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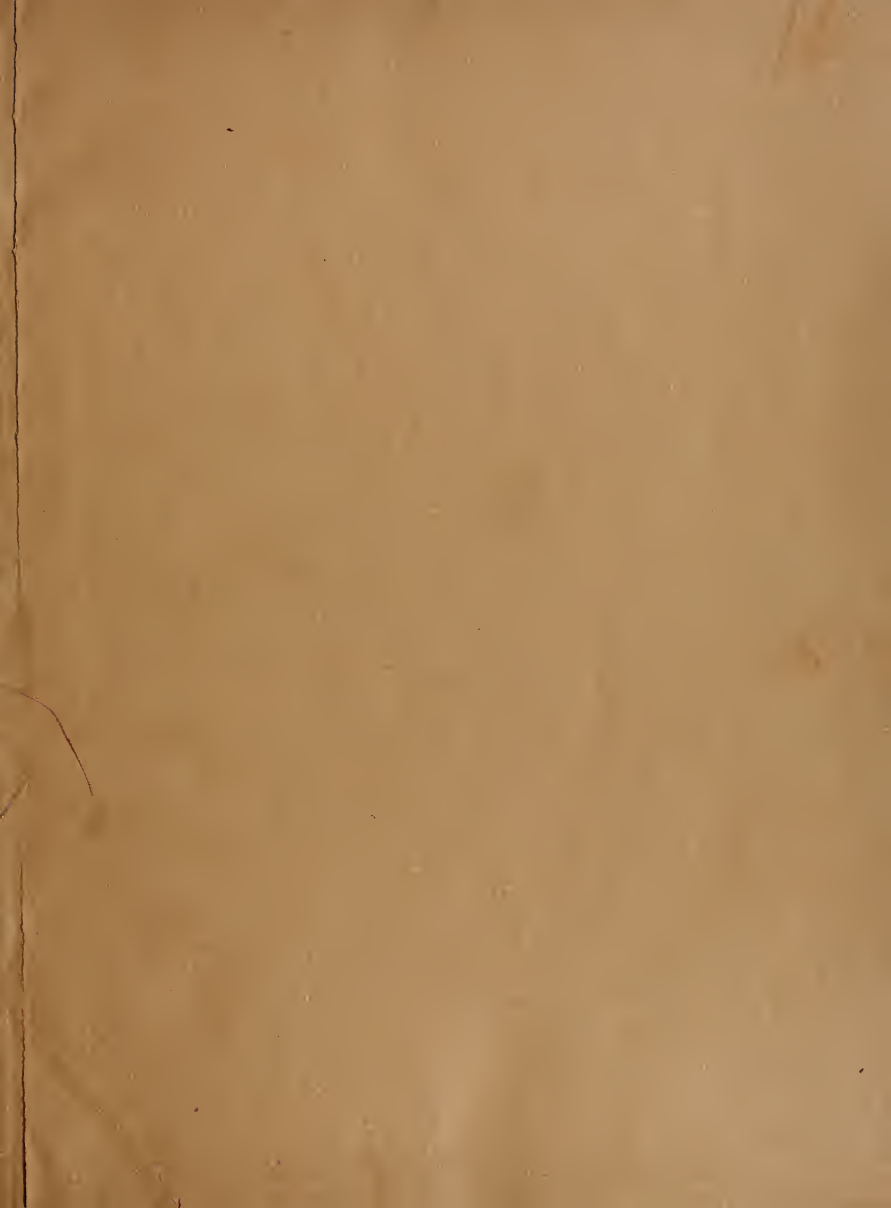
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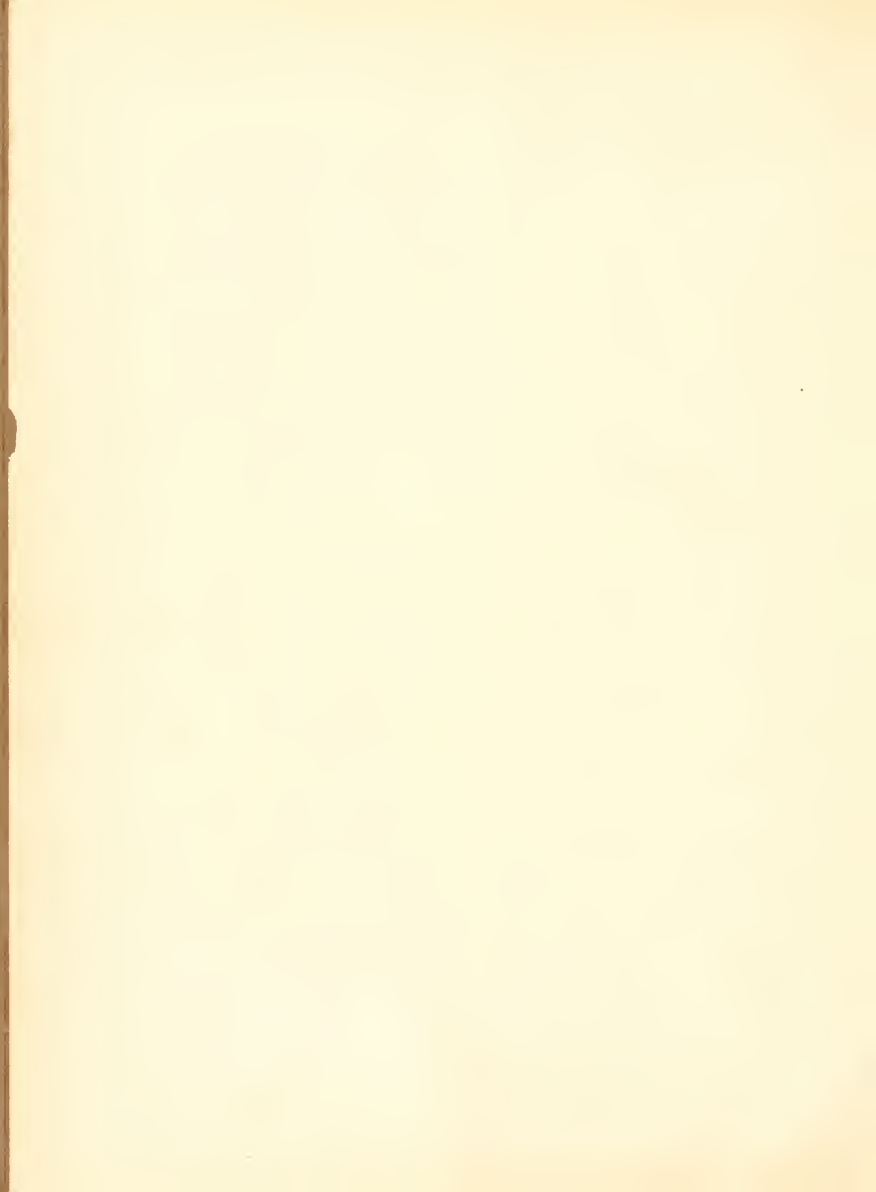
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THE ETHIOPIAN
IN GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

A dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies
of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A. American Journal of Archaeology
- Annali Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza
Archeologica
- Ant. Denk. Antike Denkmaeler
- Arch. Anz. Archaeologischer Anzeiger
- Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική
Arch. Zeit. Archaeologische Zeitung
- Ath. Mitth. Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen
Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung
- B.S.A. Annual of the British School at Athens
- B.C.H. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
- B. Metr. Mus. Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York
- B. Mus. F. A. Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston
- Bulletino Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza
Archeologica
- Jb. Arch. Jahrb. Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen
Instituts
- Jb. Kunst- u. Samml. Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen
des Allerhoechsten Kaiserhauses, Wien
- Jb. Phil. Paed. Neue Jahrbuecher fuer Philologie und Pae-
dagogik (Fleckeisen's Jahrbuecher)
- Jh. Oest. Arch. Inst. Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen
archaeologischen Instituts
- J.H.S. Journal of Hellenic Studies
- J.P.S. Journal of Roman Studies

24 Nov 1893

- Mél. Arch. Hist. Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
- Mon. Ant. Monumenti Antichi, Peale Accademia dei Lincei
- Mon. Pict. Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie
des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fon-
dation Piot)
- Monumenti Monumenti Inediti publicata dall'Instituto
di Cor^lrispondenza Archeologica
- Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst Muenchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst
- Not. Scav. Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
- Num. Chron. Numismatic Chronicle
- Rev. Arch. Revue Archéologique
- Rev. Num. Revue Numismatique
- Roem. Mitth. Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen
Instituts, Roemische Abtheilung

INTRODUCTION

No barbarian race had as continuous an interest for the Greek and Roman artist as the Ethiopian. Realistic portraits of the other known races of the classical world are relatively few, and belong almost entirely to the Hellenistic and Roman eras. The negro, on the other hand, was rendered with the utmost fidelity to racial type during the most restrained and idealistic period of Greek art. Attic vase painters who were content to indicate Orientals by their dress, with scarcely any distinguishing marks of race, delineated with marked realism the woolly hair and thick lips of the Ethiopian. From its earliest appearance in the art of the sixth century, the popularity of the type never waned in any productive period of classical art. It is probably due to the humble position of the Ethiopian that the great sculptors did not consider him a sufficiently dignified or important subject, since life-sized heads and statues are comparatively few. But for smaller objects the popularity of the negro type was tremendous, and is attested by a wealth of statuettes, vases, engraved gems, coins, lamps, weights, ink-wells, finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces and masks from classical sites.

Literary evidence as to the place of the black race in Greek and Roman life is very scanty and it would seem logical to supplement our knowledge of it from the extended use of the type in art. This was probably the intention of a Goettingen dissertation, "Die Aethiopen der altklassischen Kunst", published in 1861 by R. Loewenherz. No doubt his interest

Loewenherz, R. 1861

was attracted to the problem by the excitement then raging in the United States about the abolition of negro slavery. Unfortunately his work has not proved available in American libraries, and efforts to get it from Germany have so far been unsuccessful. Citations from it by other scholars show, however, that its conclusions could not be considered final now, since over half of the objects now known which show the negro type have been excavated since 1861.

Other work on the question has been confined to the publication of individual specimens which have come into museum collections. Most of these articles include a list of a few unrelated examples of the type and a few generalizations from them which are inaccurate in the main. The most important attempt to classify chronologically the known examples is an article by Schneider in the *Jb. Kunst. Samml.* III, 1885, pp.3-14, which he supplemented the following year by a list of the examples brought to his attention during the interval (*IV*, 1886, p.130). Schrader has published an article (*Berlin. Winckelmannspr.* VI, 1900) which is important for its discussion of the two most interesting life-sized heads but it does not give much information regarding the type as a whole. By far the most important contribution to the subject is an article by Buschor "Das Krokodil des Sotades" (*Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst.* XI, 1919, pp.1-43), which deals conclusively with the negro on vases of the fifth century. Very little has been done for the other periods, however, and the need for a general study of the type in classical art has

been pointed out by Babelon, Froehner, Perdriquet, Schreiber and others. Wace (B.S.A.X, 1903-4, p. 108) expressed the hope that this would form a part of Bienkowski's Corpus Barbarorum, but this hope has not as yet been substantiated. Schneider, who had great interest in the subject, announced at one time his intention of supplementing his catalogue of the type by a more complete study, but this was never done.

In view of these facts it has seemed increasingly desirable to throw as much light as possible on a subject pointed out by scholars as a profitable field of work, and concerning which little definite information has been presented hitherto.

In defining the problem the question of terminology must first be settled, since the popular and the scientific understanding of the word "negro" are at variance. European usage in this matter is far from uniform. The German archaeologists use "Neger", "Mohr" and "Aethiop" indiscriminately as synonyms. Even Buschor in his excellent article speaks of the same example as "Mohr" and as "Neger" in the same sentence. German museum catalogues use one term about as frequently as the other, and a study of the objects shows that they are evidently considered interchangeable. French archaeologists, while occasionally employing "étiopie", use "nègre" to cover all variations of dark skin regardless of the features. This is doubtless because of more frequent contact with the blacks of the French colonies in Northern

Africa than those south of the Great Desert. English scholars, more familiar with Egypt, generally call these classical negroes "Nubians", a usage which has considerable warrant, since it seems established that many entered Greece by way of Egypt from the region which corresponds to modern Nubia. The English also employ the word "negro", but the longer term "Ethiopian" is generally avoided by them.

Science limits the name "negro" to one group of African races, the Ulotrichi, the determining factor being, not the skin, but the crisply curling so-called woolly hair. The principal representatives of this group are the stock of Senegambia and Guinea, and its other outstanding characteristics are a short, broad nose, thick, projecting lips, a prominent jaw and abnormally long arms. America, with a delicate race problem on her hands, has long since disregarded any scientific distinctions between the various African races, and popular usage in this country defines a negro in terms of the color line. That we make certain illogical reservations is witnessed by the famous incident of the Southern darky who donned the fez of an Oriental and pretended not to understand English in order to be allowed to travel from New York to San Francisco in a sleeper. But generally speaking our racial feeling is directed against skin, and variations of the features are not taken into account. The use of the word is further complicated by existing legal definitions such as that of the State of North Carolina,

which declares any person a negro who has in his veins one-sixteenth or more of African blood.

Greek literature has no such confusion in nomenclature and gives to any member of a dark-skinned race the name which the Greek geographers derived from *αἶθω* and *ῥή*, that is to say, a man with a sun-browned face. In view of the tenebrous use of the word "negro", and the ethnological re-grouping of the African races since the centuries before Christ, this study will adopt the general name of "Ethiopian" by which to designate members of the dark race in Greek and Roman art.

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ETHIOPIAN INTO GREECE

The Ethiopia of Greek mythology has little relation to a study of the Ethiopian type in art. On a few vase paintings Ethiopians are depicted as the attendants of characters connected with legendary Ethiopia, but these attendants are more interesting for the manner in which they portray contemporary slave life in Greece than for their connection with the myth. The locale of such myths is worked out in an article entitled "Die Aithiopenländer des Anaromedanythos" by K. Tümpel (Jb. Phil.Paed., Supplementband 16, 1888, pp. 129-216). The references to the subject in Greek literature are given under the names Andromeda, Kepheus and Memnon in Poscher's "Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie", and under Aithiopia in Pauly-Wissowa's "Real-Encyclopaedie".

The mythical Ethiopia of Homer was a land at the remotest border of the world beside the stream of Ocean, inhabited by a race of men who held sacrificial feasts which even the gods attended.

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ἦκεανὸν μετ' ἁμύμονας

Αἰθιοπῆας

χθιστὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες
ἔποντο.

Iliad, 1, 423-4

εἶμι γὰρ αὐτὶς ἐπ' Ἦκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα
Αἰθιοπῶν ἐς γαῖαν, ὅθι ῥέζουσ' ἑκατόμβας

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

ἀθανάτοις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ μεταδαίσομαι ἱρῶν.

Iliad, XXIII, 305-307

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετακίαθε τηλόθ' ἔοντας,
 Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ δὲ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
 οἳ μὲν δυσσομένου ὑπερίονος, οἳ δ' ἀνιόντος
 ἀντιῶν ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρπείων ἑκατόμβης

Odyssey, I, 31-35

As the sun rose from the stream of Ocean close by, the inhabitants were subjected to its fierce heat and their faces were burned by it. This land was vaguely felt to be far in the east, in the neighborhood of India. A somewhat cloudy reconciliation of the myth with geographical facts took place when black men began to appear from the country south of Egypt. It was early understood as reasonable, however, that an Ethiopia of the west should exist as well as an Ethiopia of the east, since the sun must color men dark in the region where it set no less than in the region where it rose. Hence two geographical Ethiopias grew up in the place of the mythical Ethiopia. The differing physical characteristics of the Asiatic and African Blacks were recognized by Herodotus, who catalogues the two types among the army of Xerxes and describes them as follows: (Book VII, chapters 69 and 70, translated by Pawlinson)

"The Ethiopians (of Africa) were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm-leaf, not less than four cubits in length. On these they laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with

iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals. They carried likewise spears, the head of which was the sharpened horn of an antelope; and in addition they had knotted clubs. When they went into battle they painted their bodies, half with chalk, and half with vermilion. ***** The eastern Ethiopians - for two nations of this name served in the army- were marshalled with the Indians. They differed in nothing from the other Ethiopians, save in their language, and the character of their hair. For the eastern Ethiopians have straight hair, while they of Libya are more woolly-haired than any other people in the world. Their equipment was in most points like that of the Indians; but they wore upon their heads the scalps of horses, with the ears and manes attached; the ears were made to stand upright, and the mane served as a crest. For shields this people made use of the skins of cranes."

No such picturesque equipment as that which Herodotus describes appears in the representations of Ethiopians in art. But the artist catches the more subtle differences in feature which Herodotus passes by.

In the absence of exact geographical knowledge, the Ethiopia of Africa was something of a mystery, since only its northern limits were known, and its extent into the continent undefined. This, combined with the legendary aura which clung to it as a legacy from mythical Ethiopia, can be held responsible in large measure for the spirit of

fascinated curiosity with which the Attic artists of the fifth century reproduced the Ethiopian type.

How early did the Greeks learn of the existence of the African Ethiopians? It has been shown that Homer knew only the mythical country. Neither Minoan nor Mycenaean art have as yet afforded any portraits of a race with woolly hair and thick lips. The earliest appearance of the type in the art of the mainland is upon vases which can be dated in the latter part of the sixth century (Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, pp. 9-10). The fidelity with which the racial type is rendered is so marked that there is no doubt that Ethiopians were actually on Greek soil and served as models for the Greek artists. What were the circumstances of their introduction into Greece?

The early date which can be assigned to these vases refutes the conjecture of Schneider that they first entered Greece in the army of Xerxes, and that their sudden appearance in art is due to the deep impression left behind by their unusual aspect (Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 5). It is incredible that these vases are memory pictures of a retreating foe, and because of their date one must look for an earlier link between Greece and Ethiopia.

The most obvious connection between the two geographically is Egypt. Here the Ethiopian had been known for centuries, and had appeared upon Egyptian monuments since the Twelfth Dynasty, roughly corresponding to the Minoan period of Greek

art, (Lepsius, Denkmäeler aus Aegypten und Aithiopen, part III, pl.CXXXVI; Champillon-le-Jeune, Monuments d'Égypte et de Nubie, pl.CCXXXIX). In consideration of the influence of Egypt upon the art of Greece in the early period, it is improbable that a race familiar in Egyptian life could long remain unknown to the Greeks.

Prior to the founding of Alexandria, the strongest bond between Egypt and Greece was the city of Naukratis in the Nile delta. Flinders Petrie (Naukratis, I, p.) and Prinz (Funde aus Naukratis, pp.1-6) place the date of its founding by Milesian colonists in the early half of the seventh century B.C. from the evidence of its pottery and its scarabaeus industry, and the testimony of Greek authors. By the middle of the sixth century it had achieved a marked commercial eminence. It was granted certain privileges and immunities by the government of Egypt. It was the gateway of Egypt for all foreigners, since it was the only port of the delta which foreign ships were permitted to enter. It was therefore the most logical place for Greeks to have their first contact with members of the Ethiopian race, and the first negroes to enter Greece were in all probability brought back by returning voyagers from Naukratis.

Naukratis was important not only as a commercial center but as an artistic as well, and if we are correct in assuming that Ethiopians became known to Greece by way of this city, we should expect them to appear in the art of Naukratis before

they occur in the art of the mainland. Excavations have proved this to be the case. Furthermore the founders of Naucratis were Ionic Greeks from the mainland of Asia Minor and the interrelation between the Ionian art centers in the early period is well established. There is additional support for our theory in the fact that the Ethiopian type is found on objects from Cyprus and Rhodes dating from the seventh and sixth centuries. Furtwaengler assigns to an Ionian artist the well-known Caeretan hydria depicting the myth of Heracles and Busiris, upon which Ethiopians appear as the attendants of the fallen king (F.F., pl. 51, text pp. 255-260). Buschor (Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 6) remarks that the master who painted this hydria must have been familiar with the Naucratic fabric and types.

The following is a list of the seventh and sixth century objects which have been found at Naucratis and other Greek sites outside the mainland, upon which the Ethiopian type is represented:

Naucratis

1. London - British Museum

Naucratis, I, pl. V, fig. 41

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 312, 2

Walters, Catalogue of Vases, II, p. 83, Bl. 2(33)

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 35

Vase fragment showing the figure of an Ethiopian from head

to waist. The type is strongly marked; the lips are prominent and everted, the nose short and broad, the hair woolly. The head is in profile but the body is in full front with arms held out at right angles to it. The shoulders are very broad and the waist narrow. Lines of white down the front of the chest and at the right elbow seem to indicate that the figure is not nude but is wearing a close-fitting jacket with sleeves. Buschor (loc.cit., p.35) suggests that this Ethiopian may be one of the attendants of Busiris running away before the attack of Heracles, since he considers that this story clearly originated in Naukratis. It seems likely, however, that the pose, which recurs on the two fragments which follow, is a dancing one, particularly since it is identical with the pose of a number of the revellers on the Fikellura amphora from Samos now in Altenburg (Boehlau, *Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen*, pp.56-57, figs.27 and 28).

The design is in black on a drab ground, with details added in purple and white. Size $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

2. London -- British Museum

Naukratis, I, pl.V, fig.40

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p.375, n.5

Buschor, *Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst.*, XI, 1919, p.35

Fragment of a vase showing a figure in black on a light ground similar in pose to the preceding. The face is smaller and the features are so conventionalized that it is not certain that an Ethiopian is meant, though the black paint and simi-

larity of pose make it probable.

3. London - British Museum

Naukratis, I, pl. V, fig. 42

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 305, n. 5

Buseher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 35

Fragment similar to the preceding, except that the figure is preserved as far as below the knee.

4. London - British Museum

Naukratis, I, pl. 15, fig. 13

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 258, C621

Head of terra-cotta, undoubtedly intended to represent an Ethiopian, as the nose is broad and the lips are thick. The hair, however, is not woolly, but is in wavy locks.

The grotesque head listed as a negro by Walters (op. cit. p. 259, C622; illustrated in Naukratis, II, pl. XV, fig. 3) bears little resemblance in features to a negro, nor do nos. C623 and C626 listed on the same page. It is unlikely that the artist intended to represent an Ethiopian.

5. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 261, C642

Grotesque mask of terra-cotta with the thick lips, flat nose and receding forehead of an Ethiopian. Ht. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

6. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 261, C643

Grotesque mask of terra-cotta with the features of an Ethiopian, possibly a woman. Ht. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

7. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.439, E53

Mould for a terra-cotta head of an Ethiopian. Ht. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

8. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.439, E54

Mould for a terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, broken off at the waist. The forehead is wrinkled, the nose snub, the lips thick. The left hand holds a vase. Ht. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

9. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.258, C617

Fragment of a terra-cotta group of two Ethiopians wrestling. One figure is broken off below the neck, the other below the waist. Ht. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.

10. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.443, E91

Mould for the front of a paste scarab. The design is the head of an Ethiopian with a grinning expression.

Diam. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

11. London - British Museum

Naukratis, II, pl. XVIII, no. 55

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 34

Scarabaeus of paste with the front design an Ethiopian's head in high relief. The lips are very full, the nose short

and flat. The reverse design is a winged animal.

12. London - British Museum

Naukratis, II, pl. XVIII, no. 61

Paste scarabaeus similar to the preceding.

13-35. London - British Museum

Naukratis, I, pl. XXXVII, nos. 4, 9, 11, 26, 83, 133, 141, 142;

pl. XXXVIII, 8, 9, 10; II, pl. XVIII, 59, 60

Scarabaei of paste with the design of a human head .

Buschor considers that they represent Ethiopians. This is probable, though the crudity of the work makes it hard to determine. The reverse design of most of them is a winged animal.

Aegina

26. Berlin (?)

Furtwaengler, Aegina, I, p. 433, no. 19

Paste scarabaeus from Naukratis with an Ethiopian's head in high relief on the front. It is very natural to find an object which had been manufactured in Naukratis, in Aegina, a city of great commercial enterprise in the early period.

Naukratis

27. Bulak Museum

Naukratis, I, p. 43

Small head of an Ethiopian, made of dark blue glass, found in the remains of a private house.

Cyprus

28. Berlin - Antiquarium - Inv.3250

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 49

Furtwaengler, Arch. Anz. 1893, pp. 82-83

Prinz, Funde aus Naukratis, p. 105

An ointment vase of faience in the form of two conjoined heads representing ethnographic types, one a bearded barbarian and the other an Ethiopian. The latter is represented with a broad flat nose and thick lips. His woolly hair is indicated by squares blocked out in the faience. The vase dates from the seventh century (Buschor) and was made at Naukratis, though found at Larnaka on Cyprus (Prinz).

29. London - British Museum - A1233

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 50

A janiform ointment vase very similar to the preceding, though differing in the treatment of the Ethiopian's hair. Instead of being blocked out in squares as in the Berlin vase, it is indicated by lozenge-shaped incisions with a dot in the center of each.

30. New York - Metropolitan Museum - Cesnola Coll.

Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Coll., p. 271, no. 1550

Head of an Ethiopian carved from steatite. It was probably intended to be worn as a pendant on a necklace, as it is pierced through above the ears and is flat at the back as if it were to lie against the neck.

The profile is ape-like because of the prominence of the jaw and the low retreating forehead. The nose is very broad and flat, and the lips wide. The hair is indicated as woolly by a series of drilled holes. Ht. 1 1/8 in.

31. New York - Metropolitan Museum - Cesnola Coll.

Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Coll., p.380, no.3161

Ethiopian's head, carved from steatite, as pendant on a gold ear-ring. It is similar in type to the preceding, but even more like an animal in effect. The curly hair is indicated by lozenge-shaped incisions similar to those on the cinerary vase in the British Museum (no.39, above). A novel feature is that the eye-balls are painted red.

32. Munich - Arndt Coll.

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p.34, fig.51

Head of an Ethiopian carved from steatite. The features are similar to those of the steatite pendant in the Metropolitan Museum (above, no.30). This head, however, is carved in high relief in the center of an oval flat surface of steatite. The hair is indicated by raised dots. There are no holes to show that it served as a pendant. Buscher calls it a seal.

33. Munich - Arndt Coll.

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Kunst., XI, 1919, p.34, fig.52

Steatite head of an Ethiopian, smaller than the preceding. It is carved in high relief from a depression in the center of a flat, round surface. The hair is shown by means of

raise dots. The expression is very similar to the Ethiopian head on the ear-ring in the Metropolitan (above, no. 31), though the features are not quite so coarse.

34. London - British Museum

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 14, no. 144, fig. 2

A thin strip of gold embossed with rosettes and conventionalized animal heads. In the center of the strip at the top is the mask of an Ethiopian, placed sideways. The strip was found at Klaudia in a Bronze Age tomb, and is probably one of the earliest instances of the Ethiopian type in art outside of Egypt. Length 0.161 m.

35. New York - Metropolitan Museum - Cesnola Coll.

Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Coll., p. 362, no. 1320

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 1c

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian seated with his right leg drawn up in front of him and his left leg drawn under him. The modelling is crude and the features are indistinct, but the broad nose and thick lips can be distinguished. The eyes are closed. There are remains of a dark red color on the surface. The figure belongs to the series listed below which were found at Camirus by the British. Ht. 0.09 m.

Rhodes

36. London - British Museum

Salzmann, Necropole de Camiros, pl. 21

Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, Guide
to the 2nd Vase Room, pt. 2, (1878) p. 10, no. 68

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 1A

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 118, B369

Figurine of terra-cotta seated in a crouching position,
his right leg drawn up in front of him and his left leg drawn
under him. His hands clasp his right knee and his chin rests
on them. He has thick, negro-like lips, but his ears are
those of a satyr. Ht. 4 1/8 in.

37. London - British Museum - from Canirus

Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room, pt. 2, p. 10, no. 63

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 1b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 118, B370

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian seated in a position
similar to no. 36, except that both legs are drawn up in front.
Traces of red color remain. Ht. 4 1/2 in.

38. London - British Museum - from Canirus

Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room, pt. 2, p. 10, no. 64

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 1b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 118, B371

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar to no. 37.
Ht. 4 1/4 in.

39. London - British Museum - from Canirus

Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room, pt. 2, p. 10, no. 65

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 1b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.118, B373

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar to no. 37.
The right foot is broken off. Ht. 3 7/8 in.

40. London - British Museum - from Camirus

Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room, pt.2, p.10, no.36

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no.1b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.118, B373

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar to no. 37.
Ht. 3 7/8 in.

41. London - British Museum - from Camirus

Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room, pt.2, p.10, no.67

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no.1b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.118, B374

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar in pose
to no. 36. Ht. 4 1/4 in.

Cyrenaica

42. Paris - Louvre

Heuzey, Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite, p.30, pl.55, no.8

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no.1

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar to the
figures from Camirus in the British Museum. Though found in
the Cyrenaica, it undoubtedly belongs to the same series.
The face is ape-like in expression. Ht. 0.09 m.

Samos

43. Altenbourg - Herzogliches Museum.

Boehlau, Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen,
pp.56-57, figs. 26,27 and 28

Buschor, Greek Vase Painting, p.61, fig.63

Figellura amphora decorated with a band of male figures painted solidly in black. They are dancers or revellers; some carry lecythi in their hands, some hold bowls to their lips and some play the double-flute. Their features are not strongly marked as Ethiopian, though the black paint makes them appear so. The pose of a number of figures is similar to the pose of the Ethiopians on the vase fragments from Naucratis (above, nos.1,2 and 3).

Caere

44. Vienna - K.K. Oesterr. Museum

Monumenti, VIII, pls.16 and 17

Masner, Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten, no.217, pl.II

F.R., Griechische Vasenmalerei, pl.51, text pp.265-261, where a complete description of the vase and a longer bibliography are given.

Black-figured hyria depicting the myth of Heracles and Busiris, an Egyptian king who made sacrificial victims of all strangers. Heracles permitted himself to be led to the altar without any show of resistance, but just as the rites were about to commence, turned on Busiris and his priests and killed them with his club and his bare hands. The Caeretan hyria depicts on one side the scene at the altar,

where Heracles is despatching Busiris and the Egyptian priests. The other side shows a body-guard of five Ethiopians marching to the assistance of the prostrate king.

The Ethiopians are strongly differentiated in type from the Egyptians. Their hair is very woolly and their jaw structure prominent. They are nude except for loin-cloths about their waists, and carry hooked clubs. They march forward with much spirit and the painter has succeeded in making them life-like and keenly comical. There are no livelier Ethiopians to be found in Greek art. re/

What light does this list throw upon the status of the Ethiopians and the attitude displayed toward them by the Greeks of Naucratis and the Islands? That they were slaves is without question and a few clues as to their daily life are discoverable among these objects.

The small vase held in the hand of the terra-cotta figurine from Naucratis (above, no.8) points unmistakably to domestic service. The Ethiopian bodyguard which advances to the aid of Busiris is the earliest instance of Ethiopians as fighters, a type which recurs in Greek art. There is also evidence that these Ethiopian slaves furnished entertainment for their owners. The powerful frame of the negro, which makes him a strong wrestler and boxer, is witnessed by the number of professional negro prizefighters in our own day. From the finding at Naucratis of a terra-cotta group show-

ing a pair of Ethiopian wrestlers locked in the struggle, it is evident that such matches occurred for the entertainment of the sixth century Greeks(above, no.9). These wrestlers have their counterpart in a pair of Ethiopian boxers from the Hellenistic period. They are statuettes of terracotta and were made in southern Italy (Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.310, D84 and p.311, D85).

The negro's propensity to quick laughter, his feeling for music and the dramatic, and his loose-jointedness in dancing have always made him a popular comedian. If these qualities are still so marked as to have become standardized in the minstrel show and black-face comedian, it is reasonable to suppose that they were even more marked twenty-four hundred years ago and that the Greeks enjoyed them fully as much as we do. For this reason it seems extremely likely that the vase fragments from Naucratis show a dancing posture, and that Ethiopians contributed to the gayety of their masters' feasts in other ways than serving the food.

The meaning of the terra-cotta figurines found in numbers at Camirus on the island of Rhodes is difficult to explain. The pose is practically the same in all cases. The slave crouches on the ground with one or both legs drawn up in front of him. He rests his head on his hands, which are clasped about his knee, and his eyes are closed as if in sleep. These small figures were all found in graves, and from this it might be argued that the intention was to provide

the dead man with a slave in the next world. The closed eyes of the figures possibly simulate the sleep of death. The difficulty is that the pose recurs on objects of the fifth century and the Hellenistic period which have no funerary purpose. An inscribed gem of the fifth century now in the Corneto Museum (Beazley, *Lewes House Coll.*, p.40, pl.A, no.16) shows a crouching Ethiopian as the attendant of a youth who is vigorously pouring oil upon himself after some gymnastic exercises. Several early gems show the sleeping slave alone. The pose is common in statuettes of bronze as well as terra-cotta from the Alexandrian era, one example even showing an Ethiopian street-hawker asleep in this position, with a tray of fruit in front of him and a pet monkey on his shoulder (Schreiber, *Ath.Mitt.* X, 1885, p.383, pl. XI, 2). Schneider dismisses the question with the remark that the pose was a favorite one for slaves in antiquity (*Jb.Kunst.Samm.*, III, 1885, p.4). But this statement seems to have been deduced from the frequent occurrence of the figurines rather than to explain them. Some further interpretation is needed in the case of a pose which is used for both the funerary and the comic and which persists over a considerable period of time.

While there seems to be no satisfactory explanation at hand, it is conceivable that its significance may have changed from one period to another while it retained its popularity with the artists for technical reasons. In

modelling a statuette, one of the most immediate problems in the design is that of balance. If a figure is to stand upright upon its feet, it must have a pedestal, or else some other support must be incorporated in the design. This is doubly important in the case of a breakable material like terra-cotta, where one fall would mean the shattering of the object. The statuettes of ladies from Tanagra are supported by the elaborate folds of their drapery. It is more difficult to represent a nude male figure in a standing position, whereas the problem can be simplified by showing the figure^A in a seated posture. In the case of the Camirus figurines the legs are so modelled that the base has the general shape of a triangle, upon which the figure balances securely. Therefore it seems reasonable to think that one factor contributing to the popularity of the pose was that the early artists and the less skilled of a later date found it an easy way to avoid technical problems. This is further borne out by the fact that the statuettes from the Hellenistic period which show the greatest amount of technical skill and the most delicate artistic feeling rarely show the crouching position.

The steatite heads found on the island of Cyprus, which were made either at Naucratis or under the influence of Naucratis (Buscher, *Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst.*, XI, 1919, p. 34) remain to be interpreted. Two of them are obviously intended to be worn as ornaments. Now the tendency to wear or carry about on the person some small object to ward harm away from the wearer or bring him good luck, is universally found. These

steatite heads, as well as the paste scarabaei from Naucratis showing the Ethiopian type, and the gold strip ornamented with the Ethiopian mask, are undoubtedly apotropaic in function. This is the reason that the ugliness of the features has been exaggerated. The red eye-balls of the head on the earring are repulsive and the jaw is so prominent that it seems fairly to represent an animal. The satyr ears were no doubt meant as an additional touch of ugliness in the case of one of the terra-cotta figurines, and their purpose was possibly to keep evil away from the tombs. It is significant that the ugliness of the Ethiopian features is never stressed in the art of Attica, where the racial type is invested with a spirit which amounts almost to charm. While this is due in large measure to the delicacy of Attic art, there is an additional reason. The Greeks of Naucratis were familiar with the Ethiopian type. They were accustomed to seeing large numbers of them and therefore had fewer illusions about them. On the other hand Ethiopians were never common on the mainland even as late as the third century. For the Attic artist they had therefore the charm of the strange and the unusual, combined with a reminiscent association with legendary Ethiopia. Their features were considered curious rather than ugly. But at Naucratis it is natural to find ugliness of feature stressed as a prophylactic quality. In fact it will be seen that the whole history of the Ethiopian type in classical art reflects not so much the progress of the artist in the rendering of an ethnographic type as the changes in the popular attitude toward the type that is portrayed.

CHAPTER II

THE FIFTH CENTURY - THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE ON PLASTIC VASES

The foregoing chapter has made it evident that the Attic artists were not innovators in portraying the Ethiopian type, nor did they take it over directly from Egyptian art, as the generalizations in previous articles (excepting always that of Buschor) would lead one to infer. Even the group who first adopted the type from Naucratis, namely the vase painters, borrowed also the form of the object upon which the type appears. This link between the art of Naucratis and the pottery of Athens was the ointment-vase, a genre which, as Buschor points out, always gave the potter the greatest opportunity for the display of individuality in treatment. It was small, needed only one narrow mouth and not much handle, and lent itself to variety and innovation. Since its shape was not prescribed it was the starting point for novelties of design which eventually influenced other vase forms as well.

The Naucratic ointment vases with the Ethiopian (above, nos. 38 and 39) were in the form of two conjoined heads back to back. The vase opening at the top was funnel-shaped and was supported by two vertical handles extending from the edge of the vase mouth to the top of the head. These vases are considered by Buschor to date from the seventh century (Muen. Jo. Bild. Kunst XI, 1919, p. 84). In the following century at Athens, approximately between the years 540 and 500 B.C., appeared a number of ointment vases in the form of conjoined

heads which are essentially the same as those from Naucratis, except that the shape has been refined. The funnel-shaped mouth rests on a more slender cylindrical neck and the handles which support its edge are less clumsy. They now rise from the side of the head instead of the hair above the center of the forehead. The ointment vase type from Naucratis had little grace, since the chins of the two heads were enlarged and extended to meet and form the oval base upon which the vase rested. In the Athenian vases the chins are normal in outline, and the necks of the two heads are moulded together so that the vase rested upon the flat circular base at the bottom of the neck. But the similarity of the two types is so pronounced as to leave no doubt in regard to their relation.

At Athens the ointment^{vase} occurs also in the form of a single Ethiopian's head, the hair at the back of the head carefully modelled and the spout rising from the top of the head. The following is a list of the Attic ointment vases in the form of Ethiopians' heads, of the two types described above:

Double Head

45. Athens - National Museum - from ^{the} Cabirion

Nicole, Catalogue des Vases Peints, p. 253, no. 1252 (3056)

Ointment vase in the form of the conjoined heads of an Ethiopian and a white girl. Buschor lists this vase as a cantharus (Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 15), but the description given by Nicole, who calls it a balsamaire, specifies the spout and vertical handles of an ointment vase. Nicole states that the type of the Ethiopian is identical with that of the

inscribed vase in the form of a single head (below, no.49).

46. Boston - Museum of Fine Arts 8708/9

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p.10, pl.1V

Janiform ointment vase. Both heads are Ethiopians, and the faces are so similar that they seem to have been made from the same mould. The foreheads are low and retreating, the noses short and flat and the lips thick and protruding. The hair is rendered by raised dots in the clay. The flesh is painted black, but the hair and lips are left in the original clay color for contrast. White paint is applied to the eye-balls, and the pupils are painted black.

47. London - British Museum

Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, I, pl.46, fig.2

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p.10

Janiform ointment vase combining the heads of an Ethiopian and a Greek girl. The profile of the Ethiopian shows the sloping forehead, flat nose, thick lips and prominent jaw of the Boston vase. The Greek girl wears a cap upon which is painted a wreath of laurel(?) leaves, and below it her hair is indicated by a few rows of raised dots.

48. Paris - Louvre

Pottier, Mon. Piot, IX, 1903, pls.XI and XII

Herrford, Handbook of Greek Vase Painting, pl.2, fig.a

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst., XI, 1919, p.10

Janiiform ointment vase combining the heads of an Ethiopian and a Greek girl. The Ethiopian's profile is identical with that of the Boston and Paris vases above. The Ethiopian's eyes are almond-shaped and set wide apart. The girl wears a cap on which a design of palmettes and cocks is painted. On either side of the girl's neck, running down, is the inscription *ΚΑΛΟΣ*.

49. Athens - National Museum 2160 - from Eretria

Hartwig, *Ἐφ. Ἠσχ* 1894, pp. 121-128, pl. 6

Klein, *Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*,
p. 81, no. 45

Nicoll, *Catalogue des Vases Peints*, 283, no. 1237.

Ointment vases with cylindrical spout supported by vertical handles, in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The vase is perfectly preserved, is one of the finest examples of the type and is signed *ΛΕΑΙΠΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. In profile it closely resembles nos. 46, 47 and 48 and except for a slight sharpness of the nose could have come from the same mould. The hair is indicated as in all the rest by raised dots of clay. Hair, lips and eye-balls are left unpainted. The outlines of iris and pupil are indicated by incised lines. Diameter of the base 0.04 m. Ht. 0.28 m.

50. Athens - National Museum

Nicoll, *Catalogue des Vases Peints*, p. 283, no. 1238

Ethiopian's head of same type as above. There are traces of an illegible inscription at the top. The eyes are painted

white and the iris red. Ht. 0.13 m.

51. Berlin - Antiquarium - Sabouroff Coll.- from Attica

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml. ,

II, p.1027, no. 4049

LX,
Schrader, Berlin. Winckelmannspt., 1900, p. 11 and pp. 34-5

Ointment vase with cylindrical mouth and two vertical handles above an Ethiopian's head. The hair is rendered by raised dots of clay, which are left in the original clay color. The forehead is wrinkled. The skin was painted black, leaving the lips in the red color of the clay. There are traces of white on the eye-ball. Ht. 0.105 m.

52. - from Calabria

Not. Scav. 1912, suppl. p.16

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p.10.

Ointment vase with a cylindrical spout in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The profile is very different from that of nos. 48-50 above. The nose is too long and pointed to be the characteristic Ethiopian nose. The hair however is rendered similarly by raised dots of clay and the flesh is painted black. The lips are thick and protruding.

The foregoing vases belong according to Buscher (Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p.11), at the end of the sixth century. He considers the vase in Athens with the inscription to be the latest, and states that no example is known after the time of Leagros.

They show many common characteristics and are a closely related group. In the first place the vase mouth with upright handles is the same in all cases. Secondly, the technique is similar. The hair is shown on all the vases by the small raised lumps of clay. The skin is painted black, leaving hair and lips in the clay color. In several instances the eyes are decorated and it is possible that all were so treated, the color having been worn away on those which do not now show it.

In the case of the double-heads, three of the four combine the Ethiopian with a girl. She is of a type which recalls the archaic statues of maidens from the acropolis. While the faces are not quite so stiff, nor is the archaic smile so pronounced, the features are very formal and the large eyes, wide open, recall the older technique. One janiform example shows Ethiopians on both faces.

The similarity between certain of these profiles is so marked that there is a strong case for a common mould. A line in the clay on either side between the two conjoined heads proves that the vase was made in two sections. Each of the faces was moulded separately, the two being put together while the clay was still moist. Fingerprint marks on the inside of fragments of vases of the head type, found in the pre-Parthian debris on the acropolis, prove that the modelling was done from the inside, the features being pressed out from within. There seems little doubt from the examples listed below that a mould was used, and the clay pressed into this with the fingers to form the features. The only important differences are in the eyes, the painting of the face, and the outline of the

hair, details which would be added after the face had been withdrawn from the mould. A study of the profiles of the double-heads from the Boston Museum, British Museum and the Louvre, and the single heads from Athens, is sufficient to convince one that these five vases were not only made from the same Ethiopian model, but from the identical mould in the same workshop. No photograph is available of the double head in Athens, but Nicole states that ^{the} Ethiopian profile is identical with the Leagrus vase and it can probably be added to the list. The Berlin vase and the one published in the Notizie (present ownership unknown) are differentiated, and although they may be products of the same workshop which specialized in the Ethiopian type, they certainly do not represent the same model or mould.

It is necessary to presuppose a common mould for the two Ethiopian heads on the same vase in Boston from their identity of outline and detail. Since they are proof of the fact that the same mould was used for more than one face it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was used in the production of these other five vases.

There is no definite clue which can connect any of the known vase painters with this group of Ethiopian's heads. It is evident that any identification made for one vase identifies the whole group. There are only two inscriptions among them, one the word *ΛΑΛΟΣ* and the other the more definite *ΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. This places the vase in time but furnishes no indication as to the painter since Leagrus' name is found on the vases of at least fourteen painters and potters (Klein, Die Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften, p. 70). The vase in the Louvre

(above, no. 48) is brought by Pottier into connection with another vase with the inscription *ΕΠΙΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ* since the girl's head is the same in both cases. The six vases then belong to the period of the love names Leagus and Epilykus.

If Procleus is to be credited with the introduction of the custom of showing girls' hair by means of a few rows of raised dots under the edge of a cap, these vases must definitely be assigned to some time after him (Buschor, *Muen. Jb. Bild, Kunst.* XI, 1919, p.12). The Louvre vase shows the hair of the maiden indicated this way under a cap elaborately painted with palmettes and cocks. A wreath of leaves decorates the cap worn by the girl on the British Museum vase. Since these are certainly in the technique introduced by Procleus it is not unreasonable to assume that the group of six vases is from his workshop if not from his hand. The life-like representation of the racial type and the delicate painting of the girls' head-gear show them to be the work of no unskilled artist.

The next development of the vase in the form of a head (according to Buschor) was the passing over of the types from the ointment vase to other vase forms, particularly the oenochoe and the cantharus. The cylindrical spout and upright handles were replaced by a trefoil pitcher mouth joined to the body of the vase at the back of the head. Buschor places this development between the years 510 and 470 B.C. and at least one example of the oenochoe form gives indisputable evidence that the two types existed side by side for a short time at least. A jariform oenochoe in the Branteghem Collection shows not only a maiden with hair in the form of dots under a cap upon which a wreath of leaves is painted, but an Ethiopian identical with the group of six we have been discussing above,

and from the same mould.

The cincoches which show the Ethiopian's head are the following:--

Janiform

53. Brussels - Branteghem Coll.

Pottier, Mon. Piot. IX, 1903, p.153, n.2

Buschor, Muen. Jb.Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, pp. 11-13,
fig. 15.

Janiform cenochoe with trefoil lip showing one conjoined head of a girl and an Ethiopian. The latter side in this instance intended to represent a woman since only a band of raised dots indicating hair is shown back of which is a cap painted black and decorated by a wreath of ivy leaves.

54. Cambridge - Coll. of C.T. Seltman

Seltman, A.J.A. XXIV, 1930 pp. 14-26

Cincoche combining a bearded male head with the head of an Ethiopian woman. Most of the color is gone from the vase and the work is poorer than that of any of the other known vases of the type. The vase mouth is stocky and not graceful.

Seltman, who seems to know only two of all the janiform vases which show the Ethiopian type, considers the male head a representation of Dionysus and the female Ethiopian the monster Lamia (Mayer, Ath.Mitt.XVI, 1891, p.300ff.). It is true that this vase shows large teeth which do not appear in the others. In spite of this, ^{however} the face does not seem sufficient-

ly hideous, and she is more likely simply a type which interested the artist. The other vases showing Ethiopian women certainly are not meant to be Lania. This vase is important principally because it gives some idea of what the others may have looked like before the black paint was added.

Single Heads

5. Berlin - Antiquarium - Sapouroff Coll.

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung, II,
p. 515, no. 2203

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 12, fig. 59

Genoche in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The flesh is painted black. The lips and hair, which is indicated by raised dots, are left in the original color if the clay. Ht. 0.17 m.

56. Berlin - Antiquarium - from Athens

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung, II,
p. 515, no. 2204

Genoche similar to the above. The work is more careless. The mouth of the vase is broken off. Ht. 0.07 m.

57. Naples - National Museum

Heydemann, Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale,
p. 447, no. 2950, (Photo Sommer 11079)

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 12


Genoche in the form of an Ethiopian's head. Ht. 0.15 m.

68. Not. Scav., 1878, pl. V, no. 8

Buscher, Muen. Jo. Bild. Kunst., XI, 1919, p. 12

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head. Enough of the mouth remains to show that it was an oenochoe. The hair is shown by raised dots of clay, but there is considerable advance in the treatment of the eyes. They are not wide open and prominent as in the earlier ointment vases, and the eye-lids overlap. The Ethiopian is strongly individualized and differs in type from the other vases. The oenochoe probably belongs to the second quarter of the fifth century, and is one of the latest of its type.

From ointment vases and pitchers the Ethiopian's head was next adopted to plastic drinking cups, both the one-handled form and the two-handled cantharus. This development also overlaps the previous one, since it has been known that Cherinus made both oenochoes and drinking cups in the form of heads (Reisch, Rom. Mitth., V, 1892, pp. 13-132). The five heads of girls which are discussed in the article by Reisch have been known for some time but even Buscher does not seem to know that Cherinus modelled an Ethiopian's head as well. Yet Della Seta's catalogue of the Villa Giulia Museum lists a fragment of a vase whose inscription makes it one of the most interesting of the whole series of Ethiopian's heads. It is regrettable that it is not illustrated, and that a fuller description is not given. The inscription reads


 ΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΖΕΝ
 ΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΡΤΑ ΚΑΛΟΣ

This vase has the only Ethiopian's head which combines both the artist's name and the lover's name.

Most of the plastic drinking cups with one or two handles are later in date, since there is usually a band of red-figured painting at the top around the cup mouth. Most of these painted bands show scenes which have no relation in subject to the body of the vase and are merely decorative. Only one of these bands is in the black-figured style.

The drinking cups in the form of an Ethiopian's head are as follows:

Cups with a single handle

69. Boston - Museum of Fine Arts 9679

Buschor, Greek Vase Painting, p.110, fig.101

" Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst, XI, 1919, p.13, fig.19

Drinking cup in the form of an Ethiopian's head, a large round vase mouth at the top. This vase is painted in the black-figure technique, showing the vase to be one of the earliest of the drinking-cup group. The single handle extends from the rim of the cup to the back of the plastic head.

The hair is shown by the familiar raised dots which are left in the color of the clay. In the clay color also are the eye-brows and the thick, protruding lips. The details are painted in with elaborate care and give the

has a striking appearance. The wrinkles in the forehead have been incised in the clay and those in the corner of the eyes have been added in white paint. The eye-balls have been painted a staring white and the pupils black. The surface of the skin is a glossy black.

60. Gréau Collection

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.13

Froehner, Terresquites,191,pl.V

Drinking cup with one handle in the form of an Ethiopian's head, dated by Buscher at about the beginning of the fifth century.

61. Rome - Villa Julia Museum

Della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia,I,p.111,no.360-6

Fragment of a drinking cup in the form of an Ethiopian's head, with the inscription. Δ ΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ
 Γ ΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΡΤΑ ΚΑΛΟΣ

Della Seta would restore the love name as Elpitiuous rather than Telenicus or Paidicus. Della Seta also states that Charinus was an artist of the beginning of the fifth century, but Buscher (loc. cit., p.13) places the girls' heads by Charinus between the years 520 and 510 B.C.

Canthari - Janiform

62. Bologna Museum - from the Certosa

Bulletino, 1872,p.83,no.36

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI.1919,p.14

Seltman, A.J.A.,XXIV,1930,p.15

Vase in the form of two conjoined heads, one a white girl with her hair indicated in rolls on her forehead in the technique introduced by Procles, the other an Ethiopian woman. Her woolly hair which is indicated in the clay, and her thick lips, are left in the clay color.

33. Bologna

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919, p.14

Cantharus in the form of the conjoined heads of an Ethiopian and a white girl. This vase may be identical with the foregoing.

34. Boston - Museum of Fine Arts

Arch.Arz.1899,p.144,no.35

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.14

Cantharus in the form of the conjoined heads of an Ethiopian woman and a white girl. There is a band at the top decorated with palmettes in black on a white ground. Under it is the inscription *ΝΟΝΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. Ht. 0.192 m.

35. Petrograd - Hermitage - no.135

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.14

Janiform cantharus with the heads of an Ethiopian and a white girl.

36. Rome - Vatican - Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

Museo Greg., II, pl. LXXXIX

Helbig, Fuehrer, ed. 1913, I, p. 236, no. 533

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.15

Janiform cantharus which combines a head of Heracles with an Ethiopian's head. Helbig suggests that the Ethiopian may be intended to be Busiris because it is contrasted with Heracles. This seems unlikely, since the head of Heracles is also found in combination with the girl who so often forms the other half of the janiform Ethiopian vases. (See Pinder, *Vases Peintes*, p. 100; *Bibl. Nat.*, II, p. 508, no. 366; *Portier, Mon. Piet.*, IX, 1907, pl. 14; and an unpublished vase in the Metropolitan Museum, New York). There seem to be certain fixed combinations of heads for such vases: girl and Ethiopian man or woman; girl and Heracles; girl and satyr; Heracles and satyr; two girls; or two Ethiopians.

7. *Bullettino*, 1868, p. 236

Seltman, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1900, p. 14-15

Janiform cantharus with the conjoined heads of a white girl and an Ethiopian woman. The face of the white girl is pale and slightly archaic in type. Above both heads is the inscription

Canthari - Single Heads

68. St. Louis - Museum of Fine Arts

Furtwängler, *Bayer. Sitzungsab.*, 1905, p. 343, no. 8

Buschor, *Muen. Jo. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 14, c. 5

Cantharus in the form of the head of an Ethiopian woman. She wears a cap. The flesh is painted black,

leaving the lips and the red color of the clay. The teeth are shown red and are painted white. The hair is indicated by wavy, incised lines instead of the usual raised dots. Noses and eye-brows are painted.

69. Vissara - K.K.Oest.Mus. - Castellani Coll.

Scaneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml., III, 1885, p.7, n.5

Masner, Sammlung Antiker Vasen, p.55, no.347, pl.VIII

Cantharus with a band at the top ornamented with palmettes in the red figured technique. At the foot of the band is the inscription *HO PAIS NAI KALOS KAI HTAAT (kai rà yé? Masner)*. The lower part is the head of an Ethiopian woman wearing a cap, under the front of which show a few rows of raised dots to indicate hair (Procles technique). The work has been carefully done. The flesh is painted black, leaving hair, eye-brows and lips in the red color of the clay. The eye-balls are painted white and the teeth show white between the large, protruding lips. Pupil and iris are marked by incised circles. Behind the head is a broad red band decorated with white borders and dots. Ht. 0.178 m.

Lecythus type

70. Berlin - Antiquarium

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung, II,

p.784, no.2757

Vase with a lecythus mouth over an Ethiopian's head

The hair was indicated in the clay and painted. Lips and eyes were left unpainted. Furtwaengler assigns the vase the latter half of the fifth century. Ht. 0.115 m.

The foregoing twenty-six vases in the form of Ethiopian's heads (I have been able to add five to the list given by Buschor) have clearly many common characteristics. In all but two instances the technique of rendering the hair by means of raised lumps of clay has been adhered to, even on the vases which are clearly among the latest because of their band of red figured painting. It is interesting that in all cases the hair has been left in the red color of the clay or has been painted brown. This can not be taken to mean that the artist was not intending to represent dark hair. The reason is more psychological. A contrast was the effect desired by the Greek artist, particularly in the case of the conjoined heads which are set off against each other. The greatest contrast between the Greek and Ethiopian types was in features and skin. The regular, somewhat archaic nose and lips of the Greek girl offset the snub nose and protruding lips of the Ethiopian, and the pale color of her skin emphasizes the shiny, black flesh. One suspects from the spirited expression of these Ethiopian faces that the artist took the greater pleasure in portraying them, and that the rather severe white face was introduced to contrast with the black, rather than the reverse. It is evident that

the shiny black skin was the feature on which he wished to lay most stress, and so the hair was left in the dull clay color in order to show up the skin to greater advantage.

The question arises as to whether these are meant to be the heads of men or women. In the case of the single heads, where the back of the hair as well as the front is modelled, it is easy to decide. In the case of the double heads the evidence is less clear. The two ointment vases in Athens and the one published in the *Notizie* for 1912; the pitchers in Berlin and Naples and the one published in the *Notizie* for 1878; and the drinking cups in Boston and the Greau Collection (above, nos. 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 and 60), all single heads, evidently represent men, as the closely cropped, woolly hair is shown over the entire head. The cenochoe in Dr. Seltman's Collection and the cantnari in St. Louis and Vienna (above, nos. 64, 68 and 69) are clearly meant to be women, since the hair is bound up in a cap or turban similar to that worn by the Ethiopian woman on the gem in the Lewes House Collection (Beazley, p. 49, pl. 3, no. 52). In the case of the double heads where all the hair is not shown, the features give little help in determining the sex, though there seems to be something indelibly feminine about most of them. I should like to suggest as a criterion that those which show the ear are male heads, and that those which omit or merely suggest it and where the outline of the hair is brought

considerably forward on the forehead are intended to represent the coiffure of a woman. The ointment vases in Boston and the Louvre, the canthari in Bologna and Boston and the one published in the *Bulletino* for 1866 (above, nos. 46, 48, 62, 64 and 67) probably portray women.

That we have some representations of women, perhaps as many as ten, on vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries is interesting, not only from the artistic standpoint but because it ^{shows} Ethiopian women as well as men to have been at Athens at this time. This fact, and the presence of Ethiopian boys on gems of the same period, are clear evidence of the beginnings of an established slave life for the race at Athens.

There is no direct evidence as to the number of Ethiopians in Greece at the time these vases were made, but a statement made by Theophrastus who wrote in the late fourth or early third century (ed. Jebb, p. 7) has an important bearing on the subject. Among his characters is a "Man of Petty Ambition", (*μικροφιλοτιμίας*) who aims to do the fashionable thing at all times. This man is careful to have an Ethiopian for his attendant (*ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται*). ed. Jebb, 1909, pp. 62-63, Character VII). Had Ethiopian slaves been common even in Theophrastus' time, it is not likely that the rich and fashionable would have affected them. They must have been unusual and expensive. From

this it follows that they were even more rare at Athens two or three centuries before. One gets this feeling from the vase themselves, where the artist seems to have taken pleasure in the portrayal of a new and curious race. There is no race prejudice even in the heads which offset the black type against the white. The contrast is shown in a spirit of sympathy which indicates that the artists recognized their comic side rather than their ugliness.

There seems to be no reason for connecting the type which occurs on these vases with any of the mythology involving the Ethiopians. Nor is there any basis for interpreting the off-set heads from the point of view of any allegorical contrast such as day and night. In such a case there would surely be some attribute such as sun's rays or stars to call attention to the meaning. It is true that Pausanias in describing the Chest of Cypselus relates that the woman who symbolizes Night holds in her arms the two children Sleep and Death, the former portrayed as white, the latter as black or dark (V,18,1 - ed. Frazer). However, the Greek word employed is μέλας , which is nowhere a synonym for Αἰθίοψ . If Death had been rendered with the features of an Ethiopian, Pausanias would have specified as he did in the case of the nude Ethiopian boy standing near Memnon in Polygnotus' painting of the lower world (X,31,7). It is improbable that the heads on these vases have any further significance than racial contrast.

A keen sense of the comic interest of the Ethiopians is the predominating element in the next use of the type on vases, a form which is the special study of Buscher in his article on Sotades. There exists a small group of vases, of Attic fifth century workmanship, in which a drinking cup mouth with red figured painting is combined at the base with a plastic group showing an Ethiopian boy seized by a crocodile. The two somewhat unrelated parts of the cup are unified by making the tail of the crocodile curl up to form the handle of the cup. The band of painting is different in each case but the design of the plastic group is the same. The crocodile has seized the Ethiopian's right arm in his jaws and grasps him around the waist with his left forepaw, pulling him down on his right knee. The pose of the boy gives the artist an opportunity to show his skill in modelling the muscular structure, and there is striking realism in the pain expressed by the wide open mouth and eyes. The conception of the boy struggling in the grasp of the river animal inevitably calls to mind the struggling Laocoon group, though the latter is morbidly tragic and the former comic in intent. The humorous effect is heightened by contrast with the gaiety of the scenes painted on the cup mouth above. Buscher shrewdly points out that the artist was familiar with the Ethiopian type but not with the crocodile, since the animal is far from true to life, particularly the head. He thinks it

probable that the artist conceived the idea of this plastic group from stories of the Nile told by returned travellers. It seems more likely that Sotades must have seen crocodiles at some time and have attempted to reproduce them from memory. If he had never seen the animal it is improbable that the legs and claws would be as well rendered.

The theory which Buschor sets forward in this article is that this group of vases, together with others in the form of animal heads, can be assigned to Sotades, from the resemblance between the bands of painting on the cup mouths and the painting on other vases which are signed works of Sotades. The article has been worked out in such detail as to leave little room for doubt as to the correctness of his theory, but it has been confirmed beyond dispute by the finding of Sotades' signature upon an unpublished vase from Merce in the form of a horse's head now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (D.M. Robinson, A. & A., XIII, p. 194). Buschor is interested mainly in the animal and the band of painting; but he has also assembled many instances of the Ethiopian type in connection with the figure on these vases, and has made the first real classification of the vases in the form of plastic heads which paved the way for Sotades' crocodile group. The development of the Ethiopian type on these vases, as it

has been outlined in this chapter, is based largely on his results.

Buscher distinguishes between the crocodile vase which are of genuine Attic fifth century workmanship, and those of later Italian workmanship which were made to imitate them. The Attic examples are the following:

71. Boston - Museum of Fine Arts 98. 881

Annual Report, 1898, p. 72, no. 48

Arch. Anz., 1899, p. 145

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 3, no. 3, pls. 1&2,
figs. 32 & 33

Drinking cup, the lower part a plastic group of an Ethiopian boy struggling with a crocodile. The cup mouth is ornamented by a band of red figured painting showing satyrs and Maenads. The crocodile was painted green, with details added in black. The Ethiopian's flesh was painted black. Eye-lids, eye-brows and hair were painted brown, the lips red and the teeth white. Ht. 0.24 m.

72. Branteghem Coll. - formerly Tyskiewicz Coll.

J.H.S., IX, 1899, p. 220, fig. 2

Hoffman Sale Cat. no. 99

Frechner, Coll. Branteghem 291, pl. 48

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 3, no. 4, fig. 3

Vase similar to the foregoing. The band of painting on the cup mouth is different, but has the same subject, i.e. satyrs and Maenads. Ht. 0.255 m.

73. Dresden - Albertinum - From Nola

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.3,no.2,figs.2&34

Vase similar to the foregoing. The band of painting is poorly preserved, but the four figures on it were warriors and women. Ht. 0.225 m.

74. Munich - Museum Antiker Kleinkunst - from Italy

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,IV,1912,p.74

" " " " " XI,1919,p.2,no.1,figs.1&35

Vase similar to the foregoing, but much restored. The band of painting shows four maidens, one in hunting garb and the others in long draperies. Ht. 0.235 m.

To these vases which are genuine Attic examples, Buschor adds another which probably belongs in this class:

75. Catania- Museo Biscari

F. de Roberto, Catania (Bergamo 1907) p.122

Buschor, MuenJb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.4,no.5

Vase similar to the foregoing. It is decorated only with a lozenge pattern and branches, which are arranged over each other in the manner of a frieze.

These Attic fifth century vases are probably the earliest examples of the comic association of negro and crocodile, a motif very common in the comic magazines of a generation ago and still found in the souvenir statuettes sold at some southern resorts.

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH CENTURY - THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE ON VASE PAINTINGS

In leaving the plastic vases and passing over to the Ethiopian type in vase painting, the mythology surrounding Ethiopia is encountered. The myths of Greece were the favorite subject of the vase painter, and when the Attic artist undertook to reproduce a scene which involved characters connected with this legendary country, it was natural that he should give them the features of the Ethiopians whom he had seen, and who had already been established as an appropriate subject by the moulders of plastic vases. It is interesting that none of the actual rulers of Ethiopia who appear as principals in these vase paintings are themselves portrayed as black. It is only such attendants, soldiery and slaves as are introduced into the scene who are given the genuine Ethiopian physiognomy. The artists probably could not bring themselves to give the ruling caste the features which they associated with a group of slaves of their own time.

There are four legends which involved the black races in their representations on vases. The first two, the stories of Memnon and Andromeda, concern the mythical Ethiopia of the east; the third, the Busiris legend, is related to Egypt; and the fourth, the story of Lamia, is connected with Libya. Of these, the first is the most fruitful in the matter of Ethiopians.

Memnon, son of the dawn and Tithonus, came with his forces of Ethiopians to assist the Trojan cause. He does not appear in the Iliad; but in the Odyssey he is twice referred to, once for his exploit of killing Antilochus the son of Nestor (IV,188) and once for his personal beauty (X,522). He is known also to Hesiod (Theogony 984). The events of his life often shown by vase painters are his victory over Antilochus, his contest with Achilles who revenged Nestor's son and the mourning of his mother Eos over his death. Even in the absence of Memnon as the principal figure, it is likely that any armed Ethiopians found on vases can be connected with this warrior myth.

The vases which refer unmistakably to Memnon himself and introduce his Ethiopian warriors are the following:

76. London - British Museum

Wiener Vorlegerbl., 1889, pl. III, no. 3

Gerhard, Auserles. Vasenb., III, 207

Loeschke, Arch. Zeit., 1881, p. 31, n. 9

" Bonner Studien, p. 248

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 4, n. 5

Buscher, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 36

Walters, Catalogue of Vases, II, p. 138, B209, where a longer bibliography is given

A black figured amphora with the scene of Memnon armed for battle and attended on either side by an Ethiopian. These two attendants are given with great realism as to woolly hair and features. One wears a short chiton and carries a pelta, the other wears a cuirass and short chiton. Both carry clubs in their right hands.

There is an inscription *AMASIS* and some obscure letters which were at first read as *ΕΡΟΙΣΕΝ*, but Loeschke has proved the vase to be the work of Execias and the name probably refers to the fallen negro by analogy with the vase in Philadelphia (below, no.79).

77. Munich - Sammlung König Ludwigs

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml.,III,1885,p.4,n.6

Jahn, Beschreibung der Vasensamml.,no.541

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.37

Amphora showing Memnon and his Ethiopian attendants, the latter characterized by great prominence of jaw. According to Buschor, the vase is later in date than the London amphora.

78. New York - Metropolitan Museum

Furtwaengler, Bayer. Sitzungsab.,1905,p.274,fig.9

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.37

Black figured amphora similar to the Execias amphora in London (above, no.76). The scene of one side is an armed hero standing between two Ethiopians. The scene on the reverse side is Apollo between Hermes and Leto.

79. Philadelphia - Univ. of Penn. Museum - from Orvieto
 Kuntwaengler, Bayer. Sitzungsab., 1905, pp. 257-258, no. 20
 Lung, Memnon, p. 28, ff.
 Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 37

Black figured vase with a scene from the Trojan war. Menelaus is killing an Ethiopian who is inscribed (compare the inscription on the London amphora). Near the corpse of Antilochus, two other nude Ethiopians are running before the attack of three armed Greek warriors. The inscription is probably in the genitive case.

The vases on which there is no direct reference to Memnon or his exploits, but which can undoubtedly be connected with the legend, are the following:

80. Erlangen - Universitaetsamml.

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 38, pl. 3

Three fragments of a large red figured amphora. On one fragment a bearded and helmeted Greek warrior is piercing an Ethiopian with his spear. The piece is broken so that the Ethiopian's eyes and the top of his head are gone, and his figure is broken off at the waist, but the woolly hair and prominent jaw reveal the race of the figure. The other two pieces are parts of a second Ethiopian who is lying dead upon the ground. The faces of the Ethiopians are somewhat idealized in feature, and there is no trace of the comic or grotesque in their pain such as is present in the crocodile vases.

81. London - Rogers Coll.

Welcker, Annali, 1845, pp. 154-155

Alte Denkmäler, V, p. 388, no. 34

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 4, n. 6

On a hydria whose principal design is the judgment of Paris are two warriors who hold one shield between them. The shield device is a serpent between two Ethiopians, one of whom is armed with a bow and quiver, the other with a club.

82. Paris - Louvre - from Somnavilla

Bulletino, 1837, p. 73

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 4, n. 6

Pottier, Vases Antiques du Louvre, II, 1901, p. 153,
993, pl. 99

Archaic red figured cylix, whose interior design is an armed Ethiopian, running. He is nude, but a chlamys placed over his right shoulder hangs down on either side of his body. He holds a lance in his right hand, and carries on his left arm a shield in the shape of a pelta, decorated with a vine of black ivy. His lips are thick, his nose short and his jaw structure very prominent. In the field are some letters of an inscription, but they can not be interpreted.

Pottier says that the provenance of the vase is unknown, but it tallies in every detail, even to the letters,

with the vase described in the *Bulletino* for 1837, p.73. If they are identical, the vase was excavated at Somnavilla, a village in central Italy.

83. Naples - National Museum - from Cumae

Heydemann, *Vasensamml. des Museo Nazionale*, p.864,
no.172

Schneider, *Jb.Kunst.Samml.*, III, 1885, p.4, n.6

Graindor, *Musee Belge*, XII, 1908, p.31

Monumenti Lincei, XXII, pl.61

Buschor, *Muen.JbBild.Kunst*, XI, 1919, p.38

On a polychrome lecythus a bearded warrior with a non-Greek profile is arraying himself in heavy armor. He wears helmet, cuirass and chiton, and a chlemys hangs behind him. His sword is hanging from his lance, which is in front of him, and he is raising his shield from the ground with both hands. Buschor suggests that the man is Memnon himself arming for battle, and this is possible, since the features are barbarian rather than negroid.

Buschor connects also with the Ethiopian warriors of Memnon the trumpet blowers who appear as a shield device on several vases. Chase (*Harvard Studies*, XIII, p.88) includes these Ethiopian trumpeters under the class of devices chosen to indicate rank, such as armed human figures and horsemen. This explanation of the design by no means precludes a possible reference to the

Mennon story. The following are the vases which have the trumpeter as a shield design:

84. Naples - Barone Coll.

Arch. Zeit., 1847, p. 190

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 38, n. 12

Red figured crater on which an Ethiopian blowing a long trumpet appears as a shield design.

85. Terra Nova - Navarra Coll. - from Gela

Bulletino, 1867, p. 237

Heydemann, Hall. Winckelmannspr. III, p. 58

Benndorf, Griech. u. Siz. Vasenb., p. 99, pl. 46

Chase, Harvard Studies, XIII, p. 38

Fairbanks, Athenian Lecythoi, p. 247, no. 75

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 38, n. 12

Lecythus on which a nude man blowing a trumpet appears as a shield device. He is painted entirely black, but his features are not strongly marked. Chase does not call him an Ethiopian, nor does Benndorf, but Buschor states that he is a "Mohr" and Fairbanks a "nude black man". It seems likely that he is meant to be an Ethiopian by analogy with the other similar vases.

86. Vienna - K.K. Oest. Museum - Castellani Coll. 4636

Masner, Samml. Antiker Vasen, p. 49, no. 332, pl. VI

Chase, Harvard Studies, XIII, p. 38

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 38, n. 12

An Ethiopian as a shield decoration on an Attic red figured amphora. He blows a long trumpet which he holds in his right hand. A mantle hangs over his right shoulder and left arm. His left arm and knees are bent in a comic attitude.

87. Würzburg - formerly Feoli Coll.

Urlichs, Verzeichniss der Antikensamml., III, 302

Monumenti, I, pl. XXXV

Welcker, Alte Denkmäler, III, pl. XXVI

Mueller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der Alten Kunst, I, 44, 209

Overbeck, Galerie Heroischer Bildwerke, pl. XV, 4

Baumeister, Denkmäler, I, p. 725, pl. XIII

F.R., pl. 104

Chase, Harvard Studies, XIII, p. 88

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 58, n. 12

An Ethiopian with a long war trumpet as a shield device on a black figured amphora. He is nude except for a band at his waist from which are suspended a sword and sheath. The features are of pronounced Ethiopian type, and the angle of the left arm with hand resting on the left hip is very comic. A piece is broken out so that the lower part of the figure is missing. Baumeister suggests that the shield device may have a proleptic reference to the defeat of Memnon by Achilles.

With the warriors of Memnon it seems reasonable to connect also a much disputed group of alabastra, all of

which have practically the same design very crudely painted in black on a dull white ground. In all, the principal figure is an Ethiopian wearing a sleeved jacket and trousers. He walks toward the spectator's right but his head is turned squarely in the opposite direction. The arms are extended awkwardly at right angles to his body. In his right hand he holds a double axe, and over his left arm is spread a folded piece of cloth. On the majority of these vases there is in the background a palm tree and an altar or table. On a few examples a Corinthian helmet is lying either on the table or on the ground. Froehner was the first to call attention to this type of alabastrum, in a monograph entitled "Deux Peintures de Vases Grecs de la Nécropole de Cameiros" (Paris 1871). He assembles four examples of the type, and this number has been added to by others in subsequent articles until the total has reached twenty-four.

Froehner's article was followed by one by Heydemann in the following year (Arch. Zeit., 1872, p. 37). Cecil Smith (Naukratis, I, 1885, pp. 51-52) assigns the series to Naukratis from the technique and the subject, and from the fact that three of the examples were excavated at Rhodes. He agrees with Froehner in considering that the figures represent Ethiopian Amazons, since several such vases exist where the figure has a white face (Froehner, Deux Peintures de

Vases Grecs, n^o. 134; Collignon-Couve, Catalogue no. 1084; Perrot-Chipiez, X, p. 692). Winnefeld (Alabastra mit Negerdarstellungen, Ath. Mitth., XIV, 1889, pp. 41-50) considers that the vases probably contained some product coming from Egypt, and that the recurring Ethiopian type was a sort of advertisement or announcement of the contents. All existing ideas regarding the origin of these vases were changed, however, when a fragment of a plate of the same fabric and with the same subject, but with an Athenian inscription, was published by Bethe (Zu den Alabastra mit Negerdarstellungen, Ath. Mitth., XV, 1890, p. 244). Bethe interprets them no further than as a proof of the active commercial relations between Egypt and Athens at the beginning of the fifth century.

All previous material is summed up and a new list of eighteen such vases formed by Grainger (Les Vases au Nègre, Musée Belge, XII, 1908, pp. 25-33). Grainger's view is that these Ethiopians are Asiatic, since their costume is the one generally given on vase to Amazons, Scythians and in general all barbarians who come from Asia. This is strengthened by the fact that on one example are two Ethiopians wearing Phrygian caps (Winnefeld, loc. cit. p. 45). Grainger believes that the figures are all soldiers, armed with the double axe and using the folded cloth as a shield. He argues that Herodotus lists Ethiopians among the armies of Xerxes and that they had probably fought at Marathon; and that it is no serious objection to his views that Herodotus

describes a different costume from the one which appears on the vases. Since the Ethiopians were defeated together with the Persians, Graindor believes that this series of vases was made to flatter Greek vanity. He sees in the helmet a dedicated trophy which is a delicate reference to the Greek victory, and believes that the Ethiopian is supposed to be in flight.

It is true that the costumes suggest Asia; but the other points made by Graindor are open to serious objection. In the first place the representation of a contemporary event is unusual in Greek art, particularly in contrast with Roman which is so predominantly commemorative. Aeschylus did bring the Persian war upon the Greek stage, but in a tragedy of dignified proportions; and it seems inconsistent with the Greek pride in their tremendous victory to commemorate it in art by picturing a humble and almost grotesque auxiliary. Another argument against the interpretation is that at least four of the vases have been found at sites in Boeotia, and such a design would not be popular in a state which Medized (Thucydides III, 62; Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, pp. 294-296, 347, 439). Furthermore, if the helmet is to be regarded as a dedicated trophy, why is it a Greek helmet? Would not some Asiatic and more characteristic trophy have been selected? Graindor likewise makes no reference to the series of plastic vases in the

form of heads which antedate these vases and which show that there were Ethiopians in Greece prior to the Persian Wars.

If one sees, on the other hand, a reference to the Memnon myth, these objections disappear. The Greek helmet is that of the fallen Greek warrior Antilochus who had been slain by Memnon, and one of Memnon's Ethiopian warriors looks back at it as he leaves the scene. The Asiatic dress is entirely appropriate since they are assisting the besieged city of Troy, which is situated in Asia.

The following lists of these vases includes the examples assembled by Grainger and the additions to his list made by Buschor (Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI.1919,p.37):

88. Athens - National Museum - from Thebes

Tscuntas, *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1883, p.180

Winnefeld, loc.cit. p.42

Collignon-Couve, Catalogue des Vases, p.338, no.1089

89. Athens - National Museum - from Thebes

Tscuntas, loc.cit. p.180

Winnefeld, loc.cit. p.42

Cecil Smith, Naukratis, I, p.51

Bethe, loc.cit. p.245

Collignon-Couve, Catalogue des Vases, p.338, no.1088

90. Athens - National Museum - from Athens

Winnefeld, loc.cit.p.43

Collignon-Couve, Catalogue, p.339, no.1090

91. Athens - National Museum - from Tanagra

Winnefeld, loc.cit.p.43

Collignon-Couve, Catalogue p.339, no.1091

92. Athens - Sale- from Laurion

93. Athens - found at Athens

Bethe, loc.cit. p.244

94. Berlin - Antiquarium

Heydemann, Arch.Zeit., 1872, p.37

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensaml., II,

p.532, no.2260

Winnefeld, loc.cit.p.42, n.2 & p.44

Bethe, loc.cit.p.243

Reinach, Répertoire des Vases, I, p.412, no.5

95. Boston - Museum of Fine Arts

Arch. Anz., 1899, p.144, no.37

Vase in the form of a girl's head, with a vase mouth upon which this same Ethiopian figure appears.

96. Brussels - private coll.

97. Brussels - Musée du Cinquantienaire

98. Compiègne -

Froehner, op.cit.p.15
Heydemann, loc.cit.p.37,A

99. Copenhagen -

Bethe,loc.citp.2+5,n.1

100. Dresden

Arch.Anz.,1889,p.170

101. Durand Coll.

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml.,III,1885,p.4,n.6

102. London - British Museum - from Tanagra

C.Smith, Naukratis,I,p.51

Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum,II,p.207,B674

103. Naples - Branteghem Coll. - formerly Barone

Heydemann,Arch.Zeit.,1869,p.36,no.10

" " " 1872,p.35

Froehner,Coll. Branteghem.64,no.155

" Deux Peintures de Vases Grecs,p.17

Reinach, Répertoire des Vases,I,p.412,no.5

104. Parent Coll.

Froehner, Deux Peintures de Vases Grecs,p.17

Heydemann, Arch.Zeit.,1872,p.150

Winnefeld,loc.cit.pp.14 & 41

Bethe,loc.cit.p.244

105. Paris - Louvre

Froehner, Deux Peintures, p.17

106. Paris - Druot Sale

Vente Druot, 1904, no.147, pl. IX

107. Paris - Lambros Sale

Vente Lambros, 1912, no.39

108. from Rhodes

C. Smith, Naukratis, I, p. 51

109. from Rhodes

C. Smith, Naukratis, I, p. 51

110. Tarentum - found at Tarentum

Bethe, loc. cit. p. 243

Round plate with the same Ethiopian figure as the alabastra.

111. Private Coll. - from Megara

Winnerfeld, loc. cit. p. 44

112. Frickenhaus, Emporion no. 123

Rev. Arch., 1913, I, p. 99

113. Frickenhaus, Emporion no. 126

Rev. Arch., 1913, I, p. 99

Buscher passes over these numerous examples of the type with the statement that a reference to Memnon's followers is probably intended.

Compared with the Memnon legend, other myths yield comparatively small returns in the way of representations of Ethiopians in art. A few occur on vases connected with the Andromeda story. This princess was the daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia. Her mother boasted rashly about her beauty, saying that she was fairer than the Nereids, and thus incurring the displeasure of Neptune who sent a sea monster against the land. The oracle said that the only way of escape was to deliver up Andromeda to it, and Cepheus in order to save his people had his daughter bound to a spot where she would be a prey to it. Perseus, returning from his victory over Medusa, slew the sea monster, freed the maiden and married her.

Just as Memnon himself is never represented with negro features, neither are these rulers of Ethiopia, though the Roman Ovid describes Andromeda as swarthy (Her. XV, 35 & 36 - "Placuit Cepheia Perseo Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae").

One vase shows Phrygians, not Ethiopians, as the servants of Cepheus (Heydemann, Vasensamml. des Museo Nazionale, p. 520, no. 3225) but genuine Ethiopian faces occur on certain vases, which are listed below:

114. Berlin - Antiquarium 3237 - from Capua

Furtwaengler, Arch. Anz., VIII, 1893, p. 91, fig. 50

Crater illustrating the Andromeda story. The principal characters in the scene are Andromeda, Perseus,

Cepheus, Aphrodite and Hermes. There is on addition a seated figure wearing a long-sleeved jacket and trousers, gayly ornamented. The hair is bound with a fillet and the features are unmistakably Ethiopian. Furtwaengler does not follow Froehner in thinking this a woman, who personifies Ethiopia. However it seems impossible that the figure can be masculine because of the head-dress and features, and the allegorical meaning is certainly not without precedent. She can not be meant for an Ethiopian servant or she would not be seated in the presence of the rulers. She is evidently of equal importance with them, and the allegorical interpretation seems the most satisfactory.

115. London - British Museum - Canino Coll. - from Vulci
 Archaeologia, XXXVI, pp. 53-70, pl. VI
 Annali, 1872, p. 108
 Robert, Arch. Zeit., 1878, p. 16
 Tumpel, Jb. Phil. Paed., Suppl. XVI, p. 139 ff.
 Bosanquet, J. H. S., XIX, 1899, p. 177
 Petersen, J. H. S., XXIV, 1904, pp. 98-112, pl. V
 F. R., pl. 77, text, pp. 94-97
 Walters, Catalogue of Vases, III, p. 152, E169

Hydia showing the chaining of Andromeda, not to a rock according to the more usual version of the myth, but to two upright posts. The scene is being watched by Perseus, at the extreme right, and next to him Cepheus wearing a tiara and seated on a throne. At the center of the pic-

ture is a figure wearing a sleeved jacket and trousers, and a tiara, and supported by two Ethiopian slaves, each holding in both hands the arms of the supported figure. To the right of this group are three Ethiopians who are preparing the ground and the stakes, and to the left of the group are three more who are bringing up objects for the funeral rites.

The supported figure is the subject of dispute. Petersen wishes to interpret it as Phineus, the betrothed suitor of Andromeda, from the height of the figure and the masculine dress, and thinks that he is bringing up the funeral objects for the sacrifice of his betrothed. The first objection to this interpretation is that if the figure is to be taken as Phineus, the main character, Andromeda herself, is not shown in the scene. Also, this figure has the most important position in the scene, the center, and the arms are in the proper position to be fastened to the upright stakes which are already being fixed in the ground. Likewise the piteous expression is more appropriate to the victim than a mourner only. She is taller than the slaves who hold her up, but her importance in the story warrants this. Both sides of the scene converge toward this figure which is the center of interest, and it seems unlikely that it could be anyone but the heroine herself. The eight Ethiopians have thick woolly hair, short noses and thick lips, and one has a wrinkled forehead which shows, according to Walters, that he is older than the others.

The myth of Busiris has already been outlined in connection with the the remarkable Caeretan hydria of Ionian workmanship (above, no.44). This vase showed both Egyptian priests and Ethiopians, whereas the majority of the Attic representations of the story show only Egyptians. The usual type for such priests assisting at the sacrifice is the low forehead, shaved head and long mustaches. On certain of the vases, however, the type is either negroid or the Egyptians have been given a negroid appearance.

The vases which illustrate the Busiris story have been listed by the following: Helbig, *Annali*, 1865, pp. 296-307; Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, VII, p.18, n.20; Furtwaenler in *Roscher's Lexicon* under Busiris; Pettier in *Dumont-Chaplain*, I, p.380; Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p.51, n.1; Richter, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pp.131-132. Miss Richter's list is the latest and most complete.

Of all the Busiris vases, only the following show the Ethiopian type.

116. Athens - Central Museum

Dumont-Chaplain, I, pp.379-381

Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p.53, n.1

Herzog, *Studien zur Geschichte der Griechischen Kunst*, pl. VI, 2

Red figured amphora of the severe style, showing the scene of Heracles at the altar attacking the priests of

Busiris. He wears the lion skin and holds one of the priests or servants in the air by the feet. To the right of the altar, another servant holds a double axe with both hands above his head as if about to strike (cf. the double axe held by the Ethiopians on the Memnon alabastra). A third figure who has crouched down on the ground has his arms raised in an attitude of fear. Pottier remarks that the type has frankly turned toward the grotesque, and that the bald crania and burlesque attitudes suggest satyric drama actors. This is probably the correct interpretation since it is known that Euripides wrote a satyr play around the Busiris story and that it was a favorite with the comedy writers. It is probable that the different priests who appear on the vases go back to different comedies or satyr plays as originals.

117. Berlin - Antiquarium - Canino Coll. - from Vulci

Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1868, p. 41

Gerhard, *Trinkschale u. Gedaesse*, pl. VIII, p. 9

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 380, no. 9

Furtwaengler, *Vasensamm.*, II, p. 714, 3534

Red figured cylix showing on the exterior a scene where Heracles is being led to the sacrifice, bound, by two barbarians of Ethiopian type. A third walks in front of him, carrying a lecythus.

118. Bologna - Museo Civico

Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, pl. 33, no. 10

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml., III, 1885, p. 6, n. 8

Heydemann, Hall. Winckelmann^{annaler.}, VII, p. 62, no. 117

Dumont-Chaplain, p. 380, n. 7

Amphora (Dumont-Chaplain) or crater (Schneider) with a scene from the Busiris story. Two barbarians of Ethiopian type, with stump noses and beards, hold sacrificial instruments.

119. Munich - Koenig Ludwig's Coll. - from Vulci

Bulletino, 1829, p. 109, no. 28

Helbig, Annali, 1865, p. 300, . . .

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 380, no. 8

Jahn, Vasensamml. Koenig Ludwigs, p. 107, no. 342

Hydria with the Busiris story. The Ethiopians are of a type similar to those on the Athens and Bologna vases, and wear ear-rings.

120. Oxford - Ashmolean Museum - Oldfield Coll.

Helbig, Annali, 1865, p. 300, pl. Pq

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 380

J.H.S., XXIV, 1904, pp. 306-7, no. 521

Stamnos with the Busiris story. The attendants are Ethiopian as evidenced by the woolly hair shown in dots in the same manner as on plastic vases and gems. The vase was known to Helbig from a drawing only, and Pottier did not know its present ownership. It has since come into the possession of the Ashmolean Museum.

121. Naples - National Museum - from the Basilicata

Gerhard, Neapels Antik. Bildw., 375, n. 30

Helbig, Annali, 1865, p. 302

Heydemann, Vasensamm., p. 333, no. 2558

Dumont-Chaplain, I, p. 380, n. 12

Fragment of a large red figured vase with the Busiris story. Busiris himself wears a Phrygian cap. The attendants are two maidens and two barbarian slaves of Ethiopian type.

122. On sale at Athens

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 40

Fragment of a red figured vase showing the upper part of an Ethiopian who is carrying in his hand two sacrificial spits and therefore is probably to be associated with the Busiris legend. He is markedly dolichocephalic, and the outline of his woolly hair is indicated by a wavy incised line. His nose is short and his lips are everted, making the racial type very pronounced.

The foregoing myths have had Asiatic or Egyptian associations, but the myth which Mayer wishes to see represented on a vase in Athens is connected with Libya.

123. Athens - National Museum

Mayer, Ath. Mitth., XVI, 1891, pp. 300-312, pl. IX

Seltman, A. J. A., XXIV, 1920, p. 15

White Athênian lecythus whose decoration is a scene showing a woman of grotesque and horrible aspect tied to a palm tree and tortured by five satyrs. Mayer wishes to recognize in this figure Lamia, a witch-like creature who was the bogey of Greek children. She had been a Libyan queen beloved by Zeus, and the jealous Hera had deprived her of her children. In her frenzy Lamia stole the children of other people, and from the cruelties which she practised on them became a hideous and distorted person. The vase fits the myth, for the woman's figure is most horribly distorted. Likewise Zeus gave her the power of taking out her eyes and putting them back, so that when they were out she was quiet but when they were in she went on her frightful raids. The woman on the vase seems distinctly to have empty eye sockets, which probably accounts for her helplessness at the hands of the satyrs.

This striking scene of cruelty is so strange a conception for Greek art that Mayer is undoubtedly right in associating it with some dramatic presentation, particularly from the presence of the satyrs. He suggests the travesties on myths which are known to have been performed at the Cabiric sanctuary at Thebes and which are reflected in the vases found there. This interpretation would connect the vase with another group of vases upon some of which one of the famous characters of Greek mythology is frankly caricatured as an Ethiopian. Lamia had

African ancestry, and it is not surprising to find her portrayed as a negress. But there is no such tradition in the case of the enchantress Circe, and to find her rendered with Ethiopian features is an instance of the intentionally grotesque.

The excavations at the Cabirion and the vase fragments found there have been described by Judeich and Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitth.*, XIII, 1888, pp. 81-99; Winnefeld, same volume, pp. 418-438; Walters, *J.H.S.*, XIII, 1893, pp. 77-87. The Circe vases of this type are as follows:

124. Baltimore - Coll. of Prof. D.M. Robinson

A.J.A., XIX, 1915, p. 79

A.J.A., XXI, 1917, p. 87

Unpublished scyphus with black painting on a dull buff ground. A triple band of black paint runs around the center of the vase, and a wider single band at the top. Between these are the designs; on one side a grapevine, on the other a scene in caricature of Circe offering Odysseus a potion. Odysseus on the right is on his knees and receives the bowl with both hands. His hair is portrayed in comic disorder, and his features are grotesque. Circe, at the left, stands with her back to her loom, dressed in a loose garment and holding the bowl out to Odysseus. Her features are caricatured but not strongly Ethiopian as on the Oxford and London vases described below.

135. Boston - Coll. of Prof. Hoppin

A.J.A., XIX, 1915, p. 79

Cabiric vase which caricatures the Circe myth.

136. Chicago - Univ. of Chicago Museum

A.J.A., XIX, 1915, p. 79

Cabiric vase which caricatures the Circe myth.

137. London - British Museum

Walters, J.H.S., XIII, 1893, pp. 77-87, pl. IV

Scyphus from the Cabirien similar to the foregoing. It has on one side the grapevine pattern like that on Dr. Robinson's vase, and on the other the scene of Circe offering Odysseus the potion in a scyphus-shaped vase. Circe is frankly caricatured as a negress. Her nose is short and snub, her lips thick and her jaw protruding. Her hair is fastened in a turban-like cap similar to that on the Lewes House gem (Beazley, p. 49, pl. 3, no. 52). She wears a loose garment and her pose is purposely ungraceful. She stands at the left of the scene facing Odysseus, and is identified by the inscription KIPKA above her head. Odysseus is shown as an emaciated figure, nude except for a cloak thrown about his shoulders and a pointed cap. He wears a sheathed sword and leans on a knotted staff. His legs are crossed and his attitude comic. Back of him is Circe's loom, and at the extreme right one of his companions who has been transformed into a bear.

128. Oxford - Ashmolean Museum - formerly Branteghem Coll.

Froehner, Sale Catalogue, Branteghem Coll., no. 310

Walters, J.H.S., XIII, 1893, p. 79, fig. 2

Gardner, Greek Vases in the Ashmol. Mus. p. 19 no. 262, pl. 36

Scyphus from the Cabirion on which the same episode is shown in caricature. Odysseus is at the left of the picture and is shown in full front, whereas the other vases show him in profile. He wears the travelling hat and his cloak hangs over his arm. His body is grotesquely distorted. At his right, in profile, stands Circe facing him, stirring a potion in a scyphus. She wears a long flowing garment. As on the London vase, she is evidently meant to be an Ethiopian, from her nose, mouth and jaw. It is difficult to determine whether the black dots on her head are intended to represent curly hair or the pattern of a cap. Back of her is her loom and shuttle. The care with which all the slender threads of the loom are represented is proof that the apparent crudity of the figures is intentional.

One other instance of caricature, from an earlier period than the Boeotian vases, shows the probable intention of the artist to give Ethiopian features to one of the figures he represents:

129. - Paris - Louvre - from the Cyrenaica

Perrot, Le Triomphe d'Hercule, pl.3

Schneider, p.6, n.8

The vase is the famous caricature of the triumph of Heracles, driven in a chariot drawn by centaurs, by a Victory who is of a distinctly non-Greek type. Perrot (p.22) says that she has the snub nose, thick lips and square jaw of a negress, and that since the vase was intended for Africa, the artist wished to give one of his principal personages the traits which belong to the physical type of entirely African populations. It seems as if Perrot has exaggerated the negroid characteristics of the victory, though she does undoubtedly suggest the African type.

This closes the list of vases which can be definitely associated with any of the myths of Greece. There still remain a few vase paintings where Ethiopians are represented in some of the slave functions which they performed in everyday life. They make no pretence to direct caricature or the grotesque, though it is impossible to dissociate from the comic any realistic representation of a genuine Ethiopian. These occurrences of the type are unrelated having in common only the fact that they are all genre scenes:

130. Athens - Acropolis

1874, p. 117

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 40, fig. 56

Fragment of a red figured vase showing the upper part of an Ethiopian boy. He is evidently the slave of the person whose head is seen at the left of the fragment and who is engaged in pouring ointment from a vase. The scene is similar to one on a gem in the Corneto Museum, where an Ethiopian slave boy is crouching down on the ground near his master, who is also pouring ointment from a vase (Beazley, Lewes House Coll., pl. 16, A).

181. Berlin - Antiquarium - from Eletria

Bosanquet, J.H.S., XIX, 1899, pl. III

Fairbanks, Athenian Lecythoi, pp. 259-260, o. 5

Piezler, Lecythen, pl. 35

Buschor, Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst, XI, 1919, p. 40

An Athenian lecythus with a grave scene. At the right of the stele is a Greek woman holding a lecythus in her hand. To the left of it, facing her, is a slave girl carrying a stool on her head and an alabastrum in the right hand. Her nose is snub, her lips thick and her hair short and wavy. She is certainly a barbarian and the profile verges toward the Ethiopian type. Bosanquet says she "is not necessarily a negress", but it seems probable that she is so meant when one compares her with the Ethiopian stool-bearer on the Andromeda hydria in the British Museum (above, no. 115). Bosanquet also notes a similar

profile on a small lecythus at Cambridge (Gardner, Catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Mus.p.59,no.138,pl.XXX) but the type of this latter vase seems to be simply barbarian, not Ethiopian.

132. Copenhagen

Ussing, To Graeske Vaser,p.7,pl.I

Bosanquet, J.H.S.,XIX,1899,p.177

Beazley, Attic R.F.Vases,p.63

Buscher, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.40

Red figured amphora, on one side of which is shown an old man out walking, attended by an Ethiopian slave boy. On the other side is pictured a youth buying an amphora.

133. Munich - Koenig Ludwigs Coll.

Jahn, Beschreibung der Vasensamml.,p.88,no.301

Arch.Zeit.,1854,pl.LXVI; 1866,pl.XCV

One of the figures on a red figured vase is a boy with thick lips and curly (though not woolly) hair. He is dressed for travelling, and wears hat, chiton, chlamys and boots. Over his left shoulder is a skin which serves as a travelling sack. In his right hand he holds a club.

134. Paris - Louvre -

Pottier, Vases Antiques,p.154,G100,pl.99

" " " Part III,1906,p.926

Fragment of a red figured cylix, the interior scene

depicting a nude Ethiopian carrying an oinochoe. He is evidently the slave of the man whose shoes appear at the right of the fragment. The Ethiopian's nose is short and broad and his thick lips hang open.

135. Petrograd - Hermitage - Campana Coll.

Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1875, pl. VI

Schneider, *Jb. Kunst. Samml.*, III, 1885, p. 7, n. 4

Buschor, *Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 40

One of the figures on a pelike is an Ethiopian boy who leads a camel by the halter. A similar figure is found on a silver patera of Assyrian origin now in the Louvre, where one of the figures in a procession is an Ethiopian leading a dromedary (Longperier, *Notice des Antiquites Assyriennes du Musee du Louvre*, p. 113, no. 586; *Annali*, 1847, p. 243 & p. 259).

136. Vienna

Bosanquet, *J. H. S.*, XIX, 1899, p. 177

A polychrome lecythus showing a youth who is going toward Charon's boat, attended by an Ethiopian slave who carries a bird cage and a hare. The slave wears a turban and his face is painted black.

137. Monumenti, VIII, 1856, pl. IX

Schneider, *Jb. Kunst. Samml.* p. 7, n. 2

One of the figures on a vase painting of late style is a nude Ethiopian boy of pronounced type, who carries two stools, one inverted on the other.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTH CENTURY - THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE ON MINOR OBJECTS

While the development of the Ethiopian type on vases was its most important manifestation in the art of the late sixth and early fifth centuries on the Greek mainland, it was paralleled by a contemporaneous use of the type as the design on minor objects of the same period, namely, gems, coins and tesserae. These three classes of objects are so closely allied from their similar shape and size that the Ethiopian's head was doubtless imitated from one to another. It appears first upon gems not long after its appearance in the form of plastic vases, and upon coins of Athens and Delphi which date from the early part of the fifth century. On the gems of the period recurs also the figure of a crouching Ethiopian already encountered in the terra-cotta figurines from Camirus on the island of Rhodes.

There is apparently only one terra-cotta figurine from Athens to represent the Ethiopian type, and he is not seated on the ground but on the back of a horse.

138. London - British Museum - from Athens

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 75, B37

Archaic terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian on horse-back with a basket of fruit in front of him. The work is rude and the back of the figure is not modelled. Walters calls the figure a negro, but no illustration is available

by which to judge the presentation of the racial type.

Ht $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The other objects of the period upon which Ethiopians appear are as follows:

Gems

139. Berlin - Antiquarium

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, I, pl. VIII, no. 67

" " " II, p. 41, no. 67

Scarab of black jasper with the helmeted head of an Ethiopian in profile to the right. The nose is long and straight but the lips are thick and the negro blood of the subject is unmistakable. The nose was not always as well handled as the other Ethiopian features. The helmet has the Attic form and a feather is stuck in the side of it. The gem probably refers to the Memnon legend. Furtwaengler places it in the early part of the fifth century.

140. Berlin - Antiquarium

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steinen,

p. 18, no. 4640

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, I, pl. X, no. 28

" " " II, p. 52, no. 28

Osborne, Engraved Gems, pp. 42 & 306, pl. IV, no. 14

Carnelian scaraboid with the design of a crouching

Ethiopian, asleep. Both legs are drawn up in front of him and his head rests on his hands, which clasp his right knee. His curly hair and thick lips are carefully rendered, in spite of the small field of the gem, and an ointment vase for his master is suspended from a ring on his right arm. The breast and abdomen are awkwardly rendered. Furtwaengler assigns this gem to the severe style of the early fifth century, Duffield Osborne to the sixth.

141. Berlin - Antiquarium - no.347

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, I, pl. X, no. 26

" " " II, p. 51, no. 26

Carnelian with the figure of an Ethiopian crouching on the ground, asleep. Both legs are drawn up in front and are shown in strong foreshortening. His head rests on his hands, which are clasped about his left knee. The hair is indicated as woolly by means of dots, and the lips are thick. Furtwaengler assigns the work to the first half of the fifth century.

142. Corneto Museum

Baazley, Lewes House Coll., p. 40, pl. A, no. 16

Agate scarab with the design of an Ethiopian boy crouching on the ground beside a youth who is pouring oil into his hand from an aryballus. The Ethiopian has curly hair and a grinning face, and holds a sponge for his master. In the field is the inscription PELE (Pele or Peleus, perhaps

meant to be the name of the youth). Beazley places the gem in the first quarter of the fifth century.

143. Lewes - Warren Coll. - formerly Robinson Coll.

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, I, pl. XII, no. 43

" " " II, p. 60, no. 43

Beazley, Lewes House Coll., p. 49, pl. 3, no. 53

Scarab of sard with the head of an Ethiopian woman in profile to the left. The work is very skilled, and, as Furtwaengler points out, the artist must have made a thorough study of the racial type. It is one of the most interesting of all the ancient studies of the type, and introduces several novelties of detail. For instance, the woman wears a necklace of beads and pendant ear-rings in the form of lotus buds. Her hair is bound up in a cap or kerchief wound round her head turban-wise in the style that is associated with the southern mammy. The head-dress is the same as that worn by Circe on the vases from the Cabirion. The gem is assigned to the end of the fifth century.

144. London - British Museum - Castellani Coll.

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, I, pl. XVI, no. 5

" " " II, p. 75, no. 5

Sardonyx scaraboid with the design of an Ethiopian slave seated on the ground in the usual crouching position. Both legs are drawn up, the left shown on profile and the right in foreshortening. His head rests on his hands, which

clasp his left knee, and an ointment vase hangs from a ring on his left arm. His thick lips are prominent.

145. London - British Museum - Blacas Coll.

Smith, Engraved Gems, p.181, no.1664

Head of an Ethiopian in profile to left, on a sard.

146. London - British Museum - Laurenti and Blacas Colls.

Smith, Engraved Gems, p.81, no.471

Scaraboid of sard, with the back of the gem carved to represent an Ethiopian's head.

147. London - C.N. Robinson Coll. - formerly Morrison Coll. catalogue no.41

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, vol.I, pl.LXIII, no.2

" " " II, p.233, no.2

Carnelian scaraboid with the design of an Ethiopian boy crouching down on the ground in the usual attitude. Both legs are drawn up, the left shown on foreshortening and the right in profile. His right hand rests on his right knee, and an ointment vase hangs from a ring on his left arm. His head is shown in profile to right. The forehead is low and retreating, the nose long and the lips thick. The gem is assigned to the severe style of the early fifth century.

148. London - Robinson Coll.

Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Auction London 1909, no.17

Buschor, Muen Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.41

Black jaspis with the head of an Ethiopian engraved in profile to left. The woolly hair is rendered by means of raised dots. The forehead is sloping, the nose short and the lips prominent and thick. The gem was found on Cyprus and dates from the fifth century.

149. Panofka Coll.

Panofka, Delphi und Melaine,p.8,no.8

Gem of glass paste showing the head of an Ethiopian in profile to left, wearing a travelling hat. The features are prominent and exaggerated; the forehead bulges, and the nose and chin are drawn out on a line. The hair is indicated by raised dots.

Coins

150. Athens

Prokesch-Osten, Wiener Denkschrift,Phil.-Hist.

Klasse,1859,p.315,pl.II,no.34

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml.,III,1885,p.4

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst,XI,1919,p.41

Athenian tri-obol, silver, of the early fifth century. Obverse type, head of Athena; reverse,in a deep incuse square, an olive branch, the inscription , and a tiny head of an Ethiopian. The retreating forehead and thick lips are clear, in spite of the small field of the coin.

151. Delphi

Bosset, Essai sur les Médailles antiques des Îles
de Céphalonie et d'Ithaque, pl.V, 3

Cavedoni, Bullentino, 1853, p.94

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml., III, 1885, p.5

British Museum Catalogue, Central Greece, Delphi,
p.25, nos.6-9, pl.IV

Seltman, A.J.A., XXIV, 1920, p.14, n.2

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst, XI, 1919, p.41

Early fifth century coins of Delphi with the type of
an Ethiopian's head in profile to left.

152-153. Lesbos and Antissa

Brandis, Des Munz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in
Vorder-Asien, pp.321 & 450

Rev. Num., XIV, 1869/1870, p.356

Mél. de Num., I, 1874/5, p.22

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml., III, 1885, p.5

British Museum Catalogue, Troas, Lesbos, p.153, nos.
42-45, pl. XXX, no.19

Seltman, A.J.A., XXIV, 1920, p.14, n.2

Babelon, Traité, pp.857-8, nos.595-599, pl.XV, nos.6-9

Coins of Lesbos with the type of an Ethiopian's head in
profile to left. This issue appears to have been more
plentiful than the coins of Athens and Delphi with a similar
type. No less than sixty were contained in the Find of
Auriol, Bouches-du-Rhone.

Tesserae

154. Athens - Société Archéologique

Engel, B.C.H., VIII, 1884, p. 13, pl. IV, no. 99

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 4, n. 7

Round lead tessera with the head of an Ethiopian in profile to right. His lips are large and his woolly hair is indicated by means of raised dots.

155. Athens - Coll. Méliétopoulos

Engel, B.C.H., VIII, 1884, p. 13, pl. IV, no. 100

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 4, n. 7

Round lead tessera with the design of an Ethiopian's head in full front. There is a marked depression in the middle of the forehead. The eyes are wide open, the nose broad and short, and the lips thick.

What significance has the figure of the Ethiopian on vase paintings and gems, and the Ethiopian head on plastic vases and coins? A study of the scenes where Ethiopians occur shows them engaged in various occupations, the majority of which fall under the category of personal attendance or valet service. The evidence seems to show that in the main the Greeks regarded these strangers as curiosities and enjoyed going about, attended by them. There is no indication in this century that they perform the more menial kinds of service such as cooking and house work, or the hard labor of building and construction. The soldiers of Memnon shown on vases are the only class which do not entirely fall under the above classification, though

even they are the slaves whom the artist saw upon the streets of Athens, dressed up in the guise of mythology. On two of the Memnon vases the Ethiopians are really acting as valets, and assisting the hero into his regalia. The artist probably received the idea of introducing Ethiopians into the scene he was painting from having seen Ethiopians in Athens assisting in the robing of some Athenian gentleman.

The most customary function for these slaves, particularly the boys, seems from the evidence to have been attendance at the bath or the palaestra. This is attested by both gems and vase paintings. It may be that contact with eastern luxury through the Ionian expedition of 498 B.C. and the Persian Wars gave the Greeks a taste for being attended by black slaves. These small figures who have crouched down on the ground and gone to sleep may mean that the Greek had already discovered in the negro a characteristic willingness to take it easy when occasion permitted, and found it diverting rather than distressing. At all events, they became a vogue with the fashionable, and evidently delighted their owners by their unusual appearance and curious ways. The little crouching bath slave with his master's athletic equipment is found on two gems now in Berlin, one in Corneto and two in London (above, nos. 140, 141, 142, 144 & 147). On the vase fragment from the

Acropolis he is evidently more energetic, as he is on his feet at least, and on the fragment in the Louvre he is on his way to fill a pitcher for his master(above, nos. 130 & 134). Probably the Ethiopian slave boy and his master on the Copenhagen amphora are also on their way to the baths(above, no. 132). It is interesting that this bath slave, as he appears on the gems with a ring on his arm from which are suspended ointment vase and strigil, was perpetuated in a life-sized marble statue from the Hellenistic period now in the Vatican (Helbig, Fuehrer, 3rd ed., I, p. 242, no. 375). The right hand which was broken off has been restored as carrying a sponge, a conjecture which is very likely, since the little slave on the Corneto gem also holds a sponge for his master. There is also a bronze weight in the British Museum, from the Roman period, in the form of a kneeling Ethiopian slave boy who holds a sponge, though here it is for the purpose of cleaning a boot(Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 269, no. 1676, fig. 37).

On the Vienna lecythus the Ethiopian boy is taking care of the pets belonging to his young master. In one hand the slave holds a hare and in the other a cage or basket for the bird which is seen perched on the wrist of the young man.

The vases also show the slaves accompanying their owners to the stele where the rites for the dead were performed, and carrying for them stools, alabastra and

other funeral objects involved in the service at the tomb. The Berlin lecythus shows a slave girl carrying a stool for her mistress on her head and an alabastrum for the ceremony in her hand(above, no. 131). Three male slaves appear in this capacity on the Andromeda Hydria in London, one of them balancing a stool on his head in the same manner (above, no. 115). The little stool-bearer on another vase brings up two, one inverted on the other, though he is not an attendant at funeral rites(above, no. 137). To the group of slaves described above probably belong the majority of Ethiopians who appear in connection with the Busiris story and who hold the various sacrificial objects at the supposed death of the hero. Here again the genre is introduced into mythology.

The Ethiopian's head on gems, coins and tesserae is not so easily interpreted, particularly since the use to which this last-named class was put has not been established. According to Lafaye (Daremberg and Saglio under tessera) these round lead tesserae are nowhere mentioned in literature and are an unsolved problem. A favorite theory has been that they were a species of token money and had actual value. Certainly the Ethiopian type found on them closely resembles the type on the coins, though at the same time resembling quite as closely the type on

gems. Other theories advanced are that they were used as gaming counters, tokens of identification, theatre tickets or lucky pieces. Several of these uses suggest the prophylactic theory already met in the Ethiopian types of the seventh and sixth centuries, particularly since one of these pieces shows the head in full front, a position more apotropaic than the profile. The features also are sufficiently grotesque to have been intended for this purpose. It is barely possible also that the Ethiopian heads on gems were supposed to have had this function, though the type of the little bath slave which occurs on some is certainly pure genre. The evidence is too scanty to warrant an explanation which will cover all cases.

The Ethiopian head which occurs on coins is even more difficult to interpret. On objects of art the artist may after all suit his own fancy largely in his choice of design, but the coinage of the state has an importance which attaches significance to any symbol chosen to represent that state upon its money. The Greek coin type, whether it referred to the foremost religious cult of the state, or to the leading article of commerce, or was a punning allusion to the name of the state, was in the nature of a heraldic emblem to stand for that state to the rest of the world. The coin types were ordinarily highly localized, and the meaning of the Ethiopian head is all the more baffling because it is found on the coins of more than one city.

The first association which the type on the coins of Delphi calls to mind, is the painting at Delphi of the lower world, in which, according to Pausanias, one of the figures was a nude Ethiopian boy standing near Memnon, "because Memnon was king of the Ethiopian race" (X,31,7 - Frazer,I,p.546). The painting by Polygnotus was upon the walls of the *lesce* dedicated there by the Cnidians. Had it been upon an Athenian building at Delphi, it might be the solution of the problem, since the head replaces the owl on the Athenian tri-obol for a short time. Even this however would leave out of account the more frequent use of the type on the coins of Lesbos, and the city in Arcadia. The style of the head seems to place the coins too early for Polygnotus' painting. It is not uncommon to find statues set up at Delphi copied in other places, particularly the cities which dedicated them; and coin types have frequently reproduced famous statues. Unfortunately no life-sized statue is known which could be the prototype of these coins, since a fourth century date is the earliest which can reasonably be assigned to a statue of a man with Ethiopian blood (Smith, Marbles and Bronzes in the British Museum,p.8,pl.41). Even this man, who was probably a Libyan victor in the chariot races at Delphi, has a small percentage of African blood in comparison with the woolly hair and protruding lips of the type on the coins.

Similarity of the coin types of two or more cities

is not frequent, and when it does occur it usually argues some political relation or alliance. The meaning of the Ethiopian's head is more likely to be found in history than in art or religion. It can scarcely be another reference to the Ethiopians in Xerxes' expedition, since Delphi also Medized and advised capitulation. It probably refers to some other treaty or agreement which either has not come down to us or which has not yet been recognized as having any bearing on the coin type. The question must be left open until further evidence comes to light.

CHAPTER V

THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

During the fourth century the popularity of the Ethiopian race as an art subject seems to have waned at Athens. Doubtless the novelty of their appearance had worn off somewhat, and the tendencies in art which made them a furore in the Hellenistic period which followed, had not as yet developed. This century was the period of their great popularity in Magna Graecia. The Greeks of southern Italy had imported some of the Attic vases in the form of Ethiopians' heads, and had taken a particular fancy to the crocodile drinking cup of Sotades. Realizing the possibilities of a vogue for these, local vase makers evidently decided to imitate rather than import, and in consequence we have a series of these vases, of obvious fourth century Italian workmanship.

There is no difficulty in differentiating the imitations from the Attic fifth century originals. The Italian artists altered somewhat the proportions of the vase; they added ornamental details to the decoration of the crocodile, and twisted his tail about the Ethiopian's left arm. Hence it no longer served as a handle for the cup, and another handle was added above it. The simple painting, usually of four human figures, which Sotades put upon the cup mouth, gave way to the more florid painting of the period, which ran down over the whole of the cup mouth instead of being restricted to a band.

A few have even altered the posture of the Ethiopian, so that his right leg instead of his right arm is held in the crocodile's mouth, and he is lashed to the body of the cup by the crocodile's tail. Another example, while keeping the traditional posture of the figure, has replaced the cup by a trefoil pitcher mouth. These imitations or adaptations are of interest for the painting of the crocodile, since the paint is gone from the animals on the Attic vases. The modelling of the crocodile is no more true to life than in the originals and shows no closer acquaintance with the animal. Although the Ethiopians must have been known to the south Italian Greeks by a period as late as the fourth century, these stiff little black figures with staring eyes have no individuality and have evidently been copied from the vases, not from life. There is no contribution to the rendering of the racial type. The technique has been taken over, though with less skill, and if the Italian vases show a more striking contrast between black skin and white eye-calls, it is probably because the paint on them has been better preserved.

An interesting variation of the plastic drinking cup of Sotades, which may or may not have an Attic original, is a vase in the Jatta Collection with painting on the cup mouth almost identical with the painting on a crocodile vase in the same collection (J.E.Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p.195, pl.55b; Buscher, *Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst*, XI, 1919, p.6, no.10)

But the plastic part of the vase is different; the Ethiopian has disappeared, and the upper part of the body of a maiden has been added to a fish tail similar to the crocodile's tail, thus forming a representation of the sea-monster Scylla.

The Apulian vase of the ^s type of the Ethiopian boy seized by a crocodile imitating those of Sotades have been collected by Buschor (loc.cit., pp.5-6). They are listed below with additional references:

Type with Ethiopian in usual pose

156. Cambridge - Fitzwilliam Museum - Earl of Cadogan Coll.
Gardner, Catal. of Fitzw. Mus., p.80, no.344, pl. XXXVI
157. London - British Museum - from Capua
Walters, Catal. of Vases, IV, p.191, F417
158. Naples - National Museum - Santangelo Coll. - from Ruvo
Heydemann, Vasensamml., p.648, no.43
159. Naples - National Museum - Santangelo Coll. - from Ruvo
Heydemann, Vasensamml., p.648, no.44
160. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Coll. Janzé 157
A.de Ridder, Catalogue des Vases, p.673, no.1252,
pl. XXXIII

The vase has a trecoil pitcher mouth instead of the usual cup mouth.

161. Paris - Louvre - Campana 3636

162. Ruvo - Jatta Coll. no.1223

163. Ruvo - Jatta Coll. no.1268

164. Ruvo - Jatta Coll. no.1408

Type with Ethiopian lashed to cup

165. Berlin - Antiquarium - Saboureff Coll.- from Ruvo

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., p.944

no.3408

166. Petrograd - Hermitage

Reinach, Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien, 2nd ed., p.87

167. Ruvo - Jatta Coll. no.1460

Type with Ethiopian held by waist in crocodile's paws

168. Berlin - Antiquarium - from Capua

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II, p.991,

no.3893

Negro and crocodile do not again appear combined on this type of vase, though the following vase painting of about the same period is probably an echo of the Sotades group:

169. Naples - National Museum - Mus.Borbonico - from Ruvo

Heydemann, Vasensamml., p.449, no.2958

Buschor, Muen.Jb.Bild.Kunst, XI, 1919, p.43

Drinking cup with a band of painting depicting a boy

running away from a crocodile, at which he is looking back. Below the animal is a small Ethiopian's head in relief. Italian work. Ht. 0.22 m.

The vase in the form of the Ethiopian's head evidently enjoyed the same kind of popularity and underwent the same kind of imitation on the Italian peninsula. Furtwaengler has said of the imitations that they "lack the characteristic strength of the Attic Moors' heads" (Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II, p. 831). Not only is the expression of the face rendered with less masterly skill, but the effect has been weakened by the addition of wreaths, ribbons and other painted details which bridge the way to the developments of the Hellenistic period which followed. The little raised dots of clay which had heretofore been used to suggest the curls have been replaced in some instances by an attempt at actual modelling of the hair, and there is more use of incised lines in adding details. There are no more janiform vases, all that occur being examples of the single head type:

170. Baltimore - Coll. of Professor D.M. Robinson -
bought in Tarentum

Unpublished drinking cup or pitcher in the form of an Ethiopian's head. His neck serves as a base, and a simple cylindrical spout with a trefoil opening inside rises from the top of his head. A flat channeled handle curves from

the back of the spout to the back of his head. Only the face and front of the hair are modelled, the clay at the back of the head being left smooth. There is an inscription at the back of the Ethiopian's neck, near the bottom of the vase. *W* The entire surface of the vase was covered with a black glaze, much of which still remains. The vase was made in two sections, the modelled front and plain back, and then joined together.

The hair of the Ethiopian is in three rows of spiral curls over his forehead and ears, and fits like a cap about his forehead, which is deeply wrinkled. The eyebrows are heavy, and are rendered by means of incised lines, herring-bone pattern, in the clay. The eyes are wide open, the iris shown by an incised circle, with a raised dot in the center to represent the pupil. The nose, rising from a depression between the eyes, broadens at the base to almost the width of the mouth. The lips are very thick and protruding, and are parted slightly to show the teeth. There is a prominence about the jaw structure which renders the profile ape-like in effect. The ears are set very low in the head, in line with the mouth. The throat is drawn and tense, and the muscles stand out sharply. This vase is one of the most realistic of the Italian group, and shows Hellenistic tendencies, particularly in the arrangement of the hair. Height of entire vase $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.135 m.); height from base to top of Ethiopian's head $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0.105 m.).

171. Berlin - Antiquarium - San Canino Coll. - from Vulci

Panofka, Delphi u. Melaine, p.6, nos.3 & 4

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II, p.881,

no.2870

Drinking cup with single handle and large mouth, in the form of an Ethiopian's head. Panofka considers that it is meant to represent a woman, from the head-dress of ribbon bands, painted red, which cross each other over the forehead and either ear. The curly hair is indicated by raised spirals like snail shells. The eyes are deep-set, the cheeks hollow, the nose short and broad and the lips protruding. There is no life in the expression of the face. Ht. 0.302 m.

172. Berlin - Antiquarium - Sabouroff Coll.

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II, p.945,

no.3411

Vase from lower Italy with narrow pitcher mouth, in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The flesh is painted black on a white slip. The hair is in rows of curls, and the lips are red. Above the head is a thick yellow cushion band with ends hanging down on the shoulder. Ht. 0.12 m.

173. Berlin - Antiquarium - Sabouroff Coll.

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II,

p.945, no. 412

Vase with a narrow pitcher mouth, in the form of an Ethiopian's head. Furtwaengler suggests that a woman is meant, since the hair is decorated with a wreath. The flesh is painted black on a white slip. Ht. 0.133 m.

174. Berlin - Antiquarium - Sabouroff Coll.

Furtwaengler, Beschreibung der Vasensamml., II,
p. 269, no. 3665

Vase from Italy with an Ethiopian's head in relief on the handle piece.

175. London - British Museum - Castellani Coll. - from Capua

Walters, Catalogue of Vases, IV, p. 263, G156

Ascus in the form of an Ethiopian's head, interesting for its use of coloring. A wreath around the front of the head, with flowers at each end, is painted white; eyes and teeth are painted white; and red is used for the eyebrows and lips. Ht. 2 7/8 in.

176. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Vases, IV, p. 262, G155

Oenocoe in the form of the head of an Ethiopian, with thick curly hair. The forehead is wrinkled, and over it is a heavy garland which falls in a loop over each ear. This vase was found on the island of Cos, but Walters assigns it to fourth century workmanship, and it is therefore contemporary with the Italian vases. Ht. 4 1/2 in.

177. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale
De Witte, Cabinet Durand, no.96
Panoika, Delphi u. Melaine, p.7

One-handed drinking cup in the form of the head of an Ethiopian woman. She wears a sphendone set with stars and a laurel wreath. Panoika suggests that the stars may be intended to mean that she represents night. Ht. 0.15 m.

To this period or possibly the following belong a few asci found on the island of Cyprus, where the Ethiopian type seems to have stayed in favor as a subject for vases:

178. Cambridge - Fitzwilliam Museum

Myres-Richter, Cyprus Museum, p.88, no.1772

Ascus with an Ethiopian's head in front view, moulded in relief on the top.

179. Cyprus Museum

Myres-Richter, op.cit., p.88, no.1772

Ascus similar to the foregoing.

180. Paris - Louvre - Room H, no.333

Myres-Richter, op.cit., p.88, no.1772

Ascus similar to the foregoing.

The vase^s form one of the only two classes of objects which made use of the Ethiopian's head to any noticeable

extent in this period. The other class is jewelry, and there remain a few instances of the type on contemporary gems and rings, not in Greece or Magna Graecia, however, but on the island of Sardinia. There is Oriental influence to be seen in some of these gems which show the Ethiopian head strangely conjoined with other heads not negroid. The prophylactic theory is the most reasonable explanation of these, since the types seem to be of intentional ugliness.

181. Cagliari Museum - from the necropolis at Tharros,
Sardinia

Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, p. XV, no. 83

" " " II, p. 73, no. 83

Scarab of green jasper with the head of an Ethiopian in profile to right. The gem is not well preserved and the outlines of the face are somewhat blurred, but the broad nose and thick lips show the race of the subject. The scarab is of Phoenician style.

182. London - British Museum - from Tharros

Smith, *Engraved Gems*, p. 51, no. 161, pl. C

Green jasper scarab with the bust of an Ethiopian in profile to right. The woolly hair is indicated by raised dots close together. The lips are thick and the cheekbones prominent.

183. London - British Museum - from Tharros

Smith, Engraved Gems, p.52,no.179,pl.C

Green jasper scarab showing two conjoined heads, a bearded male head in full front and an Ethiopian in profile. The nose of the Ethiopian is flat and his thick lips are prominent.

184. London - British Museum - from Tharros

Smith, Engraved Gems,p.53,no.181

Green jasper scarab with a head in profile to right which is probably intended to represent an Ethiopian.

185. London - British Museum - from Tharros

Marshall, Catalogue of Finger-Rings,p.17,no.81

Pale gold ring, the thin hoop broadening into an oval bezel, on which is engraved a head which may be meant for an Ethiopian.

186. London - British Museum - from Tharros

Smith, Engraved Gems,p.52,no.171,pl.C

Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen,I,pl.VII,no.32

" " " II,p.34,no.32

Marshall, Catalogue of Finger-Rings,p.52,no.292,pl.VIII

Gold ring with a revolving scarab of green jasper, carved with an elaborate design. The space is filled at the bottom with an animal group, and at the top by three conjoined heads. The middle head is in full front, the other two in profile right and left. The profile heads are

clearly Ethiopians from their short, broad noses and thick lips. The central face, which is distorted in a grin, is called a negro by Smith, but a head of Bes by Furtwaengler and Marshall. The ring is of the Phoenician U-shaped type.

187. London - British Museum - Franks Bequest

Marshall, Catalogue of Finger-Rings, p. 223, no. 1456

Silver ring, gold-plated, with a pointed oval bezel, on which is engraved a human head in profile to left, which is probably an Ethiopian.

While the fourth century made no advance in the rendering of the racial type on small objects, it produced one of the two life-sized heads of men with African blood which are the finest in all Greek and Roman art. The other is of marble and dates from the second or third century A.D.; this one is of bronze and was found among the ruins of the temple of Apollo at Cyrene. It is evident from the fragments of bronze horses found with it that it formed part of a chariot group, and from its dedication in the temple of Apollo it is probable that the man was a victor in the chariot races at Delphi.

188. London - British Museum - from Cyrene

Smith and Percher, Discoveries at Cyrene, pl. LXVI

Trivier, Gazette Archéologique, IV, 1878, p. 60, pl. 8

Payet, Monuments de l'Art Antique, II, p. 67

Newton, Guide to Bronze Room, p. 49, 12

Gazette Archeologique, IX, 1887, p. 397

Collignon-Baumgarten, Griechische Plastik, p. 615, 392

Smith, Marbles and Bronzes in the British Museum,
p. 8, pl. 41

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 34, no. 368

Studniczka, Kyrene, p. 5

Brunn-Arndt-Bruckmann, Griechische u. Poenische
Portraits, pls. 41 and 42

Schrader, Berlin. Winckelmannspr. LX, 1900

The style of the head appears to be that of the fourth century, with possible Lysippean influence. The growing beard and waving locks of hair are rendered with care, but otherwise there is an absence of realistic detail and any hint of emotion, and the head is notably an idealistic portrait. The features are regular; the only ones strongly suggestive of a strain of negro blood are the lips which have an unmistakable fulness. The man is a north African of Libya, of a race with features as fine as those of the Gabyles who now inhabit the region. The poise of the head is so noble that it suggested to Trivier the idea that here was some Libyan chieftain portrayed in bronze in token of the victory of his splendid horses.

The work is that of a fine artist, though nothing is

known of his identity. He had complete mastery over his medium, bronze, and even the rendering of the wavy hair which is more difficult in a material which must be cast from a mould than one which can be hammered with the chisel, gave him no difficulty. He struck the right proportion between the requisite amount of fidelity to detail and the effect of the whole. In this respect especially his handling of his subject is in contrast to the treatment of racial types in the next great period of Greek art, the Hellenistic era.

CHAPTER VI

THE ETHIOPIAN IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

After a century which contributed little to the development of the Ethiopian in art as a racial type, except for a single fine example whose interest for the sculptor lay in some achievement of his career rather than his idealized barbarian features, there appeared suddenly a flood of figurines in both bronze and terra-cotta whose aim appears to have been a realism which often crosses the boundary of caricature and the grotesque. The sudden popularity of a type which offers admirable material for the exercise of this spirit must be accounted for by some new impulse in art, and all evidence points to the founding of Alexandria. This city, one of the most brilliant centers of the Hellenistic era, and placed most advantageously for the study of African types, is no doubt responsible in large measure for this renewed interest in the Ethiopian and the many representations of him in the smaller arts. In Asia Minor also the type had long been established as an appropriate motif, and the probable part of the Asia Minor centers in the reappearance of the Ethiopian is pointed out by Dickins in his brilliant resumé of the Alexandrian spirit (Hellenistic Sculpture, pp.27-38).

"The people of Alexandria were looked on in the ancient world as scoffers and cynics. Their taste was light, their jests were coarse, and everywhere to be seen was the laugh of them. A cosmopolitan society of Greeks, Macedonians, native Egyptians, Jews and every nation of the East, they were united only in their mutual diversity of points of view and their scepticism of all 'Axioms & dogmas'. To such a people can one be so full of love of the grotesque as to collect statues. By the side of the graceful art of comic, grotesque and obscene statuette of every description. ---- In Alexandria arose all the grotesque exaggerations of natural defects which are the love popularity. The hunch, the hunch-back, the drunkard, the clown of every kind, became popular models. As if the reflection of youth and beauty were exhausted, the Hellenistic sculptors of Alexandria turned into the portrayal of disease, of old age, and of mutilation in every form. They smiled as much as they wept, peccata ricom'la nostalgia de la boue'. Here again we must beware of attributing to Alexandria all the grotesque figures of Hellenistic art and all its ideas of moral and physical ugliness. Pergamon, if not Rhodes, and day times Attica must have played their part in the development of artistic decadence; but we have no lack of this well certified art

Alexandria, that we are justified in regarding Egypt as its chief and most copious source. Works of this type fall into two classes: the purely grotesque and the extremely Hellenistic. --- We may assume that the demand was primarily foreign and not Greek, though all the skill of Greek sculpture is employed in the flawless execution of many of them".

Alexandria, then, is the probable source of the number of small bronze figurines of heroes which appear now for the first time, and which form perhaps the most important class of Hellenic portraits from antiquity. Schreiber (Ath. Mitt. X, 1883, pp.330-400) advocates the theory that Alexandria was their distinctive center, but Wace would assign them an Italic origin because so many are found outside Egypt (B.S.A.X, 1903-4, pp.103-114). The point of their scattered provenance is easily settled by agreeing with Dickins that the demand was foreign. I would like to urge a point not heretofore brought up in favor of the Alexandrian theory. It is that representations of heroes, beginning with this period, show a definite arrangement of the hair in three or more rows of flat, symmetric curls, like a conventional Egyptian wig, which will be encountered on most of the bronzes. This hair arrangement which persists

even in Roman art, is no doubt, as Perdrizet points out (Coll. Fouquet, p. 58) the style affected by the Ethiopian butlers of Trimalchio, (Petronius, Cena Trimalchionis sec. 34, ed. Buechelet, p. 23- Inde subierunt tunc Aethiopes conuicati.) a word which Friedlaender (p. 225, note to sec. 34) wants to edit out of this passage. The elaborate arrangement of curls to be seen on these negro figurines, illustrates the passage satisfactorily.

Of the two classes of ivory-ware specified by Diodorus, the grotesque and the extremely naturalistic, the majority both of bronze and terra-cotta fall into the latter. Some of the bronzes show that extreme naturalism in the rendering of racial type is compatible with charm, for example the famous bronze statuette of a negro boy playing the lyre, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 436, no. 1009; Payet, Monuments de l'Art Antique, II, 6, pl. XIII; Bulle, Der Schöne Mensch, pp. 145-6, no. 77, fig. 29, pl.), the dancing negro in the National Museum at Naples (Roux-Barré, Héculanum et Pompei, VI, p. 109, pl. 104, 1 and 3), and the fine statuette recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Richter, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, XVI, 1931, pp. 33-34, fig. 3).

The large class of terra-cotta figurines from this period seem to have had other centers of manufacture, and are found principally in Asia Minor and Italy. Places the in-

fluence of the Pergamene school is reflected in cases of Asiatic provenance (For the terra-cottas of Asiatic origin, see the introduction to Froehner, *Terracottas d'Asie de la Collection Julien Gréau*), while a South Italian center may be conjectured for the large number brought to light in the lower part of that peninsula. A few terra-cottas of negroes, showing genre subjects, were found even in South Russia, perhaps an import from the Asia Minor center of Manufacture (Stephanz, *Compte Rendu*, 1886, p. 31, no. 8; Atlas for 1868, pl. II, no. 3; Schneider, *Jah. Kunst. Samml. III*, 1865, p. 7, n. 1; Stern, *Jah. Oesterr. Arch. Inst. VII*, 1884, p. 201). No Ethnicians have as yet been found among the statuettes from Tanagra. Probably the irregular contours of the negro did not attract those artists, who seem to have concerned themselves principally with the quality in art.

The figurines, or parts or fragments of terra-cottas from this period are as follows:

189. Athens - Central Museum - Hirsch Collection -
from Smyrna

Monuments Pict IV, 1897, pl. XVIII, 2, p. 216

Winter, *Terracotten*, II, p. 46, no. 5

Head of Ethnician, ill. comp. very close to his

head, wrinkled, retreating forehead, broad nose and thick lips. Height 0.03 m.

190. Berlin - Koenigliche Museen - from Priene - 5282

Wegand and Schrader, Priene, p.268, fig. 140

Schrader, Winckelmanns. Prog., Berlin, LX, 1900, pp.23 and 36.

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no. 4.

Head of an Ethiopian, crowned with a wreath of flowers,

found with many other terra-cottas in a house in Priene.

It is not a caricature but an extremely naturalistic portrait of an African of the lowest type of intelligence.

Schrader says that an authority on African tribes to whom it was shown stated without hesitation that a woman was meant, and that it might easily be the picture of a present day member of one of the least civilized Central African tribes.

The handling of detail and the effect produced are masterly. The thick, coarse, hard open lips are in startling contrast to the elaborate garland which hangs down on either side of the face. There are remains of dark brown color on hair and flesh. Height 0.07 m.

191. Berlin - Koenigliche Museen no. 7577 - from Asia Minor

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no.7

Bearded head of an Ethiopian or barbarian, with short,

beard

broad, and also thick lips. Height 0.04 m.

192. Berlin - Königliche Museen no. 6968 - from the Cylindrica
Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no.6

Head of a barbarian or an Ethiopian with a long
beard. The lips are thick. The snipe of the nose can not
be determined because it has been broken off. Height 0.055 m.

193. Constantinople Museum - from Assos

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no.9

Fragment of an Ethiopian's head, the cranium miss-
ing. The hair is in long locks, but the hair color is
evident in the broad nose, thick lips and wrinkled fore-
head. Height 0.035 m.

194. Cyprus Museum - from Kiton, Kamelarga site

Myres and Richter, Cyprus Museum, p.155, no.5349

Terra-cotte head of an Ethiopian woman broken from
a figurine, found with other terra-cottes in a sanctuary,
probably that of Artemis. Height 0.08 m.

195. Gréau Collection

Froehner, Terres Crites d'Asie de la Collection

Julien Gréau, vol. I, p.70, no.5; vol. II, pl.83

Head of an Ethiopian with curly hair, low, wrinkled,
scowling forehead, flat nose (partly gone), and thick lips,

the lower one protruding.

196. London - British Museum - from Italy

Walters, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, p. 300, no. D351

Life-size mask of an Ethiopian apparently intended to be worn, as the mouth, nostrils, and pupils of the eyes are pierced through. Each ear has been pierced with a hole, which was probably intended for the cord which held the mask in place.

The hair is in clusters of curls, the nose flat, and the mouth grinning, with the upper row of teeth indicated. Work of the Hellenistic period, from Italy.

Height $9 \frac{7}{8}$ in.

197. Odessa Museum - from Olbia

Inventar-Katalog, IV, 539

Stern, Jr. Oest. Arch. Inst. VII, 1904, p. 301,
no. 2

Unpainted terra-cotta mask of an Ethiopian woman painted with black.

198. Paris - Louvre - from Aegae (Aeolis)

Pottier-Fénelon, Les Terres Cuites de Myrina,
no. 637

Winter, Terr. Kotten, II, p. 448, no. 13

Head of an Ethiopian. Inclined toward the left should-

der. Height 0.335 m.

199. Paris - Louvre - from Smyrna

Pegibault, Revue Encyclopédique Littéraire, X, 1900,
p. 1063, pl. II, 15

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.446, no.5

Head of an Ethiopian with curly hair, the flesh
painted black.

200. Toronto Museum - unpublished

Terra-cotta head of an Ethiopian with flat nose,
thick parted lips and high cheek bones. The racial type
is caricatured,

301. Gréau Collection - from Tarentum

Fischer, Collection Gréau, 1891, p.146, no.337

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, footnote

Mould for a terra-cotta bust of an Ethiopian boy
his left arm raised.

302. Bari Museo Provinciale - from Monopoli

Notizie degli Scavi, 1898, p.548, sec. 3, no.1783

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.446, no. 3

Figure of a man seated on a rock, his head leaning
on his right hand. His pose and expression denote preoccupa-
tion or sadness. To judge his features from the illus-
tration in Winter, there is nothing in his physiognomy espe-
cially to indicate an Ethiopian. A bar might be attend-
ed. Height 0.33 m.

303. Berlin - Koenigliche Museen - from Priene

Priene, p.357, figs. 434-435

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no.1

A figurine caricaturing the famous "Spitalic" as an Ethiopian. His forehead is wrinkled and his eyes have an expression of pain. His nose is short and broad at the base, and while his lips are not large, a grotesque effect is given by his exaggerated puffed-out cheeks. He wears a cap on his head, and some drapery fastened up over one shoulder. Height 0.165 m.

304. Berlin - Koenigliche Museen - Gréau Collection - from Asia Minor

Froehner, Terra Cuites d'Asie de la Coll. Gréau, p.38, pl. 69

" Coll. Gréau, 1891, no. 669

Furtwaengler, Arch. Anzeiger, 1892, p.106, no.13
Winter, Terrakotten, II, p, 448, no. 10

Figurine of an Ethiopian his arms gone from the shoulder and his legs broken off at the knee. His face has an expression of pain or grief, and his thin body sack above the folds of an exotic tunic is fastened over his left shoulder. On his head is a thick wreath, according to Froehner a funerary crown. It is still his tunic's color, showing that it was originally painted. The forehead is wrinkled, the lips thick and the nose snub. Height 0.145 m.

305. Berlin - Königliches Museum - Sauberich Collection -
from Boeotia

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no. 8 n.

Furtwaengler Samml. Sauberich, pl. CXXIX, 2

Youth seated on a rock, his elbow resting on his left knee and his left hand supporting his head. His right hand rests on his right knee. The hands are large in proportion to the size of the figure. The features are not strongly Ethiopian, but the figure was painted a dark brown, showing that the artist intended to show a member of this race.

306. London - British Museum - from Italy

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.310, D84

Ethiopian boxer, with caecus on both hands and a loin cloth about his waist. His features are coarse and he is partly bald. He leans back, with his arms out in front of him. Height 10 3/8 in. Hellenistic period.

307. London - British Museum - from Italy

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p. 311, no.D85

Mate to the foregoing figure, with left foot advanced and right arm raised as if to strike. His face is more youthful than his companion's, and there are traces of dark color still visible on it. Height 9 5/8 in. Hellenistic period.

208. London - British Museum - from Italy

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no. 8 b

Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas, p.311, no. D66

Ethiopian with curly hair and characteristic features, seated on a rock, about to write on a scroll. Hellenistic period. Height 8 in.

209. Naples - Museo Nazionale 3655 (4704) - from Capua

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, 8 c

Figure seated on a rock. Similar to no 208 above from Bari. His head is resting on his hand. Height 0.31 m.

210. Paris - Louvre no. 335 - from the necropolis of Myrina

Pottier-Peignacq, Myrina, II, p.473, pl. XLVI, no.2

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.448, no. 12

An Ethiopian or Ethiopian slave, carrying a disk on his up-raised left hand (balanced as a modern waiter balances a tray), and an oenochoe in his left hand, which hangs by his side. He wears a loin cloth about his waist. His wavy hair is long and hangs about his neck, his eyes are set far apart, his nose is short and his thick lips protrude somewhat. Height 0.17 in.

211. Petrograd - Hermitage - from Cimmeria

Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1860, p.31, no.3

Atlas, pl. II, no. 3

Schneidez, JB. Kunst. Samml. III, 1835, p.7, n.1

A nude Ethiopian youth, found with a group of the Niobids in terra-cotta. He has sunk to his knees and his head is thrown backwards. His right arm, which was evidently up raised, has been broken off. His left hand holds the remains of a sack which was thrown over his left shoulder. This hunting sack is evidence that the Ethiopian was intended as an attendant of the sons of Niobe who were killed while out hunting, (Hyginus, Fab. 9, "O id Apollo filios eius in silva venantes interfecit in Monte Sipyllo").

This figurine is of especial interest because although a genre type, it is connected with mythology. The portrayal of Ethiopians in connection with mythology is mainly confined to vases.

212. Syracuse Museum - from Ortygia

Kekule von Stradonitz, Terrakotten von Sicilien,
pl. LI, no. 1

Figurine with legs close together, the ankles crossed. The position is not a walking one, and the figure could not have stood without a support, yet the body is slightly bent so that it could not have been intended to lie prone, and the wide open eyes show that sleep is not represented. No explanation for the posture has been offered.

The hands hang down at the sides and the head inclines forward. The hair is only moderately curly. The forehead is excessively wrinkled between the eyes, which are wide open and rectangular in outline. The nose rises from a depression between the eyes, and is broad at the extremity. The lips are thick, protruding and tightly closed. The unusually large eyes are characteristic of the modern Nubian. Height 0.24 m.

313. Syracuse Museum -

Kekulé, Terrakotten von Sicilien, pl. LI, no.2

Winter, Terrakotten, p. 449, no.7

Figurine similar to no.312, except that the hands are held in front of the breast. Height 0.24 m.

314. Syracuse Museum

Kekulé, Terrakotten von Sicilien, pl. LI, no.3

Figurine similar to the above except that the arms and a portion of the right breast are broken off. A streak of black color is still visible in the face and hair, making the identification as an Ethiopian certain. Height 0.24 m.

215. Trieste - Museo Civico - from Tarentum

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p. 449, no. 3

Figure in the traditional crouching position, asleep. His thick lips are the only evidence of negro blood in his physiognomy, but the pose is the conventional one for the Ethiopian slave.

Part of the right arm and right leg are missing.

Height 0.09 m.

216. Trieste - Museo Civico - from Tarentum

Winter, Terrakotten, II, p.449, no. 6

Standing figure, wearing a loincloth and holding castanets in his hand. His slightly parted, thick lips and his hair, in conventional pose as that of 215, indicate his Ethiopian blood. Height 0.145.

For more articles than the terracotta is the remarkable group of bronze statuettes which follow their migration in Alexandria. The complete mastery of the bronze artists has over their material produced effects which receive fuller attention than the few classes of objects previously described. These statuettes of bronze, which show the Ethiopian in the various occupations of his slave life, are as follows:

317. Amolisa Bascha

Gaedeckens, Die Antiken Museen zu Amolisa, p.108,
no. 414

Friederichs-Wolters, Lipschütz, p. 681, no.1765

Statue of an Egyptian seated on the ground with his left leg drawn under him and his right drawn up in front. His head rests on his hands which clasp his right knee. His eyes are closed as if in sleep.

318. Athens - Epigraphikon - Dandolo Collection - Arch.
Alcathonia

Puchstein, Ath. Mitth. VII, 1832, p. 14, no. 333

Schreiber, " " X, 1885, pp. 383 sqq, pl.XI,2

Reinach, Peperatoire de Statuaires, II, p.582, no.4

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4 p.107

Statue of an Egyptian seated on the ground, as if
sleep, a tray or bowl in front of him and a tiny monkey on
his right shoulder. He is probably, as Schreiber suggests,
an Alexandrian fruit vendor taking his siesta by going to
sleep at his post, with his wares in front of him. He is
treated in strong caricature. His position is the tradi-
tional crouching one, his head resting on his hands, which
clasp his right knee. His body is miserably thin, and the
bony structure of his face stands out prominently. The hair

is in rows of conventional locks like flower petals, the nose is snout and broad and the lips are slightly parted. The work is Alexandrian. Height 0.05 m.

319. Berlin - Königliche Museen - Antiquarium n. 7450 -
from Egypt

Arch. Zeit. XXXVIII, 1880, p.39

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p. 107

Young Ethiopian wearing trousers, his hands behind his back.

320. Bologna Museum

Gozzadini, Di Ulteriore Scoperte nell 'antica
neocicli a Marzotto nel Bologna, pl.
XII, 6 fig., comp. 38

Sch eikel, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p.7, n.8

Bronze statuette of an Ethiopian youth carrying an amnora on his shoulder.

321. Courtot Collection

Peinach, Répertoire de Statuaires, IV, p.353, no.5

Statuette of standing Ethiopian who holds some object in his right hand. His hair is in wavy locks, his nose broad and his lips thick. He is heavy in build, and does not show the emaciated thinness characteristic of most ne-

gro portraits. From the eastern Id Helinach, one would be inclined to cast doubt on his antiquity, as he is so entirely unlike all other negroes in ancient art.

222 Deutsch-Altburg Museum - from Carnuntum

Schneider, Jb.Oesterr. Arch. Inst. IX, 1903, pp.

323-4, pl. III

Kulitschek & Frankfurter, Fuerner durch Carnuntum

p.54

Bull., Der Schone Mensch, p.673, no.77

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, IV, p.354, no.1

Perarizet, Collection Fouquet, p.57

Bronze statuette of a negro dancer caught at one of the wildest moments of his dance. The right foot and left hand are gone, but the twist of the body indicates that he was momentarily poised on the toe of the foot which is missing, his right leg drawn up preparatory to the next leap of the dance. His head is thrown back and there is an expression of frenzy on his face.

His hair is in three rows of spiral curls; his forehead is deeply wrinkled. The eye-balls are inset in silver, with a hollow left to indicate the pupil. The nose rises from a depression between the eyes and broadens at the end. His mouth is large and his thick lips are parted in the abandon of the moment. The fingers of the right hand are tensely drawn together, and the ring-nails are rendered with fidelity.

It is one of the most vivid and full of motion of all classical portraits of Ethiopians. Height (in its present state) 0.085 m.

233. Dortmund - Coll. of Dr. Albrecht Jordan - from
Sparta

Dressel-Milchhoeffer, Ath.Mitth., II, 1887, p. 301,
no. 139

Schneider, Jb.Kunst.Samml., III, 1885, p. 8

Friederichs-Wolters, Gipsab uesse, p. 698, no. 1785

Bluemner, Fuehrer, p. 110, no. 990

Heinach, Repertoire de Statuaire, III, p. 153, no. 1

Boy seated on the ground in the usual crouching position, asleep, his head resting on his right knee. The original publication of the figure does not call him a negro or mention any suggestion of negro blood. In subsequent references to him, however, he is called a negro without any comment. In the illustration available it is impossible to see any traces of the Ethiopian in his physiognomy, though he is seated in the traditional posture familiar among statuettes of Ethiopians from an early period. This figure is more widely known than many others more artistic because it has been re-

produced by casts in the Berlin and Zurich museums. The left arm and right foot are missing. Height 0.056 m.

224. Fouquet Collection - Greek bronze from Egypt

Perdrizet, Coll. Fouquet, p.57, no. 93, pl.XXV

Ethiopian boy crouching down on all fours, with head thrown back and turned to the right. The left arm is gone at the elbow, the left leg at the knee and the right arm at the shoulder. The suggestions offered by Perdrizet in explanation of the pose are (1) that he is undergoing punishment (which is entirely out of harmony with the mischievous expression of his face, and for which there is no parallel among representations of negroes) or (2) that he is stalking some prey, such as a bird's nest (which is admissible from pose and expression). I would like to suggest, however, that he is swimming, as his legs are drawn up in swimming position, and what remains of his arms indicates that they also would be correctly placed for this interpretation. His head is held up as if to keep it clear of the water. He has a parallel in the busts of diving negroes in the Schott Collection, the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale from the Roman periods. His hair is in regular rows of curls, his eyes have hollows to represent the pupils, his nose is short and very broad at the base and his lips are thick, the lower one prominent. He wears a short tunic fas-

tened about his waist. The expression is full of mischief and lifelike, and this little figure is one of the most interesting of the genre portraits of negroes. Length 0.103 m.

225. Leipzig - Theodor Graf Collection - from Egypt

Schreiber, Arch. Anzeiger. V, 1890, p. 157, fig. 8

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p. 107
no. 9.

Nude female figurine in stiff erect pose, the legs close together. The arms are missing and there are sockets where they were intended to fit on. The hair is in conventional rows of flat locks, radiating from the top of the head as a center. The face is very round, with low forehead, nose short but not negroid, and thick full lips. Schreiber calls her an "Aegypterin", Wace a negress. Height 0.21 m.

226. Lisbon - Bucellos Osorio

Arch. Português, VIII, 1903, p. 304

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, IV, p. 354, no.3

Bronze figure in the exact pose of the dancing Ethiopian from Carnuntum (above, no.222.) Most of both arms is missing, but what remains is identical with the other figure. The head, however, while bent in the same way, shows different features, the hair being conventionalized, and the expression of the face being softened from frenzy to passi-

vity. The provenance of the figure is not given, but its relation to the other is indisputable. Its poorer workmanship would seem to indicate a copy.

227. Naples - Museo Nazionale no. 5486 - from Herculaneum
 Roux et Barré, VI, p.199, . pl. 104, land 3
 Bronzi d'Ercolano II, p.361, pl.XV
 Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, I₁, p.563, nos.
 4-5
 Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p. 107
 Calza, Jour. Roman Studies, V, 1915, p. 164

Dancing Ethiopian in a short chiton fastened over his left shoulder. The dance is not a furious one such as is shown in the Carnuntum and Lisoon bronzes but a slower, more graceful measure. The dancer's right arm is extended in front of him, with his left drawn back and bent at the elbow. He balances on his left foot, with his right foot poised in the air back of him. His head is bent back and turned toward the right. The hair is in rows of locks, and the broad nose and thick lips attest the negro origin. It is interesting that the head is large in proportion to the body, perhaps indicating a dwarf.

238. New York - Metropolitan Museum

Richter, Bulletin of the Metr. Mus., XV, 1920,
p. 109

Richter, Bulletin of the Metr. Mus., XVI, 1921,
pp. 33-35, fig. 3

Fine example of Hellenistic art, a bronze statuette of an Ethiopian nude except for an elaborately twisted mantle about his waist, revealing the soft modelling of the flesh. He carries some object in his hand and leans forward in what Miss Richter calls a walking attitude. This seems unlikely, as both knees are bent at more of an angle than would be normal in ordinary walking. It may be a position in some barbaric dance, in which case the objects in his hands would be castanets, or he may be an athlete, and his position one of combat. There is a certain tenseness about the figure which the latter interpretation would explain. It seems most probable that he is holding reins in his hand and driving, from the way his foot is braced.

The hair is in long spiral curls against the head, with a single curl in the middle of the long retreating forehead. The hollow eye-sockets were originally filled with some substance, probably silver, which has fallen away. The nose, rising from a depression between the eyes, is very broad at the base, and the slightly parted lips are thick, the lower one protruding. Height 7 3/16 in. (0.183 m.)

229. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Caylus Coll. from
Chalon-sur-Saône

Caylus, Recueil, vol. VII, p.280, pl.LXXXI, nos.
3-5 du Mersan, Histoire du Cabinet des Mé-
dailles, p.69, no. 207

Monumenti dell'Inst., IV, pl. 20 b

Annali, XVII, 1845, pp. 203 sqq.

Panofka, Delphi u.Melaine, p.15, n.73

Chabouillet, Catalogue du Cabinet des Médailles,
no. 3078

Schreiber, Ath. Mitth. X, 1885, p. 395

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 8

Rayet, Monuments de l'art antique, II, 6, pl. XIII

Heydemann, Pariser Antiken, p. 69, no. 9

Babelon, Le Cabinet des Antiques, pp. 151-3, pl.
XLVI

Pottier-Reinach, Myrina, pp. 474 and 485

Schrader, Winckelmannsf. Prog., Berlin, 60, 1900
p. 16

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p.107

Collignon-Baumgarten, II, fig. 294

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561, no.4

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, pp. 440-
441, no. 1009

Bulle, Der Schoene Mensch, pp. 145-6, no. 77, fig.
29 pl. 77

This is the best known ancient statuette of an Ethiopian.
It came to light in the year 1763 at Chalon-sur-Saône in a

chest, together with some other bronzes of evident Roman origin. The condition of the chest showed that it had not been buried long, though the mystery of its burial was never solved. The grace of the figure and the skill of the work are the reasons for its assignment to the Hellenistic period, although the rest of the bronzes were Roman. Good illustrations of it are available, the best being the Bullé plate and the one given by Rayet (see bibliography above).

The statuette portrays an Ethiopian boy standing with his slim body bent gracefully at the waist, his left arm held in front of him as if supporting some object on his shoulder and his mouth open as if singing. It seems reasonably certain that his left hand held in place a trigonon which rested against his shoulder, and from which he is drawing the notes with his right hand, which is placed as if about to pick the strings. The dreamy sadness of his expression and the "languueur" of his pose give, as Collignon suggests, the illusion that he is actually singing some sad song of his homeland. The interpretation of Wace that he is a hawker crying his wares, seems untenable, not only from the pose and the expression of the face, but also from the fact that such hawkers are generally portrayed in caricature. The interpretation of Caylus and Heydemann, that

ne is wounded and twisting with pain, is not accepted by the other authorities.

While the characteristic Ethiopian features are present, particularly in the profile, they are treated so that the effect is pleasing. The hair is arranged in formal stages of curls; the forehead is wrinkled; the nose is not coarse; and the thickness of the lips is moderated. The upper row of teeth is indicated, and the eyes are inset in silver, with a hollow to indicate the pupil. The work is generally assigned to Alexandria. The height is only 0.20 m., but the work is so good that photographs give the illusion of a large statue.

230. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

du Merlan, Histoire du Cab. des Méd., p.63,
no. 133

Chabouillet, Catalogue, no. 3079

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.440,
no. 1010

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p.563

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p.107

Ethiopian boy, standing, clad in a tunic which covers him from his neck to his knees and which is drawn in at the waist by a girdle tied in front. His pose would seem to indicate that he is pulling some heavy object toward him, as his left foot and left shoulder are thrust forward, with his head inclined away from them. The arms are entire-

ly gone, though there is an opening in the tunic on either side which shows where they emerged.

The hair is in conventional rows of flat locks; the eye-balls are inset in silver; the nose is squat at the base; the lips are thick. The work is probably Alexandrian. Height 0.175 m.

231. Paris - Louvre - without no.

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561,
no. 8

Ethiopian standing, his hands behind his back, his body bent as in the Chalon-sur-Saone statuette. His hair is curly and his lower lip protrudes in exaggerated fashion.

232. Found at Rheims - St. Germain near Paris

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561, no.5

Statuette of a negro boy standing with the weight on the left foot, his body bent at the waist in the manner of the preceding figure but in the opposite direction. His right arm is missing and his left is extended in front of him with palm upwards. His head inclines toward the left, his hair is in curls and his lips are thick.

233. Stuttgart - Staatssammlung - from a Roman house in

Herbrechtingen

- Mayer, Arch. Anzeiger, V, 1890, p. 97, fig. 3
 Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561
 Wace, British School Annual, X, 1907-4, p. 107

Seated hunchback called a negro by Wace, though neither hair nor face are strongly Ethiopian.

234. Toulouse

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561

Ethiopian standing with his weight on his right foot. Both arms are gone. The head is turned to the right, and shows curly hair, broad nose, and thick lips.

Reinach states that the sketch he publishes is taken from a photograph, no museum number being given; I do not find any record of this figure in the catalogue of the sculpture of the Musée de Toulouse by Henri Rachou, published in 1913.

235. Vienna - Kaiserl. Koenigl. Oesterr. Museum

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 3

" , Arch. Anzeiger, VII, 1892, p. 50

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 562, no. 2

Bronze figurine in relief style, of an Ethiopian boy crouching down with his head on his right knee, asleep. His woolly hair is indicated by large round dots, and his swollen

lips are parted. The exact provenance of this figure is unknown, but it is supposed to have come from Greece. He is probably one of the earliest of the series.

256 Weimar - Goethe Collection

Michaelis, Jahrbuch, XII, 1897, pp. 49-54

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561, no.3

Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p. 107

Standing figure who has turned around as far as possible, and is making a gesture of thumb between fingers. He wears a cap on his curly hair and is slightly bearded. His hair in conventional rows of flat curls, suggest the Ethiopian. Height 0.145 m.

There is a single instance of a bronze Ethiopian life-size which, if it is genuinely an ancient work of sculpture, probably belongs in this period. Only the illustration in Reinach's Répertoire is available, and this shows the general appearance of the boy to be so unlike all other classical representations of Ethiopians that one can not help doubting its genuineness.

257. Tarragon

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, IV, p. 353, no.6

Negro boy, standing, with arms extended in front of

him and palms upturned. His face is round and his build heavy. His hair is short and curly, his nose broad and his lips thick. The general appearance is unlike other ancient negroes.

Previous to the Hellenistic era the figurines were all of the traditional terra-cotta and bronze; but in this period there was some experimenting in other materials. The suitability of some material inherently black for representing black skin now occurred to the sculptors and there are some instances of basalt, black stone and black marble. One might expect a more frequent use of black materials were it not that bronze itself suggests the negro skin so admirably and terra-cotta is so easily treated with black paint. Even so it is sometimes difficult in the case of these two mediums always to define the intention of the artist where use of a black medium leaves no possible doubt. The known examples of a black substance are as follows:

238. Athens - Polytechnikon - Demetrio Collection - from

Alexandria

Fuchstein, Ath. Mitth. VII, 1882, pp. 15 and 16

Schreiber, " " X, 1885, p. 383, pl. XII

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 561, no. 6

Basalt Statuette of an Ethiopian boy, the arms broken off at the wrists and the legs broken off above the knees.

The hair is in close spiral curls all over the head, the nose broad and the lips thick and slightly parted, with the lower one protruding strongly. The hollow eye sockets were originally filled with some substance, probably silver, which has fallen away. There is a marked emphasis of the lower part of the facial structure. The whole is a very excellent and pleasing portrayal of the type.

The head inclines toward the right and the position of the arms shows that they were supporting some object on the left shoulder. The similar pose of the famous Chalon-sur-Saone statuette in the Bibliotheque Nationale, where the arms are placed as if holding the trigonon, or three-corned lyre (above, no. ²³⁹), indicates that the correct restoration would be with the lyre. It is not impossible however, that he may be holding up a platter in the fashion of a terra-cotta figure found at Myrina (above, no. 210). The first interpretation seems more in keeping with the expression of his face. Height 0.40 m.

239. Athens

Sybil, Katalog der Skulpturen zu Athen, no. 3110

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 7, n. 6

Head of an Ethiopian of black stone.

240. Berlin-Koenigliche Museen no. 493

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, II, p. 563, no. 8
Kekulé von Stradenitz, Beschreibung, p. 193

Black marble statuette of an Ethiopian who has sunk to the ground and is resting on one knee. The awkwardness of the pose is doubtless due to the restorations, as base, plinth, and both legs below the knees are modern. His head turns toward the left, and his hands are behind his back as if tied. His hair is in long, conventionalized curls. His race is evidenced by his hair, lips, and the dark material of which he is made. Height 0.90 m.

241. Newby Hall, Yorkshire - Vyner Collection

Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,
p. 534, no. 43

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 7, n. 6

Bust of an Ethiopian of basalt, in the collection of Lady Mary Vyner, made by William Weddell Esq. about the year 1765.

White marble is also now used for the first time in representing the Ethiopian. It required considerable skill in handling on the part of the artist, since the absence of color made it necessary to convey his meaning by the physical marks of race. The use of white marble is limited, this

period being represented by one example of relief sculpture, one statue in the round in life-size, and two statuettes of great interest. The sculpture in the round is simple genre, but the relief seems again to lead to mythology.

242. Naples - Museo Nazionale

Museo Borbonico, VI, 23

Ruesch, Guida del Museo Nazionale, p. 570, no. 6692

Reinach, Répertoire de Reliefs, III, p. 94, no. 1

Biga driven by a negrom a warrior walking in front of the horses. The negro, shown in profile, has curly hair, snub nose, thick lips, and wears a simple tunic drawn in at the waist. He leans forward over the horses, holding the reins in his left hand.

The meaning of the scene has not been explained, though Reinach suggests the Busiris myth. This is very unlikely, as there is no suggestion of Heracles in the warrior and no apparent point of contact with the story. Perhaps the Ethiopian is a charioteer about to enter a contest in the hippodrome. It seems most probable, though this interpretation has not been suggested, that the Ethiopian is Memnon's chariot driver, and that the warrior who precedes the horses is none other than the hero himself.

243. Rome - Vatican - Galleria dei Candelabri

Visconti, Musee Pio-Clem., III, 35, pl. blnc.2

p. 236

Braun, Ruinen u. Museen Roms, p. 506, n. 208

Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, 883, 2250

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 6

Schreiber, Ath. Mitth. X, 1885, p. 383

Helbig, Fuehrer, 3rd Ed., I, p. 242, no. 375

Calza, Jour. [Roman Studies, V, 1915, p. 167

Pentelic marble statue of an Ethiopian slave boy, who carries in his left hand a ring from which are suspended a strigil and an ointment vessel for his master. His equipment shows him to be a bath attendant. The following are modern restorations: the right arm, shoulder and breast; the left side of the neck; part of the foot; and almost the whole support and plinth. The right hand has been restored as held out in front of him, holding a sponge. This is not an unlikely conjecture, for slaves holding sponges occur on the Corneto gem (above no. 42) and a British Museum bronze (below no. 335). Helbig would prefer to have the hand restored as making some gesture to correspond with the mischief in the eyes.

One might expect some difference in the treatment of the negro features, some idealizing in this portrait on a larger scale than the usual figurine, but this is not the case. The hair is short and woolly, and the nose and mouth are characteristic, though by no means displeasing in effect.



He is probably a favorite attendant of some gentleman of the time, who wished to have him immortalized in marble.

244. London - British Museum - Towneley Coll. - from Rome
 Clarac, V, pl. 825, 2223 a
 Smith, Catalogue of Gk. Sculp., III, p.114, no.1768
 Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., III, 1885, p. 9
 Collignon-Baungarten, II, p.616, fig. 293
 Wace, British School Annual, X, 1903-4, p. 107
 Schreiber, Ath. Mitth. X, 1885, p. 395

Parian marble statuette of an Ethiopian acrobat balancing himself on hands and chest on the back of a crocodile. Head and neck are stretched forward. His hair is in corkscrew curls and his nose is short and flat. The lips have been damaged so that their original outline is not clear.

The statuette as shown in the Collignon illustration was restored in certain parts, which have subsequently been removed. These are, according to Smith, the head and tail of the crocodile, the right leg, left knee, and foot, and both elbows of the acrobat, the forepaws and part of the rock plinth. According to Clarac, the hands also are modern. An illustration of how the figure looks without these re-

storatives should be available for comparison with the following statuette. Height 2 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., as restored.

345. Pome - Villa Patrizi

Notizie, 1908, pp. 439 and 440

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaires, IV, p. 350, no. 1

Marble statuette in the identical pose of the above, except that there is a plain base instead of a crocodile and that the hands are closed instead of being spread out on the base. The legs are broken off at the knees, and very little of the base remains. The notice of its excavation states that it was a figure for a fountain.

To the extent of our information the similarity of these two figures has nowhere been pointed out. The pose is identical and either one is a copy of the other or both are copies of the same original. The London statuette is poorer work, and its face lacks entirely the liveliness of the other.

The position of the two bodies is identical and the modelling of the flesh very similar, the differences consisting in the head, the base, and if the London figure has been restored in that place, the hands. There is no evidence in the case of the Villa Patrizi figure that he is balancing

on a crocodile. The treatment of the hair is far better in the latter statuette, the ringlets of curly hair being carefully modelled. The Ethiopian has a mischievous grin and both rows of teeth are indicated. The provenance of both is Rome, the former having been taken from Rome to London by the first Earl Cawdor, the other having been excavated in 1908 in the Via Nomentana. But the workmanship and the presence of the crocodile presuppose an Alexandrian original, if the figures are not themselves Alexandrian. Both figures are fountain figures, and it seems possible to connect the Villa Patrizi figure with another piece of sculpture, something which cannot often be done in the case of representations of Ethiopians in art. This is another fountain figure, a young satyr, which recently came into the Smith College Museum and is published in the Bulletin of Smith College, Hillyer Art Gallery, for May 1930. There is also a replica of the satyr fountain figure in Copenhagen in the Glyptotek ny Carlsberg (Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire, IV, p. 74)

A comparison of these figures reveals a similarity of treatment that leaves little doubt that the same sculptor modelled both. The outline of the form, the surface of the flesh and the delicate revelation of muscle show marked

similarities. One common feature of both poses, though the satyr stands upright and the Ethiopian balances with feet in the air, is the sharp twist of the shoulder away from the chest necessitated by the supporting of a heavy weight. But the strongest resemblance is in the expression. Both figures have their lips parted in the same impish smile. Both are surely the work of the same hand, which probably specialized in fountain figures. It is significant in this connection that the head of a satyr was found with the Villa Patrizi figure. (Notizie, 1908, p. 439).

The vases of the period are closely related to the terra-cottas, a few of them being in reality figurines of the genre type with a vase mouth. The Ethiopian's head however, still continues in favor as a type.

246. Athens - National Museum

Niccole, Catalogue des Vases Peints p.265, no.1229

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head, from the Hellenistic period.

247. Athens - National Museum

Niccole, Catalogue des Vases Peints, p. 283, no. 1230

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head, similar to the preceding.

248. Athens - National Museum

Nicole, Catalogue des Vases Peints p. 283,
no. 1331

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head, similar to
the preceding.

249 London - British Museum - Castellani Coll. - from Capua

Walter, Catalogue of Vases, IV, p. 262, G 154

Amphora in the form of a crouching Ethiopian boy, asleep.
His right leg is drawn up in front of him, and his head
rests on his hands, which clasp his right knee. He is nude
except for a garment tied around his throat. An amphora
at his back forms the spout of the vase. Fourth century
work. Height $3 \frac{1}{2}$ in.

250. Naples - National Museum - Museo Borbonico

Heydemann, Museo Nazionale, p. 7, no. 185

Small black vase with the head of an Ethiopian in re-
lief.

251. New Haven - Yale University - Stouard Collection

Baur, Preliminary Catalogue, p. 38, no. 455

Vase of light brown clay in the form of an Ethiopian, who crouches down, on all fours, animal fashion, filling a vase from a wine skin. Over his head is a panther's skin. The mouth of the vase projects from the middle of his back. The work is poor.

252. New York - Metropolitan Museum - Morgan Collection
formerly Gréau Collection

Froehner, Verrerie Antique, p. 267, no. 56, vol. V
pl. 335

Fragment of a vase in the form of a grotesque Ethiopian's head. The hair is indicated by three rows of conventional curls. The forehead is low and wrinkled, and the eye-brows, modelled in the clay, are heavy and close together. The nose is short, broad and flat, and the lower lip thick and protruding, disclosing a row of teeth. The beard is indicated by crescent-shaped incisions in the clay.

253. Odessa Museum

Inventarkatalog, IV, 843

Stern, Jh. Oesterr. Arch., VII, 1904, p. 201, no.3

Unpublished vase in the form of a crouching Ethiopian painted black. The expression of the face is sad, like that of the Chalons-sur-Saone bronze, (above, no.229).

254. Odessa Museum - from Olbia

Terracotten des Odessaer Museums, II, pl. XII, 1
Stern, Jh. Oest. Arch. Inst., VII, 1904, p. 201, no. 5

Vase in the form of a negro's head, painted black.
The hair is formed from dots of clay.

255. Oxford - Ashmolean Museum - from Tarentum

Evans, J.H.S. 1886, pp. 37-38

" A little negro slave boy coiled up fast asleep under an amphora against which he huddles as if for shelter from the Bora. The characteristic features of the race are admirably rendered, including the woolly hair, protuberant forehead, thick lips and indescribable nigger grin. The backbone, ribs and muscles of the half-starved little form are indicated with anatomic precision and even the dolichocephalic skull and disproportionately long arms of the negro type are faithfully reproduced. This surprising accuracy of detail, however is not won at the expense of the general effect of the figure, which for life-like realism and true pathos is probably without a rival amongst Greek terra cottas." Height 2.5 in.

The vase is similar to the ascus in the British Museum (above, no. 249) and Evans says that a figure of black

stone spotted with green identical in attitude except that the child was crying, was sold in Paris. The present ownership is unknown.

256. Pourtalès Collection

Panofka, Cabinet Pourtalès, p. 115, pl. XXX

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian boy on his knees, bending forward as if washing some object in a stream. The vase mouth projects from the lower part of his back, and a handle connects it with the middle of his spine. His nose is snub, his lips thick, his hair moderately curly and his whole face childish.

257. Rome - Villa Julia Museum

Della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia p. 336, no. 25376

Guttus decorated with the head of an Ethiopian in relief on the top.

258. Vienna - Kunsthistorisches Museum

Schneider, Jh. Oest. Arch. Inst., IX, 1906, p. 331,
fig. 75, pl. II

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head, the features caricatured. The forehead is low and wrinkled, the nose snub and the lips exaggeratedly thick. The woolly hair is surmounted by an ivy wreath. There is a simple cylindrical

sput at the top of the head, a twisting handle connecting its brim with the back of the Ethiopian's head. Third Century work. Height 0.15 m.

259. Sold in New York - Chinielowski Coll. - from Olbia Sale Catalogue, Auction Feb. 20, 1922.

Vase shaped like an Ethiopian's head, painted black. Height, 7½ in.

Not the least interesting use of the Ethiopian head during this period was its adornment of necklaces and earrings. In fact, its frequent occurrence as a pendant or amulet is one of the main supports of the theory that the Ethiopian was considered prophylactic in antiquity. On a few necklaces the hook and loop of the clasp are soldered each to the top of a tiny head, curved in garnet, and held in place in the chain by a collar of gold filigree work. In spite of the small size of these heads every feature is clearly distinguishable. The goldsmiths of the Hellenistic period showed great skill in rendering the hair by tiny twisted spirals of fine gold wire affixed to the head in rows to represent curls.

Of the type of necklace with the Ethiopian's heads at the clasp, the following examples are known:

260. Dresden Museum

Arch. Anzeiger, 1892, VII, p. 180, fig. 38

Necklace of roller-shaped beads of gold and carnelian, strung alternately. At each end it terminates in the head of an Ethiopian, carved from carnelian, and held in place by a collar of spiral gold and a wig of gold wire twisted into rings to indicate curls. The necklace fastens by means of a gold hook attached to one head and a gold loop for it to pass through, attached to the other.

261. London - British Museum - Burgon Collection - from

a tomb on the island of Melos

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 216, no. 1961,
pl. XXXVI

Part of a necklace terminating in the heads of a negro (Marshall) and a negress respectively, carved in garnet, to which hook and loop are soldered in the manner described above. The hair is rendered by rows of spirals of gold wire, and the features are almost ape-like from the effect of the protruding lower jaw. From the evidence of the hair-dressing and the features, I consider that both heads represent women. The eyes were originally filled with some substance which has fallen away. Marshall places the work in the third cen-

tury B.C.

263 London - British Museum - Franks Bequest

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 217, no. 1963,
pl. XXXVI

Necklace terminating at each end in the head of an Ethiopian woman, carved in garnet, the hair indicated by spiral coils of gold wire in rows. The lower part of the face is heavily pronounced. Work of the third century B.C.

263. London - British Museum - Franks Bequest

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 217, no. 1963

Broken necklace, the end which is preserved terminating in the head of an Ethiopian woman carved in garnet, the hair rendered by coils of fine gold wire. Work of the third century B.C.

Of similar technique and closely resembling the heads on necklaces is an ear-ring from the same period:

264. London, - British Museum - from a tomb at Gyne in

Aeolis

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 166, no. 1709
pl. XXXI

Ear-ring of twisted gold wire terminating in the head

of a negress carved from garnet. Collar and hair are formed from coils of fine gold wire. The features are clear, and the profile is almost ape-like, with the protruding lower lip and jaw. Third century B.C. Height 0.019 m. Weight 30 grs.

As this ear-ring was found in Asia Minor it qualifies the statement of Halaszek (Ohrschmuck p.76 n. 3) that ear-rings with the heads of negroes had been found only on Etruscan sites. It is true that several of this type have been found in Italy, and serve as an additional instance of the relation between the Etruscans and Asia Minor.

The Etruscan ear-ring^s of this type are listed below. Most of them resemble the Hellenistic ear-rings and necklaces in the manner of representing the hair.

265. Berlin Koenigliche Museen - from Orvieto
 Arch. Zeitung, XXXVII, 1879, p. 106
 Halaszek, Ohrschmuck, p. 76, n. 3

Circular gold-ear-ring of filigree work. A cap-shaped piece of this holds in place the head of an Ethiopian, carved from carnelian. The features of the face are characteristic Etruscan work.

266. London - British Museum - from Atri in the Abruzzi

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 250, no.
2196, pl. XLIII

Curving hollow tube of gold, terminating in the head of a woman with negroid features, modelled in the gold. Her nose is straight, but her hair is indicated as woolly by tiny raised dots close together. The eyes are large and far apart, and the lips are thick. Etruscan or Italian work of the sixth or fifth century B.C. Diameter 0.017 m. Weight 47 gms.

267. London - British Museum

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 250, no. 2197
pl. XLIII

Mate to the foregoing, with minor differences of detail found in the same tomb.

268-273. Paris - Louvre - nos. 3

Fontenay, Bijoux Anciens et Modernes, p. 106

Martha, L'Art Étrusque, p. 570, no. 382

Halaszek, Ohrschmuck, p. 76, no. 3.

Ear-rings of similar style, circular, and terminating in the head of an Ethiopian, carved from amber, and held in place by a wig of curled gold.

274. Rome - Vatican - Museo Gregoriano
Museo Etrusco Vaticano, I, pl. 74
Hadaczek, Ohrschmuck, p. 76, n.3

Circular ear-ring of gold terminating in the head of an Ethiopian.

275. Aeth, Ant. Gold u. Silbermon., p. IV, G136
Hadaczek, Ohrschmuck, p. 76, n.3

Ear-ring similar to the foregoing.

- 276-277. Volterra Museum -
Hadaczek, Ohrschmuck, p. 76, n.3

Two circular gold ear-rings each terminating in the head of an Ethiopian, held in place by a collar of gold wire and a wig of gold filigree work. The head is carved from amber. Etruscan work.

The Ethiopian head as a pendant on a necklace, already met with in the small objects from Naukratis and Cyprus, recurs again in the Hellenistic era in jewelry found in Italy and South Russia. The prophylactic function of the Ethiopian seems to have been felt very strongly in this latter part of the Greek world, as evidenced by the number of finds from this period.

378-380. London - British Museum - found near Monteleone,
Italy.

Francica, Oggetti d'Arte Greca, pl. III

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 341, nos.

3114-6, pl. XLI

Three female heads of hollow gold, the thick lips showing Ethiopian blood. They have collars ornamented with gold filigree work, and ear-rings in the form of great loops of gold wire, which stand out at right angles to the head. While Marshall considers that they are either pin-heads or pendants, it seems more likely that they are the latter, and that they were held in place in the necklace by means of these loops. Unless the ear-rings had some such function, it hardly seems likely that they would be of such an exaggerated size. Work of the third century B.C. Height 0.03 m.

381. London - British Museum - from Monteleone, Italy

Francica, Oggetti d'Arte Greca, pl. III

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 341, no. 3117,

pl. XLI

Pendant of hollow gold, with two heads in Janiform fashion, both Ethiopians. On either side is an ear-ring

common to both, and at the top is a wire loop by which it was suspended. The noses are short and broad, and the lips thick. Work of the third century B.C. Height 0.026 m.

203. Odessa Museum

Terracotten des Odessaer Museums, II, pl. XVIII, 2.
Stern, Jh. Oesterr. Arch., VII, 1904, p. 201

Fragment of a terra-cotta pendant in the form of an Ethiopian's head.

283-305. Petrograd - Hermitage

Stephani, Comptes Rendus, 1866, p. 74
Reinach, Antiquites du Bosphore Cimmerien,
2nd Ed., p. 83, pl. 33, no. 6

Small Ethiopian masks, of gold, which served as pendants on a necklace. Found in graves in South Russia.

305-307. Petrograd - Hermitage

Stephani, Comptes Rendus, 1866, p. 74
Reinach, Antiquites du Bosphore Cimmerien,
2nd Ed., p. 83, n. 1

Three Ethiopian's heads of dark blue glass, and one of paste, which probably served as pendants on a necklace.

To this series of jewelry belongs also an example from

South Russia of an Ethiopian head as the head of a pin:

308 Petrograd - Hermitage

Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1886, p. 74

Duruy, Histoire des Grecs, vol. II, p. 170

Reinach, Antiquites du Trosphore Cimmérien,
2nd. Ed., p. 54, pl. 13 a, 14

Gold pin decorated with a negro head carved from sardonyx.

The Ethiopian head on gems seems to have passed out of fashion, though a garnet carved with the design of an Ethiopian mask in front view may belong in this period, since garnet heads appear on the necklaces and negro masks serve as pendants.

309 London - British Museum - Castellani Collection

Smith, Engraved Gems, p. 188, no. 1767

Garnet with the design of a negro mask in front view.

310 Cambridge - Coll. of C.T. Seltman

Seltman, A.J.A. 24, 1920 pp. 18-26

An interesting example of Gise. work from Alexandria, which Seltman believes to be connected with the ruling fam-

ily of Merce and perhaps portrays them, is an agate carved to represent three conjoined heads. Part of the stone is black and this has been carved with the features of an Ethiopian woman. The artist has shown great skill in adapting a white band in the stone so that it appears to be the edge of her veil. The other two heads in lighter stone are a bearded man and a youth with Ethiopian features. Soltman suggests that this is either the handle of the lid of a casket or the head of a small sceptre, since a small vertical shaft has been drilled in the center of the stone.

The conception and the style are unique in the history of the Ethiopian type in art, but if this triccephalic agate is genuine, it might serve to establish the authenticity of the following gem in the British Museum now listed as doubtful, since the subject is evidently the same:

311 London - British Museum - Castellani Collection
Smith, - Engraved Gems, p. 131, no. 1603

Agate cut in cameo with the head of a veiled negress in full front.

The device of using the black part of the stone evidently anticipates the process described by King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. I, p. 326) in connection with Renaissance

cameos dating a little later than 1500 A.D. He stated that this age was "extremely fruitful in heads of negroes and also of negresses, the latter often in the character of Cleopatra holding to her breast the asp. There is reason to believe that some of the latter are intended to commemorate the renowned black concubine of Clement VII, the mother of Alessandra dei Medici ----- Another reason, besides the celebrity of the sable beauty, that prompted the Florentine school to produce such swarms of miniature Ethiopians, was their discovery of the secret of staining black one of the layers of the common agate-onyx and obtaining thus the contrast, so great a desideratum in this style".

It is from the Hellenistic figurines that we can draw our most vivid picture of slave life in the Greek world. These show the every-day occupations of the Ethiopian with a realism which the most accurate literary account could not match. The little slave boys, a vogue with the rich, run about waiting on their masters, carrying dishes and amphoras, filling vases for the banquet from wine skins (above, nos. 210, 220, 249, 251, 255). If entertainment is required as well as butler service, they sing songs which, to judge from the plaintive expression of their faces, were the ancestors of the present-day Negro spirituals, and perhaps accompany themselves on the trigonon (nos. 229, 236). If a more exciting offering is required, they

dance a furious, barbaric dance, a tribal dance of Africa, or perhaps a gentler measure more adapted to Greek restraint (nos. 220, 226, 213, 227). Perhaps they hold boxing matches (nos. 206, 207) or even give an acrobatic performance with a tame crocodile (no. 244). And when their part of the entertaining is over, they drop off to sleep in the usual hunched-up crouching attitude (nos. 215, 217, 223, 225, 249, 255).

They still accompany their masters to the palaestra (no. 243) and sometimes go on a hunting expedition with him to carry his equipment (no. 211). Perhaps they gain a meagre living by hawking fruit on the streets of Alexandria with a pet monkey to attract trade (no. 218), and their acrobatic stunts may have been street performances. Perhaps they entertained travellers by diving for coins, a common sight in modern harbors (no. 224).

An entirely new idea is suggested by the figurine of an Ethiopian seated on a rock, writing on a scroll (no. 226). It is the only hint in art that any of these Ethiopians were ever educated. The man can evidently write. Was he some special slave, sufficiently valued by his owner so that it was considered worth while to train his intelligence?

It is in these figurines also that we first find in Greek art any sense of the pathos of the Ethiopian's lot, though compassion for the life of a slave is found in the tragedies of a century earlier. Heretofore the only emotional element present has been that of humor and carica-

ture; but among these terra-cottas and bronzes are a few which seem to show a consciousness of another mood than the purely humorous. The artists regarded for an instant, not the strangeness which made the Ethiopian an object of curiosity and entertainment to them, but the strangeness and pathos of an exile from his own land (nos. 202, 205, 209, 249, 238, 253). This sentimentality is very fleeting and is nowhere met in the later and more matter-of-fact Roman art.

The distinction between a naturalistic portrait of a genuine South African and a caricature is hard to make without having seen the original. This is no doubt the reason that in many museum catalogues heads and statuettes of Ethiopians are often wrongly called grotesques. From this the impression seems to have grown that the greater number of all ancient negro representations are grotesques, and their popularity explained from this standpoint. In reality we find among these figurines of Ethiopians very few of the distorted bodies and hideous faces which make the Alexandrian grotesques so distasteful, nearly all of them being simply cases of extreme naturalism. The few actual grotesques, and some of the realistic portraits, may perhaps be accounted for by the theory which Miss Richter advances, namely, that the grotesques represented stock characters in the mines which had such an enormous popularity throughout the Hellenistic and Roman eras,

and about the nature of which we have such scanty knowledge (A.J.A., XVII, 1913, pp. 149-156).

Euripides wrote a satyr play on the Busiris story in which he probably brought Ethiopians upon the stage (Nauck, Trag. Græc. Fragmenta, pp. 452-453, frags. 312-315) and the myth was subsequently played upon by comedy writers. From the evidence of the vases, which probably reproduce comedy scenes and which frequently introduce Ethiopians, it is reasonable to suppose that the type became a familiar one on the stage. It would be entirely natural that a race familiar in comedy and treated in caricature in art should develop a stock character in the mime, perhaps the Aithiops. This would account for the masks of Ethiopians used as pendants on necklaces, and particularly for the life-sized mask of terra-cotta which was evidently intended to be worn in some play, procession or ritual, since eyes, nose and mouth are pierced through, and there are holes above the ears for the cord which held it in place. If the Aithiops was actually a stock burlesque in the mimes, the number of figurines which show him crouching down on the ground and peacefully sleeping may mean that this characteristic inactivity was the laugh-producing role by which he entertained Hellenistic audiences.

CHAPTER VII

THE ETHIOPIAN IN ROMAN LITERATURE

However great the variations between the objects which display the Ethiopian type in the different periods of Greek art, all had one feature in common. Whether they were jewelry for the adornment of the person, or statuettes to ornament the house, the motif may be said to occur almost entirely on objects intended solely for decoration. The only exceptions to this classification are the vases which did serve an objective purpose though they are at the same time highly decorative.

The Roman usage, on the other hand, is as generally utilitarian as the Greek is decorative, and the type is principally found on objects which have a definite useful function in addition to their attractive appearance. An artistic usage so markedly different in two nationalities presupposes not only a different artistic spirit but a difference of attitude toward the race portrayed.

The paucity of references to actual (not mythical) Ethiopians in Greek literature and the spirit in which they are shown in Attic art make it safe to believe that in Greece proper, negroes in the flesh were comparatively rare, until

the Alexandrian period at least, and that the impression they made was due to their rarity and unusual appearance. In the Hellenistic era their popularity is due to the opportunities which their physiognomy gave for the expression of the extreme naturalism of the day, and does not necessarily show that great numbers of them were at large in the Greek world. The evidence of Theophrastus would indicate the contrary. The first Ethiopians filtered into the Greek world by way of the Greek colonies in Africa or were brought there by the Persian invasion, and we have no evidence that the Greeks imported any black slaves through military aggression.

The Romans, on the other hand built up important colonies in Africa. The period of their establishment involved many military campaigns, and they were subsequently held by military rule. There can be no doubt that African tribes furnished the Romans with vast numbers of slaves and that the dark races were a vastly more common sight at Rome than at Athens.

The Romans would naturally be far more familiar with the Moor or Berber type of the Mediterranean colonies than with the South African. A more extensive knowledge of the latter races doubtless came when Rome took over the control

of Egypt, where the type had been established for centuries.

Roman literature gives scarcely more help than Greek in adding to our knowledge of the Ethiopians' status, but a study of the few references throws some light on the nomenclature employed to designate the dark-skinned races.

Niger from which come the words used in many of the modern languages to designate the blacks, seems not to have been used substantively for this purpose in antiquity. The one passage where it might possibly be interpreted as referring to black blood is in Vergil's second eclogue, lines 16-18:

"quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses.
O formose puer, nimium ne crede colori.

Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur".

Conington (p.34) considers that the passage simply means a swarthy complexion. The same meaning probably attaches to fuscus as used by Ovid to describe Andromeda (Heroides XV,36). By Tibullus it is used to designate the dark races of the East (II,3,55 - "Illi sunt comites fusci quos India torret). For the people of India is used also the word recoler (Propertius IV,3,1; Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV,21; Tristia,V,3,24). Juvenal uses it once to describe a half breed and makes it synonymous with Aethiops, another proof of the very general use of the latter term (VI,300).

The more definite Maurus is not often used with reference to black slaves at Rome. Martial writes contemptuously of the curly hair of one (VI,39 - retorto crine), and

Juvenal of the bony hand of a Black Moor (V, 53 - nigri manus ossea Mauri).

No substitute has then been found for Aethiops, which seems to retain in Latin the same significance as in Greek as a generic term which includes any member of a black-skinned race. Some inferences regarding the attitude toward these slaves can be drawn from the references in literature to Ethiopians.

A certain vogue for them as attendants, during the later Republic, perhaps in imitation of the Greek custom, is implied in the Eunuchus of Terence, ll. 165-167:

"Nonne ubi mi dixti cupere te ex Aethiopia
ancillulam, relictis rebus omnibus, quaesivi?"

The same is to be inferred from Tibullus II, 3, 55, where Kirby Flower Smith gives the following note in his edition: "Colored attendants were a luxury specially affected by women like Nemesias largely because, as in England and France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they suggested the fortune and position of foreign potentates, nabobs etc.". It is the foregoing Latin passages which Melville-White, author of "The Gladiators", probably had in mind when he describes the lady Valeria as attended by a negro boy who holds her mirror for her (opening of Chapter II).

On the other hand the vogue seems to have waned as the Africans became more common, and later authors of the

empire refer to them in a scornful tone. One of the best proofs that Ethiopian slaves were no longer rare and expensive is that the Ethiopian woman so realistically described in the *Moretum* is not a handmaid of a rich Roman lady but the drudge of the impoverished farmer *Silylus* (*Appendix Vergiliana*, 11.31-35, ed. Vollmer):

"erat unica custos

Afra genus, tota patriam testante figura
torta comam, labroque tumens et fusca colore
pectore lata, iacens mammis, compressor alvo,
cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta."

Juvenal shows clearly the decline in favor which the Ethiopians have undergone when he relates how they are delegated to serve the poor guests, while a more choice Asiatic slave waits on the patron and host (V, 53)

It is true that "Aethiopes capillati" carry wine between two of the countless courses of *Trimalchio's* feast (*Petronius* 34, ed. Blecheler). *Trimalchio's* main object was to show off the extent and variety of his retinue, but perhaps *Petronius* is giving an additional instance of the bad taste of a provincial who brings Ethiopians into his dining-room when they had gone out of favor as table attendants at Rome.

Certainly *Martial* has only scorn for them in such passages as VI, 36 and VII, 37 (ed. Lindsay), and *Juvenal* crystallizes the racial feeling in the phrase "derideat

Aethiopes albus" (II, 23 - ed. Jahn).

The immoral relations with them implied in Martial VI, 89 and Juvenal VI, 599-600 doubtless had some basis in fact, though they are probably the exaggeration of isolated incidents into an accusation against the times after the manner of satirists.

Nevertheless the evidence of literature would not lead one to anticipate any idealizing of the type in Roman art, and a study of the objects shows a complete disillusionment in regard to the Ethiopians. Excessive propinquity has vanished the last traces of mythical Ethiopia.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ETHIOPIAN IN ROMAN ART

The use most commonly made of the Ethiopian head at Rome was its adaptation to small lamps, both of bronze and terra-cotta. In these the head rests in a horizontal position, and the hole for the wick is either the open mouth of the Ethiopian or a nozzle projecting from his mouth. The following is a list of such lamps:

BRONZE

312. London - British Museum - Towneley Coll.

Walters, Catalogue of Lamps, p.4, no.17

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, face up. The hair is indicated as thick and closely curling by means of incised rings in the metal with a dot in the center of each. A nozzle with a trefoil termination projects from the Ethiopian's open mouth. Ht. 4 7/8 in.

313. London - British Museum - Payne-Knight Coll.

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p.328, no.2531

" " " Lamps, p.4, no.18

Lamp in the form of the head of an Ethiopian, face up. He has thick woolly hair, a plait of which forms the handle, and which is modelled even on the cover of the filling-hole at the top of the head. He holds the long nozzle in his open mouth. Length 3 7/8 in.

314. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Caylus Coll.
Caylus, Recueil, vol.V, p.253, pl.XC, no.2
Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.444,
no.1030

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, face up, the hair quilled in rows. The face is unpleasantly elongated. A curved piece projects from the mouth to form the spout, and the hole for filling is in the hair above the forehead. The cover, on which the hair was probably modelled also, is missing. The eyes are wide open. Length 0.105 m.

315. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Coll. de Luynes
Gazette Archeologique, V, 1879, p.209 (illustrated in
life size).
Babelon, Le Cabinet des Antiques, pp.153 and 173
Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.444, no.1019

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, face up, with hair in long curls standing out irregularly from his head. All the features are exaggerated - the wide open eyes, high cheek bones, short, flat nose and huge, gaping mouth. The forehead is long and retreating, the cover for the filling-hole forming the upper part of the forehead. This lamp is one of the most realistic of the series, and the best from an artistic point of view.

316. Holbig, *Bulletino*, 1874, p. 84

Bronze lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head.

CLAY

317. London - British Museum - from Naucratis

Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps*, p. 60, no. 411

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, with the filling hole in the forehead. The nozzle is missing. The hair is thick and curly, the eye-brows are raised and the teeth indicated. Work of the Roman Period. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

318. London - British Museum - from Armento

Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps*, p. 60, no. 412

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, face up. The mouth of the Ethiopian forms the wick-hole, and the lower lip and chin are modelled below it. The eyes are half closed and the cheek-bones prominent. The lamp is glazed black. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

319. London - British Museum - Hamilton Collection

Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps*, p. 60, no. 414

Lamp, glazed dark brown, the top in the form of an Ethiopian's head with grotesque features. The mouth is grinning widely, exposing the teeth, and the hair is closely curled. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

320. London - British Museum - from Alexandria

Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps*, p. 60, no. 415

Unglazed clay lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, with the spout below his chin. His hair is in three rows of thick curls, his eyes are wide open and his nose is short and broad. Underneath the base is inscribed λ/λ . Length $3 \frac{3}{8}$ in.

321. London - British Museum - from Egypt

Walters, Catalogue of Lamps, p. 60, no. 416, pl. XI.

Lamp with black glaze, in the shape of an Ethiopian's head, the nozzle projecting from the wide open mouth. The curly hair is indicated by rings raised in the clay, set close together. The eyes are wide open, the nose broad and flat. The upper row of teeth is indicated. Height $4 \frac{1}{2}$ in.

322. London - British Museum - Towneley Coll.

Walters, Catalogue of Lamps, p. 148, no. 984

Lamp with plain handle and nozzle, the circular space between them containing the design of the head of a boy or an Ethiopian. The lamp has a dull red glaze. Roman work of the second century A.D. Length 4. in., diam. $2 \frac{3}{4}$ in.

323. New Haven - Yale University - Stoddard Coll.

Baur, Preliminary Catalogue, p. 52, no. 657

Lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head, the open mouth forming the nozzle. The clay is light brown,

with a red glaze. The hair is indicated by raised rings in the clay.

324. New Haven - Yale University - Stoddard Coll.

Baur, Preliminary Catalogue, p. 53, no. 663

Fragment of a lamp from tarentum, showing the head of an Ethiopian in relief. The clay is light brown. The lips are thick, the nose short and the hair indicated by raised dots.

325. Toronto - Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology

Inv. no. G207 - Found at Fayum.

Unpublished lamp in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The nozzle is formed by his open mouth and his teeth are shown. The nose is flat and broad at the nostrils. He has high cheek-bones and a high forehead.

326. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Du Mersan, Histoire du Cabinet des Médailles,
p. 62, no. 127

Bronze vase in the form of a crouching Ethiopian, asleep, his head between his knees and his fists pressed against either cheek. His nose is flat, his mouth is open, and his hair is arranged in symmetrical flat locks against his head. A circular opening at the top of his head seems to indicate that he served as a perfume vase. Ht. 0.08 m.

327. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 442,
no. 1014

Bronze vase in the form of a sleeping Ethiopian, draped in a mantle, seated upon some object which he seems to guard. His head is wreathed in a garland, in grotesque contrast to his squat nose, thick protruding lips and fast-closed eyes. He probably served as a perfume vase. Ht. 0.114 m.

328. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Collection de Janze

Gazette Archeologique, 1884, p. 206

Babelon, Le Cabinet des Antiques, pp. 51-3,
pl. XVI

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 443,
no. 1018

Bronze head of an Ethiopian in the form of a vase. Parts of rings for a handle still remain in the hair. This is a striking portrait of a fine type of African. The hair is thick, and arranged in long rows of curls about his head, and the beard also is rolled into eight separate curls which hang from his cheeks. The eyes are wide open and alert in expression. The cheek-bones are prominent, the nose short and broad, the mouth large and slightly open. Yet in spite of the faithful rendering of racial detail, there is a certain power in the expression of the face. Ht. 0.158 m.

329. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Coll. de Janzé
Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.443,
no.1015

Bronze vase, probably a receptacle for perfume, in the form of the bust of an Ethiopian slave. His head is turned to the right, and his eyes are closed as if in sleep. His hair is in formal curls. Ht. 0.057 m.

330. Odessa Museum - from Akkerman (ancient Tyras)
E. von Stern, Jh.Oest.Arch.Inst., VII, 1904, pp.197-203
Seltman, A.J.A., XXIV, 1920, p.14

Bronze vase in the form of a bust of a young girl. An elaborate handle passes through two rings at the top of her head. She is called a negress by von Stern, but Seltman would seem to be correct in failing to see any negro characteristics in the physiognomy beyond a suggestion of thickness in the lips. The coiffure in three tiers of soft curls is an example of the elaborate hair-dressing of the Roman empire, rather than the woolly hair of a negress.

Not unlike the figurines in the form of vases are two ink-wells of bronze:

331. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Coll. de Janzé
Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.441,
no.1012

A receptacle in the form of an Ethiopian slave, crouching on a cone shaped eminence, with an oval opening between his feet which indicates that he served as an amentarium. Both his knees are drawn up in front of him; his face rests on the palm of his left hand, with his elbow supported on his left knee, while his right hand rests on his right knee. Some drapery, tied about his waist, falls down in back of him. His hair is in rows of long curls, and his features are coarse. The eyes are staring in expression and the mouth is half open. Ht. 0.088 m.

382. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Caylus Coll.

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p.441,
no. 1013

Caylus, Recueil, vol.III, p.212, pl.LIV, 4

Creuzer-Guignaut, Religions de l'Antiquité,
pl.CLI, no.581

Receptacle in the form of an Ethiopian slave crouching on an eminence, with both knees drawn up and chin resting between them. He clasps with both hands a goat-skin sack, which he supports on his back. His hair is in regular rows of curls, his eyes staring, his nose flat and his mouth partly open. At the left of his feet is the repository for ink, a small vase with a conical cover. Ht. 0.009 m.

Even more utilitarian than lamps, perfume vases and ink-wells are the small bronze busts of Ethiopians which were used as weights on steel-yards:

333. Fouquet Coll. - from Tell-Moqdam (Leontopolis),
Egypt

Perdrizet, Coll. Fouquet, p. 57, no. 94, pl. XXV

Bust of an Ethiopian boy, his head coiffed with a four-petalled flower upside down, through the stem of which is pierced the hole for suspension. His hair is in short curls arranged in rows; his forehead is concave above the temples; his eyes were originally inset with some substance which has fallen away, probably silver; his nose is short; his lips thick and slightly parted. Ht. 0.085 m.

334. Leipzig - Staetische Museum - Theodor Graf Collection

Schreiber, Arch. Anz., V, 1890, p. 157, no. 7

Bust of a negro with a round face, his hair falling about his head in long spiral curls. His forehead is concave and heavily wrinkled; his eyes are inset with silver; his nose is short and broad; and his thick lips are parted to show the upper row of teeth. On either side, at the top of his head, is a ring through which passed the handle by which he was suspended. Ht. 0.145 m.

335. London - British Museum - Hertz Coll.

Arch. Zeit. 1843, p. 203

Hertz Coll. Sale Catalogue, 1859, no. 587

Smith, Guide Illustrating Greek and Roman Life,
p. 134, fig. 133

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 269, no. 1676,
fig. 27

Reinach, Repertoire de Statuaire III, p. 158, no. 3

Bronze figurine of an Ethiopian slave cleaning a boot (calceus), crouching down and supporting himself on his right knee. He holds the boot in his left hand and applies the sponge to it with his right. His woolly hair, indicated by rows of raised dots, is bound with a fillet. From the top of his head rises a cylindrical eminence pierced through with a hole. This was probably for a ring by means of which the figure could be suspended. Ht. 4 in.

336. London - British Museum - Castellani Collection

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 269, no. 1677

Bust of an Ethiopian, with a suspension ring at the back of his neck. He wears a conical cap, and his eyes are inset with garnets. Ht. 6 in.

337. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale - Caylus Collection

Caylus, Recueil, vol. IV, p. 316, pl. XCVII,
nos. 3 and 4

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 445,
no. 1025

Bust of an Ethiopian set in a three-petalled flower which covers part of his chest. The hair is in three rows of flat curls, but the features are not negroid. Babelon and Blanchet consider the bust a negro, but Caylus makes no mention of the possibility of negro blood and thinks it represents a woman. The ring for suspension is at the top of the head. Ht. 0.1 m.

328. Zurich - Sammlung der Universitaet

Bluemner, Fuehrer, p. 119, no. 2073

Head of an Ethiopian, used as a weight, from lower Italy.

There is a group of four small bronze busts of Ethiopians, the purpose of which is obscure. They represent the upper part of divers, with arms outstretched in front and with a flat metal extension at their backs. If they were uniform in weight, their flat bases might mean that they were balance weights. From their general shape they might have been handles on the lid of some bronze receptacle:

339. Iena - Schott Collection

Coll. Schott a Iena, A 1475

Peinaach, Répertoire de Statuaire, 111, p. 158,

no. 6

Head and arms of an Ethiopian, of bronze, with thick lips and hair in spiral curls. He holds some object (probably a shell-fish) between his outstretched hands. There is a short metal extension at his back. The position of his head, which is thrust back as if being held out of water, and the object in his hands, show that he is a diver.

340. London - British Museum - Payne-Knight Collection

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 269, no. 1674

Upper part of a diver with woolly hair and Ethiopian features. His arms are extended in front of him and he holds between his hands a shell-fish which he has just brought up. At his back is a flat metal extension. Length 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

341. London - British Museum

Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes, p. 269, no. 1675

Bronze bust of an Ethiopian diver similar to the foregoing, but without the metal extension. The hair is more symmetrically arranged. Length, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., ht. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

342. Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 443,

no. 1017

Bronze bust of an Ethiopian diver, similar to the foregoing. He has the long metal extension at his back. Ht. 0.042 m.; length 0.091 m.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has two bronze nails which terminate in the head of an Ethiopian:

343. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 445,
no. 1033

Bronze nail with the head of an Ethiopian in semi-round relief style, at the top. Roman work. Ht. 0.035 m.

344. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 445,
no. 1034

Bronze nail with head similar to the foregoing.

Ht. 0.035 m.

There is a single instance of a terminal figure with an Ethiopian's head, which probably marked the boundary of some Roman gentleman's property:

345. Fortnum Collection - Stancore Hall, Middlesex
Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,

p. 661, no. 18

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml., 111, 1885, p. 7, n. 6

This completes the list of adaptations of the motif to utilitarian objects. Most of them are commonplace, and only a few are of value from the artist's standpoint. More care has been expended in the workmanship of two bronze pendants, which seem to be the sole survivals of the Greek and Etruscan use of the type on jewelry, since a gold mask of the Roman period from Egypt is too large to be an ornament.

346. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 445
no. 1031

Bronze pendant in the form of the head of an Ethiopian boy. His hair is in three rows of spiral curls, radiating from the top of his head, where the ring for suspension is fastened. His eyes are wide open, his nose snub, and his lips thick. On his neck is a collar ornamented with a bull's. Ht. 0.062 m.

347. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 445,
no. 1032

Circular bronze pendant, the border encrusted with silver. The center has an ornamentation, applied on it, the head of an Ethiopian modelled in bronze, in high re-

lief. His hair is in spiral curls, his nose is snub and his lips are thick. The hole for suspension is in the border above the head. Diam. 0.04 m.

348. London - British Museum

Marshall, Catalogue of Jewellery, p. 369, no.3094

Gold mask of a negro, his hair indicated by raised dots. Work of the Roman period, from excavations at Benghazi and Teuchira. Ht. 0.14 m.

Among the purely decorative bronzes are two busts published by Bienkowski, in which a woman of Moorish type is used as a personification of Africa; coins of Mavretania and Numidia display a similar type.

349. Algiers - in a private collection - from Berroughia.

Rév. Arch. 1891, pp. 380-384

Bienkowski, Corporis Barbarorum Prodiemus, p. 94

Bronze bust similar to the foregoing but of poorer workmanship.

350. Constantine Museum - from Thieblis (Annona)

Doublet-Gaukler, Musée de Constantin, pl. 1X

Bienkowski, op. cit., p. 94

Bronze bust of a woman personifying Africa, with round flat face, full cheeks and thick lips. Her hair

falls in three rows of spiral curls.

351-352. Coins of Mavretania and Numidia

L. Mueller, Monnaies de l'ancienne Afrique III,
p. 43, no. 58; 100, 15, 107, 1

Bienkowski, Corporis Barbarorum Prodronus, p. 94

Coins with the type of a female head personifying
Africa, her hair in long spiral curls.

There remain to be described only a few decorative
bronzes and marbles. Most of these are of as fine work-
manship as any portraits of Ethiopians which Greece pro-
duced. They may be the work of Greek artists at Rome.
The last of them, a marble head in life size is from ev-
ery standpoint the finest portrait in classical art of
a man with Ethiopian blood.

353. Naples - National Museum - found at Ostia

Calza, J.P.S., V, 1915, pp. 164-172

A. de Ridder, Revue des Études Grecques, XXX,
1917, p. 199

Small bronze bust of an Ethiopian boy wearing a tunic,
a sleeved cloak (paenula), and a hood (cucullus) which
is drawn over his shoulder and held by his left hand.
The hair is a mass of short curls, the nose snub, the
lips thick and parted. The work is excellent in the ren-
dering of detail. It was found in the house of a baker

adjoining his bakeshop.

354. Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale

Babelon-Blanchet, Catalogue des Bronzes, p. 442

Small bronze bust of an Ethiopian boy, his hair in curls, his lips thick, protruding and partly open. A strap is slung over his shoulder and hangs down his chest to the left, as if he were carrying some object suspended by it on that side. Ht. 0.045 M.

355. Rome - Villa Albani - Galleria de Canopo

Brunn-Arndt Bruckmann, folio 73, pls. 729 and 730

Helbig, Fuehrer, 3rd ed., vol.11, p. 456, no.1936

(698)

Life-sized marble bust assigned to the Flavian period from the cutting of the hair, which is similar to that of female portraits of the period.

The man is called a barbarian with negro blood. Before deciding as to his race, one must imagine away the restorations, which include: most of the nose; part of the ears; most of the bust and part of the panther skin which hangs over his shoulder.

The nose has been restored as long and pointed, and there is no clue as to its original outlines. When the nose is covered over the effect of the face is more negroid. The hair is tightly curling all over the head, and the lips are fairly thick although the mouth is not

large. The panther skin would seem to point to an African origin.

356. Scusse - Tunis

Musée de Scusse, pl. 13

Reinach, Répertoire de Statuaire, III, p. 273, no.5

Black marble head and torso of an Ethiopian boy, who holds a pigeon in his left hand. His hair is short and thickly curling, his nose snub and his lips thick. His head bends toward the bird in his hand. The right arm below the elbow is missing, and the legs below the knee. The work is probably of the Roman period, since Susa was a Roman colony.

357. Fould Collection

Chacouillet, Description des Antiquités de M.L.

Fould, no. 875

Schneider, Jb. Kunst. Samml. III, 1885, p. 7, n.6

Head of an Ethiopian of serpentine marble. It is probably a work of the Roman period, because of the use of colored marble.

358. Baltimore - Walters Gallery - from Rome

Mél. Arch. Hist., 1888, pl. 12

Reinach, Répertoire de Reliefs, II, p. 196, no.1

In the "Triumph of Dionysus", principal relief on a marble sarcophagus from the burial ground of the Licinii Crassi on the Via Salaria, two children are shown riding

each on the back of one of the two panthers who draw the triumphal car of the god. The child who rides the farther animal has curly hair, snub nose and thick lips and is of pronounced Ethiopian type, though these are intended to be Indian children.

289. 359. Berlin - Koenigliche Museen - from Thyreatis, *G.*
 Schrader, Berlin. Winckelmannspr., LX, 1900
 Jb. der Koenigl. Preuss. Kunstsaml. XXI, 1900, p. 1
 Hekler, Bildniskunst, p. 281
~~Wase, B. S. A., X, 1903-4, p. 107~~
 Kekulé von Stradonitz, Griech. Skulptur, p. 370
 Brunn-Arndt-Bruckmann, folie 69, pls. 689-690
 F. von Bissing, Ath. Mitth., XXXIV, 1909, p. 31
 Bull. ac Danemark, 1913, pp. 418 and 427
 Dickins, Hellenistic Sculpture, p. 28
 Grainger, B. C. H., XXXIX, 1915, 102-112

Life-sized marble head of a man with unmistakable Ethiopian blood. His woolly hair, cut close to his head, is wonderfully rendered in the marble. He is markedly dolichocephalic and his forehead is low and retreating. The eyes are large, prominent and set wide apart, and the pupils are indicated by small round hollows in the surface. The nose is broken off, but enough remains to show that it must have been fairly short and broad at the nostrils. The lips are thick, though the mouth is not large. The hair of the growing beard is skillfully indicated on the cheeks, chin and upper lip. The ears are small and set low in the

head below the line of the eyes. The marble has taken on a patina which creates the illusion of dark skin, though the marble was originally white.

There is no prominence of the jaw structure and consequently no trace of savagery in the effect. The intelligent expression of the eyes offsets the low forehead.

Schrader in his original publication of the head concludes that the technique is that of the second or possibly third century A.D. This was a period of realism in portraiture and it is safe to assume that we have here a fair likeness which is reliable evidence in identifying him. Both the unusual facial type and the date assigned to the workmanship favor the theory offered by Grainger that this splendid work of art represents a certain Memnon, one of the three *τρόφιοι* of Herodes Atticus, the famous patron of art and learning in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. The head was found at Thyreatis (near the modern Loukou) in the Peloponnesus, in land that has subsequently proved to be property once owned by Herodes Atticus. It is known from literature that Herodes set up herms of his *τρόφιοι* after their deaths (Grainger, loc. cit.) and herms of the other two, with inscriptions, have been found on other estates. There is every reason to believe that the marble head now in Berlin once was part of a marble herm of the third *τρόφιος*, Memnon, set up by Atticus on this Peloponnesian estate. There could be no

name for a man with with Ethiopian blood than one associated with the most famous king of legendary Ethiopia. Likewise Schrader had concluded from the care given to every detail of hair and beard that the head belonged to a bust intended to be inspected at close range, rather than a full-sized statue set upon a pedestal.

The skill of the artist is revealed in the way in which he has contrived to unite in the face at the same time the marks of refinement and of primitive origin. The combination of Greek skill and Roman fidelity to nature make this head a fitting close for the long series of representations of the Ethiopian race in the art of the two great states of the ancient world. *Fig. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.*

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Grace Hadley Beardsley (née Grace Maynard Hadley) was born in Brooklyn, New York, July 3, 1896. She received her secondary education in the Vail-Deane School, Elizabeth, New Jersey. In 1917 she was graduated with honors from Vassar College, and in 1921 received the degree of Master of Arts from the Johns Hopkins University. Her residence at the University included the collegiate year of 1917-1918; the first semester of 1919-1920; and the years of 1920-1921 and 1921-1922. During this time she followed courses given by Professor David M. Robinson in Greek and Roman Archaeology and Greek Literature; by Professors Kirby Flower Smith, Tenney Frank and Wilfred P. Mustard in Latin; by Professor R.V.D. Magoffin in Greek and Roman History and Roman Archaeology; and Professor C.W.E. Miller in Greek. Her principal subject was Greek and Roman Archaeology, her first subordinate Latin and her second subordinate Greek and Roman History.

During her graduate residence she has held two Fellowships from Vassar College and was awarded a Johns Hopkins Scholarship. She was also elected to membership in the Johns Hopkins Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The year away from the University was spent in research work for the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

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