splendor of Whitehall was lost when a fire destroyed most of the palace in 1698. Nevertheless, a trace of the palace's extraordinary nature is evident in an account of Whitehall from 1531 by Mario Savorgnano, Count of Belgrade. Savorgnano describes "windows on each side, looking on gardens and rivers, the ceiling being marvelously wrought in stone with gold, and the wainscot of carved wood representing a thousand beautiful figures; and around about there are chambers, and very large halls, all hung with tapestries."¹ Evident in this early account is the architectural brilliance that Whitehall once embodied as a royal palace in the 1530s-1540s.

Of all the Whitehall interiors, the most difficult to study is the king's Privy Chamber, due to the lack of accounts and records related to this room. However, as a case study in the application of digital recreations, the Privy Chamber becomes exemplary as a way to analyze fragmentary evidence associated with the king's Privy Chamber at Whitehall through a technological lens. The value in analyzing digital recreations also lies in the Privy Chamber's function in Whitehall. Although the Privy Chamber was originally a secluded place in the palace, the function of the Privy Chamber expanded during the reign of Henry VIII.² The Eltham Ordinances of 1526 designated fifteen staff members should be present for the king's use. Conversely, by 1530 the number in use had risen to twenty and by 1539 to twenty-eight.³ The Privy Chamber became increasingly used

for important audiences and ceremonies. In March 1542, the ennoblement of Sir John Dudley as Viscount Lisle took place in the Privy Chamber, and in February 1544 the Duke of Najera was received there as well.⁴ Furthermore, the shift in function of the Privy Chamber can be seen in that a new extended privy lodging that was subsequently built at Whitehall.⁵ The Privy Chamber in Whitehall Palace was therefore a space designed to foster a representation of Henry VIII as authoritative, knowledgeable, and vital for his courtiers who would have access to the chamber.

Although aspects of Whitehall's architectural footprint have been collected and analyzed by scholars such as Roy Strong and Simon Thurley, the current state of digital technology allows for new and innovative ways to visualize Henrician interiors such as that of the Privy Chamber. In my use of archival research and archaeological evidence to digitally reconstruct the king's Privy Chamber at Whitehall, I argue that the Henrician interior operated as a communicative space in which Henry VIII's authority was demonstrated.⁶ Moreover, the architectural and decorative features of the Privy Chamber at Whitehall reinforced Henry VIII's sovereignty through an iconographic program which merged antique designs and Gothic forms in an architectural allegory of his role as king.

Whitehall Palace: The Privy Chamber

Whitehall Palace was acquired by King Henry VIII around 1529 as a result of the downfall of Cardinal Wolsey, the Archbishop of York. Henry VIII ordered a significant reconstruction of the palace immediately upon gaining Whitehall.⁷ As Thomas Alvard wrote to the king in 1532, "glad i am that his graces buyldyngs here in westminster... there shall lak no diligence daye no nyght

according to his grace is pleasure.”⁸ Simon Thurley’s work has outlined that there were two building phases at Whitehall Palace under Henry VIII’s patronage. The first of which took place from 1530 to 1532 and the second from 1537 until Henry VIII’s death in 1547.⁹ It was during the first phase that improvements to the residential lodgings were undertaken which included the restructuring of the king’s Privy Chamber.

The king’s Privy Chamber was part of a sequence of the king’s private lodgings located on the first floor at the center of the palace (Fig. 1). Archaeological surveys indicate that the chamber was approximately six by fourteen meters with a doorway positioned on the north wall joining to the king’s Presence Chamber, a ceremonial reception room, by way of a small gallery. In the south wall, there was a doorway linked to an additional sequence of private apartments. There was also a doorway on the east wall that connected to a stair turret that gave access to a garderobe below.¹⁰ Thurley notes that given the archaeological plan of the Privy Chamber, the windows would have most likely been located on the west wall.¹¹ Additionally,

according to Thurley’s interpretation of the archeological plans of the Privy Chamber, he argues that the fireplace would have most likely been positioned against the east wall.¹² From these excavation records, a basic architectural template materializes. By exploring characteristic interiors from the period via surviving palaces, archival records, inventories, and extant paintings that depict Henrician interiors, a documentary library may be assembled on the customary decorative features, which supports certain stylistic selections used for the digital renderings.

The Architectural Interior of the Privy Chamber

The interior of the king’s Privy Chamber at Whitehall can be broken into two categories: that of design (floors, walls, and ceilings) and the furnishings. Henrician floors were customarily oak covered in plaster. These were then painted over in geometric patterns or tiled and covered with rush mats and textiles.¹³ Because the king’s Privy Chamber was located on the first floor, it would likely have been painted oak that could have been

covered with rush mats scented with herbs.¹⁴ For example, observable in the group portrait *The Family of Henry VIII* (Fig. 2) is just such a red, white, and black geometric patterned flooring. Notably, the architectural decorations in *The Family of Henry VIII* suggests that this interior may be a fanciful rendering of the king’s privy lodgings at Whitehall Palace. Thurley has argued

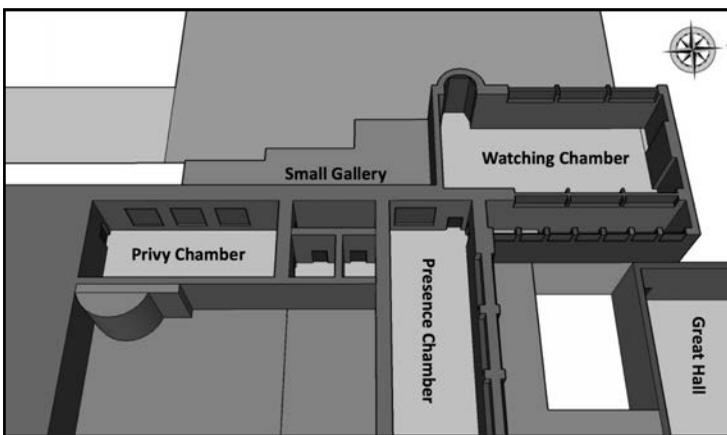


Figure 1. Aerial Floor Plan of Whitehall: Including the Watching Chamber, Presence Chamber, and Privy Chamber. Digital Reconstruction by the Author.

that visible through the archways in the background of the painting are the Whitehall privy garden on the left with low flower beds next to Princess Mary's lodgings and on the right a sliver of the turret of the great closed tennis court, which are known through archeological evidence found at Whitehall.¹⁵ *The Family of Henry VIII* is therefore helpful in its connection to Whitehall, even if it is a whimsical interpretation, especially when placed alongside other paintings of interiors and archival records.

Based on evidence from other palace Privy Chambers, the Privy Chamber would likely have included similar wall paneling and decorative ceiling as seen in *The Family of Henry VIII*. Characteristically, the king's chambers were typically done in linenfold wall-paneling which covered the full wall from the floor to the cornice, or up to the wainscoting, and a coffered ceiling.¹⁶ For instance, in the king's Privy Chamber at Greenwich Palace, Richard Ridge was paid to panel the chamber, framing and fitting new jole pieces [wall-plates] in 1537.¹⁷ After the paneling was installed, John Hethe decorated the paneling with gilt and gold.¹⁸ The similarities between this Greenwich

account reference to added gold and gilt decoration and the wall-paneling with gold embellishments in the background of *The Family of Henry VIII* helps to establish a visual example that is reinforced in the archival documents.¹⁹

Henrician ceilings were typically a coffered design painted in blue and red with rich gilding and the predominate Tudor Rose. At Greenwich Palace in 1537, Henry VIII ordered new battens for the Privy Chamber's ceiling and cornice in antiquework.²⁰ Stylistically popular, antiquework derived from the rediscovery of ancient Roman wall paintings from the *Domus Aurea* and commonly consisted of motifs of arabesque or grotesque decorative patterns and fantastic figures. A brilliant example of the integration of antiquework into interior decoration is visible in the classicizing cornice and columns in *The Family of King Henry VIII* and on the cornice and pilasters in the *Whitehall Mural* (Fig. 3). Furthermore, antiquework would also appear in the ceiling designs. Such can be seen in the gilded grotesquework embellishing the geometric fretted ceiling in the Wolsey Closet at Hampton Court Palace (Fig. 4) with its gilded timber frets and



Figure 2. Unknown, *The Family of Henry VIII*, ca. 1545. Oil on Canvas, 141 x 355 cm. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017.



Figure 3. Remigius van Leemput, copy after Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Whitehall Mural*, 1667. Oil on canvas, 88.9 x 98.7 cm. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017.

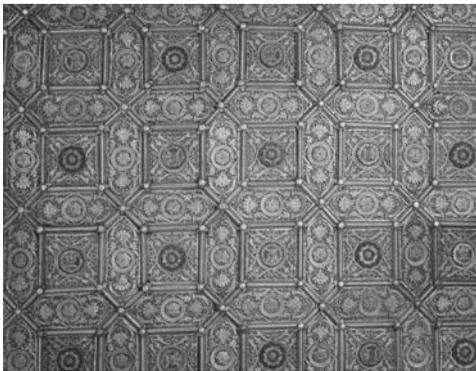


Figure 4. The Ceiling of the Wolsey Closet, Hampton Court Palace, Surrey. Photo by the author, 2013.



Figure 5. Doorway from the Great Hall. Hampton Court Palace, Surrey. Photo by the author, 2013.

heraldic badges, a ceiling design similar to that which is seen in *The Family of Henry VIII*.²¹

Doorframes and windows were regularly decorated in the Henrician interior. Doorframes were commonly constructed of stone and done in plain chamfered moldings designed around the prominent Tudor arch.²² A surviving doorframe, located at Hampton Court Palace (Fig. 5), contains a carved and painted image of a lion and rouge dragon holding the English crown and the arms surrounded by antiquework in the spandrels of the doorframe.²³ Windows would be either clerestory, placed above the cornice, or placed lower along the wall. An account from Greenwich Palace in 1537 reveals that in the king's Privy Chamber windows were decorated with antiquework on the jambs with five antique heads.²⁴ Although an idea of the type of doorway and windows can be derived from these examples, there is a lack of specific information regarding the king's Privy Chamber at Whitehall and whether the windows would have been clerestory or not, a question that will be explored later.²⁵

Decorating and Furnishing the Privy Chamber

In the account records, there are a few known items that would have been in the Privy Chamber at Whitehall. One account from Whitehall Palace describes the renovation of a fireplace in the Privy Chamber and states that “ffrenche men” worked on the front of the chimney for the king's Privy Chamber.²⁶ According to Thurley “ffrenche men” may imply a fireplace with stucco-duro or plaster reliefs which derived from a style commonly seen at Château de Fontainebleau.²⁷ Furthermore, royal fireplaces would have typically fused antiquework beside internal stonework painted with gilded terracotta roundels and spandrels filled with quatrefoils

or tracery.²⁸

One of the most unusual items in the Privy Chamber is a fountain recorded in the 1547 inventory. The record states that in the king's Privy Chamber there was "many straunge deuises of friers and diuerse other thinges hauing in it a fountayne of allablaster" set into the wall decorated with a ball of crystal and stones and was locked up with two doors, which were both decorated with leaves and garnished with pearls and gold thread.²⁹ A wall fountain of this kind must have been impressive, as it is the only item directly referenced for being in the Privy Chamber in the 1547 inventory. The ambiguous description could be denoting an *acquaio*, which is a wall fountain typically found in the *sala principale* of Florentine palaces that often included a built-in basin and an elaborate frame.³⁰ Italian decorative and stylistic influences were frequently found in England during the period, as can be seen in the application of antique work in the interiors, therefore the inclusion of an Italian *acquaio* should not be surprising. However, given the uncertainty of the reference in the inventory and limited surviving items from England, the design of the fountain is conjecture at best. Nevertheless, the position of the fountain in the king's Privy Chamber at Whitehall may have been on the east wall, due to a garderobe below it that would have had access to water, as well as the lack of other useable space.

The most well-known piece of decoration in the Privy Chamber was Hans Holbein the Younger's *Whitehall Mural* (ca. 1537). The mural portrayed the commanding figure of Henry VIII set within the dynastic context of his parents and his wife Jane Seymour, who bore his son and heir. Most simply, the *Whitehall Mural* is an evocative image of dynasty and virility.³¹ The architectural setting of the mural, however, projects a

familiarity with prevalent classical and antique influences in the applied antique work cornice and architectural shell niches in the background of the mural. It is conceivable that the internal architecture of the mural, although fictive, responded to the interior decoration of the Privy Chamber, thus sharing similar architectural features. Such can be perceived in the antique work and architectural shell niches in the mural when compared to the typical Italian wall-fountain design and the commonality of the antique work on the cornice and pilasters in other examples like *The Family of Henry VIII*, with its own references to Whitehall palace. Thurley argues that the mural would have been located on the south wall of the Privy Chamber.³² Furthermore, both Thurley and Strong contend that the mural would have been placed like a gable window. This assertion is supported by Charles Pantin in 1673 when he writes that the mural was "sur le pignon de la Croisée" and the internal perspective of the painting suggesting a higher placement.³³ If this is correct, the mural would have been above the wall paneling therein opening up more space for the fireplace and fountain to be located along the east wall.

The position of the mural above the wainscoting would have allowed for the hanging of textiles, which we know were in the interior. The accounts of the Great Wardrobe from Whitehall Palace refers to the repair of twelve tapestries that were for use in the Privy Chamber of the king.³⁴ Thomas Campbell's survey of Henrician textiles describes that in Henry VIII's inner chambers those with antique or classical themes were the most common.³⁵ By cross-referencing the wardrobe accounts with Henry VIII's inventories, only a few possibilities emerge, suggesting that the tapestries in the Privy Chamber would have been similar to the

Arras of the History of the Twelve Months.³⁶ Additionally, the 1542 inventory states that a Cloth of Estate served as a hanging within the King's Privy Chamber, which was later moved to the Tower Wardrobe by 1547.³⁷ The inventory describes this Cloth of Estate as being made of gold tissue with purple and crimson embroidered badges and arms of the king.³⁸ The richness of such a textile is apparent in the hanging displayed behind the figure of Henry VIII in *The Family of Henry VIII*. Regrettably, the placement of the tapestries and Cloth of Estate are not stipulated in the inventories, as has been seen in other items addressed above, and were most likely not permanent items within the chamber.³⁹

Digital Recreations & Analysis: An Interior of Persuasion

From these known items and architectural features combined with the ubiquitous Henrician decoration previously outlined, an impression emerges of the Whitehall Privy Chamber. And such an impression visibly crystalizes through digital reconstructions. It should be noted that the aim of reconstructing the Privy Chamber is not to suggest its definite appearance, but to help visualize the evidence we have, separating it from our current gaps in knowledge. The importance of digital recreation is the opportunity they present to project adaptable three-dimensional architecture, which then enables scholars to understand the different dynamics at play within an interior. The process of digitally recreating the interior is didactic in itself and can lead to a new type of spatial awareness when individual items are placed in relationship to one another in a holistic space. Moreover, the procedure of imputing different features of the interior into the digital recreation and leads to new questions previously unconsidered.

Two distinct questions arose in my initial research involving the placement of the *Whitehall Mural* in relationship with the windows and the position of the wall fountain. Beginning with extrapolating the decorative and architectural details established from archival and visual records, I construct the basic templet of the architectural design of the interior. All the applied imagery in the digital recreations are based on either extant interior decorations or the previously mentioned paintings, whose application is supported by the archival records that confirm similar design elements in comparable royal interiors. With the templet of the interior created, I was then able to create two different versions of the Privy Chamber at Whitehall for analysis. Since the placement of the *Whitehall Mural* is debatable, the first recreation (Figs. 6 & 7) assumes that the Whitehall Mural was placed low on the wall, while the second recreation (Figs. 8 & 9) considers how it would look if the mural was placed above the wainscoting.⁴⁰

The capability of digital recreations to be used as a research tool allows for different possibilities to be compared to each other in an adaptable platform. In terms of the *Whitehall Mural*, the internal architecture of the mural clearly responds to the interior decoration of the Privy Chamber, which can open up research on the ways in which works of art would have been conceived of in terms of the interior. Additionally, as previously stated both Thurley and Strong contend that the mural would have been placed above the wainscoting, an argument that seems to be supported by the availability of open space for the tapestries that we know would have been hung in the Privy Chamber, as visible in the digital renderings.⁴¹ Furthermore, the placement of the mural responds to questions on the position of the wall fountain in connection to the garderobe and fireplace, which through further study could reveal more

information on the design and construction process of Henrician palaces. It is through digital recreations that relationships between known objects can be better explored to either present new research questions or solidify previous scholarly arguments.

The practical application of digital recreations allows for scholars to examine the Privy Chamber's architecture and decoration jointly, which when considered as a space designed to promote Henry VIII helps to reveal the interior's persuasive message. In viewing the chamber as a cohesive space, as it would have been visually experienced, the Privy Chamber at Whitehall more explicitly reveals a sophisticated mixture of antiquework and Perpendicular Gothic influences. The Privy Chamber's Gothic decoration is best characterized by a vertical emphasis of the elaborate window tracery, slim stone mullions, fan vaulting, spandrels filed with quatrefoils or tracery, and the Tudor arch, which are most clearly present in the design of doorways, windows, and fireplaces.⁴² The visual rhetoric of Perpendicular Gothic in the royal interior has allegorical value due to the historical precedence of the style and the location of Whitehall Palace. Of specific importance is Whitehall's direct proximity to Westminster Abbey, historically the center of political and religious power in England, as can be seen in the later 'Agas Map' of London (Fig. 10). The visual correlation of the Gothic styled Westminster Abbey and the political relationship of the kings who constructed and added to the Abbey, such as Henry VIII's father Henry VII, would have created a visual association between Whitehall Palace's gothic qualities and English royal ancestry.

Reinforcing Henrician lineage in the architecture was the abundance of heraldry directly linking to Henry VIII's ancestors, which created a complex layering of lineage and stability of rulership.⁴³ As previously

noted, the royal interior was frequently enriched with the emblems of Henry VIII, including the Tudor Rose and portcullis, as well as the English royal arms, some of which are visible in the dynastic *Whitehall Mural*. The authority heraldry had within the Henrician court is well documented by scholars such as Sydney Anglo's study on spectacle and pageantry in the early Tudor England, as well as by Strong and String.⁴⁴ In 1530, Henry VIII issued letters patent under the Great Seal stating that Thomas Benolt would undertake necessary visitations to "reform all false armory and arms devised without authority, marks unlawfully set or made...whether it be in stone, windows, plate or any other..."⁴⁵ The focus on maintaining and regulating the royal badges and mottos in perfect condition reflects on the cultural authority invested in these chivalric symbols as instruments to demonstrate the legitimacy of the dynasty.⁴⁶

If Gothic and heraldic architectural features aligned Henry VIII with his royal lineage, then antiquework positioned him as a learned and sophisticated king. At Whitehall Palace, archeological evidence has shown that antiquework covered both the exterior and interior of the palace, as can be seen in the surviving fragments uncovered from the excavation of the back stair of the privy kitchen at Whitehall Palace.⁴⁷ Extending beyond the mere application of a decorative pattern, antiquework reflects Henry VIII as a knowledgeable prince who is partaking of the latest fashions spreading as a result of the migration of artists to England, such as Holbein and Pietro Torrigiano, and advances in print culture. Connected to the classical influences circulating in England was the notion of the ideal Renaissance prince, based on the Platonic idea of the 'philosopher-ruler' who was intelligent in both political and humanistic discourses.⁴⁸



Figure 6. Digital Recreation, Privy Chamber without clerestory windows, facing south. Wall Fountain, Florence, ca. 1520. Da Rovezzano, Benedetto, 5959:1-1859 © Victoria and Albert Museum. Digital Reconstruction by the Author.



Figure 7. Digital Recreation, Privy Chamber without clerestory windows, facing south-east. Digital Reconstruction by the Author.



Figure 8. Digital Recreation, Privy Chamber with clerestory windows, facing south-east. Digital Reconstruction by the Author.



Figure 9. Digital Recreation, Privy Chamber with clerestory windows, facing east. Digital Reconstruction by the Author.

The combination of heraldic culture joined with antiquework fused these two distinct approaches to authority and rulership together in the Henrician interior: that of the chivalric knight and the Renaissance prince. Both heraldic court culture and Renaissance theories of magnificence promoted display as a communicative form of power, which had distinct associations for Henry VIII. String has argued that in the ceiling design for the Chapel Royal in St James's Palace there is an unusual combination of fashionable Renaissance decoration with a heraldic programme that reflected the traditional Tudor symbols and possibilities of new alliances through marriage.⁴⁹ A similar use of decoration was incorporated in the Privy Chamber in Whitehall, and such models were essential for Henry VIII's representation of traditional authority rooted in the monarchy and church and that of a humanist-educated and *au courant* ruler.

Henry VIII's Privy Chamber served as a communicative form of power through its presentation of such decoration to these changing audiences. The inclusion of Gothic motifs and antiquework in the interior demonstrates the use of display as a reinforcement of authority. It was a commonly

held notion during the sixteenth century that power and authority could be best conveyed through the visual representations of virtue. The value of using interiors as a form of influence can be perceived in Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Booke named the Governour* (1531) when Elyot claims,

*"Semblable decking ought to be in the house of a nobleman or man of honour. I mean certain ornaments of hall and chamber, in arras, painted tables, and images containing histories, wherein is represented some monument of virtue, most cunningly wrought...whereby other men in beholding may be instructed, or at the lest ways, to virtue persuaded."*⁵⁰

The interior served the function of portraying the honor and virtue of the patron to edify the audience. Reinforcing such a proposal is String's argument that Henrician imagery was meant to purposely communicate in terms of a visual language.⁵¹ As such, in Henrician England a truly distinctive methodology towards the royal interior as a device to display authority to the particular audience was fashioned.

Digital renderings of the Privy Chamber do

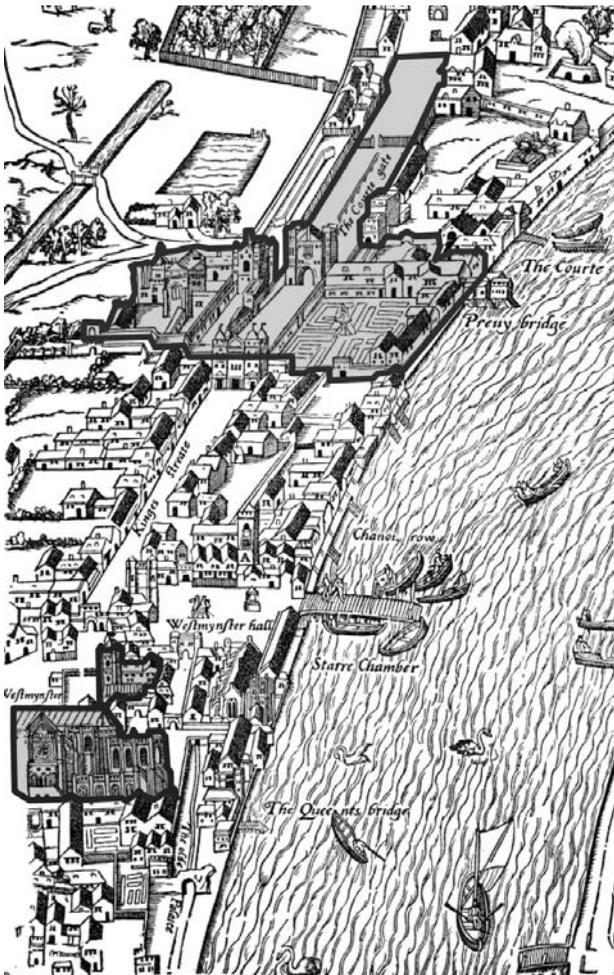


Figure 10. Civitas Londinvm. (Copperplate Agas Map of London detail of Whitehall and Westminster), c. 1561-1566. [Interactive edition of the Agas Map]. *The Map of Early Modern London*. Janelle Jenstad (Ed.). Retrieved from <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm> with kind permission of the London Metropolitan Archives, City of London.

not allow us to step back in time to have a truly immersive experience in the royal interior, they do permit a new lens through which to analyze the architectural past. In terms of the Privy Chamber a greater care can be given to the allegorical meanings of the interior formed through the juxtaposition of separate features. Moreover, the use of digital technology for scholars has wider applications

for exploring the interior in more dynamic and adaptable ways. It is in the application of such technological platforms that the Privy Chamber reveals a simultaneous align of Henry VIII with the representation of his historic ancestry as well as with the imagery of the virtuous Renaissance Prince.

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Endnotes:

1. Cal. SP. Ven., vol. IV, 286-87.
2. HO, 154; and Thurley 1993, 137.
3. HO, 154; and Thurley 1993, 137.
4. British Library/British Museum Add. MS 6113 f. 89; L&P, xix, no. 459; also see Thurley, 1993, 139.
5. Colvin 1982, 360.
6. The application of terms such as communication and persuasion are based on String's use and argument in *Art and Communication*. For more information see String 1996.
7. Cal. SP. Ven., vol. IV, 1527-33, no. 664.
8. PRO SP 1/71 ff.146, 148, and PRO SP1/71 f. 114v, also see Thurley 1999, 39.
9. Thurley 1999, 38.
10. Thurley 1993. For an example of such a stair serving the king's Privy Chamber see Thurley, 1993, 127 (drawing 166).
11. Thurley 2008, 27 and 48.
12. Thurley 1999, 19. However, the position of the fireplace on the east wall is also problematic as there was a stair turret on the same wall.

13. Typically, as Thurley maintains, the ground floors were able to support tiles, bricks or flagstones, whereas first-floor rooms would only occasionally be tiled. An exception was Hampton Court Palace, as the Great Hall was paved with tiles in October 1532. TNA: PRO E36/241 p. 631; Weir 2001, 47; and Thurley 1993, 230.
14. Weir 2001, 47.
15. Thurley 1993, 214-215; and Weir 47. Weir has argued that although many of the paintings that include Henrician interiors were fanciful inventions, they present items that would have been typical suggesting that perhaps they did exist.
16. In the 1547 inventory, there are several entries in reference to the application of wainscoting within different chambers "Item the walles of the haule cealed round aboute wth waynescottes being soore decayed, Item the Ceeling rounde aboute the parler of wanescott Carved." Starkey 1998, and 349.
17. "framynge inougyn & fyttyng upe of new jole pyces [wall-plates] ronde about the said chamber" Colvin 1982, 105.
18. "for lx yards of jole pyces [wall-plates] with a bottell gylte and a casment with fine byse written with the kyngs worde with letters of leade gylte with fine gold pryce the yard xvj d. Colvin 1982, 104, also see Bodleian Library MS Rawl. D 780, ff. 23, 25v, 36.
19. Within the 1547 inventory, there are several entries in reference to the application of wainscoting within different chambers, for more information see Starkey 1998, 349; and Colvin, 1982 105.
20. "for a bargyn ingroste with him... ffor tryng, framynge inbouyng and ffyttyng upe of new battens in the roug of the kyng's privy chamber after the annttycke facion and in tryng...". Bodleian Library Rawl. MS d 780 f 25v; Thurley 1999, 207; and Rye 1865, 200. Battens were a piece of wood used in construction to provide a fixing point, battens were commonly timber or plaster decorations with colorful badges and heraldic devises. For more information on see, Gapper 1998.
21. The term 'fretwork' relates to decorated plaster ceilings contains the words 'fret', 'fretwork' or 'fretting'. For more information see Gapper 1998.
22. Chamfered moldings are a cut-away or beveled edge. Thurley 1999, 225.
23. Spandrels, the space between the outer curve of an arch, was often decorated.
24. Colvin 1982, 104.
25. Thurley 2008, 27 and 48.
26. British Museum/Library MS Royal 14 B IV A; and Thurley 1993, 227.
27. In 1536, at Hampton Court Palace, James Mercaden and Robert Sande were also described as "Frenchmen". TNA: PRO E36/243, March-April, March- May 1536; and Colvin 1982, 133, also see Thurley 1993, 227.
28. Thurley 1999, 227. Quatrefoils designs of four partially-overlapping circles or tracery, a type of architectural ornament of interlacing lines, were common decorations.
29. "Item ther is sett into the Walle in the previe/ chambre a thinge artificiallie made like a rocke wherin is many straunge deuises of friers and diuerse other thinges hauing in it a fountayne of allablaster whiche is sore decayed and vppon the tope of the foutayne a round Bale of christall wherin was three heddes of gold whiche are gone and xiiij stone made like deddes also gone whiche was supposed to be Camewes being sett abowte in a Border euery one of a compase of a grote all whiche fountayne and rocke is locked vpp with two Leaues like windowes the whiche leaves ar garnesdhed with pearle and golde threde pirlid." Starkey 1998, 418.
30. Two extent *acquaio* from Florence are from the Girolami Palazzo c. 1500 and the Palazzo Fossombroni c. 1527-34, both of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see Ajmar-Wollheim and Denis 2006, 284 and 286.
31. String 1996, 71-72.
32. Thurley 1999, 48.
33. This is written by Charles Pantin in 1673, who calls the placement of the mural "sur le pignon de la Croisée", and according to Thurley this would translate as "placed like a gable". Seen in Thurley 1999, 48; and Foister 1981, 233.
34. TNA: PRO E101/423/10 f. 74 r. The Great Wardrobe was the section of the royal household that supplied the king and his household with clothing and furnishings, for more information see Hayward 2012.
35. Campbell 2007, 80.
36. Campbell 2007, 80.
37. TNA: PRO E351/16 f.12; by 1547; British Museum/British Library Harl. MS 1419A.f.29.
38. TNA: PRO E351/16 f.12; by 1547; British Museum/British Library Harl. MS 1419A.f.29.
39. Henrician interiors traditionally were quite bare in their furnishings as furniture and small objects would be moved depending on the need at that time, see Thurley 1993; and Weir 2001.

40. There had been a long tradition of decorating royal houses with mural cycles, for more information see TNA: PRO E351/3322.
41. Seen in Thurley 1999, 48; and Foister 1981, 233.
42. One of the finest surviving examples of the use of the Perpendicular Gothic style in the Henrician interior remains at Hampton Court Palace in the Bay Window in the Great Hall.
43. Henry VII ordered that The Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey should be painted with “our armes, badges, cognisants, and other convenient painting,” because such lavish decoration exposed that “a king’s work [was] appertaineth. As seen in Micklethwaite, 1883, 368. Also see Anglo 1969; Strong 1967; and String 2008.
44. For more information see Anglo 1969; Strong 1967; and String 2008.
45. Wagner 1956, 123-34. Letters patent are open letters issued under the Great Seal (a seal attached to a document denoting the Sovereignty knowledge and assent to the contents of that document) that cover grants of official positions, lands, commissions, privileges and pardons.
46. Thurley 1993, 101.
47. Thurley 1993, 36; and Thurley 2008, 20.
48. Richardson 2002, 25.
49. String 1996, 146.
50. Elyot 1883, 22.
51. String 2008.

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Interview with Dr. Arnau Garcia, 2016-2017 IEMA Postdoctoral Fellow

Ashlee Hart

Dr. Arnau Garcia is currently the Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology at the University at Buffalo, SUNY. He grew up in a village near Barcelona and received his undergraduate degree in History at the University of Barcelona in 2005. After graduation, his professional archaeological career began digging rescue excavations. In 2008 Dr. Garcia received a Master's degree and in 2013 he completed his Doctorate degree at the Catalan Institute for Classical Archaeology (ICAC), a research center of the Rovira i Virgili University in Tarragona. After his PhD and before starting his work at IEMA, Dr. Garcia worked as a postdoctoral researcher on ICAC projects.

What are the current research interests? What are the current projects in which you are involved?

My field of research is landscape archaeology or the study of our present landscapes in their dimensions as cultural products and the result of long-term human-environment interactions. As an archaeologist I am interested in the identification and interpretation of past human actions in different geographic areas and, for me the most interesting part, the integration of the archaeological record in studies based on interdisciplinary and diachronic approaches. My research has been focused on the landscapes of the Mediterranean region. In my studies, I use GIS-based analysis, photogrammetric reconstruction, aerial imagery analysis, archaeomorphological and Historic geographical analysis, and field survey methodologies.

Since I completed my PhD, I have participated in projects with the Catalan Institute for Classical Archaeology (ICAC) Landscape Archaeology Research Group in Northeastern Spain. Our current research takes place in the basin of a river called Ter, in a couple of its upper valleys in the Pyrenees Mountains, and in the littoral plains around the mouth of the Ter. Both areas are highly anthropized landscapes where human activities, since prehistory, can be traced through archaeological and paleoenvironmental data.

This year I started to work on a new project on the Island of Menorca, the lesser known of the Balearic Islands (except, maybe, for the archaeologists interested in Bronze and Iron Age cultures). I am involved in a project with the University of the Balearic Islands focused on an area next to a small natural harbor where both archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data could contain some clues about the first colonization of the Island by humans.

I am also collaborating on two survey projects in Greece. The first one is in Thrace, where I am working with a Greek team who conducted an intensive survey in the ancient city of Abdera and its territory. The second is in the plains of Western Thessaly. In this territory, massive land reclamation works in the 1970's has had an strong impact on archaeological sites, so we are working on the analysis of ancient aerial images, cartography, and local memories to "rescue" a disappeared archaeological record.

Finally, I am the head researcher of two projects, small in terms of both budget and geographic extension, in villages near Barcelona. I have a very particular interest in those projects because they have been designed by and are being carried out together with local institutions. They are directed to put in practice more direct applications of landscape archaeology studies in the improvement of cultural heritage management by local communities. In fact, one of the areas of research in which I would like to invest more time in the future is in the uses of landscape archaeology concepts and methodologies in the context of territorial (urban and non-urban) planning.

Your work as the IEMA post-doc centers on the study of mountainous landscapes, what led you to this interesting field of study? How did you get interested in the subject in Spain?

The most direct reason is that the ICAC Landscape Archaeology Group has a very strong research program on archaeology of high mountain areas. During my Master's studies, we came into contact with the different projects carried out by the ICAC, and, for me, the one about archaeology of mountains was the most interesting. I started to collaborate with them. I did my Master's dissertation about the subject and then I had the opportunity to continue the work for my PhD.

From an archaeological perspective, mountain areas contain very valuable archaeological information about specific types of settlement and economic activities (mainly about herding, forestry and metallurgy) that are complementary and not usually documented in Urban-Agricola lowlands archaeological record. In the Mediterranean, high mountains environments contain also Palaeoecological records that do not exist in other areas, allowing the possibility of a detailed analysis of local interrelationship between human and environmental dynamics. On the other hand, traditionally, mountain landscapes have not been considered interesting areas from the archaeological point of view. In this sense, the research conducted in the last decades has had the opportunity of introduce a new archaeological record for the analysis of prehistoric and historical societies.

But, in the first place, I should have said that before even imagining that one day I would do a PhD about mountain landscapes, hiking in the mountains was one of my favorite activities. So, it is not surprise that during the last years, going to the Montseny (the mountains I studied in my PhD) and the Pyrenees for fieldwork has been one of the happy moments during the year.

What aspects of your research do you believe has, or will, contribute the most to archaeological understandings of the past?

Well, that is not easy to answer. On one side, I hope that all the research in which I participate is contributing somehow to expand the knowledge about different aspects of the past and that it could help other researchers in the future.

But here in particular, I would like to underline the studies of mountain landscapes: the research done over

the last 15 years by different groups, including the ICAC group, has changed the perspective of mountain landscapes as an archaeological document. A sampling of these studies will be presented in this year's IEMA Conference.

Whose work, both archaeological and other, has proven to be the most inspiring to your own work? Is there a particular archaeologist or mentor that has been influential in your career?

On a larger scale, one of the most stimulating characteristics of working in an area such as landscape studies is that you are on the border of various disciplines. Lectures in geography, history, and earth sciences have been, together with those about archaeology, important in the development of my research projects.

My most immediate influences come, logically, from the "environment" where I did my PhD and working with the human team of the ICAC Landscape Archaeological Research Group directed by Dr. Josep M. Palet. It has also been very important for me to have contact with the usual partners in my projects: the paleoenvironment group of the University of Barcelona, directed by Dr. Santiago Riera, and the sedimentologists of the University of Barcelona, Dr. Santiago Giralt and Dr. Ramón Julià. My ideas about how to develop research on landscape archaeology are mostly a result of the work on the interdisciplinary projects conducted by this team of archaeologists, palaeoenvironmentalists and geologists.

What have been the most rewarding, and most challenging aspects of your time as the IEMA post-doc?

This job has been my first contact with the American academy, and the first time

I lived in the U.S., so part of the challenge was the adaptation to a new place. Teaching the seminar and figuring out how to make it useful for the Master's and Doctorate students is probably the biggest challenge. It's also the first time that I am "in charge" of an event the size of the IEMA Conference. Those experiences have been challenging and rewarding at the same time, giving me the opportunity to learn from the work I have done.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that one of the most positive aspects of the IEMA experience is the reception. I think that previous IEMA fellows agree with that, so that's a really good characteristic of both the UB Anthropology and Classics Department's communities. Faculty, students, and staff have been really nice from the first day and willing to help in my adaptation, the conference organization, and the seminar class.

You have recently received a Postdoctoral position in Spain and a prestigious fellowship in Great Britain. Would you tell us a bit about the application process and the opportunities?

The first is a Research Grant from the University of the Balearic Islands and the second a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship, a European Union competitive grant for researchers in all fields. I obtained a grant to work for two years in the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge, England. Both are highly competitive and came after many rejected applications so I am very happy about both opportunities. I tell you that because I guess it is an incentive to be persistent.

They are research grants, that is, they are intended for researchers to contribute to projects carried out by research groups of the host institution and, at the same time, acquire new abilities from the work developed by the host group. Both

applications have been originated from previous collaborations with members of the destination groups and I think that on both applications processes the role of the host group has been a key factor. First, they are excellent groups, with an outstanding trajectory in archaeological research. And, second, they have been active in all the preparation and giving much important feedback to improve the application in order to make it successful.

What are your future ambitions? What is the future of your work? Is there a site, an area, a method, a theory, a person or university you have wanted to work with? Where do you see yourself doing in the future?

If you ask a postdoctoral researcher about the future, you risk receiving tears, anger and complaints as answer (plus you must multiply that by two if it is a South-European researcher and by five if he or she works in the humanities)... and after the drama you will hear that the future in this field is certainly uncertain. Fortunately, my perspective for the next couple years is to work on the projects related of the postdoctoral grants in the Balearic Islands and Cambridge. In the latter I will work in the Indus Valley, which is my first experience outside of Mediterranean Archeology.

In a longer-term perspective, the consolidation of a lectureship or a permanent contract in a research institution looks difficult, although, my intention is to be open to the opportunities that will come. In comparison to other countries, research in Spain has been traditionally low-funded by both public and private bodies. Work in other European or North American countries is a common destination for South European "young" researchers and it might be the case for me too.

In any situation, my main interest is to

carry out researches where I feel that my work is a positive contribution. And, finally, there is my permanently unachieved aim of spending more time publishing my previous and current research.

What advice would you give current graduate students that have just started to pick a topic, are working on their dissertation, or are searching for jobs?

First, read the advices from IEMA postdocs in previous Chronika issues, all of them provide excellent advice.

I suppose you are used to hearing that hard work and the communication of your ideas (with peer review publications at the core, but not only) is critical.

Finally, I do not know if this is good advice, but I would tell future and recent graduates that they should be open-minded, work in different directions and not be shy of knocking on doors. For example, the most common employment opportunities will be in the Academy or Heritage Management, having a foot in both areas could open different job opportunities, some of them perhaps unexpected. Another important concept for me is good projects: design your own projects and collaborate with good projects. Not necessarily the largest, or most prestigious, or most famous sites. Particularly for recent graduates, a good project is the one where you can learn, get involved in the research process, and where your contribution is valued and recognized.

Thank you Dr. Garcia.

CHRONIKA

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Chronika is an interdisciplinary, open access journal for graduate students studying the art and archaeology of the Mediterranean world. Chronika, like its parent organization the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology (www.iema.buffalo.edu), encourages interdisciplinary dialogues and innovative approaches to the study of the past.

Call for Submissions

Chronika welcomes submissions from graduate students that address topics relevant to European and Mediterranean archaeology. Articles must be 3,000 to 4,000 words in length, should detail research at or above the Masters level, and may include up to ten images. To have your article considered for this year's publication, please submit a 100 to 250 word abstract to chronika@buffalo.edu by **Friday, September 29, 2017**. You will be notified if your article is selected by October 9. The publication schedule will proceed as follows:

December 1	First draft of full article is due.
December 29	Article is returned to author with comments.
February 2	Revised article is due.
April 7	Chronika launches in print and online.

Thank you for your interest in Chronika, and we look forward to receiving your submission. Please direct any inquiries to [**chronika@buffalo.edu**](mailto:chronika@buffalo.edu).

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University at Buffalo
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College of Arts and Sciences

Archaeology of Mountain Landscapes: Interdisciplinary Research Strategies of Agro-Pastoralism in Upland Regions

The Tenth IEMA Visiting Scholar Conference

April 8-9, 2017

Greiner Hall, Ground Level

North Campus, University at Buffalo

Buffalo, NY 14261

iema.buffalo.edu/conference

Conference Organizer: Dr. Arnau Garcia
arnaugar@buffalo.edu

Agro-pastoral landscapes characterize not only upland plains or irrigated areas around water courses, but they also define most mountain landscapes, sometimes considered as "marginal lands" when the territories of urban centers are concerned. However, at least a fifth of the terrestrial surface could be defined as mountain areas, hosting a fifth of the human population and providing sustenance for a much larger percentage. Bearing this in mind it is not a surprise to know that mountain areas have been transited, inhabited, exploited and conceptualized by humans since the very beginning of the species.

Due to the multiple factors and relationships involved, landscape-shaping - not only in mountain areas - is an extremely complex subject. Landscape studies are part of a wide range of disciplines

such as History, Archaeology, Anthropology, Geography, Geology, Ecology, Economics, and Paleo-environmental Studies. In this research context, interdisciplinary and diachronic approaches have a great potential and they are a practical reality in nowadays research projects about mountain Landscapes.

Fieldwork developed during the last decades has changed our knowledge about the history of mountain environments. The 10th International Visiting Scholar Conference at the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology (IEMA) at the University at Buffalo will gather researchers who in different geographical areas (in both Eurasia and the Americas) have made significant contributions about land-use in mountain areas and human activities in the shaping of mountain cultural landscapes.

10th Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology International Conference

Keynote:

Stairways to heaven: mountains as sacred topographies

Felipe Criado (Institute of Heritage Sciences, Spanish National Research Council)

Talks:

José A. Beltrán (Rovira i Virgili University):
Landscape-Shaping in The Andes: The Case Of
Cusco As Inka Capital

Robert Brunswig (University of Northern Colorado):
Exploring Seasonal Transhumance of Hunter-
Gatherers and Neolithic Pastoralists in Poland's
High Tatras and Foothill Lowlands: Applying
Landscape Archaeology Methodologies from the
Colorado Rockies to the Western Carpathians

Michael R. Coughlan (University of Georgia):
Holocene anthropization of mid-elevation
landscapes around Pic d'Orhy, Western Pyrenees

Michael L. Galaty (Mississippi State University):
Agro-Pastoralism in a Dispersed Village, Mountain
Environment: Results of the Shala Valley Project,
Northern Albania

Emilie Gauthier (French National Center for
Scientific Research, University of Franche-Comté):
Farmers in mountainous and subarctic areas: a
diachronic history of land use and adaptation to
environmental conditions

Mercourios Georgiadis (University of Nottingham):
Research at the Late Bronze Age peak sanctuary
on Mt Leska, Kythera (Greece)

Adriano La Regina (University of Roma La
Sapienza): Ancient pastoralism and settlements in
Central Italy mountains

Yannick Miras (French National Center
for Scientific Research, Blaise Pascal
University): Addressing the complexity of the
paleoenvironmental impact of Prehistoric
settlement and Protohistoric urbanism in the
Auvergne mountains (Massif Central, France)

Franco Nicolis (Archaeological Heritage Office,
Autonomous Province of Trento): Central Alpine
environments as Mountain Cultural Landscapes
from prehistory to contemporary present

Klaus Oegg (Botanical Institute, University of
Innsbruck): The onset of alpine pastoral systems in
the Eastern Alps

Héctor A. Orengo (McDonald Institute for
Archaeological Research, University of
Cambridge): Coastal Mediterranean Mountains: a
neglected archaeological register for the study of
the first complex societies

Josep M. Palet (Catalan Institute of Classical
Archaeology): Landscape Archaeology in
Eastern Pyrenees high mountain areas (Segre &
Ter valleys): human activities in the shaping of
Mountain Cultural Landscapes

Christopher Prescott (University of Oslo): Norway's
mountain landscapes: national romantic legends
and the political economy of agro-pastoralism

Sabine Reinhold (Eurasia Department of the
German Archaeological Institute): From mobile
pastoralism to combined mountain economy – the
Late Bronze Age in the North Caucasus

Phillips Stevens (University at Buffalo): The Sacred
Mount

Pawel Valde Novak (Jagiellonian University):
Agro- or pastoral thinking about Mid-Mountains
Neolithisation

Ralf Vandam (University of Leuven): Hate or love?
Exploring the relationship between the marginal
landscapes of the Western Taurus Mountains, SW
Anatolia, and past communities

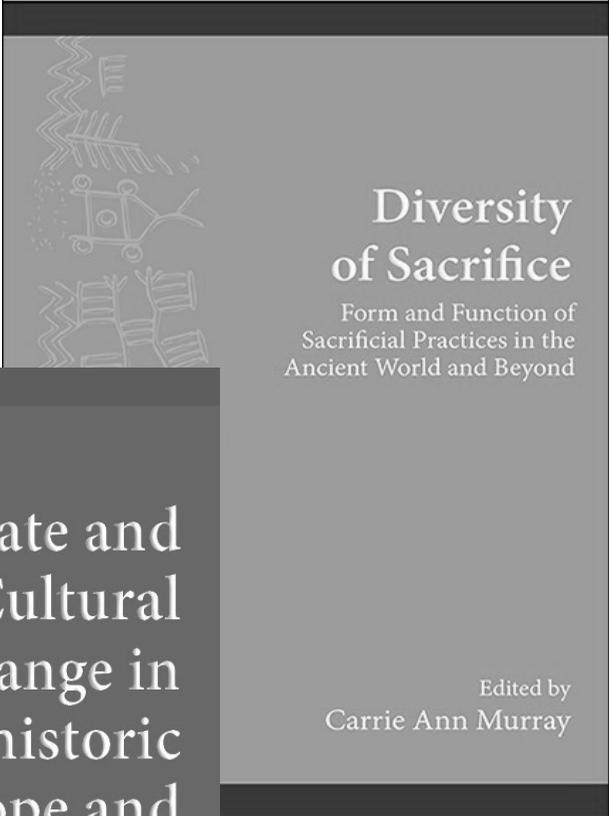
Martijn Van Leusen (Groningen Institute of
Archaeology): Developing a systematic approach to
the archaeological study of mountain
landscapes: the Raganello Basin experience

Cecilia Dal Zovo (Institute of Heritage Sciences,
Spanish National Research Council): Archaeology
of a sacred mountain: *longue duree*, mobile
pastoralism, and monumental landscapes in
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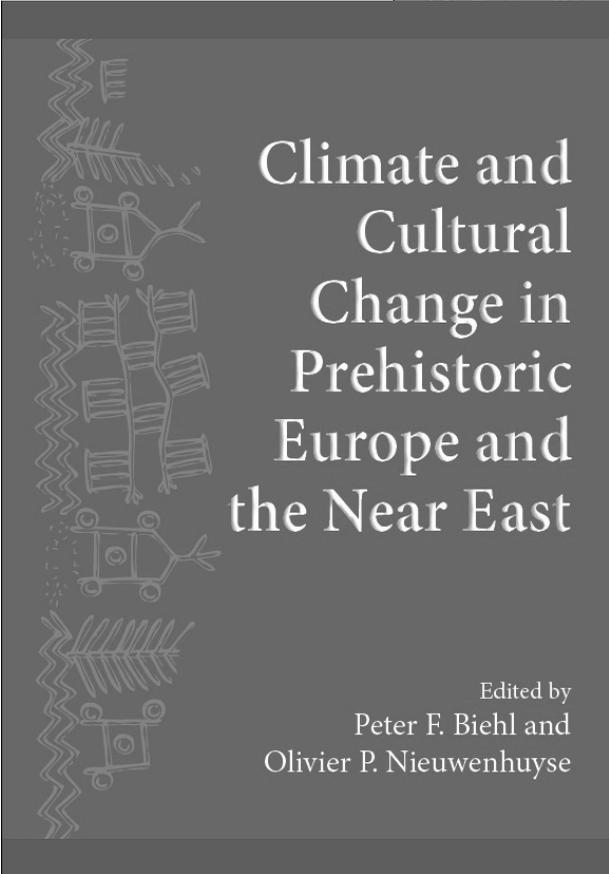
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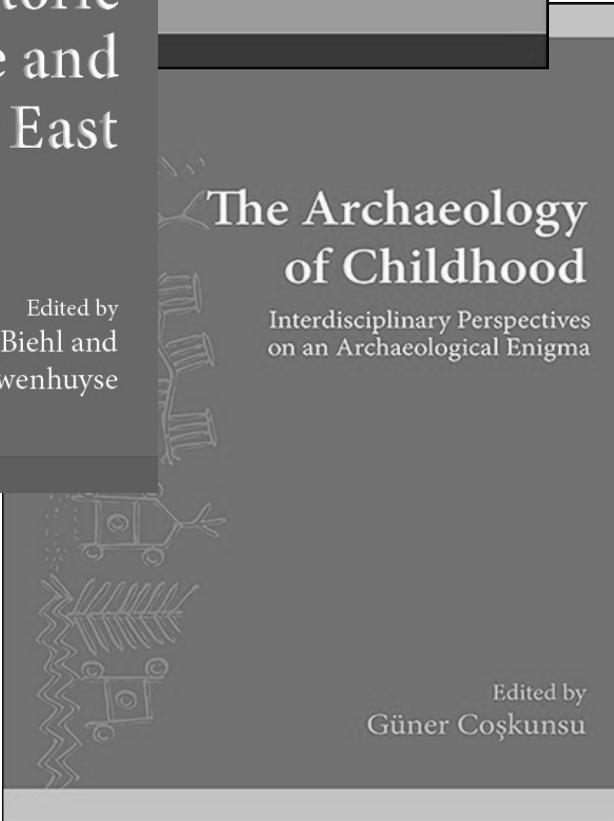
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