



# ENNION

Master of  
Roman Glass





## ENNION: MASTER OF ROMAN GLASS





ENNION





# Master of Roman Glass

CHRISTOPHER S. LIGHTFOOT

with contributions by

ZRINKA BULJEVIĆ, Yael Israeli,  
KAROL B. WIGHT, AND MARK T. WYPYSKI



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## Director's Foreword

The invention of glassblowing in the late first century B.C. is one of the most significant technological advances of the ancient world, allowing craftsmen increased speed and versatility when making glass vessels. This publication focuses on a group of the most innovative and elegant examples of Roman mold-blown glass, created when glassblowing was just becoming widespread and glass was still something of a luxury. Chief among them are twenty-six remarkable preserved examples of drinking cups, bowls, and jugs made during the early first century A.D. that are inscribed with the name of their maker, Ennion, the leading exponent of Roman mold-blown glass. Three prime examples of these masterful vessels are in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, while the others are in disparate locations.

Christopher S. Lightfoot, curator of Roman art in the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan, organized this comprehensive study that includes a major essay by him and contributions by leading experts, all of which adds significantly to scholarship on the subject. Ennion is one of only five ancient glassworkers who signed their names on mold-blown tablewares, and this volume and the accompanying exhibition demonstrate that his pieces are unmatched even by the other four practitioners in their size, proportions, elegant shapes, and well-designed and executed decorative patterns. The show has been made possible by three close friends of the Museum, to whom we extend our profound thanks: Diane Carol Brandt, The Vlachos Family Fund, and The David Berg Foundation. The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, which was established in memory of the De Groot and Hawley Families, has long funded the scholarship of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, and we are grateful for its support of this publication. We are also indebted to Shlomo Moussaieff, who helped support this catalogue and generously offered to lend six important pieces to the exhibition.

I am pleased to present this marvelous celebration of Ennion's exceptional accomplishment. The lasting aesthetic appeal of his vessels is effectively conveyed in this document of an ancient art form that reached its apogee in the early decades of the Roman Empire and represents the inauguration of a skill that is still in use today.

**THOMAS P. CAMPBELL**

*Director*

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*





## Preface

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has one of the world's finest collections of ancient glass, spanning some two millennia from the Late Bronze Age through the end of antiquity (ca. 1350 B.C.–A.D. 650). Outstanding among the many remarkable glass vessels in the Museum's collection produced during the Roman period (ca. 27 B.C.–A.D. 312) are the three examples of mold-blown glass signed by the master craftsman Ennion, the most skilled exponent of the mold-blowing technique in the first century A.D. At a time when the Department of Greek and Roman Art is preparing to publish a full catalogue of its entire glass collection, which numbers some 2,700 pieces, it is particularly appropriate that we publish this volume focusing on Ennion and examining the Museum's examples of his work in the context of the other surviving vessels signed by him. This catalogue includes twenty-six of Ennion's works, now scattered across collections in Europe, Israel, Russia, and the United States, locations that reflect both the international nature of modern collections of antiquities and the wide geographical dispersion of goods across the Roman world.

Ennion is the most famous of the Roman glassworkers who put their names to their products by inscribing them on the molds they used. His closest contemporary is Aristeas, whose work also is examined in this book, drawing on the only two complete vessels from his workshop and on fragments found in recent years during excavations in Dalmatia (modern Croatia). The work of Donald Harden first published as long ago as 1935 is crucial to this and any study of the subject. Our publication along with the accompanying exhibition adds new information, as all the latest finds and scholarship on the subject of Ennion, Aristeas, and the early Roman mold-blown glass industry are included. The project has been accomplished by Christopher S. Lightfoot, curator of Roman art at the Museum, who has applied his extensive knowledge and considerable expertise about Roman culture and history and conducted thorough research on the subject, inspired in part by Donald Harden, who was his mentor on the subject of glass at the British Museum in the early 1980s.

Although Ennion is a name that stands out in the history of ancient glass, it is not well known outside the field and often does not appear in handbooks and encyclopedias on ancient art, archaeology, and the classical world, including the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the *Lexikon der alten Welt*, or the *Künstlerlexikon der Antike*. The present study helps to rectify that regrettable omission, drawing greater

attention to the outstanding quality of this master's work and also to his pivotal role in the development of the Roman glass industry.

This volume unravels some of the mystery surrounding Ennion, as it discusses the location of his workshop, the range of his wares, the estimated size of his output, and his impact on the nascent Roman glass industry. The scope of the research is expanded by the contributions of three scholars in the field from widely different locations: Karol Wight, Executive Director of The Corning Museum of Glass in Corning, New York, where the exhibition will travel after showing at the Metropolitan; Yael Israeli, for many years Senior Curator for Archaeology and Ancient Glass at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem; and Zrinka Buljević of the Archaeological Museum in Split, Croatia. In addition, utilizing the Metropolitan Museum's specialized scientific resources, Mark T. Wypyski, Research Scientist in the Department of Scientific Research, has written a scientific analysis of two of the vessels signed by Ennion in the Metropolitan's collection.

This important examination in English of the present state of knowledge about Ennion, the early development of mold-blown glass production, and the nature of this new technology is a valuable contribution to the ever-expanding field of ancient glass studies. The significant information and the beautiful illustrations it encompasses will enrich knowledge and pique the interest of scholars, collectors, and indeed, any reader interested in the incredible history of glass, a medium that has remained a source of aesthetic delight and an integral part of daily life over twenty centuries.

**CARLOS A. PICÓN**

*Curator in Charge*

*Department of Greek and Roman Art*

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*



## ENNION: MASTER OF ROMAN GLASS







# THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS, A.D. 14









# Ennion and the History of Ancient Glass

CHRISTOPHER S. LIGHTFOOT

*Sidon artifex vitri*

(Sidon, the producer of glass)

*Sidone quondam his officinis nobili*

(Sidon once famed for its [glass] workshops)

PLINY, *Natural History* 5.76 and 36.193

Antiquarianism first arose in Italy during the sixteenth century, stimulated by the interest of popes, princes, and aristocrats in the relics of ancient Rome.<sup>1</sup> During the eighteenth century, spurred on by the rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, regard for the classical past spread to the rest of western Europe. By and large however, taste focused on classical sculpture and vases, although early collectors also eagerly sought after gems, coins, and bronzes.<sup>2</sup> With only a few rare exceptions, notably the Portland Vase, which was already known and admired by 1600, glass attracted little attention.<sup>3</sup> The London collector Felix Slade (1790–1868) can be regarded as the first person who amassed an encyclopedic range of glass vessels, including contemporary pieces.<sup>4</sup> Other substantial collections and dedicated collectors of ancient glass did not exist until the latter part of the nineteenth century, probably because it was only then that large-scale excavations of Roman cemeteries took place, and tombs and graves were the principal sources of intact Roman glass vessels. Collectors could now amass a wide range of glass vessels, often from far-flung provinces of the Roman Empire, from Britain and Gaul in the West to Syria and Egypt in the East, which encouraged the study of glassmaking techniques, styles, and distribution.

Because of the great diversity in the nature of the finds, it has been a major challenge to provide a coherent chronology and typology of Roman glass. The study of mold-blown examples has attracted the attention of scholars, since the range of products in that technique is more restricted and their chronological development is easier to determine than that of free-blown glass. In addition, the fact that multiple examples can be identified as originating from the same or similar molds makes the task of

classifying and grouping them relatively straightforward. Moreover, many types of mold-blown glass are aesthetically attractive since they are decorated with geometric, floral, or even figural designs. Some, as in the case of Ennion and his contemporaries, also bear inscriptions. These aspects appealed to early collectors and ensured that good examples were highly sought after.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, many of the works by Ennion in this publication were found during the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the earliest recorded discoveries is the Ennion amphora cat. no. 3 now in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg; it was found as long ago as 1852, in the necropolis of Panticapaeum, the capital of the ancient Bosporan Kingdom in the Crimea (until recently part of present-day Ukraine). This remarkable piece has survived not only the Russian Revolution of 1917 but also the German siege of Leningrad in 1941–44.

Many of the early finds were promptly published, notably by a number of Italian scholars.<sup>6</sup> The name Ennion featured prominently in this early literature on ancient glass, and his products were quickly recognized as outstanding examples of the Roman mold-blown glass industry. The three vessels now in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art were published by Wilhelm Froehner in catalogues that he prepared of the Charvet and Gréau Collections in 1879 and 1903; in both publications, the vessels are beautifully illustrated with colored engravings (figs. 1–3). The first in-depth study of Ennion that attempted to place him in the context of ancient glass production as a whole appeared in the three-volume *Das Glas im Altertume* by Anton Kisa, published in Leipzig in 1908, and the first attempt to produce in English a comprehensive list of Ennion's glass is an article published by Donald Harden in 1935.<sup>7</sup> The latter remains the basis for all subsequent work on Ennion's workshop, although new finds have been made in the eighty years since Harden's list was compiled. Sadly, there have been losses; one cup that was recorded by Harden as in the Wassermann Collection in Berlin cannot now be traced and may have been an inadvertent victim of the Second World War.<sup>8</sup>

In early 1939, a special exhibition marking the bimillennium of the birth of the emperor Augustus was held at the Metropolitan Museum. It included a display case containing five vessels by Ennion, which, it was claimed, represented "the largest reunion of this master's work since antiquity."<sup>9</sup> In addition to the Metropolitan's own three examples cat. nos. 1, 9, and 15, two others, then in private hands, were lent to the exhibition. One is the brown jug cat. no. 4 from the Ray Winfield Smith Collection that is now in the Corning Museum of Glass, and the other is the globular bowl cat. no. 24 belonging to Mrs. W. H. Moore that was later donated to the Yale University Art Gallery. In 1979, the Eretz Israel Museum put on a display titled "Ennion: A First Century Glassmaker," which featured the blue jug cat. no. 5 in its collection. The exhibition was accompanied by an important catalogue written by the museum's former curator of glass Gusta Lehrer.<sup>10</sup> Two vessels by Ennion subsequently were featured in the exhibition "Glass of the Caesars," held at four venues in Europe and America during 1987; they were the two Ennion pieces in the Corning Museum of Glass, the brown jug cat. no. 4 and the blue two-handled cup cat. no. 16.<sup>11</sup> Surprisingly, it was not until 2011 that a major exhibition devoted to the work of Ennion was staged. That pioneering show, held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem,



FIGURE 1. Drawing of the Ennion hexagonal flask cat. no. 9, published in Froehner 1879, pl. XXVI





FIGURE 2. Drawing of the Ennion two-handled cup cat. no. 15, published in Froehner 1903, pl. CCVII



FIGURE 3. Drawing of the Ennion one-handed jug cat. no. 1, published in Froehner 1903, pl. CCXVII

presented all the examples in Israeli collections, including the hugely important finds, cat. nos. 7, 8, and 10, from a residential context in Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter (see essay by Yael Israeli, pp. 57–59). In total, eleven Ennion pieces were exhibited, of which eight are included in this volume (cat. nos. 2, 5–8, 10, 14, and 26); the show was accompanied by an illustrated catalogue titled *Made by Ennion: Ancient Glass Treasures from the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection* and an International Seminar titled "Early Roman Decorative Glass: East and West Dialogue."<sup>12</sup>

This publication and the accompanying exhibition bring together the largest collection of Ennion's wares ever seen in modern times. Twenty-six vessels are represented, encompassing finds from across the Roman Empire and reuniting examples that probably belonged together in Roman times. Also included are sixteen other pieces of early mold-blown and mold-pressed glass (cat. nos. 27–42) that provide context for Ennion's preeminent place in the history of Roman glassmaking, and for the first time, it is possible to compare his work directly with that of his closest rival, Aristeas (see pp. 42–44).

## Who Was Ennion?

Despite all the interest and attention that Ennion and his works have attracted, fundamental questions remain about the identity, role, and activity of this artist who sought to be identified among his peers and for posterity as the producer of the finest examples of ancient Roman mold-blown glass.

Apart from his name, we know very little about the man. In fact, even his name is obscure. It is not a Greek or Roman name and is rarely attested on surviving inscriptions.<sup>13</sup> Although initially, Ennion was considered an Alexandrian from Egypt, he has long been regarded as coming from the coast of Phoenicia, and from Sidon in particular.<sup>14</sup> Ennion is thought to be the Greek version of a Semitic name, but that does not necessarily mean that he was Jewish, for it is not a name that is found

commonly in Hebrew sources of the Roman period.<sup>15</sup> The only other epigraphic attestation of the name is to a builder at Damascus in the third century A.D.<sup>16</sup> So, our Ennion had a local, perhaps Phoenician, name since traditionally, he is associated most closely with the Phoenician city of Sidon on the coast of modern-day Lebanon. It is clear that Ennion did not aspire to Roman citizenship and did not adopt the full Roman-style nomenclature. Nor was he apparently from a family that was particularly Hellenized, unlike the other four named glassmakers with whom he is associated, all of whom bear Greek or Greek-style names – Aristreas, Jason, Meges, and Neikais. Ennion must have been a provincial with no great pretensions, but evidently, he was successful and, presumably, prosperous and took full advantage of the commercial opportunities provided by Rome and the *pax Romana*. We can only guess the dates when he lived, based on archaeological evidence provided by finds of his glass. If indeed he was involved directly in the glassmaking process, it is doubtful that he lived a particularly long and healthy life. Life expectancy was generally quite short in Roman times as in many others, so it would be surprising if Ennion was much older than fifty when he died. His birth may be placed at some date during the reign of the emperor Augustus, between 27 B.C. and A.D. 14.

The question then arises as to what exactly Ennion did. The fact that his name appears on the glass implies ownership of some sort, and since it is accompanied by the Greek verb ποιᾶν (to make, produce, create), it is clear that he was involved in the production of those pieces. This has given rise to discussion about whether he was principally the owner of a glass factory, the master craftsman who in reality made the molds in which the glass was blown, or simply the glassworker himself.<sup>17</sup> Such speculation, however, seems academic. As far as we can tell, ancient glass workshops were small-scale enterprises. They certainly were not as large and as well organized as contemporary factories producing Roman pottery. The major center of this production was Arretium (Arezzo, Italy), where workshops, such as those of M. Perennius Tigranus, P. Cornelius, and Cn. Ateius, stamped their wares, often not only with the name of the factory owner but also with that of the individual workers who made the vessels.<sup>18</sup>

It is therefore likely that Ennion was both the owner and the leading craftsman in the workshop that bore his name. It is improbable that he was merely the mold maker, especially at a time when the use of molds for glassblowing was still a very novel and experimental technique. The making and using of such molds must have been connected intimately (see essay on technique by Karol Wight, pp. 49–55), and it stands to reason that Ennion was proficient in both. This, indeed, is what is implied by the simple two-word inscription on the glass “Ennion made [it/me].”

Much more difficult to resolve is the question of where Ennion worked. Most scholars agree that originally, his workshop was located at Sidon in Lebanon. The coastal region of Phoenicia was renowned even in antiquity as a source for the raw materials used in the glassmaking process and a place where glass was skillfully worked. Sidon was singled out by Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) in the quotations cited at the beginning of this essay, although he also implied that its heyday was already past when he wrote his *Natural History*, probably in the seventies A.D.<sup>19</sup> There was a long tradition in Phoenicia of craftsmanship in glass, so it is not



unexpected that new techniques and products developed there first. It is probable that glassblowing was invented in the region during the first century B.C.<sup>20</sup> The first products appear to have been small plain bottles, hardly likely to stimulate great interest and demand among well-to-do Romans, but the blowing technique allowed glassworkers to produce such containers much more quickly and cheaply than ever before. The development of mold blowing provided a means to add decoration, and although it is a more elaborate technique, it was still more efficient and less laborious than carving and cutting cast glass. Ennion must have worked in an environment where these new techniques, if not actually invented there, were being tested and where their potential was first fully recognized.

Ennion, then, set up his workshop in Sidon, probably in the first decades of the first century A.D. But it has been argued frequently that, once his reputation had been established and his wares were in demand in the Roman market, he moved to Italy and established a workshop in or near Aquileia.<sup>21</sup> The arguments both for and against this hypothesis have placed much weight on the distribution of finds of Ennion's products. Donald Harden believed the jugs were made in the workshop at Sidon, since most of the known find-spots for them are in the eastern Mediterranean region, but the preponderance of finds of cups in the West convinced him that the latter were made in a workshop that Ennion founded in Italy.<sup>22</sup> This hypothesis has been questioned in more recent studies, and it has been suggested that all Ennion's vessels might have been made in Italy and that the development of mold-made



FIGURE 4. Map of northern Italy (Roman Gallia Transpadana), showing Roman sites and modern find-spots

glass was influenced in part by the thriving mold-made pottery industry there.<sup>23</sup> In fact, the question is much more complicated, for it is also possible that molds made by Ennion were sent to Italy and used by others or that original molds were copied by unscrupulous rivals who, perhaps, were based in Italy. There is, however, no archaeological evidence from either Sidon or Aquileia of kiln sites used for making or working glass, much less ones that are associated specifically with Ennion.

Indeed, the distribution of Ennion's vessels provides little help in solving the question of where his workshop was located. His work was undoubtedly a luxury product that was highly valued and sought after. Such luxury goods, even though very fragile, could be traded far and wide, as the finds themselves indicate. Sidon was well situated on the major maritime trade route that ran from Egypt to Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and other regions. There is evidence from excavations at Sidon that the harbor there was improved in the first century B.C.<sup>24</sup> Ennion easily could have found merchants willing to take his products and trade them anywhere across the Mediterranean or, as in the case of the amphora cat. no. 3 from Panticapaeum, to the northern shores of the Black Sea. On the other hand, it is difficult to see what advantage would have been gained by moving to Aquileia. In time, that site would become an important center of Roman glass production but, when Ennion was active, the industry there must have been in the early stages of its development. Rome itself or Campania would have been more obvious destinations that might have attracted Ennion, but it is a surprising fact that no piece of Ennion's glass has ever been found at Rome or, equally significantly, at Pompeii and the other sites that were buried by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79.<sup>25</sup>

The preponderance of well-preserved examples of cups signed by Ennion found in northern Italy is indeed remarkable (fig. 4). Eight of the twelve cups published here (cat. nos. 11–22) come from the region, and in addition, there is a cup (fig. 5; cat. no. 17) in Modena from Bagnolo Mella, near Brixia (Brescia), and another (fig. 6; cat. no. 22) in Bra from Pollentia (Pollenze). These finds testify as much to the number and richness of undisturbed early imperial tombs to be found there as they do to the origins of their grave goods. Other finds from tombs in northern Italy include lead-glazed



FIGURE 5. Two-handled cup signed by Ennion, from Bagnolo Mella. Glass, height: 2 ½ in. (6.4 cm). Galleria Estense, Modena (841)



FIGURE 6. Two-handled cup signed by Ennion, from Pollentia. Glass, height: 2 7/16 in. (6.2 cm). Museo Civico, Palazzo Traversa, Bra (M 1144)



two-handed pottery cups (scyphi) and bowls that date to the late first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D.<sup>26</sup> They have been attributed to unidentified northern Italian workshops.<sup>27</sup> However, they closely resemble examples produced at workshops in Asia Minor, principally at Tarsus in Cilicia (figs. 7 and 8), some of which have been found in Cyprus.<sup>28</sup> These wares belong to the same period of production and deposition as the glass cups signed by Ennion. Are both the products of western workshops set up by craftsmen who had either migrated to Italy or been inspired by wares made in the East? Or is it more likely that such wares are imports, brought in relatively small quantities and so all the more prized and buried in the tombs of their well-to-do owners? In addition, it should be noted that other finds from tombs in northern Italy include mold-blown glass and lead-glazed pottery of undisputed eastern manufacture. For example, there is a two-handed cup (scyphus) of Tarsus ware from a tomb (Tomb 7) at Adria and an opaque white glass lidded box (pyxis) from a tomb (Tomb 27 in the Beligna cemetery) at Aquileia that is like cat. no. 37.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, the discovery of a minimum of thirteen cups made by Ennion and Aristreas in coastal Dalmatia has now tilted the balance away from northern Italy, although some scholars argue that they are imports from workshops that had been established at Aquileia.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to recognizing Ennion as the outstanding creator of early mold-blown glass, he can also be viewed as the catalyst behind the rapid development of the industry during the first century A.D. Since examples of mold-blown vessels are so common throughout the Roman Empire, it is clear that they were very popular with Romans and provincials of every class. Demand led to diversification both in the establishment of more workshops and in the range of vessels that they produced.<sup>31</sup> Although the spin-offs were not on the same scale and sophistication as Ennion's works, their diversity attests to the environment of vibrancy and experimentation that existed specifically in the mid-to-late first century A.D. It was, however, a transient phase in the growth of the Roman glass industry, and use of the mold-blowing technique soon was relegated principally to the production of utilitarian storage vessels, the Roman equivalent of the modern standard-sized milk or wine bottle. Indeed, by the late first century A.D. a factory at Aquileia was producing rectangular bottles stamped on the base with the name *Sentia Secunda*, one of only two female glassworkers (*vitreae*) recorded in antiquity.<sup>32</sup>

Ennion stands apart from the other producers of Roman mold-blown glass not only because of the consummate refinement of his works but also because it would seem that finds of his glass can be dated earlier than most other mold-blown examples. Indeed, it appears that Ennion might have been the first major maker of Roman mold-blown glass as well as the most accomplished and famous.

## History and Provenance

The earliest finds of Ennion glass seem to have been made just before the mid-nineteenth century. The cup from Bagnolo Mella, near Brixia (fig. 5), was first published in 1845, although the find itself is dated to 1842.<sup>33</sup> That publication also



FIGURE 7. Lead-glazed footed bowl, made at Tarsus in Asia Minor, first half of the 1st century A.D. Terracotta, height: 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (13.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.250)



FIGURE 8. Lead-glazed two-handed cup (scyphus), found in Cyprus, first half of the 1st century A.D. Terracotta, height: 2 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (7.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.388)

refers to a fragment of another Ennion cup from Fidentia (Borgo San Donnino, near Parma), whose discovery must also date to before 1845, but details are lacking.<sup>34</sup> The Hermitage amphora, as mentioned above, was excavated from a tomb at Panticapaeum in 1852. Fragments of a blue cup were found at Soluntum (Solanto) on the north coast of Sicily, ten miles east of Panormus (Palermo) before 1866.<sup>35</sup> A fragment of a cup with the same design as cat. nos. 15–17 is now in the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, Trieste; it may have been found at Aquileia before 1870.<sup>36</sup> The cup cat. no. 22 now in Turin is recorded as having been found in 1873 at Caresana in a tomb together with two glass perfume bottles, a lamp, and a bronze coin of the emperor Claudius minted in A.D. 46.<sup>37</sup> The cup cat. no. 19 in the Louvre, acquired in 1881, is said to have been found at Refrancore, near Hasta (Asti), in 1875. Another cup, cat. no. 11, from Tremithus, Cyprus, now in the British Museum, was purchased from Luigi Palma di Cesnola in 1876 and presumably was found during Cesnola's presence on the island between 1874 and 1876. The blue hexagonal amphoriskos cat. no. 9 in the Metropolitan Museum's collection was also found by Cesnola during that time; it is said to come from Potamia, near Golgoi.<sup>38</sup> Several other important mold-blown glass vessels were found at this time in Cyprus; they include a deep bowl from Tremithus with a two-line inscription, now illegible, that may have carried the maker's name (fig. 9; cat. no. 25).

An unusual fragment in opaque blue glass (*vetro azzurro opaco*) in the Aquileia museum was found in 1884.<sup>39</sup> Harden gave the provenance of this piece as "Fondi Urbanetti," a find-spot he also ascribed to another complete cup found in 1884 that was sold by local dealers soon afterward to Sir John Evans and subsequently entered the Wassermann Collection.<sup>40</sup> The cup cat. no. 18 in the Musei Civici, Pavia, was acquired from the Brambilla Collection in 1893 and probably originated from an ancient tomb in the Lomellina area.<sup>41</sup> Another cup, cat. no. 15, surfaced before 1895 and, since it is said to have been acquired in Venice, it probably was found locally in the Veneto. It formed part of the Julien Gréau Collection that was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1913 and given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917. The amphora by Ennion cat. no. 1, now in the Metropolitan Museum, also came from the Gréau Collection and is said to have been acquired in Istanbul, also presumably before 1895. Finally, a fragment of a cup was recovered from the imperial villa at Pausilypon (Posillipo) on the Bay of Naples, but precise details of where and when it was found are not recorded; according to Robert Günther, "methodical excavations" were undertaken first at this extensive site in 1841, but his investigations on behalf of the University of Oxford were carried out between 1893 and 1907.<sup>42</sup> So, of the examples of glass signed by Ennion that were known before the end of the nineteenth century, four come from the East, and the rest were found in Italy, all but two from sites in the north (fig. 4), exceptions being the fragments from Sicily and Campania. Moreover, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, four great international museums – the Hermitage, British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Louvre – owned a work by Ennion. By 1917, the Metropolitan had three examples of Ennion's glass, more than any other museum.

Additional finds occurred during the twentieth century. Three cups, cat. nos. 12, 16, and 17, all blue, were found during the winter of 1904–5 in a single rich tomb



FIGURE 9. Mold-blown inscribed bowl from Tremithus, Cyprus. Glass, height:  $3\frac{1}{16}$  in. (7.8 cm). The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (GR.33a.1876)



at Cavarzere (località Cuora), about two miles northeast of Adria and less than twenty-five miles southwest of Venice.<sup>43</sup> Two are now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Adria, and the third, formerly in the Sangiorgi Collection, Rome, was acquired by the Corning Museum of Glass in 1966.<sup>44</sup> The Cavarzere tomb is the only place, apart from Jerusalem, where vessels by Ennion have been found together, and two of these appear to be a matching pair. Several pairs of Hellenistic and Roman matching silver cups are known, but surviving examples in glass are extremely rare.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, a pair of bowls in translucent golden brown cast glass was found in a woman's cremation tomb dating to the early first century A.D. in an ancient cemetery at Canal Bianco, also in Adria.<sup>46</sup>

The globular bowl cat. no. 23 in the Chrysler Museum, acquired by Mrs. E. T. Newell from Azeez Khayat about 1915–18, appears to be the earliest example recorded from Syria and, indeed, from Sidon in particular. A second bowl, cat. no. 24, from the same mold, now in the Yale University Art Gallery, is also said to come from Sidon.<sup>47</sup> News of it was provided by the French director of the Antiquities Service in Syria and Lebanon for its first publication in 1929, but elsewhere, the piece is said to have come into the possession of the dealer Fahim Kouchakji by about 1928, and it is stated that he had already sold it to another collector in New York, Mrs. W. H. Moore, in January of that year.<sup>48</sup> The jug cat. no. 4 now in the Corning Museum was acquired by Ray Winfield Smith by 1935; it is said to have come from a collection near Naples.<sup>49</sup> The cup cat. no. 21 now in the Newark Museum was exhibited first before 1945 at the Worcester Art Museum; it has no known provenance, although Susan Auth stated that it probably came from north Italy.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, the jug cat. no. 5 now in the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, was known indirectly to Harden as “in the possession of a New York dealer” in about 1945, although later it was invested with a reputable provenance and was described as “supposedly found in the vicinity of Jerusalem.”<sup>51</sup> Recently, it has become known that four fragments, all in translucent green glass, of a mold-blown jug were found on May 20, 1949, by George McFadden in a mid-first-century A.D. context in a cistern in the sanctuary of Apollo at Curium (Kourion), Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> Two are non-joining body fragments decorated with vertical fluting, but the other two join to make part of the side that comprises a lower register of vertical flutes with rounded tops and, above a horizontal rib, part of a *tabula ansata* (literally, a tablet with handles) with a two-line inscription. The fragments from Curium, therefore, probably belong to a jug signed by Ennion.

The most remarkable discovery of Ennion glass in the second half of the twentieth century came during excavations in the Upper City or Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem (Roman Hierosolyma) in 1969–78.<sup>53</sup> A fragmentary crushed jug, cat. no. 7, was found in a destruction layer, attributed by the excavators to the Roman sack in A.D. 70. The fragment cat. no. 8 from the foot of another jug of the same type also came to light, and recently, additional Ennion fragments have been identified among the remaining unpublished excavation finds.<sup>54</sup> These finds not only constitute a group of Ennion vessels from a single, well-dated, and sealed deposit, they are also rare examples that come from a domestic or settlement-related rather than a funerary context. A third fragment, cat. no. 10, identified as belonging to a hexagonal flask (amphoriskos) of the same type as the one in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 9), also was found



FIGURE 10. Inscribed fragment of an Ennion bowl from rescue excavations at Sirkeci, Istanbul. The inscription reads: EN]NIWN/[E]ΠΟΙΕΙ

during the excavations but came from “a disturbed context” of the first century A.D.<sup>55</sup> These, however, are not the only Ennion pieces to have come from a famous ancient site. Both Athens (Roman Athenae) and Corinth (Roman Corinthus) have produced fragments, first published in 1983, and more recently, rescue excavations in Istanbul (Roman Byzantium) also have uncovered three fragments of an Ennion bowl (fig. 10).<sup>56</sup>

Excavations throughout the Roman world continue to uncover new examples. The intensity of modern archaeological research has contributed significantly to this process, enabling scholars to sift through many thousands of glass fragments, identify those that are mold blown, and attribute a few of them to Ennion or to one of the other well-known workshops. While the preponderance of finds from northern Italy during the nineteenth century pointed strongly to a local source for the glass vessels, especially cups, produced by Ennion, it is now clear that the distribution of his wares is much more diverse and complex. By contrast, in the past fifty years, the number of intact or nearly complete vessels found has been reduced to a handful of examples. Of special note is the deep conical beaker cat. no. 25 that was found in a tomb at Gades (Cádiz, Spain) in the 1980s.<sup>57</sup> This vessel not only adds a new shape to the repertoire of Ennion glasses, it also provides a provenance in the province of Baetica at the western end of the Roman Empire. Examples of Ennion ware also have been found along the eastern fringes of the Empire; for example, a cup fragment was excavated at Petra in 1929, but despite having been deposited in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge, England, it escaped notice until recognized by Dan Barag in the early 1990s.<sup>58</sup> A fragment found at Apamea in Syria in 1968, although lacking any inscription, has been identified as part of an Ennion-style jug.<sup>59</sup> In 2010, another uninscribed fragment (fig. 11) from among the glass finds at Zeugma in Commagene on the middle Euphrates also was attributed to Ennion’s workshop; in fact, it matches the design on the bowl cat. no. 28 signed by Aristeas (fig. 12).<sup>60</sup> Both Apamea and Zeugma are associated with the Roman army as the sites of legionary fortresses. The finds made at Roman sites in Dalmatia (present-day Croatia) within the last two decades are particularly exciting (see pp. 61–67). They include fragments of cups signed by both Ennion and Aristeas. So far, products of Ennion have been reported at three sites – Narona, Tilurium, and Burnum – and those of Aristeas at Narona and Burnum. These sites are closely associated with the Roman army. Burnum and Tilurium became legionary fortresses at the same time that the province of Dalmatia was established in A.D. 9 (or soon afterward), and veterans are attested at Narona or in its vicinity during the first half of the first century A.D.<sup>61</sup> It is interesting to note that a significant number of these long-serving veterans had been recruited in the East.<sup>62</sup> However, there is little evidence from elsewhere that soldiers played a significant role in the distribution of vessels signed by Ennion, although frequently other types of mold-blown glass have been found at military sites, especially in the frontier provinces of the Rhineland and Britain.<sup>63</sup>

Additional specimens have surfaced only through the antiquities trade and so lack an archaeological context. It is a result of this that the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection now includes the largest assemblage of Ennion’s glass in private hands. Among those works is the flat-based amphora cat. no. 2 that provides a parallel for



FIGURE 11. Uninscribed fragment of a mold-blown bowl found at Zeugma in 2010, probably from the workshop of Aristeas



FIGURE 12. Detail of the design on the bowl cat. no. 28, signed by Aristeas



the jug in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>64</sup> Another piece in the collection is the jug cat. no. 6 with an arched handle and (restored) splayed foot that belongs to same group as the jug found in Jerusalem and those now in Corning and Tel Aviv.<sup>65</sup> An interesting two-handled cup, cat. no. 14, that first appeared at auction in New York in 1991 also now belongs to Moussaieff. The angular shape of the handles is paralleled on a small number of other Ennion cups, one, cat. no. 21 in the Newark Museum, another, cat. no. 22 found at Caresana near Vercellae (Vercelli) and now in Turin, and a third, now in Bra (fig. 6), some twenty-five miles south of Turin, but the same handle shape is also found on a cup, cat. no. 27, made by Aristeas. Finally, there is the enigmatic cup cat. no. 26, the only example of Ennion's signed work decorated with a frieze of animals. These four vessels in the Moussaieff Collection add considerably to our knowledge and appreciation of Ennion's oeuvre.<sup>66</sup>

Inevitably, the fame that precedes Ennion's name has led some unscrupulous people to make modern copies or construct pastiches of Ennion vessels.<sup>67</sup> They provide a challenge for art historians and glass experts alike, especially when they seemingly have been made in molds created from impressions of genuine ancient pieces, but on the other hand, they also focus attention on certain telltale stylistic and technical attributes. Scientific analysis of the composition of the glass constitutes an additional method through which suspect items can be reprieved or condemned. However, a comprehensive study of the composition of Ennion glass has yet to be undertaken. This publication provides the opportunity to take steps in that direction. Two of the three Ennion vessels in the Metropolitan's collection have been analyzed by Mark Wypyski in the Department of Scientific Research, and the results are published here for the first time (see p. 143).

## Dating the Works

The dating of finds by means of the stratigraphy and context of archaeological deposits indicates the last use of a particular piece of Ennion glass, whether that occurred in daily life, its disposal as a broken and therefore almost worthless piece of glass, or its careful placement in a tomb as a gift offering to the dead. Obviously, each glass vessel must have been made sometime before that final date, and generally, there is no way of telling whether it had been made only recently or had existed for a relatively long time, perhaps traded over considerable distances or handed down as a family heirloom, before its final deposition.<sup>68</sup> Dating is therefore imprecise, but in the case of ancient glass, because of its inherent fragility, it is unlikely that much survived intact after production for more than a few years, at most a couple of decades. Much of the dating evidence for Ennion is provided by the associated material found in the same tomb as the glass. Coins have been recorded in some of these funerary contexts, but although they frequently give a precise date for when they were struck, they can only supply a date before which their burial could not have been made. Roman coins could and often did remain in circulation for some time.

Bearing all this in mind, it has to be admitted that the dating of Ennion glass remains rather imprecise. Marianne Stern argued on the basis of mold sequences

and literary evidence that mold blowing began about A.D. 13.<sup>69</sup> A fragment of a mold-blown cup excavated in an Augustan context at Magdalensberg in Austria, a major pre- and early Roman site in the province of Noricum, provides the earliest dating evidence that appears to support such a view.<sup>70</sup> Two fragments from Corinth, identified as belonging to an Ennion cup in light blue, are said to have been found in a sealed context that is dated by a coin of the emperor Gaius (also known as Caligula, r. A.D. 37–41).<sup>71</sup> Some doubt has been expressed about their identification.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, they clearly belong to a vessel that incorporated two *tabulae ansatae* panels into its design, similar to those used by Ennion on some of his cups, and so they still constitute some of the earliest dated evidence for mold blowing. Fragments of another ansate cup, found on the Aiguières site at Forum Iulii (Fréjus, southern France), included one piece from a pit that was closely dated to the Caligulan–early Claudian period (ca. A.D. 37–47).<sup>73</sup> Three other fragments, clearly belonging to an Ennion cup, have been found at the Roman site of Cambodunum (Kempten, Bavaria) in the Roman province of Raetia, also in a Tiberian–Claudian context (A.D. 14–54).<sup>74</sup> Three fragments, found in a fill layer near the amphitheater at Burnum in Dalmatia during excavations in 2004 and 2007, also are attributed to the reign of Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54).<sup>75</sup> In 2008 and 2009, three fragments probably belonging to a single cup, made not by Ennion but by his counterpart Aristreas the Cypriot, were recovered from similar fills in the area of a large complex next to the amphitheater; they are dated to about A.D. 10–50 (see essay by Zrinka Buljević, p. 67).<sup>76</sup> Finally, the cup (cat. no. 22) from Caresana, now in Turin, was found with a coin of the emperor Claudius dated A.D. 46.<sup>77</sup> There is, therefore, enough evidence to suggest that mold-blown cups made by Ennion were circulating around the Roman Empire during the second quarter of the first century A.D. They are not, however, the only examples of mold-blown glass that can be dated from their archaeological contexts to the Julio–Claudian period (A.D. 14–68). Plain ribbed bowls, cups decorated with sports scenes, and other drinking vessels inscribed with mottos also are represented among the types of early mold-blown glass. Finds from Roman Britain are particularly helpful in this respect, since they date principally to the period after the conquest in A.D. 43.<sup>78</sup> However, no Ennion glass has been recognized yet on a site in Britain.

The finds from the large mansion at Jerusalem that was destroyed by fire in A.D. 70 provide the next evidence for the date of Ennion’s activity or, at least, for the continued use of his products (see essay by Yael Israeli, pp. 57–59).<sup>79</sup> Other dating evidence is less secure. The find from the Athenian Agora comes from a residual context of the first–second century A.D. and “cannot be assigned more precisely.”<sup>80</sup> Likewise, many of the recorded tomb finds can be dated only in general terms to the first century A.D. It is clear, however, that the production of Ennion glass did not continue for very long, and as with several other types of mold-blown glass tableware, it ceased before the end of the century.<sup>81</sup> There is no firm archaeological evidence to show that Ennion or any of the other named producers of mold-blown glass were still active in the second century A.D. Most of his wares therefore can be dated to about A.D. 30–70. However, it is worth noting that several of the Ennion cups from Italy and the West have been found in contexts that are earlier than the dated jugs from Jerusalem. This evidence further seems to negate the hypothesis



that Ennion first worked at Sidon, producing a range of wares including jugs, and only later moved to northern Italy, where he principally made drinking cups. The chronology of the finds speaks rather for the opposite, namely that he made the cups first, before he developed his range of jugs and other closed-form vessels.

## The Inscriptions

Of special interest and significance are the inscriptions that denote the glassware as “made by Ennion.” All are in Greek, and they are of two basic kinds. One bears Ennion’s name (fig. 13), always in the form ENNIWN (Ἐννίων), and the other refers to the buyer (fig. 14). Both kinds appear in various forms with differences in grammar, spelling, and arrangement of lines and word breaks. The inscriptions are incorporated into the overall design of the decoration but clearly were meant to figure prominently.

For example, the inscription occupies a central position on one side of the hexagonal flask cat. no. 9 in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 15). In other cases, it is set in a plain rectangular frame, but it is most conspicuous when it appears in a *tabula ansata* (figs. 13 and 14). The Romans frequently placed such frames around inscriptions to give them heightened prominence, and numerous examples can be cited of their appearance on votive plaques (figs. 16 and 17), military standards, monumental buildings, funerary monuments, and mosaic floors.<sup>82</sup> However, the closest parallel to Ennion’s use of the *tabula ansata* occurs on Roman red-slipped Arretine pottery, where it also frames the maker’s name (fig. 18). Stamps on Arretine pottery come in a wide variety of different shapes, and that with a *tabula ansata* is one of the least common types.<sup>83</sup> Since Arretine pottery was produced at roughly the same time as Ennion’s wares were made, it is possible that the pottery stamps served as the direct model for the glassware stamps. Indeed, the use of such manufacturers’ mold-made marks was an innovation of the time and was clearly a result of the magnitude and complexity of the Roman pottery industry. Moreover, it should be noted that makers’ stamps that appear on contemporary Eastern Sigillata A Ware often bear Latin names in Greek letters, the inference being that, wherever the makers may have come from, the habit of putting such trademarks on their wares was established as a result of practices first developed in Italy.<sup>84</sup> *Tabulae ansatae* are also found as part of the cut decoration on a late Roman (fourth century A.D.) glass flask celebrating a victorious charioteer.<sup>85</sup>

Indeed, the practice was revived later in western Europe and was followed in America as well; the Statue of Liberty holds a *tabula ansata* on which “July 4th 1776” is inscribed in Roman numerals.<sup>86</sup> Ennion’s choice of the *tabula ansata*, which is mirrored on mold-blown glass by Aristreas, is striking, since it provides a conspicuous frame, as if for a formal dedicatory or honorific inscription. In addition, it is a potent symbol of Ennion’s time, a period when Rome had imposed its control over much of the ancient world and, equally important, restored peace, order, and prosperity. Directly or indirectly, Ennion’s use of the *tabula ansata* indicates recognition of Roman dominance over the commercial as well as the political sphere.



FIGURE 13. Inscription (type A) on the one-handed jug cat. no. 1



FIGURE 14. Inscription (type G) on the two-handed cup cat. no. 15



FIGURE 15. Inscription (type F) on the hexagonal flask cat. no. 9

The pride that Ennion had in his work is demonstrated amply by the fact that he integrated his name prominently into the decorative schemes of the vessels. There are six variations of the inscription that bears Ennion’s name (see Table 1), which naturally occurs on all of the vessels, regardless of whether they are jugs, amphorae, hexagonal flasks, two-handled and one-handled cups, beakers, or bowls. Three types (A, B, and C) occur in *tabulae ansatae*, and three (C, D, and E) form one of a pair. In all cases, the inscription comprises two words; the name Ennion is accompanied by a form of the verb ποιῆν (to make), which is frequently attested from the sixth century B.C. onward on ancient works of art, notably statues and terracotta vases, that are signed by the maker.<sup>87</sup> In only one case (type A) does the verb occur in the third person singular of the imperfect active indicative tense – ἐποίει, and in all the others (B–F), the aorist or past tense is used – ἐποίησε(ν); both are the equivalent for the Latin *fecit*. Why there is this change of tense and what it might signify remain unclear. Likewise, in one case (type F), the verb is given wrongly as ἐπωήσε(ν).

TABLE 1

<i>Tabula ansata</i> (alone)	
A. ENNIWN	cat. nos. 1–7 (jugs),
ΕΠΟΙΕΙ	21 and 22 (cups),
	23 and 24 (bowls),
	25 (beaker)
<i>Tabula ansata</i> (alone)	
B. ENNIWN	cat. no. 26 (cup)
ΕΠΟΙHCEN	
<i>Tabula ansata</i> (paired with G or H)	
C. ENNIWN	cat. nos. 15–20 (cups)
ΕΠΟΙΗ	
CEN	
Rectangular panel (paired with I)	
D. ENNI	cat. nos. 11 and 12
WNEΠ	(cups)
ΟΙΗCE	
N	
Rectangular panel (paired with J)	
E. ENNIW	cat. nos. 13 and 14
NEΠΟΙ	(cups)
HCEN	
Oblong panel (alone)	
F. ENNIWN	cat. no. 9 (flask)
ΕΠWH	
CEN	

TABLE 2

<i>Tabula ansata</i> (paired with C)	
G. MNHΘH	cat. nos. 15–17 (cups)
ΟΑΓΟΡΑ	
ZNW	
<i>Tabula ansata</i> (paired with C)	
H. MNHΘH	cat. nos. 18–20 (cups)
ΟΑΓΟΡΑ	
ZWN	
Rectangular panel (paired with D)	
I. MNHΘ	cat. nos. 11 and 12
HOΑΓΟ	(cups)
PAZW	
N	
Rectangular panel (paired with E)	
J. MNHΘH	cat. nos. 13 and 14
ΟΑΓΟΡ	(cups)
AZWN	



FIGURE 16. Votive plaque with Latin inscription naming the senior Vestal Virgin, Flavia Publicia, probably from Rome, ca. A.D. 247. Bronze, 4 x 5 in. (10.2 x 12.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.50)



The second inscription that is found on Ennion glass also occurs in a number of variations (Table 2), but they are all of the same basic type. They comprise a subject, which is defined by the use of the masculine singular definite article, and the present active indicative participle of ἀγοράζειν, a verb that is attested as early as the beginning of the fourth century B.C. with the meaning to buy or purchase, derived from the sense of being in the marketplace – the ἀγορά.<sup>88</sup> So in this inscription, it is not the maker but the buyer who is invoked, and the problem in its interpretation lies solely with the remaining word, which is written as ΜΝΗΘΗ, omitting the sigma of the correct form ΜΝΗCΘΗ. The word clearly derives in some form from the defective verb μνησκόμαι (I remember), and it finds its closest parallel in an inscription found on an unsigned glass cup, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that reads ΜΙΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑΣΩΝ.<sup>89</sup> In addition, the phrase is rendered as ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑCΑC in one of the pair of inscriptions on beakers signed by Jason, Meges, and Neikais (see pp. 44–45). Two contradictory translations have been offered, one in which the verb is construed as the third person singular of an aorist optative with an active meaning of “may he remember,” and the other where it is seen as in the passive, “may he be remembered.” The latter interpretation was made first by Gisela Richter, who inserted it as a change in the 1930 reprint of her publication *The Room of Ancient Glass*, adding that the expression “let the buyer be remembered” (by the gods) is found in dedications in Syria and elsewhere.<sup>90</sup> Luigi Conton and Anton Kisa had noted earlier that ΜΝΗCΘΗ is a translation of Aramaic and Hebrew words that stand as a typical form of Semitic blessing.<sup>91</sup> Donald Harden subsequently commented that the verb μνησκόμαι is “frequently used as a passive in the Septuagint and the New Testament,” and he added two further arguments in favor of the passive meaning. First, he pointed out that the unsigned cup in Boston does not identify a maker as the possible object of the active verb, and second, he noted that this inscription only occurs on cups and beakers (but not on all of them); it does not appear on the jugs, amphorae, and hexagonal flasks that are signed by Ennion.<sup>92</sup>

It therefore can be argued that the expression was primarily intended to mean “may the buyer be remembered” and that it should be seen as another example of those mottos that are merely complimentary, giving a blessing to the user, which in the case of these drinking vessels would be the equivalent of a toast. Nevertheless, since the person who was the object of such a salutation is overtly identified as the buyer, it would seem that some deliberate connection with the Ennion inscription also was intended, almost as if it is the maker who wants to toast the buyer for purchasing his goods. Indeed, the ambiguity in the meaning of the word ΜΝΗΘΗ not only may have perplexed modern scholars but also may have been left deliberately ambiguous for the reader at the time, allowing it to be interpreted differently, depending on the circumstances in which it was read. It certainly would not have been out of place to interpret the phrase as part of Ennion’s trademark, declaring: “Let the buyer remember [that] Ennion made [it/me].” In addition, it has been argued that the passive meaning of the phrase “appears to be the translation of a shortened form of a typical Semitic blessing formula,” found on inscriptions set up by various Semitic peoples – not just Jews, but also Phoenicians, Nabataeans, and Syrians.<sup>93</sup> However, it should be pointed out that glassware bearing these



FIGURE 17. Votive plaque with a Greek dedication to Serapis, ca. 2nd century A.D. Bronze, 1¾ x 5¼ in. (4.5 x 12.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.172)



FIGURE 18. Bowl fragment with the maker’s stamp in the form of a *tabula ansata*, inscribed SEX·AVLIENI (of Sextus Aulienus), ca. 10 B.C.–A.D. 20. Terracotta, Arretine ware, length: 4⅞ in. (12.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.1930)

inscriptions clearly was not intended for use only among groups that would have been familiar with such expressions but was produced also for distribution across the Roman world, to a market that would not have known the actual Semitic origin of the blessing. Rather, it underlines the eastern origins of the glass producers and the surroundings in which they worked.

In addition to the vagaries of the Greek seen in the inscriptions, including the use of two different tenses of the verb ποιεῖν, it appears that Ennion made two mistakes, one grammatical and the other purely in spelling. In one case (type F), we find the aorist of ποιεῖν written as ἐπωήσε(ν), a form not otherwise attested in Greek texts, and in the other (type G), ἀγοράζων is misspelled as ἀγοράζω. Given the time and trouble with which the molds were made in order to produce attractive and well-designed glassware, it is surprising to find such obvious errors. It therefore can be suggested that Ennion, rather than being careless, was not totally conversant with the Greek language, and for that reason, that it was not his native tongue.

The choice of Greek as the language for the inscriptions deserves further comment. It would have been natural for craftsmen working anywhere in the eastern half of the Roman Empire to use Greek to sign their work, since it was the common language that tied the disparate peoples and cultures of the East together. Hellenization effectively began with Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in 331 B.C., and Greek remained the dominant language throughout the Near East until the Arab conquest of Egypt and Syria in the seventh century A.D. Latin held a similar position in the Roman West at least from the first century B.C. until the fifth century A.D. Since many examples of Ennion glass have been found in Italy in particular, the question arises why he did not put Latin inscriptions on those products. Other mold-blown glassware, notably various types of sports cups, do in fact have inscriptions in Latin that identify figures represented on the glass as participants in either gladiatorial contests or chariot races, even though the names themselves are often Greek.

So, for example, a gladiator cup (fig. 19) in the Metropolitan Museum depicts four pairs of gladiators fighting each other, and each man is identified by name in Latin: the victors' names appear at the top – Gamus, Calamus, Tetrates, and Columbus, and their defeated opponents' names below – Merops, Hermes, Prudes, and Spiculus.<sup>94</sup> One type of beaker (fig. 20), in addition to the names of four gladiators on the lower body – Petraites, Prudes, Ories, and Calamus – has a Latin inscription around the shoulder naming the maker: M LICINIUS DICAIVS F[ecit] (Marcus Licinius Dicaeus made [it/me]).<sup>95</sup> The cognomen Dic(a)eus indicates the maker's eastern or at least Greek origins, being the Latin version of the common Greek name Δίκαιος.<sup>96</sup> Related to this beaker, found in a tomb at Roman Scarbantia (Spon, Hungary) in 1892, is a mold-blown fragment of probable Egyptian origin decorated with the scene of a two-horse chariot race. The importance of this piece, often overlooked, lies in the fact that on the shoulder, it bears the maker's signature in Greek – his name is incomplete but ends with the letters POC, that is, [Mak]ros or [Alexand]ros – followed by the verb ἐποίησεν. It is the only known example of a sports cup with a Greek inscription, and it led Harden to speculate that it represents an eastern prototype for the vessels found in some numbers at sites in the West.<sup>97</sup>



FIGURE 19. Mold-blown gladiator cup, with each fighter carefully identified by name in Latin, ca. A.D. 50–80. Glass, height: 3 1/8 in. (7.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1881 (81.10.245)



FIGURE 20. Mold-blown beaker signed by M. Licinius Dicaeus, 2nd half of the 1st century A.D. Glass, height: 3 7/8 in. (9.6 cm). The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, Gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr., 57.1.4

It could be argued that, if Ennion had migrated from Sidon to northern Italy to make his signed drinking cups, Latin would have been the obvious language of choice, especially if he did so in order to cater to a regional or specialized market.<sup>98</sup> The fact that he did not do so constitutes a strong argument that his workshop did not move to the West but was located permanently in the East. Obviously, the prestige of Ennion's name and the quality of his wares were sufficiently high to obviate the need for new molds with Latin inscriptions to produce glassware intended for sale in the western half of the Empire. Indeed, there is no way of telling if Ennion had any control over his products once they left the workshop. Merchants presumably bought his goods directly from the workshop and then sold them wherever they found a receptive market or wherever their trade took them.

Finally, none of the inscriptions that contain Ennion's name include a toponym. There are many examples of craftsmen who signed their works adding such an epithet to indicate their place of origin. For example, a mosaic showing street musicians from the Villa of Cicero at Pompeii is signed ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ (Dioskourides of Samos made [it/me]).<sup>99</sup> Another mosaic representing Aphrodite rising from the sea, found during excavations at Zeugma on the Euphrates River in Commagene, includes the inscription ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΣΑΜΟΤΑΤΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Zosimos of Samosata made [it/me]).<sup>100</sup> Obviously, both these mosaicists were working as outside contractors and felt it necessary to advertise not only their names but also their home bases. Parallels can be found in other media, including sculpture; the signatures of sculptors from Aphrodisias in Caria are some of the most famous and have been recorded in Rome, Greece, and Libya, and also at other sites in Asia Minor.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, the famous pair of statues of young centaurs, found at Hadrian's Villa at Tibur (Tivoli) in 1736–37 and now in the Capitoline Museums, Rome, is signed by two Aphrodisian sculptors, one of whom is called Aristeas.<sup>102</sup> Names accompanied by toponyms also are found on glassware, but the only example on mold-blown tableware is that of Aristeas the Cypriot (see pp. 42–44). Equally significant is a large corpus of stamped handles belonging to free-blown drinking cups.<sup>103</sup>



FIGURE 21. Handle of a drinking cup with stamps in Latin and Greek naming Artas, first century A.D. Glass, height: 1 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (2.9 cm). The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, 66.1.163



All the handles are of the same basic type that were attached to the rim and then drawn out, folded, and pressed flat to create an angular finger hole extending down the side of the cup with a flat thumb-rest above, often with another flat, downward-slanting finger-rest below. The thumb-rest was then stamped on its upper and lower surfaces with inscriptions bearing the names of the makers. Six different names are known: Annios, Aristo[n], Artas, Eirenaios, Neikon, and Philippos. Aristo[n] only used a stamp in Latin; Annios, Eirenaios, Neikon, and Philippos signed their names in Greek, but Artas marked each handle with a pair of stamps, one in Latin and the other in Greek (fig. 21). All six makers were at pains to identify themselves as from the Phoenician city of Sidon: the toponym appears in various forms as the abbreviated SIDON (for Sidonius) in Latin, and CEIΔW or the full CEIΔWNIOOC in Greek.<sup>104</sup> Although large numbers of examples are known, none are recorded as coming from the eastern Mediterranean, whereas many have been found in Rome. Indeed, it has been suggested that Artas, who it appears was the most prolific maker of such stamped cups, had his workshop in the imperial capital.<sup>105</sup> Conversely, it may be argued that Ennion did not need to identify himself as Sidonian because his workshop was located at Sidon. Only if he had moved elsewhere would he have wanted to spell out his credentials as a glassmaker from Sidon. Likewise, Aristetas, whose products clearly are influenced by those of Ennion and who also may have had his workshop at Sidon, wanted to differentiate himself by adding the epithet ΚΥΠΡΙΟC (from Cyprus).<sup>106</sup>

The other three glassworkers who signed their wares – Jason, Meges, and Neikais – did not add a toponym to their names.<sup>107</sup> They, like Ennion, are thought to have been active in workshops located at Sidon, and indeed, finds indicate that their beakers served primarily a local or regional market.<sup>108</sup> Of the fourteen known examples, one is said to be from Sidon itself, another from Marion in Cyprus. Two, cat. nos. 30 and 31, in the Metropolitan Museum, come from the Hellenistic and Roman city of Scythopolis (Beit She'an, Israel), and two from Syria, including a Neikais beaker from Beroea (Aleppo). In addition, a fragment of a Neikais beaker was excavated at Masada in Israel. Another fragment, now in Milan and bearing only part of the second inscription [MN]H[COH O] AΓOPAC[AC], is said to come from Caesarea Maritima.<sup>109</sup> Although makers' names occur frequently on mold-blown storage and transport bottles found right across the Roman world, their presence on tablewares and other forms of decorated glassware is much less common. It is therefore worth drawing attention here to the fragment of the small bowl cat. no. 42, made by mold-pressing and decorated on both the interior and exterior surfaces with figures in relief, which is part of the Metropolitan Museum's collection. These characteristics alone make the piece very unusual, but it also bears part of an inscription that can be interpreted as the maker's signature, just as in the case of Ennion.

## Size, Shape, and Decoration

Because Ennion signed his works, we have definite evidence about the repertoire of forms and designs that he employed, something that cannot be said about many other Roman glassmakers. Moreover, it is clear that he produced a wider range of



FIGURE 22. Hexagonal bottle, blown in a three-part mold, first half of the first century A.D. Glass, height: 2<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (7.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.228)

glass vessels than any of the other named producers. Jason, Meges, and Neikais, for example, are only known to have made beakers of a standard size, shape, and design, while Ennion produced molds for a number of different vessel shapes and even adapted glass blown in the same mold to create variations by adding different handles and bases. Similarly, he decorated his molds with a variety of patterns, showing that he drew inspiration from a number of sources. As a result his work displays a creativity, elegance, and innovation that are unsurpassed.

In addition to the variety of their forms and the intricacy of their decoration, Ennion's products are noted for their grand scale. The majority of early Roman mold-blown glassware is relatively small in size. A significant and sizable group of first-century A.D. mold-blown glass comprises a number of series of Syro-Palestinian hexagonal bottles (fig. 22).<sup>110</sup> On average, these bottles are no more than  $2\frac{3}{4}$ – $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches (7–9 cm) in height, including the free-blown neck, which means that the actual molds were considerably smaller. There are a few exceptions; for example, the unique hexagonal jug from a tomb at Yahmour, near Antaradus (Tartous) in Syria is unusual because of its size, being almost  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches (19 cm) in height.<sup>111</sup> But very few mold-blown vessels of closed shapes (bottles, flasks, jugs, etc.) are so large. The principal exception to this rule is provided by the corpus of Ennion's signed works and related pieces; for example, the Metropolitan Museum's hexagonal flask measures  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches (14.3 cm), and his amphorae and jugs are considerably larger. The flat-bottomed amphora from Panticapaeum has a height of nearly 7 inches (17.7 cm), and the similar jug in the Metropolitan measures  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches (18.4 cm) high, but that includes the thumb-rest that projects as a loop above the rim. The intact blue jug in the Eretz Israel Museum stands to a height of  $8\frac{5}{8}$  inches (22 cm), which makes it three times the size of any of the standard Syro-Palestinian hexagonal bottles (fig. 22).

The glass-blowing technique was still a relatively new phenomenon when Ennion was active, and usually, it is assumed that its earliest products were restricted principally to small plain perfume bottles. The creation of larger mold-blown vessels showed a confidence in the medium and the new technology, and Ennion emphasized this by using translucent colors and adding handles. Even today, it would take a brave person to risk filling a replica of an Ennion jug with wine or water and then holding it up by the handle or handles. Core-formed glass, which was still being used – if not actually produced – in the early first century A.D., included among its latest creations fusiform alabastra (perfume bottles) and amphoriskoi (two-handled bottles) measuring on average between 5 and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches (12.7 and 16.5 cm) in height.<sup>112</sup> Exceptionally, a few were even larger, such as an amphoriskos in Corning that stands  $9\frac{7}{16}$  inches (24 cm) tall (fig. 23).<sup>113</sup> These vessels, however, are thick walled and relatively slender and therefore can hold much less liquid than an Ennion amphora or jug. Rare examples of sizable closed-form cast vessels also are known; the most impressive is the lidded amphora from Olbia on the north coast of the Black Sea, which stands  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inches (59.7 cm) tall, although this measurement includes the lid, and the vessel itself is made up of composite sections.<sup>114</sup>

The impressive size of Ennion's amphorae and jugs, together with their unsigned counterparts (cat. nos. 33–36), implies that he wanted to emulate in the mold-blowing

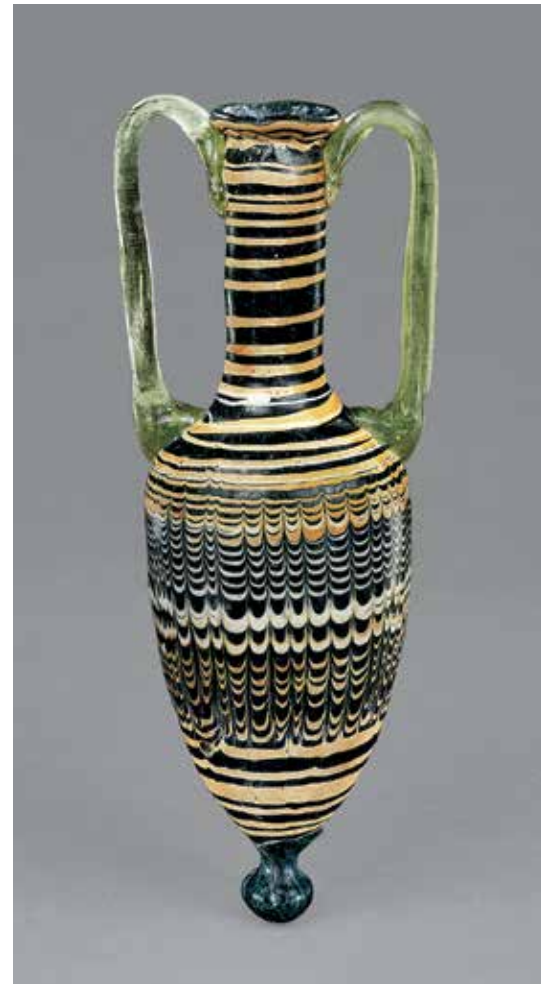


FIGURE 23. Core-formed amphoriskos, Late Hellenistic, second–first century B.C. Glass, height:  $9\frac{7}{16}$  in. (24 cm). The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, 55.1.62

technique the few large-scale closed-form luxury glasses that were made using the established techniques of core-forming and casting. Moreover, if the dating of the Portland Vase to the Augustan era is correct, some free-blown large-scale masterpieces also were made during his lifetime.<sup>115</sup> The present height of the Portland Vase is almost  $9\frac{5}{8}$  inches (24.5 cm), but originally, it probably had a tapering base that made it even taller.<sup>116</sup> Along with the Portland Vase may be set the finds of cameo glass vessels from Pompeii – the Auldjo Jug and the Blue Vase, measuring 9 and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches (22.8 cm and 31.7 cm) respectively – regarded as some sixty to seventy years old in A.D. 79.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, a number of undecorated vessels can be considered as well. A translucent deep purple two-handed bottle (amphora) (fig. 24) now in the Metropolitan Museum is a large and exceptional example of early Roman blown glassware, measuring  $12\frac{1}{8}$  inches (30.8 cm) in height. A similar vessel, described as an amphoriskos, in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, has a height of  $16\frac{5}{16}$  inches (41.5 cm).<sup>118</sup> In addition, there is the large jug (oinochoe) found at Begram in Afghanistan, described as of “bluish-black” but in fact made in the same purple glass as the Metropolitan’s amphora.<sup>119</sup> Without exact parallels on which to draw, it is difficult to be certain about the date of these examples, but they should all probably be attributed to the production of luxury free-blown glass in the Augustan or early Julio–Claudian period (ca. A.D. 1–30).

Finally, there is a small group of large mold-blown vessels that should not be overlooked when considering the size of the Ennion pieces. These are the bottles and jugs that are decorated with plain horizontal and vertical ribbing, found mainly in the West, that is, in Italy and specifically, at Pompeii. They probably date to slightly later than the Ennion examples. An amphora (cat. no. 40) in the Metropolitan Museum, said to be from the Roman Campagna and now missing its base, measures  $8\frac{5}{8}$  inches (21.9 cm) in height.<sup>120</sup> The examples from Pompeii are somewhat smaller and were only partially blown into a mold, leaving the upper body, shoulder, and neck free blown.<sup>121</sup> They are considered to be local products made in Campania, and because of their Pompeian connection, they must predate the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79.<sup>122</sup> There is also a fragmentary amphora made in the same way with a mold decoration on the body that comprises an upper register of four racing chariots and a lower one of gladiators fighting. It is said to come probably from the site of Saepinum, a Samnite and Roman town in central Italy, southeast of Rome, and measures 6 inches (15.2 cm) in height.<sup>123</sup>

The other principal group of tablewares produced by Ennion, the one- and two-handed drinking cups, are also larger than most early Roman mold-blown vessels of open form. The rim diameter of the one-handed deep cups (Donald Harden’s type A.1.i) is  $5\frac{5}{16}$  inches (13.5 cm) and that of the shallower two-handed cups (Harden’s type A.2.i, ii) is given as between  $3\frac{3}{4}$  and  $3\frac{13}{16}$  inches (9.5–9.7 cm). In comparison, the sports cups, none of which are furnished with handles, have a smaller rim diameter, measuring no more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches (9 cm), and the signed barrel-shaped beakers, although taller, are only just over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches (6.6 cm) in diameter at the rim. An exception to this rule is a footed cup decorated with Dionysiac figures in relief, which is some  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches (16.5 cm) in height.<sup>124</sup> It was not until the second half of the first century A.D. that larger drinking vessels such as the truncated conical beakers

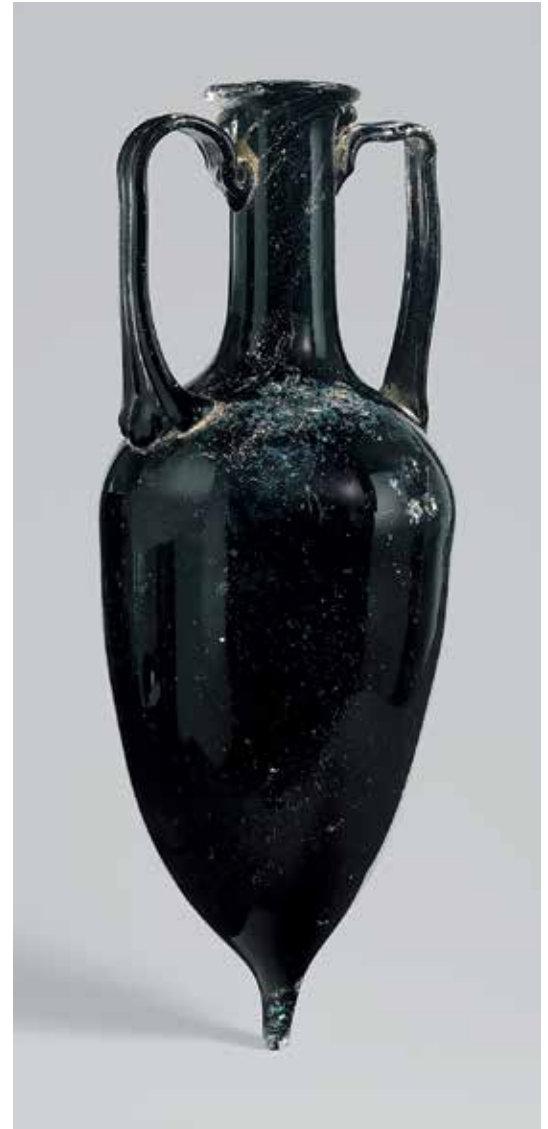


FIGURE 24. Free-blown two-handed bottle (amphora), first half of first century A.D. Glass, height:  $12\frac{1}{8}$  in. (30.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, 2012 (2012.479.6)



decorated with knobs resembling lotus buds were produced.<sup>125</sup> The only sizable open vessels that are assigned an early date similar to that of the Ennion cups are the mold-blown ribbed bowls.<sup>126</sup> Examples (fig. 25) have been found right across the Roman Empire from Camulodunum (Colchester) in southern Britain to Panticapaeum in the Crimea. But ribbed bowls, although of attractive shape and careful execution, clearly were not works of great artistic merit and were intended, at least in part, to provide a simple, less expensive alternative to the popular cast ribbed bowls.

This, then, is the assortment of glassware that formed the direct competition to Ennion's products in the marketplace. Some were small but colorful and decorative, and others were larger but rather plain and practical. They provided customers with a good selection of different types of mold-blown glass that could be used for different purposes, including dining, serving, and storage. Ennion glassware, however, surpassed all these rivals in inventiveness and quality of design, and his range of products must have made an impressive array on a Roman table. All his signed pieces were intended for use as tableware, and their vibrant colors, transparency, and decorative appearance, as well as their size and shape, would have attracted the attention and admiration of all those present at a dinner or drinking party. Ennion's repertoire, as represented by the recorded finds, is as follows.

#### *Closed vessels: Containers for storing and dispensing liquids*

##### (A) CYLINDRICAL AMPHORAE AND JUGS

Two mold designs are known, both of which incorporate the Ennion inscription (type A). The first (cat. nos. 1, 2, 4–7; Harden's type A.4.i, ii) comprises four registers on the neck and body, divided by horizontal ridges and raised lines: on the neck, vertical flutes rounded at both ends; in a frieze on the shoulder and upper body, a continuous floral spray with upturned spikes, forming circular frames for six downturned palmettes with outward facing leaves alternating with six downturned palmettes with inward facing leaves; around the middle section of the body, a frieze filled with a net pattern of vertical lozenges, broken on one side by a *tabula ansata*; on the lower body, vertical flutes, rounded at top, with spikes projecting upward between the flutes.<sup>127</sup> This design was used for making three different vessel shapes: an amphora with a flat bottom, a one-handed jug with a flat bottom, and a one-handed jug with a pedestal foot. Colors vary from deep honey brown, to cobalt blue, blue green, and almost colorless.

The second mold design is less formal, with the transition from one register of decoration to another echoing the gently curving profile of the vessel; it is found only on a flat-bottomed amphora, represented by a single example (cat. no. 3; Harden's type A.5). The neck and body have five registers, which are divided only in two places by horizontal raised lines: on the neck, indistinct vertical flutes, rounded at the bottom, with a raised line below; on the shoulder, a band of alternating downturned palmettes and leafy branches; below, a horizontal row of dots, forming the top of a frieze containing a honeycomb pattern; on the body, a raised line between two grooves; a band of vine scrolls flanking a *tabula ansata*; below, a horizontal row of dots; a frieze of vines, divided into three panels, each containing two



FIGURE 25. Mold-blown ribbed bowl, said to be from Villanova d'Asti, near Hasta (Asti), first century A.D. Glass, diameter: 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.180)

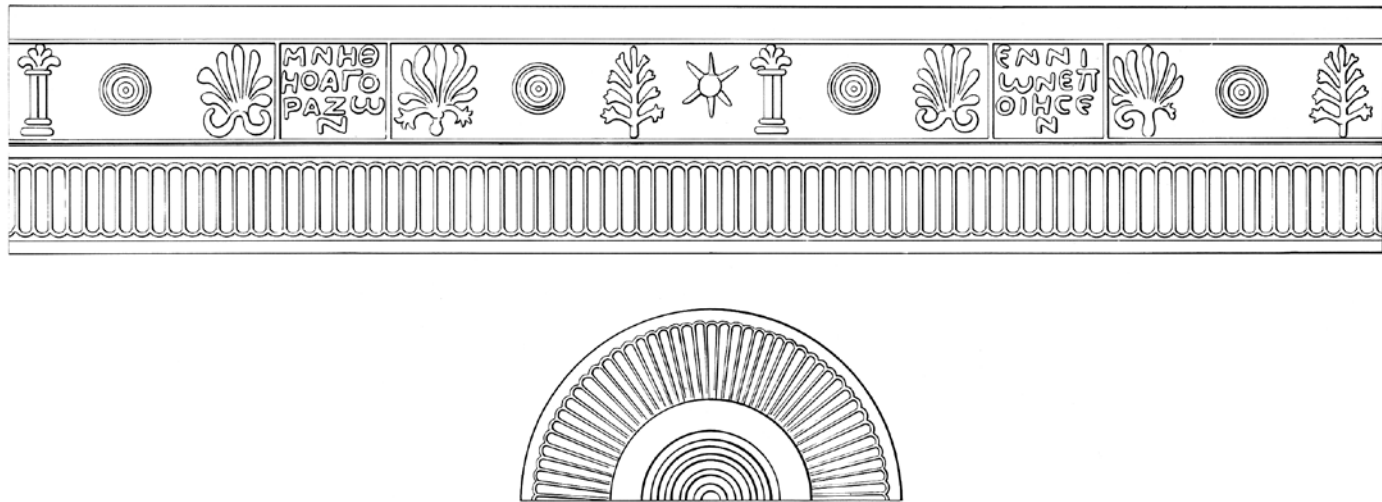


FIGURE 26. Line drawing of Near Eastern style decoration on one- and two-handled cups such as cat. nos. 11–14, published in Lehrer 1979, pl. VI, 2

diagonal branches running from the top corners and crossing at the center near the bottom; around the base of the side, a band of upturned flutes with rounded tops.

#### (B) HEXAGONAL TWO-HANDLED FLASKS

Only one design (cat. no. 9; Harden's type A.6) is known, and it comprises two main registers, one on the shoulder and the other on the body: on the shoulder, six upturned palmettes with alternating inward and outward facing leaves at angles, and six recessed semicircular pediments with thick raised rib-like edges on panels, decorated alternately with circular bosses comprising two small concentric circles and a central dot and with a plain four-armed cross; on the body, six panels, each surrounded by raised lines flanked by ribbing and each containing a different device: 1) the Ennion inscription (type F); 2) a palmette with inward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into a loop below to support a bunch of grapes; 3) ivy tendrils hanging from the top corners and supporting a drinking cup (cantharus) by one of its handles; 4) a palmette with outward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into a loop below to support double flutes; 5) ivy tendrils hanging from the top corners supporting a fluted jug (oinochoe) by its handle; 6) a palmette with inward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into a loop below to support a set of pipes.

#### *Open vessels: Cups, bowls, and beakers*

Ennion produced a greater variety of drinking than serving vessels, some of which are only distinguished by subtle differences in their designs. The drinking cups have been divided into three main stylistic groups and, following the classification set out by Michele De Bellis, are defined as (1) one- and two-handled cups in a Near Eastern style, (2) two-handled cups in a Dionysiac style, and (3) two-handled cups

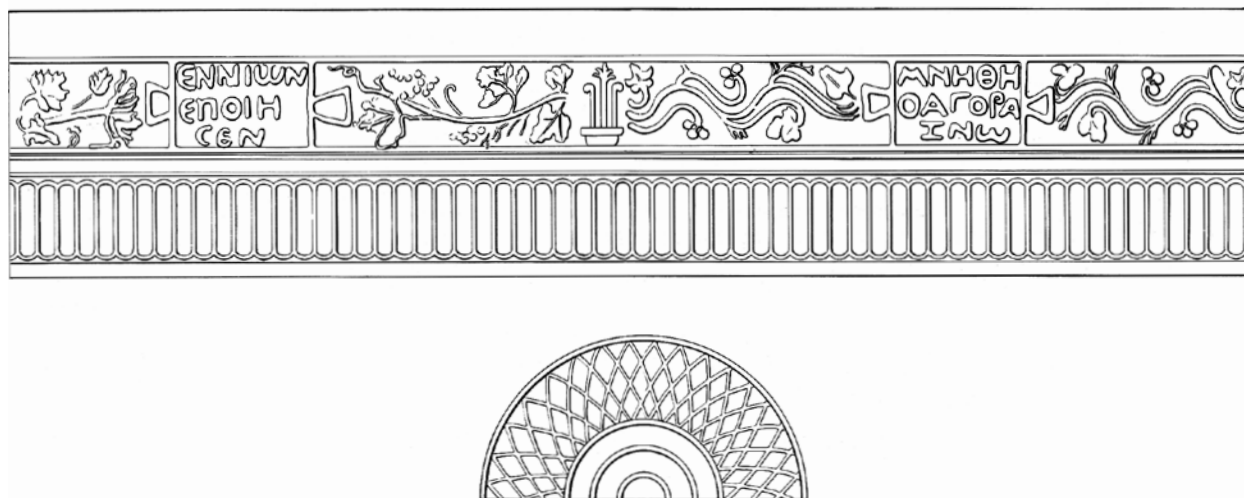


FIGURE 27. Line drawing of Dionysiac style decoration on two-handled cups such as cat. nos. 15–20, published in Lehrer 1979, pl. VI, 5

in a Geometric style.<sup>128</sup> However, a different grouping, based on the inscriptions, is adopted here, which is outlined as follows.

#### (C) CYLINDRICAL CUP WITH A SINGLE INSCRIPTION

The Geometric style (cat. nos. 21 and 22; Harden's type A.2.iv) is relatively plain, comprising a single, inset frieze, decorated with vertical ribs that are interrupted on one side with a large *tabula ansata* inscription (type A); on the lower body, vertical flutes, rounded at the top, with spikes projecting upward between the flutes.<sup>129</sup> On the bottom are three raised concentric circles and a central dot, and the cup was finished off with two angular strap handles attached to the side.<sup>130</sup> Examples have been found in Italy, in the North and also in Campania, and in Athens, Greece.

#### (D) CYLINDRICAL CUPS WITH PAIRED INSCRIPTIONS

The Near Eastern style (fig. 26; cat. nos. 11 and 12; Harden's type A.1.i, and cat. nos. 13 and 14; Harden's type A.1.ii) is divided into two horizontal registers on the body, separated by a horizontal raised line, and there is an additional band of decoration on the undercurve around the bottom: the upper frieze comprises two rectangular panels with inscriptions on opposite sides, each flanked by a pair of upturned palmettes, one with inward and the other with outward facing leaves, a pair of circular disks with two small concentric circles and a central dot, and then a fluted Corinthian column with capital and base to the left, and a leafy spray and an eight-pointed rosette to the right; the lower frieze consists of vertical flutes with rounded ends; a similar band of flutes radiates from the bottom, on which there are raised concentric circles and a central dot.<sup>131</sup> Two variations of this design are known, and the only difference occurs in the inscriptions, which are arranged on one mold set in four lines (types D and I) and on the other in three lines (types E and J). Surviving examples also show that one mold was larger than the other, and the two differently sized cups were then finished off with dissimilar handles.<sup>132</sup> The larger cup with the



four-line inscription appears to have been given a single loop handle, but the smaller variety with the three-line inscription is provided with two angular strap handles. Only two of the larger cups are known, one from northern Italy, the other from Cyprus.

#### (E) CYLINDRICAL CUPS WITH PAIRED INSCRIPTIONS

There are two variants of the Dionysiac style (fig. 27; cat. nos. 15–17; Harden's type A.2.i), and so at least two different molds were used. As with the preceding type, the design is divided into two horizontal registers on the body, separated by a horizontal raised line, and there is an additional band of decoration on the under-curve around the bottom. On the first variant, the upper frieze, which is bounded above and below by a fine raised line, comprises two *tabulae ansatae* with inscriptions (types C and G) on opposite sides, the former flanked by vine sprays with leaves and bunches of grapes and the latter by other ivy sprays with leaves and berries. Both sets of foliage issue from two vertically fluted colonnettes with a base and Ionic capital, set at the sides near the handles; the lower frieze consists of close-set vertical flutes, rounded at both ends; on the underside of the body is a lattice pattern of interlocking lozenges; and on the bottom are three raised concentric circles and a central dot.<sup>133</sup> Several of the surviving examples have been identified as coming from the same mold.<sup>134</sup>

In the second variant (cat. nos. 18–20; Harden's type A.2.iii), the mold is very similar but slightly smaller, and in addition, there are two main differences: one is in the inscriptions (type H instead of type G), and the other is that on the upper frieze, where the vine and ivy sprays are not divided by colonnettes.<sup>135</sup>

As pointed out by Jennifer Price, the three fragments of a blue cup found at Cambodunum (Kempton) indicate that Ennion combined mold designs from both the Near Eastern style and the Dionysiac style, since, as restored, the cup has an inscription of type G as on cat. nos. 15–17 but a band of radiating flutes around the bottom, which is found on cat. nos. 11–14.<sup>136</sup>

#### (F) BOWLS WITH A CONSTRICTED NECK

The globular bowl (cat. nos. 23 and 24; Harden's type A.3) has a design that is divided into three horizontal registers: the uppermost frieze comprises a band of vertical flutes, rounded at the bottom, interrupted on one side by a large *tabula ansata* inscription (type A); below this, a continuous network pattern of lozenges; and on the lower body, vertical flutes, rounded at the top, with spikes projecting upward between the flutes. On the bottom are three raised concentric circles and a central dot. Two well-preserved examples from the same mold are known.<sup>137</sup> The discovery of three fragments of a bowl in Istanbul provides evidence for a second design, comprising an upper frieze of alternating upturned and downturned palmettes interrupted by a *tabula ansata* inscription (type A), a central floral scroll, flanked above and below by a horizontal row of dots in relief, and vertical flutes on the lower body (fig. 10).

#### (G) BEAKER

A second handleless shape is taller with tapering sides but also has a design that is divided into three horizontal registers, which are separated by horizontal raised

lines: on the shoulder is a band of vertical flutes with rounded ends, interrupted on one side by a *tabula ansata* inscription (type A); the middle section comprises a vine scroll, and on the lower body, there are long vertical flutes, rounded at the top.<sup>138</sup> This type of conical beaker is known only from the broken and incomplete example found at Cádiz (cat. no. 25).

#### (H) CUP

This type of Ennion glass is known only from a single incomplete example (cat. no. 26) and has been described variously as a beaker and a cantharus; doubt remains about whether or not it had handles.<sup>139</sup> The design can be reconstructed with some degree of accuracy, although all the upper part of the body and the rim are missing. There are two registers: on the recessed cylindrical body is a frieze comprising four upturned palmettes with outward facing leaves, and flanking each palmette is a pair of creatures facing each other – a bull and a lion, two cocks, a hare and a dog, and two songbirds. In addition, on the side above the bull and one of the songbirds is a *tabula ansata* inscription (type B) between the palmettes; above the frieze is a horizontal row of dots and below it, two horizontal raised lines, the upper one forming the ground line for the creatures. The lower line is interrupted on opposite sides of the cup by the letter A, which extends over the shoulder between the side and the lower body; this in turn is decorated with vertical radiating flutes with rounded ends at the top.

Neither of these last two types was known to Harden in 1935.

## Quantification

To date, the surviving number of vessels known to be by Ennion stands at about fifty to fifty-five; this includes both vessels that are intact or in a broken state, groups of conjoining fragments, and individual pieces of glass. Of these, the overwhelming majority are drinking cups (some two-thirds of the total), with jugs with one or two handles forming the second largest group (eleven examples), and bowls and flasks among the rarest finds.<sup>140</sup> From such small numbers, it is difficult, if not impossible, to extrapolate the size of Ennion's production, assuming that he worked all his life making mold-blown glass. Fragments are easily detectable, first because of the manufacturing technique and second by the presence of part of an inscription or a decorative element resembling those used by Ennion. Yet, in spite of its potentially high degree of recognition, it is clear that glass made by Ennion has survived only in very small quantities. If the same ratio of survival that was used to estimate the size of output of Roman cameo glass is adopted for Ennion glass, then we are looking at a total production of only some 150 pieces from his workshop – a very unlikely figure.<sup>141</sup> However, before this rarity is attributed solely to Ennion's limited output, there are other factors to consider. For example, given that he worked in the first half of the first century A.D., there is a greater possibility that his vessels could have been lost or otherwise destroyed, especially as they were made in monochrome translucent

glass that was suitable for recycling. Other reasons may include their fragility and the dangers of transporting them over long distances. Funeral practices also should be considered, since in the first century A.D., most Romans were cremated, not buried, which would have affected the survival of glass made as offerings to the dead.

Another approach would be to estimate the number of molds that he used, bearing in mind that they were intended for multiple usage. Marianne Stern speculated that “one or more” identical molds would have been made from a model or archetype and that before the molds were used “one or more casts” were produced, which then could be used as secondary archetypes. When the original molds wore out or broke, these secondary archetypes or an actual glass vessel made in an original mold were pressed into service to make new molds. So, for the production of small hexagonal bottles, Stern proposed several “generations” of molds.<sup>142</sup> It is, however, unlikely that anything so elaborate needs to be envisaged for Ennion’s workshop and its output. The hexagonal bottles have survived in considerable numbers, which justifies the idea that there existed many molds. This is not the case with the vessels signed by Ennion. In addition, he made at least ten different types of molds, which would have limited his time and ability to make many multiples of each. If Ennion made only two or three molds of each type, it means that he must have created at least twenty to thirty molds with which to work. That number would have been more than adequate to produce a sizable output. Indeed, that so many of the surviving examples can be identified as coming from the same molds speaks volumes for the fact that few molds existed and were used many many times over.

From the practical experience of using fired ceramic multipart molds to reproduce hexagonal bottles, David Hill has shown that a single set of molds, if handled carefully, could be used repeatedly over a long period and that the production from it could number in the hundreds, possibly thousands, of vessels.<sup>143</sup> So, if it is assumed that Ennion was able to blow 200 vessels per mold, then his total production could have been about 4,000–6,000 pieces. This is however probably a conservative estimate of his output, since if his production rate is calculated in terms of hours and days worked, then it would have to be argued, based on these figures, that either Ennion only worked very slowly or intermittently or that his workshop only functioned for a short period of time. None of this can be known or verified. What can be said is that the scarcity of his remaining works today reflects their rarity in antiquity. Ennion presumably was able to ask and receive a good price for his exceptional products.

## Color

One of the most attractive qualities of glass is the full spectrum of colors in which it could be made. In addition, color allows for different degrees of transparency, ranging from opaque to clear colorless. In his 1935 article, Harden noted the color of each of the Ennion pieces that he catalogued, but he did not discuss the subject in any detail.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, this aspect of his products has been neglected by most scholars, perhaps because color is so obvious that it is taken for granted. Nevertheless, it is an important aspect of his output and needs to be put in context. The color attributes



of glass had long been appreciated in the ancient world, and we only have to look at the range of colors and designs exploiting color that were employed by glass-workers in the Hellenistic period to understand the background to Ennion’s work.<sup>145</sup> In this respect, it can be argued that Ennion was rather conservative (see Table 3). Blue was a favorite color, but that is not surprising, given that it had been the foremost color for centuries in the core-formed glass industry. Cobalt blue was also the predominant color used as the glass for vessels in early Roman cameo glass.<sup>146</sup> Ennion also used naturally colored blue green and greenish glass, and a more deeply colored amber brown glass. These colors are found commonly among the cast tablewares produced in the late Hellenistic period. It is, rather, the color options that he did not employ that deserve comment. Opaque glass is not represented among the surviving examples of Ennion’s signed vessels, with the striking exception of a single fragment of a cup in Aquileia (see p. 22). In addition, the Metropolitan’s brown jug cat. no. 1 has an opaque white handle. Yet, opaque glass played a significant role in the Roman mold-blown glass industry in the first century A.D., and many examples of the small perfume bottles (fig. 22) were made in it, as were other types of vessel, including lidded boxes (pyxides) (fig. 28; cat. no. 37). It seems that Ennion preferred the translucent qualities of glass, even though it could be argued that opaque glass would have enhanced the visibility of his ornate designs. Likewise, he did not adopt the full range of deep translucent colors that are found in the repertoire of early Roman cast glass.<sup>147</sup> David Grose has characterized this class of material as “probably made in Italy,” and a “‘western’ style of glassware . . . displaying a decided preference for vividly colored fabrics.”<sup>148</sup> In addition to dark or cobalt blue, these included “emerald” green, deep blue green (aquamarine), and “peacock” blue, while amber brown and purple also are used, principally but not exclusively on ribbed bowls (fig. 29).<sup>149</sup> Naturally, Ennion did not employ mosaic glass, which was inappropriate for making blown glass, or colorless glass, which only became fashionable in the second half of the first century A.D. Nor, for some reason, did he apply polychrome blobs to the surface of any of his signed pieces, although this form of decoration is found on two of the comparable unsigned jugs (fig. 30 and cat. no. 36).

Despite the differences in shape and design, there are numerous similarities between the various types of decoration, with palmettes, flutes, and inscribed panels all figuring prominently in Ennion’s repertoire. It can be argued that they all derive from architectural models. Certainly, on numerous examples of Syro-Palestinian mold-blown hexagonal bottles, there are architectural elements including arched aediculae, columns, and triangular pediments that “imitate religious architectural structures.”<sup>150</sup> Likewise, the lattice pattern found on several designs employed by Ennion perhaps may have been inspired by Roman brickwork known as *opus reticulatum*, a construction technique that was introduced in the first century B.C., and must have seemed very innovative and striking, especially in the Greek East.<sup>151</sup> The influences that inspired Ennion’s designs, however, undoubtedly are much wider and encompass other mediums, especially contemporary silverware and pottery, although it is difficult to identify specific sources. But it is worth noting what does not appear in Ennion’s repertoire; it has been pointed out that Dionysiac imagery and Egyptian(izing) motifs are lacking on early Roman mold-blown tablewares,

TABLE 3 COLORS  
(all translucent and with variations in shade)

COLOR	NO. OF ITEMS	CAT. NOS.
Blue green	9	2, 6, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24
Blue	7	5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22
Brown	5	1, 3, 4, 25, 26
Greenish	4	7, 8, 10, 11
Yellow green	1	15



FIGURE 28. Mold-blown box (pyxis) in opaque white without lid (cat. no. 37)



FIGURE 29. Cast ribbed bowl, late first century B.C.–mid-first century A.D. Glass, diameter:  $8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (22.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, 2012 (2012.479.4)

although both are popular themes on silver, pottery, and cameo glass.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, even the shapes of Ennion's products find few clear parallels in either glass or other mediums. Indeed, it is much easier to trace his influence on others, starting with the other named makers of early Roman mold-blown glass.

## Aristeas the Cypriot

The Greek name Aristeas is not uncommon on inscriptions found in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean, but nothing is known about the individual who signed his glass products with this name.<sup>153</sup> Of all the glassworkers who made mold-blown vessels in the first century A.D., Aristeas was clearly the one whose products most closely resemble those by Ennion. The similarities are so striking that it is hard to deny that in all probability, the two craftsmen were contemporaries and worked in close proximity to each other. Because Ennion's products are more common and, as far as we know, more varied than those of Aristeas, Ennion is seen as the senior figure whose work inspired that of the latter. Only two intact vessels can be attributed to Aristeas's workshop – a two-handled cup and a globular bowl, cat. nos. 27 and 28 – and only three types of inscription are recorded, all of which are ansate panels bearing his name. They are *APICTEAC EΠOIEI* in two lines on the cup, *APICTEAC KYPPIOC EΠOIEI* in three lines on the bowl, and the same three-line inscription but with a different division of words between lines is found on the fragments from Dalmatia (see pp. 65–66). It is assumed here that they all refer to the same person.<sup>154</sup> Aristeas is not known to have used a pair of inscriptions in which the second refers to the buyer.

### (A) CYLINDRICAL CUP WITH A SINGLE INSCRIPTION

The design comprises four registers, three on the side and one on the outer section of the bottom: at the top, just below the rim is a narrow band of vertical flutes; below is a broader frieze with a *tabula ansata* inscription prominently displayed on one side that is flanked to the right by a swirling acanthus scroll on which a bird is

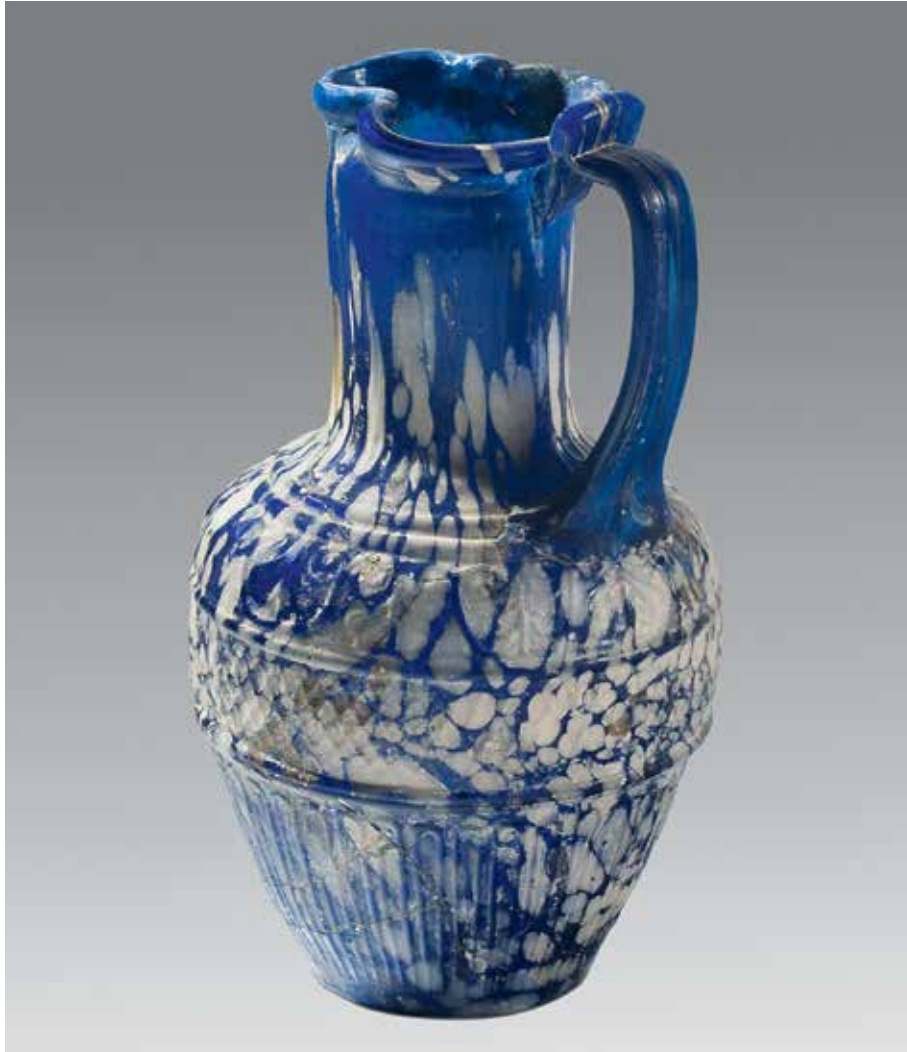


FIGURE 30. One-handed mold-blown jug with splashed decoration, first half of the first century A.D. Glass, height: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (formerly in the V. Vyubov Collection, E 560)

perched and to the left by a horizontal branch with upward and downward sprays of vine leaves; these two floral patterns meet, rather jarringly, on the back of the cup. Below is another narrow band of vertical flutes that is flanked at top and bottom by a single horizontal raised line; a net pattern of interlocking lozenges covers the outer section of the bottom, on which are three raised concentric circles and a central dot.<sup>155</sup> In shape and design, it resembles most closely Ennion's cups of the kind described on p. 37 (type c) and is furnished with similar angular handles, although they are applied differently (see essay on technique, p. 51).

#### (B) BOWL WITH A CONSTRICTED NECK

The globular bowl has a design that is divided into three horizontal registers separated by horizontal raised lines. At the top is a band of vertical flutes with



rounded ends and downward projecting spikes between the flutes at the bottom; on one side, the band of flutes is interrupted by the *tabula ansata* inscription; the central narrow band comprises an arcaded frieze of stylized palmettes alternating with three vegetal sprays. In the third register are again vertical flutes with rounded ends and upward projecting spikes between the flutes at the top; the flutes extend over the undercurve to a slightly raised foot ring. The deeply concave bottom is plain except for a central raised dot.<sup>156</sup> The two closest Ennion parallels to this bowl are the kind described on p. 38 (F) . The inclusion of the toponym here suggests that Aristeas was not working in Cyprus but elsewhere and wanted to distinguish himself on some, although not all, of his wares as being from Cyprus.<sup>157</sup>

The discovery at Narona and Burnum in Dalmatia of vessel fragments signed by Aristeas has shed welcome new light on his production, especially since they include new types (see pp. 65–67). His cups with geometric decoration are very similar to those made by Ennion that are represented here by cat. nos. 21 and 22. They reinforce the impression that the two craftsmen worked closely together, but they also raise the question of where these imports came from. Was it from northern Italy or from the East? The Adriatic was an important conduit for seaborne trade throughout antiquity, so they could have come from either direction. The fact that glass made by Ennion was also found at Narona and Burnum suggests that products of both craftsmen were, if not arriving together, using the same trade routes.<sup>158</sup> It is therefore more probable that Aristeas's workshop, like that of Ennion, was located in Phoenicia, perhaps at Sidon.

## Beakers Signed by Jason, Meges, and Neikais

All the beakers made by these three glassworkers have the same design. The decoration is sparse, almost minimal, and is dominated by the pair of inscriptions that appear on the sides in a broad band, flanked by two raised horizontal lines above and three raised horizontal lines below. The inscriptions are separated by two vertical stylized palm leaves; there are two more raised horizontal lines above the bottom. Both inscriptions are in two lines (figs. 31 and 32): one gives the glassmaker's name – IACWN, ΜΕΓΗC, or ΝΕΙΚΑΙC – followed by the verb ποιῆiv in the third person singular aorist active indicative – ΕΠΟΗCΕΝ (for ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ); the other reads ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑCΑC, using the aorist rather than the present participle of the verb ἀγοράζειν, but the meaning remains the same as on the Ennion versions of the expression (see above, p. 29).<sup>159</sup> The names are not accompanied by a toponym, so it is not known where these craftsmen came from or worked. Jason and Meges are common Greek male names, but Neikais is a rarely found variant of Nikias or Nikaïos and could be used for women as well as men.<sup>160</sup> As a result, Marianne Stern has suggested that Neikais could be “the first artisan from the Eastern Mediterranean to be identified as a woman glassblower.”<sup>161</sup> All three, however, were probably men, who worked and competed together in the same place and at the same time. Their workshop or workshops may be located along the coast of Lebanon at either Sidon or one of the other Phoenician cities such as Tyre (Roman Tyrus); the choice of



FIGURE 31. Jason inscription on cat. no. 29



FIGURE 32. Buyer inscription on cat. no. 29



FIGURE 33. Palm frond on cat. no. 31

palm fronds (fig. 33) as the only vegetal decoration on their cups may have been deliberate and symbolic since the Greek word φοῖνιξ can mean both Phoenician and date-palm.<sup>162</sup> The find-spots of such beakers indicate that their distribution was limited; none have recorded provenances from the Roman West. Although they are much less grand than the glass produced by Ennion, it is likely that their makers were his near contemporaries and were active in the mid-first century A.D.<sup>163</sup>



FIGURE 34. Lid of cat. no. 37



FIGURE 35. Detail of cat. no. 39, showing deer in uppermost register on one half of mold

## Ennion's Influence

Similarities with Ennion's glassware can be found not only among the signed examples described above but also in a much wider and more varied assortment of additional mold-blown glass. First and foremost is a small group of jugs made to the same impressive size and design as Ennion's jugs, whose striking similarity often has led them to be ascribed to his workshop.<sup>164</sup> Three examples, two of which, cat. nos. 35 and 36, were found together in a tomb at Panticapaeum in 1895, are in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.<sup>165</sup> The third (fig. 30) has no known provenance and was acquired from a private collection in 1896, but it was blown in the same mold as the two jugs from Panticapaeum.<sup>166</sup>

Another jug, cat. no. 34, is now in the Corning Museum of Glass, and other fragmentary examples may also belong to this group. The Moussaieff jug cat. no. 33, however, although related, was clearly made using molds that were not only different but also created by a less practiced and skillful hand. The frieze of downturned palmettes, for example, lacks the flowing artistry of Ennion's work and also of the other unsigned jugs mentioned above. In addition, the bands of flutes in the top and bottom registers are much looser and more widely spaced than they are on Ennion's amphorae and jugs. However, the Moussaieff jug provides the only parallel for the honeycomb pattern that appears in the central band on the signed Ennion amphora cat. no. 3 in St. Petersburg.<sup>167</sup>



Other elements of Ennion's designs reappear on some of the smaller types of first-century mold-blown glass. His influence has been cited often for a group of hexagonal lidded boxes (pyxides) such as cat. no. 37, because of their elaborate construction and the fine execution of their decoration.<sup>168</sup> The treatment of the palmettes that run around the lid in a circular frieze (fig. 34) in particular echoes the work of Ennion. Similar elaborate palmettes are found on another type of pyxis with a cylindrical body and a conical lid, as well as on some small one-handed jugs.<sup>169</sup> A group of bottles, with a central frieze of tendril scrolls and fruit, has different elements that recall Ennion's style, notably the relief decoration on the shoulder comprising a pair of animals (fig. 35; cat. nos. 38 and 39), while the motif of two confronted pairs of birds on a small two-handed hexagonal flask echoes the birds that appear together with other creatures on the unique cup cat. no. 26 signed by Ennion.<sup>170</sup> Likewise, the net pattern that occurs on the jugs cat. nos. 1 and 2 and 4–7 is echoed on a deep bowl said to be from Idalium (Dali), Cyprus (fig. 36; see also cat. no. 41).<sup>171</sup> The list of parallels could be extended, but these important and obvious examples amply serve to demonstrate the rich body of ideas and influences that early Roman mold-blown glassworkers drew on to decorate their molds and finished products. And they certainly testify to the preeminent contribution made by Ennion that sets him apart from his contemporaries.



FIGURE 36. Mold-blown bowl, said to be from Idalium (Dali), Cyprus, mid-first century A.D. Glass, height: 3½ in. (7.9 cm). The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (GR.118a.1876)



# The Mold-Blowing Process

KAROL B. WIGHT

The practice of shaping and designing vessels in molds is nearly as old as glass-making itself.<sup>1</sup> The earliest glass objects were constructed by pressing chunked or powdered glass into open molds to take on the desired shape and decorative patterns. In this manner, beads, inlays, open bowls, and other items were manufactured. This earliest technique remained largely unchanged for millennia. With the introduction of blown glass, however, the process of creating glass objects in molds was transformed dramatically. The development of inflating glass on the end of a blowpipe revolutionized the glass industry in the mid-first century B.C. Rather than continuing to use the longstanding practice of shaping glass vessels to mimic their brethren in clay and metal, glass suddenly could be shaped and decorated in unique ways. But when consistency in size and decoration was desired, molds were used to fashion the glass.

Since molds had been utilized for centuries to create uniformly sized terracotta architectural elements, figurines, and vessels, the transference of this process to glass is not particularly earth shattering. What is still unclear, however, is what materials were used to make the molds and how they were constructed. How were the separate sections of the mold first held together and then released to allow the glass to emerge with its shape and design intact? Archaeologists and art historians remain hindered in their study of the techniques of Roman mold-blown glassmaking, because few molds or segments of molds have survived from antiquity. Instead, we must turn to the glass vessels themselves to tell the story of how they were made. Thankfully, the shapes of the vessels, as well as their patterns, hold a wealth of information.

Simply described, mold-blowing consists of inflating a parison (bubble) of glass into a container that has an opening at its top. When the bubble is inflated and meets the walls and bottom of this container, it is impressed with whatever design has been created. And because the molds are made with multiple parts, the glass also becomes impressed with seams that form between the mold segments. Depending on the skill of the craftsman responsible for making the mold, the seams can either be quite evident or skillfully hidden within the pattern and design. The molds utilized for Ennion's wares were made very skillfully, and their decorative patterns with



horizontal and vertical lines assist in concealing the seam marks left on the glass. Indeed, Ennion's molds set the standard for later mold-makers who incorporated the seam into their decorative patterns, usually concealed within vertical palm fronds, architectural columns, or other design elements.

What the seam marks tell us is that molds could be made simply with two halves or could be very complicated with up to eight side panels and a base segment. Ennion's molds were quite complex in their design. Cup-like elements were used for the base segments, and multiple wall sections were either straight-sided (as with cups) or tapered inward to create the curve of the shoulder and flare of the neck found on the jugs. Ennion's mold segments fit together so snugly and the seams are so skillfully hidden in the design that it is sometimes a challenge to find them, as on cat. no. 13.

What we have learned from modern experimentation that re-creates ancient glassmaking techniques is no matter what the resulting profile of the vessel, all molds were designed to come together at the top to form a small aperture into which to drop the parison. Such closure was necessary in order to allow the glassblower to inflate with force, pushing the glass against the sides of the mold. If a mold was not enclosed at the top, the bubble would simply spill out and over the mold, and the glass would not be impressed as well with the mold's design. After the inflated vessel was released from the mold and annealed, any undesired section could be cracked off in order to achieve the preferred rim style. This technique was used in all Ennion's cups, for example, as well as for the lidded boxes (pyxides) such as cat. no. 37 attributed to his workshop.

Experiments with a variety of materials used for the construction of molds also have yielded interesting information. They have been conducted using wood, metal, plaster, and fired clay, with mixed results. The best results are yielded with metal and terracotta. Wood must be soaked in water prior to use, and the resulting steam from the proximity of the hot glass to the wet wood inhibits the glass from contacting the mold and taking on the design. Plaster is too fragile and has limited usage. Metal can be employed repeatedly but will leave a telltale "chill" mark on the surface of the glass – a mottled or dimpled effect. Perhaps not surprisingly, terracotta works very well, particularly if the interior surface of the mold has been covered with a material that allows the glass to release from the clay. Soot has been used effectively by Mark Taylor and David Hill, in their investigations of Roman mold-blown glass.<sup>2</sup> Since terracotta molds had been used for the production of clay vessels for centuries, perhaps it is no surprise that this material lends itself so well to glass production. It also suggests a working relationship between ceramists and glassmakers, with the ceramics workshops creating the molds for the glassmakers' use. Few mold fragments have survived from antiquity, and those that have are made of fired clay, stone, wood, and possibly plaster and metal.<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of the material in which they were made, all the sections of a mold had to fit together snugly for the glass to inflate successfully, and equally as important, they had to be released quickly to free the glass from the confines of the mold. Failure to release the glass could result in a warping of the shape, and given the thinness of most Roman glassware, that could cost the glassblower the time he or she needed to keep the glass at a workable temperature. We do not know how the

wall elements were held together. Was there an external clamping mechanism that was used and then released? Were they hinged? Perhaps future archaeological finds can help answer these questions.

## Ennion's Molds

The wares that preserve Ennion's signature can be identified clearly with his workshop, and the following descriptions of molds and mold-blowing techniques are applied only to those vessels. A larger corpus of material has been associated with Ennion because of similarities in shape or in decorative patterns, and it includes a wider variety of mold designs. But for the purposes of this discussion, only the signed works are considered.

### *Cups, bowls, and beakers*

The majority of straight-sided cups whose mold seams have accurately been identified are constructed with three side elements and a cup-shaped base. While the majority of Ennion's successors designed vessels with quite flat bottoms, allowing attention to be focused on the designs and iconography of the sides of their wares, Ennion chose to create cup-shaped base segments that elegantly lift the vessels above the foot ring and create an additional area for visible design (figs. 37–39). In the center of the underside is a series of concentric rings, sometimes with a central dot (fig. 40). These serve both a decorative and a functional purpose, since the circles create a “bull's-eye” for the glass artisan as the parison is dropped into the mold. Surrounding the concentric circles is a pattern that can be described as a cross-hatched or lozenge pattern of intersecting lines, or of radiating flutes with rounded edges at the top. All the cups contain a panel with the signature of Ennion, and many contain a second panel and inscription on their opposite side (see pp. 27–32 for a discussion of the signatures and their variants). The majority of the cups have rounded handles, usually two, although a minority have angled handles, a design also seen in works by Aristeas (cat. no. 27). The handles were added once the inflated vessel was removed from the mold, and then the piece was knocked off the blowpipe and allowed to anneal.

It cannot be overstated that the process of inflating the glass, removing it successfully from the mold, and then adding the handles was a delicate and exacting sequence, particularly given the thinness of the glass and the rate at which it cooled. Great skill was required to add and shape the handles as precisely as they are to Ennion's wares, and the process by which they were added to the cups, starting at the top and looping downward to attach the root, is the opposite of the technique in which handles usually are applied. Such small distinctions are what set Ennion's vessels apart.

The two small bowls cat. nos. 23 and 24 were made from the same mold. Like the cups, they were made in a four-part mold, but their curving walls and diminutive



FIGURES 37–39. Mold seam locations on cat. no. 16

size negated the need to add handles. Likewise, the two vessels cat. nos. 25 and 26 do not require handles, because their narrower shapes fit the size of a hand quite well, and they would have been comfortable to hold.

All Ennion's cups, bowls, and beakers have cracked-off rims. The rim was formed once the vessel was annealed. Modern glass artists have achieved cracked-off rims in a variety of ways. One simple method involves scoring a small section of the glass with a sharp implement at the point where the rim is desired. This part of the glass is then heated (achievable with a hot flame such as that used for bead-making) until a crack spreads from the point where the glass was scored and the top separates from the body of the cup. Once removed, the sharp edge of the glass can be ground down, and the vessel is ready for use.

Among the works included in this catalogue, six different cup molds and one bowl mold can be identified. In some instances, the same side panels were used on two vessels (for example, cat. nos. 15 and 16), but their base molds differ. Looking at the subtle differences between the designs raises questions about how the molds may have been used. Was a series with interchangeable parts made at one time, or was one element substituted for another after it broke or became worn (a new base mold section, for example)? Or, was this variety desirable and each mold was a unique design, and thus, cat. nos. 15 and 16 were not actually made using the



FIGURE 40. Underside and bottom of cat. no. 15





FIGURES 41–43. Mold seam locations on cat. no. 4

same side panels but rather in very similar molds? We do know that multiples of the same designs were desirable, as identical pairs have been discovered together (see pp. 22–23). One can imagine that the ancient Roman householder liked to have matching sets of tableware, just as modern consumers do today when purchasing their wine glasses.

The mold designs for the cups, bowls, and beakers were relatively straightforward, but what truly set Ennion apart were the elegant and complex designs of his jugs and hexagonal flasks.

### *Jugs*

Ennion's jugs were made in two varieties, with or without a flaring pedestal foot. The majority of vessels with a foot have a single handle, while the footless jug design allowed for variation. One handle could be applied, determining the vessel's function as a pitcher, while two handles identified it as an amphora. The size of these vessels is remarkable, and the successful completion of one of the footed jugs was quite an achievement.

The body was inflated into a mold with four sections (figs. 41–43). Three vertical mold sections encompassed the neck, shoulder and midsection, while the fourth mold section was the bowl-shaped lower body. All the jugs share the common design elements of a long neck decorated with rounded flutes and an ovoid body with three registers of decoration, from top to bottom: palmettes, a net pattern and *tabula ansata* with signature, and rounded flutes. On vessels finished with a foot, there is a tapering area below the lower register of flutes that is undecorated. The pedestal foot is elegantly flared and decorated on its exterior with rounded flutes.

The body and pedestal foot were formed separately by inflating glass into two different molds. This must have occurred nearly simultaneously, since after releasing the vessel from its mold, it had to have the foot attached and be separated from the blowpipe in order to shape the rim and to add the handle. Since there are no pontil marks surviving on the underside of Ennion's jugs that indicate a transfer from the blowpipe to a solid rod (today called a punty), some sort of clamp-like tool must have been used to achieve this transfer and then to hold the vessel as it was finished. Unfortunately, no tool marks are evident on the vessels to help determine what this tool looked like. Clamps are used by modern glassmakers for maneuvers such as this, but no similar tools have survived from antiquity to illuminate how the process actually was achieved in antiquity.

Not all jugs were designed with the *tabula ansata* containing Ennion's signature (see, for example, cat. nos. 33–36); thus, a number of molds must have been used to create these vessels. But without precise measurements of the vessels, as well as careful comparison of the design elements (for example, the number of flutes or rows of net pattern), it is not possible to determine how many molds were utilized for their creation.

### *Hexagonal flasks*

This small corpus of vessels (cat. nos. 9 and 10) arguably comprise the most interesting of Ennion's designs. The shape and iconography stand apart from the cups and jugs, and they relate directly to the god of wine, Dionysus. The unusual shape of the flask, with its shoulder that flares out from the tapering sides, may have



FIGURES 44–46. Mold seam locations on cat. no. 9

been inspired by architecture (cat. no. 9 and related bibliography). The iconography of the flasks departs from the other decorative patterns found on Ennion's wares. Similar images of panpipes and vessels can be found on other molded glasswares, most notably on the small hexagonal flasks that postdate Ennion's wares. Like his design, the vessels are displayed within a rectangular panel, one that can be surmounted by circular or triangular pediments. Perhaps Ennion's flasks provided the design intent for the smaller cousins.

The mold design of the jugs is also complex, since the profile of the vessel varies rather than being straight or a continuous curve. The body was formed from three side panels and a base element (figs. 44–46). It was undoubtedly a challenge for the glassblower to inflate into this mold, since the shoulder of the vessel overhangs the body. Filling the recesses of the mold must have taken hearty lungs! But the geometry of the overall form allowed the seam marks of the three sides to be incorporated into the pattern and shape.

## Conclusion

As one of the earliest practitioners of mold-blowing, Ennion set the bar high, and he has long been regarded as the finest creator of mold-blown glass. The elegant profiles and designs of his vessels set his works apart from those of his competitors. His closest rival was Aristeas, whose works survive in far fewer numbers (cat. nos. 27 and 28). It is intriguing to consider that they may have worked in proximity to each other, since their wares are so similar in form and decoration. Ennion's successors simplified their shapes and patterns, for the most part, and created designs whose molds were, by comparison, uncomplicated to use. A few continued the practice of including inscriptions containing their names; thus we know of Jason, Meges, and Neikais (cat. nos. 29–32). But it is not until the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96) when certain shapes and patterns appear that begin to approach what Ennion achieved in size and elegance. Large lotus bud beakers and mythological beakers with figural iconography of refined elegance stand out among the larger corpus of first-century A.D. mold-blown wares, but the majority never came close to achieving Ennion's greatness.





# The Ennion Jug from Jerusalem

Yael Israeli

The Ennion jug from Jerusalem, excavated in the Jewish Quarter, is the only one of its type to be discovered in a clear archaeological context. The rare information it provides is described below.

The Jewish Quarter is a residential neighborhood within Jerusalem's Old City, which lies over the rich archaeological layers of ancient Jerusalem. Excavations conducted there since the nineteenth century have been confined mainly to vacant lots, for in this densely built-up area, it is almost impossible to find a suitable place to dig. After the neighborhood was damaged severely in the war of 1948, and prior to its rebuilding in the wake of the 1967 war, a window of opportunity for archaeological investigation presented itself, and comprehensive excavations took place.<sup>1</sup>

In the early Roman period, this part of Jerusalem was called the Upper City. It is described by the first-century A.D. Jewish historian Flavius Josephus as an affluent neighborhood with large houses in which the priests and the elite resided and in which Herod's own palace was located. Built on terraces over the slope west of the Temple Mount, its homes commanded a full view of the magnificent Temple complex.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the archaeological excavations of the Jewish Quarter revealed spacious but tightly packed houses with internal courtyards and numerous bathing facilities that demonstrate strict adherence to the Jewish laws of ritual purity (fig. 47). The houses were decorated lavishly with mosaic floors, frescoes, and architectural ornaments, reflecting the fashions common in other Hellenistic and Roman cities of the period. The proximity to the Temple clearly testifies to the importance and affluence of the owners of these houses. It was in one of them that the Ennion jug was found.

The town house in which the jug was discovered apparently had been built during the time of Herod, king of Judaea (r. 40–4 B.C.), in the final decades of the first century B.C. Its ground floor and basement were relatively well preserved, but nothing of the second floor has survived, only the staircase that led up to it. The house occupies an area of about 6,500 square feet (over 600 square meters). On the ground floor was a large central courtyard paved with stone (fig. 48). West of this courtyard was a spacious living and reception wing. Some of the walls, built of ashlar blocks, survive almost to their original height, preserving the remains of frescoes with architectural motifs





FIGURE 47. The town house excavation area with a partial view of the Temple Mount and the Mount of Olives in the background

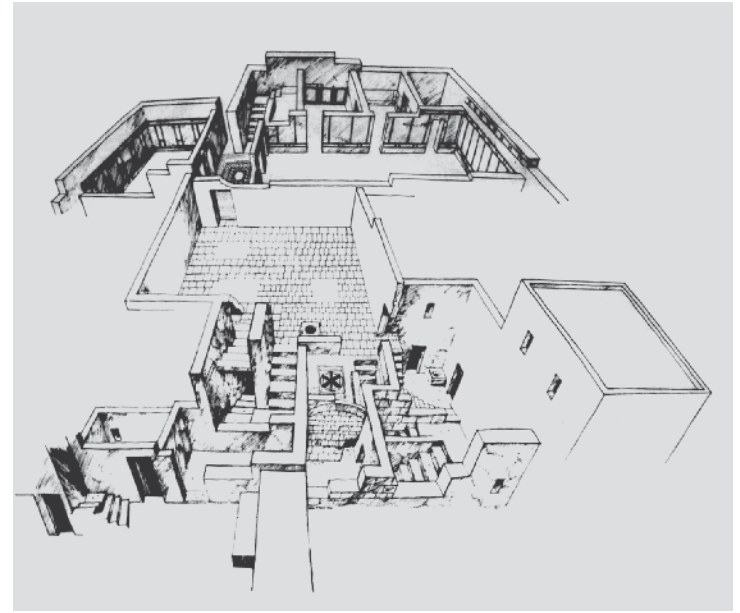


FIGURE 48. Reconstruction drawing of the town house showing the living and reception wing at the rear

and stuccowork. Debris from the fallen ceiling revealed that the ceiling also bore stucco decoration. East of the courtyard was a small bathroom with a mosaic floor, equipped with a sunken bath. Steps descended from the courtyard to a basement, which was partly hewn into the bedrock and partly built. There, passages paved with mosaics led to various facilities, including an ample water cistern, a large Jewish ritual bath (*mikveh*), and another small one, as well as rooms with vaulted ceilings that were probably used for storage.

The Ennion jug cat. no. 7 (fig. 49) was found broken in pieces in the west wing of the house, on the threshold of a room decorated with elaborate frescoes. Fortunately, its fragments remained together and many were recovered. The base of a similar jug, cat. no. 8, was found nearby. These fine glass jugs would have been among the many luxury items with which this palatial residence was probably furnished, to proclaim the wealth and good taste of its owners. Unfortunately, few objects were retrieved by the excavators from the building's debris. Of these, the stone furniture, especially the rectangular and round stone tables, is particularly noteworthy.

The house was destroyed during the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. Flavius Josephus, who provides a contemporary detailed account of the fighting, described the continuation of the Roman siege of the Upper City even after the destruction of the Temple and told how the Upper City was taken on the eighth of Elul, the Macedonian month of Gorpaios (about September 23) in a huge conflagration, which destroyed the remaining houses of the rich quarter: "But in the night the fire took control, and on the morning of the eighth day of the month of Gorpaios the sun rose over a Jerusalem in flames – the city that had suffered so many misfortunes during the siege."<sup>3</sup> Evidence of this great fire can be seen in the



charred wooden beams found lying on the mosaic floors and the black soot on the colorful painted walls. The Ennion jug probably broke when the house was destroyed and it was distorted by the intense heat of the fire.

The jug was reconstructed in the Israel Museum's laboratories. Although it is missing its upper part and is damaged all over, it survives today along with the other jugs (cat. nos. 4–6) that were made in the same mold, its own dramatic story adding depth and poignancy to the elegance and beauty of these vessels.



FIGURE 49. Detail of the jug cat. no. 7, showing distortion caused by fire





## Ennion and Aristeas Glassware Found in the Roman Province of Dalmatia

ZRINKA BULJEVIĆ

Fragments of at least thirteen glass cups that can be attributed to the renowned glassmakers Ennion (figs. 50 and 51, nos. 1–10 and possibly 11) and Aristeas (fig. 51, nos. 12 and 13) have been discovered in Dalmatia in recent decades. They come from three different Roman sites – Naronā, Tilurium, and Burnum.

A one-handed cup signed by Ennion and made of translucent dark blue glass was found in the *temenos* (sanctuary) of the Augusteum at Naronā (Vid, Croatia).<sup>1</sup> The cup (fig. 52; fig. 50, no. 1), restored from fragments that include most of its side and strap handle but lacking its underside and bottom, is decorated with floral and geometric motifs arranged in two horizontal registers around the cylindrical body. In the register on the upper body, there are two rectangular inscribed panels interspersed with palmettes, disks, columns, rosettes, and vegetal sprays resembling trees. The lower register is decorated with closely packed vertical flutes with rounded ends. The inscriptions, both in four lines, are rather worn but are legible as ENN[I]/ΩN ΕΠ/ΟΙΗCΕ/Ν and ΜΝΗΘΗ/Ο ΑΓΟ/ΡΑΖΩ/Ν (see above, pp. 27–29). All these features identify the cup as belonging to the same group as cat. nos. 11 and 12, with inscriptions of types D and I (see above, Tables 1 and 2, p. 28).

Fragments of similar cups, made of translucent yellow glass (fig. 50, nos. 2a–2e),<sup>2</sup> were found at Naronā in 1985, during rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Split, along a section of the regional water supply pipeline running from Prud to Korčula via the Pelješac Peninsula, east of the Vid-Prud and Metković-Ljubuški road.<sup>3</sup> Since evidence was found to suggest that the site was an ancient cemetery, it can be assumed that the cups had been buried as grave goods. Their fragmentary condition can be explained by the destruction of the cemetery during construction work as a result of the subsequent urban expansion of Naronā. The cups, judging by the preserved portions of the upper register decorated with columns and rosettes and the vertical flutes with rounded ends in the lower register, belong to the same type as the blue cup from the Augusteum and may have come from the same mold. Traces of a handle have been preserved on one fragment (fig. 50, no. 2a).



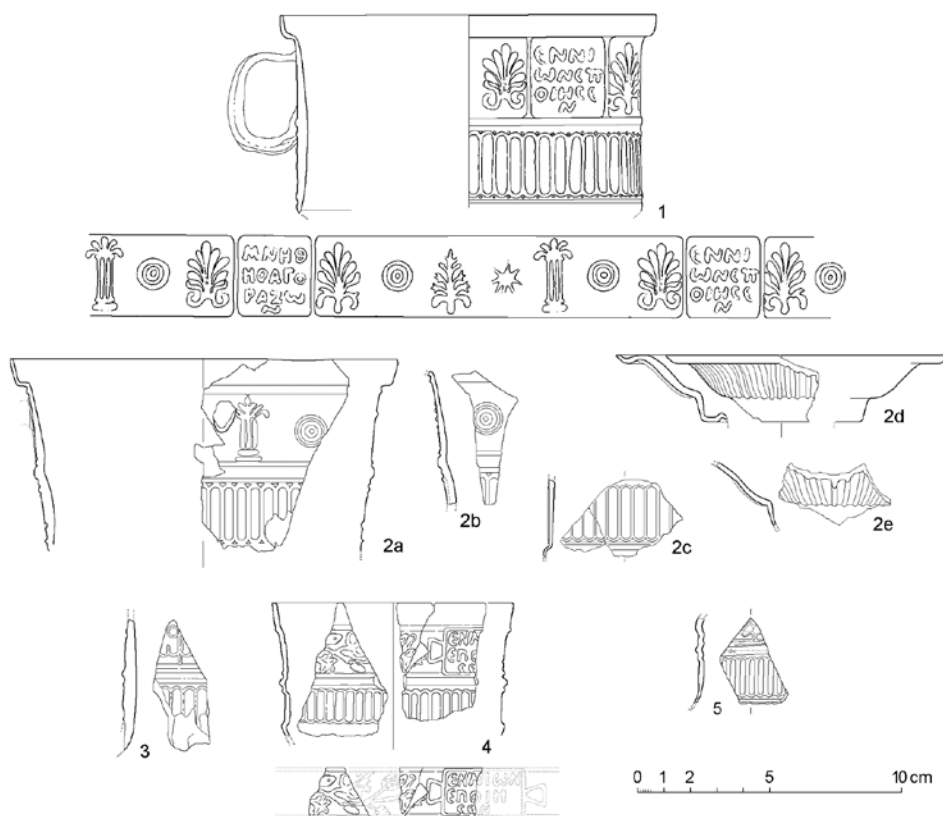


FIGURE 50. Line drawing of fragments associated with Ennion, published in Buljević 2012, p. 18

Fragments of other mold-blown vessels made of translucent blue glass were recovered from the same site at Narona as the yellow cup fragments.<sup>4</sup> One piece (fig. 51, no. 9a) is decorated with alternating open and closed palmettes in the band at the bottom (or shoulder), a row of projecting dots between two horizontal ribs, with two additional horizontal ribs dividing the diagonally molded portion of the vessel from the cylindrical portion, and a band of vertical grooves with rounded ends. The other fragment (fig. 51, no. 9b) is part of a vertical rim, below which a decoration of closed and possibly open palmettes has been preserved. Although they lack inscriptions and belong to a different type, their decoration strongly recalls the designs that are attributed to Ennion's workshop, particularly the palmettes and flutes on the signed and unsigned jugs from Panticapaeum and from another unidentified site, now in the State Hermitage Museum (cat. nos. 3, 35, and 36). Nevertheless, it appears that these fragments belong not to an amphora or jug but to a cylindrical cup. The palmettes are a possible link to cups made by Ennion such as cat. nos. 11–14, but more generally, they point to a style that was prevalent on mold-blown glass made in the eastern Mediterranean, as on lidded pyxides such as cat. no. 37.

A fragment of a cylindrical vessel made of translucent dark blue glass was found during the excavation of the Roman military camp in Tilurium (Gardun) in 2000 (fig. 51, no. 10).<sup>5</sup> It is decorated with thick vertical grooves with rounded ends arranged below horizontal ribs and is too small to allow for its attribution to some narrower grouping

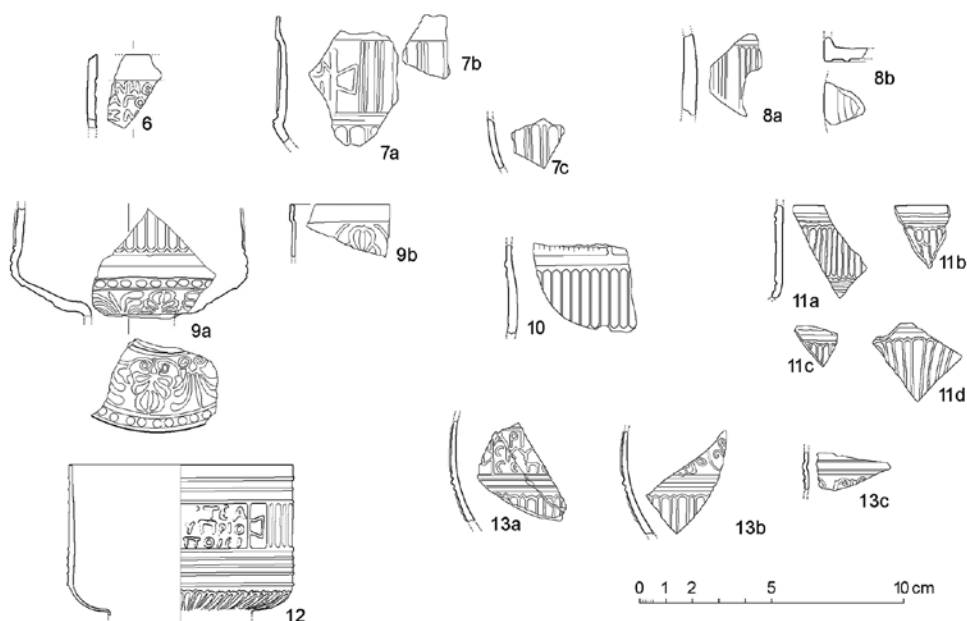


FIGURE 51. Line drawing of fragments associated with Ennion and Aristeas, published in Buljević 2012, p. 19

among Ennion's cups with one or two handles. Fragments of two other cups, one in translucent bluish and the other in dark blue glass, were found during further excavations at the same site in 2002 and 2003.<sup>6</sup> Three fragments of a cup in almost colorless glass with a bluish tinge were recovered from a barrack building in the camp's southeast quadrant.<sup>7</sup> One fragment (fig. 53; fig. 51, no. 7a) bears an inscription in a *tabula ansata*, flanked by vertical ribbing, and below a projecting horizontal flange, the rounded tops of vertical flutes interspersed with spikes. It is similar in color, shape, and decoration to a cup made by Aristeas the Cypriot found at Naron (described below).<sup>8</sup> However, on the preserved portion of the inscription, the last letter in the first line is N, and the last letter in the second line is I. The inscription on the cup therefore can be identified as ENNIQN ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (type A, see above, Table 1, p. 28). This and the other two fragments (fig. 51, nos. 7b, c) probably belong to a cup with two handles in the Geometric style like cat. nos. 21 and 22, but they are too small to determine if they come from the same molds as the intact examples. Nor is it possible from the excavation context to determine if this cup was imported from northern Italy, although scholars have argued that Ennion established a workshop there.<sup>9</sup>

The two other fragments found in Tilurium are in translucent dark blue glass (fig. 51, nos. 8a, b) and probably belong to another Ennion cup of the Geometric style.<sup>10</sup> Preserved are a fragment of a cylindrical body with five vertical ribs grouped into pairs, with the transition into a subsequent field bordered by a horizontal ridge, and the bottom of a cup with parts of a peripheral and inner concentric rib. The arrangement of the ribs recalls the blue Ennion cup from Tilurium as well as the cups in the Newark, Turin, and Bra museums. If, however, the fragments are not from an Ennion cup, perhaps they can be attributed to a northern Italian workshop that imitated the master's style. Nevertheless, the finds from Tilurium point to the possibility of the existence of three Ennion cups at the site.



FIGURE 52. One-handed cup signed by Ennion found at Naronia

Fragments of Ennion cups were found at Burnum (Ivoševci) in 2004 and 2007, during the investigation of the city's Roman amphitheater. They were recovered from a layer of limestone rubble fill used for the foundations below the structure's southern entrance. The fragments in one group (fig. 54; fig. 50, no. 4) are in translucent dark blue glass with a vertical rim and ground lip, and they have an upper frieze of grapevine and ivy tendrils with a three-line inscription in a *tabula ansata* that reads ENN[IQN]/EΠO[IH]/CE[N] and below, a horizontal ridge, a register of vertical flutes with rounded ends.<sup>11</sup> They belong to a two-handed cup of the same type as cat. nos. 15–19 but are too small to determine if they come from any of the same molds. However, details of the inscription on the Burnum cup – the connection of the letters N in the first row with the upper frame of the *tabula ansata*, a sprout on the upper left corner on the letter Π in the second row, and the connection of the letters CE with the lower frame of the tabula, as well as the clearly visible mold seam on the left end of the *tabula ansata* – seem to confirm Michele De Bellis's conclusion that the same vertical side molds were used for all the cups in his Group 2a.<sup>12</sup>

Another piece of a cylindrical cup made of transparent colorless glass (fig. 50, no. 5) was discovered at Burnum in 2011, during research conducted at a large rectangular



complex, most likely an exercise ground (*campus*), located immediately adjacent to the southern side of the Burnum amphitheater. It was found in a context dated to the late Augustan to early Claudian period (ca. A.D. 10–45).<sup>13</sup> The fragment cannot be attributed with certainty, because it is preserved insufficiently, although the details of its shape and ornamentation indicate that it possibly may belong to a two-handled cup made by Ennion of the same type as the blue fragments described above. A fragment (fig. 55; fig. 50, no. 3) made of translucent yellow glass also comes from Burnum and preserves part of the second and third lines of the four-line inscription [MNHΘH/O AΓ]O/[PAZ]Ω/[N] (type I, see above, Table 2, p. 28).<sup>14</sup> It therefore can be attributed to the same type of Ennion cup as cat. nos. 11 and 12 as well as the blue cup from the Augusteum at Narona.<sup>15</sup>

Cup fragments that are too small for any certain attribution also have been found at Burnum (fig. 51, nos. 11a–d). Insofar as these fragments can be attributed to Ennion, they can be classified as belonging to the Geometric style, since they have decoration comprising an upper band of vertical grooves and below a projecting horizontal ridge, vertical flutes with alternating rounded and pointed tops in the lower band. Since the inscription has not been preserved and given the decorative scheme and vessel type, Igor Borzić left open the possibility of attributing this Burnum cup to Aristeas.<sup>16</sup> Borzić, however, now rejects the idea that the Burnum cup could be Ennion's, because of the way the vertical flutes have rounded ends on the middle of the cup, unlike the flat endings of Ennion's cups from Tilurium, Polenzo (Bra), and cat. nos. 20 and 21.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the Burnum cup fragments display features – scyphoid form, central frieze with vertical fluting, and lower section adorned with tongued articulations with alternating rounded and pointed tops – that correspond closely to the Aristeas cup found at Narona. However, their insufficient state of preservation precludes certain attribution.<sup>18</sup>

A fragment of a cup with an inscription was identified recently in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum in Split (Roman Salona).<sup>19</sup> It is made of translucent yellow glass (fig. 56; fig. 51, no. 6), with a vertical rim and inwardly cut diagonal edge. A plain band extends down the side below the rim to a recessed panel that contains a partially preserved inscription: [M]NHΘ[H/O] AΓO/[PA]ZN[Ω]. The appearance of the word AΓOPAZNΩ with metathesis between the letters Ω and N is characteristic of the *tabula ansata* inscription (type G, see above, Table 2, p. 28) found on two-handled cups signed by Ennion as in the cases of cat. nos. 15–17.

One of the cups from the Augusteum in Narona is signed by Aristeas (fig. 57; fig. 51, no. 12).<sup>20</sup> It has a cylindrical body made of translucent blue green glass, and its decoration is divided into four bands: below the rim, a pair of horizontal ribs; a central band, bordered above and below by another horizontal rib, comprising an inscription in a *tabula ansata* and vertical ribbing with rounded ends, arranged in pairs; below, another band of four horizontal ribs; and on the underside, a series of vertical flutes with rounded tops alternating with spikes. The cup probably had two handles and is similar to Ennion cups of the Geometric style.<sup>21</sup> But part of a three-line inscription is preserved that makes it clear it comes from Aristeas's workshop: [APIC]TEA/[CKY]ΠPIO/[CE]ΠOIEI. The inscription is therefore very close but different from the three-line inscription APICTEAC/KYΠPIOC/EΠOIEI on the globular bowl

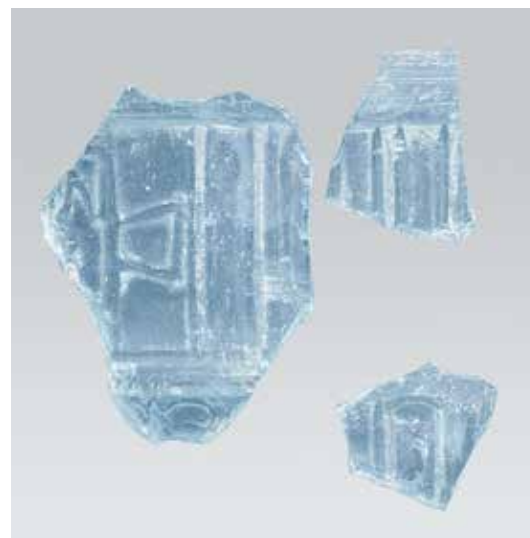


FIGURE 53. Ennion fragments found at Tilurium



FIGURE 54. Ennion fragments found at Burnum



FIGURE 55. Ennion fragment found at Burnum



FIGURE 56. Ennion fragment in the Archaeological Museum in Split

cat. no. 28. The form of the vessel, on the other hand, can be compared to the two-handled cup from Albonese, Pavia, now in the Strada Collection, cat. no. 27, which has the two-line inscription APICTEAC/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.

In 2008 and 2009, three fragments (fig. 58; fig. 51, nos. 13a–c) were found at Burnum in a context dated to the late Augustan–early Claudian period during investigation of the northern perimeter wall of the large rectangular complex, where the colorless fragment of a cylindrical cup was found later in 2011.<sup>22</sup> The fragments are made of translucent glass with a slightly bluish green tone. One fragment (13a) belongs to the central portion of the vessel's body and preserves the left side of a *tabula ansata* containing part of an inscription in three lines: API[CTEA]/C KY[ΠΡΙΟ]/C ΕΠΟ[ΙΕΙ]. Below a horizontal ridge is a series of vertical flutes with alternating rounded and pointed tops. A second fragment (13b) has an identically formed lower section, but above the horizontal ridge, a relief ornament in the form of a floral motif is visible on the central frieze, with clear indication of two tendrils ending in curves and a stalk with an obscure motif to their left. The third and smallest fragment (13c) consists of two preserved horizontal ribs and a relief on which the rounded and curved tips of tendrils can be discerned. It may be the upper edge of the vessel's central decorative frieze.<sup>23</sup> The three fragments do not join at any point, but since they come from the same find-spot, have the same technical features, and are decorated with the same designs of fluting and floral motifs, they are all probably from the same vessel.

Despite the fact that the inscriptions on the Naronia and Burnum examples make the attribution to Aristéas's workshop certain, they cannot be equated with the other



FIGURE 57. Aristeas fragments found at Narona



FIGURE 58. Aristeas fragments found at Burnum

known vessels that he produced (cat. nos. 27 and 28), since they differ in the arrangement and composition of the inscriptions as well as their decorative features. According to Borzić, the similarity of the decorative elements on the Burnum and Albonese cups serves as grounds to argue that they were made by the same craftsman, even though Aristeas's signature on the latter does not include the appellation Cypriot.<sup>24</sup> But, although the Burnum cup fragments (fig. 58) have the same inscription format as the Narona vessel (fig. 57), the former has the profile of a bowl with convex curving lower side rather than a straight-sided cup.<sup>25</sup> Thus, four different molds used by Aristeas now can be identified. However, the finds from Dalmatia have not resolved the question of where Aristeas worked.<sup>26</sup>









Catalogue

## 1 One-handed jug signed by Ennion

Translucent deep amber brown with handle in opaque white, height: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (18.4 cm), diameter (rim): 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (7 cm), diameter (max.): 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.226)

Opaque white was used frequently on early Roman glass, for the vessel body, for decorative trails, and most particularly as an outer layer or casing in cameo glass.<sup>1</sup> For example, some cast bowls (cat. no. 42), small mold-blown vessels (cat. no. 37), and less often, free-blown bottles were made in opaque white.<sup>2</sup> Rarely, opaque white was used for handles, but it was a favorite choice for the trail decoration on free-blown translucent perfume bottles and ribbed bowls (*zarte Rippenschalen*).<sup>3</sup> This jug is the only known example of a vessel signed by Ennion on which opaque white appears.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and body, extending to ridge below frieze with net pattern, and separate bowl-shaped mold for lower body and bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Outplayed rim folded up and in forming collar on inside of mouth; cylindrical neck with short vertical projecting ridge at top; sloping shoulder; piriform body tapering downward; flat bottom; handle with two prominent ribs attached to shoulder, drawn up and outward then turned in at right angle, folded up to form loop above rim and then dropped onto rim and top of neck

**DECORATION:** Four registers on neck and body, divided by ridges and raised horizontal lines: on neck, vertical flutes rounded at both ends; in frieze on shoulder and upper body, continuous floral spray with upturned spikes, forming circular frames for six downturned palmettes with outward facing leaves, alternating with six downturned palmettes with inward-facing leaves; around middle section of body, frieze filled with net pattern, interrupted on one side by *tabula ansata* containing inscription; on lower body, vertical flutes, rounded at top, with spikes projecting upward between flutes; on bottom, small deep kick with central knob

**CONDITION:** Intact, with slight dulling and pitting, shallow indent in top of side near handle, patches of creamy weathering and iridescence

**NOTE:** All the vessels in this catalogue section are Roman glass, mold-blown except for cat. no. 42, first half of the 1st century A.D.

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to have been acquired in Constantinople (ancient Byzantium, modern Istanbul, Turkey);<sup>4</sup> before 1895, collection of Julien Gréau; acquired as part of the Gréau glass collection by J. Pierpont Morgan, New York and London; until 1913, collection of J. Pierpont Morgan; 1913, inherited by J. P. Morgan (son); acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1903, pp. 163–64, no. 1183, pl. CCXVII; Conton 1906, pp. 15–16; Kisa 1908, vol. 3, p. 714; Richter 1911, p. 16, fig. 16; Rostovtzeff 1914, p. 514, fig. 96; Eisen 1927, vol. 1, p. 271, pl. 56; Harden 1935, p. 168 (A.4.i.a), pl. XXIII, c; *Glass from the Museum Collections* 1936, p. 7; *Roman Art* 1936, fig. 8; Richter 1938, p. 22, fig. 49; Harden 1940, p. 102, no. II; Forbes 1966, fig. 31; Lehrer 1979, p. 7, pl. I, 4; Israeli 1983, p. 67; Donceel 1987, p. 38, no. 1, fig. 2; Stern 1995, p. 73, nn. 82c, 84c, p. 151, n. 4c; Barag 1996, p. 79; Milleker 2000, pp. 67 (by Christopher S. Lightfoot), 207, no. 54, p. 66, fig. 54; Strouse 2000, p. 56, fig. 66; Lightfoot 2001, p. 22; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 341, 484, no. 398

<sup>1</sup> Strangely, the prevalence of opaque white in cameo glass is not discussed by Paul Roberts, who only refers to the blue or purple background; Roberts 2010, p. 98. See also Roberts et al. 2010, pp. 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Whitehouse 1997, pp. 86–87, nos. 120, 121.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, a mold-blown bottle in translucent cobalt blue with two opaque white handles in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Roman, first half of 1st century A.D., Smith Fund, 1913 [13.198.6]); see also Whitehouse 2001, pp. 44–45, no. 515. For trailed perfume bottles, see Whitehouse 2001, p. 170, no. 702, and for ribbed bowls, pp. 202–6, nos. 759, 761–67.

<sup>4</sup> Froehner 1903, p. 164, no. 1183.





## 2 Two-handled jug (amphora) signed by Ennion

Translucent blue green with handles in same color, height: 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.5 cm)

Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

This amphora probably was made using the same mold as the one for cat. no. 1. The two vessels thus show how varied Ennion could make his wares appear even when using the same mold by employing different colors and handle treatments.

LITERATURE: Barag 1996, p. 79, fig. 1; Israeli 2011, pp. 16–17

TECHNIQUE: Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and upper body, and separate bowl-shaped mold for lower body and bottom

INSCRIPTION (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

DESCRIPTION: Outplayed rim folded up and in; cylindrical neck with short vertical projecting ridge at top; sloping shoulder; piriform body tapering downward; flat bottom; two rod handles attached to edge of shoulder drawn upward, then turned in and down and pressed onto sides of neck

DECORATION: Same as on cat. no. 1

CONDITION: Intact, with pitting, iridescence, and small patches of thick blackish weathering





### 3 Two-handled jug (amphora) signed by Ennion

Translucent deep amber brown with handles in same color,  
height:  $6\frac{15}{16}$  in. (17.7 cm), diameter (rim):  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm), diameter (max.):  $3\frac{15}{16}$  in. (10 cm),  
diameter (base):  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. (5.7 cm)  
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. П.1852.54

This example of a flat-bottomed vessel belongs to a separate group, distinct from cat. nos. 1 and 2, which used molds of a different shape and design. It is without any known parallel.<sup>1</sup> Elements in its design, however, recall other vessels signed by Ennion, as well as those signed by Aristéas and other unsigned vessels. For example, the rows of dots are like those on the cup by Ennion cat. no. 26; the scrolls and vines resemble those on the Aristéas cup cat. no. 27; and the honeycomb pattern finds its closest parallel on the unsigned jug cat. no. 33.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and body, extending to base, and separate disk mold for bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical sections arranged with one front (inscribed) panel and two side panels; seam at back between side panels misaligned; thick, possibly tubular rim folded out, over, and in, forming lip on inside of short flaring mouth; cylindrical neck, expanding downward and joining imperceptibly with sloping shoulder; ovoid body; slightly concave bottom; two rod handles, applied in elongated vertical pads to shoulder, drawn up and slightly out, then turned in and down and pressed onto underside of mouth and top of neck

**DECORATION:** On neck, indistinct vertical flutes ending in downturned rounded tongues: eight at front and six at sides; raised horizontal line below; on shoulder, band of alternating downturned palmettes and leafy branches: each section has two half-palmettes at ends and branch at either side of central palmette (this pattern repeated on all three sections); below, horizontal row of dots, forming top of frieze containing hexagonal lattice (honeycomb) pattern (at base of frieze, row of 25 at front, 21 at sides); on body, raised horizontal line between two grooves; band of vine scrolls interrupted at front by *tabula ansata* containing inscription; below, horizontal row of dots (23 at front, 23 on left side, 21 on right); then frieze of vines, each panel containing two diagonal branches running from top corner and crossing at center near bottom; at base of side, band of upturned flutes with rounded tongues (15 at front, 16 at left, and 15 at right); raised projecting band at base of side; on bottom, three raised concentric circles and small central boss

**CONDITION:** Intact, with large crack running from top of neck to shoulder under top of left handle and dulling, pitting, and patches of brilliant iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Panticapaeum necropolis, found in 1852*

**LITERATURE:** Daremberg and Saglio 1919, p. 944, fig. 7540; Harden 1935, p. 168 (A.5.a); Lehrer 1979, p. 8, pl. II, 1, 2; Kunina 1997, p. 273, no. 109; von Saldern 2004, p. 242, pl. 35, no. 208; *Glass Fantasy* 2010, pp. 102–3, no. 88

<sup>1</sup> This jug, together with cat. nos. 35 and 36, was studied during a cultural exchange visit to the State Hermitage Museum, May 11–24, 2012, made possible by the Trust for Mutual Understanding.







## 4 One-handled jug signed by Ennion

Translucent amber brown with handle and pedestal foot in same color,  
height (to rim, including restored foot):  $8\frac{5}{16}$  in. (21.1 cm), height (to handle):  $9\frac{3}{8}$  in. (23.8 cm),  
diameter (rim):  $2\frac{13}{16}$  in. (7.2 cm), diameter (max.):  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in. (10.8 cm)  
The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, 59.1.76

This jug was on loan (as L.3347.24) at The Metropolitan Museum of Art between September 9, 1936, and March 18, 1957. Records show that originally, the jug had been restored with a knob base, but in February 1948, it was replaced with a plaster foot modeled on the so-called Kelekian jug – that is, the jug cat. no. 5, which was acquired later by the Eretz Israel Museum.<sup>1</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and upper body, and separate bowl-shaped mold for lower body and bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Outplayed rim folded up and in; wide cylindrical neck; ovoid body; two-ribbed handle applied to upper body, drawn up and slightly outward, then turned in to overhang mouth, and attached to rim; pedestal foot made separately and applied to bottom

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 1<sup>2</sup>

**CONDITION:** Body and handle intact; pedestal foot restored (only trace of original surviving); small bubbles and impurities and surface scratches, patches of grayish weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to have been acquired from a collection near Naples; by 1935 and until 1959, Ray Winfield Smith Collection; acquired from Smith by the Corning Museum of Glass in 1959*

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1935, p. 168 (A.4.ii.a); Rostovtzeff 1941, vol. 2, p. 1022, pl. CIX, no. 1; Harden 1956, p. 322, fig. 300; *Glass from the Ancient World* 1957, pp. 56–57, no. 67; Lehrer 1979, p. 7; Charleston 1980, p. 43, no. 13; Donceel 1987, p. 39, no. 2, fig. 3; Harden et al. 1987, p. 166, no. 87; Kurinsky 1991, p. 223, ill.; Corning Museum of Glass 2001, p. 30; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 19–21, no. 483; von Saldern 2004, p. 241, pl. 35, no. 210

<sup>1</sup> On file in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; see also Whitehouse 2001, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The pattern around the middle of the body has been described by Harden and Whitehouse as a band of lozenges in a honeycomb [*sic*] pattern. See Harden et al. 1987, p. 166; Whitehouse 2001, p. 19.



## 5 One-handled jug signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handle and pedestal foot in same color, height: 8<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22 cm)  
Glass pavilion collection (MHG1200.58), Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv

This is the only known jug by Ennion that has survived with its foot intact. It is also the only example of a signed jug made in cobalt blue glass and so can be compared with the hexagonal flask cat. no. 9 and several of the cups (see cat. nos. 12, 16, 17, and 20). This consistency in color between vessels found in the East and in northern Italy argues in favor of a common production center and an empire-wide preference for strongly colored glass in the early imperial period.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold as was cat. no. 4, foot made in separate mold

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*, on front of body opposite handle: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted rim folded over and in, wide cylindrical neck, ovoid body, plain bottom to which foot is attached, two-ribbed handle applied to upper body drawn up and turned in forming arch above rim and attached to rim

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 1, with foot decorated with vertical flutes rounded at bottom and interspersed with projecting spikes; below, horizontal groove running around outer edge

**CONDITION:** Intact, with small patches of dulling and iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to come from Jerusalem*<sup>1</sup>

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1944–45, pp. 89–90 (A.4.ii.b); Israeli 1964, pp. 34–35, no. 1, figs. 1–3 and frontispiece (“blown in three-part mold”); Lehrer 1979, p. 7, pl. I, 1, 2; Donceel 1987, pp. 39–40, no. 3; Barag 1996, p. 79; Israeli 2011, pp. 22–23

<sup>1</sup> Barag 1996, p. 79.





## 6 One-handled jug signed by Ennion

Translucent pale blue green with handle and pedestal foot in same color,  
height (including restored foot): 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24 cm)  
Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

The inscription on this jug appears below the handle, as is probably the case on the damaged jug cat. no. 7, which is from the Old City in Jerusalem. The handle, which was added after the vessel had been removed from the mold, may have been attached there deliberately in order to draw attention to the maker's name. On other examples, however, the inscribed panel has a prominent position on the front of the vessel, with the handle or handles at the back or sides. The jug was exhibited at the Corning Museum of Glass from 1985 to 1995.

LITERATURE: Sotheby's 1998, pp. 134–36, lot 220;  
Israeli 2011, pp. 20–21

TECHNIQUE: Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and upper body and separate bowl-shaped mold for lower body and bottom

INSCRIPTION (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*, below handle: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

DESCRIPTION: Everted rim folded over and in; wide cylindrical neck; ovoid body; plain bottom to which the foot is attached; two-ribbed handle with fins extending downward applied to upper body, drawn up and turned in, forming arch above rim, and attached to rim with trail extending onto upper part of neck

DECORATION: Same as on cat. no. 1

CONDITION: Body and handle complete, but foot restored; dulling and iridescent weathering



## 7 Jug signed by Ennion

Translucent pale green with handle and pedestal foot in same color,  
height (including restored foot): 5¾ in. (14.6 cm)

Israel Antiquities Authority, on permanent exhibition at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1982-1105

It is probable that this fragmentary jug had a single handle and the inscription was located below it. The vessel is now distorted, having suffered fire damage during the destruction of the building in which it was found.

Only a few fragments identified as jugs made by Ennion have been recorded. A notable example is provided by four non-joining pieces of a jug in translucent yellow glass in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Aquileia.<sup>1</sup> If correctly identified as belonging to a jug by Ennion, these fragments are the only secure evidence for such vessels in Italy.<sup>2</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for neck and upper body and separate bowl-shaped mold for lower body and bottom; foot made in separate mold

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, only partially preserved, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ENOIEI

**DESCRIPTION:** Pear-shaped body; plain bottom with thick horizontal ring below, to which foot is attached

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 1; foot same as on cat. no. 5

**CONDITION:** Broken, with all of neck (and handle) missing as well as parts of body and foot; creamy weathering and silvery iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Found during excavations in the Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem, in 1969–78*<sup>3</sup>

**LITERATURE:** Lehrer 1979, p. 7; Israeli 1983, pp. 65–69, figs. 2, 3; Donceel 1987, p. 40, no. 4; Barag 1996, p. 79; Israeli 1998, pp. 32–33; Brill 1999, vol. 1, p. 81, vol. 2, p. 147; von Saldern 2004, pp. 241, 243, fig. 30, pl. 35, no. 207; Israeli 2011, pp. 18–19

<sup>1</sup> Calvi 1968, pp. 98–99, 105, no. 245; Donceel 1987, p. 41, no. 8; Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, pp. 82, 133, no. 146.

<sup>2</sup> See above, cat. no. 4, which is said to have been acquired from a collection near Naples.

<sup>3</sup> Avigad 1976, p. 22; Galor and Bloedhorn 2013, p. 110, fig. 6.42, and also p. 273, n. 90. Both of these publications refer to parallels for the jug in the Eretz Israel Museum (cat. no. 5) and the Metropolitan Museum. The latter should be taken as a mistake for the jug in the Corning Museum of Glass (cat. no. 4).

## 8 Fragmentary base of a jug

Translucent pale green, diameter: 2¼ in. (5.7 cm)

Israel Antiquities Authority, on permanent exhibition at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1982-1107

The fragment is identical to the foot of cat. no. 7, with which it was found. It is therefore probable that it also belongs to another jug of the same type made by Ennion. It is remarkable that two Ennion pieces of identical shape and color could have existed in the same house at the time of its destruction.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in mold

**DESCRIPTION:** Circular outplayed foot, hollow on bottom

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 5

**CONDITION:** Broken, with almost half of outer edge preserved but center missing; creamy weathering and silvery iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Found during excavations in the Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem, in 1969–78*

**LITERATURE:** Lehrer 1979, p. 7; Israeli 1983, p. 68, fig. 4; Donceel 1987, p. 42, no. 9; Israeli 2011, p. 27







## 9 Hexagonal flask (amphoriskos) signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handles in same color, height:  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in. (14.3 cm), width:  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. (7.9 cm), depth:  $2\frac{13}{16}$  in. (7.2 cm), diameter (rim):  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. (3.8 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1881 (81.10.224)

Gusta Lehrer noted that the decoration on this flask appears to draw its inspiration from architecture and suggested that perhaps, it was intended to represent a shrine or covered altar.<sup>1</sup> The objects and vegetation depicted on five of the panels are associated with the god Dionysus and his retinue. Dionysiac figures and attributes are often found as decoration in Roman art, both in representations on reliefs and wall paintings and on tableware made in metal and terracotta. A large hexagonal jug, discovered in a tomb at Yahmour (near Tartus) in Syria, has decorative elements similar to those of the Ennion flask and, along with a number of smaller examples, was probably inspired by it.<sup>2</sup> For the chemical analysis of this flask, see p. 143.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for shoulder and body, extending from base of neck, and separate section for bottom; mold seams occur on edges between panels 1) and 6), 2) and 3), and 4) and 5), and at raised horizontal line around bottom of panels

**INSCRIPTION** (type F) in three lines, in field on panel 1: ENNIWN/EPWH/CEN

**DESCRIPTION:** Rim folded out, around, and in, with uneven beveled upper edge; short cylindrical neck; hexagonal sloping shoulder; hexagonal body, curving in at top below shoulder, then straight-sided but tapering downward and curving out to projecting plain band at bottom; flat hexagonal bottom; two strap handles applied to shoulder, drawn up and slightly outward, then turned in, folded into a flattened thumb-rest, projecting outward above rim, and trailed off on underside of rim and top of neck

**DECORATION:** On shoulder, six palmettes with alternating inward and outward facing leaves at angles, and six recessed semicircular pediments with thick raised rib-like edges on panels, decorated alternately with circular bosses comprising two small concentric circles and central dot and plain four-armed cross; on body, six panels, each surrounded by raised lines and each containing a different device: 1) inscription; 2) palmette with inward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into a loop below to support a bunch of grapes; 3) ivy tendrils hanging from top corners supporting a cantharus by one of its handles; 4) palmette with outward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into loop below to support double flutes; 5) ivy tendrils hanging from top corners supporting fluted oinochoe by its handle; 6) palmette with inward facing leaves above suspended tendrils at either side tied into loop below to support set of Pan pipes; on bottom, four concentric raised circles

**CONDITION:** Broken on body and bottom, with one hole on bottom edge of shoulder, lower part of three panels, and slightly over half of bottom missing; few bubbles and black inclusions; some dulling and faint pitting; patches of creamy brown weathering with faint iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *In 1876, excavated in Potamia, near Golgoi, Cyprus, by Luigi Palma di Cesnola;<sup>3</sup> collection of Luigi Palma di Cesnola; before 1879, purchased from Cesnola by Jules Charvet; until 1881, collection of Jules Charvet, Le Pecq, Île-de-France; 1881, purchased from Charvet by Henry G. Marquand; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1881, gift of Henry G. Marquand*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1879, pp. 65 (and n. 3), 125, no. 6h, pl. XXVI, no. 107; Johnston and Cesnola 1882, pp. 215–16; Goodyear 1885, p. 166 (and n. 6), pl. VII, 4; Cesnola 1903, pl. LXXVIII, 5; Kisa 1908, vol. 2, figs. 273, 273a, vol. 3, p. 714; Conton 1909, pp. 17–18, ill.; Richter 1911, p. 16, fig. 25; Daremberg and Saglio 1919, p. 944; Köster 1921, p. 137, fig. 14; Eisen 1927, vol. 1, p. 271, pl. 57; Harden 1935, p. 169 (A.6.a); Richter 1938, p. 22, fig. 49; Vessberg 1952, pp. 142, 144, pl. VI, 29; Vessberg and Westholm 1956, pp. 167, 207, fig. 47, 27; Cressedi 1960; Hayward 1962, p. 51; Forbes 1966, fig. 30; Auth 1976, pp. 66–67 (comparandum for no. 60); Engle 1977, pp. 117–18, figs. 1, 1a; Lehrer 1979, p. 9, pl. III, 1–4; Israeli 1983, pp. 68–69; Kaufman 1984, p. 254, ill.; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 113, pl. 84; Kurinsky 1991, p. 222; Stern 1995, pp. 69, 70, fig. 45, p. 73, nn. 85b, 86a, 87, 89, pp. 74, 90, n. 163, p. 148, n. 7b; Barag 1996, p. 80; Strouse 2000, p. 56, fig. 66; Lightfoot 2001, p. 22; von Saldern 2004, p. 242, pl. 35, no. 209; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 340, 484, no. 397

<sup>1</sup> Lehrer 1979, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Harden 1944–45, p. 82, tomb 1, no. 2; Israeli 2003, p. 125, no. 122; Israeli 2011, pp. 48–49. For examples of the smaller hexagonal flasks, see also Israeli 2011, pp. 50–55.

<sup>3</sup> Froehner merely states that it was found in one of the necropoleis on Cyprus; Froehner 1879, p. 65, n. 3. He also reports the supposed existence of another blue hexagonal flask from Larnaca, but this is probably a duplication of the present example; see p. 125. Kurinsky 1991, p. 222, incorrectly gives the provenance as “presumably Jerusalem.”





## 10 Fragment of a hexagonal flask (amphoriskos)

Translucent pale green, height:  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.6 cm)

Israel Antiquities Authority, on permanent exhibition at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1982-1106

The decoration is identical to that on panel 3 of cat. no. 9. Therefore, this fragment can be identified as belonging to a hexagonal flask made by Ennion and was probably blown in the same mold as cat. no. 9. Anita Engle used this find to support her argument that the symbols depicted on cat. no. 9 are connected with the Feast of the Tabernacles, maintaining that the flasks were intended as ritual vessels at Jewish pilgrimage festivals in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Her views have not received wide acceptance.

PROVENANCE: *Found during excavations in the Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem, in 1969–78*

LITERATURE: Lehrer 1979, p. 9; Israeli 1983, pp. 68–69, fig. 5; Israeli 2011, p. 26

<sup>1</sup> Engle 1977, p. 117.

TECHNIQUE: Blown in a mold

DESCRIPTION: Part of one side panel, with projecting plain band at bottom

DECORATION: Jug hanging from an ivy spray

CONDITION: Broken on all sides, with creamy weathering and silvery iridescence



## 11 One-handed cup signed by Ennion

Translucent pale green with handle in same color, height:  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. (9.5 cm),  
diameter:  $5\frac{5}{16}$  in. (13.5 cm)

British Museum, London, GR 1876.11–14.4

The British Museum purchased this cup from Luigi Palma di Cesnola before his return to New York in 1877, and so, it presumably had been acquired in Cyprus during work in 1874–76. The majority of Cesnola's collection had already been shipped to New York by early 1874, but he was sent back to Cyprus at the end of the same year with a contract from the Metropolitan Museum to conduct further excavations on the island.<sup>1</sup> In his brief publication of this cup in an appendix of Greek inscriptions, Cesnola did not provide details of its find-spot; that is recorded in the British Museum's register.<sup>2</sup> However, Cesnola informed Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi that the cup came from Kythraea, an apparent mistake that was repeated subsequently by Froehner.<sup>3</sup> Cesnola also referred to another "vase" inscribed with Ennion's name that had formerly belonged to a Sophocles Nicolaïdes of Larnaca.<sup>4</sup> That cup, if indeed it existed, has not been traced since.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in five-part mold, comprising four vertical sections for shoulder and body and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom<sup>5</sup>

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types D and I) pair, both in four lines, on opposite sides of upper body on inset frieze:

ENNI/WN ΕΠ/ΟΙΗCΕ/Ν and ΜΝΗΘ/Η Ο ΑΓΟ/ΡΑΖΩ/Ν

**DESCRIPTION:** Cut and ground rim; cylindrical body with vertical side; low base ring; concave bottom; double loop handle on one side of upper frieze, applied at top, drawn out, down, and in, and pressed onto side  
**DECORATION:** Inscriptions interspersed with objects: palmette with inward leaves, disk with two concentric circles (outer thin, inner thick) and central dot, vegetal spray (tree?), rosette (star), vertically fluted column topped with palmette (Corinthian capital), another disk, and outward palmette; below, register of 80 vertical flutes with rounded ends, flanked above and below by horizontal rounded flange; on underside of body, 67 radiating flutes, rounded at top; on bottom, three raised concentric circles and central dot

**CONDITION:** Broken and mended, with some losses; weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Tremithus, Cyprus; acquired by the British Museum, London, in 1876, purchased from Luigi Palma di Cesnola*

**LITERATURE:** Maggiora-Vergano and Fabretti 1875, p. 104; Cesnola 1877, pp. 423–24; Froehner 1879, p. 125, no. 6, g (giving an incomplete transcription of the first inscription); Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, p. 209; *Inscriptiones Graecae* 1890, XIV:2410, 3; Conton 1906, pp. 16–17; Kisa 1908, vol. 3, pp. 714–15; Harden 1933, p. 424, fig. 7; Harden 1935, p. 165 (A.1.i.b); Harden 1940, p. 102, no. I; Painter 1968, p. 52, no. 58; Lehrer 1979, p. 11, pl. VI, 1, 2; Tatton-Brown 1991, p. 72, ill. no. 90; Barag 1996, pp. 83–84; De Bellis 2004, cols. 123–24, no. 1.A.2

1 Karageorghis 2000, p. 7.

2 Cesnola 1877, pp. 423–24.

3 Colonna-Ceccaldi 1875, pp. 95, 99–100; Froehner 1879, pp. 120, 125, no. 6, g.

4 Cesnola 1877, p. 424; see also Harden 1935, p. 169.

5 Pace Painter 1968, p. 52, no. 58 ("bipartite mould; only one mould-mark visible").

## 12 One-handed cup signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handle in same color, height:  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. (9.5 cm), diameter (rim):  $5\frac{5}{16}$  in. (13.5 cm), diameter (base):  $2\frac{11}{16}$  in. (6.8 cm)  
Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Adria, IGAD 9100, 492 M

This cup is from the same mold as cat. no. 11.<sup>1</sup> The main difference, apart from color and condition, is found in the handle; on cat. no. 11, the handle is applied over and between the vegetal spray and the rosette of the upper frieze as two separate rods, but on cat. no. 12, the handle is a single broad strap, applied lower down on the frieze over the rosette, with the bottom of the handle pressed onto the side covering part of the register of vertical flutes. In addition, a number of fragments have been ascribed to this group of Ennion cups; for example, two fragments (one comprising part of the body and a complete handle, the other part of the vertical side decorated with a vegetal spray above and with flutes below) in pale yellowish glass from the Roman forum at Tarraco (Tarragona, Spain).<sup>2</sup> Another fragment, bearing part of the inscribed panel (type D), was found at Petra in Jordan in 1929.<sup>3</sup> A fragment from a site known as Santo Stefano at Aquileia, Italy, and now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at that location also may belong to this group.<sup>4</sup>

TECHNIQUE: Blown in five-part mold, comprising four vertical sections and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom<sup>5</sup>

INSCRIPTIONS (types D and I) pair, both in four lines, on opposite sides of upper body on inset frieze: ENNI/WN  
EΠ/OIHCE/N and MNHΘ/H O AΓO/PAZW/N

DESCRIPTION: Cut and ground rim; cylindrical body with vertical side; concave bottom; strap handle on one side

DECORATION: Same as on cat. no. 11

CONDITION: Intact

PROVENANCE: *From Cuora, near Adria (found with cat. nos. 16 and 17); first described and drawn by Conton;<sup>6</sup> formerly in the Museo Nazionale Atestino, Este*

LITERATURE: Conton 1906, pp. 6–7, figs. 2–4; Kisa 1908, vol. 2, figs. 275, 275a, b, vol. 3, p. 708; Harden 1935, p. 165 (A.1.i.a); Bonomi 1996, p. 158, no. 352; Barovier Mentasti et al. 2003, p. 113, no. 4 (by Simonetta Bonomi); De Bellis 2004, cols. 122–23, no. 1.A.1, figs. 2–5; Larese 2004, p. 18, pl. XLI; Larese 2012, p. 99, fig. 5

1 Harden 1935, p. 165; De Bellis 2004, col. 126.

2 Price 1974, p. 69, no. 3, fig. 1, l, b; Barag 1996, p. 84; De Bellis 2004, col. 136, fig. 12a.

3 Horsfield and Horsfield 1942, p. 125, no. 58, pl. XIII, 58 (shown upside down); Barag 1996, pp. 84–85, figs. 7, 8; De Bellis 2004, col. 137, fig. 12b.

4 Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, p. 92, no. 205.

5 De Bellis 2004, col. 123, fig. 3.

6 Conton 1906, pp. 6–7, figs. 2–4; see also De Bellis 2004, cols. 128–29, figs. 4, 5 (who points out inaccuracies in Conton's description and illustrations). For the finds at Cuora, see Bonomi 1990–91.







### 13 One-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent blue green with handle in same color, height:  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.7 cm),  
 diameter (rim):  $4\frac{7}{8}$  in. (12.4 cm), diameter (base):  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm),  
 inscription panels:  $1\frac{5}{16} \times 1$  in. (3.4 x 2.5 cm)  
 Yunwai Lou Collection, New York

This welcome addition to the list of known vessels signed by Ennion previously was unpublished. It closely parallels the two-handled cup cat. no. 14 and may have been made in the same side molds. The main difference is provided by the handles; this cup has only one loop handle, and there is no trace of a second, whereas cat. no. 14 has two angular handles. The second inscription is poorly preserved. Only the top line is now legible; it reads: MNHΘH, so it is probable that it is of type J.

TECHNIQUE: Blown in mold, with no visible mold seams

INSCRIPTIONS (types E and J) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper half of body within two rectangular panels: ENNIW/N ΕΠΟΙ/HCEN and MNHΘH/[O ΑΓΟΡ/ΑΖΩΝ]

DESCRIPTION: Unworked, vertical rim with vertical flange below; cylindrical body with vertical side; S-shaped undercurve; low base ring; flat bottom, convex on interior; strap handle applied to side below flange, drawn out and downward in loop and pressed onto side at level of ridge below upper register of decoration

DECORATION: Body divided into two horizontal registers: above, broad band comprising two rectangular inscribed panels, each with three-line inscription, then after each panel from left to right, palmette with inward leaves, disk with two concentric circles (outer thin, inner thick) and central dot, vegetal spray (tree?), rosette (star), vertically-fluted column on torus base topped with palmette (Corinthian capital), another disk, and outward palmette; below, close-set vertical flutes, rounded at top and bottom; on undercurve, another register of close-set vertical flutes, rounded at top and bottom; on bottom, five concentric circles in relief and central small concavity and knob

CONDITION: Broken and repaired, with one weathered chip in rim above handle; on exterior, dulling, severe pitting, and iridescent weathering; on interior, limy encrustation, weathering, and iridescence





## 14 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent pale blue green with handles in same color, height:  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.7 cm), diameter (rim):  $4\frac{15}{16}$  in. (12.5 cm)<sup>1</sup>  
Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

A fragmentary cup found at Soluntum (Solanto), now in the Museo Archeologico Regionale A. Salinas in Palermo, Sicily, belongs to the same group as this cup, although no trace of any handles remains, and only one inscription panel (type J) has survived.<sup>2</sup> Fragments of another cup were found at the site of Romula, in the Julian Alps (Ribnica, Slovenia) in 2003.<sup>3</sup> Michele De Bellis has argued that similar details on all three cups indicate they were probably made in the same mold.<sup>4</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in a three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections and a separate saucer-shaped mold for the bottom

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types E and J) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper half of body within two rectangular panels: ENNIW/N ΕΠΟΙ/HCEN and MNHΘH/O ΑΓΟΡ/AZWN

**DESCRIPTION:** Cut and ground rim; cylindrical body with vertical side; low base ring; concave bottom; two angular handles attached to opposite sides of body above column motifs on upper frieze, drawn out horizontally, turned down and inward, and pressed onto side with upward trail over upper part of register of vertical flutes

**DECORATION:** On upper body, inset frieze with pair of inscriptions interspersed with objects: palmette with inward leaves, disk with single circle and large central boss, vegetal spray (tree?), rosette (star), vertically fluted column topped with palmette (Corinthian capital), another disk, and outward palmette; below, register of vertical flutes with rounded ends, flanked above and below by horizontal rounded flange; on underside of body, radiating flutes, rounded at top; on bottom, three raised concentric circles and central dot

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with parts of rim and body missing

**LITERATURE:** NFA Classical Auctions 1991, lot 109; Barag 1996, p. 84, fig. 6; De Bellis 2004, col. 133, no. 1.C.2, fig. 7; Israeli 2011, pp. 32–33

1 NFA Classical Auctions 1991, lot 109, and Barag 1996, p. 84, n. 21, cited the dimensions as H 9.6, D 13.7 cm; see also De Bellis 2004, col. 133.

2 Harden 1935, p. 165 (A.1.ii.a); Tusa Cutroni 1966, pp. 69–70, figs. 6, 7; De Bellis 2004, cols. 129–33, figs. 6, 8.

3 Vidrih Perko 2003; De Bellis 2004, col. 133, figs. 9, 10; Lazar 2004, p. 53, no. 17.

4 De Bellis 2004, col. 134, fig. 11.







## 15 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent yellow green with handles in same color, height:  $2\frac{7}{16}$  in. (6.2 cm), diameter (rim):  $3\frac{13}{16}$  in. (9.7 cm), diameter (base):  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. (4.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.225)

The body of this cup is identical to those of cat. nos. 16 and 17 and probably was made using the same mold sections, but the saucer-shaped mold for the bottom is clearly different, having a more close-set lattice pattern, producing more concentric circles of lozenges, and with only three raised circles on the bottom. For the chemical analysis of this cup, see page 143.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections with mold marks extending from rim to ridge below band of flutes, and separate saucer-shaped mold for underside with net pattern and bottom; mold seams to left of *tabula ansata* type C and right of type G, with the third seam running through colonnette under surviving handle

**INSCRIPTIONS:** (types C and G) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within a *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/CEN and MNHΘH/O AΓOPA/ZNW

**DESCRIPTION:** Unworked vertical rim of varying thickness; cylindrical body with vertical sides; bottom with S-shaped curve around outer section, then projecting circular base with raised outer band but concave with slight kick in center; two loop handles attached to sides over upper decorative frieze

**DECORATION:** Body decorated with a plain band below rim above two horizontal friezes in relief; upper frieze bounded above and below by fine raised line and contains two inscriptions; front panel flanked by vine sprays with leaves and bunches of grapes and back by ivy sprays with leaves and berries; both sets of foliage issuing from two vertically fluted colonnettes with base and Ionic capital, set at sides near handles; broad horizontal flange dividing upper from lower frieze; on lower frieze, 78 close-set vertical flutes, rounded at both ends; on underside of body, radiating pattern of lozenges (often wrongly described as a honeycomb); three raised concentric circles and central dot on bottom

**CONDITION:** Broken and cracked, with one handle missing and large gap and two smaller chips in rim, a few pinprick bubbles, faint weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to have been acquired in Venice;<sup>1</sup> probably found in the vicinity of Adria;<sup>2</sup> before 1895, collection of Julien Gréau; by 1903, acquired as part of the Gréau glass collection by J. Pierpont Morgan, New York and London; until 1913, collection of J. Pierpont Morgan; 1913, inherited by J. P. Morgan (son); acquired in 1917, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1903, p. 158, no. 1143, pl. CCVII; Conton 1906, p. 15; Kisa 1908, vol. 3, p. 713; Richter 1911, p. 16, fig. 14; McClees 1933, p. 125; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.i.d; given as amber colored); *Glass from the Museum Collections* 1936, p. 7; Richter 1938, p. 22; Strouse 2000, p. 56, fig. 66; Lightfoot 2001, p. 22; Whitehouse 2001, p. 18; De Bellis 2004, col. 146, no. 2a.E.1, fig. 17; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 340, 484, no. 396

<sup>1</sup> Froehner 1903, p. 158, no. 1143.

<sup>2</sup> Conton 1906, p. 15; De Bellis 2004, col. 146.

## 16 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handles in same color, height:  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm),  
diameter (rim):  $3\frac{13}{16}$  in. (9.7 cm)

The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, 66.1.36

This cup and cat. no. 17 are a matching pair. Not only were they blown in the same mold, but evidently, they also were bought as a pair in antiquity and subsequently buried together. A pair of mold-blown beakers found in the same tomb at Altino near Venice provides a good parallel for the Adria cups in both context and decoration.<sup>1</sup> If not unsigned products of Ennion's workshop itself, the beakers clearly were made by drawing on motifs similar to those on Ennion cups, including Corinthian columns and bosses in an upper frieze, vertical flutes in a lower frieze, and a lattice pattern on the underside of the body.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections, and separate saucer-shaped mold for the bottom<sup>2</sup>

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types C and G) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within a *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/СEN and MNHΘH/O AΓOPA/ZNW

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; cylindrical body with vertical side, curved underneath; flat bottom; two narrow strap handles attached to side as ear-shaped loops

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 15, but with five raised concentric circles and central dot on bottom

**CONDITION:** Intact, with small patches of grayish accretion

**PROVENANCE:** *From Cuora, near Adria (found with cat. nos. 12 and 17);<sup>3</sup> formerly in the Sangiorgi Collection, Rome; acquired by the Corning Museum of Glass in 1966*

**LITERATURE:** Sangiorgi 1914, pp. 32–33, no. 101, pl. XVII; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.i.b); Lehrer 1979, p. 11, pl. VI, 3–5; Harden et al. 1987, pp. 164–65, no. 86; Kurinsky 1991, p. 164, ill.; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 18–19, no. 482; De Bellis 2004, cols. 139, 143, no. 2a.D.2, fig. 15; Wight 2011, p. 75, fig. 52

1 Barovier Mentasti and Tirelli 2010, pp. 50–51, 68–69 (tomb 931, dated to the mid-1st century A.D.).

2 Pace Whitehouse 2001, p. 18; see also De Bellis 2004, col. 187, n. 19.

3 Conton 1906, p. 6; Harden 1935, p. 166 and n. 7; De Bellis 2004, col. 140.







## 17 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handles in same color, height: 2½ in. (6.4 cm), diameter (rim): 3¾ in. (9.5 cm)

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Adria, IGAD 9099, 491 M

Another cup, from Bagnolo Mella, near Brescia (Roman Brixia), and now in the Galleria Estense, Modena, belongs to the same group as cat. nos. 16 and 17 but is in a translucent amber color (fig. 5, p. 20).<sup>1</sup> All three probably were blown in the same mold. Other cups also may be attributed to the same group, but with less certainty because they have survived only as small fragments. They include three examples from Aquileia and its vicinity, two of which are also in cobalt blue.<sup>2</sup> One of these two preserves part of the inscription of type G or H, while another fragment found at Redena to the northwest of Ferrara retains the *tabula ansata* inscription of type C.<sup>3</sup> Other fragments, decorated with ivy and vine sprays and so identified as belonging to Ennion cups, have been found at Forum Iulii (Fréjus in southern France) and at Mogador (Essaouira) in Morocco.<sup>4</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections, and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types C and G) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within a *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/CEN and ΜΝΗΘΗ/Ο ΑΓΟΡΑ/ZNW

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; cylindrical body with vertical side, curved underneath; flat bottom; two narrow strap handles attached to side as ear-shaped loops

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 15

**CONDITION:** Intact

**PROVENANCE:** From Cuora, near Adria (found with cat. nos. 12 and 16); first described and drawn by Conton in 1906;<sup>5</sup> formerly in the Museo Nazionale Atestino, Este

**LITERATURE:** Conton 1906, pp. 8–9, figs. 5–7; Kisa 1908, vol. 2, figs. 276, 276a, b, vol. 3, p. 710; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.i.a); Cressedi 1960; Bonomi 1996, p. 158, no. 353; De Bellis 2004, col. 140, no. 2a.D.1, figs. 13, 14; Larese 2004, pl. XL; Larese 2012, p. 99, fig. 5

1 Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.i.c); De Bellis 2004, col. 143, no. 2a.D.3, fig. 16.

2 De Bellis 2004, col. 148, nos. 2a.Y.1–2a.Y.3, figs. 19a–c; Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, p. 91, nos. 203, 204.

3 De Bellis 2004, col. 156, no. 2b.G.5, fig. 24.

4 Ibid., col. 148, nos. 2a.Y.4, 2a.Y.5, fig. 19d. The Mogador fragment bears part of an inscription ending in ZNW (type G); Jodin 1967, p. 213, pl. CI (top left); Price 1974, p. 69.

5 Conton 1906, pp. 8–9, figs. 5–7; see also De Bellis 2004, cols. 147–48, nos. 2a.F.1, 2a.F.2, fig. 18.



## 18 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent blue green with handles in same color, height:  $2\frac{1}{16}$  in. (5.2 cm), diameter (rim):  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. (9 cm), diameter (base):  $1\frac{11}{16}$  in. (4.3 cm)  
Musei Civici, Pavia, A 243

This cup and the one in the Louvre cat. no. 19 are identical in every way and must have been made in the same mold. Their decoration is similar to that on cat. nos. 15–17, but there are clear differences: (a) in the correct spelling of the word ΑΓΟΡΑΖΩΝ on one of the inscriptions, (b) in the absence of columns in the upper frieze, (c) in the number of vertical flutes on the lower side register, (d) in the arrangement of the lattice pattern of the underside of the body, and (e) in the number of concentric circles on the bottom (here five circles and a central boss, as on cat. nos. 16 and 17).<sup>1</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types C and H) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within a *tabula ansata*: ENNIΩN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/ΕΝ and ΜΝΗΘΗ/Ο ΑΓΟΡΑ/ΖΩΝ

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; cylindrical body with vertical side, curved underneath; flat bottom; two strap handles attached to side as ear-shaped loops

**DECORATION:** same as on cat. no. 15 but with variations

**CONDITION:** Broken, with parts of rim and side missing

**PROVENANCE:** From Lomellina, west of Pavia (Roman Ticinum); formerly in the collection of Canillo Brambilla;<sup>2</sup> given by Brambilla to the Musei Civici, Pavia, in 1891

**LITERATURE:** Baravalli 1932, pp. 360–62, fig. 1; Harden 1944–45, p. 89 (A.2.iii.c); Mirabella Roberti and Tamassia 1964, p. 50, no. 3, pl. VI; Tamassia 1965, pp. 3–4, fig. 1; Maccabruni 1981–83, p. 64, fig. 2; Maccabruni 1983, pp. 28–30, 33–34, no. 6, pl. 1 and ill. p. 35; Barag 1996, p. 85; De Bellis 2004, col. 152, no. 2b.G.2, fig. 21; Maccabruni, Diani, and Rebajoli 2006, p. 122, no. 172, pl. II (by Claudia Maccabruni and Maria Grazia Diani)

<sup>1</sup> De Bellis 2004, cols. 151–52.

<sup>2</sup> Canillo Brambilla (1809–1892), a noted Italian numismatist, acted as the Inspector of Excavations and Monuments for the province of Pavia between 1875 and 1880. His collection was donated to the Musei Civici in 1891. See Maccabruni 2006, p. 19.



## 19 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent blue green with handles in same color, height:  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.6 cm), diameter (rim):  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. (9 cm), diameter (base):  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. (4.5 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris, MNC 3

Donald Harden identified another cup as coming from the same mold as this cup. Now lost, it is recorded as having been found at Fondi Urbanetti (Colombara) near Aquileia in 1884.<sup>1</sup> The same site produced an unusual fragment in opaque blue glass that preserves part of the inscription with Ennion's name in a *tabula ansata*, flanked by part of a vine spray.<sup>2</sup> It belongs therefore to another cup of the same general type as cat. nos. 15–20. Another fragment, bearing the complete *tabula ansata* with Ennion's name and belonging to the same group as cat. nos. 18–20, was found at “La Pradina” (Redena) in the 1980s and is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Ferrara.<sup>3</sup> Also attributed to this group is a fragment from Fidentia (Borgo San Donnino, near Parma).<sup>4</sup> Indeed, detailed study by Michele De Bellis appears to confirm that all three fragments were made in the same mold as cat. nos. 18 and 19.<sup>5</sup> Finally, a fragment of the side of a cup in pale yellow green decorated with a vine spray found during excavations at Corinth also may be attributed to this group.<sup>6</sup> De Bellis has suggested that the whole group, because of the inferior quality of their fabric, design, and execution, are the products of an ancient imposter who copied Ennion.<sup>7</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections, and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types C and H) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within a *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/ΕΝ and ΜΝΗΘΗ/Ο ΑΓΟΡΑ/ΖΩΝ

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; cylindrical body with vertical side, curved underneath; flat bottom; two strap handles attached to side as ear-shaped loops

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 18

**CONDITION:** Broken, with part of rim and one handle missing

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from Refrancore, near Hasta (Asti), in northern Italy, and found in 1875; formerly in the Maggiora-Vergano Collection; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1881

**LITERATURE:** Maggiora-Vergano and Fabretti 1875, pp. 101–4, pl. V; Froehner 1879, p. 125, no. 6, f; Sambon 1906, p. 499, fig. 50; Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iii.b); Crosetto 1994, p. 56; De Bellis 2004, col. 151, no. 2b.G.1, fig. 20; Arveiller and Nenna 2005, p. 41, no. 27, pl. 5; Slitine 2005, p. 153, ill. p. 152; De Bellis 2010, pp. 41–42, fig. 6; Fontaine-Hodiamont and Lefrancq 2010, pp. 470, 478, figs. 30, 31, 63; Arveiller 2012, p. 168, fig. 142

1 Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iii.a); confirmed by De Bellis 2004, cols. 155–56, no. 2b.G.3. See also Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge 1922, p. 9, lot 74, pl. 2.

2 Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.ii.b); Calvi 1968, pp. 97–98, fig. 1; De Bellis 2004, col. 156, no. 2b.G.4, fig. 23; Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, p. 91, no. 202.

3 Inv. no. 54206; De Bellis 2004, col. 156, no. 2b.G.5, fig. 24.

4 Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.ii.a); De Bellis 2004, col. 156, no. 2b.G.6, fig. 25.

5 De Bellis 2004, cols. 157–58, figs. 23–27; De Bellis 2010, p. 42.

6 McClellan 1983, pp. 73–74, fig. 3; see also De Bellis 2004, col. 158, no. 2b.G.7.

7 De Bellis 2004, cols. 159–60, 165; De Bellis 2010, p. 42.





## 20 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent cobalt blue with handles in same color, height: 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm),

diameter (rim): 3 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (9.2 cm)

Museo di Antichità, Turin, inv. no. 75699

This cup is a close parallel to cat. nos. 18 and 19 and may have been made in the same set of molds. The loss of one of the handles has attracted comment in the recent first publication of the cup, and it has been suggested that it may have been malformed or damaged during production, causing it to be turned as a single-handled cup.<sup>1</sup> Alternatively (and more plausibly), the cup may have lost one handle during use, and this is what led to the remains of the handle being ground down. If the latter is the case, it would imply that the cup was a valued possession and was in use for some considerable time.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections, and separate saucer-shaped mold for bottom

**INSCRIPTIONS** (types C and H) pair, both in three lines, on opposite sides of upper frieze within *tabula ansata*:

ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗ/ΕΝ and ΜΝΗΘΗ/Ο ΑΓΟΡΑ/ΖΩΝ

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; cylindrical body with vertical side, curved underneath; flat bottom; two strap handles attached to side as ear-shaped loops

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. nos. 18 and 19

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with part of rim and one handle missing

**PROVENANCE:** *Chance find in 1981 from the Roman necropolis of San Bartolomeo at Vercelli (Roman Vercellae) in Piedmont, northern Italy*

**LITERATURE:** Gabucci and Spagnolo Garzoli 2013, p. 44, no. 3, figs. 2–4

<sup>1</sup> Gabucci and Spagnolo Garzoli 2013, p. 44.







## 21 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent pale blue green, height: 2½ in. (6.4 cm), diameter (rim): 37/16 in. (8.8 cm), diameter (base): 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)

Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey, Eugene Schaefer Collection,  
Gift of Mrs. Eugene Schaefer, 1950 (50.1443)

In comparison with the preceding cups, flasks, and jugs, this cup is relatively austere in decorative program, lacking any flowing bands of palmettes, foliage, and other objects. However, the simplicity of its contrasting vertical and horizontal lines, accentuated by angular handles, adds to its attraction and gives greater prominence to the *tabula ansata* bearing Ennion's name. Fragments of three cups with similar decorative elements have been found at the Roman site of Tilurium in Dalmatia (Croatia) (see above, p. 63).

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for sides, and separate section for cup-shaped base; vertical mold seams visible along right side of *tabula ansata*, above left handle, and down back<sup>1</sup>

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, on one side in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Knocked-off rim; plain vertical band at top of side with horizontal molding below; inset, slightly concave frieze around body with projecting flange below; convex-curving underside; low base ring; concave bottom; two handles attached to top edge of frieze, drawn out, bent down and inward, and attached to flange with short upward fold

**DECORATION:** Central frieze of vertical ribbing, arranged in pairs and interrupted on one side by *tabula ansata* containing inscription; on underside, thirty-six vertical flutes, rounded at top, with spikes projecting upward between flutes; on bottom, three raised concentric circles and central dot; under one of the handles, mark resembling the letter A

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with one handle restored; slightly iridescent

**PROVENANCE:** Formerly Schaefer Collection, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1944–45, p. 89, pl. VIII, 1; Dusenbury 1951, pp. 14–15, pl. X; Auth 1974, pp. 29–30, fig. 4; Auth 1976, pp. 64–65, no. 58; Lehrer 1979, p. 11; Kurinsky 1991, p. 226, ill.; Barag 1996, p. 86; De Bellis 2004, col. 165, no. 3.H.3, fig. 32; von Saldern 2004, pp. 239–40, pl. 36, no. 211; Newark Museum 2009, p. 142

<sup>1</sup> Auth 1976, p. 65.



## 22 Two-handled cup signed by Ennion

Translucent blue, height:  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. (6 cm), diameter (rim):  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (8.9 cm),  
diameter (base):  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. (4.5 cm)  
Museo di Antichità, Turin, inv. no. 3302

A cup in translucent green glass that matches this one in shape and design was found in one of the ancient cemeteries of Pollentia (Pollenze, Cuneo) and is now in the Museo Civico, Palazzo Traversa, Bra (fig. 6, p. 20).<sup>1</sup> Under one of the handles at the top of the inset frieze and between two pairs of ribs is a mark resembling the letter A. This mark also appears on cat. nos. 21 and 22.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the three cups probably were made using the same mold.<sup>3</sup> Two other fragments can be ascribed to the same group, although not necessarily to the same mold. One is from the imperial villa at Pausilypon (Posillipo) on the Bay of Naples, and the other was recovered during excavations in the Athenian Agora.<sup>4</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for sides and separate section for cup-shaped base<sup>5</sup>

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, on one side in a *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION AND DECORATION:** Same as cat. no. 21, with central frieze of vertical ribbing, arranged in twenty-nine pairs of lines and interrupted on one side by *tabula ansata* with inscription; on underside, thirty-six vertical flutes rounded at top with spikes between projecting upward; on bottom, three raised concentric circles and central dot

**CONDITION:** Broken and restored from many fragments, with part of lower front of body missing

**PROVENANCE:** Found in 1873 in a Roman tomb at an ancient cemetery near the rural chapel of San Giorgio at Caresana, near Vercelli (Roman Vercellae), in Piedmont, northern Italy; acquired by the Museo di Antichità, Turin, gift of Giovanni Bussi

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iv.a); Calvi 1965, p. 12, fig. 4; Viale 1971, p. 56, pl. 47; Lehrer 1979, p. 10, pl. V, 1, 2; Barag 1996, pp. 85–86; Facchini 1998, p. 268; De Bellis 2004, col. 165, no. 3.H.2, fig. 31; von Saldern 2004, p. 243; *Luxus* 2009, p. 484, ill. p. 387 (by Gabriella Pantò); Gabucci and Spagnolo Garzoli 2013, pp. 43–44, no. 2, fig. 1 (by Ada Gabucci)

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. M 1444; De Bellis 2004, col. 165, no. 3.H.1, fig. 30; Filippi 2006, pp. 66–67, fig. 61; Gabucci and Spagnolo Garzoli 2013, p. 43, no. 1. I am grateful to Dr. Gabriella Pantò, director of the Museo di Antichità, Turin, for drawing my attention to this parallel.

<sup>2</sup> De Bellis 2004, col. 165, figs. 30c, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., col. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., nos. 3.Z.1, 3.Z.2, figs. 33, 34. Murray McClellan believed that the Athenian fragment came “probably from the same mold” as cat. nos. 21 and 22; McClellan 1983, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Luxus* 2009, p. 484, “soffiato in stampo bivalve” (“blown in a two-part mold”).



### 23 Globular bowl signed by Ennion

Translucent pale blue green, height:  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm); diameter (max.):  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.8 cm); diameter (rim):  $2\frac{11}{16}$  in. (6.8 cm)

Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. (71.6779)

This bowl was blown in the same mold as the Yale example cat. no. 24. A similar bowl, but lacking any inscription and with less detailed decoration, was formerly in the Oppenländer Collection and is said to have been acquired in Beirut in 1959.<sup>1</sup> The three fragments found during rescue excavations in Istanbul belong to a signed Ennion bowl that has a different design (see above, pp. 24, 38, and fig. 10, p. 23). No other fragments have been attributed to this class of Ennion's products.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for sides, and separate section for lower body and bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Unworked rim; globular body; concave bottom

**DECORATION:** Three bands: uppermost band of vertical flutes (ribs), rounded at bottom, with *tabula ansata* inscription; band of network pattern at center; flutes (gadroons) on lower side; on bottom, three concentric raised circles and central knob

**CONDITION:** Intact, with slight weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Sidon, Lebanon; acquired by Mrs. E. T. Newell from Azeez Khayat about 1915–18; formerly in the Newell Collection*

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1944–45, p. 89 (A.3.b), pl. VIII, 2; "Important Acquisitions" 1968, p. 181, no. 6; "Chrysler Museum Institute of Glass" 1972; Lehrer 1979, p. 10; Engle 1985, p. 80; Merrill 1989, p. 16, no. 4; Barag 1996, p. 80; von Saldern 2004, p. 241; Baker 2007, pp. 123, 124, no. 149

<sup>1</sup> Von Saldern et al. 1974, p. 160, no. 448.





## 24 Globular bowl signed by Ennion

Translucent pale blue green, height:  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm); diameter (max.):  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.8 cm)  
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection,  
Bequest of Mrs. William H. Moore (1955.6.66)

The bowl was found in the late 1920s and, together with cat. no. 23, provides good evidence for placing Ennion's workshop in Lebanon. The decoration in part recalls that on the jugs (cat. nos. 1, 2, and 4–7) with its net pattern around the middle of the body, but the bands of vertical and radiating flutes above and below are closer to the geometric style of some of Ennion's cups (cat. nos. 21 and 22). As on the latter, the signed *tabula ansata* takes a prominent place in the overall design.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections for sides, and a separate section for lower body and bottom; misaligned mold seam to right of *tabula ansata*, extending from rim to horizontal ridge below network pattern

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Unworked rim; globular body; concave bottom; misaligned mold seam to right of *tabula ansata*, extending from rim to horizontal ridge below network pattern

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 23

**CONDITION:** Intact, with slight iridescence on interior

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Sidon, Lebanon; formerly in the Moore Collection*

**LITERATURE:** Dussaud 1929, pp. 82–83, ill.; Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.3.a); Hayward 1962, p. 50, no. 1, fig. 2; Lehrer 1979, p. 10, pl. IV, 1, 2; Matheson 1980, pp. 43–46, no. 118; Kurinsky 1991, p. 218, ill.; Barag 1996, p. 80; Grossmann 2002, p. 24, fig. 24; von Saldern 2004, p. 241, pl. 36, no. 212

## 25 Conical beaker signed by Ennion

Translucent amber brown, height:  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. (7.9 cm), diameter (rim):  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm), diameter (base):  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. (3.5 cm)  
Museo de Cádiz, Spain, CE12026

A bowl, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig. 9, p. 22), which comes from the Cesnola Collection and is said to have been found at Tremithus on Cyprus, can be compared to this beaker, since it too has bands of flutes above and below a floral scroll.<sup>1</sup> However, on the Fitzwilliam bowl, it is the central scroll frieze that is interrupted by a relief panel with a two-line inscription. This is now illegible as a result of surface weathering, so it is uncertain if the bowl is another related type of vessel signed by Ennion. Interestingly, the Ennion cup now in the British Museum (cat. no. 11) also is said to come from Tremithus and was purchased from Luigi Palma di Cesnola.

Other related beakers have the inscription ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ ΕΦΟ ΠΑΡΕΙ above a central scroll frieze and vertical flutes below, one of which is said to have been found near Marseilles, and another is now in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection.<sup>2</sup> A different type is represented by a beaker said to be from Panticapaeum that has the same inscription around the center, with the scroll frieze above and vertical flutes below.<sup>3</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections for sides, and separate section for lower body and bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type A) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNI[WN]/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Short vertical rim; rounded shoulder; convex-curving side tapering downward; slightly splayed base; flat thick bottom

**DECORATION:** Three bands: uppermost band of vertical flutes, rounded at both ends, interrupted by *tabula ansata* inscription; band of wavy ivy scrolls at center, flanked above and below by single horizontal ridge; long flutes on lower side, rounded at top; on bottom, three concentric raised circles and central knob

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with some losses, especially on the rim and shoulder, including part of the inscribed *tabula ansata*

**PROVENANCE:** *Excavated in 1982 from tomb 129 in the Avenida necropolis, Cádiz (Roman Gades), Spain*

**LITERATURE:** Caldera de Castro 1990, pp. 79–80, fig. 2 (giving the inscription as ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙHCEN); Barag 1996, p. 81; von Saldern 2004, pp. 239, 241 (inscription inaccurately transcribed with ΕΠΟΙHCEN)

1 *Glass at the Fitzwilliam Museum* 1978, p. 32, no. 52a; Karageorghis, Vassilika, and Wilson 1999, pp. 139–40, no. 244 (the lid does not belong to it; entry by Eleni Vassilika).

2 Harden 1935, p. 175 (G.iii.a); Foy and Nenna 2001, p. 178, no. 283, ill. p. 14; Fontaine and Roussel-Ode 2010, p. 178, fig. 3, no. 2. For the unprovenanced example, see Israeli 2011, pp. 96–97.

3 On loan to the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, England; Harden 1935, p. 175 (G.iv.a). See also Price 1991, p. 61, pl. XVII, b.







## 26 Cup signed by Ennion

Translucent amber brown, height:  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm), diameter:  $2\frac{15}{16}$  in. (7.5 cm)

Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

The two letter *As* mark where handles originally were attached to the sides of the vessel, as in the case of cat. nos. 21 and 22, although there only one letter *A* is found underneath one of the handles.<sup>1</sup> The decorative elements that make up the design are atypical of Ennion's signed work. Animals and birds do not appear on any other examples, but here, they provide links to other groups of mold-blown vessels. There is, for example, a group of small bottles and jugs that has three pairs of creatures separated by floral sprays (anthemia or palmettes). The creatures have been identified as a cock and a dog, a sheep and a bull, and a cat and a peafowl (a duck?).<sup>2</sup> Animals also are found on bottles belonging to the Workshop of the Floating Handles, as seen on cat. nos. 38 and 39. In addition, they have horizontal bands of dots dividing the registers of decoration that are similar to the dots at the top of this cup's body.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections for sides, and separate section for lower body and bottom

**INSCRIPTION** (type B) in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: ENNIWN/ΕΠΟΙΗCEN

**DESCRIPTION:** Concave curving side, with projecting horizontal ridge below; underside curving into base ring; small flat bottom

**DECORATION:** Around top of body, horizontal row of small dots; on body, frieze comprising four vertical palmettes with outturned leaves, each flanked by pairs of confronting creatures: from left to right, bull and lion, two cocks, hare and dog, and two birds (perhaps crows); between two of the palmettes, *tabula ansata* containing inscription, placed above one of the birds and the bull; below, two parallel raised lines; on ridge, two opposing letter *As*, with their tops covering lower of the two raised lines, one below lion's tail, the other under hind legs of dog; on underside, radiating vertical flutes, rounded at top; on bottom, three concentric circles and central knob

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with modern restoration for rim

**PROVENANCE:** Purchased in 1931 by Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951);<sup>3</sup> given by Yahuda to Dr. D. T. Hart; until 1994 in the Hart Collection

**LITERATURE:** Sotheby's 1931, lot 64 (inscription wrongly given as 'Εννίων ἐποίησεν); Sotheby's 1994, p. 19, lot 31; Barag 1996, pp. 81–82, figs. 2–5; Israeli 2011, pp. 34–35

<sup>1</sup> See De Bellis 2004, col. 165, figs. 30c, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Hayward 1962, p. 53, no. 7, fig. 8; see also Barag 1996, p. 82; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 40–41, no. 510 (with bibliography).

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that Yahuda met Theodor Herzl in London in 1896; see Penslar 2007, p. 54. Some of the Moussaieff Collection is now kept at Herzliya, near Tel Aviv, which is named after Theodor Herzl.







## 27 Cup signed by Aristeas

Translucent light green, height:  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm); diameter:  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. (9 cm)

Strada Collection, Scaldasole, Pavia, inv. no. 68

This Aristeas and the one named on cat. no. 28 are assumed to be the same person. The horizontal arrangement of one half of the central frieze finds its closest parallel on a group of cylindrical jugs decorated with three pairs of floral sprays, one of which resembles vine stems and leaves. The type is known to have had a wide distribution in antiquity, extending from Judaea and Syria in the East to Raetia and Baetica in the West.<sup>1</sup> A footed cantharus in Turin (Roman Augusta Taurinorum) also has a similar frieze of vine tendrils around the body and vertical flutes on the undercurve.<sup>2</sup> Other varieties of cups signed by Aristeas are now attested by finds from Burnum and Naronia in Roman Dalmatia (Croatia) (see pp. 65–67).

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold; three vertical sections for sides, and a separate section for lower body and bottom; one visible mold seam at center of back panel; the other two are well concealed to either side of inscribed panel on front

**INSCRIPTION:** in two lines, in *tabula ansata*: APICTEAC/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Plain, knocked-off rim; cylindrical body with vertical side, tapering in at bottom; underside curving into base ring; flat bottom; two double-ribbed handles applied as pads, drawn up and outward, then turned in horizontally, and pressed onto side below rim with downward broad fold below

**DECORATION:** Four bands separated by three horizontal ridges: at top, narrow band of vertical flutes; at center, broad, slightly recessed frieze comprising two different designs that meet on back panel but are separated at front by *tabula ansata* with inscription; to left, horizontal stem with sprays of vine leaves, shoots, and grape clusters, and to right, ornate floral scroll on which two birds perch; at bottom, another narrow band of vertical flutes; on underside, radiating net pattern; on bottom, four concentric raised circles around disk with hollow central dot

**CONDITION:** Intact, with one minor chip on rim, some small black impurities in handles, very little weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Albonese, Pavia (Roman Ticinum);*<sup>3</sup> *formerly in the Antonio Steffanini Collection; acquired by Antonio Strada before 1939*

**LITERATURE:** Forbes 1966, p. 169; Mirabella Roberti and Tamassia 1964, p. 50, no. 2, pl. VI; Tamassia 1965, pp. 4–5, fig. 2; Calvi 1965, pp. 9–16, figs. 1–3, 6–8; Mariacher 1966, pl. 7; Lehrer 1979, p. 12, pl. V, 4; Barag 1996, pp. 86–87; von Saldern 2004, p. 245; Diani and Invernizzi forthcoming

1 See Stern 1995, pp. 166–67, no. 75 (with discussion).

2 Calvi 1965, pp. 15–16, fig. 12.

3 According to Calvi 1965, p. 9, it was found “at the end of the 19th century.”

## 28 Globular bowl signed by Aristeas

Translucent yellowish green, height: 2½ in. (6.4 cm); diameter (rim): 2⅝ in (6.7 cm); greatest diameter: 3½ in. (8.9 cm); diameter (base): 1⅞ in. (2.9 cm)  
Private collection – Sheikh Saoud Bin Mohammad Bin Ali Al-Thani

This bowl is one of a kind, although a body fragment in translucent blue green glass, with the same decoration but lacking the inscription, was found at Zeugma on the Euphrates River in 2010 (see above, fig. 11, p. 24). A cup fragment from Naronia in Dalmatia bears the same inscription as this bowl, with the epithet ΚΥΠΡΙΟC (from Cyprus) added between the name and verb, but the division of letters within the three lines is slightly different (see above, pp. 65–66). In shape, the bowl resembles two globular bowls signed by Ennion, cat. nos. 23 and 24, but in place of the central net pattern, it has a more elaborate decorative frieze, for which no exact parallel is known.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections and a separate section for the lower body and bottom; mold seams extend to edge of rim

**INSCRIPTION** in Greek, in three lines, in *tabula ansata*: ΑΡΙCΤΕΑC/ΚΥΠΡΙΟC/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

**DESCRIPTION:** Slightly everted, vertical, knocked-off rim; slightly squat globular body; fine, shallow base ring; concave bottom

**DECORATION:** On body in three horizontal registers, separated by raised horizontal line above central frieze: at top, close-set fluting with rounded ends, interrupted on one side by rectangular panel containing *tabula ansata*; at middle, arcaded frieze of eleven palmettes with outward leaves; at bottom, close-set fluting with rounded ends; at center of bottom, small raised dot; inscription in *tabula ansata*

**CONDITION:** Two chips in rim, repaired; pitting and iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from the eastern Mediterranean; until 1979, in the Constable-Maxwell Collection; until 1997, in the British Rail Pension Fund Collection*

**LITERATURE:** *Constable-Maxwell Collection* 1979, pp. 157–60, lot 280; Harden 1979, p. 291, fig. 4; Engle 1985, p. 81, fig. 56; Price 1991, pp. 58, 71; Stern 1995, p. 72, nn. 71, 76; Barag 1996, p. 86; *British Rail Pension Fund* 1997, pp. 48–51, lot 18; Bonhams 2004, pp. 34–37, lot 14 (with inaccurate drawing of the inscription); von Saldern 2004, p. 245







## 29 Beaker signed by Jason

Translucent green, height: 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.1 cm), diameter: 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1959 (59.11.3)

In addition to the two Jason beakers in the Metropolitan Museum catalogued here, only four other examples are known. One is in the British Museum, and another is in the Yale University Art Gallery (and once had been on loan at the Metropolitan Museum); both are said to have been made in the same mold.<sup>1</sup> The third, said to be from a place called Hasfin in the Hauran, was recorded in the National Museum of Beirut.<sup>2</sup> The final example is incomplete, and its inscriptions preserve only the first and last two letters of Jason's name: I[AC]WN.<sup>3</sup> The name on the beaker previously had been restored as Meges.<sup>4</sup> An example in the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, has been condemned as a modern copy, made in a molding taken from the beaker in Beirut.<sup>5</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections and separate cup-shaped base;<sup>6</sup> mold seams visible down side from rim through palm fronds to middle of three horizontal ridges

**INSCRIPTIONS,** two, both in two lines, above central frieze: IACWN ΕΠΟΗCEN and ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑCΑC

**DESCRIPTION:** Outplayed knocked-off rim with indent below; body with convex sides, tapering downward; flat bottom, recessed within rounded edge

**DECORATION:** In relief: on body, two horizontal ridges above central frieze containing two inscriptions and divided vertically by two stylized palm fronds; below frieze, three more horizontal ridges; near bottom on cup section of mold, two more horizontal ridges; on bottom, raised circle surrounding central depression with small boss

**CONDITION:** Intact, except for one small chip in rim; blowing striations, some pinprick and a few larger bubbles; on exterior, dulling, pitting, and brilliant iridescent weathering; on sides of interior, thick creamy brown weathering with soil encrustation

**PROVENANCE:** By 1911, collection of Karl Anton Niessen, Cologne; by 1935 and until 1959, Ray Winfield Smith Collection; acquired from Smith by the Metropolitan Museum in 1959

**LITERATURE:** Niessen 1911, p. 65, no. 1084, pls. XXVII, LII; Harden 1935, p. 169 (B.b); *Glass from the Ancient World* 1957, p. 59, no. 70; "Important Acquisitions" 1961, p. 135, no. 4

1 Harden 1935, p. 169 (B.a and B.d); Matheson 1980, pp. 52–53, no. 133. According to René Dussaud, the British Museum beaker was found at Sidon and acquired by Joseph Durighello in Beirut; Dussaud 1920, p. 231, figs. 1, 2. The Yale piece has been identified as the beaker (L.2465.94) that was part of the J. P. Morgan Collection on loan to the Metropolitan Museum from March 31, 1925, until January 31, 1944. As a result, it seems, Jane Hayward counted the beaker twice, for she stated that there are three Jason beakers in the Metropolitan; Hayward 1962, p. 51, n. 12.

2 Harden 1944–45, p. 90 (B.e). The location of the site has not been identified.

3 *Glaskunst* 1981, p. 80, no. 268 (with inaccurate transcription of the inscriptions); *Benzian Collection* 1994, p. 54, lot 88; Slitine 2005, p. 154, ill.

4 Smith 1970, p. 36, no. 59; Sotheby's 1975, lot 177.

5 "Important Acquisitions" 1969, p. 109, no. 3; see also Matheson 1980, p. 53.

6 Harden misleadingly stated that the beakers were blown "in a bipartite mould"; Harden 1935, p. 169.





### 30 Beaker signed by Jason

Translucent blue green, height:  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. (9.1 cm), diameter:  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection,

Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.82)

Henry Osborne Havemeyer and his wife Louisine, pioneering American patrons of art, assembled an extraordinary collection, a large part of which was given to the Metropolitan Museum in Mrs. Havemeyer's bequest, to join gifts made while they were alive. Between about 1890 and 1910, they assembled a collection of ancient glass of several hundred pieces. This beaker is one of nineteen pieces selected for the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Museum by Gisela Richter in 1929 as part of Mrs. Havemeyer's bequest.<sup>1</sup> All the glass had been bought by the Havemeyers from Azeez Khayat, a Lebanese dealer, who set up shop on Fifth Avenue in New York in 1892.<sup>2</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, blown in same mold as cat. no. 29, comprising two vertical sections and separate cup-shaped base

**INSCRIPTIONS,** two, both in two lines, above central frieze: IACWN ΕΠΟΗCEN and ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑCΑC

**DESCRIPTION:** Outsplayed knocked-off rim with indent below; body with convex sides, tapering downward; thick flat bottom recessed within rounded edge

**DECORATION:** Same as cat. no. 29

**CONDITION:** Intact, except for one chip in rim, blowing striations and many pinprick bubbles; on exterior, dulling, pitting, and brilliant iridescent weathering; on interior, creamy brown weathering and soil encrustation

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Scythopolis (Beit She'an, also known as Tel el Hoson, Israel); purchased from Azeez Khayat by Henry Osborne Havemeyer and Louisine W. Havemeyer; collection of Henry Osborne Havemeyer and Louisine W. Havemeyer; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1929, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer*

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1930a; Harden 1935, p. 169 (B.c), pl. XXIV, a; Mertens 1993, p. 117, pl. 105; von Saldern 2004, p. 246

<sup>1</sup> Of these pieces, sixteen have remained in the Department of Greek and Roman Art. They comprise one classical core-formed amphoriskos (29.100.91), one Hellenistic cast mosaic bowl (29.100.86), eleven pieces of Roman blown glass, and three vessels that may be early Byzantine or early Islamic (29.100.73, .85, .89). Two of Richter's selections later were transferred to the Department of Islamic Art (29.100.83, .87) and another to the Department of Medieval Art (29.100.74). There are two Venetian glasses (29.100.92, .146) from the Havemeyer bequest in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan.

<sup>2</sup> Frelinghuysen 1993, pp. 104–5.





### 31 Beaker signed by Meges

Translucent yellow green, height:  $3\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.8 cm), diameter:  $2\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 1901 (01.8.5)

Another Meges beaker is said to have been found in a tomb at Marion in Cyprus and originally was in the Cesnola Collection.<sup>1</sup> It was purchased from Luigi Palma di Cesnola by the British Museum in 1876.<sup>2</sup> Only one other example of a Meges beaker, in translucent pale purple glass, is known.<sup>3</sup> As noted by Harden, the letter forms of the inscriptions on the Meges beakers are curious.<sup>4</sup> On one side, the Greek letter *eta* is shaped correctly as the capital *H*, but on the other, it appears in a more curvise form resembling an *h*. This does not occur on any of the Ennion inscriptions and is found elsewhere only in both of the inscriptions on beakers signed by Jason.<sup>5</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections and separate cup-shaped base

**INSCRIPTIONS,** two, both in two lines, above central frieze: ΜΕΓΗΣ ΕΠΟΗCΕΝ and ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑCΑC

**DESCRIPTION:** Outsplayed knocked-off rim with indent below; body with convex sides, tapering downward; slightly concave bottom

**DECORATION:** In relief: on body, two horizontal ridges above central frieze containing two inscriptions and divided vertically by two stylized palm fronds; below frieze, three more horizontal ridges; near bottom on cup section of mold, two more horizontal ridges; on bottom, raised circle surrounding central depression with small boss

**CONDITION:** Intact, except for one chip in rim; blowing striations, pinprick and a few larger bubbles; on exterior, slight dulling, pitting, and iridescence; on side of interior, patches of whitish weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Scythopolis (Beit She'an, also known as Tel el Hoson, Israel); purchased by Henri de Morgan from Azeez Khayat; until 1901, collection of Henri de Morgan; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1901, purchased at the de Morgan sale (see Literature) for the Museum by V. Everit Macy*

**LITERATURE:** American Art Association 1901, pp. 24–25, lot 123; Richter 1911, p. 16, fig. 15; Harden 1935, p. 170 (C.b); von Saldern 2004, p. 246 (wrongly attributed to Nazareth)

1 Colonna-Ceccaldi 1875, p. 100.

2 Cesnola 1877, p. 424; Harden 1935, p. 170 (C.a), pl. XXIV, b; Painter 1968, p. 53, no. 60.

3 European private collection (unpublished).

4 Harden 1935, p. 170, pl. XXVIII, 7.

5 Ibid., pl. XXVIII, 6.



## 32 Beaker signed by Neikais

Translucent light green, height:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.6 cm); diameter:  $2\frac{11}{16}$  in. (6.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Museum Accession (X.21.186)

There is a second example of a Neikais beaker in the Toledo Museum of Art, first published in 1913, which is in a more complete state than this one.<sup>1</sup> Harden identified both of them as made in the same mold.<sup>2</sup> Within the last fifty years, three additional examples have come to light. One is a small body fragment with part of the inscription NEI[KAIC]/ΕΠ[OHCEN], acquired by the Eretz Israel Museum.<sup>3</sup> Another is a fragment excavated at Masada in the Zealot stronghold that was besieged and finally captured by the Romans in A.D. 73/74.<sup>4</sup> The latter, together with another fragment found at Masada from a similar beaker that does not preserve the maker's name, can be dated with some confidence to before that event. The third example, acquired by the Corning Museum of Glass in 1970, is more complete, but the end of the inscription is incorrectly restored as MNHCΘE.<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain if all these vessels come from the same mold as the beakers in the Metropolitan and Toledo.

On another incomplete example of a barrel-shaped beaker, which is in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection, the inscription has been restored with the name of Neikais.<sup>6</sup> The surviving part of the inscription certainly bears a close resemblance in its letter forms and their relative sizes to the more complete Neikais beakers. Finally, there is another beaker that forms a close parallel to the signed beakers but is inscribed with the single word ΕΥΦΕΝΟY around the body divided at the sides by two vertical leafy fronds.<sup>7</sup> Not only is it unusual because it has no name and instead carries the second person singular present passive imperative of the Greek verb εὐφραίνω to exhort the drinker to “make merry,” but also, unlike the other barrel-shaped beakers and cups with similar celebratory inscriptions, which come from the eastern half of the empire, it was found in the West at the Roman city of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence, France).

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections and separate cup-shaped base

**INSCRIPTIONS,** two, both in two lines, above central frieze: NEIKAIC ΕΠΟHCEN and MNHCΘH O AΓOPACAC

**DESCRIPTION:** Outplayed knocked-off rim with indent below; body with convex sides, tapering downward; flat bottom with projecting rounded edge

**DECORATION:** In relief: on body, two horizontal ridges above central frieze containing two inscriptions and divided vertically by two stylized palm fronds; below frieze, three more horizontal ridges; near bottom on cup section of mold, two more horizontal ridges; on bottom, raised circle surrounding central depression with small boss

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with approximately one-third missing, including most of bottom; blowing striations but few bubbles; on exterior, dulling and brilliant iridescent weathering; on interior, patches of creamy brown weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum before 1910*

**LITERATURE:** Harden 1935, p. 170 (D.b), pl. XXIV, e<sup>8</sup>

1 Stern 1995, pp. 100–102, no. 5 (with bibliography); Kondoleon 2000, pp. 193–94, no. 80 (by Sandra E. Knudsen).

2 Harden 1935, p. 170, pl. XXIV, c, d.

3 Israeli 1964, p. 36, no. 3, fig. 5.

4 Barag 1991, p. 139. The glass finds from Masada await full publication.

5 Whitehouse 2001, pp. 21–22, no. 484, where the inscription is also wrongly transcribed as ΕΠΟHCEN; von Saldern 2004, p. 246, pl. 36, no. 213; Wight 2011, p. 76, fig. 53.

6 Israeli 2011, pp. 38–39; see also *Glaskunst* 1981, p. 80, no. 268, where it is ascribed to Jason.

7 Deville 1871, pl. XXVI; Harden 1935, pp. 169, 175–76 (H.a), pl. XXVI, f; Fontaine and Roussel-Ode 2010, p. 178, fig. 3, no. 3.

8 Harden mistakenly assumed that this piece belonged to the Marquand Collection, since it had been given the number A.G. 463. The Marquand Collection glass objects do have A.G. numbers as “alternate numbers,” but there are other glasses that also had been given A.G. (that is, Ancient Glass) numbers in the 1870s–80s that are not part of that collection.



### 33 Jug

Translucent brown with handle in same color, height: 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (18.7 cm)

Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

The jug's decoration is inspired by that found on vessels signed by Ennion. The band with the honeycomb pattern in particular is reminiscent of that on the two-handled jug (amphora) cat. no. 3 from Panticapaeum. However, this jug is not of the same quality and standard, and so it must be seen as the work of a different and somewhat inferior workshop that operated at the same time as or slightly later than Ennion's.

LITERATURE: Israeli 2011, pp. 44–45

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three sections for neck and body, and another exclusively for bottom

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted rim, folded over and in; trefoil mouth with prominent spout; cylindrical neck; sloping shoulder; piriform body; flat bottom; one rod handle applied to edge of shoulder, drawn up and slightly outward, then turned in and attached to edge of rim, with two flattened thumb-rests projecting above rim

**DECORATION:** On neck, vertical flutes, rounded at bottom; around shoulder, two horizontal raised lines; on body, three registers of decoration, comprising (above) band of stylized palmettes, (at center) honeycomb pattern of four rows, flanked above and below by single horizontal raised line and (below) vertical flutes, rounded at top; on bottom, four concentric raised circles

**CONDITION:** Complete, but neck and bottom cracked; patches of iridescent weathering



## 34 Jug

Translucent light green with handle in same color, height (to rim): 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (19.4 cm), diameter (max.): 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.3 cm), width (rim): 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (6.4 cm)

The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, 65.1.2

The decoration is very similar to that on the signed Ennion jugs, but the closest parallels are provided by three jugs in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, all of which appear to have been blown in the same mold (cat. nos. 35 and 36).<sup>1</sup> One is in the same translucent light green glass as this example, but the other two are made of dark blue glass to which have been added blobs of opaque white on one jug and blobs of opaque white and yellow on the other. Such blobbed decoration rarely is found on mold-blown glass, although it was used frequently on free-blown glass in the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup> A rare example is a lidded box (pyxis) similar to cat. no. 37 that comes from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens.<sup>3</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in four-part mold, comprising three vertical sections and cup-shaped bottom

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted rim, folded over and in; trefoil mouth with prominent spout; cylindrical neck, slightly constricted below rim; sloping shoulder; ovoid body; concave bottom, with small central depression; one strap handle applied as elongated pad to shoulder, drawn up and outward, then turned in and attached to underside of mouth and top of neck, with flattened thumb-rest projecting up and outward above rim

**DECORATION:** At bottom of neck, faint vertical flutes with rounded ends; around shoulder, two horizontal raised lines; on body, three registers of decoration comprising (above) band of alternately upright and inverted palmettes with interwoven sprays, (at center) net pattern of interlocking vertical lozenges, flanked above and below by single horizontal raised line, and (below) vertical flutes, rounded at top

**CONDITION:** Intact, with crack in body; surface scratches on bottom; patches of brownish weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to have been found in Syria; formerly in the Ray Winfield Smith Collection*

**LITERATURE:** *Glass from the Ancient World* 1957, p. 57, no. 68; Lehrer 1979, p. 7, pl. I, 5; Donceel 1987, p. 41, no. 5, fig. 4; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 51–52, no. 524; von Saldern 2004, p. 242

<sup>1</sup> Kunina 1997, p. 273, nos. 110–12.

<sup>2</sup> See Whitehouse 1997, p. 207. All the Corning Museum's examples of blobbed decoration are free blown.

<sup>3</sup> Weinberg 1992, pp. 123–24, no. 94.







## 35 One-handled jug

Translucent green with handle in same color, height:  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17.9 cm),  
width (rim):  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. (4.8 cm), diameter (max.): 4 in. (10.2 cm), diameter (base):  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.6 cm)  
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. П.1896.32

This jug, together with cat. no. 36 and the other unsigned jug in the State Hermitage Museum (fig. 30, p. 43), has long been regarded as a product of Ennion's workshop.<sup>1</sup> Despite their skilled workmanship and fine decoration that all but equal those found on the signed jugs, these vessels stand apart from them. One clear difference is that all the unsigned jugs (cat. nos. 33–36) have trefoil rims that make for ease of pouring, whereas the jugs to which Ennion put his name have plain circular rims. Likewise, the handles on these vessels are less elaborate (and more functional with the addition of thumb-rests) than the elegant looped handles that Ennion applied to his signed works.

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections for neck and upper body and separate deep cup-shaped mold for lower body and bottom

**DESCRIPTION:** Thick rim, folded out, over, and in, then pressed in at sides forming trefoil mouth; short plain concave band below rim, above top of mold; cylindrical neck, tapering slightly downward; sloping shoulder; convex curving sides, tapering downward; concave bottom; strap handle, applied in elongated horizontal pad to shoulder, drawn up and around, and trailed onto underside of rim and band at top of neck, with thumb-rest above rim pressed flat at diagonal angle

**DECORATION:** On neck, twenty-seven vertical flutes (nine to each mold section) extending to top of shoulder, ending in downturned rounded tongues; on body, three main friezes of decoration, interspersed with raised horizontal lines: from top, two concentric lines, frieze of twelve downturned palmettes of unequal sizes (so that they are divided unevenly between the molds:  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , 4, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  palmettes), with every other palmette surrounded by curving border below, another horizontal line, frieze containing net pattern, another larger horizontal line (marking top of cup-shaped mold), thirty-eight flutes with upturned tongues, trailing away at bottom; small indented circle at center of bottom

**CONDITION:** Intact, with few bubbles, mainly elongated bubbles in handle; patches of dulling and iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Panticapaeum necropolis, found in 1895 in the so-called Demetra crypt together with cat. no. 36*

**LITERATURE:** Rostovtzeff 1914, p. 210, pl. LXI, 2; Harden 1935, p. 164, app. B, p. 186 (VII); Lehrer 1979, p. 7; Donceel 1987, p. 41, no. 7; Kunina 1997, p. 273, no. 110; von Saldern 2004, p. 242; *Glass Fantasy* 2010, p. 104, no. 89

<sup>1</sup> Harden 1935, p. 164, app. B, p. 186 (VII).



## 36 One-handed jug

Translucent cobalt blue with handle in same color and neck and body splashed with opaque white and yellow blobs, height:  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.1 cm), width (rim):  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. (4.5 cm), diameter (max.): 4 in. (10.2 cm), diameter (base):  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.6 cm)  
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. П.1896.33

It has been suggested that the production of glass vessels decorated with marvered blobs in various colors originated in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> However, such vessels quickly became popular in the West, and a concentration of glass finds with this form of decoration is apparent in northern Italy and the Roman provinces immediately adjacent to it. However, unlike the cups found there that are signed by Ennion (see above, p. 20), these are likely to be local products.<sup>2</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections for neck and upper body and separate deep cup-shaped mold for lower body and bottom; one mold seam misaligned on honeycomb band; another visible on shoulder

**DESCRIPTION:** Thick rim, folded out, over, and in, then pressed in at sides forming trefoil mouth; short plain concave band below rim, above top of mold; cylindrical neck, tapering slightly downward; sloping shoulder; convex curving sides, tapering downward; concave bottom; handle applied in elongated pad to shoulder and trailed onto underside of rim and band at top of neck

**DECORATION:** On neck, twenty-seven vertical flutes (nine to each mold section) extending to top of shoulder, ending in downturned rounded tongues; on body, three main friezes of decoration, interspersed with raised horizontal lines: from top, two concentric lines, frieze of twelve downturned palmettes of unequal sizes (so that they are divided unevenly between the molds:  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and 4), with every other palmette surrounded by a curving border; below another horizontal line, a frieze containing a honeycomb pattern; another larger horizontal line (marking top of cup-shaped mold), thirty-eight flutes with upturned tongues, trailing away at bottom, ending  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (.95 cm) above raised edge around bottom; small indented circle at center of bottom

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, with part of rim, large areas of neck, and most of handle missing, and hole in shoulder where handle was applied; body of bottom complete; some dulling and enamel-like weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Panticapaeum necropolis, found in 1895 in the so-called Demetra crypt together with cat. no. 35*

**LITERATURE:** Rostovtzeff 1914, p. 210, pl. LXI, 1; Harden 1935, p. 164, app. B, p. 186 (VII); Lehrer 1979, p. 7; Donceel 1987, p. 41, no. 6, fig. 5; Kunina 1997, p. 273, no. 111; von Saldern 2004, p. 242, pl. 34, no. 203

<sup>1</sup> Harden et al. 1987, pp. 101–2; see also Whitehouse 1997, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> See Harden et al. 1987, p. 111, no. 44.



## 37 Box (pyxis) with lid

Opaque white, height (combined): 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (7.9 cm), height (pyxis): 2 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm), diameter (max.): 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), height (lid): 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm), diameter (max.): 2 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (6.3 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.238)

A limited number of such pyxides have survived, and of those, the majority are in opaque white. That preference may be associated with the fact that there was a tradition of making such small cosmetic boxes from white marble, ivory, and bone. Because of the similarity of some of the decorative elements with those found on Ennion glassware, the group has long been associated with him and attributed to a workshop located in Sidon. Indeed, an example in the British Museum is said to be from Sidon.<sup>1</sup> The example in Yale is recorded as originally having been in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup> A fragmentary example comes from a burial in Athens.<sup>3</sup> Another, also fragmentary but complete with part of the lid, is of interest because it is said to come from a tomb dated to the end of the second century A.D. in the south cemetery of Aquileia.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore an example both of an import to northern Italy and of a glass that was treasured as an heirloom. Another pyxis, lacking its lid, has also been found in a first-century A.D. tomb at Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia).<sup>5</sup> Three other opaque white examples without provenances are known, one in the National Museum at Krakow in Poland, another in the Corning Museum of Glass, and the third in a private collection.<sup>6</sup> In addition, two pyxides in opaque light blue are known, one of which is in the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> An unusual example was found in a sarcophagus in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens; it is in opaque white decorated with multicolored marvered blobs and has a pattern on the lid that matches the underside of the box comprising a frieze of overlapping leaves in place of palmettes.<sup>8</sup> Finally, there is a single example of a pyxis of this group made in translucent yellowish brown glass.<sup>9</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Box mold comprises three vertical panels for sides and saucer-shaped section for base of box; lid mold comprises top segment and three side sections

**DESCRIPTION:** Box: vertical rim with inward sloping edge; slightly convex cylindrical neck; octagonal sides with pronounced cylindrical moldings above and below (upper edge of former acts as ledge on which lid sits); undercurve to base and slightly concave bottom; lid: uneven vertical rim; plain cylindrical collar above, curving out to molding; sloping shoulder; flat top

**DECORATION:** On box, eight panels around sides decorated with four repeated designs: 1. spoked circle below triangular pediment, 2. palmette below rounded arch, 3. circle with central dot within a lozenge, and 4. lotus flower on stem below rounded arch; panels separated by vertical raised lines, decorated on moldings above and below with raised knobs, perhaps representing thyrsi; on undercurve of base, circular frieze of overlapping leaves; on bottom, four concentric raised circles with dot at center; on lid, three concentric raised circles on top with dot at center, surrounded by eight outward facing palmettes on shoulder; two raised concentric circles within faint row of dots around projecting edge

**CONDITION:** Box intact, but lid broken and repaired with one chip in rim and other small holes around molding above collar; both box and lid largely covered with milky white weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Before 1895, collection of Julien Gréau; by 1903, acquired as part of the Gréau glass collection by J. Pierpont Morgan; until 1913, collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York and London; 1913, inherited by J. P. Morgan (son); acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1903, p. 59, no. 393, pl. XLIII, 2–4

1 GR 1893.10-16.1; Painter 1968, p. 52, no. 59; Harden et al. 1987, p. 158, no. 80; Tatton-Brown 1991, p. 72, ill. no. 89.

2 Matheson 1980, p. 46, no. 121, which is said to be from the same mold as the Metropolitan and British Museum examples.

3 Weinberg 1992, p. 124, no. 95.

4 Buora and Moretti 2013, p. 75, fig. 55; see also Cima and Tomei 2012, p. 122, no. 80.

5 Lazar 2003, p. 55, no. 10.1.1, fig. 18; Lazar 2004, p. 53, no. 18.

6 Respectively, Lisowska and Buczkowski 1963, p. 26, fig. 9; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 34–35, no. 503; and *Glaskunst* 1981, p. 80, no. 265; *Kofler-Truniger Collection* 1985, p. 71, lot 114.

7 GR 1892.6-13.52; *Glaskunst* 1981, p. 80, no. 266.

8 Weinberg 1992, pp. 123–24, no. 94.

9 Sotheby's 1974, lot 295.





## 38 Bottle

Translucent blue green with handle in same color, height:  $3\frac{7}{8}$  in. (9.8 cm), diameter (max.):  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.249)

The decoration resembles some elements on the glass vessels signed by Ennion, notably the floral scroll, the flutes, and the horizontal rows of dots, as on the fragments found in Istanbul (see above, p. 24 and fig. 10, p. 23), but it also includes a dog or lion and a deer in relief, and animals are not part of his standard repertoire. They occur only on the unique cup cat. no. 26.

The present bottle, together with cat. no. 39, is also of interest for the way the handle was applied; that is, in both cases, it was attached to or just below the rim and drawn downward to the shoulder or body.<sup>1</sup> The handles on Ennion's cups are applied similarly at the top and worked down rather than the other way around (see above, p. 51). The bottles belong to an assorted group of mainly mold-blown glass vessels that have been attributed to the Workshop of the Floating Handles.<sup>2</sup> This particular variety is known as the Hunt-and-Scrolls type, four other examples of which are recorded.<sup>3</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in two-part mold

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted fine rim, folded over and in; flaring mouth; short concave neck, splayed at base and merging with piriform body; flat bottom; handle trailed over rim and top of neck and drawn downward; continuous mold seam running from neck, down side, and across bottom, with two distinct vertical creases in relief on neck, and bottom divided into two levels by misaligned mold

**DECORATION:** On body, decoration in relief in three registers, separated by two horizontal rows of dots: top, large dog (or lion) with long tail, facing right, crouching on forepaws on one side of mold, and deer standing facing right with head erect on other side, flanked by slender tree to left and indistinct object to right; center, two wavy tendril scrolls with berries divided by vertical palmettes across mold seam on one side; bottom, twenty-one upturned flutes, two of which overlap at junction of mold

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired, most of handle missing and some small losses in lower body and bottom; few pinprick bubbles; patches of creamy brown weathering and iridescence

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from Syria; before 1895, collection of Julien Gréau; by 1903, acquired as part of the Gréau glass collection by J. Pierpont Morgan; until 1913, collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York and London; 1913, inherited by J. P. Morgan (son); acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1903, p. 157, no. 1133, pl. CCV, 4; Lightfoot 2005, p. 86, fig. 5

<sup>1</sup> Stern 1995, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 86–91.

<sup>3</sup> See Whitehouse 2001, p. 53, no. 525 (with list).







## 39 Bottle

Probably colorless with handle of uncertain color, height: 4 in. (10.2 cm), diameter (max.): 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.243)

This example of the Hunt-and-Scrolls type previously was unpublished. Neither of the Metropolitan Museum's two examples, the other being cat. no. 38, can be identified with the two-handled bottle illustrated by Gustavus Eisen and cited as being in the Museum.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Eisen's example does not belong to the Workshop of the Floating Handles, because its handles were applied as pads on the shoulder, drawn upward, and then curved in and pressed onto the upper neck. Another unusual example is in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection. That vessel represents a different mold group, since the animals depicted on the shoulder are clearly not the same as the ones shown here; one is a lion with a large, well-defined mane, and the other is described as a bull with horns.<sup>2</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in two-part mold; probably blown in same mold as cat. no. 38

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted fine rim, folded over and in; short cylindrical neck, splayed at base and merging with piriform body; flat bottom; handle trailed over rim and top of neck and drawn downward; continuous mold seam runs from neck, down side, and across bottom, with two distinct vertical creases in relief on neck

**DECORATION:** Same as on cat. no. 38

**CONDITION:** Broken and repaired; most of handle missing and some fill inside of body; many pinprick bubbles; deep pitting and brilliant iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Until 1917, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher, New York; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher*

<sup>1</sup> Eisen 1927, vol. 1, p. 271, pl. 55a; *pace* Barag 1996, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Israeli 2011, pp. 88–89 (the drawing appears to be inaccurate).

## 40 Two-handled bottle (amphora)

Translucent yellow green with handles in same color, height:  $8\frac{5}{8}$  in. (21.9 cm), diameter (max.):  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (8.9 cm), diameter (rim):  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1881 (81.10.49)

The shape of the base or foot is uncertain. The bottle is unusual; no exact parallel is known, although a flask with a flat base and concave bottom decorated with concentric circles is similar in size and design.<sup>1</sup> One also may note a two-handled mold-blown beaker with horizontal ribs.<sup>2</sup> Related to these, there are a number of two-handled bottles and spouted jugs decorated with narrow vertical ribs, which have been found at Pompeii.<sup>3</sup> Such vessels are thought to have been produced in Italy and may represent some of the first attempts to create mold-blown glass there, using simpler mold constructions and designs than the products made in the East by Ennion and related workshops.

The bottle also can be compared with a sizable group of smaller mold-blown bottles that were made as miniature imitations of transport amphorae.<sup>4</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Probably blown in three-part mold, comprising two side elements extending from neck to bottom of main ribbing on body, and separate cup-shaped bottom; mold seams barely visible down side below handles

**DESCRIPTION:** Everted tubular rim, folded over and in; broad cylindrical neck; convex bulging shoulder; elongated ovoid body tapering to a point; two rod handles applied as pads on shoulder, drawn up and slightly out, then turned in horizontally and pressed onto top of neck and underside of rim

**DECORATION:** Thirty-four close-set horizontal ribs, extending from shoulder to lower body, then plain band before narrow group comprising one prominent horizontal rib flanked above and below by another shallower rib

**CONDITION:** Complete, except for missing base or foot, and crack in top of one handle; a few bubbles; on exterior, some dulling, faint weathering, and iridescence; on interior, soil encrustation and iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Said to be from the Roman Campagna; until 1881, collection of Jules Charvet, Le Pecq, Île-de-France; 1881, purchased from Charvet by Henry G. Marquand; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1881, gift of Henry G. Marquand*

**LITERATURE:** Froehner 1879, pp. 74, 76, no. 3, pl. XII, 72; Johnston and Cesnola 1882, pp. 215–16

1 Sotheby's 1983, p. 78, lot 262.

2 *Glaskunst* 1981, p. 80, no. 267.

3 Scatozza Höricht 1991, p. 85, fig. 18, b, c; Beretta and Di Pasquale 2004, p. 230, no. 2.12.

4 Stern 1995, pp. 157–59, nos. 64–68.





## 41 Deep bowl

Colorless with greenish tinge, height: 3 1/8 in. (7.9 cm)

Shlomo Moussaieff Collection

Another bowl made from the same or a very similar mold, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig. 36, p. 47), comes from the Cesnola Collection and is said to have been found at Idalium (Dali, Cyprus).<sup>1</sup> Harden also drew attention to an unsigned olive green bowl in the British Museum that came from Cyprus, decorated with vertical flutes, floral sprays, and palmettes similar to those found on cups by Ennion.<sup>2</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Blown in three-part mold, comprising two vertical sections for body and cup-shaped bottom

**DESCRIPTION:** Vertical rim, knocked-off and ground; broad short cylindrical neck; sloping shoulder convex side, with recessed tapering band at bottom; flat bottom

**DECORATION:** On shoulder, below horizontal raised line, upturned ivy leaves alternating with slender vertical buds; on upper body, net pattern of interlocking lozenges, flanked below with two horizontal raised lines; on lower body, vertical flutes with rounded ends at top; on recessed band, row of acanthus leaves alternating with buds; on bottom, three concentric raised circles and central depression

**CONDITION:** Complete, but crack in rim and upper body; faint iridescent weathering

**PROVENANCE:** *Formerly in the collection of David Giles, London*

**LITERATURE:** Israeli 2011, pp. 42–43

<sup>1</sup> *Glass at the Fitzwilliam Museum* 1978, p. 32, no. 52b; Karageorghis, Vassilika, and Wilson 1999, pp. 139–40, no. 245 (the lid does not belong to it; entry by Eleni Vassilika).

<sup>2</sup> GR 1890.8-8.2; Harden 1935, app. B, p. 185 (II.a). Possibly to be identified with a glass found at Polis-tis-Chrysokhou in 1889; see Munro and Tubbs 1890, p. 57.





## 42 Bowl fragment

Opaque white, length (max.): 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.6 cm), width (max.): 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (3 cm), thickness: <sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (1 cm), diameter (max. estimated): 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Nicolas Koutoulakis, 1995 (1995.86)

There is a larger fragment of another bowl, also in opaque white and made from the same molds, in the British Museum (GR 1893.10-9.4), which enables us to understand better the inscription on the rim and the overall decorative composition.<sup>1</sup>

Erotic imagery is not uncommon in ancient art of the classical world. Depictions of lovers are found on Roman silverware, on wall paintings, on cameo glass, and on more everyday items such as Arretine pottery and mold-made oil lamps, but this fragment of a small glass bowl is highly unusual because it is decorated on both surfaces with scenes depicting couples in a variety of lovemaking positions. The British Museum piece makes it clear that originally around the rim, there were four pairs of lovers alternating with four winged cupids, all interspersed with eight capital letters.<sup>2</sup> These spell out the name ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ – Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love. In the center of the bowl in larger scale, another pair of lovers is depicted, and this is matched by a single central figural scene on the exterior.<sup>3</sup> The figures appear in high relief on both the inside and the exterior of the bowl, making it more of a display piece than a practical receptacle. The vessel probably was made by casting a thick blank of opaque white glass into a closed two-part mold. On the interior are the remains of an inscription that also was carved into the mold – most likely the maker's signature, since it may comprise a man's name ending in -οϛ or -ιϛ in the first line and the verb (ἐ)ποίη in the second. This is the only known example of an ancient cast glass vessel with such an inscription. The bowl previously has been regarded as an example of late Hellenistic art, dated to the first century B.C.<sup>4</sup> However, the hairstyles of the various lovers look consistently Roman – the men have short wavy hair and the women wear buns – and the floral pattern on the exterior includes a portrayal of a bird, another very Roman artistic trait, prevalent in architectural sculpture, wall painting, and silverware.<sup>5</sup> A striking parallel to the floral pattern is provided by the frieze on the shoulder of the cameo glass Auldjo Jug, which comprises acanthus leaves and tendrils with rosettes, interspersed with birds.<sup>6</sup> Birds also decorate the shoulder of a small hexagonal mold-blown glass flask from the so-called Workshop of the Floating Handles (cat. nos. 38 and 39).<sup>7</sup> From the same workshop comes a different type of flask decorated with vertical floral scrolls on which birds are perched.<sup>8</sup> It is probable that the bowl was made for the luxury market in Rome during the Augustan or early Julio-Claudian period. Such dating would fit well with the erotic scenes that appear on Roman cameo glass.<sup>9</sup>

The bowl fragment is therefore contemporary with the works produced by Ennion, and like Ennion, the maker attached his signature to his work. Only one other piece of glass that has a molded inscription comprising the maker's name and the verb ποιεῖν is known. It is the stamped base of a square mold-blown bottle, which was found during excavations at Elaiussa Sebaste in Cilicia (southern Turkey) in 2011; it reads Λυσίμαχος αἰποῖει.<sup>10</sup>

PROVENANCE: *Mid-1950s, purchased by Nicolas Koutoulakis in Egypt; collection of Nicolas Koutoulakis, Switzerland; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1995, gift of Nicolas Koutoulakis*

LITERATURE: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions" 1995, p. 14; Clarke 1998, pp. 30, 32–35, 285, n. 23, fig. 6; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 335, 482, no. 388

1 Lightfoot and Picón forthcoming.

2 It had been suggested that there may have been four scenes in the center of the interior of the bowl, surrounded by eight vignettes around the rim; Clarke 1998, pp. 32–33.

3 A similar scene of a woman squatting over a man is depicted on a wall painting at Pompeii in the Suburban Baths (Room 7, Scene I); Clarke 2003, pp. 118–19, fig. 81.

4 Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions" 1995, p. 14; Clarke 1998, p. 32.

5 For example, the silver cantharus in the Musée du Louvre; Guzzo 2006, p. 188, no. 273.

6 Roberts et al. 2010, pp. 43–47, no. 2 (citing other examples of birds on Roman cameo glass).

7 Only two examples of this type are known, one of which is said to be from Beirut; see Harden et al. 1987, p. 161, no. 83 (in the British Museum); Israeli 2011, pp. 82–83 (from the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection). Another in greenish colorless glass is in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection; Israeli 2011, pp. 86–87.

8 There is an opaque white example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; von Saldern 1968, no. 35.

9 See Clarke 1998, pp. 79–82, 230, pls. 3–5; Clarke 2003, p. 130, fig. 89.

10 Information kindly provided by Professor Cığdem Gençler Guray.



EXTERIOR



INTERIOR

TECHNIQUE: Cast in two-part mold

INSCRIPTIONS, on body, part of two lines in Greek: [. . .]Σ / [. . .]ΕΙ; on rim: Α [. . .]

DESCRIPTION: Thick horizontal rim with beveled edge; shallow convex curving side

DECORATION: Molded decoration in relief: on interior, beading on outer and inner edges of rim, flanking figural decoration, comprising pair of lovers; to right of them, the letter Α (*alpha*) is also just visible; within body of bowl, another pair of lovers in higher relief, with part of couch visible below them, and in field to left, part of two-line Greek inscription; on exterior, meander pattern on underside of rim; single concentric line at top of undercurve of side; band containing wavy tendril scroll of leaves and rosettes populated with bird facing left; below band, thicker concentric line around central medallion on bottom, decorated with squatting figure of naked woman facing front but with head turned to left and right hand resting on reclining figure; in field to upper left, small projecting object that can be identified as one of the feet on which the bowl stood

CONDITION: Broken and chipped, with only small part of original edge of rim surviving; bubbles and black impurities; slight dulling, some pitting, but very little weathering



# Appendix





# Scientific Analysis of Two Vessels Signed by Ennion in the Metropolitan Museum

MARK T. WYPYSKI

Thus far, only four pieces of glass either signed by or attributed to Ennion have been subjected to rigorous scientific examination and analysis.<sup>1</sup> The present exhibition has provided an opportunity to carry out further investigation. Only two of the Metropolitan’s vessels (cat. nos. 9 and 15) could be used, since the analysis requires a small sample to be removed, and this only can be done on a previously broken edge. The intact jug (cat. no. 1) therefore was not part of the investigation.

Compositional analyses of the glasses were performed using energy dispersive and wavelength dispersive X-ray spectrometry in the scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDS/WDS). The elemental analyses were conducted using an Oxford Instruments AZtec Energy Microanalysis system EDS with an X-MaxN 80 silicon drift detector and an INCA WAVE 700 Microanalysis system WDS, attached to a Zeiss Sigma HD variable pressure SEM operated at an accelerating voltage of 20.0 kV under high vacuum conditions. Small samples of both glasses were taken and embedded in epoxy resin, which was then ground, polished, and carbon coated for accurate quantitative analysis.

The overall composition for both vessels can be described as soda-lime-silica glass with small amounts of magnesium and potassium and a relatively large amount of aluminum. A significant amount of chlorine is also present, with small amounts of phosphorus, sulfur, titanium, and strontium also detected. Antimony, often seen in small amounts in many early translucent as well as opaque glasses, was not detected in either glass. Other elements, including lead, nickel, zinc, and tin, were looked for but not detected by WDS. Iron is also present in both glasses. The blue hexagonal flask cat. no. 9 is colored with cobalt and also contains a small amount of copper, commonly found in cobalt blue glasses, although probably not present in high enough concentration to affect the color. Cobalt and copper were not detected in the yellow green two-handed cup cat. no. 15, which appears to be colored simply by the small amount of iron oxide present. A small amount of manganese was also seen in the blue, but only a trace was detected in the yellow green (see Table at right).

The results show that both vessels are composed of very similar glass and the only major difference is in the colorant used. This type of low-magnesia, low-potash glass composition is typical of the majority of glasses from the Mediterranean world produced from about the early to mid-first millennium B.C. to the late first millennium A.D. This kind of glass is often termed “Roman-type” or “natron-type” glass, as it is thought to have been produced using a naturally source of sodium, natron, which consists of a mixture of different minerals, mostly forms of sodium carbonate, and sand, which contains calcium in the form of shell and/or limestone. The overall composition is similar to other glass from Roman contexts dated to the first to third century A.D.

SEM-EDS/WDS  
GLASS ANALYSES  
(oxide weight %)

	No. 9 Blue	No. 15 Yellow Green
Na <sub>2</sub> O	17.2	17.4
MgO	0.58	0.53
Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	2.5	2.3
SiO <sub>2</sub>	67.6	69.5
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	0.18	0.11
SO <sub>3</sub>	0.16	0.15
Cl	1.2	1.4
K <sub>2</sub> O	0.66	0.38
CaO	8.3	7.9
TiO <sub>2</sub>	0.06	0.06
MnO	0.36	0.02
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	0.86	0.32
CoO	0.07	nd
NiO	nd	nd
CuO	0.16	nd
ZnO	nd	nd
SrO	0.07	0.07
SnO <sub>2</sub>	nd	nd
Sb <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	0.02	nd
BaO	0.03	0.02
PbO	nd	nd

nd = not detected.

## List of Find-Spots of Mold-Blown Glass Signed by Ennion and Other Makers

FIND-SPOT	VESSEL AND CATALOGUE NUMBER OR MUSEUM LOCATION
<b><i>Achaea (Greece)</i></b>	
Athenae (Athens)	Ennion cup fragment (Agora Museum, G65)
Corinthus (Corinth)	Fragments of two Ennion cups? (Corinth Excavations, MF 11978, MF 12080 a-b)
<b><i>Baetica (Spain)</i></b>	
Gades (Cádiz)	Ennion beaker (cat. no. 25)
<b><i>Bosporan Kingdom (Crimea)</i></b>	
Panticapaeum	Ennion jug (cat. no. 3)
<b><i>Campania (Italy)</i></b>	
Pausilypon (Posillipo, near Naples)	Ennion cup fragment (present location unknown)
<b><i>Commagene (Turkey)</i></b>	
Zeugma (Belkis Tepe)	Aristeas bowl fragment? (Zeugma Excavations, <i>Etüdlük</i> no. 10 09 02 00029)
<b><i>Cyprus</i></b>	
Curium (Kourion)	Ennion jug fragments? (Episcopi Village excavation storerooms)
Marion	Meges beaker (British Museum, London, GR 76.11-14.5)
Potamia, near Golgoi	Ennion hexagonal flask (cat. no. 9)
Tremithus	Ennion cup (cat. no. 11)
<b><i>Dalmatia (Croatia)</i></b>	
Burnum (Ivoševci)	Fragments of two Ennion cups (Drniš Town Museum, inv. nos. 2332, 2333)
	Ennion cup fragment? (Drniš Town Museum, inv. no. 2335)
	Aristeas cup fragments (Drniš Town Museum, inv. nos. 2336, 2337)
Narona (Vid)	Ennion cup (Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2046)
	Ennion cup fragments (Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 438, 439, 440)
	Aristeas cup fragments (Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2047)
	Fragments of one or two Ennion cups? (Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 424, 437)
Tilurium (near Trilj)	Fragments of three Ennion cups (Trilj Local Heritage Museum, inv. nos. MTK 758, MTK 1467–1469, and MTK 1470–1471)
Unidentified site	Ennion cup fragment (Split Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AMS-62758)
<b><i>Gallia Transpadana (Italy)</i></b>	
Albonese	Aristeas cup (cat. no. 27)
Aquileia	Ennion jug fragments? (Aquileia National Archaeological Museum, AQ15303–15306)
Aquileia	Ennion cup fragment (Aquileia National Archaeological Museum, AQ153122)
Aquileia	Ennion cup fragment (Civic Museum Trieste, 8366)
Aquileia, Fondi Urbanetti	Ennion cup fragment (Aquileia National Archaeological Museum, AQ15588)
	Ennion cup (present location unknown)
Aquileia, Santo Stefano	Fragments of two Ennion cups (Aquileia National Archaeological Museum, AQ143616, AQ153126)
Bagnolo Mella, near Brixia (Brescia)	Ennion cup (Galleria Estense Modena, 841)
Caresana, near Vercellae	Ennion cup (cat. no. 22)
Cuora, (H)Atria (Adria)	Ennion cup (cat. nos. 12, 16, 17)
[(H)Atria?] Venice	Ennion cup (cat. no.15)
Fidentia (Fidenza/Borgo San Donnino near Parma)	Ennion cup fragment (Parma National Archaeological Museum, 2525)
Lomellina, near Ticinum (Pavia)	Ennion cup (cat. no. 18)
Pollentia (Pollenze)	Ennion cup (Civic Museum Palazzo Traversa Bra, M 1144)
Redena, near Ferrara	Ennion cup fragment (Ferrara Museum, 54206)
Refrancore, near Hasta (Asti)	Ennion cup (cat. no. 19)
Vercellae (Vercelli)	Ennion cup (cat. no. 20)

FIND-SPOT	VESSEL AND CATALOGUE NUMBER OR MUSEUM LOCATION
<b><i>Judaea (Israel)</i></b>	
Caesarea Maritima	Beaker fragment (Milan Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A.o.9.36669)
Hierosolyma (Jerusalem)	Ennion jug (cat. no. 7)
	Ennion jug fragment (cat. no. 8)
	Ennion flask fragment (cat. no. 10)
[Hierosolyma?]	Ennion jug ((cat. no. 6)
Masada	Neikais beaker fragment (Israel Antiquities Authority)
Scythopolis (Beit She'an)	Jason beaker (cat. no. 30)
	Meges beaker (cat. no. 31)
<b><i>Nabataea (Jordan)</i></b>	
Petra	Ennion cup fragment (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge)
<b><i>Narbonensis (France)</i></b>	
Forum Iulii (Fréjus)	Ennion cup fragments (present location unknown)
<b><i>Pannonia (Slovenia)</i></b>	
Romula, near Neviodunum	Ennion cup fragments (present location unknown)
<b><i>Phoenicia (Lebanon)</i></b>	
Sidon	Ennion bowl (cat. no. 23)
	Ennion bowl (cat. no. 24)
	Jason beaker (British Museum, London, GR 1913.5-22.21)
<b><i>Raetia (Germany)</i></b>	
Cambodunum (Kempten)	Ennion cup fragments (Roman Museum Kempten, 1939, 1447 a-c)
<b><i>Sicilia (Sicily)</i></b>	
Soluntum (Solanto)	Ennion cup fragments (Palermo Museum, 337-23330)
<b><i>Syria</i></b>	
Apamea	Ennion jug fragment? (present location unknown)
Beroea (Aleppo)	Neikais beaker (Toledo Museum of Art, inv. no. 1930.5)
Hasfin, Hauran	Jason beaker (recorded at the National Museum of Beirut)
<b><i>Tarraconensis (Spain)</i></b>	
Tarraco (Tarragona)	Ennion cup fragments (Tarragona National Archaeological Museum)
<b><i>Thracia (Turkey)</i></b>	
Byzantium (Istanbul)	Ennion jug (cat. no. 1)
	Ennion bowl fragments (Sirkeci excavations, Istanbul Archaeological Museums)
<b><i>Morocco</i></b>	
Mogador	Ennion cup fragment (present location unknown)



## Concordance

COLLECTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	COLLECTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER
<i>British Museum, London</i>		<i>Museo Archeologico Nazionale</i>	
GR 1876.11-14.4	11	<i>di Adria</i>	
		IGAD 9099, 491 M	17
<i>Chrysler Museum of Art,</i>		IGAD 9100, 492 M	12
<i>Norfolk, Virginia</i>			
71.6779	23	<i>Museo de Cádiz, Spain</i>	
		CE12026	25
<i>Corning Museum of Glass,</i>			
<i>Corning, New York</i>		<i>Museo di Antichità, Turin</i>	
59.1.76	4	3302	22
65.1.2	34	75699	20
66.1.36	16		
		<i>Newark Museum, New Jersey</i>	
<i>Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv</i>		50.1443	21
MHG1200.58	5		
		<i>Shlomo Moussaieff</i>	
<i>Israel Antiquities Authority</i>		Two-handled jug	2
<i>and Israel Museum, Jerusalem</i>		One-handled jug	6
1982-1105	7	Two-handled cup	14
1982-1106	10	Cup	26
1982-1107	8	Jug	33
		Bowl	41
<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art,</i>		<i>The State Hermitage Museum,</i>	
<i>New York</i>		<i>St. Petersburg</i>	
X.21.186	32	П.1852.54	3
81.10.49	40	П.1896.32	35
81.10.224	9	П.1896.33	36
01.8.5	31		
17.120.243	39	<i>Strada Collection, Scaldasole,</i>	
17.194.225	15	<i>Pavia</i>	
17.194.226	1	68	27
17.194.238	37		
17.194.249	38	<i>Yale University Art Gallery,</i>	
29.100.82	30	<i>New Haven</i>	
59.11.3	29	1955.6.66	24
1995.86	42		
		<i>Yunwai Lou Collection,</i>	
<i>Musée du Louvre, Paris</i>		<i>New York</i>	13
MNC 3	19		
		<i>Private Collection</i>	28
<i>Musei Civici, Pavia</i>			
A 243	18		

## Notes to the Essays and Appendix

### ENNION AND THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GLASS

NOTE: The vessels illustrated in the figures in this essay are Roman, with the exception of figure 23, which is Late Hellenistic.

1 For the important role also played by the French king François I, see Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 2.

2 See Penny 1982, pp. 65–68; Howard 1990, pp. 16–17.

3 See Jenkins and Sloan 1996, p. 187; Walker 2004, pp. 13–15; Roberts et al. 2010, p. 35.

4 Tait 1991, p. 13.

5 Mold-blown Roman glass retains its special appeal for modern collectors and so often commands higher prices at auction than free-blown glass of similar age and condition.

6 A leading role was played by Luigi Conton, who published two long articles on Ennion glass, drawing on the earlier reports; see Conton 1906 and Conton 1909. They appeared in the Italian journal *Ateneo veneto*, now accessible in digital form online. See also De Bellis 2004, col. 121.

7 Kisa 1908, vol. 1, pp. 167–68, 187, vol. 2, p. 566, figs. 273–76, vol. 3, pp. 708–16; Harden 1935, pp. 164–69, pls. XXIII, XXVIII. Harden’s article has been described as “epoch-making” and “the standard work in this field”; Barag 1996, p. 77.

8 Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iii.a).

9 Richter 1938, p. 22. The recent exhibition in Rome and Paris celebrating the bimillennium of Augustus’s death includes a selection of early Roman cast and free-blown glass but no mold-blown glass, and no example of Ennion’s work. See La Rocca et al. 2013, pp. 280–81, 283, no. VII.11, 12, 16 (by Véronique Arveiller), p. 282, no. VII.13–15 (by Annamaria Larese); Giroire et al. 2014, pp. 214–15, nos. 157–60, pp. 218–21, nos. 165–72, pp. 222–23, nos. 175–83 (by Véronique Arveiller), pp. 224–25, nos. 184–87 (by Annamaria Larese), pp. 230–31, no. 202 (by Dominique Simon-Hiernard).

10 Lehrer 1979.

11 Harden et al. 1987, pp. 164–66, nos. 86, 87.

12 Israeli 2011; three Ennion pieces exhibited in Jerusalem (Israeli 2011, pp. 24–25, 30–31, 36–37) have been omitted from the present show and catalogue. The seminar, hosted by the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, was held January 15–17, 2012.

13 Despite its apparent similarity, it is not related to the Latin name Ennius, as famously in Quintus Ennius, the Roman poet (ca. 239–169 B.C.).

14 Brunn 1859, p. 744; Lehrer 1979, p. 5. Cyprus also has been regarded as his homeland; Roszbach 1905.

15 Ennion is said to be the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew name Anania; Kurinsky 1991, pp. 164, 224. The usual Greek form of this name, however, is Ἀναΐας, which occurs ten times in the *Acts* (5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 9:10, 9:12, 9:13, 9:17, 22:12, 23:2, 24:1).

16 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 1924, II:829, dated A.D. 264/65. For previous discussion of the name, see Lehrer 1979, pp. 13–14; Stern 1995, p. 69.

17 For differing interpretations, see Stern 1995, p. 69; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 13, 18. The stamps on the bases of glass bottles may also refer to the contents rather than the containers; see Taborelli 2006.

18 See Hayes 1997, pp. 41–52.

19 Pliny, *Natural History* 5.76, 36.193.

20 Israeli 1991.

21 See Barag 1996, pp. 78, 85–86; De Bellis 2004, cols. 173–74; De Bellis 2010, pp. 43–44. Indeed, De Bellis believes not only that Ennion set up his workshop at Adria, where he also sold mosaic glass imported from the Near East, but that he also died and was buried at Cuora.

22 Harden 1969, pp. 49–50; Harden et al. 1987, p. 153; see also Scatozza Höricht 1991, p. 76. Only four non-joining fragments of a jug in yellow glass with decoration resembling that of Ennion’s signed jugs have been recorded at Aquileia. See Calvi 1968, pp. 98–99, 105, no. 245, fig. 2; Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, pp. 82, 133, no. 146.

23 Price 1991, pp. 71–72; Sennequier 2013, p. 69 (misinterpreting Price’s discussion).

24 Henderson 2013, p. 205.

25 See De Bellis 2004, cols. 171–72. An unsigned fragment of a cup that perhaps belongs to an Ennion piece has been noted in the Antiquarium Comunale in Rome; Righetti and Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1981–83, p. 152.

26 Hochuli-Gysel 1977, p. 140, fig. 37 (nos. 1–5, 10), pp. 194–98, nos. I 3, I 4, I 9, I 11, I 16, I 18, I 20, I 28–I 30, I 34, pls. 64, 65; see also Brecciaroli Taborelli 2006, p. 31, no. 33. Other lead-glazed wares are on display in the Musei Civici in Pavia.

27 Hochuli-Gysel 1977, pp. 137–38.

28 Ibid., p. 160, no. T 132.

29 Ibid., p. 152, no. T 54, pl. 49; see also pp. 154–55, no. T 78, pl. 50, from Ventimiglia, now in the Museo di Antichità, Turin.

30 Mandruzzato 2007, pp. 186–88; De Bellis 2004, cols. 177–78.

31 Harden et al. 1987, pp. 152–53.

32 Harden 1969, p. 49, pl. IV, B; Glöckner 2006, pp. 190, 199, nos. AUS 68, AUS 69, pls. 6, 7; Lazar 2006, pp. 246–47, 253, no. SI 67, pl. 3. The other female glassworker’s name, Ennia Fortuna, has been noted on the base of a square bottle; Stern 1997, p. 130. See also above, Lightfoot essay, pp. 31–32.

33 Cavedoni 1844, p. 161, pl. G; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.i.c).

34 Cavedoni 1844, p. 161; Conton 1906, pp. 10–11; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.ii.a).

35 Harden 1935, p. 165 (A.1.ii.a); Giammellaro Spano and Spatafora 1981–83, p. 189, fig. 2.

36 It is said to be from Aquileia and comes from the Zandonati Collection; De Bellis 2004, col. 148, no. 2a.Y.1, fig. 19a. Vincenzo Zandonati was a pharmacist in Trieste, whose collection of antiquities from Aquileia was acquired by the Trieste museum in 1870.

37 Bruzza 1874, pp. 375–81.

38 Froehner 1879, p. 65, n. 3; Cesnola 1903, pl. LXXVIII, 5.

39 Maionica 1889, p. 294; Conton 1906, p. 14. For additional references, see Mandruzzato and Marcante 2005, p. 91, no. 202 (where the find-spot is called Colombara).

40 Harden 1935, pp. 166 (A.2.ii.b), 167 (A.2.iii.a). When sold at auction in London in 1922, the cup clearly had a label on it marked “Aquileia”; Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge 1922, p. 9, lot 74, pl. 2.

41 Maccabruni 1983, p. 28.

42 Günther 1913, p. 10.

43 Conton 1906, p. 2.

44 Harden 1935, p. 166, n. 7. Whitehouse, however, implies that the cup in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 15) came from Adria, thereby rejecting the association of the Corning piece with the other two blue cups; Whitehouse 2001, p. 18. This cannot be true, given the date of the discovery of the tomb at Cavarzere, which is some ten years after the Metropolitan’s cup had appeared in the Gréau Collection.

45 One example is provided by a pair of blown drinking cups with polychrome blobbed decoration, now in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection; Rozenberg and Mevorah 2013, p. 76. For a pair of snake-thread carchesia of the second half of the third century A.D., found in a tomb at Elsdorf, west of Cologne (Roman Ara Ubiorum), see “Important Acquisitions” 2000, pp. 176–77, no. 6. Finally, there is a pair of mold-blown beakers, found in tomb 931 in Altino, north of Venice, in 1970; Barovier Mentasti and Tirelli 2010, pp. 50–51, 68–69.

46 Bonomi 1996, pp. 152–53, nos. 336, 337, and for the tomb group, see pl. XV, 4; Giroire et al. 2014, pp. 224–25, nos. 186, 187 (by Annamaria Larese).

47 Dussaud 1929, p. 83; Matheson 1980, p. 44.

48 Harden 1935, p. 167, n. 11.

49 Whitehouse 2001, p. 19.

50 Auth 1976, pp. 64–65, no. 58.

51 Harden 1944–45, p. 89; Israeli 1964, p. 34.

52 I am extremely grateful to Andrew Oliver Jr. for bringing these fragments to my attention and allowing me to publish here for the first time notes that he made in 1980 when studying the glass from McFadden’s excavations at Kourion (Roman Curium).

53 Israeli 1983, p. 65.

54 Information from Yael Israeli, personal communication, January 2013. Only a few other mold-blown vessels have been found in Jerusalem in contexts dating to the period immediately before the end of

the Second Temple period in A.D. 70; Israeli 2010, pp. 227, 229. For other examples, see Ariel 1990, p. 163, nos. GL 100, GL 101, fig. 33.

55 Israeli 1983, p. 68.

56 McClellan 1983, pp. 72–73, figs. 1, 2; Weinberg and Stern 2009, p. 80, no. 145, fig. 8, pl. 13; Canav-Özgümüş 2012, p. 326, fig. 2. I am very grateful to Professor Üzlifat Özgümüş for bringing the latter piece to my attention.

57 Caldera de Castro 1990, pp. 79–80, fig. 2.

58 Barag 1996, pp. 84–85, figs. 7, 8.

59 Donceel 1987.

60 I am very grateful to Professor Kutalmış Gorkay, director of the Zeugma Excavations, for providing details about this find.

61 Wilkes 1969, pp. 95, 97, 110, 112, with fig. 4; Borzić 2012, p. 29; Glučina 2012, pp. 37–38; Sanader and Tončinić 2012, p. 21.

62 Wilkes 1969, pp. 112–13.

63 Price 1991, p. 64. A fragment of a beaker or jug with molded decoration similar to that found on Ennion vessels also comes from the headquarters building (*principia*) of the Roman fort at Praetorium Agrippinae (Valkenburg, The Netherlands); van Lith 1996, pp. 136–37, fig. 6.

64 Barag 1996, p. 79, fig. 1.

65 Israeli 2011, pp. 20–21.

66 Two other pieces from the Moussaieff Collection that formed part of the exhibition held at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 2011–12 have not been included here; see Israeli 2011, pp. 30–31 (a two-handled cup), 36–37 (a lidded pyxis).

67 See note 12 above.

68 For possible exceptions, see above, Lightfoot essay, p. 26, and cat. no. 20.

69 Stern 1995, pp. 65–66.

70 Stern 2000, p. 165, fig. 1. The hilltop site of Magdalensberg was abandoned in about A.D. 45, when it was replaced by the Claudian *municipium* of Virunum; Price 1991, p. 67. The cup may have been made in the workshop of Ennion or Aristaeas; von Saldern 2004, p. 243.

71 McClellan 1983, p. 73, fig. 2; see also Weinberg and Stern 2009, p. 65.

72 Price 1991, p. 65.

73 Price 1988, pp. 28–29, no. 22; De Bellis 2004, col. 148, no. 2a.Y.4, fig. 19d; Cottam and Price 2009, pp. 197, 229, nos. 143, 144, pl. 8.

74 Fasold 1985, pp. 213–14, no. 19, fig. 9.1; Price 1991, p. 66.

75 Borzić 2008, p. 98.

76 See also Borzić 2011, p. 83.

77 Calvi 1965, p. 12.

78 For a summary of these finds, see Price 1991, pp. 67–68; Price and Cottam 1998, pp. 60–66.

79 Avigad 1976, p. 22.

80 Weinberg and Stern 2009, pp. 65, 80, no. 145, fig. 8, pl. 13; see also McClellan 1983, p. 73, fig. 1.

81 Price 1991, p. 74.

82 For funerary *tabulae ansatae* on Roman sarcophagi, see Picón et al. 2007, pp. 391, 494–95, no. 456 (lid, with correct reading as Aninia Hilara), pp. 398, 497, no. 468 (blank panel). For a *tabula ansata* painted on a fresco in the *lararium* of the House of Julius Polybius at Pompeii, see Roberts 2013, p. 98, fig. 102. For mosaic ansate inscriptions, see those in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia; Keppie 1991, p. 112, fig. 70. For small bronze tablets, see *Viae Publicae Romanae* 1991, pp. 248–49, nos. 7, 8 (by Antonina Maria Cavallaro). A *tabula ansata* containing the word ΠΡΙΣΚΟΥ (of Priscus) is carved on the side of a cast-glass mastos bowl; *Ancient Glass* 2013, pp. 95, 381, no. 110. Such bowls, made in the eastern Mediterranean, are dated to the 2nd–early 1st century B.C., but the carving is probably later (and, perhaps, even modern). In any case, Priscus is a Latin name and can be taken to indicate the Roman nature of the frame as well.

83 Oxé, Comfort, and Kenrick 2000, p. 531, nos. 341–53.

84 For example, the names Iulius, Marcus, and Titus on Eastern Sigillata A; Zoroğlu 1989.

85 Arveiller and Nenna 2005, p. 335, no. 948, pl. 73 (the *tabulae ansatae* are blank but were clearly intended to bear the names of the four horses).

86 The shape of the tablet has also been described as that of a keystone; see <http://www.nps.gov/featurecontent/stli/eTour.htm>, ill. no. 12.



87 See, for example, Attic black- and red-figure vases signed by the potter Andokides; Mertens 2010, pp. 104–5, no. 20. For a Roman copy of a marble Hellenistic statue of a seated man, signed by the sculptor Zeuxis, see Picón et al. 2007, pp. 218, 454, no. 254.

88 See, for example, Aristophanes’s play *Plutus* (line 984), produced at Athens in 388 B.C.

89 Von Saldern 1968, no. 30. It was purchased in 1899 and is said to be from Asia Minor.

90 Richter 1911, p. 16; Richter 1930b, p. 16.

91 See Lehrer 1979, p. 13. Franz Cumont also noted that the term Μνησθη is found among the inscriptions at Dura Europos, where it was so common that it appeared in the abbreviated form of M or Mv; Cumont 1926, p. 351. Some of these graffiti are inscribed within *tabulae ansatae*; Cumont 1926, pp. 396–98, nos. 40, 42, 43.

92 Harden 1935, pp. 171, 183. The first point was originally made by Edward Robinson; see Robinson 1899, p. 109.

93 Stern 1995, p. 102.

94 Sennequier et al. 1998, p. 133, no. 78, pls. 5, 9.2 (by Bénédict Grosjean and Jocelyne Nelis-Clément); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 379, 492–93, no. 445.

95 Whitehouse 2001, pp. 62–64, no. 534; see also Sennequier et al. 1998, pp. 68–69, type G.

96 Toynbee 1958.

97 Harden 1982, pp. 31–34, figs. 1, 2.

98 See Barag 1996, p. 86.

99 Roberts 2013, p. 191, fig. 223.

100 Abadie-Reynal and Darmon 2003, p. 99, fig. 27.

101 Erim and Roueché 1982, p. 102.

102 La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2012, pp. 303–5, no. III.6, 7 (by Serena Guglielmi).

103 For examples of intact cups with unstamped handles, see Whitehouse 1997, pp. 91–93, nos. 132–34.

104 Ibid., pp. 93–99, nos. 135–42.

105 Ibid., p. 94. The Gorga Collection in Rome includes fifty-four examples of such stamped handles; Saguì, Bacchelli, and Pasqualucci 1996, p. 218, fig. 3.

106 A glass fragment inscribed ΔΩΡΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ is mentioned and illustrated in Deville 1871, p. 7, pl. I, c. I have been unable to trace this example.

107 The name Megas is, presumably, a mistake for Meges; Roberts, Whitehouse, and Gudenrath 2010, p. 21.

108 Stern 1995, pp. 73–74.

109 Civico Museo Archeologico, Milan, inv. no. A.o.9.36669; Provenzali 2013, p. 16, no. 1.2.

110 Stern 1995, pp. 74–86.

111 Israeli 2003, p. 125, no. 122.

112 Grose 1989, pp. 122–25, 167–74, nos. 162–82.

113 Goldstein 1979, pp. 129–30, no. 268.

114 Platz-Horster 1976, pp. 16–20, no. 16.

115 Gudenrath 2010, pp. 27–31; Roberts, Whitehouse, and Gudenrath 2010, p. 23.

116 Roberts et al. 2010, p. 34, and reconstruction drawing, p. 41.

117 Harden et al. 1987, pp. 74–78, no. 33; Roberts 2013, p. 244, fig. 296.

118 Barovier Mentasti et al. 2003, p. 156, no. 6 (by Carmen Ziviello). No indication of its color is given, but it appears to be dark green.

119 Menninger 1996, pp. 23–25, no. 48, pl. 5, 1, 2; Hiebert and Cambon 2008, p. 200, no. 213; Lightfoot 2010, pp. 48–49, fig. 7; Whitehouse 2012, pp. 56–57.

120 Froehner 1879, pp. 74, 76, no. 3, pl. XII, 72.

121 Scatozza Höricht 1991, p. 85, fig. 18, b, c; Beretta and Di Pasquale 2004, p. 230, no. 2.12 (by Fabrizio Paolucci).

122 For an unprovenanced example, see Sotheby’s 1983, p. 78, lot 262.

123 Taborelli 1984, pp. 562–68, fig. 1, nos. 1, 2, pls. I, II, III, a, b.

124 Only two examples are known: Matheson 1980, pp. 54–56, no. 136; Arveiller and Nenna 2005, p. 195, no. 541 (dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D.).

125 Stern 1995, pp. 103–8, nos. 8–10; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 13–14, 27–29, nos. 492–96.

126 Price 1991, p. 67; see also Stern 1995, pp. 111–13, nos. 13, 14.

127 Israeli 2011, p. 16. Elsewhere the palmettes have been described as facing alternately upward and downward. See Harden 1935, p. 168; Whitehouse 2001, p. 19.

128 De Bellis 2004, col. 122 and fig. 1.

129 Described as “austere” by Auth; see Auth 1976, pp. 64–65, no. 58 (“evenly-spaced horizontal ribbing”).

130 Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iv). Auth states that there are only two raised concentric circles on the bottom; Auth 1976, p. 65.

131 Painter 1968, p. 52, no. 58 (the bottom is said to have “four raised concentric circles”).

132 Harden incorrectly states that the dimensions of the two varieties “correspond almost exactly”; Harden 1935, p. 165.

133 Ibid., p. 166. Elsewhere the bottom is said to have “five raised concentric circles.” Harden et al. 1987, p. 164, no. 86; Whitehouse 2001, p. 18, no. 482.

134 Harden identified a subtype on which one of the inscriptions (type C) ended in CCN, not CEN; Harden 1935, p. 166 (A.2.ii.a, b). This has not been borne out by more recent study of the vessels in question.

135 Again, Harden wrongly describes this type as having only vine sprays; *ibid.*, pp. 166–67 (A.2.iii.a, b). He did not note that it lacks the colonnettes.

136 Price 1991, p. 66; see also De Bellis 2004, col. 168, fig. 35.

137 Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.3.a); Harden 1944–45, p. 89 (A.3.b).

138 Barag 1996, p. 81. The top and bottom friezes have also been described as containing “egg and dart motifs”; Caldera de Castro 1990, p. 80.

139 Sotheby’s 1994, p. 19, lot 31; Barag 1996, pp. 81–83, figs. 2–5; Israeli 2011, pp. 34–35.

140 Only two flasks are known (cat. nos. 9 and 10), although there are (unconfirmed) reports that another example exists.

141 Roberts, Whitehouse, and Gudenrath 2010, p. 12.

142 Stern 1995, p. 48, fig. 42.

143 I am grateful to David Hill for providing me with this invaluable insight into mold-blown glassworking.

144 Harden 1935, p. 164.

145 Grose 1989, pp. 194 (grooved bowls), 195 (ribbed bowls).

146 See Roberts 2010, pp. 98–99, charts 5, 6.

147 One also should note the preference for deep colors in early examples of luxury free-blown glass; see above, Lightfoot essay, p. 34.

148 Grose 1991, p. 1.

149 Grose 1989, pp. 245, 247, 254–55.

150 Stern 1995, p. 85; see also Barag 1996, p. 89.

151 It is first described by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* (2.8.1), which was dedicated to the emperor Augustus before 15 B.C. For its use in the East, see Deichmann 1979, esp. pp. 473–77; Tirpan 1989, esp. pp. 520, 522. See also its use in Herod’s Third Palace at Jericho, built soon after 15 B.C.; Rozenberg and Mevorah 2013, pp. 102–3, ill. pp. 108, 109.

152 Roberts, Whitehouse, and Gudenrath 2010, p. 21.

153 For discussion of Aristeas, see Stern 1995, p. 72.

154 A parallel example of another craftsman who apparently signed his work both with and without a toponym is the mosaicist Zosimos at Zeugma; Aylward 2013, p. 16.

155 Calvi 1965, p. 9, figs. 1–3.

156 *Constable-Maxwell Collection* 1979, pp. 157–60, lot 280; *British Rail Pension Fund* 1997, pp. 48–51, lot 18; Bonhams 2004, pp. 34–37, lot 14 (with incorrect drawing of the inscription).

157 Stern 1995, p. 72.

158 It should be noted that the excavations in the *temenos* (sanctuary) of the Augusteum at Naronā also produced two fragments of mythological beakers; Buljević 2004a, pp. 186, 189, nos. 9, 10; Buljević 2004b, pp. 56, 57, nos. 9, 10. Such beakers may have been made in Asia Minor; Stern 1995, p. 185.

159 For further discussion, see Stern 1995, pp. 101–2; see also Harden 1935, pl. XXVIII, 6–8.

160 Stern 1995, pp. 73–74. Although Stern cites examples of the use of these names in Jewish contexts, it does not mean that the three craftsmen

involved here were necessarily Jews or that their products supplied “the Jewish market”; *pace* Whitehouse 2001, p. 22.

161 Stern 1997, p. 130.

162 See Barag 1996, pp. 88–89, who points out that the “palm-tree appears on the bronze coinage of Tyre” in both Hellenistic and Roman times.

163 Stern 1995, pp. 73–74, 102.

164 See Whitehouse 2001, p. 51.

165 Kunina 1997, p. 273, nos. 110–12; see also Lehrer 1979, pp. 7–8, 11, n. 11.

166 Kunina 1997, p. 273, no. 112; *Glass Fantasy* 2010, p. 105, no. 90.

167 Israeli 2011, pp. 44–45.

168 Harden et al. 1987, p. 158, no. 80.

169 Israeli 2011, pp. 62–65 (pyxides), 60–61 (jugs). For a different but related group, see Harden et al. 1987, p. 159, no. 81.

170 For the bottles, see Israeli 2011, pp. 88–89. For the hexagonal flask, see Harden et al. 1987, p. 161, no. 83. There is an identical flask in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection; Israeli 2011, pp. 82–83.

171 Two fragments of a similar beaker or bowl are in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Luni (Roman Luna), Ortonovo, Italy; Roffia 1981–83, p. 115, fig. 3.

## THE MOLD-BLOWING PROCESS

1 Henderson 2013, p. 8.

2 The majority of their work is contained on their website, <http://www.romanglassmakers.co.uk>. See also Gudenrath 1991, p. 235, figs. 153–56.

3 Stern 1995, pp. 45–46 and nn. 1–5. Marianne Stern provides a lengthy list of excavated material in the footnotes, although not all the material cited there has been accepted by archaeologists as having been used for blowing glass. The clay mold fragments were used for vessels with figural imagery, decorative patterns, and for square storage bottles. The stone molds were used for the bases of square bottles, and wood panels for the sides of square bottles were found at Saintes, France. The plaster and metal materials cited by Stern may or may not have been used to make molded glass vessels.

## THE ENNION JUG FROM JERUSALEM

1 Avigad 1983, pp. 107–17, figs. 95, 96.

2 Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 5.137–41.

3 *Ibid.*, 6.407–15.

## ENNION AND ARISTEAS GLASSWARE FOUND IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

I would like to thank Branko Pender for producing corrected illustrations and Ante Verzotti for taking the photographs.

1 Naronā Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2046; Buljević 2004a, pp. 186, 188, no. 7; Buljević 2004b, pp. 56, 57, no. 7; Buljević 2005, p. 95, fig. 2; Buljević 2007, pp. 167–68, fig. 5; Buljević 2009, pp. 35–36, fig. 1.1; Buljević 2012, pp. 5–6, figs. 1, 1a; Glučina 2012, pp. 37, 41.

2 Naronā Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 438 (nos. 2a–c), 439 (no. 2e), 440 (no. 2d); Buljević 2009, p. 36, fig. 1.2; Buljević 2012, pp. 6–7, fig. 2. The bottom fragment, inv. no. 440, probably belongs to the same cup as inv. no. 438, but the other bottom fragment, inv. no. 439, may belong to another cup of the same type. The five pieces do not join, and the bottom, inv. no. 440, has a cut polished edge, like another fragment (fluted) made of three pieces, which do not join and are recorded under inv. no. 438; Glučina 2012, pp. 37, 42.

3 Buljević 1997–98, p. 250.

4 They belong to one or two vessels. Naronā Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 437 (no. 9a), 424 (no. 9b); Buljević 2009, pp. 36, 38, fig. 1.7; Buljević 2012, pp. 11–12, fig. 9.

5 Trilj Local Heritage Museum, inv. no. MTK 758; Buljević 2003, p. 336, no. 142, pl. 14.10; Buljević 2005, p. 95, fig. 1; Buljević 2007, pp. 167–68, fig. 4; Buljević 2009, p. 38, fig. 2.8; Buljević 2012, p. 12, fig. 10.

6 Trilj Local Heritage Museum, inv. no. MTK 1467 (no. 7a), MTK 1469 (no. 7b), MTK 1468 (no. 7c); Buljević 2009, p. 36, fig. 1.4; Buljević 2012, p. 11, fig. 7; Buljević forthcoming, nos. 189–91; inv. no. MTK 1470 (no. 8a), MTK 1471 (no. 8b); Buljević 2009, p. 36, fig. 1.5; Buljević 2012, p. 11, fig. 8; Buljević forthcoming, nos. 192, 193.

7 Sanader and Tončinić 2012, p. 27, fig. 1.1.

8 Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2047. For bibliography, see note 20 below.

9 Mandruzzato 2007, pp. 186–88; De Bellis 2004, cols. 177–78.

10 Compare Conton 1906, pp. 12–13, fig. 11; Harden 1935, p. 167 (A.2.iv), pl. XXVIII, 4; Calvi 1965, p. 12, fig. 4; Auth 1976, pp. 64–65, no. 58; Larese 2004, p. 18, pl. CXIX, 513; Mandruzzato 2007, fig. 1b.

11 Burnum Archaeological Collection, Drniš Town Museum, inv. no. 2332; Borzić 2008, pp. 93, 94, figs. 3–5, cup 2; Buljević 2009, p. 36, fig. 1.6; Buljević 2012, pp. 7–8, fig. 4.

12 Michele De Bellis, letter to the author, Adria, October 21, 2010; Borzić, in an unpublished article in which he reviews the Burnum fragment.

13 Burnum Archaeological Collection, Drniš Town Museum, inv. no. 2335; Borzić 2012, pp. 31–35; Buljević 2012, pp. 8–9, fig. 5. As acknowledged in the catalogue for the exhibition “Traces of Ennion and Aristas in the Roman Province of Dalmatia,” held at the Archaeological Museum, Split, in 2012, I again thank Joško Zaninović, director of the Drniš Town Museum, for his consent to exhibit the glass fragment, and particularly Dr. Igor Borzić, senior assistant professor at the Faculty of Arts and Letters in Zadar, who identified the fragment and included it in the exhibition. See Buljević 2012, p. 3, n. 1.

14 Burnum Archaeological Collection, Drniš Town Museum, inv. no. 2333; Borzić 2008, pp. 92, 93–94, figs. 1, 2, cup 1; Buljević 2009, p. 36, fig. 1.3; Buljević 2012, p. 7, fig. 3.

15 Michele De Bellis believed that since the Tremithus and Cuora cups have an empty space to the right of the lower part of the vertical *tabulae* line, the cup from Burnum comes from a different mold. De Bellis, letter to the author, Adria, October 21, 2010.

16 Burnum Archaeological Collection, Drniš Town Museum, inv. no. 2334; Borzić 2008, pp. 93, 95, figs. 6, 7, cup 3; Buljević 2009, p. 38, fig. 2.10; Buljević 2012, pp. 13–14, fig. 11. See also Conton 1906, p. 13; Harden 1935, p. 167.

17 Borzić, in an unpublished article in which he reviews the Burnum fragments.

18 Borzić 2011, p. 85, n. 11.

19 Inv. no. AMS-62758; Buljević 2009, p. 38, fig. 2.9; Buljević 2012, pp. 9–10, fig. 6. It comes from an unidentified Dalmatian site.

20 Buljević 2004a, pp. 186, 189, no. 8; Buljević 2004b, pp. 56, 57, no. 8; Buljević 2005, p. 95, fig. 3; Buljević 2007, pp. 168–69, fig. 6; Buljević 2009, p. 38, fig. 2.11; Buljević 2012, pp. 14–15, fig. 12; Glučina 2012, pp. 37, 41.

21 See Harden 1935, p. 167; De Bellis 2004, cols. 166–68; Buljević 2009, pp. 36–37, fig. 1.4; Borzić 2011, p. 85.

22 Burnum Archaeological Collection, Drniš Town Museum, inv. nos. 2336 (no. 13b), 2337 (nos. 13a, c); Borzić 2011, pp. 79–91, fig. 2; Borzić 2012, pp. 31–35; Buljević 2012, pp. 15–16, fig. 13. The fourth fragment is at a storage site at Burnum.

23 Similar to Ennion’s cups of Harden’s type A.3; see cat. nos. 23 and 24.

24 Borzić 2011, p. 85, n. 12.

25 Borzić 2008, p. 95, figs. 6, 7; Borzić 2011, pp. 84–85, n. 11.

26 Stern 1995, p. 72; Borzić 2011, pp. 86–87.

## APPENDIX

1 McClellan 1983, app. B, p. 78. The analyses were carried out by Dr. Edward V. Sayre, probably in the 1960s, using optical emission spectroscopy (OES). One piece is an inscribed beaker in the Corning Museum of Glass; the second is the unsigned jug cat. no. 34, also at Corning; see Whitehouse 2001, p. 23, no. 486, pp. 51–52, no. 524, respectively. Whitehouse does not refer to the publication by McClellan of the analyses; see Stern 1995, p. 71, n. 62. The third example is the fragment of an Ennion cup found during excavations at the Athenian Agora; Weinberg and Stern 2009, p. 80, no. 145, fig. 8, pl. 13. For additional analysis of glass finds from the Athenian Agora, see Boccia Paterakis 2009. The final example, analyzed by Robert Brill of the Corning Museum of Glass, is apparently the Ennion jug cat. no. 7 found in Jerusalem; see Brill 1999, vol. 1, p. 81, vol. 2, p. 147.



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### CHRISTOPHER S. LIGHTFOOT

*Curator*

*Department of Greek and Roman Art*

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*







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