

A Pilgrim Flask of Cosmopolitan Style in the Cesnola Collection

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PROVENANCE AND PROBLEM

THE TERM "PILGRIM FLASK" is the colorful but purely conventional designation given in Near Eastern archaeology to two-handled lentoid-shaped bottles without a base. The type cannot be called rare, but neither is it one of the most common shapes surviving from the Late Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age (roughly the sixteenth to the eighth century B.C.); in this respect some interest attaches to any specimen of it. It is, therefore, curious that a large pilgrim flask with most unusual decoration in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum has not, in a period of flourishing Cypriote studies, attracted the attention that it deserves (Figures 1–4).¹ The present study is offered in an attempt to rectify the omission.

In company with the other objects from the Ces-

nola Collection this flask is, of course, an archaeological "orphan" in that no one can know for certain what tomb it came from at what site in Cyprus—although the fact that the collection as such came from Cyprus is generally not questioned. It must, however, be pointed out that this flask is included by inference and association in the famous Curium Treasure described by General Louis Palma di Cesnola in the account of his collection.² The validity of that description has been controversial almost from the time it was published. Agnes Smith, writing in 1887, stated:

With regard to the discoveries of De Cesnola, we found that the prevailing opinion amongst the English residents of Cyprus is as follows:

1. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914) No. 545 (hereafter referred to by the Myres number). Under the rubric "Early Iron Age Fabric XVI" (equivalent to Early Geometric White Painted and Bichrome Wares) Myres describes this piece as follows (p. 70): "The remarkable annular flask 545 shows rude but vigorous sketches of animals, birds, and plants, which should be compared, on one hand, with the designs on the tripod 513 already described, and on the other, with the painted horses and birds of rather later date in Wall-Cases 21 and 23, and in Floor-Case VIII. It should also be compared with the more elaborate decorations on the silver bowls 4552 ff. in the Museum's Gold Room." While today we may not find these comparisons particularly enlightening, it is clear that Myres entertained no doubt as to the Cypriote designation of the piece. No. 513 has now been published by V. Karageorghis and J. des Gagniers, *La Céramique chypriote de l'Âge du Fer* (Rome, 1974) p. 100:IX.4 (Bichrome III). The authors do not include No. 545, possibly because they have tended to limit their repertory to Protogeometric and Geometric rep-

resentations. No. 545, while contemporary with the former, seems to me now more properly associated with the Late Bronze Age; but there is nevertheless a certain lack of logic in these divisions. Both E. Gjerstad and P. Åström also seem to have ignored this flask in their extensive studies of Cypriote pottery.

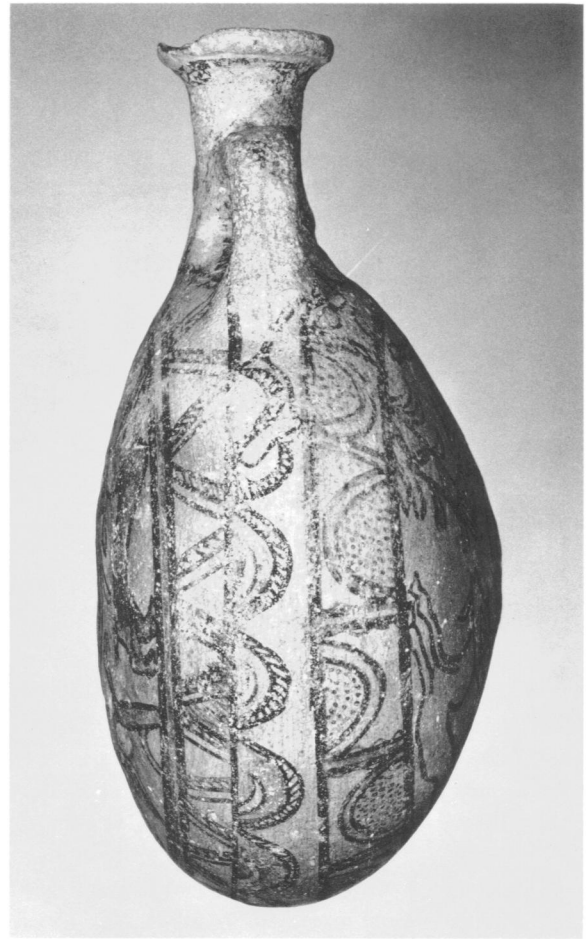
2. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (London, 1877). He included a very rough sketch of it in the middle of the chapter on the Curium Treasure (p. 333, right). It is perhaps included in the general reference to "many terra-cotta vases with designs" in Room E (p. 332). But it is not a little curious that a proper drawing of it was not included in the vase designs beginning on pl. XLIV, or else in the same author's *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1885; New York, 1894–1903), which presented many run-of-the-mill vase-paintings. On the Curium Treasure see O. Masson, "Cesnola et le trésor de Curium," *Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes: Cahier I* (1984) pp. 16–25.



1. Side B

1–4. Pilgrim flask (Myres No. 545), Cypriote, 12th–11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 27 cm.; max. thickness, 12.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874–1876, 74.51.431

De Cesnola was not an archaeologist, but simply a man of culture who had plenty of time at his disposal, his official duties being light. He was seized with a zeal for excavating, and collected many valuable objects of ancient art. Finding that these attracted the interest of scientific men who happened to visit him, he was induced to make a catalogue of them, stating to the best of his recollection the places where he had found each item. But, as he had not made [*sic*] a habit of doing this from the beginning, his memory failed him in one or two instances; and he thus furnished a handle to his detractors of which they have made ample use. His collection has the undoubted merit of having been made in Cyprus, and it is therefore genuine; but much of its value to antiquarians is lost through the want of accuracy in naming the spot where each separate object was found.³



2. Side B/A

Methodologically, then, the Curium connection must be set aside, with the proviso, of course, that justifiable doubts about Cesnola's recollections do not prove that the flask was not in fact found in Curium.

Cesnola, as indeed also John L. Myres, regarded the style of No. 545 as "rude" and hence had little time for it in comparison with some of the spectacular finds among his collected objects. The process of deciding which style was foreign, which local, began in earnest with Myres, although most of the Cesnola Collection is easy to place in this regard. It is true that Myres himself had no doubts about placing No. 545 in the local category, nor had I when I referred to it briefly in 1975 in an article on Cypriote Geometric birds as an example of the survival of Late Bronze

3. A. Smith, *Through Cyprus* (London, 1887) pp. 238–239. Note that in his chapter "On the Pottery of Cyprus" appended to Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 393–412, the archaeologist A. S. Murray speaks routinely of the famous "patera from Curium," an expression that is still more or less customary.

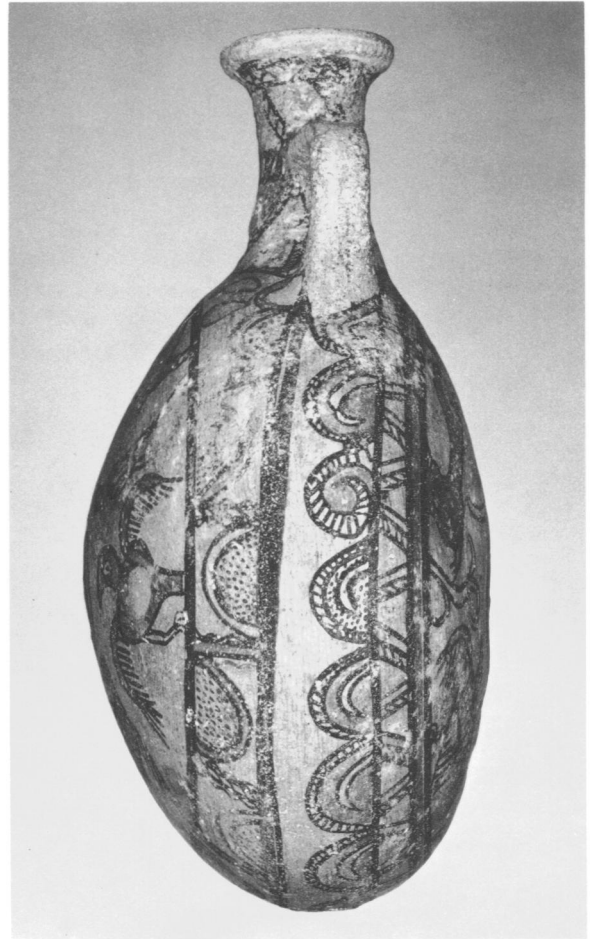


3. Side A

Age motifs.⁴ And indeed the following consideration of its various features will show that understanding this object revolves not so much around its classification as a Cypriote product—from the clay and technique a reasonable assumption—but around its precise date, something that I had not been able to work out at the time of my earlier article.

MATERIAL AND SHAPE

The clay is a very dark buff, almost gray-brown in places, and not very well levigated. Rather coarse bits are visible here and there; the result is a fairly thick, heavy texture, with what is probably a self-slip that is lustrous in places with occasional areas of lighter buff color. The reddish decoration and uneven firing are responsible for the rather warm effect of the whole.⁵ Given the variation in Cypriote fabrics, it is difficult to determine how the piece might fit into any known

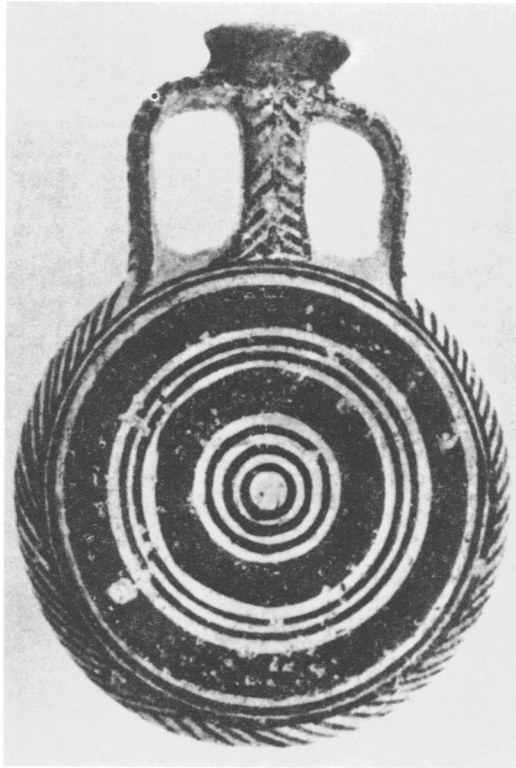


4. Side A/B

native category without having it in the Cyprus Museum where one could attempt visual matching. On the basis of a certain amount of matching with other specimens from the Cesnola Collection, however, I judge the clay to be well within the range found in earlier Iron Age Cypriote wares (that is, of approximately the eleventh century B.C.), especially in those vessels that have rather thick walls. If more could be done to reach a conclusion in this matter, I strongly suspect that the clay of No. 545 would be found to match generically the clay of vessels discovered in the

4. J. L. Benson, "Birds in Cypro-Geometric Pottery," in *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments*, ed. N. Robertson (Park Ridge, N.J., 1975) p. 134, pl. 2, figs. 7, 8.

5. On the more convex side the reddish paint of the animals has partially disappeared. At the narrower end of the central aperture the clay is cracked in a roughly circular pattern. Only this area has whitish material which looks a little like sinter, yet could conceivably be traces of an ancient repair to secure the watertightness of the body.



5, 6. Pilgrim flask, from Kouklia (Tomb 9, no. 16), Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 18 cm. (photo: after *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1967)

Late Bronze Age settlement of Curium and classified as Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware (1225–1050 B.C.).⁶

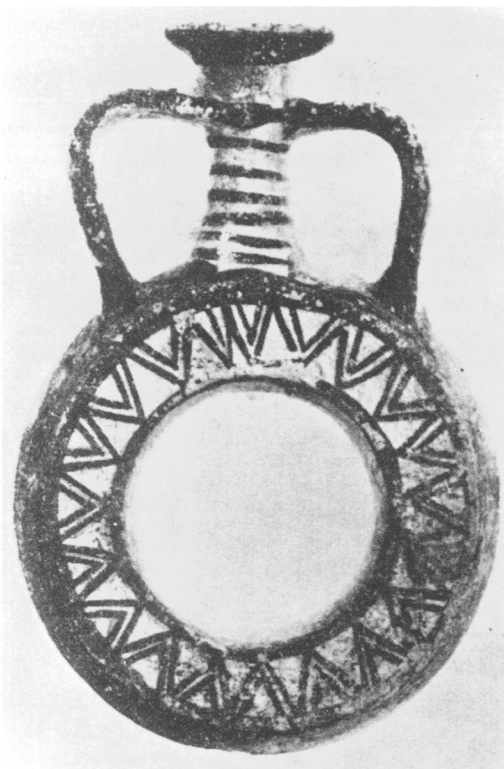
The shape is lentoid but flattened on one of the faces (side B) to a very slight curve (Figures 2, 4). The neck (Figures 1, 3) flows in a concave arc from the contour of the flask and is surmounted by a torus rim; this has a chip of considerable extent corresponding to the flatter face of the flask, and shows signs of wear on the other. A handle on each side flows from the outer contour in a convex arc to mid-neck. All in all, one must say that the potter took considerable pains to create a harmonious composition. But there is another—and most unusual—feature in his work: a small aperture approximately 2 centimeters in diameter was made at the center of the more convex face (side A), widening to approximately 4 centimeters in diameter on the opposite face, thus creating in section the shape of a funnel. Although this feature might justify the

term “annular flask,” it would be more appropriate to describe the piece as a lentoid flask pierced with a funnellform aperture.

The pilgrim flask was used not only in Cyprus but also in the Aegean and Syro-Palestinian regions. Although No. 545 cannot from its clay be an Aegean product, the shapes represented in all these areas must be considered in order to arrive at its date. If the piece should indeed be from Curium and a local product, it has no very close parallels among pilgrim flasks found there. Yet enough flasks were found in Curium to permit discussion of their morphology in general, and, for the limited purposes of my 1975 study, I concluded that the closest parallels existed in Cypro-Geometric I contexts (1050–950 B.C.).⁷ Although that conclusion was technically correct, it was too narrowly conceived.

6. J. L. Benson, *Bamboula at Kourion: The Necropolis and the Finds* (Philadelphia, 1972) pp. 80–88.

7. See note 4 above. See also J. L. Benson, *The Necropolis of Kaloriziki* (Göteborg, 1973) pl. 20 K 167. It should be noted, however, that the lentoid flask as a shape occurred in the settlement and tombs at Bamboula: Benson, *Bamboula*, B617–B619: Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware.



7. Pilgrim flask, from Kouklia (Tomb 9, no. 19), Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 17 cm. (photo: after *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1967)

In pilgrim flasks found in the tombs at Alaas in Cyprus (dated to the Late Cypriote IIIB period, around 1075 B.C.), the positioning of the handles varies between immediately under the lip (e.g., Tomb 16, no. 23) to about mid-neck (Tomb 17, no. 14).⁸ This is also true of the annular flasks, including one in the Hadjiprodromou collection.⁹ Flasks from Kouklia (Palaepaphos), Tomb 9, dated to the same period,¹⁰ exhibit the same experimental tendency to place the handles immediately under the lip (Figures 5, 6)—as preferred in the Late Bronze Age—or lower down toward mid-neck—as was to become more usual in the Cypro-Geometric I period (Figure 7). It seems germane to recall at this point that Proto-White Painted Ware shows marked influence from—among other sources—Mycenaean immigrants, who contributed mainland viewpoints to the creation of a new geometricizing style in Cyprus.¹¹ It is, therefore, of the greatest interest that the uncertainty in the place-

ment of the handles on all the Proto-White Painted flasks referred to above has its counterpart on Mycenaean IIIB flasks of a type exported to (or made in) Cyprus:¹² the latter seem, in fact, to be quite plausible prototypes for the former. In that case, does the Proto-White Painted flask represent a revival from such examples as may still have been visible in Cyprus or a tendency brought afresh by immigrants from the mainland? The question becomes particularly acute in the case of No. 545: a Mycenaean IIIB flask found in a tomb at Kition¹³ has not only almost identical handles and neck (Figure 8) but also its pseudo-lenticular shape (Figure 9), a shape that is *not* usual in Mycenaean specimens of this type, although it is an attested Cypriote feature, recurring in the eleventh century B.C. (Figure 6). Obviously, there is a mystery here which cannot at present be entirely penetrated, but at least the Cypriote ambience of No. 545 is forcefully documented.

Yet the feature of the small hole through the center of the flask is difficult to explain on this or any other basis. The site of Megiddo produced at least one example of a typical Late Bronze Age pilgrim flask normal in every way except that it, too, has a small hole at the center (Figure 10).¹⁴ The analogy is not compelling, however, since the perforation is not

8. V. Karageorghis, *Alaas: A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1975) pls. xi, xv.

9. *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii E 2.

10. V. Karageorghis, "An Early XIth Century B.C. Tomb from Palaepaphos," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1967) pl. 11:16, 19; *idem*, "Chronique des fouilles . . . à Chypre en 1969," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 94 (1970) p. 197, fig. 7.

11. Benson, *Bamboula*, p. 53.

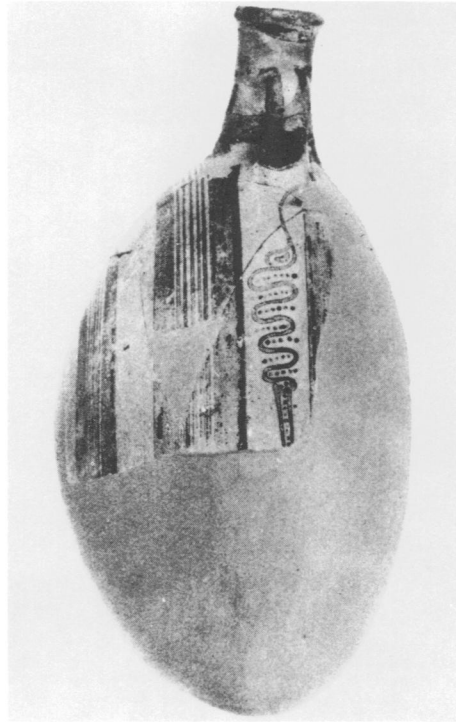
12. V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (Paris, 1965) pl. xvii:1-4.

13. V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition: I. The Tombs* (London, 1974) pl. xviii:164. The pseudo-lenticular shape occurs in Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware and Base Ring II Ware: P. Åström, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV, pt. C. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age: Architecture and Pottery* (Göteborg, 1972) figs. LIII, LV.

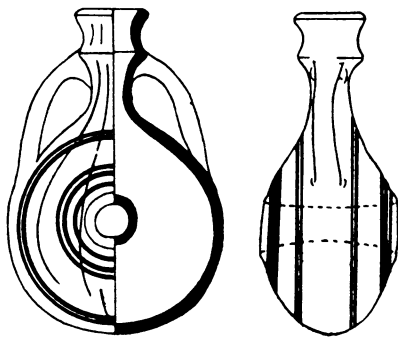
14. G. Loud, *Megiddo: II. Seasons of 1935-39* (Chicago, 1948) pl. 86:8 (P 6354-A28092) from Stratum VI, dated by H. Kantor in 1973 (private communication) to Early Iron II (tentatively, 1150-1020 B.C.); see also R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) p. 191. The date of the Megiddo flask in any case lies within a rather wide span: it could be, but is not necessarily, the earlier piece. Although this flask has the type number 18, it proved impossible to ascertain at the Oriental Institute of Chicago whether it was the unique representative of the type or whether other specimens had been found in the excavations. No parallels are cited, nor have I discovered any.



8, 9. Pilgrim flask, from Kition (Tomb IV-V, no. 164), Mycenaean, 13th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 24.4 cm. (photo: after Karageorghis, *Kition*)



10. Pilgrim flask, from Megiddo (Stratum VI), Palestinian, 12th–11th century B.C. (drawing: after Loud, *Megiddo*, II)



funnellike but virtually a constant cylinder, slightly arched in the center, and the overall shape of the flask differs in many respects from that of No. 545. If the best theoretical explanation of the hole is that it is a somewhat arbitrary variant of the ring vase, just becoming popular in Proto-White Painted Ware, then it

might be easier to suppose that the Megiddo potter received, rather than gave, this feature, which is more plausibly explained as a Cypriote than as a Palestinian invention.¹⁵ Or it may have arisen independently in two places.

In light of the wider and more recent evidence discussed, which was not taken into account earlier, I do not hesitate now to postulate that No. 545 was made in the Late Cypriote III period (1225–1050 B.C.), doubtless toward the latter part of it.

15. The vertical ring vase occurs already in Middle Cypriote wares: P. Åström, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV*, pt. B. *The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age* (Göteborg, 1972) p. 211. Its use in the Late Cypriote IIIB period may reflect a revival of interest in earlier forms of native wares. In this respect it is of interest that a *Ring-flasche* in Mycenaean technique (shape like E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition: IV*, pt. 2. *Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* [Stockholm, 1948] fig. v:8) was acquired on the market (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Germany 27, Heidelberg 3, pl. 97, 8). This may be parallel to the case cited above in notes 12 and 13. The shape seemed to be used in Cyprus during the Geometric period and taken up again in Greece later. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 166–167, does not mention the shape (see, however, D. Levi, “Arkades,” *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 10–13 [1927–29] p. 494). It occurs somewhat later in Palestine: R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo: I. Seasons of 1925–34, Strata I–V* (Chicago, 1931) pl. 36:7 from Stratum III (930–732 B.C. in Kantor’s system, see note 14 above).

THE SUBSIDIARY DECORATION

The Mycenaean connections of the potter of No. 545 have their counterpart in its decorator (potter and decorator may well have been the same person). In the first instance, the presence of figural decoration on a pilgrim flask of the eleventh century B.C. in the Levant seems to be rare, if not unique. It is to the Mycenaean sphere that one must look for prototypes, though even there decoration is generally on a less ambitious scale. These prototypes will be considered in due course after a study of the technique and framework of the "scene" on the Cesnola flask.

On each face a framework for the figural decoration is formed by two concentric circles around the aperture and one or two circles (sides A and B respectively) near the outer limit. A matt, dark brown paint is used throughout on bordering lines; the space between such lines is sometimes filled in with a pinkish brown to produce the effect of a bichrome stripe. The second color can vary almost to a purplish brown, especially in the filling of some of the animals' bodies. Near the outer limit of side B is a narrow bichrome border on which is based a design of alter-

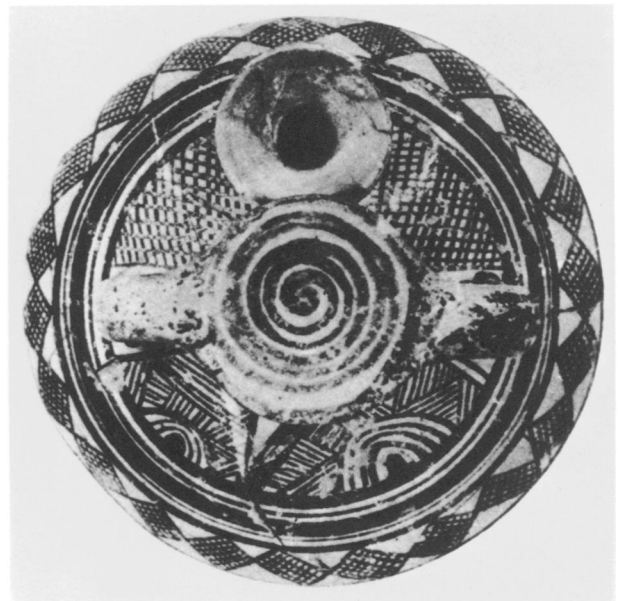
nately slanting lines constituting a series of triangles with hatched and outlined borders (Figures 1, 2); only one of these triangles is filled with contrasting solid paint. The triangles are interrupted in the region below the span of the handles by two parallel, closely undulating lines (Figure 1). Above these, the hatched triangles continue onto and up the neck, interrupted by a series of horizontal bars connecting the upper ends of the handles. A narrow band of horizontal zigzag is placed immediately under the lip.

The more convex face, side A (Figure 3), has the same decoration on the neck, but the outer border of the figural frieze is quite different. It consists of a wide zone divided into separate panels by double lines at more or less right angles (Figure 4). These are either filled with solid color or else hatched, and in some instances are bordered by scallops in the Mycenaean manner. In the panels so formed are dotted semi-circles, the arcs bordered by double lines filled with solid color. The area between the handles where side B has wavy lines here has a few rough leaflike shapes.

The decorative schemes of sides A and B are separated by a zone corresponding to the width of the handles (Figures 2, 4). This zone is filled with a series



11, 12. Stirrup jar, Cypriote, 11th century B.C. Terra-cotta, H. 26 cm. Cyprus, Hadjiprodromou Collection (photo: after Karageorghis, *Alaas*)



of outlined semicircles based on the outer border of side B and painted solid except for a reserved hook; the outlines are hatched. One of the semicircles is dotted, and in one case the hatched outline curves back under itself showing the entire hook (Figure 4), which is partially truncated in the other semicircles.

The decorative framework just described is highly elaborate by Late Bronze Age or early Iron Age standards, but not inexplicable. It can be understood as embroidering on the typical triangle outer-face decoration of Late Cypriote IIIB ring vases, such as those from Palaepaphos mentioned in note 10 (see Figure 7) or the pilgrim flask from Alaas, Tomb 16 (see note 8). Even the specific form of barred-outline triangle exists in the Proto-White repertory of designs (Figure 11), in tandem with the combination of outlined semicircles and hatched triangles seen on stirrup jars (Figure 12).¹⁶ The parallel wavy lines are a ubiquitous motif of Proto-White Painted Ware. The use of dotting in semicircles, although not very characteristic of that category, is not unknown;¹⁷ but I take this feature to derive rather from another source to be discussed below—that is, the general predilection for dotting manifested mostly in figural representation in the Cypriote Pastoral Style.

Thus, the structure and details of the subsidiary decoration reveal themselves as a direct reflection of the conventions of Proto-White Painted Ware, although carried to a degree of complexity which is matched in spirit only in the larger shapes of this category, particularly stirrup jars.¹⁸ The complexity is caused partly by the introduction of alternately reversed semicircles, a standard Late Bronze Age motif deriving from the Mycenaean repertory.¹⁹ In the overrich manner of the decorator of No. 545, spiral hooks, also a Mycenaean ornament, are combined with the semicircles in a seemingly idiosyncratic way (Figure 4). This recalls, however, the use of spirals on the false tops of stirrup jars (Figure 12).

FIGURAL DECORATION

By now it should be no surprise that the association of figural decoration with the flask shape must be sought in the Mycenaean sector. Even there, simple concentric circles are the usual convention for decorating pilgrim flasks from Mycenae to the Syro-Palestinian littoral. However, I know of four excep-

tions besides No. 545, and there may be others. All of those listed here have (or probably had) the globular-footed shape:²⁰

1. Louvre AM 833. Late thirteenth century B.C. Large free-field bird.
2. Rhodes Museum BE 1223 (29). Thirteenth century B.C. "Robed (armless) women or goddesses facing out under handles on each narrow side."
3. Sarepta. Horses on each side (representing teams) in fields of flowers.
4. Corinth Museum CP 2188 (Figures 13, 14). Center of field occupied by a cross containing stacked triangles; in the circular field, trees and conventional flowers.²¹

This list makes it clear that no fixed conventions governed the use of a flask's surface for figural decoration but that in the few instances where it occurred the artist experimented. The Corinth example is formally the closest to No. 545; its alternation of tree and flower corresponds to the alternation of tree/animal (quadruped or bird)/flower on side B of No. 545 (Figure 1). On side A, however, the flower motif does not occur.

The principal motif on both faces of No. 545 is the sacred palm flanked by heraldic goats in the company of birds. In the Mycenaean sphere this combination of elements occurs only once to my knowledge, at Perati, though the heraldic scheme is not completed.²² Heraldic goats and palm occur occa-

16. Karageorghis, *Alaas*, pl. xxiv B 5. A faint echo of this occurs in the Near East: Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 169, no. 7.

17. Karageorghis, *Alaas*, pl. LVIII T16/11 (pilgrim flask).

18. *Ibid.*, passim; note also pl. XII.

19. E.g., Karageorghis, *Kition*, pl. LVI:108A.

20. It may be noted that the nonfooted example mentioned in note 13 (Figure 9) has the whorl-shell motif in the same position as the women of no. 2 on my list. See also C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica: II. Nouvelles Etudes relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra* (Paris, 1949) p. 171, fig. 67:19.

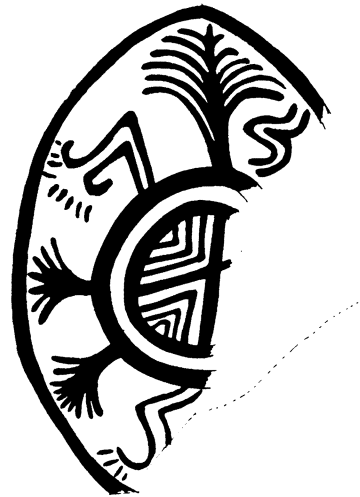
21. Nos. 1–3: E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) v.72.1, xii.18, iv.78. No. 4 is previously unpublished; I am indebted to Miss Paleoglou, Acting Ephor of the Argolid and Corinth, and to the Greek Ministry of Culture for permission to mention and illustrate this piece. I am indebted to the late S. Charitonides for permission to make the drawing reproduced in Figure 14.

22. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, xi.83.



13. Pilgrim flask, from New Corinth, Mycenaean, 13th–12th century B.C. Terracotta, H. 21 cm. Corinth Museum, CP 2188 (photo: courtesy Corinth Excavations)

14. Detail of decoration on the flask reproduced in Figure 13 (drawing: J. L. Benson)



15, 16. Birds with displayed wings, details of Figures 1 and 3

sionally on vases found in Rhodes and Cyprus,²³ but not apparently in juxtaposition with birds. In contrast, the true locale of the palm-and-ibex motif, frequently combined with birds, is the Syro-Palestinian littoral.²⁴ It would, however, be hasty to seek an immediate connection for No. 545 with this region. Flasks there seem not to carry figural decoration, let alone the theme of No. 545, and there is, as we shall see, only a marginal relationship between the figural style of the region and that of No. 545.

As I have previously pointed out, the birds on the Cesnola flask (Figures 15, 16) are best explained as reminiscences of Late Minoan III birds with displayed wings, which is a variant of the down-view flying pose seen on seals, while the openwork bodies



²³ Ibid.: Rhodes, XII.11, XII.24; Cyprus, VI.9.

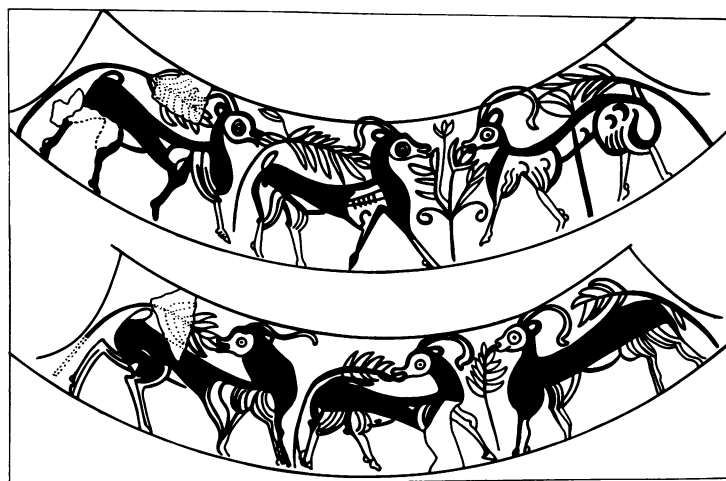
²⁴ Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 161–165; no. 8, which shows only goats, also has a zone of birds on the side, a feature that may apply to others in the list as well.



17. Goat and palm, detail of Figure 3

are probably to be connected with a Mycenaean convention.²⁵ The obvious prototypes for the goats (Figure 17), on the other hand, exist in Cyprus itself, particularly in the Pastoral Style, whose curious combination of outlined, naturalistic legs with a quite schematic head and swung-back horns indicated by double lines is illustrated on an amphoroid krater from Kazaphani (Figure 18).²⁶ The naturalistic leaves on the palms of No. 545 (Figure 19) have a parallel in the Pastoral Style, too, on the same krater. What gives the goats of the Cesnola flask their somewhat grotesque quality is the almond-shaped eyes; Pastoral Style painters used these for bulls,²⁷ preferring round eyes for goats. Indeed, the unsuitably thick necks and the folded-under hind legs of the goats on No. 545 recall the worst distortions of bulls represented in the Pastoral Style; yet their outlined, quasi-naturalistic, bi-chrome effect is not one of crudeness per se but recalls, even if distantly, the dignified style of the animals on the conical faience rhyton found in Kition (Figure 20).²⁸ It seems that the painter of No. 545 was basing the color effect of his figures on a technique more sophisticated than that of local pottery, since bi-chrome effects were at most experimental in the Late Cypriote III period²⁹ and certainly almost nonexistent as far as its rare figural representations were concerned.

The artist of the Cesnola flask reflects figural influences, then, from both general Mycenaean and specific Cypriote sources. In addition, however, the connection I feel it necessary to postulate with the Kition rhyton, which is in a style called "Aegeo-Oriental" by Karageorghis,³⁰ is more than confirmed by two rather unusual details in the rendition of the left goat of side A (Figures 3, 17). Its head, unlike the heads of its fel-



18. Frieze of goats, on krater from Kazaphani, Cypriote, 13th century B.C. Terracotta, H. (krater) approx. 30 cm. (drawing: after Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*)

lows, is rendered open-mouthed, showing the teeth and with the tongue hanging out. The pose would be more appropriate in a dog or lion, but it seems to be unknown in the relatively rare depiction of either of those species, and certainly in the depiction of goats, in Mycenaean vase painting. It is from Egypt that this realistic touch ultimately derives (Figure 21).³¹ It would be reasonable to expect it to have reached Cyprus via Ugarit, and on the famous patera from that site there are indeed several examples of lions (and also other

25. Benson, "Birds in Cypro-Geometric Pottery," p. 134. To the examples cited there may be added the birds on a Late Minoan IIIB pyxis: *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1979–80) no. 52, pp. 98–99, with further references. I am indebted to Joan Mertens for bringing this example to my attention.

26. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, vi.9. This formula for the horns and legs lived on in schematic form in ordinary Proto-White Painted representations, as in Karageorghis and des Gagniers, *La Céramique chypriote*, p. 3 (lower).

27. Vermeule and Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, vi.10–14.

28. V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus*, Picture Book 3 (Nicosia, 1968) pl. xxix; idem, *Kition*, pl. c.

29. Benson, *Bamboula*, p. 53. The essence of Cypriote bi-chrome style in the Late Geometric period—heavily outlined, solidly filled figures—is thus anticipated.

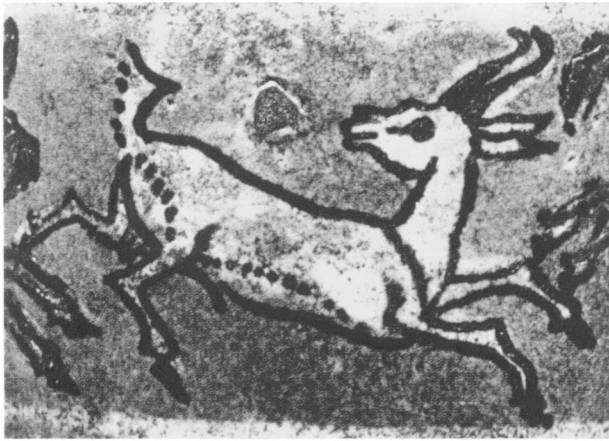
30. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art*, p. 44.

31. W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958) pls. 99B, 103B.



19. Palm flanked by goats, detail of Figure 1

20. Goat, detail of rhyton from Kition, "Aegeo-Oriental," 13th century B.C. Faience, H. (rhyton) 26.8 cm. (photo: after Karageorghis, *Kition*)



animals) with tongues hanging out.³² Lions showing teeth are also represented on the patera, but not with the combination of tongue and teeth. Even so, the analogy is close enough, and it is supported by the position of the forelegs of the open-mouthed goat, one stretched forward and one bent back under the body. This may be an adaptation of the pose of kneeling bulls found on Mesopotamian seals,³³ or that of leaping goats on Middle Assyrian seals.³⁴ The other goats on No. 545 have the forelegs stretched out as in the flying-gallop pose and the hind legs in various nonconforming positions. On that score they show a generic similarity to the animals of the elaborate palm-and-ibex motif on the jug from Tomb 912 D at Megiddo.³⁵

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis has consistently turned up interlocking tendencies, both backward and forward looking, in the shape and decoration of the Cesnola flask No. 545. In this sense the flask serves as an admirable mirror of the manifold artistic influences at work in Cyprus in the eleventh century B.C., while exemplifying the artist's vigorous experimental spirit.

The shape itself has a strong native character. At the same time it seems to be intimately linked with previous Mycenaean adaptations of the Levantine flask. Similarly, the theme of the frieze is basically Near Eastern; although it is cast in a specifically Mycenaean arrangement and manner, there are several details that raise the possibility of at least indirect contact with the original source. Thus, it is likely that

32. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, pl. VIII. Joan Mertens has suggested to me by letter that the composition of such bowls may count as the prototype of the arrangement of the figures in No. 545. One may note that this arrangement accords with that on the flask in the Corinth Museum. When more examples of this type of decoration surface, the question can be reopened.

33. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, p. 38, fig. 12.

34. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Near East* (Harmondsworth, 1954) pl. 76A.

35. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 163.

21. Fragmentary head of a hyena, wall painting from the Tomb of Inyotef, Thebes (Tomb 155), Dynasty 18, ca. 1504–1450 B.C. H. 43 cm. Tempera copy by Nina de Garis Davies. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 31.6.38

the decoration had a Near Eastern flavor for the contemporary inhabitants of Cyprus.

In the essentials of figural and even subordinate decoration, the artist of No. 545 turned to Aegean–Mycenaean art as it had been represented in Cyprus in a slightly earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age. In some sense it might even be said that his style is a kind of continuation of the Pastoral Style into the transition between the Late Bronze and the Geometric eras. The transitional character is fully apparent in the rather abrupt juxtaposition of the new geometric structuralism of the outer border of side B, along with the rectangular structuralism of the palm trees (Figures 1, 19), and the curvilinear naturalism of the waning Mycenaean age, as seen in the wavy lines, spiral hooks, semicircles, and rubbery flowers distributed over the surface. Could it have been the impulse to balance out these two opposing tendencies that led the potter to place the junction of the handles at mid-neck, while permitting the dynamic irregularity of the funnelform hole in a lentoid flask unequally shaped on its two faces?

The synthesis of all these disparate elements seems best accounted for as having taken place on Cyprus, whether or not it was at Curium. Indeed, the region of Kition may be a more plausible locale. Both clay and decoration can perhaps best be understood as belonging to the category of Late Cypriote III Decorated Ware (which is amply represented at Curium). That the artist was, however, a native Cypriote cannot be taken for granted in such a complicated, cosmopolitan period and place. If he (or she) were an immigrant from the west, a clearer grasp of Minoan–Mycenaean style might have been expected. By the same token, a transplanted Syrian or Palestinian, say, would almost certainly have brought considerable consciousness of current Near Eastern tendencies; we have been able to isolate a few striking instances of these. Even if a native, the artist was certainly no ordinary Cypriote. We can only hope that further interest in the problems raised here may put the cultural and artistic complexities represented by the Cesnola flask in a clearer perspective.