row compartments cut in the bedrock, were clearly never intended to be seen by the living once burial had been carried out. Instead, it seems virtually certain that their symbolic messages were directed toward the spirit world alone.

It is here where we return full circle to lead. If it is correct to view the cast symbols on the coffin exteriors as forms of magical incantations to insure, on the one hand, a happy existence after death and on the other, to fend off evil spirits hovering around the grave, what part is played by the coffin’s material? We have seen how lead, the dark, plumbo element, had been used as the chosen medium for delivering curses to the powers of the Underworld, as well as to restrain or bind the targets of their incantations long before its use for coffins. Centuries later in medieval times, according to the Encyclopedia of Magic and Superstition (p. 211), “religious relics were often encased in lead caskets to keep their sacred force within an effective boundary and prevent it from dissipating into the air” (presumably echoing the same impulse that led the Greeks to wrap their fortune-telling astragals in lead). In the case of the coffins, the metal’s menacing link with the powers of the Underworld seems to be prophylactic as well as preventative, since the tightly sealed coffins were often themselves tied with symbolic ropes or straps which worked both to keep out, as well as to hold in, malignant spirits.

“Prophylactic” implies that the objective behind the use of lead was to shield or protect the dead from the powers of evil before their admission to a blessed Afterlife (a wish that also led to the practice of encasing the ashes of the dead in lead urns). The use of lead was also to prevent the ghosts of the deceased from escaping their coffins to haunt the living.

Either way, the Museum’s coffin permits the alert observer to penetrate into the murky substratum of popular religion, superstition, and magic of later antiquity. 22

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No longer the “Pitcairn Nike”
A Minerva-Victoria from Cyrene

Irene Bald Romano

Until about ten years ago, visitors to the University of Pennsylvania Museum were greeted at the top of the stairs leading to the Greek gallery by the striking half-scale marble statue of a goddess clothed in swirling drapery (Figs. 1-3). The statue was loaned to the Museum in 1935 by its owner, Raymond Pitcairn. During its residence in the Museum, Rhys Carpenter, the eminent specialist in Greek sculpture, studied the statue and argued that it was a Roman copy of the winged, chryselephantine (gold and ivory) Nike, the Greek personification of Victory, that stood on the hand of the 5th century BC cult statue in the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens (Carpenter 1953-54, 1959). This colossal Athena Parthenos had been made by the famous Greek sculptor Pheidias (see Fig. 8).
FIG. 4. Glencairn’s Minerva-Victoria statue, detail of Gorgoneion at neckline.
In Greek mythology, Medusa was a once beautiful but vain young woman with streaming locks of hair who dared to compete with the goddess Athena in beauty. Athena turned Medusa into a Gorgon, a monster with serpents for tresses. The Gorgon was beheaded by Perseus who gave the head to Athena. Forever after, in traditional Classical iconography, Athena wears the severed head of Medusa (or Gorgoneion) on her gown, the argié.

This type of Medusa, with the elongated horizontal shape of the face, the protruding tongue, and the hair ending in loose wild snakes rather than tied beneath the chin, is a variant of a Classical Medusa. It can be seen on various Roman copies or adaptations of Classical works.

As a result of Carpenter’s identification, the statue became well known in the archaeological literature as the “Pictaia Nike” and has been cited in many handbooks on Greek sculpture as a copy of the Phidian Nike. The 1986 transfer of the statue to Raymond Pitcairn’s former home, now the Glencairn Museum in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (see box at end of article), prompted a reassessment of the “Pictaia Nike” and has produced new information that alters the identification of the statue and brings more clearly into focus its origins and use.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PIECE

The statue was purchased by Pitcairn in 1935 from a dealer in Paris, Lucien Demotte. We know from a drawing of the statue in a 1910 French publication (Reinach 1910:172, no. 7) that it was previously owned by a French collector near Paris with the curious name of Leo Nardus. When Demotte sold the statue to Pitcairn, he told Pitcairn that the statue had come from “the ruins of Cyrene.” The connection with the important ancient site of Cyrene, located in modern Libya, was an intriguing one, since the University of Pennsylvania Museum under the direction of Donald White excavated in Cyrene’s Extranural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone from 1969 to 1981 (White 1992).

There are several major early collections of well-published sculpture from Cyrene. The British Museum’s collection is the result of the mission it sponsored to the site in 1860. The Louvre and other private French collections have pieces acquired from the pillaging of sites in the region in 1846 by the French consul in Benghazi, M. Vattier de Bourville. If indeed the statue in the Glencairn Museum comes from Cyrene, it may have been collected during the depredation of Vattier de Bourville or have come through Constantinople from the Turks who controlled the region until 1911. But that information from dealers should be accepted unchallenged is anathema to the scholar of ancient art. It took a thorough examination of the statue to determine who she is and that the provenience of Cyrene given by Demotte is, in fact, almost certainly accurate.

THE STATUE TODAY

The 1.12 meter high statue represents a female wearing a peplos (heavy woolen garment) with a deep overlap where it has been hitched and belted around her waist, and an argié (gout skin) over her back with a head of the Gorgon, Medusa, at the front of the neck (Fig. 6). The drapery is pressed against her legs and is being blown backward as the figure alights with knees slightly bent and her body inclined forward. The figure, as it is preserved, is made from a single block of marble.

Stable isotopic analysis (see box) at the University of Georgia’s Department of Geology laboratory indicates that the marble is Parian lycinthes from the mines on the Greek island of Paros. This is a fine white marble highly prized and widely exported throughout the Greek and Roman periods. The head, arms, and feet (Fig. 5) would have been made of separately carved pieces of marble, and an additional block would have been attached at the lower back to complete the sweep of the drapery, to serve as a counterweight to the forward thrust of the statue, and to anchor the statue to its plinth.

The left arm, as deduced from the surviving shoulder and fragment of the underarm, was raised, probably holding an object (Fig. 6). It can be surmised from traces of two small iron corrosion products on the left breast and near the belt that the object, possibly a gilded bronze garland, was held diagonally across the front of the body. The right arm was at least slightly raised. Carpenter interpreted shallow cuttings in the...
backs of the shoulders as evidence that the figure had separately attached wings, but close examination makes it clear that these cuttings are for dowels to secure the separately attached marble arms. The figure is, thus, wingless.

WHO WAS SHE?

The statue’s garb of peplos and agis and the Gorgon’s head or Gorgoneion on her breast are features that contemporary viewers would have recognized as belonging to Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom. The slighting pose and swirling drapery, on the other hand, would have been seen as characteristics of Nike, personification of Victory. Together, these attributes identify the figure as a combination of Athena and Nike or, more accurately, the Roman manifestation of the composite goddess, Minerva-Victoria.

Such a conflation of the characteristics of Athena with elements of Nike is a specifically Roman concept. There are details of the Gleaning statue which are very un-Greek and so make it unlikely to be a copy of a Greek work, as Carpenter proposed. For example, the agis is worn draped over the back, while in the 5th century BC it would have been worn as a bals over the chest. Also the sculptor has “misinterpreted,” perhaps intentionally with iconographic significance, the nature of the peplos, a single length of a woman’s attire, and in terracotta figurines which was wrapped around the body beneath the armpits, pinned at the shoulders, and belted with a belt pinning on one side of the body. The sculptor of this statue has left no side opening and has added fine detail to the lower legs and over the chest as if to suggest the crinkled folds produced by a garment such as a chiton, finer and lighter in weight than the peplos.

Certainly, the sculptor of the Minerva-Victoria is harking back to the style of the 5th century BC. Classical period and to the work of Phidias and the sculptures of the period of the Parthenon; but rather than copying a single work of that period, he has produced a uniquely Roman Classicizing creation.

Nikys Carpenter’s assumption that the “Piteaikos Nike” represents a copy of the Phidian Nike is without basis and can be refuted on several grounds. First and most important is the armature of the hand of the Phidian Athena Parthenos (Fig. 8), as far as we can tell from literary descriptions, Roman copies, and depictions on coins and in relief sculpture, was winged and did not appear in the guise of Athena (Leipen 1971).

Second, Carpenter’s assertion that the sculptor rendered the head, arms, and feet of the Gleaning statue in a substance other than marble (e.g., alabaster and/or stucco) to imitate the ivory flesh of the Phidian Nike is incorrect; the exposed area beneath the arms shows that the artist was content to show the flesh in marble. Also, it is not atypical in the Roman period for sculptors of large-scale works to use the “piecing” technique. In this case, because Parian marble was expensive in antiquity and we add, for the most part, have been extracted from the “infinites” mine in relatively small blocks, the sculptor was being economical in adding marble pieces to the statue for any parts which would have projected beyond the outlines or planes of a standardized quarry block, i.e., the head, arms, and feet (Kane 1888:133, Kane and Carrier 1988:202). Small fragments or scraps of Parian marble, perhaps cut away from another block, likely had been used to complete the Minerva-Victoria.

WHERE DID SHE COME FROM?

Although representations of a winged Minerva-Victoria appear on Roman coins (chiefly on issues of emperors of the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD), on a few lamps, and in terracotta figurines, sculptural images of this Roman deity are relatively rare. Only six other sculptural examples can be cited, and it is significant that three of these come from North African sites, from Cyrene or nearby (Fig. 9) and from Bulla Regia in ancient Numidia (modern Tunisia) (see Gulak 1981:177-92 for some examples). It may have been in these regions, where associations of the winged Minerva with the Phoenician goddess Anat or Astarte were strong, that Minerva-Victoria would have found a prominent position (Charles-Picard 1984). The wingless Minerva-Victoria type is also known in the Roman period, including two examples documented from the site of Cyrene (Gulak 1981:224, fig. 205, 222, fig. 95).

Cyrene was founded by Greek colonists from the island of Thera in 631 BC. As the chief city of the Libyan Pentapolis (“Region of Five Cities”), it maintained a high degree of Greek culture and was captured by the Phoenicians in the 7th century AD. Cyrene flourished under the control of the Phoenician dynasty of the Phoenicians of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great. Along

FIG. 7. THE STABLE ISOTOPIC (CARBON VERSUS OXYGEN) FIELDS FOR VARIOUS MARBLES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION USED IN THE GREEK AND ROMAN PERIODS. Note the overlap of the isotopic “signatures” for some quarries, rendering a definitive conclusion using this technique difficult for certain samples. In the case of Parian and Ephesian marble the visual characteristics are quite different, with Ephesian exhibiting pronounced layering.

Three marble samples from the Gleaning Minerva-Victoria were tested with results in the range of +5.60 for the carbon and -3.19 for the oxygen (the three data points are indicated with diamond symbols in the Paros field).

Stable Isotopic Analysis of Marbles

Measurement of the varying ratios of isotopes of oxygen (8O) and carbon (8C) has proven to be highly successful in providing specific “signatures” for marbles from particular quarries. The principle is that oxygen and carbon in the carbonate of marble vary depending on the stone’s chemical composition and on the temperature and presence of water during its formation and history. Weathering is also a factor that might alter the oxygen and carbon ratios in marble. Research in this area was initiated by Drs. H. and V. Craig of the Scripps Oceanographic Institute in 1972 and subsequently continued by Dr. Norman Herz of the University of Georgia and others. Since that time, sampling programs have been carried out by geologists in many quarries, especially those of the Mediterranean area.

A tiny sample (less than 5 mg or the equivalent of the tip of a sharp pencil) from a marble artifact can be tested using a mass spectrometer, which measures proportions of isotopic masses of several elements. The resulting ratios of oxygen and carbon are then compared to the oxygen and carbon “signatures” from known quarries. Some of the “signature” fields may have similar oxygen and carbon ratios, e.g., marble from the Parian lynchites mines overlappsthatfrom the quarries of Ephesos near the Turkish coast (Fig. 7). In that case, other factors, such as the provenance of the artifact, chronological or historical information, and visual characteristics such as grain size, color, and the presence of streaks or bands, are often taken into account when making a final determination on the origin of the marble.

In the case of the Gleaning Minerva-Victoria, the fact that the marble is confirmed by its isotopic signature to be Parian lynchites contributes to the identification of Cyrene as the provenance of the statue. Three other statues from Cyrene in the British Museum belonging to the same general time period have isotopic signatures very close to that of the Minerva-Victoria, suggesting not only that they are all of Parian marble, but that the blocks for all four statues were mined from the same part of that quarry, probably around the same time. In other instances, quarry identification can confirm the likelihood of a forgery or establish the joining of two pieces of the same statue that had been separated or lead to a hypothesis regarding the sculptor’s origin or help to pinpoint the original findspot of an artifact. (For results of isotopic analyses of many pieces of marble sculpture from Cyrene, see Herz, Kane, and Hayes 1985.)
Fig. 8a, b. Full-scale reconstruction of the Phidian Athena Parthenos unveiled in 1990 by sculptor Alan LeQuire for the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee. The Nashville Parthenon was originally built in 1897 and rebuilt in the 1920s with the same plan and on the same scale as the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens.

Using all of the available evidence for the now-lost gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos, Alan LeQuire executed a faithful replica of the Parthenon in a lightweight gypsum and fiberglass material over a steel frame. Only the gilding of the statue is left to be completed. The winged Nike (Fig. 8b) on the right hand of the colossal Athena, as faithful a reconstruction of the original as our knowledge allows, is approximately life-size and bears some of the recognizable attributes of Athena such as the helmet, peplos, and aegis with Gorgonion.

Photographs by Gary Layden, courtesy of The Parthenon, Nashville, Tennessee.
with the rest of Cyrene, Cyrene was bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy Phuscon in 155 BC and was inherited upon the death of that Ptolemy's son in 96 BC. Cyrene's position 8 miles from the Mediterranean Sea on a well-watered expanse of fertile land gave it importance as a provider of grain and olives for the Roman Empire. Archaeologically, the Roman period is particularly well documented at Cyrene, with major architectural accomplishments and one of the richest stores of Roman sculpture in the Roman provinces.

The sculptural corpus of Cyrene has been particularly well studied by American and British scholars and, thus, it is possible to examine the Ptolemaic Minerva-Victoria with the comparative material in mind. Based on work Susan Kane has done on the sculptures from the Demeter and Persiphone Sanctuary at Cyrene, for example, it is possible to conclude that the Minerva-Victoria bears various technological characteristics of sculptural works manufactured at Cyrene. For example, extensive use of the piecing technique is a hallmark of the statues found at the site, which had no local source of marble and thus used its imported supplies economically (Kane 1988:133; Kane and Carrier 1988:202). The 1.12 meter preserved height of the statue would put her in a size category that is common at Cyrene, especially for works of the 2nd century AD (Kane and Carrier 1988).

There are other stylistic traits of the Minerva-Victoria that closely parallel 2nd century AD works from Cyrene. For example, the fine incisions on the peplos over the chest and legs to indicate the folds of a lighter, crinkly garment is also seen on several sculptures excavated at Cyrene (see MacDonald 1976 for one example from the Demeter and Persiphone Sanctuary). In the case of the Gleieaen statue the addition of these fine folds may have been another iconographic clue to the dual nature of the deity, i.e., a goddess clothed in the peplos of Athens but one with the texture and movement of the chiton of NiKe. The rather heavy thighs of the Minerva-Victoria seem to be characteristic of female statues from the site (e.g., Paribeni 1959: no. 482). And a specific match can be found at Cyrene for the Glioneaeion at the neck of the Ptolemaic Minerva-Victoria in a Gorgon's head from an Athena statue (Fig. 10).

From the point of view of iconography there seems to have been much interest at Cyrene in female figures clothed in peplos, especially in the period of the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Paribeni 1959: nos. 65-70, 78-80). Classicizing style and iconography harken back to the art of the 5th century BC, especially Athenian art, were very popular throughout the Mediterranean in the 2nd century AD. In the Antonine period (AD 118-192) Cyrene was an active member of the Panhellenion League based in Athens, and it is especially during this time that Attic (named for the region of Athens) styles and iconography were in vogue (Kane 1988:134, 136-37). For example, it is in this period that the 'Temple of Zeus was reconstructed at Cyrene and that an acrolithic statue (appendages and body made of different materials: in this case, marble for the flesh parts and plaster for the drapery) copied after Phileikos's chryselephantine Olympian Zeus was installed as the cult image (Goodchild, Reynolds, and Herrington 1958). In fact, after the Jewish Revolt of AD 115 and up to the end of the 2nd century Cyrene experienced a period of urban renewal with accompanying revival of activities of all kinds.

**HOW WAS SHE USED?**

If the Minerva-Victoria statue is from Cyrene, where might it have stood and how would it have been used? The dashing figure, the slighting pose, and forward incline of the body suggest that the statue was positioned up high where the sweep of the drapery and the S-shaped curve of the body could be appreciated. One likely use for the statue is as an avterion, a decorative sculpture crowning the roof of a temple (Fig. 11). The obvious temple at Cyrene to examine as a possible home for the statue is the Temple of Zeus mentioned above, reconstructed in the very period the Minerva-Victoria is assigned to, and using Classical models for both the architecture and the sculpture. Unfortunately, the deliberate and complete destruction of that temple and its acrolithic cult image in the late antique period does not correspond with the nearly perfect state of preservation of the marble body of the Minerva-Victoria. In fact, unless specific evidence can be found (i.e., a plinth block or a matching statue) to link this statue with a particular Cyrenean temple, it would be only speculation to assign it to one.

There is also the possibility that the Minerva-Victoria was a part of a large-scale free-standing commemorative monument, perhaps a monument set up in honor of a Roman military victory (Fig. 12). Though Cyrene was a city replete with monuments, it is not as yet possible to pinpoint a commemorative monument of which the statue might have been a part. Further
research at Cyrene and in the major Cyrenean collections might still yield clues to unlock the mystery of the Minerva-Victoria’s original location. In the meantime, however, the stylistic, iconographic, and technical detective work that the statue’s move to the Glennairn stimulated has given us a new identification for this goddess, and has led us to ponder what part she might have played in Cyrene’s 2nd-century urban revival.

Fig. 11. Restored view of a hypothetical Nike acroterion for the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis by M. Korres. This restored drawing provides a graphic example of the way in which a large inclined figure might have been attached to the roof of a temple as an acroterion. Reproduced with permission of Dr. Manolis Korres from Acropolis Restoration, 1994, p. 31.

Fig. 12. Hellenistic naval monument, Cyrene. The Hellenistic period naval monument in the Agora of Cyrene consists of a ship’s prow crowned by a striking wingless female figure, whose identity is open to discussion. This is an earlier example of the type of commemorative monument of which the Glennairn Minerva-Victoria may have been a part. Photograph by Donald White, reproduced with permission.

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The Glencairn Museum

The Glencairn Museum is located to the northeast of Philadelphia in the picturesque hamlet of Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. The Museum's holdings represent the amalgamated collections of Raymond Pitcairn (1885–1966) and of the Academy of the New Church, an academic institution founded in Philadelphia in 1876 by followers of the Swedenborgian faith and moved to Bryn Athyn in 1887.

The Romanesque castle of Glencairn was built by Raymond Pitcairn (Fig. 13), a charismatic lawyer/businessman-turned-architect, master-builder of the Bryn Athyn Cathedral, and patron of the Swedenborgian Church. He planned it as a home for his family of eight children and as a "little castle for the collection," as he himself described it in a 1926 letter. The collection is that which Pitcairn amassed in the 1920s and 1930s of medieval stained glass, architectural fragments and sculpture, tapestries, treasury arts, manuscripts, and weaponry—a collection said to be unique and among the finest in the world (Fig. 14). He focused his collecting interests on French 12th and 13th century material and chose pieces whose Old Testament themes or style might serve as inspiration for the artists working under his direction on the Cathedral and on his home (Fig. 15). Although his medieval collection forms the core of the Glencairn Museum's holdings, Raymond Pitcairn also made important purchases of Greek, Roman, and Cypriot art pieces, including over 250 pieces of Classical jewelry, and Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Asian art. Glencairn was bequeathed in 1979 to the Academy of the New Church by Raymond Pitcairn's widow and opened to the public as the Glencairn Museum in 1982.

Reconsidering the Meaning of Matriarchy

Peggy Reeves Sanday

There are many living societies in the world today in which women hold positions of significant power and authority in the public domain, positions that are quite different from what we know in contemporary Western society. Knowledge of such societies serves as a basis for reports on the ancient Lydians of Asia Minor. Early Greek philosophers and historians considered them remarkable because they showed "women more honor than the men...[They took] their names from their mothers and [left] their estates to their daughters, not to their sons" (Aristotle of Aetolian, quoted in Bachelin 1987 [1897]: 22). The contention that such societies represented a middle stage in a presumed universal cultural evolution from "primitive promiscuity" to civilized patriarchy was an important aspect of 19th century Western social theorizing.

Western anthropology gave up on the idea of a matriarchal stage early in the 20th century. Today, most

Eggi's Village

Mount Merapi, 1987. According to oral tradition the Minangkabau people originated on Mt. Merapi. As the story goes, their ancestors were sea travelers from the island of Ceylon who were shipwrecked on the peak of Mt. Merapi, which jutted out from the ocean floor. After they landed on the peak the waters receded and the ancestors spread out and instituted Minangkabau customs.

Here Mt. Merapi looms in the background above Eggi's village, while in the foreground a woman from the village heads home after weeding her corn field. The villagers believe that all houses must face the mountain to ensure personal and family well-being. Houses facing in other directions are said to be plagued by chaos: sickness, divorce, and death.