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M O R G A N T I N A

THE REDISCOVERY OF A LOST CITY IN SICILY

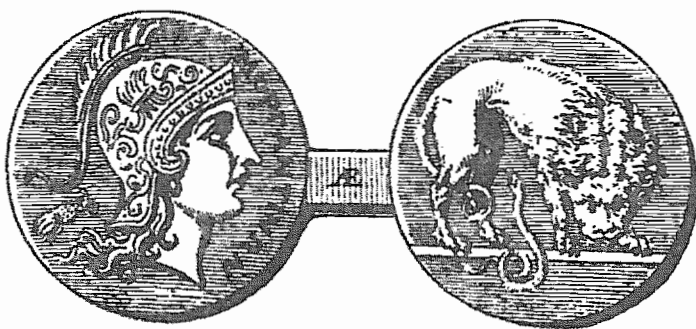
An Exhibition
based on the excavations of the
Princeton University Archaeological Expedition
to Sicily
1955, 1956, 1957

Princeton University Library
February 7 -- April 27, 1958

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION
compiled by
Howard C. Rice, Jr.

Princeton University Library
Princeton, New Jersey

1958



MORGANTINA

THE REDISCOVERY OF A LOST CITY
IN SICILY

AN EXHIBITION

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February 7 - April 27, 1958

HOURS: Monday-Saturday: 9 A.M. to 6 P.M.

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MORGANTINA

The Rediscovery of a Lost City in Sicily

“Morgantina . . . was once a city, but exists no more”

Μοργάντιον . . . πόλις δ' ἦν αὐτή, νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν

So stated the Greek writer Strabo (64 B.C. - A.D. 19) in the chapter of his *Geography* describing the inland towns of Sicily. Other ancient writers—among them Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides, and Livy—testify to the city's former importance and to its role in the Peloponnesian War when Athens unsuccessfully attempted to conquer the towns of Sicily, in the Punic Wars when Sicily was battlefield and pawn in the struggle between Rome and Carthage, and in the Servile Revolts when the Sicilian slaves strove to liberate themselves from the yoke of their masters.

Many centuries after Strabo, the humanists of the Renaissance and their learned successors, pondering these ancient texts and the ancient coins bearing the name of Morgantina, proposed hypothetical locations for the lost city. Some of them, misled not only by a doubtful passage in Livy who mentions a Roman fleet lying before the city, but also by the fact that a small fishing village named Murgo then survived on the eastern coast of Sicily, placed Morgantina between Catania and Lentini near the mouth of the river Dittaino. Others, interpreting correctly the preponderant testimony of the classical texts, rightly situated Morgantina in the interior of the island, but failed to determine its precise location. Maps of ancient Sicily, plotted by scholarly cartographers in the 17th and 18th centuries (for example, Guillaume de L'Isle's *Sicilia Antiqua*, 1714, and J. B. d'Anville's *Italia Antiqua*, 1764, both of which are on display in the present exhibition), reflect the hypotheses of these arm-chair geographers.

Meanwhile, as cartography increased in accuracy and detail, from the time of Gerard Mercator onward, maps of modern Sicily based on local observation recorded on a hill-top near Aidone in the central part of the island a locality known as “Cittadella.” Some of the maps even indicated the presence there

of ruins—"ruinata," while others erroneously labelled the spot "Erbita," an ancient city which had been in fact about thirty miles to the northwest. None, however, identified this particular ruined citadel near Aidone as the lost city of Morgantina mentioned by the ancient historians and geographers. Indeed, it is only during the past year—1957—that, as a result of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, this identification has been made.

When excavations were begun on the Serra Orlando ridge near Aidone in 1955, the identity of the ruins was not known. The site had been chosen in the hope that it might reveal information about the extent of Greek colonization in the Sicilian hinterland, and because promising finds had been made there in the course of trial operations by local antiquarians. Now, at the end of the third season of the Princeton "dig," archaeological evidence has been correlated with the historical and numismatic evidence, and together they have resulted in the rediscovery of Morgantina. "The archaeological results and the historical sources," according to the directors of the excavations, "complement each other in a singularly happy way, so that what may have seemed unclear in the latter is well illustrated by the former, and vice versa. These recurrent coincidences form the basis for our identification. One day, we hope, an inscription bearing the city's name will bring the final proof of our hypothesis."

These recurrent coincidences also provide the theme of the present exhibition, which tells the story of Morgantina as it is summarily sketched by the classical authors, and more fully documented by the recent archaeological excavations. (The name Morgantina was used by the early Greek colonizers and has consequently been adopted in preference to such forms as Murgantia or Morgantium which were used by later, Latin writers.) The ancient texts are shown in early editions selected from the Library's extensive collections in this field—many of them notable as examples of distinguished printing or as landmarks in classical scholarship. The archaeological evidence is presented through maps, charts, photographs, and working papers of the Princeton expedition. By previous agreement the actual objects dug up at Morgantina remain the property of the Italian government, and can be shown here only through photographs. However, it has

been possible to include, from the collections of the Princeton Art Museum and other sources, a few characteristic objects, such as coins and pottery, of the same type as those found at Morgantina. The exhibition thus constitutes a "progress report" on the Princeton expedition to Sicily, while aiming at the same time to demonstrate the methods and problems of archaeological research and to emphasize its dependence upon related fields of humanistic study.



1100 B.C.

The origins of Morgantina are given a new dimension as a result of the evidence brought forth by the Princeton archaeologists. While the geographer Strabo merely records the legendary tradition of a tribe called "Morgetes" which emigrated to Sicily from the region of Rhegium in southern Italy and gave its name to a settlement there, the recent excavations have uncovered on the northern slope of the acropolis the traces of a prehistoric Siculan village, whose origins date to the end of the 12th century B.C. and which probably lasted until the 8th century or later.

550 B.C.

The next period, during which this early settlement made way for a Greek *polis*, can be more precisely determined. Shortly before the middle of the 6th century B.C., Greek pioneers from the eastern coast of Sicily moved inland and settled on the site. Four separate excavation areas show that they were well established over the better part of the acropolis. A fortification wall was built around the hill; traces of temple architecture and decorative terracotta reliefs reveal the existence of the holy places. Pottery fragments of indigenous Siculan ware, of imported Attic ware, and of native imitations of the latter, indicate the gradual fusion of Greek and indigenous elements, which in time resulted in the characteristic Siciliote Greek culture. All of these discoveries change considerably the traditional historical conclusions concern-

ing the extent of the hellenization of the Sicilian hinterland during this early period.

The first period of Greek colonization of Morgantina lasted approximately a hundred years and came to an abrupt end about the middle of the 5th century B.C. This interruption in the city's development is reflected in the scanty archaeological remains representing the late 5th century. The negative evidence of the excavations is corroborated by the historian Diodorus Siculus who records that, in 459 B.C., "Ducetius, King of the Sicilians . . . attacked and seized the important city Morgantina (*πόλιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντίναν*), for which he was highly honored by all his countrymen." Thucydides tells us how, a quarter century later, the Sicilian cities, warring among themselves, finally in 424 B.C. made a common front against the threat of an Athenian invasion, and adds: "Each city kept what it had, except that the Camarinaeans were to have Morgantina on payment of a stated sum to the Syracusans."

450 B.C.

The brief golden age of Morgantina—as symbolized by the great civic center or agora, the most spectacular find uncovered by the Princeton expedition—came in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. The agora, one of the finest and best preserved Hellenistic public squares outside Asia Minor, was planned about the year 300 B.C., when Agathocles was King of Syracuse. Agathocles, it is related by Justinus in his abridgement of the lost history of Trogus Pompeius, found refuge at Morgantina when he was exiled from Syracuse, and was greatly aided by troops from this and other interior towns in his subsequent rise to power. It seems probable, therefore, that the ambitious civic improvements initiated at Morgantina reflect his royal patronage and gratitude.

300 B.C.

The great agora, begun under the reign of Agathocles and continued during the early reign of Hieron II (275-215 B.C.), was doomed to remain forever unfinished. The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.), when Sicily became the main battlefield in the struggle between Rome and Carthage, seems to have brought the ambitious undertaking to a halt. The Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) had even graver results for Morgantina. The historians Livy and Diodorus Siculus both record the changing fortunes during this period of the Sicilian cities, wooed now by the Romans and now by the Carthaginians. Morgantina had the

264 B.C.

211 B.C.

misfortune of espousing upon at least two different occasions the cause of Carthage, ultimately the losing side. Roman punishment was prompt and severe: the city and its public land were taken away from the local owners and by a Senatorial decree of 211 B.C. were given to the Spaniard Moericus and his mercenaries, who had rendered great services to the Romans during the Sicilian campaign. The excavations furnish ample evidence of the rapid decline and serious depopulation of Morgantina at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century B.C. Furthermore, they have supplied an essential bit of evidence for the identification of the site in the form of bronze coins issued by the new Spanish overlords with the proud inscription *HISPANORUM*. Nearly three hundred of these otherwise very rare coins have been found in the excavations, and are stratigraphically bound to this period.

70 B.C.

The final phase of Morgantina's history extends roughly to the end of the Roman Republic (30 B.C.). During this period a new market-place was installed in the upper agora, and shops were added to the old northern portico and adjacent areas. Elegant residential quarters rose on the two hills overlooking its east and west sides. Then the life of the city gradually ebbed away, due, it would seem, to the social, political and economic changes which took place at the end of the Roman Republic. Cicero in his impassioned and scathing indictment of the administration of Gaius Verres as governor of Sicily tells of ruinous taxation (the case of Polemarchus, a "worthy man of Morgantina," is cited as a scandalous example of Verres' abuses), of abandoned wheat-fields in Rome's Sicilian granary, and of impoverished towns, like Morgantina, which are now deserted—"*nihil omnino relictum.*"

A.D.

A few decades later Strabo, as previously mentioned, recorded that Morgantina was no longer a city—"*nunc nulla est,*" as the Latin translators rendered his phrase. The name of the town survived, however, in the name of a wine; Pliny, and, still later, Columella (both following Cato the Elder), writing on rustic matters, speak of Morgantinian grapes, well suited to foggy climates, as the hardest of the Sicilian vines. More enduring than wine, coins inscribed with the name of Morgantina out-lived the city, and survived through the centuries to puzzle and perplex the scholars of later ages.



The Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, a project sponsored by the Department of Art and Archaeology, with the indispensable cooperation of the School of Architecture and the Department of Classics, has received financial support from general University funds, the University Research Fund, the Spears Fund, the Bollingen Foundation (New York), and from several private donors, including Alfred C. Carton and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss. The excavations at Serra Orlando have been made possible by an agreement between Princeton University and the Republic of Italy. Thanks are due to the Italian archaeological authorities of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, especially to Professor L. Bernabò Brea, Superintendent of Antiquities at Syracuse, whose helpfulness and generosity have been, and remain, essential to the success of the enterprise.

After a preliminary reconnaissance of possible sites in 1953, excavations were begun in Sicily in the summer of 1955. The first season lasted from August 18 to November 18, 1955: Director, Prof. Erik Sjöqvist, assisted by Richard Grimm, Kenan Erim, Mrs. Stina Borgstam, Alfred de Vido, architect, Miss Frances F. Jones, Miss Helen Woodruff, Mrs. Sjöqvist, Alexander Burnstan and Olle Falk, photographer. During the autumn of 1955 the excavation was honored by a week's visit from the King and Queen of Sweden; His Majesty took an active part in the work, and further manifested his interest by providing fellowships for Mrs. Borgstam and Mr. Gierow. The second season, from March 23 to June 23, 1956, was directed by Prof. Richard Stillwell, assisted by Kenan Erim, Mario A. Del Chiaro, P. G. Gierow, John M. Woodbridge, architect, Mrs. Stillwell, Mrs. Woodbridge, Miss Barbara Torelli, and Olle Falk, photographer. The third season, March 25 to June 23, 1957, was directed by Prof. Erik Sjöqvist, assisted by Kyle M. Phillips, Thomas P. Hoving, Fred S. Licht, Miss Lucy Shoe, Miss Helen Woodruff, Mrs. Thomas P. Hoving, Mrs. Erik Sjöqvist, Mrs. P. N. Nilsson, Charles K. Williams, architect, and P. N. Nilsson, photographer. The fourth season, which will open on March 24, 1958, will be directed by Prof. Richard Stillwell.

A comprehensive publication of the results of the Princeton expedition will be undertaken after the close of the operations. Meanwhile, preliminary reports have been published in several periodicals: Erik Sjöqvist, "Greek Gods, Sicilian Graves, and Princeton Scholars," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 56, no. 8 (November 11, 1955), pp. 8-10; David H. Blair, Jr., "Princeton Digs, a Progress Report on the Sicily Excavations," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 57, no. 9 (November 16, 1956), pp. 7-10; Richard Stillwell and Erik Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando, Preliminary Report," *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 61, no. 2 (April 1957), pp. 151-159, plates 53-60; Britt Frostenson, "Vad Hände Morgantina?", *Vi*, 1957, no. 38 (September 21), pp. 11-13; Erik Sjöqvist, "Morgantina Identified . . .," *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 231, no. 6179 (November 9, 1957), pp. 788-791; Kenan Erim, "Morgantina," *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 62, no. 1 (January 1958), pp. 79-90; Erik Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina): Preliminary Report II," *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 62, no. 2 (April 1958), with an Appendix by George A. Stamirez.

Since the present Princeton Archaeological Expedition continues a tradition established a half-century ago, the Library has placed on display in the Princetoniana Room, adjoining the Main Exhibition Gallery, material relating to Princeton participation in earlier expeditions.



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FOREWORD

This catalogue is designed to serve as a retrospective record of the "Morgantina" exhibition held in the Princeton University Library, February 7 -- April 27, 1958. Although the exhibition was "staged" by members of the Library staff, it was based upon the field work and research of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily. The Directors of the Expedition, Professor Erik Sjöqvist and Professor Richard Stillwell, of the Department of Art and Archaeology, generously made available the results of their work and cooperated closely with the Library staff. Any errors of fact or interpretation that may have crept into the present catalogue should not, however, be attributed to them, but to the undersigned.

Since the exhibition told the story of Morgantina by juxtaposing different types of material -- historical texts, maps, coins, objects, photographs, and working papers of the Expedition -- the same order has been preserved in this catalogue. Although the visual effect has inevitably been lost, the general design or pattern of the display is thus preserved.

The materials shown in the exhibition came chiefly from the "archives" of the Expedition and from the Library. These were supplemented by items from other sources. Characteristic objects of the same general type as those found in the excavations at Morgantina came from the University Art Museum's fine collection of ancient art, and from the personal collection of Gillett G. Griffin. Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone, of Brooklyn, New York, lent a group of small objects, such as pottery, terra cotta heads, and coins, which had been found on the Serra Orlando Ridge prior to the Princeton excavations there. Other coins came from the Art Museum and from the Library's Numismatics Collection. Through the courtesy of the American Numismatic Society it was possible to include in the exhibition two examples of "Morgantina" coins and four examples of "Hispanorum" coins.

The relief model of the excavation site was made for the exhibition by the Princeton School of Architecture. The photographic enlargements on display were executed by Miss Elizabeth G.C. Menzies, of Princeton, from negatives taken by P.M. Nilsson, staff photographer of the Expedition during the 1957 season. The set of enlargements shown in the

exhibition remains available for reference and consultation as part of the photographic collection of the Library's Graphic Arts Division.

Miss Frances F. Jones, Curator of Classical Art in the Princeton Art Museum, who worked in Sicily with the expedition during the 1955 season, provided much valuable aid and advice. Members of the staff of the Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections all participated, in a variety of ways, in the preparation of the exhibition.

Howard C. Rice, Jr.

Princeton, June, 1958

THE EXCAVATION SITE

PAST AND PRESENT

1. Road Map of Sicily. In three sheets. Scale, 1:200,000. U.S. Army Map Service, M592. Prepared under direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1943, from The Italian Touring Club Maps Nos. 25, 26, 27. [Maps Division.]

With pointer added to indicate location of Serra Orlando Ridge, site of the Princeton University Archaeological excavations.

2. Plastic Relief Map of Sicily. 34 1/2 x 21 inches. Scale, planimetric - 1:350,000; altimetric - 1:100,000. Published by Istituto Geografico de Agostini, Novara, 1957. [Maps Division].
3. Relief model of the excavation site on Serra Orlando Ridge. 38 x 62 inches. Scale: 5 inches = 250 meters. Vertical interval represented: 5 meters.

Constructed especially for the exhibition by the School of Architecture, Princeton University, on the basis of contour maps checked in the field by the Princeton Expedition. The model shows an area two miles long, with roads and other landmarks. Excavation areas are indicated.

* * *

A RUINED CITADEL IN SICILY

4. Gerard Mercator. Siciliae Regnum. Duisburg, 1589. Engraved map, hand-colored. 13 1/2 x 19 inches (plate measurement). Double-page map, plate 15 of Italiae, Sclavoniae, et Graeciae tabulae geographicae, "Per Gerardum Mercatorem Illustrissimi Ducis Juliae, Cliviae, &c. Cosmographum Duysburgi editae" (dedication dated 13 March 1589) -- which constitutes part 2 of Mercator's Atlas. [Ex 1404.634f.]

Mercator's map of Sicily indicates, near the town of "Aiduni" (Aidone) in central Sicily, a locality called "Citatella." This is the site now being excavated by the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily.

Although Mercator established an approximate relationship between the two localities, he incorrectly places "Citatella" northwest of Aidone, whereas it is actually to the east.

This map of Sicily -- included in the second part of the Atlas compiled by the great Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator (1512-1594) -- is one of the first maps of modern Sicily to show localities in detail. Prior to this period maps in the medieval "Ptolemaic" tradition were largely schematic and lacked what we have now come to consider "scientific accuracy." As Mercator's maps were frequently re-issued, copied, and adapted, this same information concerning Aidone and the neighboring Citadel was repeated on



Detail of Mercator map.

many subsequent maps published during the 17th and 18th centuries.

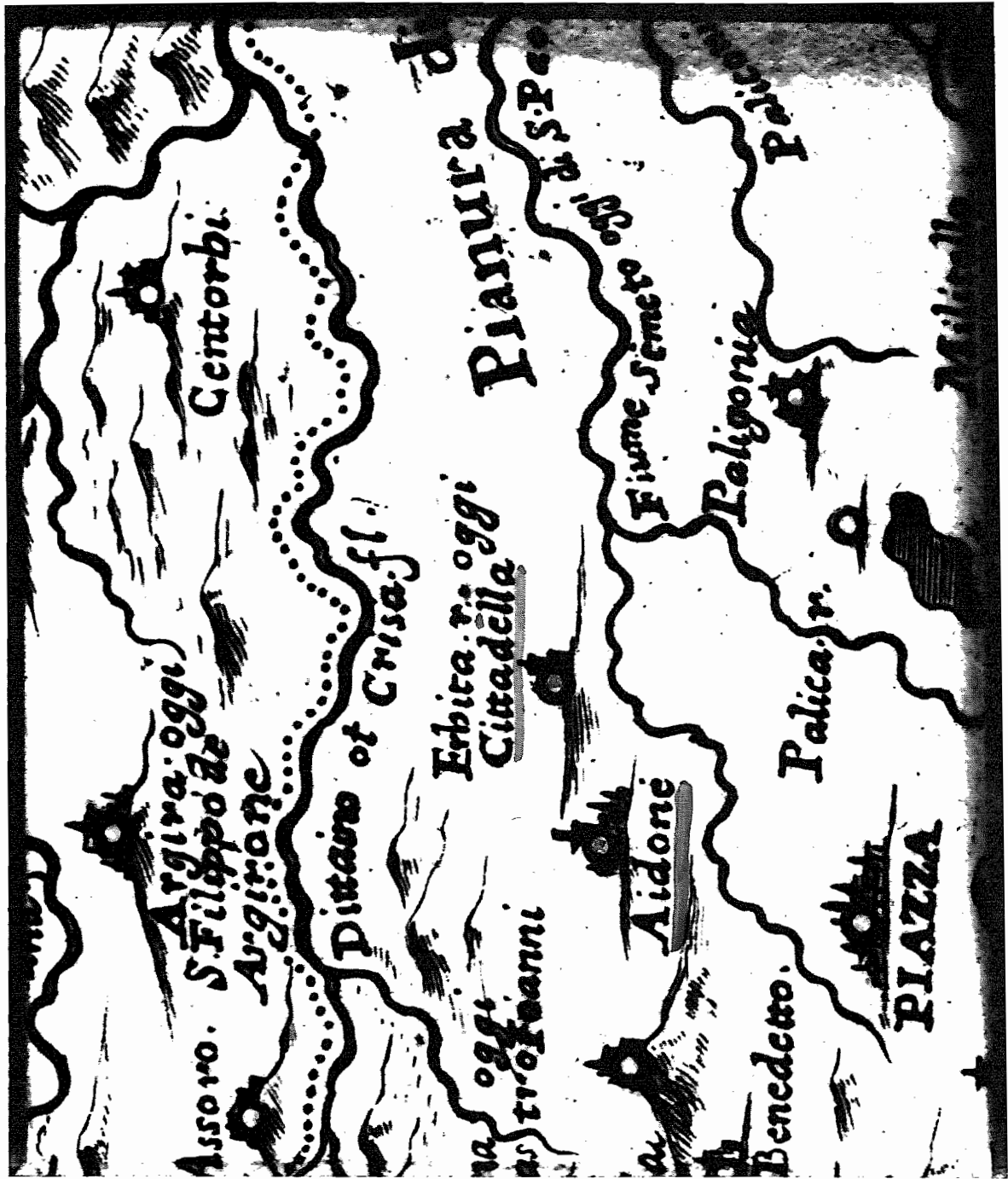
See photostat.

5. Giacomo Cantelli. Isola e Regno di Sicilia, detta anticamente Isola del Sole et Isola de Ciclopi, è poscia Triacria, Triquestra, è Sicania. Descritta novamente da Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola su le relationi esattissime del Padre F. Tomaso Fazello, e d'altri Autori piu recenti, e data in luce da Gio Giacomo de Rossi nella sua stamperia in Roma alla Pace con Priv. del S. Pont. 1682. Franc^{us} Donia Messis. sculp. Engraved map. 17 1/2 x 21 3/4 inches (plate measurement). Plate no. 20 of Mercurio Geografico overo Guida Geografica in tutte le parti del Mondo, conforme le Tavole Geografiche del Sansone Baudrand e Cantelli, Rome, G.G. de Rossi, 1689. [Ex 1009.786e.]

Cantelli's map of Sicily -- published a century after Mercator's map [No. 4] -- shows the town of Aidone and the nearby "Cittadella" in their correct relationship. The map, in addition, records the presence of ruins on the citadel ["r." is the abbreviation for "ruinata" according to the explanatory key, lower right of map]. The site is here erroneously labelled "Erbita," the name of the ancient Sicilian town of Herbita, which had been in fact some thirty miles to the northwest. This identification of the ruined citadel near Aidone as the ancient Herbita has persisted among regional historians down to the present.

This map in turn served as a prototype for many subsequent maps of Sicily.

See photostat.

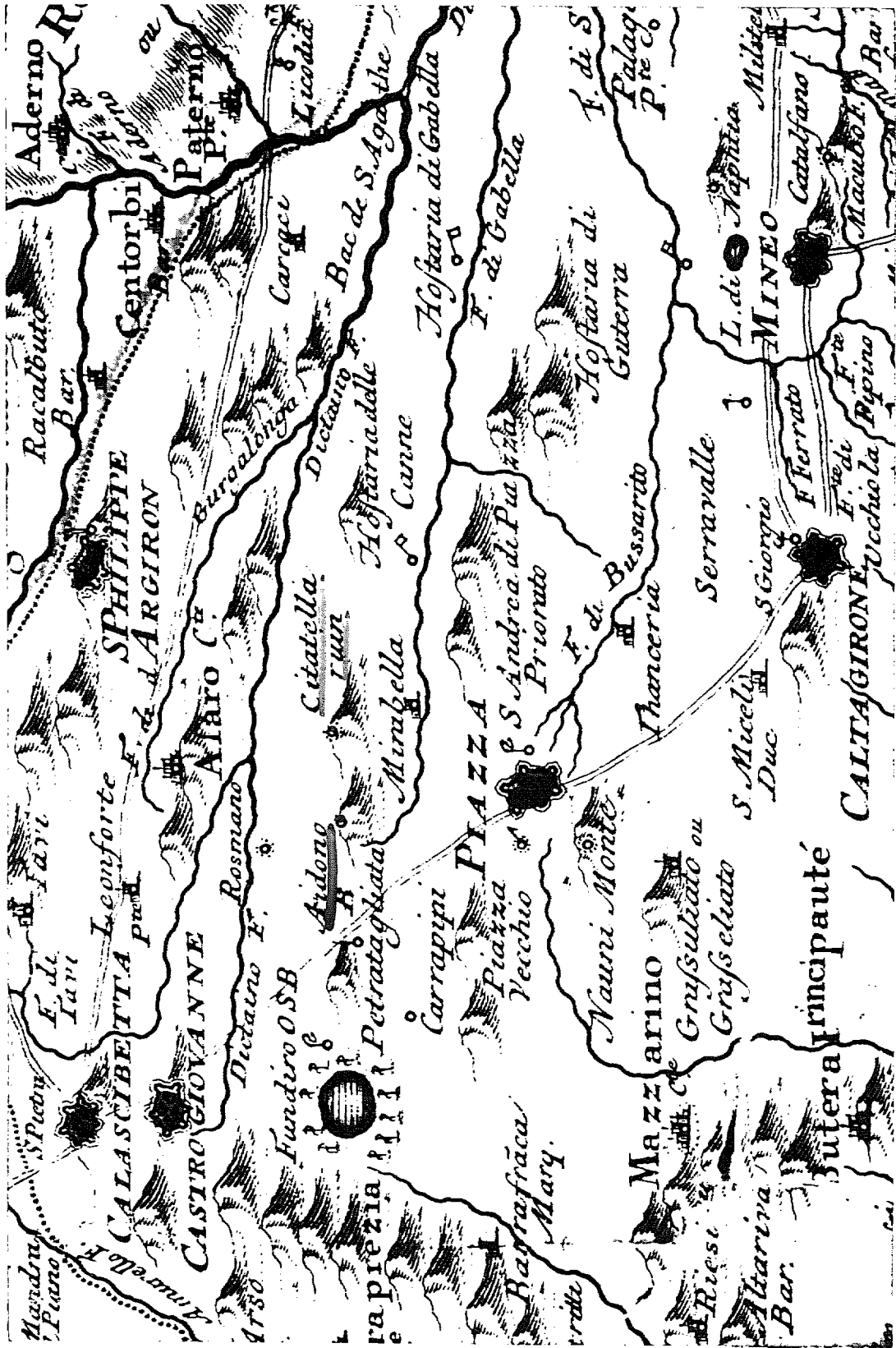


Detail of Cantelli map.

6. Guillaume de L'Isle. Carte de l'Isle et Royaume de Sicile, "Par Guillaume de L'Isle de l'Académie R[oya]le des Sciences. A Amsterdam chez Jean Covens et Corneille Mortier Géographes." ca. 1710-1715. Engraved map, hand-colored. 19 1/8 x 23 1/8 inches (plate measurement). [Maps Division].

This map of Sicily, by the French cartographer Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726), shows in their correct relationship the town of Aidone and the nearby ruined "Citatella" (the site of the Princeton excavations). No attempt is made here to identify the ruins, as in the earlier Cantelli map (cf. No. 5). The cartographer's profile of the hill -- known today as the Serra Orlando ridge -- corresponds roughly to its real configuration (see photograph, No. 7).

A collection of De L'Isle's maps, gathered into an Atlas of 24 plates, was issued by Covens and Mortier about 1700. The same Amsterdam firm continued to issue De L'Isle's maps for some time after the latter's death: for example, an atlas of 54 maps in 1730, another of 64 maps in 1733, a still larger collection of 116 maps, ca. 1742, etc. Although the impression of the map of Sicily shown here probably belongs to one of the large atlases (it has no. "42" written in ink on the recto, and no. "72" on the verso), the map itself must have been drawn and first



Detail of De L'Isle map.

engraved during the first quarter of the century.
Hence, the conjectural date given to it here: ca.
1710-1715.

See photostat.

7. Photographs of the Serra Orlando Ridge today.

- (a) The Serra Orlando Ridge, Province of Enna, seen from the south, 1957. [Photograph by P.N. Nilsson, staff photographer of the Expedition. Negative no. A 24-8. Enlargement by Miss Elizabeth G.C. Menzies of Princeton.]

Showing in the distance, at the right (east), the hill-top known locally and traditionally as "la Cittadella." This summit and the adjacent plateau stretching left (west) for a distance of some two miles or more form the site of the Princeton excavations. The town of Aidone (not visible in the photograph) is situated on another hill-top to the left (west).

Note the vineyard, middle ground, right.

- (b) The town of Aidone, on the top of the hill, looking up from the south. [Photograph and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson, from his personal files.]

For a commentary on the rising mists, cf.

Cato the Elder, No. 8, below.

* * *

THE WINE OF MORGANTINA

Long after the disappearance of Morgantina as a town, its name survived in the name of a grape. Cato the Elder (234-149 B.C.), Pliny the Elder (24-79 A.D.), and Columella (fl. 65 A.D.) all speak of the Morgantinian grapes in their writings on rustic matters. Cato specifies that the "Murgentian" grape is well suited to foggy climates.

The hilly region of the Serra Orlando ridge -- the site of the Princeton excavations -- still produces wine. The fogs of early spring and autumn are a familiar natural phenomenon to the archaeologists.

8. Marcus Porcius Cato. De Agri Cultura.

"Choose soil for laying out a vineyard by the following rules: In soil which is thought to be best adapted for grapes and which is exposed to the sun, plant the small Aminnian, the double eugeneum, and the small parti-colored variety; in soil that is heavy or more subject to fog, plant the large Aminnian, the Murgentian, the Apician, and the Lucanian. The other varieties, and especially the hybrids, grow well anywhere."

(De Agri Cultura, VI, 4).

Cato's practical handbook on agriculture, written during the first part of the 2nd century B.C., reflects his own experience as a farmer in the Sabine country near Rome. It has often been published with

the title, De Re Rustica.

Edition shown: M. Porci Catonis quae exstant,
ab Ausonio Popma Frisio collecta et restituta.

Eiusdem Ausoni ad eadem Notae. Leyden, "Ex Officina
Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium," 1590.

Page 13. [Ex 2831.1590.]

Cf. Marcus Porcius Cato, On Agriculture, Loeb
Classical Library, pp. 18-19. Edited and translated
by William Davis Hooper, revised by Harrison Boyd
Ash.

9. Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella. De Re Rustica.

"Celsus makes a third class of those wines
which are commended for fruitfulness alone...
such as the Horconian, the Murgentine, which is
the same as the Pompeian..."

(De Re Rustica, III, 2, 25-27).

Columella's De Re Rustica, written about the
middle of the 1st century A.D., is the most compre-
hensive and systematic of Roman treatises on agri-
cultural matters. The author, a native of Cadiz in
Spain, who later resided at Rome where he owned farms
at various times, was a contemporary of Pliny the
Elder. The De Re Rustica was printed many times
from the 15th through the 18th century. It is
highly recommended by John Milton in his treatise
On Education.

Edition shown: De Re Rustica L. Junii Moderati Columellae Libri XIII, Lyons, Sebastien Gryphius, 1535. Page 94. [GRY 535.04, vol. 2].

Cf. Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, On Agriculture, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, pp. 246-248. Edited and translated by E.S. Forster and Edward H. Heffner.

10. Pliny the Elder. Naturalis Historia.

"Of the diverse kinds of Vines..for there also is the vine Murgentina, the best of all those that come out of Sicilie, which some call Pompeiana, of Pompeii, a towne within the kingdome of Naples: & being gotten once into Latium, it beareth grapes abundantly: like as the vine Horconia in Campaine, yeeldeth plentie of grapes with the best, but good they are for nothing save only to be eaten at the table..."

(Naturalis Historia, XIV, 4, 35; and also, quoting Cato, XV, 5, 46. Translation quoted here by Philemon Holland, 1601; cf. below).

Pliny's Natural History was written about the middle of the 1st century A.D.

Edition shown: The Historie of the World, Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus. Translated into English by Philemon Holland Doctor in Physicke. London, Adam Islip, 1601. Vol. I, p. 409. [Ex 2904.2601q.]

Cf. Pliny, Natural History, Loeb Classical Library, vol. IV, pp. 208-209, 216-217. Edited and translated by H. Rackham.

For other editions of Pliny see below, Nos. 60, 62.

11. Kylix, or drinking cup, of South Italian manufacture, 4th century B.C. Black, with design of vine leaves. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 43-70.]

This is the traditional form of wine cup used in Greece and in the Greek colonies abroad, such as those in Sicily.

12. "The Wine of Morgantina -- 1957." [Photograph and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson, from his personal files.]

* * *

WHERE IS MORGANTINA?

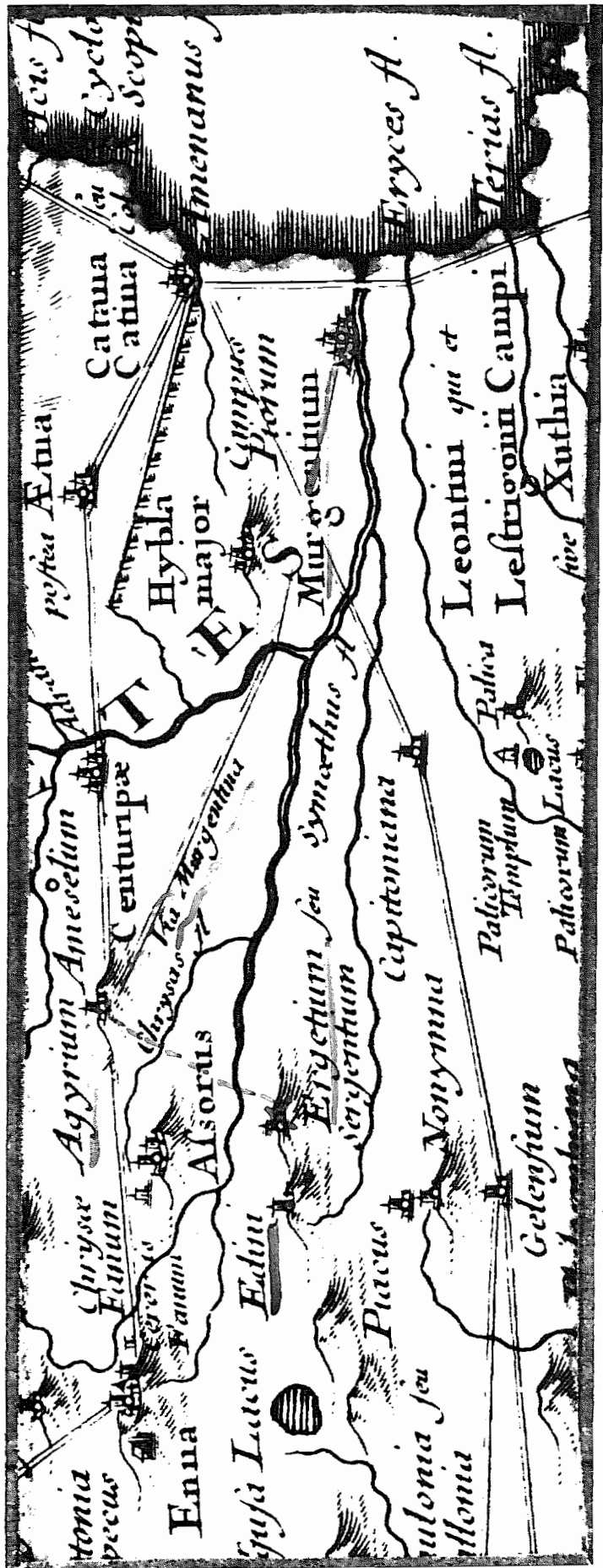
Some Scholarly Hypotheses

13. Guillaume de L'Isle. Siciliae Antiquae, quae et Sicania et Trinacria dicta, Tabula Geographica. "Auctore Guillelmo Delisle è Regia Scientiarum Academiâ, Parisiis apud Auctorem in Ripa Sequanae vulgo dicta le Quay de l'Horloge, cum Priv. Regis Dec. 1714." Engraved map. 18 1/4 x 25 inches (plate measurement). Double-page map, included as plate no. [40] in bound atlas of De L'Isle's maps (1731?, title-page lacking in this copy). [Ex 1009.29.2e].

On this hypothetical map of Ancient Sicily the cartographer Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726), crystallizing the deductions of still earlier scholars like Fazello and Cluverius, places the ancient city of "Murgentium" (Morgantina, in Greek) on the eastern seacoast of Sicily at the mouth of the river Symaethus (the modern Dittaino).

There are numerous references to the city of Morgantina in the surviving writing of Greek and Latin geographers and historians. These ancient texts -- the same that constitute the framework of the present exhibition -- became generally available to scholars, in printed form, at the time of the Renaissance. With one notable exception, all of the references indicate or imply that Morgantina was a town in the interior of Sicily. This exception is a passage in Livy [No. 14, below], which mentions a Roman fleet arriving before the city. It is this passage (contradicted elsewhere in Livy's own writings) which supplied the authority for locating Morgantina on the coast, as shown here on De L'Isle's map. This hypothesis was further reinforced by the fact that there existed until the late 19th century a small village called "Murgo" or "Murga" at this spot on the coast.

On this same map of Ancient Sicily, De L'Isle also indicates a "Via Murgentina" leading from inland Agyrium to "Murgentium" on the coast. The authority for this location is a passage in Diodorus Siculus [No. 15, below], which records how the Carthaginian commander Mago, in 392 B.C., "encamped in the territory of the Agyrinaeans on the banks of



X MORGANTINA, as now located by the Princeton Archaeological Expedition.
 - - - - - The Road to Morgantina.

Detail of De L'Isle map. No. 13

the Chrysas River near the road that leads to Morgantina." If Morgantina is placed on the coast, as De L'Isle has done on his map, then his plotting of the Via Murgentina is a logical corollary...However, the reference in Diodorus Siculus (who was himself a native of Agyrium) fits even better into the hypothesis now proposed by Princeton archaeologists: a road leading south from Agyrium [modern Agira] to Morgantina, situated on the hill-top near Aidone, must of necessity have crossed the river Chrysas.

See photostat.

14. A misleading passage in Livy.

"At that time [i.e., in 214 B.C.] the Roman commander had a fleet of a hundred ships off Murgantia, waiting to see what would be the outcome of the disturbances at Syracuse due to the massacre of the tyrant's family [Hieron II], and to what the new and unwonted freedom would prompt them..."

(Livy, XXIV, 27, 5.)

Edition shown: Titi Livii Patavini Decas Tertia.

Venice, In Aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Soceri, 1519.

Page 127^{vo}. [Ex 2877.1518, vol. 2].

Cf. Livy, Loeb Classical Library, vol. VI, pp. 262-263. Edited and translated by Frank Gardner Moore.

15. The Road to Morgantina, according to Diodorus Siculus.

"This commander [Mago, the Carthaginian, in 392 B.C.] accordingly made his way through the Siceli, detaching most of the cities from Dionysius [of Syracuse], and went into camp in the territory of the Agyrinaeans on the banks of the Chrysas River near the road that leads to Morgantina..."

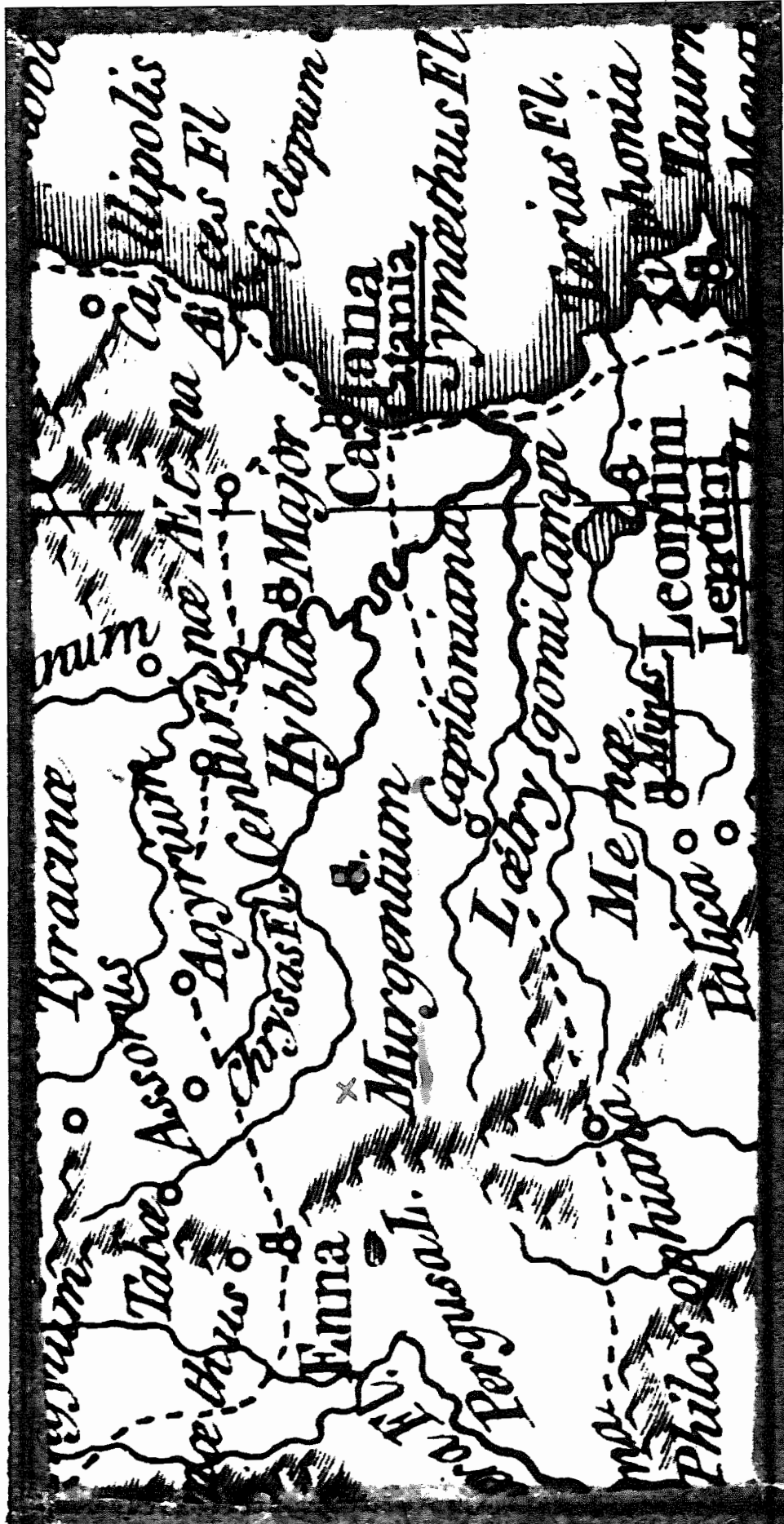
(Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, XIV, 95, 2).

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae Libri qui supersunt... Nova Editio cum commentationibus Chr. Gottl. Heynii. Strasbourg, Ex Typographia Societatis Bipontinae, 1793-1807. Vol. VI, p. 255 (Greek text with Latin translation). [2641.1793 vol. 6].

Cf. Diodorus of Sicily, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VI, pp. 262-263. Edited and translated by C.H. Oldfather.

16. J.B. Bourguignon d'Anville. Tabula Italiae Antiquae Geographica. "Quam Excellentissimus Dominus ~~Dux~~ de la Rochefoucauld in aere incidi curavit. Auctor D'Anville, Regiae Humaniorum Litteratum Academiae et Scientiarum Petropolitanae Socius, Serenissimoque Aurelianorum Duci à Secretis. MDCCLXIV." Engraved map. 20 1/4 x 25 inches (plate measurement). Double-page map included as Plate 5 of atlas, A Complete Body of Ancient Geography. By Mons. D'Anville... London, Printed for Robert Sayer, n.d. [Ex 1009.524.11e (2)].

On this hypothetical map of Ancient Italy, dated 1764, the French scholar and cartographer J.B. Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) departs from such earlier authorities



Detail of D'Anville map.

x MORGANTINA, as now located by the Princeton Archaeological Expedition.

as De L'Isle [No. 13, above], and does not place Morgantina on the seacoast. D' Anville situates his "Murgentium" -- correctly -- in the interior of the island, but fails to determine its precise location. The site he chooses is presumably Monte Judica, a Roman and Byzantine fortress close to the present day village of Castel Judica.

D' Anville's Geographie Ancienne, which included this map of Ancient Italy, was frequently re-issued and abridged, and long remained a standard authority on ancient geography. The impression of the map shown here was issued in London by Robert Sayer in an atlas entitled A Complete Body of Ancient Geography. School editions of D'Anville's atlas, in reduced format, were published in several countries, including the United States, during the late 18th and the 19th centuries.

See photostat.

* * *

NOTE

Discussions of the location of Morgantina, based on the surviving evidence of the classical texts, will also be found in the following:

* Tommaso Fazello, De Rebus Siculis Decades duae, first edition, Palermo, 1558-1560. Princeton Library

has Fazello's text in a slightly later edition, which comprises the major part of the volume Rerum Sicularum Scriptores ex Recentioribus praecipui, in unum corpus nunc primum congesti...., Frankfurt, A. Wechel, 1579. [Ex 1554.855.74q]. Fazello's work is reprinted in Vol. IV of the Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae, edited by J.G. Graevius, Leyden, 1723 [Ex 2971.404.2f]; this edition has notes and a table of cross-references to pages of earlier editions. The Library also has an Italian translation of Fazello's work: Della Storia di Sicilia Deche Due, del R.P.M. Tommaso Fazello Siciliano, tradotte in lingua toscana dal P.M. Remigio Florentino. Palermo, Guiseppe Assenzio, 1817, 3 volumes [1554.855.34]. Fazello places Morgantina among the cities on the eastern coast of Sicily.

* Philipp Clüver, Sicilia Antiqua, first edition, Leyden, 1619. Princeton Library has later edition, an abridgement by Joh. Buno, published at Wolfenbüttel, 1659 [Ex 2963.259 (Goertz)]. Clüver's work is reprinted in Vol. I of the Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae, edited by J.G. Graevius, Leyden, 1723 [Ex 2971.404.2f]. Clüver's map of Ancient Sicily, frequently copied, places "Murgantium" on the sea-coast. References to Morgantina by ancient authors

are recapitulated, Lib. II, Cap. VIII, pp. 192-193 (of 1659 edition).

* Christopher Cellarius, Motitia Orbis Antiqui, first edition, Leipzig, 1701-06. Princeton Library has a later edition, edited by L.J.C. Schwartz, published at Leipzig, J.F. Gleditsch, 1731 [Ex 2959.247; another copy (lacking maps), 2959.246.]. The folding map, Sicilia Antiqua, facing page 766, places "Murgantium sive Morgentium" on the seacoast (following Fazello and Clüver, above). The classical texts mentioning Morgantina are cited, Lib. II, Cap. XII, page 784.

* Konrad Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Vol. IX, Part 2, Geographie von Italia nebst den Inseln, Sicilia, Sardinia, Corsica..., Leipzig, Hahn, 1823. [2959.613]. Discussion of "Morgantium, Morgentium," pp. 429-431. Mannert does not accept the theory that Morgantina is on the seacoast: "Deise Lage an der See ist aber in jeder Hinsicht eine unmöglichkeit..."

* Edward Herbert Bunbury, article "Morgantia..." in William Smith, ed., Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Boston, Little Brown, 1857, Vol. II, pp. 370-371. [2959.863]. After recapitulation of

all the classical texts, Eubury concludes: "On the whole we may safely place Morgantia somewhere on the borders of the fertile tract of plain that extends from Catania inland along the Simeto and its tributaries; and probably on the hills between Dittaino and the Gurna Longa, two of the principal of those tributaries: but any attempt at a nearer determination must be purely conjectural."

* See also the works on Sicilian numismatics, listed below, Nos. 44, 66.

II

THE PREHISTORIC SICULAN VILLAGE

1100 -- 700 B.C.

17. Mythology and Archaeology.

"According to Antiochus, the Siceli and Morgetes had in early times inhabited the whole of this region [i.e., Calabria, on the Italian mainland], but later on, being ejected by the Oenotrians, had crossed over into Sicily. According to some, Morgantium also took its name from the Morgetes of Rhegium."

(Strabo, Geography, VI, 1, 6).

This account by the geographer Strabo of the legendary beginnings of the Sicilian town of Morgantina is the only surviving literary reference to its earliest period. The immigrant Italic tribes of the Morgetes, according to the legend, took its name from its eponymous hero Morges -- who belongs to the same group of mythical city-founders as Aeolus, colonizer of the Aeolian Islands.

Mythology thus provides a founding father for Morgantina, in the person of the hero Morges. Archaeology, however, can now fill in some of the outlines of this earliest chapter in the history of Morgantina.

During the 1957 season, excavations made by the Princeton Expedition uncovered on the northern slope of the "citadel" the traces of a prehistoric Siculan

village, whose origins date to the end of the 12th century B.C. and which probably lasted until the 8th century or later. This primitive village -- the first evidence of human activity on the site -- is traceable in the form of a hut floor, a hearth, and artifacts of flint and pottery, all resting on bedrock.

Edition shown: Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri XVII. Edited by Isaac Casaubon, with Latin translation by Wilhelm Kylander. Geneva, Eustace Vignon, 1587. (Greek text and Latin translation in parallel columns.) Page 178. [Ex 2772.1587q]. For other editions of Strabo see below, Nos. 57, 61.

Cf. The Geography of Strabo, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. III, pp. 22-23. Edited and translated by Horace Leonard Jones.

18. Photographs of the excavation and finds.

- (a) Stratigraphical excavation of the prehistoric layers. [Photograph by Erik Sjöqvist].

The round object in the center is a millstone on the hut floor, dating from the 8th century B.C., while the layer of dark earth below it is mouldered debris of earlier huts from the late 12th century.

- (b) Fragments of pottery of four centuries from the prehistoric village. [Color photograph, Felbermayer, Rome].

Some of these sherds are of Italic type, known as "Ausonian ware," not hitherto found in Sicily. They confirm the legend of the Italic origin of the founders of Morgantina.

19. Architect's drawings showing excavations on the site of the prehistoric Siculan village.
[Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily Archives].
 - (a) June 3, 1957, Area 3, sections of Trenches 3, 4, and 10.
 - (b) June 23, 1957, Area 3, ground plan of Trenches 10 and 10-A.

III

THE GREEK CITY

550 -- 450 B.C.

The Archaeological Evidence

Shortly before the middle of the 6th century B.C., according to the archaeological evidence uncovered by the Princeton Expedition, the last remains of the primitive Siculan village were razed to the ground, and large rectangular houses of mud-brick on solid stone foundations made their appearance. The newcomers who now settled on the "citadel" were Greek pioneers from the eastern coast of Sicily. Four separate excavation areas show that the colonists were well installed over the better part of the citadel and that their settlement was worthy of being called a city. A fortification wall was built around the hill; traces of temple architecture and decorative terra-cotta reliefs reveal the existence of the holy places. Pottery fragments of indigenous Siculan ware, of imported Attic ware, and of native imitations of the latter, indicate the gradual fusion of Greek and indigenous elements, which in time resulted in the characteristic Siciliote Greek culture. All of these discoveries change

considerably the traditional historic conclusions concerning the extent of the hellenization of the Sicilian hinterland during this early period.

This first period of Greek colonization of Morgantina lasted approximately a hundred years and came to an abrupt end about the middle of the 5th century B.C. The reasons for this interruption in the city's development are suggested in the next section, No. 23 ff.

20. Group of photographs showing archaeological "finds" from the period of the Greek City of Morgantina. [Photographs by P.N. Nilsson, staff photographer of the Expedition in 1957. Enlargements (with the exception of e,f,g, and h) executed by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies].

(a) Face of a Maenad, antefix, ca. 570 B.C.
[Inventory no. 57-2732. Negative no. 43-13].

An antefix which once adorned the eaves of the first Greek temple at Morgantina. This is the oldest of the terra cotta reliefs found on the excavation site.

(b) Terra cotta antefix representing the grinning face of Medusa. [Inventory no. 57-870. Negative no. A 33-3].

Fragment of a decorative relief from one of the early temples of Morgantina, ca. 550 B.C.

* * *

- (c) Excavation of a 6th century B.C. rock-cut chamber-tomb. [Negative no. A 67-5].

The tomb is one of several discovered on the northeast slope of the "Citadel," in the area designated as "Necropolis II." The rock-cut floor is being cleaned and the burial shaft uncovered.

- (d) Burial shaft of the tomb (above). [Negative no. A 69-9].

The burial shaft of the tomb has been emptied of debris and of burial gifts. The remains of skeletons of two early Greek settlers of Morgantina are revealed.

* * *

Local Siculan pottery, 6th century B.C. [e, f, g, h]. Examples found among the burial gifts in the tomb, in conjunction with imported Attic pottery [i, j, k] and with pottery of local manufacture imitating Attic prototypes [l, m].

- (e) Siculan jug. [Inventory no. 57-2031. Negative no. 48-4].
- (f) Small oinochoe, "Siculan IV" ware, 6th century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-2006. Negative no. 31-5].
- (g) Siculan "crater." [Inventory no. 57-2946. Negative no. 54-10].
- (h) Siculan four-handled bowl. [Inventory no. 57-3005. Negative no. 58-24].

* * *

- (i) Group of imported Attic vases, burial offerings, from the 6th century rock-cut chamber tomb on the northeast slope of the "Citadel." [Negative no. A 61-3].
- (j) Oinochoe (wine jug), imported Attic ware, black-figure style, late 6th century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-2721. Negative no. 45-20].
- (k) Lekythos (oil flask) of Attic manufacture, black-figure style, late 6th century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-2838. Negative no. 45-25].

* * *

- (l) Group of pottery, of local Morgantinian manufacture, found in the 6th century B.C. tomb. [Negative no. A 61-4].

The examples grouped here are all of local Morgantinian manufacture, made by Greek settlers in imitation of imported Attic ware.

Compare these with the examples of Attic ware "made in Greece" [i, j, k], and with the native Siculan ware [e, f, g, h]. The fusion of these two traditions into this hybrid pottery reflects the development at Morgantina of a characteristic Siciliote Greek culture.

- (m) Kylix (drinking cup), made by the Greek settlers of Morgantina, in imitation of the finer Attic prototypes. Late 6th century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-2586. Negative no. 40-13].

21. Lekythos (oil flask), Attic ware, 6th century B.C. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 58].

Lekythoi of this same type, imported to Morgantina from Greece, have been found in the Princeton excavations. Cf. photographs, above, Nos. 20-i, 20-k.

22. Lamp, 4th century B.C., of local Morgantinian manufacture. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

From the Serra Orlando Ridge. Note the similar lamps found among the burial offerings in tomb there: photograph, above, No. 20-l.

IV

MORGANTINA, 459 -- 396 B.C.

Positive Historical Evidence

Corroborates Negative Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological remains representing the late 5th century are very scanty indeed, indicating an interruption in the city's development. The early Greek city underwent complete and violent destruction by fire, traceable all over the site in the form of heavy layers of ash, carbonized matter and half-baked mud-brick. The latest datable sherds in the deposit are some Attic red figure fragments from about 460 B.C. This latter date coincides very well with the historical tradition of the capture of Morgantina by the indigenous Siculan forces under the leadership of Ducetius in 459 B.C.

The historical texts shown in this section suggest the reasons for the interruption in Morgantina's development during the last half of the 5th century B.C., and help to explain the hiatus in building activity as attested by the excavations.

23. MORGANTINA IS SEIZED BY DUCETIUS, THE NATIVE SICILIAN LEADER, 459 B.C.

"Meanwhile, Ducetius, king of the Sicilians, of a rich and noble family, built the city of Menaenum, and divided by lot the adjacent lands amongst the colony brought thither. Then he attacked and seized the important city Morgantina, for which he was highly honored by all his countrymen."

(Diodorus Siculus, XI, 78, 5).

Ducetius, the leader of a native Sicilian resistance movement, attempted to form a federation of the indigenous Sicels and to subdue the Sicilian-Greeks, after the fall of the Syracusan tyrants in 460 B.C. His capture of the "important city Morgantina" -- which had been established during the previous century by Greek colonists -- thus marked the re-establishment of native Sicilian domination and an interruption in Greek-inspired building activity there.

The text shown occurs in the 11th Book of the ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ of Diodorus Siculus, a world history written ca. 60-30 B.C. As his name indicates, Diodorus was a native of Sicily -- born in Agyrium, an inland town not far from Morgantina. Although Diodorus wrote of events that took place before his own time and throughout the Mediterranean world, his testimony concerning affairs in Sicily, in particular, is of special interest. He is for this reason the ancient author most frequently cited in the present exhibition.

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae historicae libri quindecim de quadraginta. "Decem ex his quindecim nunquam prius fuerunt editi." Geneva, Henricus Stephanus [Henri Estienne, the French scholar printer, 1531-1598], 1559. Page 283. (Greek text only). [Ex 2641.1559q]. This is the first printed version of Book XI, in which the text exhibited occurs; only a portion of the original Greek text had previously been printed (at Basel, 1539).

This portion of Diodorus is not yet available in Loeb Classical Library. But cf. The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, translated by G. Booth, London, 1814, Vol. I, p. 422. Cf. also Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae, ed. by L. Dindorf, C. Müller, Greek text with Latin translation, Paris, F. Didot, 1842, Vol. I, p. 406.

Other editions of Diodorus Siculus: see Nos. 15, 25, 30, 47, 48, 49.

24. MORGANTINA IS SOLD TO THE CAMARINAEANS, 424 B.C.

"After Hermocrates had spoken [at Gela, in 424 B.C.], the Sicilians, accepting his advice, came to an understanding among themselves. They agreed to end their warfare, each city keeping what it had, except that Morgantina was handed over to the Camarinaeans who were to pay in return a fixed sum to the Syracusans."

(Thucydides, IV, 65, 1).

During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), the Athenians aimed to take advantage of the rivalries existing among the Sicilian city-states in order to extend their own power there. In 424 B.C., representatives from all the Sicilian cities held a conference at Gela, on the south coast of the island, in an attempt to effect a reconciliation among themselves. One of the representatives, Hermocrates of Syracuse, delivered an impressive speech urging reconciliation as a policy that would immediately rid Sicily both of the Athenians and of the miseries of civil war. The ensuing agreement of the Sicilian cities to maintain a status quo among themselves included, however, the exceptional stipulation that the Camarinaeans would have Morgantina upon payment of a fixed sum to the Syracusans. The reasons for this "deal," at the expense of Morgantina, are not clear.*

Edition shown: Thucydides. Venice, "in domo Aldi", 1502. Fol. G v ^{recto} [p. 111]. [Grenville Kane Collection. Another copy, Ex 2788.1502q]. Greek text

only, the first edition, printed by Aldus Manutius.

Cf. Thucydides, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. IV, pp. 320-321. Edited and translated by Charles Forster Smith.

* This episode is related by the Greek historian Thucydides, a contemporary, in his History of the Peloponnesian War (Book IV).

25. MORGANTINA FALLS TO DIONYSIUS OF SYRACUSE, 396 B.C.

"After this, Dionysius [tyrant of Syracuse] waged a number of campaigns against the territory of the Siceli, in the course of which he took Menaenum and Morgantina, and struck a treaty with Agyris, the tyrant of the Agrinaeans, and Damon, the lord of the Centoripans, as well as with the Herbitaeans and the Assorini. He also gained by treachery Cephaloedium, Solûs, and Enna, and made peace besides with the Herbesini."

(Diodorus Siculus, XIV, 78, 7).

The elimination of the Athenian threat to Sicily during the Peloponnesian War [see No. 24], was followed by the rise to power of Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who ruled from 405 to 367 B.C. During this period he succeeded in driving the Carthaginian marauders out of Sicily, made himself master of half the island, and even extended his conquests to the mainland of Italy. Dionysius' seizure of Morgantina, in 396 B.C., was one incident in his expansive course.

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae Libri qui supersunt... Edited by Pieter Wesseling. Amsterdam, Jacob Wetsen, 1746. Vol. I, p. 702. Greek text and Latin translation (of L. Rhodoman) in parallel columns. [Ex 2641.1746f].

"This edition, which is still fundamental to all students of Diodorus, not least for its copious and illuminating annotations, brought together all of Diodorus that was then known, and Wesseling himself collected and added a number of isolated fragments found in later authors."

Cf. Diodorus of Sicily, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VI, pp. 224-225. Edited and translated by C.H. Oldfather.

26. Coins issued by the City-States of Sicily.

Represented here are several of the Sicilian city-states mentioned in the texts on display: Syracuse, Gela (where the Congress described by Thucydides took place in 424 B.C.), and Camarina (which "bought" Morgantina at the Congress of Gela).

- (a) Gold electrum. Syracuse, 345-317 B.C. Obv.: Apollo head. Rev.: tripod. (Br. Mus. Cat. Sicily, p. 184, #262.) [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-141.]

- (b) Bronze coin. Syracuse. Obv.: Head of Zeus. Rev.: Eagle. (Br. Mus. Cat., Sicily, p. 204, #470.) [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-150].
- (c) Bronze coin. Syracuse, Timoleon. Obv.: Head of Zeus. Rev.: Canterng horse. [Princeton University Numismatics Collection: #100, Sicily].
- (d) Silver tetradrachm. Syracuse, ca. 480 B.C. Obv.: Head of Aphrodite surrounded by dolphins. Rev.: Biga with flying Nike. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: #35, Sicily].
- (e) Silver tetradrachm. Gela, before 466 B.C. Obv.: Forepart of man-headed bull. Rev.: Quadriga. (Br. Mus. Cat., Sicily, p. 63, #42). [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-123].
- (f) Silver coin, oval. Gela. Obv.: Forepart of man-headed bull. Rev.: Quadriga with flying Nike. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: #126, Sicily].
- (g) Silver litra. Camarina, 495-485 B.C. Obv.: Athena. Rev.: Flying Nike. (Br. Mus. Cat., p. 40, #42). [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-110].

V

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

Excavations undertaken by the Princeton Expedition during the 1957 season have brought to light, on a hill just inside the wall of the city, the remains of a sanctuary dedicated to the two goddesses, Demeter [Ceres] and Kore [Persephone, Proserpina]. The sanctuary may date as far back as the first half of the 4th century B.C., but its main development came after 350 B.C. It appears to have remained a venerated place of worship until about the year 200 B.C.

The shape of the sanctuary is irregular and has nothing in common with a Greek temple. A series of rooms are grouped around two courtyards. Among the votive gifts found around the two altars were vases and terra-cotta sculpture -- like the examples shown here in photographs. The workmanship varies but is, on the whole, of fine quality and testifies to the skill of local artists.

It is highly appropriate that Morgantina should have had a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore, who were the protecting deities of this region. Morgantina is not far from the most famous sanctuary of them all,

at Enna, and is still closer to Lacus Pergus [present Lago di Pergusa] where, according to the myth, Kore was carried by Pluto down to Hades.

* * *

"It is an ancient belief...established by the oldest Greek books and inscriptions, that the island of Sicily as a whole is sacred to Ceres and Libera....The Sicilians hold that these goddesses were born in Sicily: that wheat was first brought to light in Sicilian soil; and that Libera, whom they also call Proserpina, was carried off from a wood near Henna, a place which, lying in the midst of the island, is known as the navel of Sicily. Ceres, the tale goes, in her eager search for traces of her lost daughter, lighted her torches at the fires that burst forth from the peak of Aetna, and roamed over all the earth carrying these in her hand..."

(Cicero, In Verrem II, iv, 48).

* * *

"....that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin, gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world."

(John Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 269-272).

27. Group of photographs of the Sanctuary and of objects excavated there. [Photographs by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargements by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies.]

- (a) View of the Serra Orlando Ridge, looking east, with the "Citadel" in the distance. [Negative no. A 11-3].

The trenches in the foreground mark the beginning of the excavations which uncovered a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Demeter and Kore.

- (b) Altar in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. [Negative no. A 12-6].

The column in the center is the altar dedicated to Kore (Persephone). It stands in a small room with stuccoed walls and was surrounded by votive offerings. Some of the vases are still lying on the floor where they were originally deposited by worshippers many centuries ago.

- (c) At work excavating the Sanctuary. [Negative no. A 15-7].

Expert workmen, Don Ciccio and Lorenzo, carefully work their way through the final layer of the Sanctuary. Here they are cleaning a vase which is still in situ.

- (d) Foreman Francesco Campione cleaning the earth from a deposit of votive offerings found in the Sanctuary. Cf. next item, for results. [Negative no. A 20-11].

- (e) Lamp, with nine wick-holes, 4th century B.C.
[Inventory no. 57-705. Negative no. A 32-11].

The previous photograph shows the lamp being dug out of the ground. It is of local Morgantina ware, an example of the Siciliote adaptation of Greek prototypes.

- (f) Terracotta head of Kore. [Inventory no. 57-72. Negative no. 43-10].

This head is one of the oldest found in the sanctuary and shows that the cult began at least as early as the beginning of the 4th century B.C., possibly just after the Syracusan conquest of Morgantina in 396 B.C.

The head is one half life-size.

- (g) Priestess of Kore. [Inventory no. 57-806. Negative no. 49-32].

Statuette of a priestess of Kore, whose pose indicates that she is pouring a libation. She is dressed in her ritual robes and wears the "polos," a cylindrical headgear characteristic of the goddess.

- (h) Head of statuette as found in the excavation.
[Negative no. A 57-3].

Photographed before its removal. Masses of superimposed soil have been removed by expert workmen using small picks, knives, and finally dentist's tools and brushes.

- (i) Statuette of worshipper. [Inventory no. 57-2054. Negative no. 41-19].

Note her veiled head. Last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

- (j) Votive statuette of a female worshipper. [Inventory no. 57-809. Negative no. A 45-4].

- (k) Votive statuette of female worshipper. [Inventory no. 57-2053. Negative no. 41-24].

Like the preceding, this is an example of the statuettes offered by worshippers to the goddess.

- (l) Statue of a young male god of unknown identity. [Inventory no. 57-719. Negative no. 41-10].

The god resembles young Apollo or Dionysius, but may very well be a hitherto unknown companion deity of Demeter and Kore, Elaielinos, mentioned in an inscription found in the sanctuary.

28. Small terra cotta head, 4th century B.C. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

Found on the Serra Orlando Ridge. The figure wears the ritual headgear of a priestess of Persephone. Cf. photograph of a similar head, No. 27-g.

* * *

See coins with head of Kore, below, Nos. 31-a, 31-b, 31-d. One of these is reproduced in exhibition leaflet.

VI

MORGANTINA DURING
THE AGE OF AGATHOCLES

AND HIERON II

306 -- 260 B.C.

Agathocles was "tyrant of Syracuse" from 317 B.C. to 289 B.C. The long reign of Hieron II lasted from 275 B.C. to 215 B.C. It was during the century represented by these two rulers that Morgantina reached the peak of its development, as symbolized by the great agora or civic center built there.

29. MORGANTINA BEFRIENDS AGATHOCLES, 316 B.C.

"Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, who attained greatness equal to that of the elder Dionysius, rose to royal dignity from the lowest and meanest origin...Twice he attempted to make himself sovereign of Syracuse, and twice he was driven into exile. By the Murgantines, with whom he took refuge in his banishment, Agathocles was first, out of hatred of the Syracusans, made praetor, and then general-in-chief. In the war that he conducted for them, he both took the city of the Leontines and proceeded to besiege his native city of Syracuse...."

(Justinus, XXII, 2).

As indicated by this passage, Agathocles was greatly aided in his rise to domination over Sicily by the inhabitants of Morgantina. It seems probable,

therefore, that the ambitious civic improvements initiated at Morgantina during this period -- of which the great agora uncovered by the Princeton Archaeological Expedition is the most striking example -- reflect his royal patronage and gratitude.

The text occurs in Book XXII of a world history by Justinus, a writer of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., whose work is an abridgement of the Historiae Philippicae (now lost) of Trogus Pompeius, a Roman writer of the 1st century B.C.

Edition shown: Justini Historici Clarissimi in Trogi Pompeii Historias. Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1470. Fol. [83] ^{verso}. The first edition. [Grenville Kane Collection].

Not available in Loeb Classical Library. Cf. Justin; Cornelius Nepos; and Eutropius, translated by John Selby Watson, Bohn's Libraries, London, G. Bell, 1897, p. 177. Cf. also Justin, Abrégé des Histoires philippiques, traduction nouvelle de E. Chambry & Mme. L. Thély-Chambry, Paris, Classiques Garnier, [1936], vol. II, pp. 4-5.

29-a. Justini Historici Famosissimi Trogi Pompeii Abbreviatoris Libri XLIIII. [Grenville Kane Collection, Ms. no. 42].

A manuscript of Justinus' History, written in Italy, ca. 1450-60, by Alfonsus Palentinus (the scribe,

whose signature appears on the last leaf).

Fol. xxi^{vo} has decorative initial "A" (gold) at beginning of Liber XXII: "Agatocles Siciliae Tyrannus..." Fol. xxii has marginal note, "Murgantinis."

29-b. Clarissimi Historici Justini Super Historiis Trogi Pompei Epythoma. [Grenville Kane Collection, Ms. no. 43].

A manuscript of Justinus' History, written in Italy in the 15th century.

Opened to beginning of Book XXII, with decorative initial "A".

30. THE MEN OF MORGANTINA FURTHER THE DESIGNS OF AGATHOCLES, 317 B.C.

"By feigning a campaign against Erbita Agathocles enrolled in his army the men of Morgantina and the other cities of the interior who had previously served with him against the Carthaginians. All these men were firmly attached to Agathocles, having received many benefits from him during the campaigns, but they were unceasingly hostile to the Six Hundred who had been members of the oligarchy in Syracuse..."

(Diodorus Siculus, XIX, 6, 2-3).

With the aid of these soldiers from Morgantina and other interior towns Agathocles seized power in Syracuse by craftily assembling the leaders of the "Six Hundred" at the Timoleontium (a gymnasium built around the tomb of Timoleon) and then ordering the

brutal massacre and plundering of the aristocrats.

Edition shown: Diod. Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae Libri XV, de XL. Edited by Laurentius Rhodoman. Hanau, Wechel, 1604. Vol. II, p. 655. Greek text and Latin translation (also by editor, Rhodoman) in parallel columns. [Ex 2641.1604q (Goertz)].

Cf. Diodorus of Sicily, Loeb Classical Library, vol. IX, pp. 242-243. Edited and translated by Russel M. Geer.

31. Coins of Agathocles and of Hieron II.

- (a) Silver tetradrachm. Obv.: Head of Kore (Persephone). Rev.: Nike (Victory) crowning a trophy, triskele (the three-legged symbol of Sicily), lower left, and inscription "ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ." [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-142].
 - (b) Silver tetradrachm. Obv.: Head of Kore. Rev.: Nike crowning a trophy, triskele, and at bottom "ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ." [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: # 3129, Sicily].
 - (c) Gold coin, Agathocles. Obv.: Head of Apollo. Rev.: Biga with flying Nike. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: # 20, Sicily].
- * * *
- (d) Bronze coin, Syracuse, Agathocles or Hieron II?. Obv.: Head of Kore. Rev.: Butting bull. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: # 3980a, Sicily].

- (e) Bronze coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Poseidon. Rev.: Ornate trident. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: # 3834, Sicily].
- (f) Bronze coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Poseidon. Rev.: Ornate trident. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection: # 3033, Sicily].
- (g) Bronze, coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Poseidon. Rev.: Trident. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-152].
- (h) Bronze coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Poseidon. Rev.: Trident. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-153].
- (i) Bronze coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Poseidon. Rev.: Trident. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone, from Serra Orlando Ridge].
- (j) Bronze coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head. Rev.: Horseman. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone, from Serra Orlando Ridge].
- (k) Silver coin, Hieron II. Obv.: Head of Zeus. Rev.: Horseman. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone, from Serra Orlando Ridge].

Note: Engravings of obverse and reverse of coin similar to a and b are used as designs on exhibition leaflet.

See also, below, Nos. 67-b, 67-c, 67-k.

32. Terra cotta statuette, 3rd century B.C., from Tarentum in southern Italy. [Lent by Gillett G. Griffin].
33. The Agora. [A group of photographs by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargements by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies].

The great Agora, or civic center, is the most spectacular of the Princeton Expedition's finds. It was planned about the year 300 B.C., when Agathocles was King of Syracuse, and presumably indicated his royal patronage and gratitude to the inhabitants of Morgantina, who had hitched their wagon to his rising star [see Nos. 29, 30]. The agora was built about a mile to the west of the "citadel" (the site of the original Greek city), in a rectangular open space between two of the several knolls that rise like vertebrae along the backbone of the ridge.

Work on the agora was continued during the early reign of Hieron II, but the advent of the First Punic War seems to have brought the ambitious project to a halt. Private buildings encroached upon the agora space and some of the partly constructed public buildings had to lend material for the new private ones. Thus, the great project remained forever unfinished. A century or so later, under Roman rule, about 150 B.C., a new market-place was installed in the upper agora and shops were added to the old

northern portico and adjacent areas, while elegant residential quarters rose on the two hills overlooking its east and west sides.

- (a) The Lower Agora in March, 1957. [Negative no. A 13-9].

The Lower Agora was covered by a 15-foot layer of sand and silt. The first two campaigns of the Princeton Expedition, in 1955 and 1956, brought to light the outlines of the monumental plaza, but left some 75,000 cubic feet of dirt in the center, as shown in this photograph taken in March, 1957.

- (b) The Lower Agora in June, 1957. [Negative no. A 70-7].

In the foreground are the walls of a private building which encroached upon the public area in the latter half of the 3rd century B.C. The monumental polygonal steps, built under the patronage of Agathocles and Hieron II, led to the Upper Agora and also served as the meeting place for the public assembly. Note the foundation blocks of the speaker's platform in the right middle-ground.

- (c) The Lower Agora seen from the west. [Negative no. A 64-9].

The steps enclose on three sides a polygonal area. In the foreground: the walls of an aristocratic

private house (note the mosaic floor in the lower left corner), subsequently built in the early 2nd century B.C., when the "Spaniards" were the lords of Morgantina.

- (d) Life-size statue honoring an unknown lady. [Inventory no. 55-2713, and 56-1759. Negative no. A 1-7].

Found in the Lower Agora, where it had been erected in the 3rd century B.C. It was found in two pieces.

34. Ground plan of the Agora. "Serra Orlando, Area 1." Scale: 4 cm. - 20 m. Architects: Alfred E. De Vido, 1955; John M. Woodbridge, 1956; Charles K. Williams II, 1957. [Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, archives].

The agora and its immediate vicinity were the focus of operations during the first two Princeton Expedition campaigns, in 1955 and 1956. In 1957 the polygonal Lower Agora was completely uncovered. The plan here shown reflects the work of the three campaigns, and has grown increasingly meaningful as work and knowledge have progressed.

The plan is based on drawings and surveys made by A.E. DeVido, J.M. Woodbridge, and C.K. Williams, all holders of the degree of Master of Fine Arts in Architecture from Princeton University School of Architecture.

The agora was discovered in the first trial trench

dug in 1955; the portions uncovered were then tentatively interpreted as being the civic center of the town. The agora of Morgantina now stands revealed as one of the most complete early Hellenistic Greek agoras known in the Central Mediterranean area. As a result of the excavations, the long history of its planning, building, decay and abandonment can now be accurately traced.

The original ground level of the Lower Agora was covered by some 15 feet of accumulated soil, so that its excavation involved various technical problems: for example, a small railroad was built for carting away and dumping the more than 150,000 cubic feet of dirt.

35. Section and elevation of the Agora at Morgantina. Photostat of architect's drawing. [Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, archives].

36. Excavating the Agora. Two photographs.

(a) The Discovery of the Lower Agora in 1955. [Negative unnumbered].

The first trench cut through the steps is in the right middle ground. The soil is worked with pick axes, then passed along by many spades to the top of the temporary dump, some twenty-one feet above the bottom level.

(b) The "Great Dump," 1957. [Negative no. 59-7].

The "great dump" outside the ancient city wall has entirely re-shaped the terrain. What was once a steep ravine is now a steadily growing plateau, built up by some 150,000 cubic feet of soil and rubble, removed from the agora.

VII

MORGANTINA DURING THE PUNIC WARS

[First Punic War: 264-241 B.C.

Second Punic War: 218-201 B.C.]

With the advent of the Punic Wars, in the 3rd century B.C., Sicily, which had previously been colonized by Greeks and invaded by Carthaginians, came within the orbit of the expanding Roman Republic. During the struggle between Rome and Carthage, Sicily was frequently a battlefield. Sicilian cities like Morgantina, "collaborating" now with the Romans and now with the Carthaginians, were used as pawns by the contending powers.

In the texts on display in this section, the Roman historian, Titus Livius (59 B.C. - 17 A.D.), supplies significant information about Morgantina's history during this troubled period. Livy's history of Rome, Ab Urbe Condita, originally comprised 142 books, of which only 35 have survived. The extant books have traditionally been grouped by "Decades" of ten books. The passages shown occur in Decade III, Books 24 and 26.

37. MORGANTINA BETRAYS ITS ROMAN GARRISON TO THE
CARTHAGINIANS, 214 B.C.

"And so the Carthaginians did not tarry longer near Syracuse...Himilco moved his camp away, his purpose being...to give encouragement by his presence to those who inclined to support the Carthaginian cause. Murgantia was first recovered, after the inhabitants had betrayed the Roman garrison. There a great quantity of grain and supplies of every kind had been accumulated by the Romans..."

(Livy, XXIV, 36, 10).

[Lucius Pinarius, Roman garrison commander at Henna, addresses his men:]

"I believe you have heard, soldiers, how in these days Roman garrisons have been beset and overwhelmed by Sicilians. Such treachery you have escaped...But now the men of Henna demand back the keys of the city-gates...And the moment we surrender them, Henna will be in the hands of the Carthaginians, and we shall be more cruelly slaughtered here than was the garrison at Murgantia...Who first draws the sword will have the victory. Therefore, alert and armed, you will all await the signal...Mother Ceres and Proserpina, and all the other gods, above and below, who inhabit this city, these hallowed lakes and groves, I pray that you attend us with your favor and support..."

(Livy, XXIV, 38, 3).

News of the ensuing massacre of the Hennensians and the desecration of the holy places there by Lucius Pinarius and his Romans, spread rapidly throughout Sicily: "Even those who had till then wavered, went over to the Carthaginians."

Edition shown: Titi Livii Decades noviet impresses.

Venice, printed by Joannes and Bernardinus Vercellensis

for L.A. Giunta, 1506. Fol. cxxviii. (Both passages, cited above, on this page, which also has woodcut showing massacre of Roman garrisons). [ExI 2587. 2500q (1). Another copy (imperfect), NE 910.I8L7.1506q (SAP)].

Cf. Livy, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VI, pp. 292-293, 296-297. Also, pp. 300-301 (XXIV, 39, 10).

38. MORGANTINA IS ASSIGNED BY ROME TO MOERICUS AND HIS SPANISH MERCENARIES, 211 B.C.

"After Marcellus's departure from Sicily a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To them the cities of Murgantia and Ergetium revolted. Their rebellion was followed by that of Hybla and Macella and some others of less importance...The Roman army...was serving without spirit...In the midst of these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the [Roman] praetor, quieted the soldiers' excitement, now by consoling, now by censuring them; likewise he reduced to subjection all the city-states which had revolted. And of these he assigned Murgantia to the Spaniards to whom a city with its territory was due in conformity with a decree of the Senate."

(Livy, XXVI, 21, 17).

In a passage preceding this one (xxvi, 21, 5-13) Livy describes the triumph staged in Rome for Marcus Marcellus, praetor in Sicily. The procession included, with other booty, "a representation of captured Syracuse," statues, eight elephants (as a sign of triumph over the Carthaginians), while "in advance of the general, and wearing golden wreaths, marched Sosis of Syracuse and Moericus the Spaniard." To Moericus

and the Spaniards who had changed sides with him, a city and land in Sicily were ordered to be given, chosen from among those who had revolted from the Roman people. Instructions were given to Marcus Cornelius to assign them a city and land wherever he saw fit..."

This assignment of Morgantina to Moericus and his Spanish mercenaries (cavalrymen) as a reward for their service to the Romans, and as a punishment of the city for its alliance with Carthage, proved to be a crucial event in the history of Morgantina. It explains, among other things, the large number of coins, bearing the inscription HISPANORUM, found by the Princeton archaeologists in the ruins of the city. The correlation of the archaeological evidence represented by these coins with the historical evidence recorded by Livy has provided one of the important clues to the identification of the Serra Orlando ruins as the ancient city of Morgantina. [See below, No. 43].

Edition shown: T. Livii Patavini historiae Romanae principis Decades Tres cum dimidia, seu Libri XXXV, ex XIIII Decadibus relictis... Paris, Michel Vascosan, 1552. Page 187. [Ex 2877.1552 q].

Cf. Livy, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VII, pp. 82-83, and also, pp. 80-81. Edited and translated by Frank Gardner Moore.

39. "NOR DID MORGANTINA ABSTAIN FROM TRAITOROUS WAR..."

"Cetera Elissaeis aderat gens Sicana votis...
 Non Herbesos iners, non Naulocha pigra pericli
 Sederunt, non frondosis Morgentia campis
 Abstinet Marte infido..."

"The other cities of Sicily took the side of
 Carthage...
 Neither did Herbesos nor Naulocha sit idle,
 indifferent to the crisis;
 Nor did Morgentia of the leafy fields abstain
 from traitorous war..."

(Silius Italicus, *Punica*, XIV, 265).

The infamous (as viewed from Rome) conduct of Morgantina in the Second Punic War was commemorated for posterity by the Roman poet Silius Italicus (26-101 A.D.) in his lengthy epic poem, the Punica. The subject matter of the poem is based on Livy's Third Decade, and thus adds nothing new to the history of Morgantina. The "leafy fields" -- frondosis campis -- attributed to the city, although not inappropriate, are probably only a flight of the poet's imagination. However, the hills were probably more wooded in ancient times than they are today.

The Punica was first printed in 1471, and frequently re-published during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Editions shown: (a) Silii Italici Clarissimi Poetae Punicorum libri xvii. "Cum argumentis Hermanni Buschii." Basel, Thomas Wolf, 1522. Page 185.

[NE 910.G3T7.1522 (SAP)].

(b) Silii Italici de Bello Punico Secundo XVII Libri. Venice, Aldine Press, 1523. With Aldine dolphin and anchor on title-page. [Grenville Kane Collection. Another copy, Graphic Arts Collection].

(c) C. Silii Italici, Viri Consularis, De Bello Punico Secundo Libri XVII. Edited by Christophorus Cellarius. Leipzig, J. Thomas Fritsch, 1695. Title-page in black and red. Engraved frontispiece of army encamped before a city. Folding engraved map of Mediterranean, "Conspectus Geographiae Silianae." [Ex 2925.1695 (Goertz)].

Cf. Silius Italicus, Punica, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. II, pp. 292-293. Edited and translated by J.D. Duff.

40. Coins of the period of the Punic Wars.

- (a) Coin of the Mamertines of Messana in Sicily, whose appeal to Rome to eject a protective Carthaginian garrison precipitated the First Punic War in 264 B.C. Bronze pentonkion, after 210 B.C. Obv.: Head of Ares. Rev.: Horse and man. (Brit. Mus. Cat., Sicily, p. 112, #32). [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 55-131].
- (b) Roman bronze coin, ca. 187-175 B.C. Obv.: Head of Janus. Rev.: Prow of ship. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone, from Serra Orlando Ridge].
- (c) Bronze Siculo-Punic coin, issued by the Carthaginians in Sicily. Obv.: Female head. Rev.: Horse and palm. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone, from Serra Orlando Ridge]. See also, below, No. 67-d.

41. Unguentarium, or ointment jar, 3rd century B.C.
[Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

Found on the Serra Orlando Ridge. Made in Sicily,
probably at Morgantina.

42. Two small terra cotta female heads, 3rd or 2nd
century B.C. Found on the Serra Orlando Ridge.
[Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

VIII

ROMAN PROVINCE, SPANISH RULERS

The final phase of Morgantina's history, encompassing a bit less than two hundred years, extended roughly from the close of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.) to the end of the Roman Republic (30 B.C.). Like the rest of Sicily, Morgantina was now under Roman rule. It was in 211 B.C. that the city and its public land had been taken from the local owners and given to the Spaniard Moericus and his mercenaries -- as related by Livy. These "Spaniards" and their descendants thus constituted an important element in the ruling class of Morgantina during its Roman period.

43. The "Hispanorum" coins.

Coins like those shown here have provided an important clue to the identification of the excavation site as the city of Morgantina.

From the time of the Renaissance up to the present, coins of this type, with the Latin legend Hispanorum and galloping horseman on the reverse, have occasionally appeared in numismatic collections and treatises. Only some 125 such specimens have been recorded. The provenance, when known, is

invariably Sicily (not Spain), and it has long been realized that they are stylistically related to the other, better documented, Sicilian coins.

During the three seasons of the Princeton excavations nearly 300 of these otherwise rare coins have been found on the Serra Orlando Ridge -- always stratigraphically bound to the 2nd century, the period of Roman rule. They have frequently been found in conjunction with pottery and other coins (notably Roman denarii) of this period.

It is known from the historical evidence provided by Livy [see No. 38] that by a decree of the Roman Senate, in 211 B.C., the Sicilian town of Morgantina was assigned to Moericus and his Spanish mercenaries as a reward for their services to the Romans, and as a punishment of the city for its alliance with Carthage during the Second Punic War. It therefore seems probable that these Hispanorum coins were a provincial Roman issue struck by the "Spaniards" of Morgantina during the century or so subsequent to their installation as the ruling class of the town. The use on the coin of the genitive plural of the name -- Hispanorum -- may indicate either origin [i.e., coin of the Spaniards], or imply a name for the city, such as "Morgantina Hispanorum."

Correlation of historical evidence with archaeological

Excavations Resolve the Mystery Of Vanished City in Central Sicily

Princeton Archaeologists Say Site Is That of Morgantine, Which Died in 40 B. C.

Special to The New York Times

ROME, June 30—The riddle of the "mystery city of Sicily" has been solved, after three years of strenuous digging, by an archaeological mission from Princeton University.

The mystery city rose, in the last few centuries before the Christian era, on a spur of the Central Sicilian mountains overlooking the plain of Catania. The archaeologists who first found it dubbed it the mystery city because of two features that baffled them completely. First, the city was anonymous, or in other words the name by which it had been known to its inhabitants was lost. Second, the life of the city had been cut short about 40 B. C., either by a natural cataclysm or by some human agency.

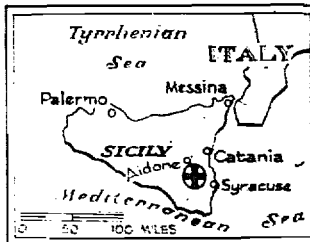
The first traces of the mystery city were found in the last century at a place called Serra Orlando, about two miles from the town of Aidone. In 1955 digging was started by a mission from Princeton University composed of ten persons and headed by Prof. Erik Sjoqvist. The excavations were continued in 1956 under the direction of Prof. R. Stilwell and were resumed again this year by Professor Sjoqvist. They were financed by the Princeton University Research Foundation, by the Bollingen Foundation and by private donors.

The Location Fits

Professor Sjoqvist believes that he is now able to announce positively that the mystery city was the ancient Morgantine. A number of Greek and Roman authors, including Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus and Livy, mention Morgantine; and what they said about it coincides step by step with what was revealed by the Princeton excavations. The geographical location fits equally well.

The final proof that the mystery city and Morgantine were one and the same place was furnished by more than 400 coins found by the excavators. They all bore the inscription "Hispanorum" and were identified as belonging to the second century B. C.

The word Hispanorum (Latin for "of the Spaniards") linked the mystery city to Morgantine through a historical episode that is recounted by Livy. Morgan-



The New York Times July 14, 1957

Sicily's "mystery city" has been identified as old Morgantine, at Aidone (cross).

tine sided with Carthage in the Punic Wars, and the Romans, after conquering it in 211 B. C., punished it by giving it to the Spanish mercenaries who betrayed the last defenses of Syracuse to Rome. Syracuse had been taken the year before by M. Claudius Marcellus despite all the devices of Archimedes.

Strabo's Commentary

Morgantine lingered on until about 40 B. C. The Greek geographer Strabo, writing in the early twenties B. C., said: "Morgantine was a great city and now it does not exist."

The Princeton excavators found no evidence that it died a violent death. It is almost certain that the end was brought on by the changed economic and social conditions consequent upon the introduction of the Roman latifundia system of vast estates, which was beginning to take root in Sicily at the time when Morgantine died.

The chief credit for identifying the city as Morgantine through its coins is given to K. Erin, a native of Istanbul and a graduate student of Princeton University. He it was, says Professor Sjoqvist, who "knitted together the net of evidence for the identification of Morgantine."

Under the Morgantine site, the Princeton archaeologists found the remains of a prehistoric settlement dating back to the twelfth century B. C., the end of the Bronze Age. Other finds included a sanctuary, probably dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, containing a large number of good votive statuettes of terra cotta figures at the end of the third and fourth century B. C. Notable were also several exquisite antefixes (molded terracotta figures at the end of roof-tiles), several good imported Attic black-figure vases and a small archaic bronze statuette of Hercules.

CLUE OF STUDENT IDENTIFIES RUIN

Princeton Man Helps Link Spanish Coins to Buried Morgantina in Sicily

Special to The New York Times.
PRINCETON, N. C., Oct. 26

A Princeton University graduate student has been credited with a major role in identifying a 2,500-year-old Sicilian city unearthed four years ago by an archaeological expedition.

The finding of Spanish coins dating from the second century B. C. figured prominently in the identification. The student, Kenen Tevrik Erim, is in his third year of thesis research.

Discussing the achievements of the project today, Dr. Eric Sjoqvist of the Princeton Department of Art and Archaeology said that the young scholar's work led to the hypothesis this summer concerning the buried ruins of the hill city Morgantina.

The city was uncovered in 1953 by an expedition led by Dr. Sjoqvist.

All References Fit

"All the notations regarding Morgantina by ancient authors fall nicely into place, topographically and historically," Dr. Sjoqvist said.

A fortified Greek community some forty miles west of the coastal city of Catina, Morgantina, flourished from approximately 600 to 40 B. C. It apparently declined without any visible catastrophe at a time roughly coinciding with the Roman Imperial Era.

Three seasons of major excavation work have unearthed a twenty-two-year-old market place, a grandiose example of advanced civic planning in the Hellenistic Age. The project has also yielded archaeological treasures, such as terracotta statuettes, imported Attic black figure vases, Hellenistic jewelry and an important inventory of coins, the majority datable to the long reign of Hieron II (275-217 B. C.).

Only a few rare specimens of the coin issues bearing the inscription "Hispanorum" (the Latin word for "Of the Span-

iards") were known until the coins were found by the Princeton expedition. Their discovery gave rise to scholarly speculation about the role of the Spaniards in Sicilian history.

Livy Gave Clue

"Mr. Erim thought of combining the appearance of the coins with information in Livy [the ancient Roman historian] which stated that during the Second Punic War, the city of Morgantina was punished by the Romans for siding with Carthage," Dr. Sjoqvist reported.

"Under a Senatorial decree in 211 B. C., the town and the territory were taken from the Morgantines and given to a group of Spanish mercenary soldiers who had rendered great service to the Romans during the campaign by betraying the last defenses of Syracuse.

"This seemed to indicate that the Hispanorum coins were actually minted by these Spaniards in their new settlement and that the settlement was Morgantina. No other historical event fits into this schedule, and the hypothesis was confirmed by all available arguments.

"The last thing we know

about historical Morgantina is a passage in Strabo, written between 30 and 20 B. C., in which he states that Morgantina, which used to be a city, exists no longer. The excavation site shows no traces of city life after about 40 B. C. This seems to wind up arguments for the identification."

and numismatic evidence, in this instance, provides another compelling reason for identifying the Serra Orlando site as the ancient city of Morgantina.

Note: A detailed study of the Hispanorum coins has been made by Kenan T. Erim, a member of the Princeton expedition during the 1955 and 1956 seasons, in his doctoral thesis, The "Hispanorum" Coins, Problems in Sicilian Numismatics and History, presented at Princeton University in November, 1957. (The thesis, unpublished, is available in typewritten form in the Princeton University Library]. A summary of Mr. Erim's findings is given in his article, "Morgantina," American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 62, No. 1 (January, 1958), pp. 79-90.

- (a) "Hispanorum" coin. Bronze. Obv.: Head of Athena. Rev.: Horseman.
- (1) Enlarged photographs (obverse and reverse of specimen found by Princeton University Archaeological Expedition at Morgantina, 1957 season. [Inventory no. 57-930. Negative no. 27-12/13].
 - (2) Two specimens,, provenance unrecorded. [Lent by the American Numismatic Society].
 - (3) One specimen, found on Serra Orlando Ridge prior to Princeton excavations. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

(b) "Hispanorum" coin. Bronze. Obv.: Male head.
Rev.: Horseman.

- (1) Enlarged photographs (obverse and reverse) of specimen found by Princeton University Archaeological Expedition at Morgantina, 1957 season. [Inventory no. 57-407. Negative no. 16-11/12].
- (2) Two specimens, provenance unrecorded. [Lent by the American Numismatic Society].
- (3) Two specimens, found on Serra Orlando Ridge prior to the Princeton excavations. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

44. Four Hispanorum coins, included in engraved Plate CLXII of Syvert Haverkamp, ed., Sicilia Numismatica, Part III. Haverkamp's three volumes on Sicilian numismatics comprise Volumes VI, VII, and VIII of the fifteen volumes of the Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae, compiled by Joannes Georgius Graevius, Leyden, 1723-25. [Ex 2971.404.2f].

Text relating to the Hispanorum coins illustrated by Haverkamp is to be found in his Part II, pages 998, 1008-1009, 1060.

Haverkamp's work incorporates the substance of earlier treatises on Sicilian coins -- notably Hubert Goltzius, Sicilia et Magna Graecia, sive Historia urbium et populorum Graeciae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae (first edition, Bruges, 1576); and Filippo Paruta, La Sicilia descritta con medaglie (first edition, Palermo, 1612).

Note: One Morgantina coin is shown in Haverkamp's plate CXXXV, with related text in Part II, pages 818, 820, 822. Cf. below, Nos. 63-66.

45. Roman silver coins of the 2nd century B.C. Found on the Serra Orlando Ridge. [Dr. J.V. Caltagirone].

(a-b) Two silver quinarii, ca. 182-172 B.C. Obv.: Head Roma. Rev.: Dioscuri riding.

(c) Silver denarius, ca. 167-155 B.C. Obv.: Head Roma. Rev.: Dioscuri riding.

(d) Silver denarius, ca. 150-146 B.C. Obv.: Head Roma. Rev.: Quadriga.

These silver coins are of the same period as the bronze coins issued by the Spaniards of Morgantina. Rome reserved to herself the nobler metals, gold and silver; subject states or cities, like Morgantina, could therefore use only the baser bronze for their coinage.

As noted above, these four coins come from the Serra Orlando Ridge. Many similar coins have been found there in the Princeton excavations -- often in conjunction with the bronze Hispanorum issues.

46. Group of photographs showing Morgantina during the Roman period. [Photographs by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargements by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies].

The Princeton excavations show that, about 175-150 B.C., new residential quarters were built on the two hillsides overlooking the eastern and western sides of

the unfinished agora of a century earlier. Activity also returned to the agora itself: a new market-place was installed in the upper agora, and shops were added to the old northern portico and adjacent regions. The photographs grouped here relate to this renewal of building activity during the Roman period.

- (a) Slope rising from the old agora. [Negative no. A 73-8].

At the upper right are private residences built in the 2nd century B.C., on the slope rising up from the old agora. Public buildings of the 3rd century in the middleground. Steps of the agora are visible in the left foreground.

- (b) Residential quarter built in the 2nd century. [Negative no. A 62-6].

On the hillside sloping down to the old agora (steps of which may be seen in the middleground, left). In the foreground is the peristyle court of an aristocratic house.

- (c) "WELCOME" Εὖ ἔχει
[Negative no. A 74-1].

A Greek inscription in a mosaic floor of one of the 2nd century villas. The language of the inscription provides interesting evidence of the survival at Morgantina of Hellenic culture during the period of Roman rule.

- (d) Excavating a Roman villa. [Negative no. A 50-1].

Kyle M. Phillips, "trenchmaster" in charge of the zone here illustrated, at work on a preliminary classification of masses of broken pottery found in an abandoned water cistern belonging to the Roman house shown above (b).

- (e) Small statuette of Venus. [Inventory no. 57-3018. Negative no. 56-14].

Found together with four other such statuettes in one of the rooms of a Roman house situated to the east of the agora.

IX

MORGANTINA DURING THE SLAVE REVOLTS

During the second half of the 2nd century B.C., Sicily was the scene of two widespread slave revolts (the so-called Servile Wars) -- the first from about 139 to 132 B.C., and the second, from 102 to 99 B.C. Roman rule had brought with it the system of latifundia, great landed estates tilled by slave laborers drawn from all parts of the Mediterranean. Under such leaders as Cleon and Eunus, rebellious slaves, joined by discontented urban and rural proletarians, intermittently gained control over many parts of the island. Cities suffered, travel on the roads was unsafe, and country-dwellers lived in constant fear of rapine, robberies, and murder.

Morgantina played a role during these uprisings, and undoubtedly suffered from them. The city was situated on hills dominating the plain of Catana and Leontini, "the granary of Rome." This strategic location (already evident in the Second Punic War) made of it a desirable prize to the contending forces.

References to the role of Morgantina during this period are to be found in the extant fragments of Books 34 and 36 of Diodorus Siculus -- shown in

this section. Diodorus's testimony deserves serious consideration because of the fact that he was himself a native of Agyrium, a city not far from Morgantina, and so presumably familiar with the localities involved. Furthermore, he was in this instance writing of events that had taken place within the half century preceding his own birth, so that he might well have heard the Slave Revolts discussed during his youth.

47. GORGUS CAMBALUS AND HIS FATHER ARE SLAIN BY BANDITS NEAR MORGANTINA, ca. 133 B.C.

"Gorgus was a Morgantinian, surnamed Cambalus, one of the leading citizens and wealthiest men of the town. Going abroad to hunt, and falling in amongst a company of bandits, he turned to run back into the city, when by chance he met his father Gorgus on horseback. The father forthwith leaped off his horse, and begged his son to mount and make away with all speed into the city. But the son was unwilling to place his own safety before that of his father, and the father preferred his own death to that of his son. Thus, while they were with tears entreating one another and striving to outdo one another in proofs of affection -- paternal love contending with filial piety -- they were overtaken by the bandits and both killed on the spot."

(Diodorus Siculus, frag. xxxiv/xxxv, 11).

This tragic incident, which took place during the unsettled period of the First Slave Revolt, is related by Diodorus Siculus in one of the few extant fragments of the 34th Book of his ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ. This is among the Diodorus fragments preserved in a 10th

century A.D. manuscript of extracts of ancient writers prepared for the East Roman Emperor, Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus. As indicated by the title of the manuscript (*Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* -- On Virtues and Vices), the compiler was chiefly interested in edifying anecdotes, rather than in a connected narrative of events.

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae. Edited by P. Wesseling. Amsterdam, J. Wetsen, 1746. Vol. II, page 602. [Ex 2641.1746f].

These fragments are not yet published in Loeb Classical Library. Cf. The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, translated by G. Booth, London, 1814, Vol. II, p. 625. See also Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae, ed. L. Dindorf, C. Müller, Paris, F. Didot, 1844, Vol. II, p. 541 (Greek text and Latin translation).

48. EUNUS, THE REBEL SLAVE LEADER, DIES IN PRISON AT MORGANTINA, ca. 134 B.C.

"Eunus, the impostor king, who had cravenly fled to the mountain caves, was hunted out of them [by Rupilius, the Roman general], along with four others: a cook, a baker, a bath attendant, and even a jester who was wont to perform tricks at his drinking parties. Then, cast into prison, his weakened body teeming with lice, Eunus died in the city of Morgantina -- a death appropriate to his foolhardy crimes. Meanwhile, Rupilius, marching through all Sicily with a small force of picked troops, freed the island from banditry more speedily than could have been expected."

(Diodorus Siculus, frag. xxxiv/xxxv, 2, 22-23).

Eunus, the leader of the rebels in the First Slave Revolt, was the slave of a rich landowner of Enna, a certain Damophilus. The rebellion, which soon spread to other parts of Sicily, began about 139 B.C. at Enna with the seizure of the city by the slaves and the murder of Damophilus and his wife Megallis. Thereupon Eunus proclaimed himself "king" and appropriately assumed the name of "Antiochus," since he was of Syrian origin.

The end of the "reign" of Eunus-Antiochus, several years later, is related by Diodorus Siculus in the passage indicated.

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae. Edited by Christopher Gottlieb Heyne. Strasbourg, Ex Typographia Bipontinae, 1793-1807, Vol. X, p. 112. Greek text and Latin translation. [2641.1793].

These fragments not yet published in Loeb Classical Library. Cf. Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae, ed. L. Dindorf, C. Müller, Paris, F. Didot, 1844, Vol. II, p. 535 (Greek text and Latin translation).

49. MORGANTINA BESIEGED BY REBEL SLAVES, ca. 102 B.C.

"Suddenly the rebels [under their leader Salvius, a soothsayer] fell upon the fortified city of Morgantina and besieged it with strong and unremitting pressure. But the Roman praetor [Licinius Nerva], approaching by night marches to bring aid to the city (he had with him about 10,000 men from Italy and Sicily), met the rebels as they were preparing an attack...After looting their camp...he led his troops toward Morgantina. The rebels, however, quickly built new bulwarks, and, being on higher ground and attacking hastily, soon gained the upper hand. The Romans turned in flight..."

(Diodorus Siculus, frag. xxxvi, 4, 5-8).

This siege of Morgantina -- the final outcome of which is not entirely clear from the extant fragment of Diodorus' account -- took place during the Second Slave Revolt. This rebellion, which lasted three years, was touched off by a disagreement between the Roman administrators and the resident landowners concerning the liberation of slaves. A soothsayer named Salvius assumed the leadership of the rebels in the eastern part of the island, while Athenio, a Cilician, rose to prominence as a leader in the west. The revolt was finally crushed by the consul Manius Aquilius, after successive praetors had failed to bring the situation under control. Some thirty years later, Cicero, in his Verrine Orations (70 B.C.), recalled these days when "great bands of escaped slaves roamed about the province of Sicily."

The Diodorus text shown is in his Book 36, extant only in a series of fragments.

Edition shown: Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae. Edited by P. Wesseling. Amsterdam, J. Wetsen, 1745, Vol. II, page 533. Greek text and Latin translation in parallel columns. (Same edition as that with imprint date 1746; cf. above Nos. 25, 47). [2641.1745f].

These fragments are not yet published in Loeb Classical Library. Cf. Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae, ed. L. Dindorf, C. Müller, Paris, F. Didot, 1844, Vol. II, p. 553 (Greek text and Latin translation).

50. Coins of the Roman Republic, from the period of the Slave Revolts.

- (a) Silver denarius, ca. 145-138 B.C. (Sydenham, 390). [Princeton University Numismatics Collection, #751, Roman Republic].
- (b) Silver denarius, ca. 145-138 B.C. (Sydenham, 382). [Princeton University Numismatics Collection, #312, Roman Republic].
- (c) Silver denarius, L. Post. Albinus, 125-120 B.C. (Sydenham, 472). [Princeton University Numismatics Collection, #324, Roman Republic].
- (d) Silver denarius, Calp. Piso Frugi, 90-98 B.C. (Sydenham, 671). [Princeton University Numismatics Collection, #4-2628, Roman Republic].

51. Lamp, of the 2nd century B.C. Found on the Serra Orlando Ridge. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

X

MORGANTINA IN DECLINE

Cicero's Testimony, 70 B.C.

* * *

"I am defending the entire
Province of Sicily..."

In the late summer of the year 70 B.C. Gaius Verres, the Roman governor of Sicily during the three preceding years, was prosecuted at Rome by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), on behalf of the Sicilian people. Technically, the charge was one of extortion with a claim for restitution, but basically it was a criminal prosecution of the Governor of Sicily for general mismanagement and oppression. Verres fled from Rome to Massilia before the court could condemn him.

Sicily's case against Verres is presented in Cicero's so-called Verrine Orations. Even if allowance is made for the prosecutor's exaggerations and the political considerations that motivated him, the speeches In Verrem provide a valuable picture of conditions in

Sicily at the time, and, specifically, a significant commentary on the decline of such Sicilian towns as Morgantina. Cicero himself had served as quaestor in Sicily prior to the administration of Verres. He returned there in order to collect evidence for the trial: "I covered the whole of Sicily in fifty days, so effectively, that I took cognizance of the wrongs, and the documents recording the wrongs, of all the communities and individuals concerned." Although he does not explicitly so state, it is probable that Cicero visited Morgantina. And, since deputations from every community in Sicily, except Messina and Syracuse, were present at the trial, it is also probable that inhabitants of Morgantina were among the spectators at Rome.

Cicero's mentions of Morgantina -- in the passages shown in this section -- occur in his discussion of agricultural conditions (De Frumento) and of the ruinous results of Verres' abusive and venal administration of taxes: "You took over a system under which Rome was being adequately supplied with wheat from Sicily, and under which, at the same time, the farmers could farm and cultivate their land profitably; and what did you effect, what did you achieve? To add some trifling sum to the national profits on the tithes, you brought about the abandonment and desertion of the grain lands."

52-a. "CAMPI NUNC VASTATI AC DESERTI."

"When I arrived in Sicily after a four years' absence, it had to my eyes the look we associate with countries that have been the seat of a cruel and protracted war. The fields and hill-sides that I had once seen green and flourishing I now saw devastated and deserted; the countryside seemed itself to feel the loss of the men who once tilled it, and to be in mourning for its old master. The grain fields of Herbita and Henna, of Murgentia and Assorus, of Machara and Agyrium, were for the most part so completely abandoned that we looked in vain not only for the cattle but for the proprietors who were once so numerous...The year before had dealt the farmers a staggering blow, this last year had ruined them altogether."

(Cicero, In Verrem II, III, 18, 47).

52-b. "POLEMARCHUS EST MURGENTINUS, VIR BONUS ATQUE HONESTUS."

"It would be an endless task to recount the misfortunes of each of the victims of Verres one by one. I will, therefore, by your leave, merely relate ... typical instances..."

"Polemarchus is a worthy and respectable inhabitant of Morgantina. He was ordered to pay a tithe of 700 bushels on a farm of 50 acres. Because he refused, he was marched off to appear before Verres, in Verres' own house; and as our friend was still in bed, the prisoner was brought into the bedroom, a privilege otherwise extended only to tax collectors and women. There he was beaten up and kicked so brutally that, after refusing to settle for 700 bushels, he promised to pay 1000..."

"All this time I have been putting before you the various types of the countless injustices done, by quoting one case of each, and passing over innumerable others. I ask you to see for yourselves, imagine in your own minds, how from

one end of Sicily to the other there were these onslaughts from the tax collectors, these plunderings of the farmers; the savagery of Verres, and the tyranny of Apronius..."

(Cicero, In Verrem II, III, 23, 56).

Edition shown: Opera M. Tullii Ciceronis. Paris, "Apud Carolum Stephanum, Typographum Regium" [Charles Estienne, Imprimeur du Roi], 1554. (General title-page date 1555, although separate title-pages for each of the four tomes have date 1554). Vol. II, page 130 and page 131. (Passages cited above on opposite pages). [Ex 2837.155f].

Cf. Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. II, pp. 54-55, 64-67. Edited and translated by L.H.G. Greenwood.

53. "NIHIL OMNINO RELICTUM."

"I will dwell no longer on this one subject. But the rest of it, though left out of my speech, shall none the less be put before you. You shall hear the citizens of Agrigentum -- fine men, keen farmers -- relate their grievances... You shall be made aware that by this iniquitous tithe business the famous Tyndaris, Cephaloedium and Haluntium, Appollonia and Engyium and Capitium, have all been ruined; that Ina, Murgentia, Assorus, Helorus, Ietae have nothing at all left to them...that, in fact, for the space of three years, throughout all the lands that are subject to the tithe, one-tenth of the harvests went as tribute to Gaius Verres, and that the greatest part of the farmers were left with nothing at all."

(Cicero, In Verrem II, III, 43, 103).

Edition shown: M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1783, Vol. IV, page 304. [2837.1783].

Cf. Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. II, pp. 122-123. Edited and translated by L.H.G. Greenwood.

54-a. Marci Tullii Ciceronis Opera quae extant omnia. Edited by Jacob Gronovius. Leyden, Pieter vander Aa, 1692. Four volumes. [2837.1692].

Engraved frontispiece of volume I, showing Cicero at his writing desk, used as decoration.

54-b. Marci Tullii Ciceronis Opera, quae supersunt, omnia... Edited by Isaac Verburg. Amsterdam, R. & G. Wetsen, 1724. Four volumes. [2837.1724.11].

Engraved fore-title of Volume 4 used as decoration.

55. Coins of Cicero's time.

(a) Silver denarius, C. Piso L.F. Frugi, 64 B.C. [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection, #750, Roman Republic].

(b) Silver denarius, M. Acilius Glabius, 55 B.C. (Sydenham, 922). [Princeton University Library Numismatics Collection, #590, Roman Republic].

56. Pottery of Cicero's time. Two moulded bowls made in Italy in the 1st century B.C. [Princeton University Art Museum].

The larger of the two bowls, of reddish clay, has the mark of the potter C. Popilius. [Museum no. 57-1].

The smaller bowl, of brownish clay, has the mark of the potter Lapius. [Museum no. 56-131].

See the article by Frances F. Jones, "Bowls by Popilius and Lapius," Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (1958), pp. 21-40. The two bowls exhibited are illustrated in Figs. 3-4 (Popilius), and Figs. 11-12 (Lapius).

XI

MORGANTINA IS NO MORE

A.D.

57. "NUNC NULLA EST."

"Morgantina, it is reasonable to suppose, was settled by the Morgetes; it was once a city, but exists no more."

(Strabo, Geography, VI, 2, 4).

These lines are found in the chapter on Sicily in Strabo's Geography, written shortly before the birth of Christ -- that is, at about the time when "it came to pass...that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed."

The geographer Strabo (ca. 64 B.C. - 19 A.D.), born in the province of Pontus in Asia Minor, has preserved for us in the seventeen books of his Geography much information concerning the physical geography as well as the historical and economic development of the Roman world.

Strabo's comment on the inland Sicilian town of Morgantina -- the last specific historical reference to it -- is fully confirmed by the archaeological evidence brought forth by the Princeton Expedition. The excavations show no traces of city life after

about 40 B.C. Thus, the existence of the town of Morgantina -- leaving out of consideration the primitive village on the site -- lasted for only about 500 years. The end appears to have come gradually, and not as the result of any clearly dated event or natural catastrophe. Some of the possible causes of the decline are suggested by the ancient authors mentioned in the preceding sections: the ravages of the Punic Wars and of the Slave Revolts; the social, economic and political changes which took place at the end of the Roman Republic.

Edition shown: Strabonis de Situ Orbis Libri XVII. Basel, Henr. Petri, 1549. Page 260. (Greek text and Latin translation in parallel columns. Title repeated on fore-edge of pages). [Ex 2722.1549q].

Cf. The Geography of Strabo, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. III, pp. 72-73. Edited and translated by Horace Leonard Jones.

For other editions of Strabo, see Nos. 17, 61.

58. Two photographs.

(a) "Morgantina is no more..." View of the Serra Orlando Ridge. Photograph by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies. [Negative no. A 10-5].

- (b) Shepherd and his flock, on the road, in the mist... Photograph and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson. [Negative unnumbered; Nilsson's personal files].

59. Group of small objects found on Serra Orlando Ridge prior to the Princeton excavations there. [Lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone].

These small objects all come from the Serra Orlando Ridge, the site now identified by the Princeton Expedition as the ancient city of Morgantina. They have been lent by Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone, of Brooklyn, New York, a native of this region of Sicily. Since his emigration to America as a young man, Dr. Caltagirone has remained in touch with his native land and made frequent visits to his home town of Aidone. The objects grouped here and several others shown elsewhere in the exhibition [cf. Nos. 22, 28, 41, 42, 51] constitute a collection, accumulated over the years, of souvenirs of his boyhood home.

The group includes:

- (a) Loom weight.
- (b) Bowl.
- (c) Terra cotta head (in two pieces).
- (d) Twenty-three coins of various types (Greek and Roman), including also a seal and a modern medal. [Other coins, identified, from Dr. Caltagirone's collection are listed above: Nos. 31-i-j-k, 40-b-c, 43-a-3, 43-b-3].

60. A LATE REFERENCE TO THE MORGANTINIANS.

"In the interior [of Sicily] the towns having Latin rights are those of the Centuripini, Netini, and Segestani; tributaries are the Assorini,... Magellini, Murgentini, Mutycenses..."

(Pliny, Natural History, III, 8, 91).

This alphabetical enumeration of inland localities in Sicily, grouped according to political status, is found in Book III (dealing with Geography) of the Natural History of the Roman writer Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.). This was written roughly a half-century after Strabo's Geography [see No. 57], and was based to a great extent on earlier sources.

Pliny mentions only the Murgentini [i.e., Morgantinians], and does not specifically indicate the existence of an urban community there. Quite probably, as in the case of some of the other inland localities enumerated, rural inhabitants were living about the abandoned sites. In another chapter Pliny records another survival of the name in the "Murgentinian" grape [see No. 10].

Edition shown: Historia mundi naturalis C. Plinii Secundi....in Libros XXXVII...vivisque imaginibus illustrata. Edited by Sigmund Gelen. Frankfurt, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1582. Page 37. (On page 36 is a woodcut of trading ships, presumably to illustrate Roman grain trade). [Ex 2904.1582q].

Cf. Pliny, Natural History, Loeb Classical Library,
Vol. II, pp. 66-67. Edited and translated by
H. Rackham.

For other editions of Pliny see Nos. 10, 62.

XII

PRINTERS AND SCHOLARS

The copies of Pliny's Natural History and of Strabo's Geography shown here rank among the finest examples of early printing in the Library's collections. Both were printed in the year 1469, less than two decades after the invention of printing in Europe. The new art was introduced into Italy in 1465 by the German printers, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, the printers of the Pliny shown here. Sweynheim and Pannartz worked first at Subiaco, and then, from 1467 onward, in Rome. The type they used is called "Roman."

Like all other books printed prior to 1501 A.D., these two examples are referred to as "incunabula" ("incunabulum" or "incunable," in the singular). The word derives from the Latin word for cradle; hence, incunabula are books from the infancy or cradle-days of printing.

Inasmuch as the invention of printing coincided with a period of renewed interest in classical learning, a good share of the efforts of the early printers went into the printing of ancient authors, like those in this section. The scholar-printers of the 15th and

16th centuries thus had a large share in the recovery and wider diffusion of our classical heritage. Incidentally, they helped preserve the scanty historical information we now possess concerning the city of Morgantina. The books from their presses, included in the exhibition, thus represent essential links in the chain of transmitted knowledge connecting the ancient Sicilian city, which flourished during the five centuries preceding the birth of Christ, with the Year of Our Lord 1958.

61. Strabo, GEOGRAPHIA Rome, Conrad Sewynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1469. [ExI 2772.1469f].

This is the first printed edition of Strabo's Geography. It is a Latin translation of the original Greek text, which was not printed until 1516. A later edition of Strabo, with comment on the passage relating to Morgantina ("ea urbs quondam fuit, quae nunc nulla est"), is shown as No. 57.

62. Pliny the Elder. NATURALIS HISTORIA. Venice, Johannes de Spira, 1469. [ExI 2904.1469q. Another copy, Grenville Kane Collection.]

The first printed edition of Pliny's Natural History. Pliny mentions the "Murgentini" as inhabitants of inland Sicily, and also refers to "Murgentinian" grapes. A later edition of Pliny, with a comment on its relevance to the story of Morgantina, is shown as No. 60.

XIII

COINS THAT OUTLIVED THE CITY

The name of the ancient Sicilian city of Morgantina has been preserved for some two thousand years not only by the writings of certain Greek and Roman historians -- as shown elsewhere in the exhibition -- but also by coins that have survived and found their way into numismatic collections and museums.

Several different types of Morgantina coins, issued from the 5th to the 3rd centuries B.C., have been identified and recorded in treatises on Sicilian coinage.

Examples of these coins have been found by the Princeton archaeologists in the Serra Orlando excavations, on the site which they now believe to be the city of Morgantina.

63-a. Coin minted at Morgantina, 5th century B.C.
[Lent by the American Numismatic Society].

A silver litra minted at Morgantina. The central emblem, an ear of barley, indicates the agricultural importance of the region. The inscription, running counterclockwise, reads: MOPANTINA.

The form "Morgantina," adopted by the Princeton

archaeologists in preference to other, later forms, is derived from this coin.

63-b. Coin minted at Morgantina, ca. 341 B.C. [Lent by the American Numismatic Society.]

The reverse of the coin, shown here, represents an eagle clutching a snake in its claws. This is an allusion to the Battle of the Crimissus, in 341 B.C., when the Sicilian Greek cities, under the leadership of Timoleon, defeated the Carthaginians. Legend tells that an eagle (the bird of Zeus and victory), with a snake in its claws, flew over the battle-lines, thus foretelling the victory of the Greek cities of Sicily.

This bronze coin is inscribed with the name of Morgantina: ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ.

64. Bronze coin of Morgantina, ca. 340 B.C. Enlarged photograph. [Inventory no. 57-3055. Negative no. 57-21/22].

The obverse represents the head of Athena; the reverse shows a lion with a serpent between his claws.

The coin was found by the Princeton excavators in 1957 in the small temple of the agora at Morgantina, near the base of a pedestal on which the cult image once stood.

65. Casts from Morgantina coins in the Museum at Syracuse. [Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, archives].
66. Engraving of Sicilian coins, including nine examples from Morgantina. The engraving, by Augustin de Saint-Aubin, is one of the plates illustrating the "Notice ou Description sommaire des Médailles de la Sicile," which forms an appendix to the Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile, edited by Abbé J.C. Richard de Saint-Non, Paris, 1781-1786, Vol. IV, pp. [361]-386. [Ex 1541.7995e v.4].

The plate, facing page 375, illustrates Chapter 4 of the "Notice", which describes coins of "Hybla, Aetnaion, Adranum & Morgantia." Morgantina is here considered a coastal city (following Fazello, Clüver, et al; cf. above, No. 13, and note following No. 16). The text reads (p. 376):

"Plus vers le midi, entre Catane & Leontium, une des plus anciennes Villes de la Sicile étoit celle de Morgantia ou Morgantium. Un petit Bourg appelé Murgo dans le même lieu où étoit la Ville antique, a encore conservé un nom qui y a beaucoup de rapport. Le peu de Médailles que l'on en connoît, indiquent par leur beauté l'état de perfection où les arts y avoient été portés autrefois. Deux des plus rares, & toutes deux également belles, représentent d'un côté une Tête de Pallas, & de l'autre un Lion avec un Serpent. Celles-ci sont en bronze. D'autres plus petites en argent, portent une Tête d'Apollon d'un côté, & au revers

un Aigle qui mange un serpent, ou la figure d'une Victoire assise, ou bien encore un Epi de bled au revers d'une Tête de Vieillard; toutes ces Médailles sont d'un dessin pur & correct, & avec la même Inscription MORGANTION."

The location of the coins engraved is not indicated.

The engraving is repeated (as are the other plates of coins) in the same work, at the end of Chapter IV of the Voyage, strictly speaking, Vol. IV, p. 110.

One of the Morgantina coins included in this engraved plate is used as cover design on the exhibition leaflet.

Note:

One bronze Morgantina coin is included among the Sicilian coins shown in engraved plate XV (facing page 440) of Pieter Burman, II, Commentarius ad Numismata Sicula, XX Tabulis aeneis incisa. Burman's commentary forms Part II of his edition of Jacques Philippe d'Orville, Sicula, Amsterdam, Gerard Tielenburg, 1764. [Ex 2979.69f]. Burman's text describing the coin (page 444) refers to an example published earlier by Paruta, and also cites references to Morgantina in classical texts (Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides, Strabo, Cicero, et al). See also, above, No. 44, note.

* * *

"Tout passe. -- L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité,
Le buste
Survit à la cité,

Et la médaille austère
Que trouve un laboureur
Sous terre
Révèle un empereur."

-- Théophile Gautier, L'Art

CLUE OF STUDENT IDENTIFIES RUIN

Princeton Man Helps Link Spanish Coins to Buried Morgantina in Sicily

Special to The New York Times
PRINCETON, N. C., Oct. 26

A Princeton University graduate student has been credited with a major role in identifying a 2,500-year-old Sicilian city unearthed four years ago by an archaeological expedition.

The finding of Spanish coins dating from the second century B. C. figured prominently in the identification. The student, Kenen Tevrik Erim, is in his third year of thesis research.

Discussing the achievements of the project today, Dr. Eric Sjoqvist of the Princeton Department of Art and Archaeology said that the young scholar's work led to the hypothesis this summer concerning the buried ruins of the hill city Morgantina.

The city was uncovered in 1953 by an expedition led by Dr. Sjoqvist.

All References Fit

"All the notations regarding Morgantina by ancient authors fall nicely into place, topographically and historically," Dr. Sjoqvist said.

A fortified Greek community some forty miles west of the coastal city of Catania, Morgantina flourished from approximately 600 to 40 B. C. It apparently declined without any visible catastrophe at a time roughly coinciding with the Roman Imperial Era.

Three seasons of major excavation work have unearthed a 2,200-year-old market place, a grandiose example of advanced civic planning in the Hellenistic Age. The project has also yielded archaeological treasures, such as terracotta statuettes, imported Attic black figure vases, Hellenistic jewelry and an important inventory of coins, the majority datable to the long reign of Hieron II (275-217 B. C.).

Only a few rare specimens of the coin issues bearing the inscription "Hispanorum" (the Latin word for "Of the Span-

iards") were known until the coins were found by the Princeton expedition. Their discovery gave rise to scholarly speculation about the role of the Spaniards in Sicilian history.

Livy Gave Clue

"Mr. Erim thought of combining the appearance of the coins with information in Livy [the ancient Roman historian] which stated that during the Second Punic War, the city of Morgantina was punished by the Romans for siding with Carthage," Dr. Sjoqvist reported.

"Under a Senatorial decree in 211 B. C. the town and the territory were taken from the Morgantines and given to a group of Spanish mercenary soldiers who had rendered great service to the Romans during the campaign by betraying the last defenses of Syracuse.

"This seemed to indicate that the Hispanorum coins were actually minted by these Spaniards in their new settlement and that the settlement was Morgantina. No other historical event fits into this schedule, and the hypothesis was confirmed by all available arguments.

"The last thing we know

about historical Morgantina is a passage in Strabo, written between 30 and 20 B. C., in which he states that Morgantina, which used to be a city, exists no longer. The excavation site shows no traces of city life after about 40 B. C. This seems to wind up arguments for the identification."

XIV

ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

Numismatics -- the science of coins -- is one of the essential tools employed by classical archaeology, which in turn has much to contribute to numismatic studies.

From the time of the Renaissance, ancient coins have been admired by collectors for their intrinsic beauty and scrutinized by scholars for the historical information they reveal. Gradually they have been classified and codified into treatises and handbooks, which provide the archaeologist with an invaluable frame of chronological and geographical reference. The great majority of the ancient coins in European and American collections do not, however, stem from systematic archaeological excavation, and cannot yield all the information they might had their discovery been more fully documented.

Coins form an important part of the "finds" being made by the Princeton archaeologists in the Serra Orlando excavations. The total crop for the first three seasons of the dig numbers nearly 4,500 coins. Each of these coins is given an inventory number, and the exact circumstances of the discovery of each

must be recorded. As one member of the expedition has put it: "The archaeologist must click like a camera at the proper moment, since archaeological excavation is actually destruction, as well as the uncovering of evidence."

Shown here are photographs of a few representative examples of coins found by the Princeton archaeologists. Other examples are included elsewhere in the exhibition, in their historical context. (Cf. Nos. 26, 31, 40, 43, 45, 50, 55, 59, 63-66.)

67. Enlarged photographs of coins found in the Princeton excavations.

- (a) Silver coin. Syracuse. 475 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-2155. Negative no. 35-5].
- (b) Bronze coin. Syracuse, Agathocles, 317-310 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-585. Negative no. 15-13/14].
- (c) Silver coin. Syracuse, Hieron II, 3rd century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-438. Negative no. 33-15/16].
- (d) Siculo-Punic bronze coin. Early 3rd century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1024. Negative no. 27-5].

- (e) Silver quinarius. Roman coin, 182-172 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1983. Negative no. 33-5/6].
- (f) Silver denarius of L. Rubrius Dossenus, Roman coin, 87-86 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1215. Negative no. 20-11/12].
- (g) Silver denarius of L. Papius. Roman coin, 78-77 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1039. Negative no. 20-7/8].
- (h) Silver denarius of L. Marcius Philippus. Roman coin, 56 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1293. Negative no. 33-7/8].
- (i) Silver denarius of Dec. Postumius. Roman coin, 49-48 B.C. [Inventory no. 57-1521. Negative no. 27-30/31.]
- (j) Bronze coin. Island of Gaulos. 1st century B.C. [Inventory no. 57-691. Negative no. 33-21/22].

Gaulos (present-day Gozo) is a small island off Malta. This coin was found embedded in the lime incrustation of one of the mosaic floors of a house on the Western Hill (Area II). Lying on the floor, where it was dropped, it thus provides one clue for dating the abandonment of the house -- probably around the middle of the 1st century B.C.

Cf. Fig. 29, Sjöqvist, Preliminary Report II, AJA.

(k) "A Lost Purse."

These coins, when found in the market-place at Morgantina, were stuck together in a lump of debris. The photograph shows them after they have been separated and cleaned. Five of them are coins issued by King Ptolemy of Egypt [left, eagle], and four of them are coins of Hieron II of Syracuse [center, horseman].

XV

"MUSEUM PIECES"

In addition to the small objects and coins, shown in conjunction with books and documents, as listed above, a few outstanding examples of Greek art are displayed by themselves -- to suggest the type of finds being excavated by the Princeton expedition. They may also suggest the importance of Museum collections as a frame of reference for archaeological research.

68. Large Attic black-figure amphora, 6th century B.C. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 29-192].

Painted in the manner of the so-called "Princeton Painter" -- an art historians' term deriving from another notable Attic vase in the Princeton collections.

69. Antefix, representing the face of Medusa. 5th century B.C. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 31-13].

This specimen comes from southern Italy. The style was brought there by Greek colonists, as it was also brought to Sicily. An "antefix" is an ornament used at the eaves to conceal the ends of the joint tiles of a roof.

Examples of antefixes of this same type, found at Morgantina, are shown among the photographs; see above, Nos.20-a, 20-b.

70. Attic lekythos, or oil vase, early 5th century B.C., decorated in the black-figure style by the Haimon painter. [Princeton Art Museum, no. 51-43].

Very similar vases were found among the burial offerings in a tomb excavated at Morgantina; cf. photograph, above, No. 20-i.

For a study of the vase, and illustration of it, see Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1952), pp. 5-9, "Four Vases by the Haimon Painter," by Frances F. Jones.

71. Cup, black-figure style, from the shop of the Haimon Painter, made in Athens, 5th century B.C. [Lent by Gillett G. Griffin].

72. Rhodian amphora, 2nd century B.C. [Princeton University Art Museum, no. 345].

Amphoras such as this one, made on the Island of Rhodes, circulated widely over the Mediterranean trade routes as containers for wine. They must have been a common sight in the market-place at Morgantina in Sicily. The handles of the amphoras were frequently impressed with the stamp of governing officials to guarantee accurate measures.

XVI

ARCHAEOLOGISTS AT WORK

73. Trench master's notebooks.

The excavation team is organized in different squadrons, each under the leadership of a graduate student as "trench master." He has under his command a foreman and ten to fifteen workmen. The trench master's responsibility is considerable: all primary observations must be recorded in his notebook, minute by minute, hour by hour, and day by day. He must also make the first descriptions of walls, layers, and finds. These notebooks, kept by the trench master, are the building stones of the future publication, which will record and interpret the final results of the Expedition.

Four such notebooks, from the records of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily are shown:

- (a) Stina Borgstam, Notebook I, August 18 - October 20, 1955.
- (b) Richard Grimm, Notebook II, October 1 - November 9, 1955.
- (c) Kenan Erim, Notebook I, August 18 - October 1, 1955.
- (d) His Majesty the King of Sweden, Notebook, November 2 - November 7, 1955.

74. Architects' drawings.

The architect, as well as the photographer, is ever present in the "dig," recording, surveying, and drawing the new discoveries. Of special importance is the recording of the superimposed layers of accumulated earth -- the "stratification," which illustrates the history and dates the vicissitudes of the architecture uncovered. Shown here are a few such architects' drawings.

- (a) "S.O. -- Area I -- 7 November 1955...Complex 17." Richard Grimm.
- (b) "S.O. -- Area I -- 8 November 1955...Trench 23." Richard Grimm.
- (c) "S.O. -- Area I -- 8 November 1955...Trench 23 A." Richard Grimm.

Cf. also, above, No. 19.

75. Catalogue cards.

Every object found in the excavations must be given an inventory number, and then be described on a catalogue card like those shown here. The card includes a photograph and all relevant data concerning the exact circumstances of the find. The card catalogue in turn becomes a basic tool for the study and interpretation of the excavations.

76. The field laboratory. Color photograph by P.N. Nilsson.

The field laboratory is essential for the preservation of the finds. Fragments of pottery are washed and classified; metal objects are cleaned by electrolytic and chemical processes; broken vases are mended and restored. Mrs. P.N. Nilsson -- shown in the photograph -- was in charge of the laboratory in 1957.

77. Exchange of correspondence between Princeton University and the Italian government, authorizing excavations on the Serra Orlando Ridge. [Photostats of the originals; courtesy of the President's Office, Princeton University].

This exchange of correspondence constitutes the "charter" of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Sicily. The following pieces were shown:

- (a) Letter from Harold W. Dodds, President of Princeton University, to the Minister for Public Instruction of Italy, dated Princeton, January 28, 1955. Retained file copy.
- (b) Letter from Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Rome, February 16, 1955, addressed to Professor Erik Sjöqvist, and enclosing copy of memorandum sent by the Minister to the Superintendent of Antiquities at Syracuse, instructing the latter to facilitate the work of the Princeton expedition on the basis of the terms outlined in President Dodds' letter.
- (c) Memorandum enclosed with (b), Rome, February 16, 1955.

See photostats.

Sent air mail 1/31/55

cc: Dr. Erik Sjoqvist

January 28, 1955

The Right Honorable Minister for Public Instruction
Ministry of Public Instruction
Viale Trastevere
Rome, Italy

Honorable Sir:

In behalf of Princeton University I herewith submit to your benevolent consideration the following application.

For more than two centuries Princeton University has been building up a tradition of intensive study of the classical languages and civilizations in the firm belief that they constitute the fundamental basis not only for humanistic studies in general, but also for the very civilization of our own times. Archaeological excavations, scientifically conducted and exhaustively published, are, we believe, an integral part of such studies. The activities of my University in this field are marked by such enterprises as the Princeton Expedition to Syria in 1904-1909, the results of which still form our basic knowledge of early Christian architecture of the Near East, the Sardis Excavations, 1910-1922, and the Princeton Expedition to Antioch-on-the-Orontes, 1932-1939, the latter under the leadership of Professor Charles Rufus Morey.

It is now our intention to revive this old and honorable tradition by sending again an archaeological expedition to the classical Mediterranean lands.

The scholarly problem, to the solution of which we hope to contribute, is inherent in the question of the manifold interaction of Greek, Italic and Roman Civilization on Italian soil and in the Italian cultural climate. It was deemed propitious to seek a focus of such cultural reactions in a gradually Romanized Greek settlement in Sicily. In the summer of 1953 Dr. Erik Sjoqvist, professor of Classical Archaeology in Princeton, undertook extensive reconnaissance in search for such a site. In this he greatly benefited by the full and cordial cooperation from your authorities, particularly the Director General of your Antiquities Service, Dr. G. De Angelis D'Ossat and the Superintendent of Antiquities in Siracusa, Professor L. Bernabo-Brea.

No. 77 - (a) . page 1

After thorough investigation and advised by Professor Bernabò-Brea he came to the conclusion that the locality Serra Orlando, close to the village of Aidone and some 17 kms. distant from Piazza Armerina in Sicily held good promise as a site suitable for extensive excavation. The University, if vindicated in its supposition and granted due permission by you, intends to undertake its investigations on a large scale and with thorough and modern methods. The duration of the enterprise is calculated to some five years with a yearly excavation season of about three and one-half months, and we should like to begin our work in the autumn of this year.

When I now formally approach the Italian Government with a request to grant permission to Princeton University to undertake scientific excavations on the aforesaid site of Serra Orlando, I take the opportunity of giving you the following assurances.

- (1) The excavations will be undertaken in scrupulous observance of Italian laws and decrees.
- (2) All the expenses will be sustained by Princeton University which has adequate funds for the purpose.
- (3) Princeton University would welcome any scholarly cooperation with Italian colleagues, which may be deemed reciprocally profitable.
- (4) Professors Erik Sjoqvist and Richard Stillwell will in alternate years be responsible for the conduct of the excavations.

Professor Sjoqvist is former director of the Swedish Institute in Rome and a foreign member of the Academy of Lincei. He acted as field director of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Professor Stillwell is a former director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He lead for several years the American excavations at Corinth and participated in the excavations of the Athenian Agora and at Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

- (5) Trained assistants, advanced students, architect, and photographer will form part of the staff.

- (6) Special funds are allocated for the adequate publication of the results.

When submitting this application I express my confidence that the project will meet with the gracious approval of the Italian Government, and that it may be realized to the benefit of classical studies in the atmosphere of traditional Italo-American friendship.

Please accept, Honorable Sir, sincere expressions of my highest esteem and personal regard.

Faithfully yours,

Harold W. Dodds

Executed in Nassau Hall,
Princeton University, this
28th day of January, 1955.

(Seal)



Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione

IL DIRETTORE GENERALE
DELLE ANTICHITÀ E BELLE ARTI

Roma,

Prof. Erik Sjoqvist
Department of Art and Archeology
Princeton University
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Stimatissimo Professore,

in risposta alla Sua cortese segnalazione del 4 febbraio c.m., mi è gradito comunicarLe che la domanda del Prof. Harold W. Dodds, intesa ad ottenere l'autorizzazione ad eseguire una campagna di scavi a Serra Orlando, è stata già sottoposta al prescritto esame e giudizio del Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, il quale ha espresso, in linea di massima, parere favorevole all'iniziativa, prescrivendo, peraltro, alcune indispensabili condizioni, che verranno particolarmente prospettate al Prof. Dodds dal competente Soprintendente alle Antichità di Siracusa.

Al riguardo ritengo opportuno inviarLe copia della ministeriale diretta al predetto Soprintendente alle Antichità di Siracusa.

Gratias, Professore, l'espressione della mia stima ed i miei saluti

Suo
De Augustis

No. 77 - (b)



C O P I A

Roma

Mod. 1 (Belle Arti)

195

Ministero
Pubblica IstruzioneDIREZIONE GENERALE
DELLE ANTICHITA' E BELLE ARTI

Al SOPRINTENDENTE ALLE ANTICHITA'

SIRACUSA

2151

Div. II

Risposta al Foglio del

Dir.

Ser.

N.º

OGGETTO AIDONE (Enna) Scavi archeologici in contrada Serra Orlando -

L'Università di Princeton, facendo seguito alla precedente domanda del luglio 1954, ha inoltrato al Ministero una richiesta intesa ad ottenere l'autorizzazione ad eseguire una campagna di scavo in località Serra Orlando.

Detta campagna avrebbe la durata di cinque anni, a partire dagli inizi dell'autunno venturo, comprendente ciascun anno tre mesi e mezzo di lavoro. I Proff. Erik Sjòqvist, Direttore dell'Accademia Svedese in Roma e docente di archeologia classica nella stessa Università, e Richard Stillwell, Direttore della Scuola Americana di Atene, si alternerebbero nella direzione dello scavo, in quale dovrebbe essere attuato in piena collaborazione con gli studiosi italiani.

La richiesta, come già la precedente per la quale la S.V. espresse parere favorevole, è stata sottoposta all'esame del Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti, il quale ha confermato il giudizio formulato nella seduta del 13 agosto 1954.

Tuttavia, il predetto Consesso ritiene che, data l'eccezionalità della richiesta, la quale impegna questa Amministrazione per cinque anni, la S.V. debba, in via preliminare, richiedere all'Università di Princeton, nella persona del suo Direttore, Prof. Harold W. Dodds, l'esposizione dettagliata del programma scientifico della campagna di scavi, nonchè prendere opportuni contatti con lo stesso per garantire l'assunzione integrale, da parte dell'Università, degli oneri che riguardano sia il pagamento dell'indennizzo dovuto ai proprietari dei terreni in questione, ovvero l'eventuale acquisto ed esproprio di essi, sia le spese di manutenzione, di restauro e di custodia inerenti gli scavi progettati.

La predetta Sezione, inoltre, confermando il precedente avviso e quello già dalla S.V. medesima formulato, ritiene indispensabile che presenzii gli scavi un rappresentante di questa Amministrazione, designato dalla S.V.

Il Ministero, pertanto, facendo proprio il parere del predetto Consesso, invita la S.V. ad agire in conformità.

Si resta in attesa di ricevere cortesemente notizie sugli ulteriori sviluppi della questione.

Per opportuna conoscenza, si trasmette copia della domanda del Prof. Dodds.

***No. 77 - (c)

IL MINISTRO

78. Photographs showing persons connected with the Expedition.
- (a) Directors of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily: Prof. Erik Sjöqvist and Prof. Richard Stillwell. Photograph taken at Serra Orlando.
 - (b-c-d) Visit to the excavation of the King and Queen of Sweden, autumn 1955.
 - (e) "Pay-day under the fig-tree." Workmen at the excavations receiving their fortnightly pay (wages equivalent to about \$3.00 per day).
 - (f) Giuseppe, the caretaker. (As reproduced in Princeton Alumni Weekly, November 16, 1956 issue).
79. Testimonial scroll presented to Prof. Sjöqvist by the Italian workmen employed at the excavations. With the Aidone eagle and designs inspired by the excavations, executed by Romano Salvatore. With red-white-green ribbon. [Lent by Prof. Sjöqvist].
80. Gold medal presented to Prof. Sjöqvist by the Italian workmen. [Lent by Prof. Sjöqvist].
- The design on the obverse represents the great steps of the agora of Morgantina. Around this is the inscription: "Al Prof. Erik Sjoqvist -- Gli Operai degli Scavi -- Serra Orlando -- Sett. 1955." On the reverse, the eagle of Aidone. With blue ribbon (the colors of Aidone), and orange and black ribbon (the latter from a Princeton graduate student's necktie).

81. Group of sixteen 36 mm. color transparencies, showing personnel of the Expedition and scenes in vicinity of the Serra Orlando Ridge, Aidone, Piazza Armerina, etc. [Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, archives].

XVII

A TENTATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

82. A Tentative Bibliography of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Sicily.

A comprehensive publication of the results of the Expedition will be undertaken after the close of the operations. Meanwhile, preliminary reports have been published, and articles have appeared in different periodicals. These articles, comprising a "tentative bibliography," form a final section of the exhibition.

Erik Sjöqvist, "Greek Gods, Sicilian Graves, and Princeton Scholars," Princeton Alumni Weekly, vol. 56, no. 8 (November 11, 1955), pp. 8-10.

David H. Blair, Jr., "Princeton Digs, a Progress Report on the Sicily Excavations," Princeton Alumni Weekly, vol. 57, no. 9 (November 16, 1956), pp. 7-10.

Richard Stillwell and Erik Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando, Preliminary Report," American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 61, no. 2 (April 1957), pp. 151-159, plates 53-60.

Britt Frostenson, "Vad Hände Morgantina?", Vi, 1957, no 38 (September 21), pp. 11-13.

Erik Sjöqvist, "Morgantina Identified...", The Illustrated London News, vol. 231, no. 6179 (November 9, 1957), pp. 788-791.

Kenan Erim, "Morgantina," American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 62, no. 1 (January 1958), pp. 79-90.

Mr. Erim's article is a synopsis of his Ph.D. dissertation, "The 'Hispanorum' Coins, Problems in Sicilian Numismatics and History," which he presented to the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University in November 1957. The thesis, in typewritten form, is available in the Princeton University Library.

Erik Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina): Preliminary Report II," American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 62, no. 2 (April 1958), pp. 155-164, plates 28-35, with an Appendix by George A. Stamirez.

Howard C. Rice, Jr., "Morgantina, The Life and Death of a Sicilian Town," Princeton Alumni Weekly, vol. 58, no. 17 (February 14, 1958), pp. 8-11. (Reprint of text of exhibition leaflet, with two pages of photographs of the excavations.)

[Howard C. Rice, Jr.], "Morgantina," The Princeton University Library Chronicle, vol. XIX, no. 2 (Winter, 1958), pp. 92-98. (Report on the exhibition, with a commentary on the utilization and importance of library resources in archaeological research).

Princeton Alumni Weekly

I LIKE to pay taxes," Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. is supposed to have remarked one March 15th, "I feel like I'm buying civilization." There is not the slightest evidence that Princeton alumni at any season enjoy their quarterly tax bills, but since 1940 there is increasing indication that the vast majority of Princeton alumni each fall feel a stern duty to contribute financially to the welfare of alma mater, most sincerely believing that thereby they are purchasing a distinctive and valuable portion of civilization. Last week there went into the U.S. mails some 27,000 letters to the faithful, heralding the beginning of this year's four-month Annual Giving Campaign.

The goal remains the same as for the past two years—\$1,000,000—and "this time," says George J. Cooke Jr. '22, Director of the Princeton University Fund, "we're going to make it." The blizzard of publicity in the nation's press on the financial crisis in higher education would make any further literature upon the subject from Princeton a monotonous repetition. "Time was when every school and college had to plead its individual case to its alumni," Cooke said. "There were many who did not believe the situation was as critical as represented, or who thought that if it were, it was something for only wealthy people to worry about. Now it would have to be an ill-informed alumnus indeed who did not realize that the financial plight of education is universal and that he has a personal responsibility to participate in alleviating it."

One concrete objective is mentioned in the pamphlet: the blunt and compelling necessity for an increase in faculty salaries, in the present-day fierce competition for first-rate teachers. In this world, as the Red Queen said, "it takes all the running *you* can do, to keep in the same place." In a larger sense, from the University's point of view the value of Annual Giving is almost beyond appraisal, since it represents the annual return on approximately \$25,000,000 of additional endowment, and unrestricted endowment at that.

This year a second objective is to raise the percentage of donors to 75% of all alumni; God helps those who help themselves, said Poor Richard, and so do the great foundations and corporations. Last February we set an

all time record for any college or university of 69.4%, but Dartmouth, until two years ago perennial leader in this regard, matched our figure by June; she did not, however, match our total of \$902,000, raising \$770,000 with approximately the same size alumni body. From a larger group of potential donors Harvard College (exclusive of its graduate schools) received \$704,000 from 38%. Yale too has a larger alumni body and achieved a comparable total of \$1,222,000, but with only 55% participation.

Geoffrey Stengel '37 is Chairman of the Annual Giving Program this year, heading some 2,000 workers in 250 regional organizations. Associated with him will be Harry H. Neuberger '17, in charge of Class Agents, and Arthur Gardner '23, as Chairman of Regional solicitation. Clarence L. Jordan, Georgia Tech '15, will serve as Chairman of the Princeton National Parents Committee, as he did last year when 1,278 non-alumni parents contributed over \$60,000. Finally, S. Barksdale Penick '25, Charter Trustee, is Chairman of the University

Fund, which is charged with solicitation of all funds for the benefit of the University.

Graduate Council Meeting

The theme of the Fall Meeting of the Graduate Council over the Yale weekend will be "Princeton Today," with the spotlight on campus activities and on the two Deans who deal directly with the undergraduates. From these opportunities for observation, acquaintance and information Graduate Council members may thereby keep their constituents at home abreast of Princeton affairs.

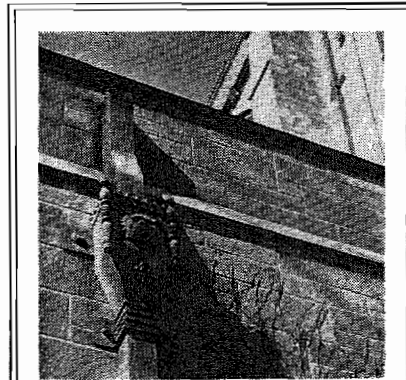
Since Armistice Day is a holiday for some Graduate Council members, there are hopes that many can arrive long before the evening gathering. At an informal luncheon at the Nassau Tavern Dean of Students William D'O. Lippincott '41 will speak on undergraduate life. In the afternoon the Graduate Council Committee on Alumni Associations will hold an open meeting, with Gilbert Lea '36 in the chair.

A cocktail party at the Present Day Club; dinner in Procter Hall at the Graduate College; and the Fall Meeting will come to order. After brief reports on plans for Alumni Day, Annual Giving, and a review of the work of the Committees on Alumni Associations and Class Affairs, Chandler Cudlipp '19, Chairman of the Graduate Council, will introduce the feature speaker, Dean of the College Jeremiah S. Finch, on "The Dean and the College." President Dodds will be entertaining President A. Whitney Griswold of Yale at Prospect during the evening but has promised to join the group before adjournment.

On Saturday Professor Hubert N. Alvey '24, a distinguished and histrionic chemist, will present a lecture on "Lucky Accidents in Science." After such a stimulating two-day program, it is to be hoped that the Yale game does not prove an anti-climax.

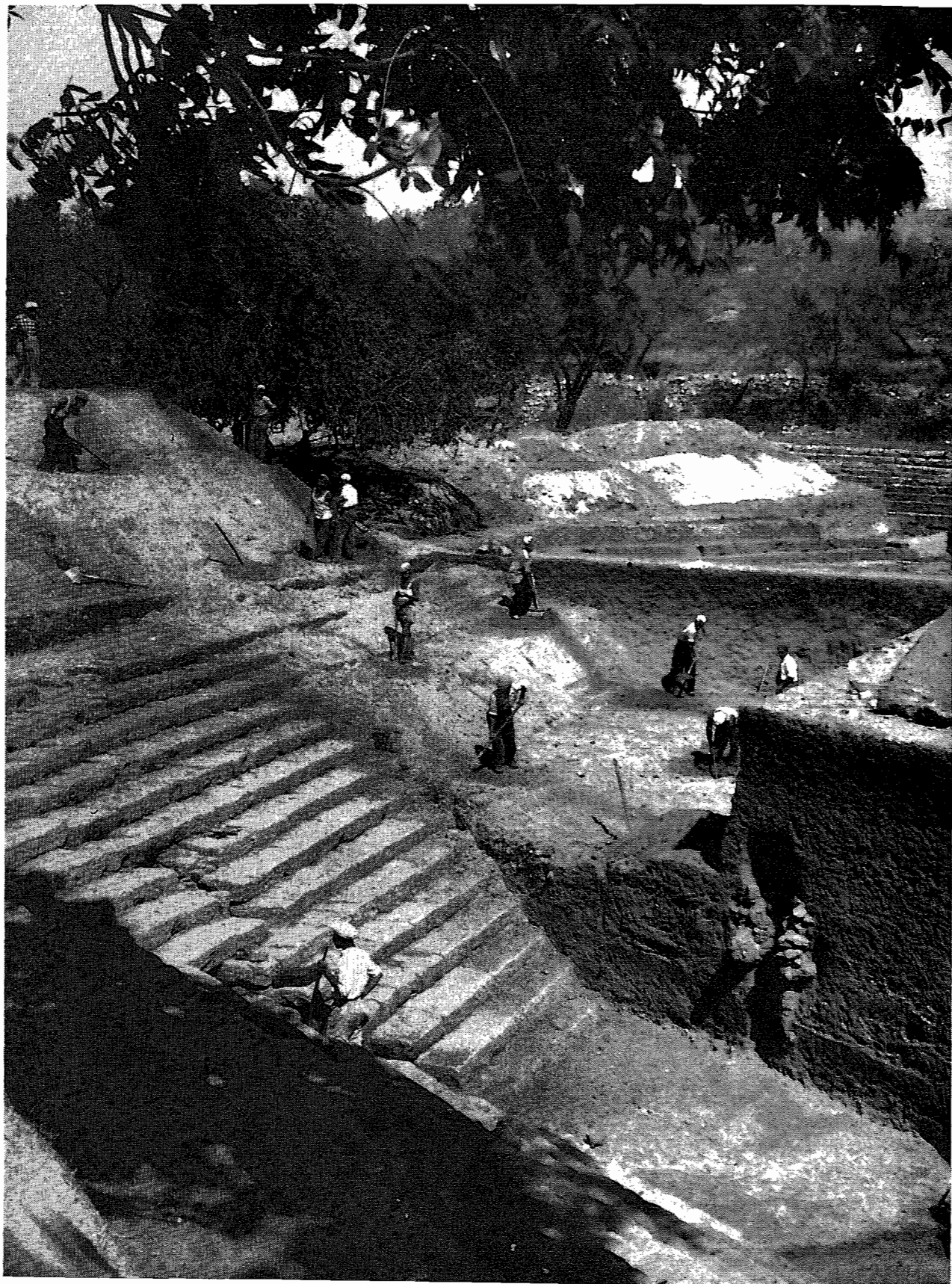
Glee Club Concert

The Yale and Princeton Glee Clubs will combine on the night of Nov. 11 for their annual Football Concert. The program will conclude, to no one's surprise, with a massed rendition of "Bright College Years" and "Old Nassau."



ON THE COVER: As if our readers didn't know, tomorrow is the Yale game. In honor of the occasion we present a bulldog who has unobtrusively reigned supreme over Princeton for almost 30 years, from his eastern vantage point on the University Chapel. His origins are lost in antiquity but are usually attributed to a subversive draftsman from a certain college in New Haven employed in architect Ralph Adams Cram's office. The WEEKLY's consultant on iconography, Professor Albert M. Friend Jr. '15, explicates the abstruse symbolism thus: "this represents in allegorical terms how a Yale man came to Princeton, got religion, and was transfixed into a leaden gargyle." Photograph is by our Miss Betty Menzies.

GREEK GODS, SICILIAN



GRAVES, & PRINCETON SCHOLARS

TO THE EDITOR:

WHEN Princeton and its Department of Art and Archaeology decided to take up archaeological fieldwork in the classical Mediterranean area again, a seemingly odd and obscure place was chosen as an object of investigation: a mountain ridge in the hilly interior of Sicily, known today as Serra Orlando. What name it bore in ancient times when it was a sizeable town, was—and, alas, still is—not known. It is far from the beaten track, and the nearest village, Aidone, some four miles distant over a rough and twisting road. At present Serra Orlando is nothing but pasture land, meagre fields and some groves of almond and olive trees with a few scattered farm houses in between. But it has a beautiful and commanding position with Etna at the far distant east horizon and at its feet a rich valley that once was—and still is—the only natural line of communication between the mountainous interior of the island and the old Greek trading centres along the coast.

Its geographical position was bound to give it its importance, and its old city walls once embraced an inhabited area one and three-quarters mile long and some half a mile broad. What we hoped to find was above all architectural remains of the late fourth and the third centuries B.C., the so-called Early Hellenistic period, a time that has always interested the Department of Art and Archaeology, and that in the years before the Second World War spurred it to explore the Syrian City of Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

Good luck has so far followed the expedition. The first trial trenches, opened on August 18, struck right in the civic centre of the town, its ancient *agora* to use the Greek word, and after about one and a half months of work the outlines of a highly original and well preserved architectural plan is coming to light. The *agora* is a big, roughly rectangular area, about 500 feet long and 300 feet wide, equivalent to about the size of



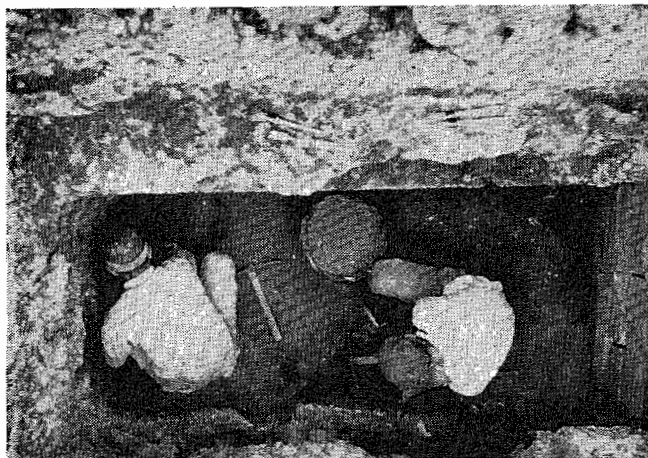
"two of the vases found in the tomb"

Piazza S. Marco in Venice. The main problem that faced the ancient planner and architect, who laid it out somewhere about 300 B.C., was the sloping ground. From the north end to a point some 300 feet further south there is a total drop in level of 25 feet, and this difference in level was overcome by free flights of well-built steps, some of them slightly less than 100 feet long and descending in fourteen steps. They meet at obtuse angles and form, in the south part of the *agora*, a figure that, at the present stage of excavation, is best described as a "half-hexagon." Did this monumental area serve as an entrance to the upper *agora* only, or was it perhaps used also for occasional public ceremonies, theatrical performances or as an assembly place? These are questions that still await an answer.

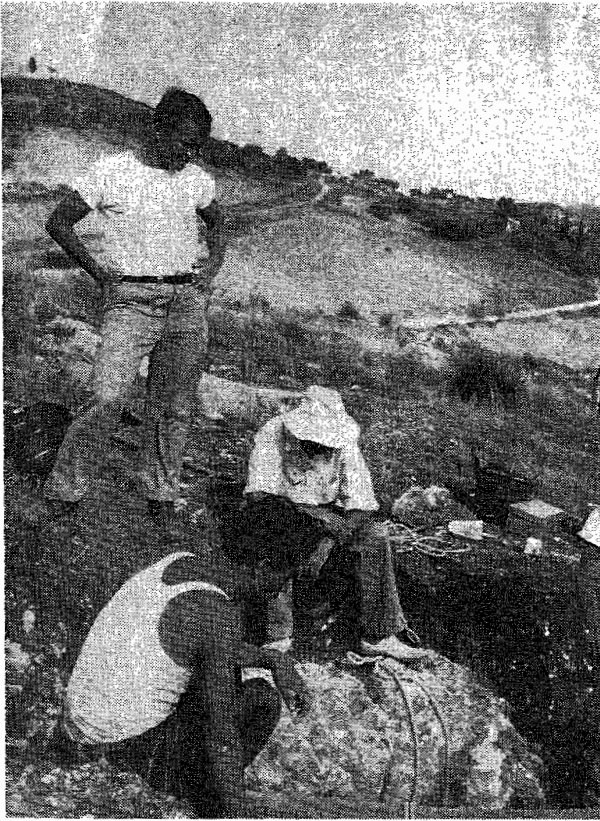
Along the north end of the place runs a portico or stoa, the length of which at present can be estimated to more than 250 feet. At the west end of the portico is an entrance with a column in the centre and behind this entrance building the ground rises over new flights of steps.

The excavation party consists, in addition to the field director and his wife, of Richard Grimm and Kenan Erim, Princeton M.A.'s in Classical Archaeology, Alfred De Vido, graduate student in the School of Architecture, Miss Frances F. Jones, curator of Classical Art in the Art Museum, Miss Helen Woodruff, former director of the Index of Christian Art, Alexander S. Burnstam '55, the Swedish lady archaeologist Mrs. Stina Borgstam, provided with a special scholarship by H.M. the King of Sweden, and the Swedish photographer Olle Falk. We are all housed in a sizeable but somewhat dilapidated country house, the main advantage of which is its vicinity to the dig and its water supply. Its main deficiencies are the lack of plumbing and electricity and its somewhat leaky windows. But the house-keeping is fine, the health good, and the spirits high.

—ERIK SJÖQVIST



"two workmen, specially trained, are cleaning out the contents of the grave which yielded a skeleton and 12 vases"



"the slabs are lifted. Alfred De Vido of the School of Architecture, foreman Giovanni, and E. Sjöqvist watch"



"the tomb is found and the covering slabs laid bare"

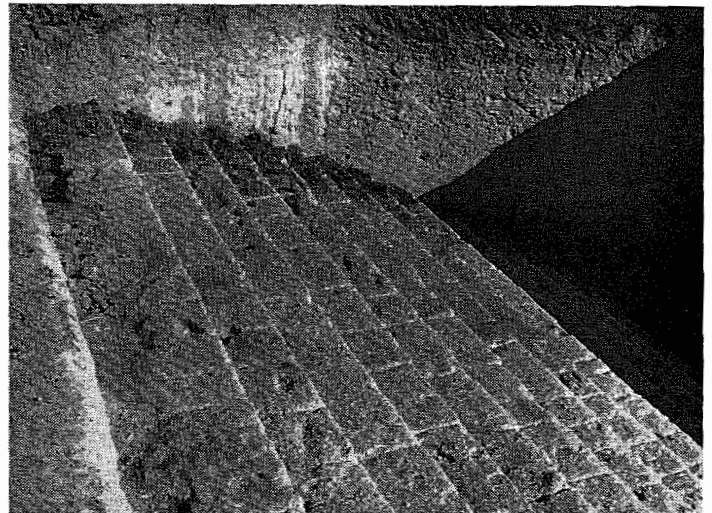
DIG IN SICILY



"searching for tombs in the necropolis. Erik Sjöqvist spotting traces of cuttings in the rock"



"where the Princeton money goes. Pay day under the fig tree"



"another flight of steps after excavation"

PRINCETON DIGS

A Progress Report on The Sicily Excavations

David H. Blair Jr. '40

The cure for this ill is not to sit still,
Or frowst with a book by the fire;
But to take a large hoe and a shovel also,
And dig till you gently perspire.

—Kipling

IF someone had sprung "Sicily" on me in a word-association game a few weeks ago, I'd have answered, in about this order, "Allied Invasion; Vendettas, Vespers, and Verga; King of Naples; goats." Now, having talked to some of the scholars of the Princeton archaeological expedition, I'd respond "Hellenic Invasion; Sjöqvist, Stillwell, and Smith; Tyrant of Syracuse; stoas," though I'm no deeper into the significant strata of the subject than the roots of the olive and almond trees which, along with grain and forage crops, covered the mountain ridge known as Serra Orlando until ground was broken in the fall of 1955.

So profound was my ignorance that I assumed the purpose of archaeology was adequately described through the departmental title: Art and Archaeology. It's not a misnomer, for the most immediate message conveyed by objects and artifacts discovered during a dig is about the artistic level of the people who made them, just as the indicative remains of the buildings which housed these objects speak of architectural prowess.

It's not a misnomer, but it is an understatement, for Archaeology might easily be coupled with other disciplines, Sociology, Economics, and Politics, for example. Many of the utensils uncovered are entirely practical in purpose and can no more be considered works of art than most

contemporary frying pans, but they do tell us a great deal about how ancient peoples lived. Coins, inscriptions, papyri, and even statues furnish economic and political implications and information. How about Classics, History, and Religion as related disciplines? To what extent was Thucydides a creative writer, and how much of an historian was Homer? Was the attitude towards the gods the same in the time of Phidias and that of Praxiteles, or quite different? Many of the firm answers we have to this sort of question come from the patient man with pick and spade who is the well-trained classical archaeologist.

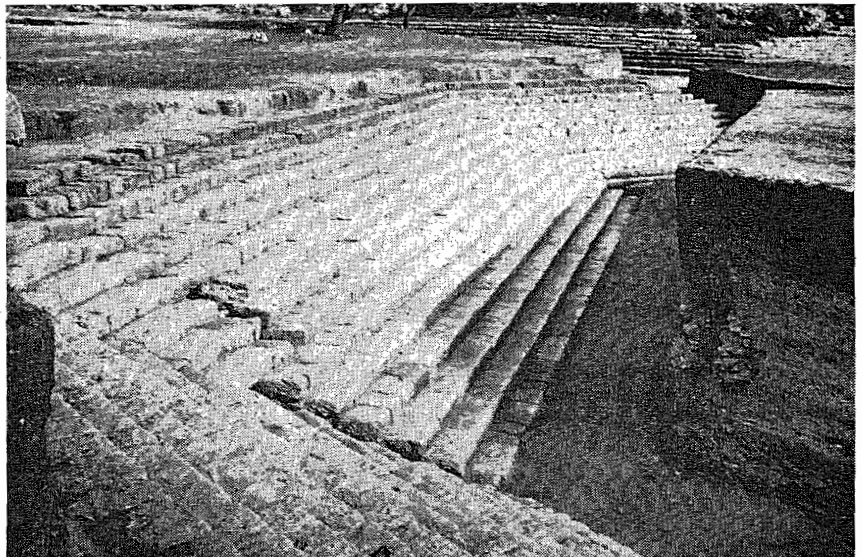
Does anyone but the specialist care? If Henry Ford said what he is alleged to have said about history, what word would he have found for all this poking about in the ancient past? And yet, in founding his museum of trans-

portation, he himself was a sort of unconscious archaeologist, in that he dealt with the physical remains of the past; and so, in a sense, is every boy who has thrilled over the find of an Indian arrowhead. The archaeologist takes over at the point back in time beyond which the historian cannot go unaided, and his objectives and obligations are the same: to present as complete a picture of a civilization as he can, not merely its political history, but its economic, military, scientific, social, and artistic characteristics, how it rose, and how it disappeared. His findings are not without moral force at a time when international atomic controls remain in the area of fierce debate. Shelley heard the message in 1819, when he described that ruined desert statue with its inscription:

"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings;
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

PRINCETON TRADITION

Between the outbreak of the Second World War and 1953, Princeton University had undertaken no archaeological expedition, though of course



THE AGORA STEPS

This is the second installment in Dave Blair's ten-part series this year on Princeton research and scholarship.



DIGGERS' LUNCH

Princeton archaeologists had participated in digs at Athens and elsewhere. This was a matter of concern to Professors E. Baldwin Smith, Erik Sjöqvist, and Richard Stillwell '21, who believed it was their obligation to give young scholars not only a "book" education, but also training in the field. The other prerequisites—thorough knowledge of the classics, history, philology, art, and the scientific method and technology of digging—do not replace experience; and one of many advantages in giving the student this training before he takes his doctorate is that his dissertation will be "based on original research" in the best sense of the phrase.

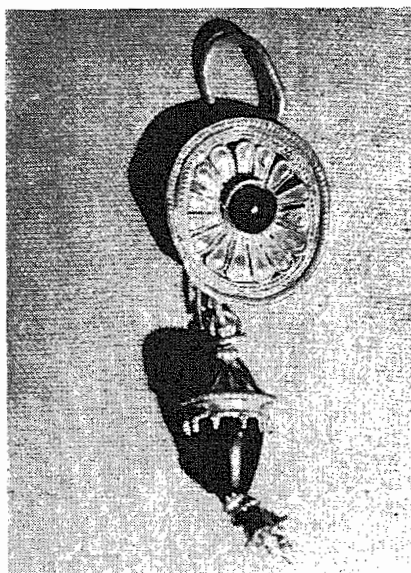
Princeton has a long tradition of archaeological expeditions. Late in the 19th century Prof. Howard Crosby Butler led a party to Syria, to study Christian churches of the third to seventh centuries; later, with T. Leslie Shear, he uncovered Sardis in Asia Minor, the ancient capital of the Lydian Kingdom, a project which was concluded in 1922. After Butler's death and a decade of inactivity, the late Charles Rufus Morey began the excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, a project which continued from 1932 till the outbreak of war.

Antioch is a fine example of archaeology at its most difficult. The capital of the western half of the Seleucid empire in the third century B.C., it passed through Roman, Christian, and Arab hands, was taken by the Crusaders and later by the Turks, and still exists as a city today. The susceptibility of the area to earthquakes did not facilitate the unscrambling of all these layers of history. It was very costly digging, and while it produced much of value—the mosaics in McCormick and Firestone Library are splendid examples—little of importance was found dating from before the Roman period. For this reason, and because of other technical considerations, it was not taken up again after the war.

Antioch offered a challenge to the expert, but it must have been rough

on the apprentice, as if a piano student were required, at his first lesson, to play a five-part fugue. The post-war leaders of archaeology at Princeton decided that an entirely new project would be more fruitful than a return to Antioch, which seemed unlikely to contribute substantially to the Hellenistic studies which have always been cherished here. But what, and where? Why not Greece itself? Well, Greece has been and is being as thoroughly "dug" as any part of the world. Furthermore, there's an informal agreement that no more than three expeditions from any one country may dig in Greece at any one time, and the American "quota" was already filled.

A training ground where graduate students could work closely with their teachers had, therefore, to be found



GOLD EARRING

somewhere on the periphery of the Greek world. Ideally, it should be a purely Hellenistic site, without overlays of more recent civilizations. With this in mind, Erik Sjöqvist, himself a Hellenistic Swede with an Oxford accent very faintly overlaid with more northern vowels, undertook an extended reconnaissance in 1953. He visited thirty possible sites in Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, North Africa, Southern Italy, and Sicily. In Sicily, he found what he had hoped for.

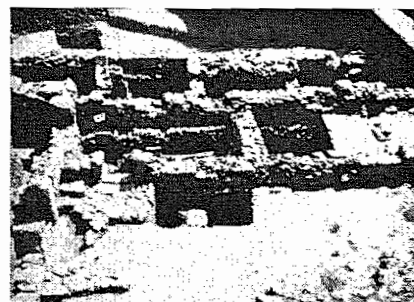
In the museum at Syracuse he saw a vase which he was almost sure dated from the sixth century B.C. It came from a place called Serra Orlando, 175 miles northwest of Syracuse, approximately in the center of the island, and two thousand feet up in the hills. On his way to the site in a taxi, he noticed a sarcophagus being used as a

laundry tub, and a farmer's hut, one corner of which was supported by a Roman pillar. On the ground there were indications of a fairly small Roman settlement dating to the second and first centuries B.C., and a much larger, almost purely Hellenistic city which flourished between 300 and 200 A.D. This appeared to offer an almost unique opportunity to find Greek remains unblemished by a Roman pox. If his guess was correct, new historical vistas might be opened, for little was known about the Greeks as dominators of Central Sicily. Their maritime conquests, their settlements along the coast, were well known, but this penetration of the savage hinterland was news.

Professors E. Baldwin Smith and Richard Stillwell agreed with Sjöqvist that of four possible sites, this was the best. Only one other, in Cyrenaica, might rank with it in historical importance; geographic and economic factors swung the balance towards Sicily. After the necessary arrangements with the Italian government had been made, and after the necessary funds had been allocated, largely through University sources but with the assistance of the Bollingen Foundation, digging started in the fall of 1955.

"A LOST CITY"

Expectations were more than justified. The city of unknown name (Serra Orlando is the name for the surrounding area) was larger than had been thought. Dominated by a conical hill five hundred feet high, it extends about three miles across rolling hills and averages three-quarters of a mile in width, which is to say that it's more than twice as big as Central Park. At its peak, it could have contained twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. Its situation gives some clues to its history. Perched above the junction of two river valleys, it dominates natural trade routes and serves as a sort of eyrie overlooking the plains. As an economic and military strongpoint, it may have been of cru-



THE LAMP FACTORY

cial importance in the Hellenic period of Sicilian history.

The Greeks apparently first achieved domination over the native Siculi here in the sixth century B.C., though the Siculi probably remained in the majority. The interaction between native culture and Greek civilization presents a challenging field of study. The city's period of greatest development and expansion was the third century, perhaps under the impetus of Hiero II, Tyrant of Syracuse. It was abandoned abruptly about 200 B.C., and within 25 years much of it was covered by ten feet of silted earth. Sjöqvist suspects that the city played a role in the Punic Wars and was abandoned because its inhabitants were sold into slavery. A generation later, a more modest Roman settlement was built; it lasted till about 30 B.C. From then until 1953, here was a city more thoroughly lost to history than Atlantis. Overgrown by forest in the time of the Roman Empire, the land was cleared for farming about the sixteenth century. Since its rediscovery, other archaeological expeditions have pushed inland from the coast and have found other unexpected Greek remains.

Results of two seasons of digging are rich indeed. A mile from the dominant fortress hill, the Agora, or civic center, which developed in the fourth and third centuries B.C., has been located. Rectangular in shape, it sloped from north to south, with a 250-foot portico at the top of the slope. West of the Agora are massive terrace walls which still stand to a height of more than 25 feet, and in its center, a monumental staircase which was never completed. Free flights of fifteen steps form three sides of an irregular octagon and span an area 180 feet wide. This staircase was to give access from the lower level of the Agora to the upper, but was quite large enough, in plan, to serve as a setting for ceremonies and assemblies.

Sjöqvist calls these steps "a unique feature indicating that Hellenistic civic planning had been enriched by



STOA FROM WEST

a new element of knowledge which so far is not paralleled anywhere else." But the grand design was not completed. There are the stairs, incomplete, and silted over to a depth of ten feet. Ironically, not far away, a find of more than four hundred cheap lamps indicates that a factory for their production was established there. But these lamps were in the silt, too. Evidently the area was simply abandoned for a while.

Then, there was a brief revival. Some older buildings were reconstructed; new ones were built, including a stoa and luxurious shops, and new residences east of the marketplace. One of these, a rich villa, has some of its floor still in perfect condition—marble cubes set in cement and terracotta, with elaborate lozenge or meander patterns. Another uncovered



MAJOR FIND

building had three large rooms on the ground floor, the interior made of carefully prepared hard stucco, and with stonework not rough-hewn but dressed in the best Hellenistic tradition.

Apparently it was a thoroughly walled city. A 450-foot stretch ten feet wide and nine feet high has been uncovered, as well as part of a city gate and its fortification tower. One of the burial grounds has been found, outside the walls. In addition to the lamp factory, brick and tile factories of considerable proportions have been located. Among the portable archaeological finds are a great mass of pottery fragments and more than three thousand coins, which furnish material for a little known period of Sicilian history. The area is vast, and much excavation remains to be done in the three seasons of digging to come.



SJÖQVIST & STILLWELL

The two objectives of the Sicilian dig, the increase of knowledge and the training of a new generation of qualified classical archaeologists, are inseparable. Just how much this sort of opportunity means to the young scholar emerged from an interview with Kenan T. Erim, who has participated in both "campaigns." The 29-year-old son of a Turkish diplomat, he came to Princeton to do his graduate work in 1953, having no idea that the Sicilian dig was in prospect, but because of Princeton's general reputation in classical archaeology.

A SCHOLAR-APPRENTICE

Quite by chance, his timing was perfect. He believes that two years of book work are essential before effective participation in field work is possible, and he completed his courses in archaeology and classics in time to take his Master's degree in 1955. He arrived in Sicily in August of that year, before ground was broken, and worked under Sjöqvist throughout the season which lasted till November. He then went to Rome and began working over the more than 1700 coins found on the site, until Stillwell arrived in March 1956 to open the second campaign. That completed, Erim returned to Princeton, where he is now working on his doctoral dissertation. He considers himself doubly lucky. If Princeton had not undertaken the Serra Orlando dig, he would have had to postpone his field experience until he had completed his Ph.D. And, as it is, his dissertation will be based on original material which he helped to unearth.

What was the greatest thrill so far? "The whole dig was a thrill, the actual touching of objects I'd known up to then only from a book. But if I must name one thing, it was a beautiful gold earring found in a well. The worker who made this discovery was very proud that it was 'our squad' that found it."

This spirit of cheerful competition within the broader framework of co-

operation towards a common goal seems characteristic of the dig. The actual diggers are agricultural or manual laborers hired through the local unemployment bureau (except the King of Sweden, who helped out for a week). They have become keen-eyed and careful but are not yet experienced enough to qualify as foremen. The foremen, whose job is the prevention of catastrophe, have had previous digging experience and know how to make immediate repairs, restore mosaics, and so forth. Graduate students are the trench-masters, each supervising a foreman and five to ten diggers. Taking a look at their equipment, you might think their occupation comparatively sedentary. Each is armed with note-book, compass, measuring-tape, sketching materials, and envelopes. Their main task is to keep accurate notes of every detail of the digging—such matters as changes in soil strata and exact circumstances of finds—and to assure the accurate collection and labeling of coins, shards, and other portable objects. But if one of them has simultaneous supervision over two trenches, he needs the qualifications of a cross-country runner as well as his specialized knowledge. This is even more true of the director, who is often in the dilemma of having to run off in all directions simultaneously. Another important member of the party is the architect; in both campaigns, he too has come from Princeton.

DAILY ROUTINE

It's a healthy and rigorous life. The Princeton party, eight to ten strong, lives in a country farm house, an adequate abode but less luxurious than some of the villas which have been uncovered. Rising between 5:30 and 6, they have a twenty-minute walk through hilly country after breakfast, on the way to the site. There they meet the workers, who come from the nearby mountain village of Aidone. The whistle blows at seven. It's an eight-hour day, scheduled according to the weather. In spring, when cold ground makes a noon-day siesta uninviting, working hours are from 7 to noon, and 1 to 4; later in the year, there will be a two-hour break at lunch-time. At the end of the day, scrub-up, dinner, a staff conference, and early to bed.

This is the schedule six days a week. On the seventh day, there is a well-deserved rest. "Sunday," Dr. Sjöqvist said emphatically, "is sacrosanct! We go to inspect somebody else's dig, or sometimes down to the sea for a swim." Dr. Stillwell re-

gretted that the water had been too cold the only time his party had tried that. Indeed, during his campaign, the mornings were freezing cold till the beginning of May. Their special treat on Sunday was a trip to nearby Piazza Armerina, where there is a hotel boasting shower baths and good meals.

Why doesn't digging continue throughout the summer? Sjöqvist and Stillwell looked at each other in mild alarm at the idea. "It's not just that the weather's hot," Stillwell replied. "I think you'd find, if you did this sort of work six days a week for three months, you'd be pretty well exhausted. By then, too, we need to take



GIUSEPPE THE CARETAKER
Note Princeton Emblem

the time for a more careful evaluation of what we've discovered."

Were there many visitors? "Five to ten daily, when they aren't supposed to be there," Stillwell said, "and scores at the weekend. Perhaps three to five thousand a year. You can hardly imagine how the project enhances the reputation of Princeton throughout the world. In Italy, the fact that I was with the expedition served as a sort of open sesame to art treasures which are otherwise difficult to see. But interest in the project has spread far beyond Italy, even before large-scale publication of the results of our work has begun. It's right that the scholarly credit should be added to the account of Princeton as a whole. The University has been most understanding and generous, both with funds and with time. Erik and I have been on detached duty, rather than leave of absence, and our students in the field have retained their scholarships. In effect, Serra Orlando has been treated as an extension of the campus."

Will five campaigns be enough? "Of course not," Sjöqvist replied. "To excavate the entire area would take fifty years. But of course one soon reaches a point of diminishing returns.

We can't tell yet how far we'll get with the first five campaigns, but by then it will be time to begin major publication. There may be a hiatus of a couple of years, but we don't intend to sit back on any laurels. There will be other digs, whether at Serra Orlando or elsewhere, we can't tell yet. There are two main points. Now that we have an active program going, we must not allow it to stall. And, whatever we do next, we must never bind a younger generation to a project which goes beyond our own time. I must remember that pretty soon old Sjöqvist will be packing up his bags and departing this life." This he said with the energy of youth.

TWO DISCIPLINES

Of the three moving spirits in this revival of classical archaeology at Princeton, only two remain. Prof. E. Baldwin Smith, who had long been concerned at the danger that this field of humanistic studies might be extinguished in the United States, died in 1956, before the fruits of the Sicilian project began to become known. He said, when Sjöqvist was appointed to the faculty in 1951, "If anyone can reawaken an interest in classical archaeology, it is Dr. Sjöqvist, with his personality, his command of English, his European reputation as a scholar, and his distinction as a stimulating lecturer." Sjöqvist, who began his scholarly career in ancient history, classics, the history of religion, and philology before he turned to archaeology, has a worthy colleague and collaborator in Stillwell, former director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, who was with the Antioch expedition in 1936, has been on digs in Cyprus and Corinth, and is Editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

A member of the Classics Department remarked that the ideal classicist was such a good archaeologist, and the ideal archaeologist such a good classicist, that it was impossible to separate the two disciplines in the single man. Sjöqvist, he said, was one of two scholars he had known who had fused the disciplines inseparably. "We classicists sometimes have a dangerous tendency towards the ivory tower; we need the archaeologist to bring us down to earth." Sjöqvist puts it the other way around: "Our danger is a sneaking tendency towards technology. Close cooperation with the Classics Department is a life or death condition for the real classical archaeologist." This is intellectual cross-fertilization at its best.

Grad Student Finds Clue To Mystery

Dr. Eric Sjoqvist Discovers Name Of Nameless City

The solution of a centuries-old riddle involving the long-forgotten name of a once thriving Sicilian hill town has been achieved by the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition engaged for the past three summers in excavation work at Serra Orlando.

Before returning this fall Dr. Eric Sjoqvist of the University's Department of Art and Archaeology announced in Italy that the name of the mystery city was Morgantina and that much of the credit for establishing the identification should be given Kenan Tevfik Erim, a third year graduate student who accompanied the expedition and has recently submitted his thesis, "The Hispanorum Coins—Problems of Sicilian Numismatics and History."

The existence of the nameless 2,500-year old town was not known until it was discovered by Dr. Sjoqvist in 1953. A fortified Greek community some 40 miles west of the coastal city of Catania, it flourished from approximately 600 to 40 B.C., and apparently declined without any visible catastrophe at a time roughly coinciding with the Roman imperial era.

Began Summer Of '55

Excavation work began on a major scale in the summer of 1955 and has continued during the summer "digging seasons" under the leadership of Dr. Sjoqvist and Professor Richard Stillwell, also of the Department of Art and Archaeology, who directed the excavations at Corinth from 1932 until 1935.

Three seasons of excavation work have unearthed a 22-century-old market place and yielded rich archaeological treasures, including an important inventory of coins, the majority datable to the long reign of Hieron II (275-215 B.C.).

The discovery of some coin issues bearing the inscription "Hispanorum" (Latin for "of the Spaniards") presented an intricate problem, which Mr. Erim undertook to solve and which produced the first clue to the city's ancient name. Delving into the records left by the historians, Thucydides, Livy and Diodorus Siculus, and those of the geographer Strabo, he slowly unraveled the tangled threads from such fragmentary gleanings.

Originated In First Century

"They were supposed to have originated in the middle of the First Century B.C. when Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, used the island as a base for his operations against the young Octavianus, first Roman Emperor," Professor Sjoqvist said.

"Later we concluded that they must be older than that date that they must have belonged to the Second Century B.C. The stratigraphy—layers of the town—gives clear evidence of this.

"Thus the problem was open for discussion again. Pompey was ruled out and the field was open for new interpretations. At this juncture Mr. Erim thought of combining the appearance of the coins with an information in Livy which stated that during the Second Punic War the City of Morgantina, which had twice rebelled against the Romans, siding with Carthage, was punished in a typical Roman way.

"Under a Senatorial decree in 211 B.C. the town and the territory was taken from the Mortantines and given to a group of Spanish mercenary soldiers who had rendered great service to the Romans during the campaign by betraying the last defenses of Syracuse.

Minted In Morgantina

"This seemed to indicate that the 'Hispanorum' coins were actually minted by these Spaniards in their new settlement, and that the settlement was Morgantina. No other historical event fits into this schedule.

"Working further on this hypothesis one finds that all the notations regarding Morgantina by other ancient authors fall nicely into place, topographically and historically. In a word the hypothesis was confirmed by all available arguments."

Mr. Erim, who is now teaching at Indiana University, will take his oral examinations for his doctorate at Princeton next month. He was born in 1929 in Istanbul, studied at New York University, and began his graduate work at Princeton in 1953. His father, Tevfik Erim, was a member of the Permanent Turkish Delegation to the United Nations.

Excavations at Serra Orlando
Preliminary Report

by RICHARD STILLWELL and ERIK SJÖQVIST

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Excavations at Serra Orlando

Preliminary Report

RICHARD STILLWELL
AND ERIK SJÖQVIST

PLATES 53-60

NEAR the hill town of Aidone, close to the geographical center of Sicily, lies the site of an ancient city, now known by the modern name of Serra Orlando. Here, in the fall of 1955 and the spring of 1956, the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Sicily has worked for two campaigns, each of about three months duration.¹ Although as yet no clue has been found to reveal the ancient name of the site, it has become clear that it was once an important and rich center, especially during a brief period in the third century before Christ. This has been shown, both by minor exploration in past years, as well as by the former operations of clandestine grave-diggers, and most especially during the recent excavations, which have revealed the evidence of an ambitious and monumental scheme for the architectural development of the town during the reigns of Agathocles and Hieron II of Syracuse.

The site occupies a ridge about three kilometers long, between the headwaters of the Gornalunga river, which flows eastward toward Catania, and the Gela, which flows south to the city of the same name. Situated thus, in a strategic location, the city that once flourished at Serra Orlando dominated two of the chief routes to or from the center of Sicily, and hence formed a logical center of trade and a useful base for military operations.

An isolated hill, appropriately known as Cita-della,² rises at the east end of the ridge. Here was, presumably, the location of the earliest settlement, certainly of archaic times. Halfway between this hill and the western limit of the town lies a

rectangular open space, 250 by 150 meters, between two of the several knolls that rise like vertebrae along the backbone of the ridge. This area, presently known as the Agora (pl. 53, fig. 1), is bounded on the north by a modern track which presumably follows the line of the principal street. From the southern edge of the Agora the ground falls away in a steep declivity, but it is certain that what is now only a narrow ravine once gave access to the area from this side, while to the north, the even steeper declivity toward the Gornalunga is also broken by a road of approach. Thus the Agora lies, as it should, at a cross-roads of the town.

It is in and about this area that the excavations have for the most part been concentrated.

Trial trenches made in 1912 by Professor Orsi had located a terrace of nine steps along the eastern limit of the square (fig. 1, L/M-7/8). Since the ground level of the market slopes gently southward it follows that the steps, which are nearly level, decrease in number as one moves from south to north, and finally die away completely. The southern end of the stairs returned southeastwards at an oblique angle, and ended after a few meters against a terrace wall. Orsi also noted walls along the northern end of the square, and, above the east terrace, what is termed on his plan a Roman House.

The first trenches of 1955 were sunk across the northern edge of the square, and also across the center of the area from east to west. It was not long before a remarkable structure began to ap-

pear. It was visited from H. M. the King of Sweden, who for more than a week took an active part in the work, and further manifested his interest in providing the fellowships for Mrs. Borgstam and Mr. Gierow.

The excavations were financed through the joint contributions of Princeton University, the University Research Fund, the Bollingen Foundation, the Spears Fund, Mr. Alfred T. Carton, and Mr. Robert Woods Bliss.

² Altitude 600 m. above sea level, and nearly 300 m. above the valleys to either side.

¹ The season of 1955 lasted from August 18 to November 18. Director: Prof. Erik Sjöqvist, assisted by Richard Grimm, Kenan Erim, Mrs. Stina Borgstam, Alfred de Vido, architect, Dr. Frances F. Jones, Miss Helen Woodruff, Mrs. Sjöqvist, Alexander Burnstan and Olle Falk, photographer. The season of 1956 opened March 23 and closed June 23. Director: Prof. Richard Stillwell, assisted by Kenan Erim, Dr. Mario A. Del Chiaro, P. G. Gierow, John M. Woodbridge, architect, Mrs. Stillwell, Mrs. Woodbridge, Miss Barbara Torelli, and Olle Falk, photographer.

During the fall of 1955 the excavation was honored by a

pear, and with this we may properly begin the full description of the area.

In the approximate center of the Agora is an imposing construction of steps, spanning a total width of about 52 m. This stepped area consists of three sides of an irregular polygon, and forms a quasi-theatral arrangement (pl. 53, fig. 2). The steps are of hard local limestone carefully laid, without mortar or clamps. The western section has fifteen steps preserved, and, although the eastern has but thirteen, they both reach the same level, since the lowest step of the east arm is at a higher level than that at the foot of the western flight. The surfaces of the blocks are not fully smoothed, and there are many irregularities, which suggest that the steps as a whole were never fully completed. Lifting bosses on some of the lowest step blocks have not been worked off. This interruption of the work is made still more evident by the fact that both the western and the eastern arms end in an irregular fashion, and it is clear that although the original plan called for the prolongation of the steps, the work was never carried out. The central section was built first, at least as far up as the 12th step. A continuous joint near the juncture with the east flight shows how the latter, when it in turn was built, settled down on the fill behind, so that near the upper end of the joint there is a difference of level of 5 to 8 cm. between the top surfaces of any given step to east and west of the joint. A large drain, leading from the N.W. angle of the Agora, passes through the steps at the angle formed by the central and western arms (pl. 54, fig. 3). The construction of the two sides of the drain also differs in kind, that by the central flight being more carefully worked.

The upper few steps of all three flights are more heavily worn, for the reason that whereas the lower nine or ten steps were allowed to silt up not longer than a century after they were laid, the upper steps remained open through the second and first centuries B.C. The upper steps have also been accommodated to some degree to inequalities of level below. The east flight runs out unevenly against a poor retaining wall, which is followed by a very rough wall of unworked blocks that overlies a series of roughly paved platforms which led down from the

upper to the lower level. By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that the monumental stair ever was prolonged eastward, though preliminary rock cuttings suggest that this was the intention (pl. 54, fig. 4).

What purpose did this unusual scheme serve? It certainly never was a theatre, but, besides insuring free passage between the lower and upper levels of the Agora, it could have been used, or been intended to be used, for public assemblies, where the citizens stood, looking over the heads of those in front. Certainly the work was never finished. Two coins, one in the fill behind the west arm, and one behind the east, give a clue to the date of construction. One is of Timoleon, the other of the short-lived Syracusan democracy between Agathocles and Hieron II. Hence the stairs are to be dated to the end of the fourth century and the early years of the third.³

A glance at the plan will show that the great stairs are related in plan to the stepped terrace to their northeast. Both sets of stairs form part of the same original scheme. The terrace wall running south from the east stepped terrace is a later construction, as are the traces of terraced platforms in the area south of the east arm of the great stairs, but all of this arrangement belongs without doubt to the third century B.C. It forms, however, an inadequate and unworthy solution of the problem, undertaken when the more monumental scheme was abandoned.

Moving over to the western side of the Agora, trials made in 1956 show that here again a costly effort was made to provide adequate terracing for the hill on the west.⁴ Near the southwest corner of the market a magnificently built terrace platform (fig. 1, J/K-13/14), with two sides, has been uncovered. Coursed ashlar masonry (pl. 54, fig. 5) backed with rubble to a total depth of 1.30 m., and reinforced by buttresses 3.40 m. apart, shows no less than 22 courses. If the level of the top preserved course, where it ends against the hill, is taken, the total height of the visible wall would have exceeded 7.20 m. At the obtuse angle of the two walls the preserved height is some 2.00 m. Trials on the fill of the platform showed, however, no trace of any building. Beginning at a point about

³ The earliest possible date for the east arm is 278 B.C. The western and central arms are slightly older, but the entire scheme appears to be a unit, and the work executed as part of one and the same plan.

⁴ This hill rises nearly 50 m. above the main Agora level.

On top, in 1882-1884, L. Papalardo conducted some trial excavations, and reported mosaic floors of a "Hellenistic" villa of importance. The debris fallen from this hill shows, however, that it was occupied certainly as early as the fourth century.

70 m. to the northwest, a heavy retaining wall, 16 m. long, runs E.-W. into the hill, and then returns at right angles to the north. It has been traced for a total length of 98 m. to its end near a building complex that occupied the N.W. angle of the market. This wall is also reinforced by buttresses, spaced 5.30 m. on centers, but its construction differs from the bastion at the S.W. (pl. 54, fig. 6). Midway between each pair of buttresses is a series of alternate header and stretcher blocks, in a vertical chain. Some of the massive stretcher blocks are over two meters long. Behind them a rubble buttress projects for about 0.80 m. into the hill. The thickness of the wall is about 1.38 m., and it was built against virgin soil, so that, thus far, trials dug behind the wall have failed to give evidence for dating, but it seems certain that this construction also forms part of the entire scheme of monumental development. Where the wall is best preserved it measures over 6 m. high. Above and behind were traces of a narrow street, lined by shops.

Just where the great west terrace wall ends, the excavators came on the remains of another building, of very fine construction (E-6/7 and pl. 55, fig. 7). It formed a rectangle, 16.40 m. by 7.10 m., was divided into three rooms, and at one time was provided with wide doorways leading into each of the rooms from the east. The construction is coursed ashlar, with anathyrosis at the ends of the blocks. The interior was coated with very hard stucco, on which joints imitating masonry were carefully ruled, giving the effect of blocks 1.285 long and 0.42 m. high. The interior walls have been ripped out, as well as the central part of the back wall, and the doorways, of which the sills remain, seem not to belong with the original plan. The central sill was indeed raised to a higher level, and moved west by its own width. Two floor levels, each of *cocciopesto*,⁵ are preserved in the central room. The northern room was later shortened at its west end by a random ashlar wall. East of the building was a deep porch, of which the foundations remain, but as far as it has been excavated, it would appear to be a later addition, possibly associated with a remodelling of the original structure. The use of the building must await further study; it may have been intended for a

⁵ The Italian technical term for a watertight concrete mixed with crushed brick.

⁶ Nevertheless, this area abounds in water conduits of all periods, so that it is by no means certain that there never was

fountain house, but the absence of water pipes leading into it, or of a drain leading out, discourages this solution.⁶ In date, the building should be earlier than the west terrace wall, which comes to an end, and is returned eastward just before it reaches the building.

In the area behind and above the "Fountain House" is a series of three very large shops (fig. 1, D-7), or *botteghe*, much rebuilt, with a portico of six columns, the lower drums of which are still in place (pl. 55, fig. 8).⁷ The shops each had a shallow back room, and the northernmost one was embellished with a Doric column, found fallen forward from its base, standing between antae in the division between the outer and inner rooms (pl. 55, fig. 9). In this shop were also a fine terracotta bathtub, a terracotta trapezophoros, and a large stone weight. The nature and stratification of the fill, which had cascaded in from the higher ground to south and west, shows that the shops were open and in use at the end of the period of habitation at Serra Orlando, that is, at the end of the first century B.C. A certain quantity of Arretine ware was recovered together with much Campana C.

North of the shops a paved street led down from the west, and beside it was a small water basin (pl. 56, fig. 10) with a lion's head spout, quaintly carved in local sandstone. Into the N.W. angle of the Agora funneled a series of sloping paved areas, with occasional steps, which led either diagonally into the open part of the Agora or straight across the northern limit, on a low terrace which had three steps along its southern edge (pl. 56, fig. 11). It is tempting to see here a great stoa, but the lack of adequate foundations for a stylobate indicates that it could only have supported a wooden superstructure. More probably the terrace was open, and the series of shops to the north, some of which have been excavated, may have been shaded by a narrow porch of which a few foundations remain. The entire area was dug in 1955, and had only a shallow overlying deposit. It seems to have been thoroughly plundered in the seventeenth century when a so-called Palazzo was built on the edge of the scarp at the south side of the market.

Near the west end of the terrace a small propylon (fig. 1, E-4) gave access to or from an area or any connection. The plan recalls somewhat the S.E. fountain house in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 29-35.

⁷ The one at the north end has been replaced.

street to the north (pl. 56, fig. 12). The lowest drum of the single column remained *in situ*, and the other drums and a fragment of capital were found close by. Just west of the propylon is a room ca. 6.00 m. by 10.00 m., divided into two aisles by columns of annular bricks, once stuccoed, standing on squared stone bases (pl. 56, fig. 13). Similar columns were set along the walls on either hand. This construction belongs to a period later than the propylon, which, in turn, must go with the shops in their original form, and may be assigned to the third century. In succeeding periods, however, the whole long area was much rebuilt and will require further excavation and study before its history can be worked out.

The western portion of the terrace was paved in brick, probably at a relatively late period, to provide a catchment from which water could be piped to the east. The lower half of a large pithos acted as a settling basin. Possibly a portion of the area was used on occasion as a macellum, and it is perhaps significant that nearby, and in front of the steps, was found a strongly cemented *bothros*, filled with ash and bones, while nearby a massive block still retains the iron ring used for the cord that held the victim. A small exedra stands west of the brick pavement; the shops have all been much rebuilt, with reused material.

The east end of the Stoa-terrace was extended in Roman times by three shops, with a narrow sidewalk sheltered by a wooden portico, flanking a well-paved street that leads eastward into an area not yet explored. Another paved street runs south for twenty meters, and then ends abruptly, but it seems to have once extended further. The paving stones are very little worn, and the presence immediately above this street of coins only of Hieron II, suggests that it was never used later. Instead, another paved way was provided, just to the west and parallel with the first.

CENTRAL SHRINE AND MARKET

Thus far, save for the great steps in its center, we have followed the circuit of the Agora. The main outline of the plan belongs to the third century, and may be credited to Agathocles and Hieron II, with certain adjustments or rebuilding later.

In the southern portion of the open area between the great stair and the North Terrace the excavations of 1955 uncovered about half of a quite

independent, isolated, market complex (fig. 1, J/K-8/9), wrapped around three sides of a small temenos, which contained an altar reached by four steps (pl. 57, fig. 14).⁸ There was, however, never any direct connection between market and temenos. The latter was entered from the west, through a doorway 1.30 m. wide. The rubble walls of the temenos were heavily stuccoed both inside and out, and several drain openings, one on the north, one on the east, and two on the south, also carefully stuccoed, show that, as was but proper, the temenos was open to the sky.

The altar with its steps lies very close to the entrance, and the lowest step became superfluous when a new sill was inserted in the doorway, after the level outside had risen. The altar proper consists of an earthen core with a thin facing of stones. Two square blocks at either end of the top step suggest a wooden canopy. One block shows on its top a roughly circular reddish patch, such as could have been made by a burning post. It is clear that altar and temenos are not contemporary, and a series of heavy, roughly worked blocks in the southern part of the later temenos indicate that once a smaller, cruder temenos surrounded the altar. No finds within or about this area give the slightest indication of the deity to whom the shrine was dedicated.

The orientation, 18° north of east, of the shrine bears no relation to any other part of the Agora, nor does that of the surrounding market, which is not precisely in the same orientation as the temenos.

The market consists of a rectangular court, surrounded by a portico on four sides. One is backed directly by the temenos, and on the north and south sides are series of shops (pl. 57, fig. 15). These have party walls carefully bonded with the outer walls of the market, and their footings, like those of the outer walls, reach down to a dark chocolate-brown hardpan. The front walls, on the contrary, as well as the footings of the portico, are only carried down to a heavy layer of alluvial sand deposit whose average depth is about 0.60 m. It was this same accretion of alluvial sand that caused the raising of the door sill of the temenos, on the outer face of which the stucco is covered in part by the sand, and reaches down to hardpan. This feature is clear proof of a considerable time difference between temenos and shops, and since, as far as is now possible to tell, the sand layer

⁸ The entire building was freed in 1956.

under the market is contemporary with a heavy alluvial sand deposit that covered the lower steps of the great stair, it follows that the temenos, and even more so the altar, must belong to a period not far removed from that of the stairs. The lack of agreement in orientation between altar-temenos and the monumental layout may not be conclusive evidence for priority, but it is reasonable to suggest that the small, isolated temenos antedates by some time the abortive, monumental Agathoclean re-planning of the area.

One other feature of the market requires notice. Precisely on the axis of the altar, but slightly off center with the court, is a circular building with heavy (1 m.) walls, resting on the sand layer (pl. 57, fig. 16). Its exterior diameter is 6.00 m.; it was stuccoed both inside and out, and entered by a door in the S.E. quadrant. No trace of any floor other than the sand was observed, although the fact that only one-half the building was cleared in 1955, and the remainder done at two different times in 1956 with full knowledge of the desirability of finding a level, should have given some indication, had there been any. Two reused blocks from an earlier, round building of slightly greater diameter are to be seen. One, much trimmed, seems to be part of the top of a wall with panelled design, and shows excellent technique. The other is similar but less well preserved. The obvious inference is that the present tholos replaced an earlier, better one, but it is also evident that it could hardly have been rebuilt in the same location, for a careful search failed to reveal the slightest sign or imprint of an earlier building under the later. Yet, the mathematical accuracy with which the later circle is centered on the axis of the shrine shows clearly a functional connection between the two. Somewhere nearby must be the site of the original tholos, and further excavation may reveal it. A final peculiarity of the Central Market is that there seems to have been only one entrance, at the N.W., just by the end of the temenos. It is a paved passage, 2.10 m. wide at the beginning, but curved down to a width of only 1.50 m. at its inner end. There was no corresponding entrance to the S. of the temenos, and there are no clear traces of any entrance near the S.E. angle of the market, although it is barely possible that there once was one.⁹

⁹ This angle of the building was only partially excavated, but sufficiently to show that were there any entrance it must have been relatively secondary.

In the shops, especially on the north side, were found thirteen silver denarii and sestertii, of the second and first centuries B.C. Three more came from the southern shops, and it is clear that this isolated building with its roofless shrine was used till the end, or near the end, of the life of the city. The earliest date for the construction of the market should be placed not earlier than about 200 B.C., soon after the advent of Roman power.

Although the construction of the market walls is mainly of rubble masonry it is sturdy and well integrated. Large squared blocks are used for corners, the juncture of the shop party-walls and the exterior wall is strengthened by large blocks, and adequate footings are provided. The fronts of the shops are, however, closed by relatively poor walls, which have a narrow (0.60 m.) entrance to each shop, with no sills preserved, if indeed there ever were any. Since these front partitions were presumably never more than waist high and served in the usual Roman fashion as counters, no strength was needed, and they rest simply on, or slightly in, the sand layer. A water reservoir was built into the N.E. angle of the court, and was supplied by a terracotta pipe coming into the building from the N.E. The connection of the overflow drain has been lost. No architectural elements survive from the upper parts of the building save some roof tiles. These are all of the curved, Laconian type, made of local clay, and for the most part pale yellow in color both as to core and slip. There were traces of wall stucco, some with vestiges of color, but no recoverable designs.

THE SOUTH MARKET AND SHOPS

Another complex, later than the great steps, lies just southeast of the truncated western arm (fig. 1, L/M-10/11). This area of building is divided into an eastern and a western part by a change in level, the dividing line following an outcrop of the native rock. The higher level to the west is occupied by a rectangular, rough-paved area with rooms (as far as excavated) on the north, east, and south sides (pl. 57, fig. 17). The construction is not all of one period, and the oldest part is the north wing, where two rooms (1 and 2) form the boundary on the side toward the steps. The walls are of random, roughly-squared ashlar, with the angles strengthened by large squared blocks (pl. 58, fig. 18). The footing of the walls goes down to hardpan which, along the north edge, is a trifle

higher than the level of the lowest step of the great stairs. It seems, as far as the study of the stratigraphy has gone, that this structure cannot be much later than the abandonment of the monumental plan. The principal reason for this assumption lies in the fact that the heavy silting over of the lower part of the stairs deposited the same layers of sand against the lower portion of the north wall of the "South Complex." With Rooms 1 and 2 we may associate a parallel set of rooms 15 m. to the south, as well as a wall that joins their eastern extremities. In the area of the south wing, not more than 1.00 m. below modern level, was found a great number of small, plain terracotta lamps (pl. 58, fig. 19) and offertory dishes, as well as a few figurines. Over five hundred intact lamps were recovered, together with fragments that represent nearly twice as many more. They lay densely packed in a relatively limited area, with a few scattered a little more widely. Such a deposit obviously must have come either from a store or from a factory, and, in fact, near the S.W. angle of Room 2, close to the east wall of the upper complex, was found a small kiln (pl. 58, fig. 20). The springings of the arches that once supported the openwork floor of the kiln are still preserved, and a heavy deposit of ash spreads out from the mouth of the fire chamber. This deposit did not appear within Room 2, but did run under a wall built parallel to the east wall of the complex (Room 3), and thence we may ascribe the establishment of Rooms 3 and 4 to a date *after* the disuse of the kiln.

Rooms 1 and 2 were remodelled at some period, and a door leading west from Room 1 carefully walled up. We may tentatively propose that this, as well as other remodelling of the building, took place after the Romans had reoccupied Serra Orlando in the second century B.C.

The Eastern part of the complex, at a lower level, consists of a series of rooms, about 3.50 m. from E.-W. and averaging 3.25 m. from N.-S. Their walls are of rubble masonry with occasional large blocks of squared stone. They lie, in part, above earlier walls which follow nearly the same plan, and the entire row faces onto an area of densely packed alluvial sand, broken in places by washed out areas which in their turn were again silted up. Further excavation will be needed before the chronology of the area can be fully understood, but it forms, while admittedly not a monument of

high architectural worth, a most promising area for the history of Serra Orlando from the 3rd to the 1st centuries. Most significant is the fact that the entire lower range of rooms was sealed by a dense layer of its own roof tiles. As far as has been established, the latest coins below the layer are of the late third century B.C.

THE VILLA (fig. 1, P/Q-7/8)

A knoll extends all along the eastern boundary of the Agora, and here in 1955 a room, evidently belonging to a house, was cleared. Its floor of reddish *cocciopesto* shows a border of double maeander, done in white tesserae regularly spaced in harmony with the design; the field within the border is a simple grid of lozenges, the intersection of the grid lines marked with a blue-black tessera. Two doors led into the room, one, already open, from a portico, the other, to the east, was closed in modern times. It was determined to investigate this area further, and, by the end of the season of 1956, the greater part of a rich house came to light (pl. 58, figs. 21, 22). The plan shows a close relation to the Hellenistic type of Delian house with peristyle, but there are as well some irregularities and variations.

The peristyle consisted of eight columns around a paved court that measures 5.30 m. by 6.70 m. The north and east sides of the portico are wider than the south side. As yet the back wall of the west portico has not been excavated. In the center of the east side is a large room, 5.10 m. by 5.00 m., flanked on the north by a room of the same size, and on the south by a smaller one, of which the splendid floor of white stone terrazzo is entirely preserved. Within a single line border of varicolored cubes is a diaper pattern, while outside the border small tesserae of green, blue, and red are scattered without regular design. The walls of the room show remains of stucco in the incrustation style.

The floor of the larger room, as well as a large part of the portico in front, was ripped up. The effect of the remaining part resembles nothing so much as a rolled-out slab of dough from which the housewife has cut a number of circular cookies. There is no question of these circular gaps representing lime kilns, since there are none of the usual traces of fire. It must have been merely a method of removing solid, thick pieces of the floor for use elsewhere. Possibly the intention was to roll them

away, as it were, on their rims. Enough remains to show that the large room had a richly colored floor, again with lozenge patterns, and that the east portico also had a richer floor than the arms to south and north.

At the north, the portico opened into a square vestibule, adorned with an elaborate all-over double maeander, in white, on the red *cocciopesto* ground (pl. 58, fig. 23). At the wide opening to the south side of this vestibule was a panel of mosaic of white squares in the red ground. From the vestibule a door leads west to a long room with a white terrazzo floor without other decoration; from this room, which had no connection with the court, one could pass into Room 1.¹⁰ The vestibule opened north into Room 4, 3.20 m. by 3.10 m., provided with a ventilation window, and a small closet. A double valve door provided with a stout bar closed the room. Its floor was a rich red *cocciopesto*, without designs.

The eastern angle of the vestibule opens onto a small extension, which in turn gives access to Rooms 5 and 6. Room 5, an inner room, retains its walls preserved in one place to a height of more than three meters. It, too, had a ventilating window, but it was at some time blocked up. The floor is plain white terrazzo. Room 6 also has a terrazzo floor, but nothing of interest otherwise. It is clear that the Villa, whose full extent remains to be cleared, was an important residence, occupied over a considerable period of time. We may assign its original construction to the second century B.C., and, after various decorations and modifications, its end seems to have come in the second half of the first century. It is notable that, while a considerable amount of Arretine ware came from the Northwest shops, practically none was found in the fill of the Villa. Two cisterns, one the original, and one later, provided water for the inhabitants. Both were of a familiar bottle shape. The mouth of the original cistern, which was over 7.00 m. deep, opened through the stylobate just east of the southwest corner column. When the cistern was abandoned the stylobate was filled in. The new block was found fallen into the upper part of the cistern, and the *cocciopesto* floor of the entire portico was run out as a thin skin over the entire stylobate, and turned down to meet the floor of the court. At the

¹⁰ The north end of room 2 has not yet been excavated. It extends beyond the north wall of room 1, and may connect with a building further north.

same time the stuccoed columns were thickened by a further coat, finished at the base with flat surfaces, which presumably indicate fluting higher up. The columns themselves are built of the annular bricks so common at Serra Orlando, beginning in the Hellenistic period.¹¹

FORTIFICATIONS

The ridge of Serra Orlando is well fortified by nature, particularly its long northern flank which drops very steeply down to the valley of Gornalunga. Cuttings and beddings in the rock in sundry places along the edge seem to show that this easily defensible side of the hill was only occasionally strengthened by sustaining masonry and parapets. North of the Agora where a city gate was situated these defense works take on a more permanent character, the details of which have yet to be explored.

The more gently sloping south flank of the hill was, for the greater part of its length, provided with a real city wall. Masses of roughly dressed blocks, now tumbled and strewn on the slope, belonged to such a structure. A reasonably well preserved part of the wall (pl. 59, fig. 24) was discovered some 200 m. west of the Agora, and was cleared for a length of about 150 m. It follows the natural contour lines of the ground, and reaches in its best preserved parts a maximum height of 3.75 m. Constructed as a double-shell wall with an outer façade of roughly squared blocks and a core of rubble, it is held together by irregular bonding walls without clamps or mortar. For a stretch of about 55 m. it functions also as a retaining wall, to prevent the superadjacent masses of earth from sliding down the slope. A small postern gate, traceable in its foundations, overlooks a spring further down in the valley. At this spot the total thickness of the wall measured 3.55 m.

The work on the city wall was limited to clearing its façade, and so far no good evidence for its date is available. Two column drums, reused as building blocks, seem, however, to indicate a *terminus post quem* of the fifth century. It seems reasonable to presume that the wall is contemporary with the master plan of the Agora area, i.e., late fourth century with possible modifications in the third.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that annular bricks are used in the 4th century Villa at Casale, but their fabric is much inferior to those found at Serra Orlando.

This same date can without hesitation be assigned to a towerlike structure, as yet not completely uncovered, at the very south end of the Agora area (fig. 1, P-12). It is a solid structure, pierced by two outlets for the main storm drains of the Agora which tunnel through its foundations. Its situation, just where the slope begins to fall steeply, and its massive construction, make us believe that it served as a tower flanking an entrance from the south into the Agora area.

THE KILN

Outside the city wall on a slope opposite the above-mentioned tower and about 45 m. away, a large brick kiln was discovered (fig. 1, R/S-12/13). It is an elaborate tripartite structure built on a rock-cut ledge in the sloping ground, and measuring a total length of 13.00 m. The central section is the kiln itself, built in large size brick. Seven semicircular arches, of which two are completely preserved, once supported the elliptical openwork floor of the kiln (pl. 59, fig. 25). To judge from the masses of very fine grey-white ashes and the absence of charcoal in the filling under the arches, straw might have been used for fuel, as is still done today in the vicinity.

The two lateral bays of the structure are rock-cut, and the northern one is provided with a stairway. They served as draft chambers, and gave at the same time adequate manoeuvring space for the workmen who prepared and controlled the fire. In all essential parts the kiln is like the local country kilns of today, and its capacity has been estimated at about six thousand bricks.

Fragments found in the debris filling indicate that it was used for making tiles, water conduits, and rectangular and annular bricks of the same type as those found in the excavations. Ceramic evidence justifies our dating it to the early third century B.C., if not possibly the late fourth. That regular brickwork was used in Hellenistic buildings in Sicily is a technical datum of some importance.

GRAVES

A cemetery, called Necropolis I, was discovered outside the city walls to the west of the ancient town, at the crossing of the provincial road leading from Aidone to Catania and the small road leading to Serra Orlando. Some tombs had been opened and looted by clandestine diggers.

We explored a few more, one of which was particularly productive. It is a shaft tomb, oriented east-west and cut into the calcareous rock. A ledge carried the heavy cover slabs of reddish sandstone. The skeleton was found in dorsal position, facing west (i.e. the head toward the east) and surrounded by ten vases and a lamp. Four hooked iron nails found *in situ* indicate that the body was lowered into the grave on a wooden bier.

The east end of the shaft was a walled-up arched doorway leading into a rock-cut, rectangular, vaulted chamber. It contained the skeletal remains of another body in similar position, and surrounded by its burial gifts.

This tomb, like the rest of the necropolis so far explored, dates from the late fourth or the early third century B.C.

FINDS

Coins occupy an important place in the inventory of finds (pl. 59, fig. 26). Among the 3262 pieces recovered, Syracuse is represented by 1030, i.e., somewhat less than a third part. The majority of these coins are datable to the long reign of Hieron II (270-215 B.C.). A sufficient number were found under good stratigraphical conditions to allow us to give an approximate dating to the different issues. Catane provides another sizeable lot, about 12%. Even in this case the sequence of issues can be reasonably well established on the basis of stratigraphy. The surprising amount of early Roman and Mamertine coins of the late third century testify to the interpenetration of Rome and Messina in this area, which at the time was within the orbit of the Syracusan realm. A disputed and intricate problem is connected with some issues bearing the inscription HISPANORUM. This otherwise rare coinage constitutes a considerable part of the whole (ca. 6%).

Among the Roman coins the silver sestertii and denarii of the Republic are well represented. A very early, if not the earliest, Roman gold issue is represented by a coin of twenty sestertii, with a mint mark of an ear of corn. With this coin, found at the bottom of a cistern, were some specimens of early silver issues and some Hellenistic jewelry (pl. 60, figs. 27-28), noteworthy among which is an earring in filigree work adorned with garnets.

The harvest of terracotta statuettes, mostly in fragments, is considerable, and the majority, if not all, are of local fabrication (pl. 60, fig. 29). Figur-

ines, loom weights, and other terracottas are abundant (pl. 60, figs. 30-31). Otherwise sculpture is rare. A life-size female statue in hard limestone should be mentioned (pl. 60, fig. 32). The head, arms and feet of the body were inserted, probably in marble, but are unfortunately lost. Although the

surface is somewhat weathered, one can appreciate the competent workmanship and the good style. It probably adorned the "Villa," and should be dated to the earlier half of the second century B.C.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

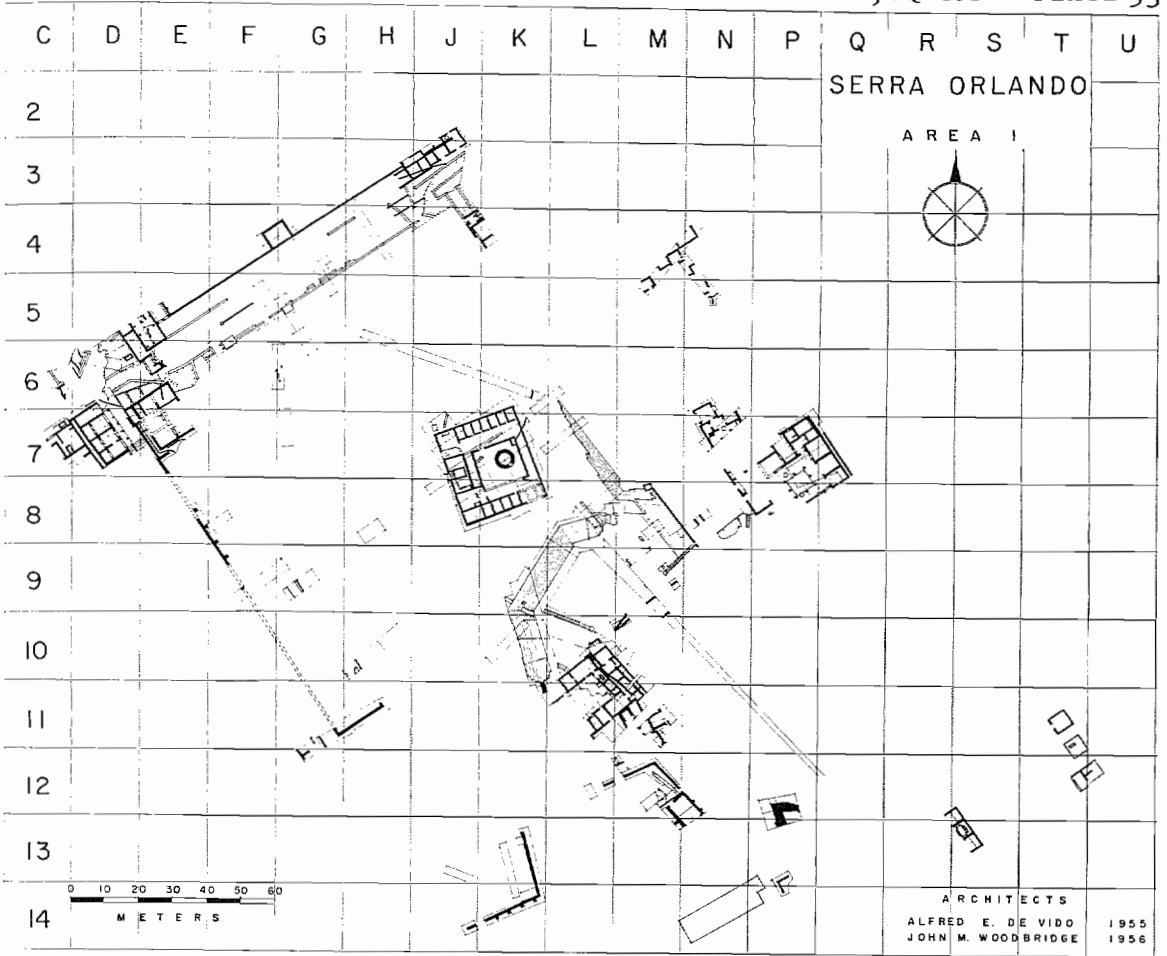


FIG. 1. Plan of Agora area



FIG. 2. The great stairs from southwest



FIG. 11. North building seen from east



FIG. 10. Water basin with spout



FIG. 13. Hall with brick columns



FIG. 12. Propylon giving access to north building



FIG. 14. Altar, steps, and temenos wall



FIG. 15. Shops in 2nd century central market



FIG. 16. Circular building in market



FIG. 17. South market, general view



FIG. 18. South market, north wall detail



FIG. 20. Kiln for making lamps



FIG. 22. View of villa looking north



FIG. 19. Typical lamp from factory

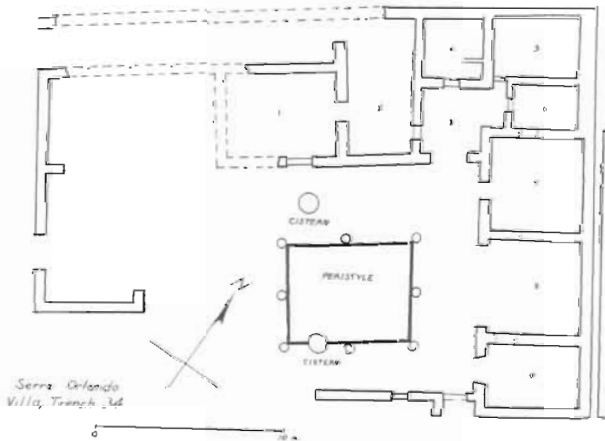


FIG. 21. Sketch map of villa

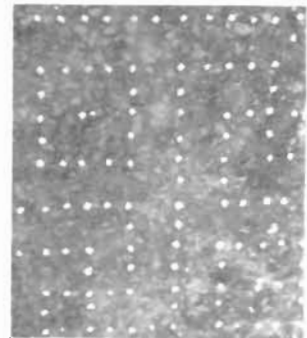


FIG. 23. Mosaic floor of villa



FIG. 24. City wall



FIG. 25. Brick kiln (photograph by H. M. the King of Sweden)



a. Bronze coin of Hieron II of Syracuse



c. Bronze coin of Catana, 3rd. century B.C.



d. Silver denarius of M. Papirius Carbo, ca. 137-134 B.C.



b. Bronze coin of Hieron II of Syracuse



FIG. 26. Coins from the excavations

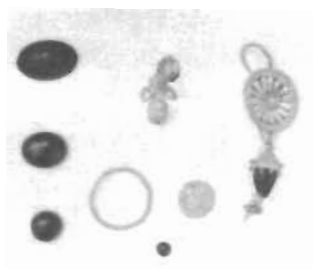


FIG. 27. Jewelry from cistern

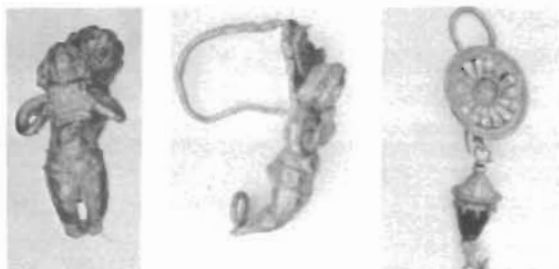


FIG. 28. Detail of earrings



FIG. 29. Terracotta heads



FIG. 30. Loom weight

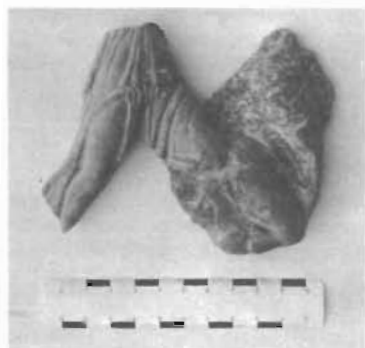


FIG. 31. Nike sacrificing a bull



FIG. 32. Draped female figure, limestone

GLUBB PASHA'S PERSONAL STORY.

"A SOLDIER WITH THE ARABS." By LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN BAGOT GLUBB.*

An Appreciation by SIR JOHN SQUIRE.

"I SPENT thirty-six years," says Glubb Pasha, living among the Arabs. "During the first nineteen of these years, I lived almost entirely with them, rarely meeting Europeans and sometimes not speaking a word of English for weeks on end. I originally went to Iraq in 1920 as a regular officer of the British Army . . . but when I had spent five years amongst the Arabs, I decided to change the basis of my whole career. I made up my mind to resign my commission in the British Army and devote my life to the Arabs. My decision was largely emotional. I loved them.

"Fourteen years later, in April 1939, I was called on to assume command of the Arab Legion—the army of the little State of Trans-Jordan. It was a tiny army and a little State, but even so, it was a 'State,' which possessed its own government. And this government had relations with other governments—that is to say, it moved on the international level. By becoming the principal military officer to a government, I began for the first time to gain an insight into international affairs.

I was able to devote less and less of my time to living completely amongst Arabs, and working at their parochial affairs. I was obliged to live in the capital, to meet with royalties, presidents, cabinet ministers and ambassadors, and to consider the policies and actions of other governments. For it was now my first responsibility to be ready to defend Trans-Jordan. The

Darwin, when they stand in front of august eternities and are moved; and, Thirdly, this book is dreadfully timely.

Glubb Pasha states baldly "The present book deals primarily with this second period of my life among the Arabs." So it does. We are made privy to his relations with the present King of Jordan (so-called since the piecemeal partition of Palestine was carried through) with his father (deposed because of mental illness, although, at intervals, charming, intelligent and honourable) and with his grandfather, King Abdulla, a noble and sensible descendant of Mahomet who was murdered when coming out of a mosque, apparently by emissaries of the former Mufti of Jerusalem, a wild man, greedy for power, who spent the last war with Hitler in Berlin.

But it doesn't mainly deal with "my life." There are glimpses of personal life. We are made privy to Glubb's difficulties in building up an army to guard a frontier too long; we "sense" his

perfect relations with his officers, part-British and part-Arab, and his men, the best of whom were drawn from the country; we occasionally have glimpses of life in his Amman home, amusing, touching or tragic: the last being when he was given a few hours' notice by King Hussein to "clear out" by aeroplane with a suitcase for himself and one for his wife—a young intriguer had influenced the King, and before long was found guilty of trying to dethrone the King. He left with his own medals and his father's, and his grandfather's presentation plate.

But during those years, the first of them happy with a sensible King and a little country finding its feet, the later of them wretched and arduous, because of the difficulty of guarding a long frontier with inadequate forces, raising those forces with inadequate means, and being stabbed in the back by people who alleged that Traitor Glubb was an agent of the British Government, which was an agent of the Jews, the Pasha could have had little thought for

himself. His epitaph on himself is: "I am no judge of what I deserved. Rather would I borrow the phrase with which Gordon, besieged in Khartoum, concluded his diary: 'I have done my best.'"

At any time this book would have been notable, as autobiography, as history or as mere story; there is an account of a pyromaniac riot in Amman, and its gentle suppression which would make an outstanding chapter in any historical novel. But to-day it is a "source-book" for anybody who wants to know about the contemporary world or has to try to manage the contemporary world.

The Levantine Cauldron is boiling up again, as I write. Turkish troops are alleged to be on the Syrian border, the Syrians are alleged to have been supplied with arms by the Kremlin (which is willing to supply arms to anybody, provided war and misery will ensue) and another World War may follow—such a one as was averted by the English and French incursion into Suez, in order to prevent

the Jewish attack upon Egypt. We stopped a World War, and had little thanks for it. Not that we want thanks; traditionally we do our duty.

This book, I think, should be read by every person in the world who wishes to form an opinion about the Near East. It is too complicated for words. Glubb Pasha was right in the middle of it. His main jobs were to organise an army and to keep the peace. Across the line of demarcation—laid down by the League of Nations—constant invasions took place, and massacres and reprisals. The Jews thought they, after centuries of homelessness (and they were mostly persecuted Jews from Eastern Europe), were recovering their homeland at last; the Canaanites (and we mustn't suppose that everyone speaking Arab is an Arab by race—the Egyptians, mostly, certainly don't think themselves so) knew that they were being deprived of lands which their forefathers had held for millennia—Glubb Pasha gives us instances of farmlands which have been cut across by the U.N.O. partition line, a silly President-Wilsonian-demarcation, which allows a man to plough up a certain length of his ancestral earth, but to be shot by a Jewish sentry if he goes beyond it.

The General was accused, in Jordan, of being a Jewish agent: that is the fate of the fair-minded man. He knows now that he may be accused of being an Anti-Semite, simply because he tells what he thinks is the truth. "Perhaps I should here make my position clear once and for all. I believe that the creation and maintenance of the



THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK REVIEWED ON THIS PAGE: LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN BAGOT GLUBB. Lieut.-General Sir John Bagot Glubb, better known as Glubb Pasha, was born in 1897. He was educated at Cheltenham and then entered the R.M.A., Woolwich. He served in France in World War I, was wounded three times and won the M.C. He went to Iraq in 1920 as a regular officer of the British Army and after five years resigned his commission to devote his life to the Arabs. From 1939 until 1956, when he was dismissed by King Hussein, Glubb Pasha was Chief of General Staff, the Arab Legion.



"THE KING STILL MAINTAINED HIS USUAL SPIRITS": KING ABDULLA ENJOYING A JOKE WITH GLUBB PASHA IN NOVEMBER 1948.

War Office official photograph.



COLOUR PARTIES REPRESENTING DIFFERENT ARAB LEGION UNITS MARCHING FROM BARRACKS TO TAKE PART IN A CEREMONIAL PARADE. THE BRITISH OFFICERS WERE DISMISSED IN 1956.

present book deals primarily with this second period of my life among the Arabs."

I quote this section from Glubb Pasha's preface for three main reasons. Firstly (as the old sermons used to go), to give such people as are unacquainted with his career a background; Secondly, to warn readers of his earlier book "The Story of the Arab Legion" that they need expect here no romantic stories of desert patrols, in silence and solitude, amid many-coloured landscapes and under wide skies, sun-flooded by day, star-lit and moonlit by night, sprinkled with encounters with cattle-raiders and the sort of chivalrous nomads who have appealed to the hearts and minds of many an Englishman; nor those unaffected, naturally-soaring, peaks of prose which arise in the narratives of so many of our fellow-Englishmen, explorers, soldiers, and even scientific men like

* "A Soldier With the Arabs." By Lieut.-General Sir John Bagot Glubb, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C. Illustrations and Maps. (Hodder and Stoughton; 25s.)



AFTER LUNCHING IN THEIR MESS: GLUBB PASHA WITH A GROUP OF YOUNG OFFICERS OF THE ARAB LEGION ARTILLERY.

Illustrations reproduced from the book "A Soldier With the Arabs," by courtesy of the publishers, Hodder and Stoughton.

State of Israel by armed force was a mistake. That the result has been disastrous for the British and the Arabs alike is only too obvious. It seems to me not improbable that it will ultimately prove to be disastrous for the Jews also. This is purely an intellectual opinion on my part, devoid of any emotion."

We can none of us know what will happen in the future. That Near-Eastern cauldron is swirling so hard at the moment, with the new witch from Moscow adding to its commotion, that even a man fully-informed about history, geography, race and religion would find it difficult to make a prediction. It is evident that Glubb Pasha thinks that the Jews will be driven out of their "beach-head" in Asia. Perhaps they needn't be if they would learn how to compromise. But what is the use of thinking of life in terms of "ifs."

Novels are reviewed by K. John, and other books by E. D. O'Brien, on page 808 of this issue.

MORGANTINA IDENTIFIED: A GREEK COLONY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. EXCAVATED IN THE INTERIOR OF SICILY; AND A MONUMENTAL AGORA REVEALED.

By **ERIK SJÖQVIST**, of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A.,
Joint Director of the excavations.

(The Expedition was sponsored by the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University and jointly directed by PROFESSOR ERIK SJÖQVIST and PROFESSOR RICHARD STILLWELL. Financial support was received from the University, its Research Fund, the Spears Fund, the Bollingen Foundation (New York) and private donors. Thanks are also due to the Italian archaeological authorities and especially to PROFESSOR BERNABO BREA, Superintendent of Antiquities at Syracuse, whose helpfulness and generosity were, and are, essential to the success of the enterprise.)

WHEN the Greeks toward the end of the eighth century B.C. landed as colonists on the shores of Sicily they soon took possession of the fertile plains and the many good harbours that the coastland offered. The early inhabitants, the Sicilian tribes, withdrew into the mountainous and inaccessible interior of the island, where they for some time maintained their independence. How soon and how far the Greeks ventured into the inhospitable hinterland, has long remained an unanswered question. The early cultural and political relations between the Greeks and the indigenous population is an obscure but important chapter in the history of the hellenization of Sicily. Systematic archaeological excavations on a suitable site far from the coast should—so it was thought—contribute to the solution of this and related problems.

Serra Orlando, close to the village of Aidone (Fig. 1), in the province of Enna, was chosen as a place likely to fulfil such requirements, and the excavations began in the late summer of 1955.

The Serra Orlando ridge (Fig. 4) is a beautiful site rising to a height of about 1600 ft. and overlooking the valley of the River Gornalunga—the Eryces of ancient times—one of the few that lead from the mountains down to the east coast where the early Greek cities of Katane and Leontinoi dominated the most fertile of all the plains of Sicily. After three seasons of excavations we may now venture to give a name to the city that once covered the better part of this two-mile-long ridge: it was Morgantina, a place mentioned occasionally in the ancient authors. From these authors one gets a dim and sometimes contradictory view of the history and location of the city, but archaeological evidence fills in many of the gaps, and rounds out the picture. The archaeological results and the historical sources cover each other in a singularly happy way, so that what may have seemed unclear in the latter is well illustrated by the former and vice versa. These recurrent coincidences form the basis for our identification, which, however, has to remain hypothetical until an inscription, carrying the city's name, gives the final proof.

The first two seasons revealed to us what the centre of the city, its agora and adjacent zones looked like during the three last centuries B.C. Now we know considerably more about the older periods of the city's life.

On the north slope of the acropolis of Morgantina we have come across the outskirts of a prehistoric village traceable in the form of a hut floor, a hearth and artifacts of flint and pottery. The prehistoric layer rests immediately on the bedrock, and seems therefore to be the first trace of human activity on our site. The bottom layer can be dated to the end of the twelfth century B.C., and the last hut was probably not destroyed before the eighth, possibly even later. The vagueness of the final date depends upon the general

uncertainty still reigning in the field of Central Sicilian proto-history.

We are more precisely informed of what happened afterwards. Just before the middle of the sixth century B.C., the last remains of the early village were razed to the ground, and large rectangular houses of mud-brick on solid stone foundations made their appearance. The newcomers who now settled on the acropolis were Greek pioneers from the east coast of the island. Four separate excavation areas show that they were well installed over the better part of the acropolis and that their settlement was worthy of being called a city. A fortification wall was built around the hill, and traces of temple architecture

reveal the existence of the holy places. We are in a Greek polis, and no longer in a "Barbarian" village. This fact is bound to change considerably the prevailing view of the historically important problem of the hellenizing of Sicily. If the Greeks, as we now know, were able to found a fortified city in the midst of the Sicilian mountains as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C., we have to revise our ideas of the cultural status and the political conditions of the Sicilian hinterland in these early days.

Decorative terra-cotta reliefs meant to adorn the early temples of Morgantina appear among the finds on the acropolis. The oldest of these roof-tile ornaments is—like all its companion pieces—incomplete, but at least preserved in its essential parts. It is a female face (Fig. 20), probably that of a maenad, brightly painted in purple, black and red. Its style assigns it to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. The rest of the architectural terra-cottas are somewhat later and represent different types of Gorgon heads (Fig. 17).

With these finds there came to light an interesting mixture of pottery fragments. A few sherds were of imported Attic ware of the Black Figure and early Red Figure styles, all of good quality; another lot was of unmistakably indigenous manufacture, known as Sicilian III and IV ware, and a third group was of a type that obviously imitated the Attic ware without reaching its high standards either in shape, fabric or paint. If the first group gives witness to the unbroken contact with the motherland, and the second is material bought on the local "Sikel" market, the third group is most probably the product of the colonists' own endeavours in ceramics. This picture is paralleled by the contents of an untouched chamber tomb (Fig. 3), discovered on the steep north-east slope

(Fig. 4) of the acropolis. The architecture of the tomb follows the Sicilian traditions. It is a sizeable rock-cut chamber with saddle-roof and with a stepped entrance, a family tomb for repeated burials possibly stretching over two or three generations. The contents were rich (Fig. 13) and characterised by the same types of ceramics (Figs. 10-12, 14), to which could be added a fourth group of vases of Late Corinthian manufacture (Fig. 15). While the contents of the tomb tell us that its occupants were the same Greek settlers traced on the acropolis, its shape goes to show that the early colonists were far from immune against influences exerted upon them by their Sicilian neighbours. These elements indicate an early fusion of Greek and indigenous elements which in the fullness of time was to result in the specific Siceliot Greek culture.

The archaic settlement came to an abrupt end soon before the middle of the fifth century B.C. It is certainly more than a coincidence that our historical sources record the conquest and destruction

of Morgantina by the indigenous Sicilians under their leader, Ducetius, in the year of 459 B.C. This event may also account for the very scanty remains of the late fifth century on our site.

On a low hill to the north of the later agora of the city there stood a sanctuary dedicated to the two goddesses, Demeter and Persephone, which may date as far back as the first half of the fourth century B.C. but which did not flourish until after 350 B.C. It was a venerated place of worship until at least the end of the third century B.C.

Its shape is irregular and has nothing in common with a Greek temple. A series of rooms are grouped around two courtyards. Among the votive gifts found around the two altars was an amount of terra-cotta sculpture mostly of female devotees (Figs. 19, 21-24). The workmanship varies but is, on the whole, of fine quality and testifies to the skill of the local coroplasts.

The civic centre of the growing city, its agora, was, at the end of the fourth century B.C., laid out on slightly sloping ground, just off the crossing of the two main thoroughfares of the town. It was from the beginning conceived on a monumental scale and the natural configuration of the terrain was organically used in solving the problem of its plan. The north part lies on relatively high and even ground and formed the upper agora, limited to the north by a portico. In the slope toward the south the lower agora (Figs. 8, 9) extends in the shape of a polygonal area and the difference in level between the two squares is marked by a monumental staircase, of a total width of about 180 ft. It circumscribes the lower agora on three sides and was obviously meant to be continued on the fourth (east) side, but the project was never carried out. As it stands it is one of the finest and best-preserved Hellenistic public squares we have from the Greek world outside of Asia Minor, and its plan is unique. The polygonal stepped area would have served admirably as a meeting-place for the public assembly, and a speaker's platform placed off-centre along the east side of the lower agora seems to confirm the idea that the steps were so used.

The planning of the agora was initiated in the decades around the year 300 B.C. when Agathocles was King of Syracuse, a ruler who, during a critical period in his career, had received much-needed military help from the Morgantines. It seems probable that the entire ambitious scheme was started and promoted by his Royal patronage. During the early reign of Hieron II (275-215 B.C.), the agora and its surroundings were still under construction, but the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.), which saw Sicily as its main theatre of operations, seems to have brought the work to a halt. Private buildings encroached upon the agora space (Fig. 9) and some of the unfinished public building had

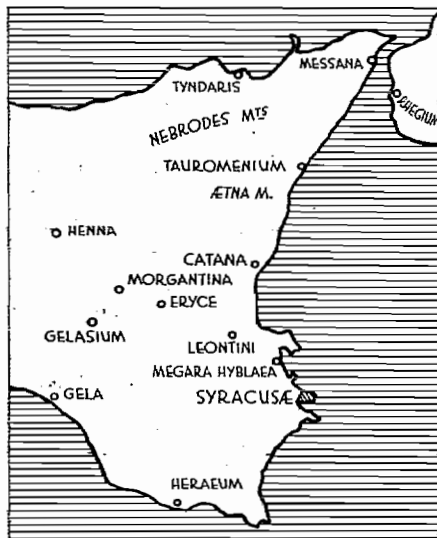


FIG. 1. A MAP OF EASTERN SICILY IN CLASSICAL TIMES, WITH THE SITE OF MORGANTINA, AS NOW IDENTIFIED BY MR. SJÖQVIST, ADDED.



FIG. 2. A GREEK INSCRIPTION, WHICH SAYS "WELCOME" IN A MOSAIC FLOOR OF ONE OF THE SECOND-CENTURY B.C. VILLAS, SHOWING THE PERSISTENCE OF THE HELLENIC CULTURE.

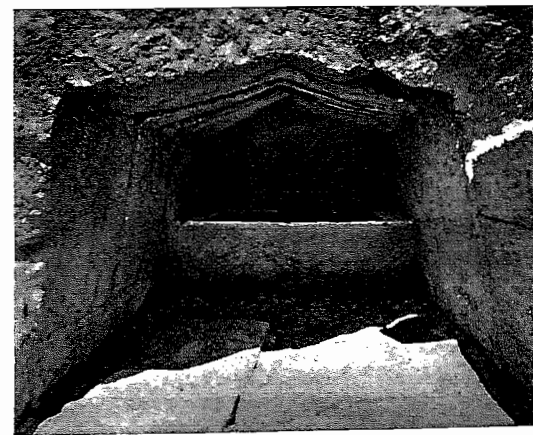


FIG. 3. THE INTERIOR OF ONE OF THE ROCK-CUT TOMBS, IN WHICH ATTIC BLACK FIGURE VASES AND SICILIAN POTTERY WERE FOUND.

The photograph shows the saddle-roof, a rock sarcophagus at the back of the tomb and in the left foreground stone slabs covering the entrance to a shaft grave. This was almost certainly a family tomb.

to lend material for the new private ones. Thus, the great project remained for ever unfinished.

The Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) proved fatal for Morgantina, which at two different occasions espoused the cause of Carthage, the losing side in the war. Roman punishment was prompt and severe: the city and its public land was taken away from its old possessors and by a senatorial decree of 211 B.C. given to the Spaniard Moericus, and his mercenary soldiers, who had rendered great services to the Romans during the Sicilian campaign (Figs. 16, 18). The excavations furnish ample evidence of the rapid decay and serious depopulation of the town at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.

The agora especially was neglected, but during the second quarter of the second century B.C. elegant residential quarters rose on the two hills overlooking its east and west sides (Figs. 5, 7).

[Continued opposite.]

ONE OF THE FINEST OUTSIDE ASIA MINOR:
THE HELLENISTIC AGORA AT MORGANTINA.



FIG. 4. THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MORGANTINA: THE RIDGE OF SERRA ORLANDO LOOKING WEST. THE TRENCHES IN THE FOREGROUND REVEALED THE DEMETER SANCTUARY, THE ACROPOLIS LYING FURTHER BACK.

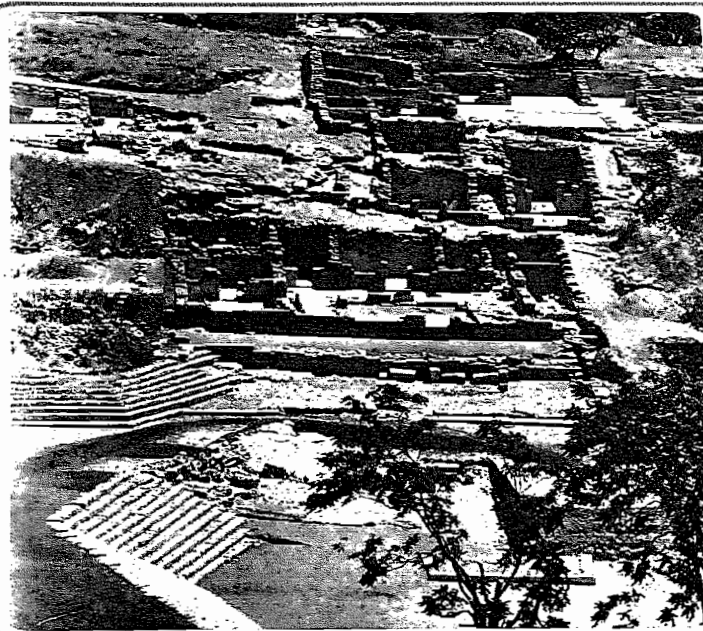


FIG. 5. MORGANTINA REVEALED: IN THE FOREGROUND THE STEPS OF THE LOWER AGORA, AND, RISING BEHIND, PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND LATER RESIDENTIAL HOUSES.



FIG. 6. THE SMALLER ROMAN MARKET-PLACE AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS, BUILT OVER THE UPPER AGORA IN THE LATER STAGES OF THE CITY'S LIFE.

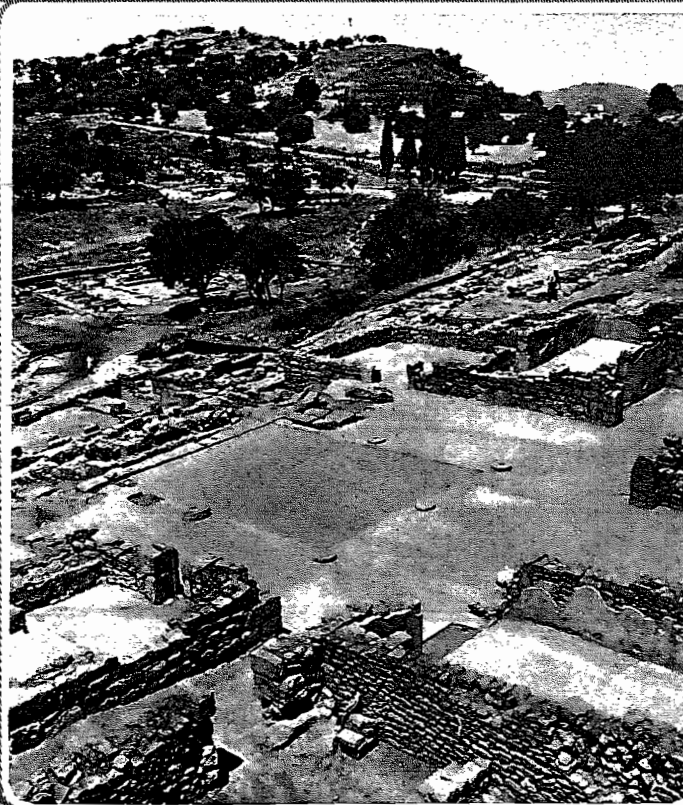


FIG. 7. THE PERISTYLE COURT OF A SECOND CENTURY B.C. ARISTOCRATIC HOUSE ON THE EAST SLOPE ABOVE THE AGORA.



FIG. 8. A DETAIL OF THE TRULY IMPRESSIVE STEPS OF THE LOWER AGORA OF MORGANTINA, BUILT DURING THE REIGN OF AGATHOCLES OF SYRACUSE (317-289 B.C.), AND MEASURING ABOUT 180 FT. IN WIDTH.



FIG. 9. A WIDE VIEW OF THE GREAT LOWER AGORA OF MORGANTINA. IN THE RIGHT MIDDLE GROUND CAN BE SEEN THE BASE OF THE SPEAKER'S PLATFORM; IN THE FOREGROUND, PRIVATE BUILDINGS WHICH INTRUDED ON THE AREA DURING THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, ABOUT 250 B.C.

Continued.] Simple but attractive mosaics cover many of the floors, and a Greek inscription (Fig. 2) on one of them shows that the Hellenistic cultural tradition was unbroken. Towards the middle of the second century B.C. activity returned also to the old agora. A new market-place was installed in the upper agora (Fig. 6) and shops were added to the old northern portico and adjacent regions. During this period the Spaniards of Morgantina issued

their own bronze coinage (Figs. 16, 18) with the proud inscription, "HISPANORUM." These otherwise very rare coins have been found in hundreds in the excavations, and are stratigraphically bound to this period. Morgantina's last period of life coincides roughly with the duration of the Roman Republic. Our last significant finds can be dated to the early years of Octavianus Augustus. The archaeological results corroborate the statement

[Continued overleaf.]

RICH IMPORTED AND SIMPLE LOCAL POTTERY FROM MORGANTINA TOMBS.



FIG. 10. A BLACK-FIGURE ATTIC VASE, FOUND IN ONE OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD ROCK-CUT TOMBS. IT SHOWS A SATYR DANCING BEFORE DIONYSUS.

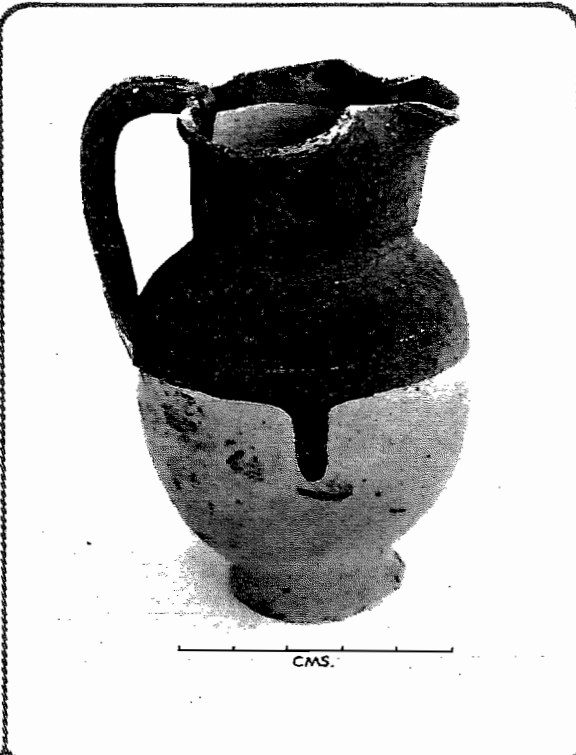


FIG. 11. A SMALL WINE JUG OF LOCAL SICILIAN SIXTH-CENTURY MAKE, FOUND IN THE SAME TOMB AS SOME OF THE IMPORTED ATTIC WARE.

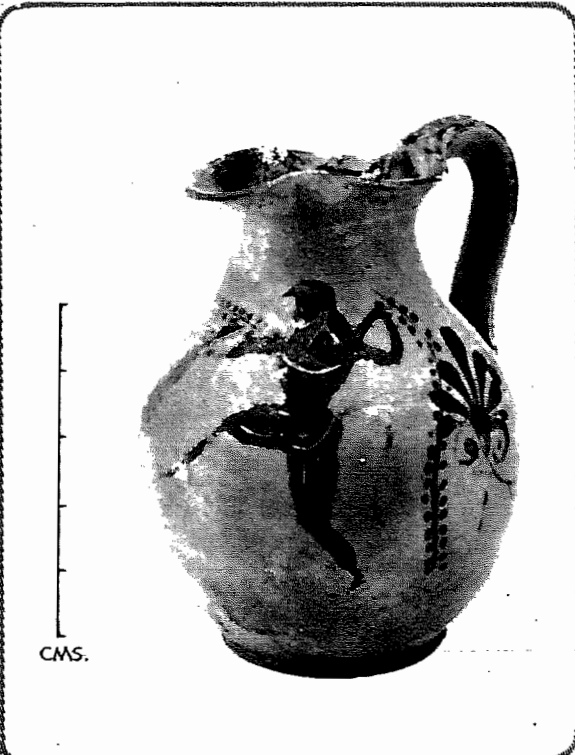


FIG. 12. AN ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE OINOCHOE (WINE JUG), ALSO SHOWING A SATYR. LIKE FIG. 10 IT WAS FOUND IN ONE OF THE ARCHAIC TOMBS.

Continued.]
 of the Greek geographer Strabo, a contemporary of Augustus, who tells us that "Morgantina used to be a town, but now it does not exist." One may speculate over the reasons for its death. There are no traces of a violent destruction in the ruins. All indications seem to show that the life of the city quietly ebbed out, and we have probably to reckon with the incisive effects of the social, political and economic changes which took place at the end of the Roman Republic as the main reason for the erasing of the old urban tradition at Serra Orlando.

(Right.) FIG. 13. FOUND IN A SINGLE ARCHAIC TOMB AT MORGANTINA: A NUMBER OF IMPORTED ATTIC VASES, MOSTLY LEKYTHOI (OIL FLASKS) IN THE LATE BLACK-FIGURE STYLE—A NOTABLE INDICATION OF THE CIVILISATION EARLY ESTABLISHED IN THE INTERIOR OF SICILY BY THE GREEK COLONISTS.



FIG. 14. A KYLIX (DRINKING CUP) MADE BY THE GREEK COLONISTS OF MORGANTINA IN IMITATION OF THE FINER ATTIC WARES OF FIGS. 10, 12 AND 13.

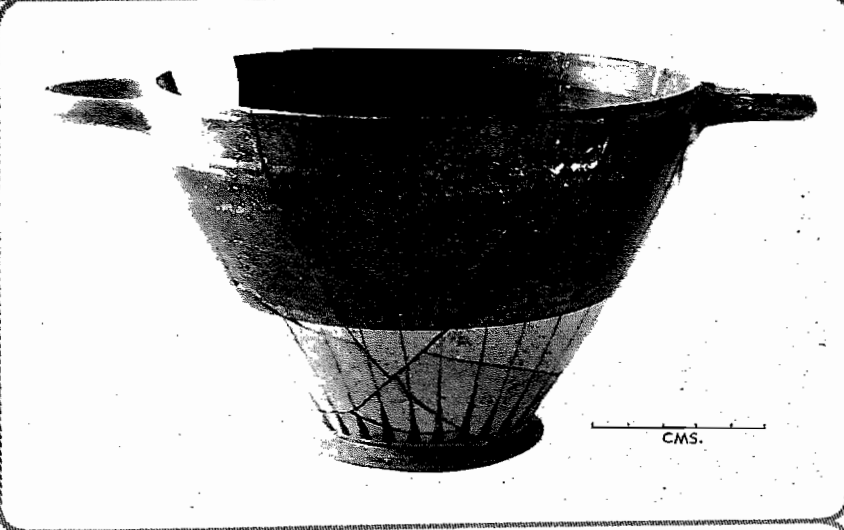


FIG. 15. EVIDENCE THAT POTTERY WAS ALSO IMPORTED FROM CORINTH: A CORINTHIAN SKYPHOS (CUP) OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

PRIESTESSES OF PERSEPHONE; AND RARE COINS OF MORGANTINA.



FIG. 16. A BRONZE COIN OF MORGANTINA OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. BEARING THE INSCRIPTION "HISPANORUM," AS A RESULT OF THE ROMAN SENATE'S DECREE OF 211 B.C. GRANTING THE CITY TO MOERICUS AND HIS SPANISH MERCENARIES.



FIG. 17. A GORGON TERRACOTTA ANTEFIX, A DECORATIVE RELIEF FROM AN EARLY TEMPLE OF MORGANTINA. PROBABLY SIXTH CENTURY B.C.



FIG. 18. ANOTHER "HISPANORUM" BRONZE COIN OF MORGANTINA. THE HEAD, LIKE MORGANTINA'S FOURTH-CENTURY COINAGE, IS MODELLED ON THE ARETHUSA AND DOLPHINS OF SYRACUSE'S BEAUTIFUL COINAGE, BUT THE REVERSE SHOWS A HORSEMAN.



FIG. 19. FROM THE DEMETER SANCTUARY: A TERRACOTTA STATUETTE OF A VEILED WORSHIPPER. DATING FROM THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.



FIG. 20. THE OLDEST OF THE TERRACOTTA RELIEFS FOUND AT MORGANTINA: A MAENAD HEAD ANTEFIX, PAINTED IN BLACK, PURPLE AND RED.



FIG. 21. ONE OF THE MOST DELIGHTFUL OF THE MORGANTINA TERRACOTTAS: A STATUETTE OF A DANCER, FROM THE SANCTUARY AND OF THE EARLY THIRD CENTURY.



FIG. 22. A LIFE-SIZE TERRACOTTA BUST OF A PRIESTESS OF PERSEPHONE, WEARING THE POLOS, OR RITUAL HEAD-DRESS: A WORK OF CONSIDERABLE BEAUTY.



FIG. 24. THE HEAD OF A PRIESTESS OF PERSEPHONE IN TERRACOTTA. EARLY FOURTH CENTURY B.C. AND AN ELOQUENT WITNESS OF THE LOCAL ARTISTIC SKILL.

(Left.) FIG. 23. ANOTHER PRIESTESS OF PERSEPHONE—OFFERING A SACRIFICE. ONE-THIRD LIFE-SIZE. SECOND HALF OF FOURTH CENTURY B.C.



SIGNALLING TO A PILOT BY MEANS OF STAR SHELLS: H.M.S. EAGLE, WHICH IS SHORTLY TO BE S

During the week ending November 2 naval day and night flying exercises from the aircraft-carriers *Eagle*, *Ark Royal* and *Bulwark* were held in the English Channel. Of the three carriers, *Eagle*, it was recently announced, is not now to have the refit originally scheduled for next year, but instead is to undergo extensive modernisation which will begin in 1959 and is expected to be completed three years later. The modernisation will include the installation of steam

catapults to enable new naval aircraft, such as the atom-bomb-carrying *Scimitar* and others, to be launched. Changes are also to be made in the internal structure of the ship, and these will include the raising to a higher deck than at present of the wardroom, the rearrangement of certain mess decks, and possibly the substitution of bunks for hammocks for some of the petty officers and ratings. H.M.S. *Eagle* is one of the two largest British aircraft-carriers, the other being her sister

Morgantina*

KENAN ERIM

Among its many issues which range in date from the Fifth Century B.C. to the end of the Republic, the bronze coinage of Sicily includes one particularly puzzling series which has not always received the attention it deserves.¹ The coins in question are characterized by a Latin legend on their reverse reading "Hispanorum," and the two more usual types encountered combine a helmeted female head (probably an Athena) or an unidentified male head on the obverse, with a galloping horseman on the reverse.² These coins have been generally attributed to Sextus Pompey's rule over Sicily which lasted from 43 B.C. till Pompey's defeat at Naulochus in

36 B.C.³ The interpretation of the curious reverse legend assumed the presence of Spanish troops in Pompey's armies, an assumption based on the known loyalty of Spain toward the sons of Pompey the Great. There was, however, never any reason to doubt the Sicilian origin of these coins, in spite of their legend, since, to the best of our knowledge, none was ever actually found on Spanish soil or anywhere else outside of Sicily.⁴

In the course of the nineteenth century, and even before, coins of this type appeared in several catalogues or numismatic textbooks as mere curiosities, and they received rather strange interpretations.⁵

*The present article (a synopsis of a dissertation presented to the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University for Ph.D. candidacy) is a direct outcome of participation in two campaigns of the excavations at Serra Orlando sponsored by Princeton University. I am consequently greatly indebted to the Princeton Expedition for its generous permission to study and use its scientific material. My indebtedness to Professors Erik Sjöqvist and Richard Stillwell, the joint directors of the excavations, is also enormous. Both dissertation and article could not have come into being without their generous help and encouragement. Professor A. Raubitschek of the Department of Classics of Princeton University, as well as Professor L. West, and Professor A. Alföldi of the Institute for Advanced Study, in Princeton, have also given precious advice and support in this study, for which I am ever grateful to them.

¹The only work dealing exclusively with the bronze currency of Sicily is E. Gabrici's *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica* (Palermo 1927). Margit Särström examined in her *Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines* (Lund 1940) a special field of Sicilian bronze coinage. G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (1903) deals briefly with bronze coinage, including that of the Roman period. M. Bahrfeldt started in 1905 a closer investigation of Romano-Sicilian bronzes: "Die römisch-sicilischen Münzen aus der Zeit der Republik," in *Revue Suisse de numismatique* 12 (1905) 331-445, and "Eine Nachlese," in *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 24 (1927). His study is limited, however, to certain bronze issues of the first century B.C. which can be traced to Roman patronage because of their inscriptions, types, or weights. Otherwise, remarks on bronze coinage, particularly of the Roman period, are only made either *en passant* or as part of an over-all account of coinage of Sicily; see, for instance, A. Holm, "Geschichte des sicilischen Münzwesens," in Vol. III of his *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum* (1870-1902) 543-741.

²The coins have been known since at least the seventeenth century, and they appear in several catalogues. See F. Paruta, *La Sicilia descritta con medaglie e ristampata con aggiunta da Leonardo Agostini* (Lyons 1697) 73-74; J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Pars 1, Vol. 1 (1792) 11; D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie ispane nel Museo Hedervariano* (Florence 1818) 1-2; T. E. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques grecques et romaines* (Paris 1819) Supplément 1, p. 1; A. Heiss, "Notes sur les monnaies de bronze avec la légende

Hispanorum" in *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie*, Tome III 1ère partie (1868) 278-281; A. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* (Paris 1870) 441; G. F. Hill, *Coins of ancient Sicily* (London 1903) 226; A. Holm, "Geschichte des sicilischen Münzwesens," in *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum III* (Leipzig 1870-1902) 463; G. Froehner, "Un nouveau légat de Sicile" in *Revue numismatique*, 4ème série, 12 (1908) 15-17; H. Willers, *Geschichte der römischen Kupferprägung* (Leipzig-Berlin 1909) 98; H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum II* (London 1910) 509 n. 1 and 562 n. 1; G. Heuten, "Les divinités capitoline en Espagne" 2ème partie, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 14 (1935) 713; J. Amóros, "Siracusa y las monedas del Levante Español," in *Rassegna Monetaria*, anno 33, No. 9 (1936) 448; E. Scramuzza, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome III*, Sicily (Baltimore 1937); M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946) 29-31; E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage* (London 1952) 214; most of these items are passing references or mere references to the coins without comments.

³Sextus Pompey made himself master of Sicily in the winter of 43 B.C. with the help of a large fleet. During seven years, he held sway over the island, keeping corn supplies from being shipped to Rome, and making incursions upon the coast of Italy. He was defeated by Agrippa at Naulochus, in the autumn of 36 B.C.; see M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York 1930).

⁴Most of the coins were found in Sicily, as their presence in Sicilian collections and museums indicates. As to the coins in collections outside Sicily and Italy, their provenance or the place where they may have been purchased are not recorded. Two specimens exist in Spain (see footnote 13) but this does not indicate in any way their discovery in Spain if one considers the possibility that the coins might well have been purchased in Sicily, in view of the close political ties between Spain and Sicily during the Renaissance and in later times.

⁵F. Paruta, *La Sicilia descritta con medaglie* (Lyons 1697) 73-74, thought that the coins went back to the conquest of Sicily by the *Sicani* who came from Spain in prehistoric times, and that the male head on one of the types represented King Sicanus or Cocalus. Sestini (*op.cit.*, 1-2) claimed to have read IANORMOS SIC retrograde on the obverse of one specimen of Type 2 (male head/horseman)! The other catalogues where

Alois Heiss seems to have been the first to tie the coins to Sextus Pompey and to connect their "Hispanorum" legend with the Iberian elements in Pompey's armies.⁶ In 1908, Gustave Froehner dealt briefly with the issue in a short article, and suggested a reading for the inscription which appeared alongside the male head of one of the two main types.⁷ He believed that the letters read L. IVNI. LEG. SIC., and he concluded that they identified the head as that of a legate of Sextus Pompey,⁸ who was in charge of minting coins for Pompeian troops. Before Froehner, Holm and Hill, along with Grueber, accepted the connection of the coins with Sextus Pompey.⁹ The most recent treatment of the coins occurs in Michael Grant's *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946). Grant dealt in two paragraphs¹⁰ with the Hispanorum issues, separating the two main types into two mints, and ascribing the Athena/Horseman to Syracuse, the Male head (also accepted as L. Iunius, legate of Sextus Pompey)/ Horseman to Panormus. Only H. Willers disagreed in 1909 with Heiss' theory of the connection of the coins with Pompey.¹¹ He expressed the opinion, on purely stylistic grounds, that the coins must have been struck around 100 B.C.

The Athena or male head/Horseman are not the only two coin types known bearing the legend Hispanorum; several other smaller and much less common types occur, and are represented in various European and American collections.¹² Generally speaking the Hispanorum coins, including the two

main types, are far from numerous; about 122 specimens only are known from various numismatic collections.¹³ The provenance of most of these coins is unknown, but it is very likely that they were found in Sicily.¹⁴ The presence of two specimens in Spanish collections,¹⁵ on the other hand, is probably the result of some Spanish collector's curiosity in coins with the legend Hispanorum. The largest single group of these coins was found in the course of the first two campaigns of the excavations sponsored by Princeton University on the Sicilian site known as Serra Orlando, near Aidone. In all, 198 coins of this type were discovered, and the majority of them was found in such a context that it soon became evident that the re-examination of the Hispanorum coins, and particularly of their date, was imperative. At the same time, speculation about the origin or the mint of the coins could hardly be avoided.¹⁶ The discussion of these problems in the present article is of a somewhat preliminary character, for the continued excavations at Serra Orlando and the almost certain discovery of other coins of this series make a definitive account impossible.¹⁷

The Hispanorum coins found at Serra Orlando contain examples of all the six types described earlier (footnote 12) with Types 1 and 2 most frequently represented.¹⁸ One new type (Type 7) was uncovered in the excavations and must be added to the series:¹⁹ its obverse is occupied by a laureate, bearded head, undoubtedly a Jupiter; the reverse is

the Hispanorum series are listed are: J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Pars I, Vol. I (1792) 11; D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie ispane nel Museo Hedervariano* (Florence 1818) 1-2; T. E. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques grecques et romaines* (Paris 1819) Supplément I p. 1; A. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* (Paris 1870) 441 (although listing the coins in a book devoted to Spanish coinage, A. Heiss recognizes their Sicilian origin).

⁶ A. Heiss, "Note sur les monnaies de bronze avec la légende Hispanorum," in *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie*, Tome III, 1ère partie (1868) 279-281.

⁷ G. Froehner, "Un nouveau légat de Sicile," *Revue numismatique*, 4ème série, Vol. 12 (1908) 15-17.

⁸ Possibly the L. Iunius Silanus who was a candidate in the consular elections of 21 B.C.

⁹ A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, III (Leipzig 1870-1902) 463; G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (London 1903) 226; Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum II* (London 1910) 509, n. 1 and 562, n. 1.

¹⁰ M. Grant, *op.cit.*, 29-31.

¹¹ H. Willers, *Geschichte der römischen Kupferprägung* (Leipzig-Berlin 1909) 98.

¹² One coin represents a Jupiter head to the right combined with a Pegasus (Type 3), another a Diana (?) to the left with a Victoria (Type 4), a third an Athena with an apex (Type 5)

and, finally, a young laureate male head to the right is combined with an apex (Type 6).

¹³ The Museo Nazionale of Palermo owns 26 specimens, the Museo Archeologico of Syracuse, 22, the Hispanic Society in New York, 17, the Museo Nazionale of Naples, 13, the British Museum, 13, the American Numismatic Society, 7, the Royal Collections of Coins and Medals of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen, 5, the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, 5, the Cabinet des médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, 4, the Bundessammlung von Medaillen, Münzen und Geldzeichen of Vienna, 4, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the McClean Collection in Cambridge, 2, the Hunterian Collection, 1, the collection of the University of Catania, 1, the Museo Arqueológico Nacional of Madrid, 1, and the Yriarte collection of Madrid, 1.

¹⁴ See footnote 3.

¹⁵ The Museo Arqueológico and the Yriarte collection of Madrid each own one specimen of the Athena/Horseman type.

¹⁶ These problems were considered in a dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University for the Ph.D. degree in Classical Archaeology in September 1957.

¹⁷ Over seventy-five specimens at least have been found in the early part of the 1957 campaign at Serra Orlando.

¹⁸ For the sake of convenience, the Athena/Horseman issue is referred to as Type 1, the male head/horseman as Type 2.

¹⁹ See footnotes 11 and 49.

an eagle with its head turned right and its wings spread out. It would seem that the bird is clutching a snake in its claws, while the reptile strikes upwards towards the head of the eagle, attempting to loosen its grip. At least three specimens of this type were found. The value of the Hispanorum coins from Serra Orlando consists also in the circumstances of their discovery which caused the re-opening of the question of their date. Although a careful re-examination of the previously known coins could have resulted in a redating, the crucial and clear evidence suggesting a date in a period considerably *earlier* than Sextus Pompey is now available through the excavations.

The work at Serra Orlando concentrated, in the course of both the 1955 and 1956 campaigns on a public area or *agora* of considerable size.²⁰ According to the excavators the original plan and layout of the market area, including the curious polygonal steps at its center, belong to the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. There was apparently a period of interruption of the building activity in the later third century which is to be connected with the Second Punic War and the definitive establishment of Roman rule over the whole of Sicily. A revival of building and commercial activities seems to have taken place in the first half of the second century; to this period would belong the erection of a Central Market in the middle of the *agora* area which had been originally without any building of importance. The excavators believe that the "earliest date for the construction of the (central) market should be placed not earlier than 200 B.C., soon after the advent of Roman power."²¹ In the case of the shops in the northern corner, it appears that they were still in use in the first half of the first century B.C. It is especially in constructions and stratifications belonging to the second period of activity at Serra Orlando that a great number of Hispanorum coins were found, and this fact requires a re-examination of the date of the whole series. The Central Market in particular yielded a great quantity of these coins, along with several Roman silver issues. The majority of the other bronze coins represented were third century Syra-

cusan issues, late third century Mamertine coins, and second-first century coins of Catania. The pottery and other accompanying material is consistent with the date given by the coins, particularly by the Roman *denarii* which all belong to the second half of the second and the early part of the first centuries.²² In one significant instance, a Hispanorum coin and a *denarius* of Sextus Pompeius Fostlus (dated between 133 and 126 B.C.) were found lodged within the footing of the walls of adjoining shops. Since neither coin was very much worn, one may conclude that they were used and lost at about the same time and that the Hispanorum coin in question was struck about 125 B.C. Moreover, the great number of such coins discovered at floor-level in all the shops of the Central Market, together with various earlier issues still in circulation, indicates that these coins were in use at the peak of activity of the shops, which, according to Professor Sjöqvist, flourished in the second half of the second century B.C. Similar evidence is provided by shops built at about the same time as the central market in the northern corner of the *agora*. The majority of the coins from this area, found at floor-level and even slightly below, were of the late third, second, and early first centuries B.C., again confirming the excavator's belief that these *tabernae* were erected and in full use in the course of the second century. Finally, in the area south of the monumental, polygonal steps, the lower parts of which were silted up in the late third century B.C., at least four Hispanorum coins were brought to light in the earth which accumulated on top of the alluvial sand that buried the steps. Once again, the accompanying coins and pottery support the second century date suggested by other considerations. In short, the existence of the Hispanorum issues by the latter part of the second century is proven beyond any reasonable doubt.

If one re-examines the coins on the basis of style, one comes to the same conclusions which are suggested by the archaeological evidence. In fact, H. Willers' interpretation is strikingly confirmed.²³ The scarcity of studies in late Sicilian bronze coinage makes general conclusions difficult. It is true

in the second and early first centuries B.C.

²³ H. Willers, *Geschichte der römische Kupferprägung*, p. 98, says: ". . . Man pflegt ihm (i.e. Sextus Pompeius) allerdings auch eine kleine Gruppe von Kupfermünzen zuzuweisen . . . Sextus hat diese Münzen also gewiss nicht schlagen lassen: ihr schöner Stil weist vielmehr in eine frühere Zeit, etwa gegen 100 v. Chr. . . ."

²⁰ The area covered measures approximately 250 x 150 m. A preliminary report of the first two seasons of excavations by R. Stillwell and E. Sjöqvist appeared in *AJA* 61 (1957) 151-159.

²¹ *op.cit.*, 155.

²² The pottery fragments included shallow matt-black-glazed bowls of the "Calenian" variety, probably a local product, fusiform *unguentaria* of the second century, and lamps datable also

that the Hispanorum series could not compete with the earlier masterpieces engraved by Sicilian die-cutters. However, except for Types 2 and 3 (Jupiter/Pegasus) which, when worn, may look somewhat crude, the remaining issues are often so fine as to merit Willers' calling them *eine schöne kleine Gruppe*.²⁴ Grant attributes the "artistic execution" of Types 1 (Athena/Horseman) to a "deliberate" "imitation of coins of Hiero II" and to "mere archaism"!²⁵ Comparable numismatic material from Eastern Sicily and Southern Italy, in spite of the chronological uncertainties surrounding some of these parallels, all belong to the second century and to the early first century. Indeed, if one takes each of the seven Hispanorum types individually, there are more third and second century coins to which they show certain affinities than later first century issues which could support the earlier theory of a mid-first century B.C. date for the series.

The most striking resemblance to the Athena on the obverse of Type 1 is found on a *denarius* of the last quarter of the second century. The head on the Roman coin represents Roma, as the inscription asserts, but the general appearance of the figure, the well-rounded helmet and rather elongated neck, are all treated in a fashion similar to that of the Hispanorum Athena. This *denarius* has been dated by numismatists within, for instance, the period from 114 to ca. 90 B.C.; Sydenham²⁶ places the coin between 110 and 100 and thinks that it originated in Central Italy. Evidently the winged, crested Corinthian helmet with the pointed visor is a novelty in the representation of Roma, but typologically speaking, one encounters several heads of this type, with a similar helmet, on coins from Southern Italy and Sicily. One wonders, therefore, whether *Magna Graecia* rather than Sydenham's Central Italy would not be a better place of origin for these *denarii*. A didrachm of Cales dated in the late fourth or early third century (334-268 B.C.) and certain gold and silver issues struck by the Syracusan democracy between 215 and 212 B.C. show some general similarities, although the physi-

ognomy of their Athenas lacks the more trenchant features on the *denarii* and is, as could be expected, more classical and Greek in tone. The same holds true for the obverse Athena of several bronze issues of Tauromenium in the Roman period (i.e. post 212 B.C.) and of certain South Italian cities under Roman rule such as Caelia, Hyria, Luceria, Vibo Valentia, not to mention some third century Tarentine diobols.²⁷ In short, if the obverse of the *denarius* is an innovation for Roman coinage, it was already current in *Magna Graecia* before the striking issuance of the *denarius*; this suggests that the die-cutter of the Hispanorum Athena was influenced either by the South Italian or the Roman types. In fact, it is possible to distinguish at least four different dies for the Athena head, which indicate a certain stylistic development characterized by an increasing trend towards simplification of the lines; it is probable, therefore, that there was a certain interval between the first and the last of these variants. The last die differs enough from the other three in details (such as symbols and monograms), though perfectly identical in both obverse and reverse designs, to recommend a later date. One cannot expect help in this matter from the archaeological evidence, but the chronological differentiation of the four dies seems to be supported by the excavations.²⁸ The study of Types 2 and 3²⁹ shows clearly a simplification, if not deterioration, of the engraving which may indicate a slightly later date for these issues in the relative chronology of the series. There can be little doubt that the male head on the obverse of Type 2 is a portrait. This is suggested by the inscription which Froehner read as L. IVNI LEG. SIC.³⁰ His interpretation is unfortunately incorrect. First of all, the direction of his reading, starting on the right side (L. IVNI) and continuing on the left side from the top down (LEG. SIC) seems rather unusual. The inscription evidently begins on the left side and continues on the right side. Unfortunately, none of the coins from Serra Orlando (nor any of the previously known specimens) is well enough preserved to allow at present

²⁴ See footnote 23.

²⁵ M. Grant, *op.cit.*, 30.

²⁶ Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 67.

²⁷ All are represented in S. W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 1923). Cales: p. 28; pl. 10, 1-4; Tauromenium: p. 356; pl. 109, 6-8; Caelia, p. 60, pl. 17, 7-12; Hyria: p. 61; pl. 17, 16; Luceria: p. 61, pl. 17, 17. Vibo Valentia: p. 211; pl. 56, 16-17; Tarentum: p. 103; pl. 27, 11, 12-13 and 16.

²⁸ In the shops of the central market, a few specimens of the

first three dies occurred either (as in one case) in the footing of the walls, or at the very bottom of the floor-level, while a great number of coins of the last die-type was found at a higher level of the floor.

²⁹ Types 2 and 3 were unquestionably engraved by the same die-cutter. The treatment of both heads of the obverses and the handling of the horse of the reverse of Type 2 and the Pegasus of the reverse of Type 3 are very similar. Moreover, both coins probably bear the same inscription on their obverses.

³⁰ Froehner, *op.cit.*, 16.

a certain reading for the whole inscription. Froehner's interpretation, however, is definitely to be rejected. In fact, only a few of the letters of his "L. IVNI LEG. SIC." can be said to be correctly read. Moreover in one or two exemplars of Type 2, as well as on some coins of Type 3 (which has most probably the same legend on its obverse), the surface where the "LE" of the "LEG. SIC." should have been visible, if one believed Froehner, is clearly uninscribed. "C. SIC" can be confidently read, on the other hand. Consequently, the inscription probably begins "C. SIC.—," but the letters on the right side do not allow a positive reading. An identification of the person is evidently impossible. The importance of this inscription hardly needs to be emphasized, as it could well assist in the solution of the "Hispanorum" problem. One can only hope that a coin in better condition may turn up in future excavations.³¹

The association of a male head and a charging rider (Type 2), on obverse and reverse, is not a rarity among coins. It occurs on a very common bronze issue of Hieron II, the obverse of which is thought to contain a portrait of the Syracusan monarch. On the other hand, a male head and a horseman appear on many bronze and silver issues of Spain, particularly *Hispania Citerior* during the second and first centuries B.C.³² This coincidence together with the presence of the legend Hispanorum on the reverse of our coins is evidently thought-provoking. One cannot, however, connect the coins directly with the Iberian peninsula for several reasons. First of all, no specimen of Type 2 was found in Spain or even exists, to our knowledge, in Spanish collections.³³ Moreover, no other type of the Hispanorum series presents any close analogy to the coinage of Spain proper. The Iberian type of the Male head/Horseman has itself been connected by some scholars with the Hieron II bronze issues already mentioned.³⁴ The possibility of such

an involved interrelationship for Type 2 is too tenuous to allow any clear conclusions although it is difficult to deny the similarity of the various types involved. There exists some affinity between the head on the obverse of Type 2 and the head of Ares on the obverse of certain Mamertine issues of the third century B.C.,³⁵ and the heads on obverses of two *denarii*, one of L. Memmius (ca. 109 B.C.) and the second (a helmeted Mars) of Q. Lutatius Cerco (ca. 106).³⁶ It so happens that the mint of these Roman coins was probably either in Sicily or in Southern Italy. While the technique of the engraving on the Hispanorum coins is less skillful, the profiles on all the obverses in question and particularly the curved eyebrow (which recalls Pergamene art) show definite similarities.

The common reverse of Types 1 and 2 (the figure of a horseman galloping to the right, holding a spear in rest) is too small to allow close comparison with other similar coins.³⁷ The same general type occurs, with certain differences in details, on several earlier Sicilian issues, such as a silver *litra* of Morgantina, from the fifth century B.C., an Agathoclean bronze coin struck between 310-308 B.C. (there also combined with an Athena on the obverse), and finally the Hieron II bronze coins mentioned before.³⁸ There is no doubt that the horseman is iconographically significant in the case of the Hispanorum series. Its presence on the two most common types (1 and 2) indicates clearly some deliberate purpose; evidently, the authority which struck the coins, i.e. the *Hispani* (or their ancestors!) were skilled horsemen and fighters on horseback, a fact which they chose to publicize on their currency. The significance of this interpretation will be emphasized and explained below.

The remaining types of the Hispanorum series can be compared with both earlier and contemporary issues (i.e. of the second century B.C.). The obverse of Type 3 finds parallels on two Syracusan

³¹ Froehner's is illustrated by two drawings of the obverse of Type 2, with his reading restored on the coin. He does not indicate, unfortunately, from what collection the specimens in question are taken. Other readings for the right hand part of the inscription include . . . "ANA" by Macdonald on the sole specimen of the Hunterian collection (*Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. 1, 258; pl. xix, 3) and the preposterous IANORMOS SIC, retrograde, suggested by Sestini (*op.cit.*, 2).

³² A. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* (Paris 1870); G. F. Hill, *Notes on the ancient coinage of Hispania Citerior*, Numismatic notes and monographs of the American Numismatic Society, No. 50 (1931).

³³ The two Hispanorum coins already noted as being in two Spanish collections (see footnote 13) are both Type 1 specimens.

³⁴ G. F. Hill, *op.cit.*, 42-43.

³⁵ M. Särström, *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines* (Lund 1940) Series II, Group A, p. 1 III-V.

³⁶ Sydenham, *op.cit.*, 174-175, nos. 558 and 559.

³⁷ The horseman seems to wear a short tunic and a crested helmet; he holds the spear in his right hand. His chlamys flies back in the wind.

³⁸ Morgantina *litra*, *Monnaies grecques antiques*, Jameson Collection, p. 142; pl. xxxii, 663. Syracuse: Agathocles bronze coin: Gabrici, *La monetazione . . .*, pl. v, 9. Hieron II coin: *idem*, pl. v, 20.

bronze issues of the Roman period as well as on some early first century Romano-Sicilian bronze coins: these and their Panormitan derivatives were studied by M. Bahrfeldt, as already stated.³⁹ On the other hand, there is a certain similarity between the Jupiter of the Hispanorum Type 3 and that on the obverse of certain dies of the early second century B.C. Roman *Victoriati* (again struck according to general agreement in Southern Italy).⁴⁰

The Diana of Type 4 is closely related to a similar female head on the obverse of a Centuripae bronze⁴¹ coin of the Roman period: both have two symbols, a bow and quiver, which identify the figure. The same design appears, in a more elaborate and elegant engraving, on the obverse of a *denarius* of M. Aemilius Lepidus of ca. 109 B.C.⁴² The Nike or Victory of the reverse is an almost exact reproduction of the motif on the reverse of a Mamertine issue dated about the middle of the second century.⁴³ In turn, the Mamertine type, a variant of the trophy-crowning Nike, is akin to earlier or contemporary Bruttian and South Italian coins⁴⁴ which also probably influenced the creation of the *victoriatu*s reverse.⁴⁵ Types 5 and 6 must be examined together since they happen to share a common reverse design of an *apex*. This unusual motif, perhaps because of its very uniqueness, cannot be easily interpreted. For the *apex* had undoubtedly a significance of its own and, in addition to the Latin of the inscription, this thoroughly Roman priestly headgear is the most obvious indication that the series originated in a city under

Roman rule. Two parallel cases exist in which an *apex* is represented on reverses, and their similarity to Types 5 and 6 is so striking that one can conclude that all these coins are contemporary and that they were probably engraved by the same die-cutter. The issues in question are Syracusan bronze coins⁴⁶ from the Roman period on which the legend is arranged around the *apex* ΣΤ-ΡΑ-ΚΟΣ-ΙΩΝ (divided in two registers precisely like the HIS-PA-NOR-VM of Type 5) and ΣΤΡΑΚΟΣ-ΙΩΝ (just like the HISPA-NORVM of Type 6). Unfortunately, it is at present impossible to connect the *apex* on either the Hispanorum or the Syracusan coins with any known event or individual, or with any known Roman coin. Indeed, the *apex* never appears alone on any Roman issue. Whenever it does occur, however, it is only in association with other priestly and religious implements such as the *securis*, the *aspergillum* or *simpulum*.⁴⁷ The *apex* is also found, as a monogram or as an additional symbol, on an early *denarius* from ca. 187-175 B.C.,⁴⁸ together with other signs or symbols, such as the ear of corn or the *securis*. In none of these cases has it been possible to ascertain the significance of the *apex*, whether it stands as the badge of some *gens* or as a purely Roman symbol, alluding to the sacred character of some magistrate's office.⁴⁹

The reverse motif of Type 7 (eagle and snake) is more interesting than the Jupiter head of its obverse. The latter, however, is far better engraved than the Jupiter of Type 3, a fact which is not always evident because of the rarity of the coins of

³⁹ See footnote 1.

⁴⁰ Sydenham, *op.cit.*, 11, pl. 15.

⁴¹ Gabrici, *op.cit.*, pl. VI, 38.

⁴² Sydenham, *op.cit.*, 74, 558; pl. 19.

⁴³ Särström, *op.cit.*, 33, pls. XLVI & XLVII.

⁴⁴ There are several issues of Petelia, and the *Bruttii*, including the well-known Nike of Terina that utilize the Nike figure, standing or seated, with a wreath or some other object in her hand. See Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, op.cit.*, pls. 49, 58, 62.

⁴⁵ Sydenham, *op.cit.*, 11, pl. 15.

⁴⁶ The obverses of the Syracusan bronzes represent the head of Apollo, long-haired and laureate, in the one case to the left, in the other to the right. Well-preserved specimens are lacking among those illustrated in various catalogues; see Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, op.cit.*, 35, pl. 108, 7; Gabrici, *op.cit.*, 186, pl. IX, 16. Some, like Froehner (*op.cit.*, 17) saw a Q. on the Syracusan bronzes, and assumed that it referred to the *quaestor*.

⁴⁷ The coins on which the *apex* appears as part of the reverse design are: 1) a *denarius* of C. Julius Caesar, ca. 54-51 B.C., Sydenham, *op.cit.*, p. 167, 1006; 2) *denarii* and *quinarii* of M. Antony ca. 43, Syd. p. 188, 1156; 3) a *denarius* of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, ca. 39-37, Syd. p. 212, 1358; 4) a *denarius* of L. Mussidius, ca. 32, Syd. p. 181, 1096; 5) a *quinarius* of Q.

Caepio Brutus and L. Sestius, 43-42, Syd. p. 202, 1292. In all these cases, the *apex* is not in the center of the composition, but is represented with other symbols or tools.

⁴⁸ As an additional symbol the *apex* appears: a) with a hammer, under the Dioscuri of the reverse of the *denarius* just mentioned Syd. p. 16, 150; b) on the left of the Roma head on the obverse of a *denarius* of L. Postumius Albinus, 125-120 B.C., Syd. p. 56, 472; c) behind the Roma head on a *denarius* of Q. Quinctius (Flaminius), ca. 119-110, Syd. p. 62, 505; d) on the reverse of a *denarius* of C. Egnatius Maxsumus, ca. 73, Syd. p. 129, 786; e) on the left of the Libertas of the obverse of a *denarius* of L. Farsuleius Mensor, ca. 73, Syd. p. 130, 789; f) on the left of the Saturn on the obv. of a *denarius* of (M. Nonius) Sufenas, ca. 63-62, Syd. p. 184, 885; g) with an ear of corn on the rev. of a *denarius* of L. Valerius Flaccus 103 B.C., Syd. p. 76, 565; h) with a *lituus* on the obv. of a *denarius* of P. Sepullius Macer, ca. 44 B.C., Syd. p. 79, 1075.

⁴⁹ Sydenham, *op.cit.*, 16, wondered if these symbols such as "the *apex* (flamen's cap) and hammer, or mallet might not be punning allusions to moneymen's names such as Flaminius or Flamininus and Tuditanus (from *tudes*) or Malleolus (from *malleus*);" but as he himself admitted, this is "pure conjecture," and a dangerous one too!

this type and the absence of well-preserved specimens.⁵⁰ The head is similar to the Zeus on the obverse of several Mamertine issues of the late third and the early second centuries.⁵¹ The reverse design is rare among coins: the eagle attacking or devouring a prey occurs often enough among the coins of some Sicilian cities as, for instance, on the well-known coins of Akragas which show an eagle or eagles devouring a hare (fifth century B.C.). The eagle and the snake are found less frequently in the western Mediterranean numismatic repertory.⁵² The two animals are associated however, on a few Sicilian issues, particularly on two bronze issues of the cities of Herbessus and Morgantina, both dated ca. 340 B.C. The example from Morgantina is especially worth examining because it, too, portrays an eagle (to the left) with wings spread holding a snake in its claws. The snake strikes upward toward the head of the bird. The interpretation of both the Herbessus coin, whose design is somewhat different,⁵³ and the Morgantina coins has been connected with the participation of these two cities in the campaigns of Timoleon: the eagle and the snake are thought to refer to an incident observed by the soothsayers on the eve of the battle at the Crimisus and interpreted as a sign of victory.⁵⁴ The similarities between the designs on the Morgantina and the Hispanorum coins must not be disregarded, because the composition is too unique to be repeated by pure coincidence. Indeed, this contact of the Hispanorum coins with Morgantina will prove to be very significant.

The obvious problem that must be faced, once the second century date of the Hispanorum coins has been convincingly established, is the explanation of the presence of *Hispani* on Sicilian soil in Roman times. The alleged influx of Spaniards with Sextus Pompey is not the first contact between the two countries. If one leaves aside the prehistoric period,⁵⁵ one finds numerous occasions when Iberians were in Sicily, mainly because of the

Carthaginians' foothold in both countries. The excellent military qualities of the Spaniards, particularly their skill as horsemen, made their use as mercenaries highly desirable. It is not surprising, therefore, to find many references in Diodorus Siculus to the use of Iberian mercenaries by the Carthaginians in Sicily during their various conflicts with the Greeks. The examples begin with Himera in 480 B.C. (Diodorus II. 1.5) and continue through the fourth century. In the course of the First Punic War, Spanish auxiliaries were probably utilized even by Hieron II, for his grandson and brief successor, Hieronymus, is said by Livy (24. 24) to have had *Hispanorumque auxiliares* during the Second Punic War. Furthermore, in the course of this war, the contingent of Iberian mercenaries in the Carthaginian armies grew in size, as Punic power increased in Spain. Hannibal, when he invaded Italy, included many Spaniards in his forces (Livy 23.46.6-7; 24.47.11) and even the Romans started to employ them in their need for fighting men, especially horsemen, after Cannae: indeed, many Spaniards passed over voluntarily to the Roman side (or were persuaded to do so) on many an occasion (Livy 23.46.7; 24.49.7-8). In 212 B.C. in the course of the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus, there were apparently Iberian auxiliaries⁵⁶ within the city (Livy 25.30.1). One of their officers by the name of Moericus was won over to the Roman cause during the final assault and he opened Achradina to the besiegers (Livy 25.30). The reward of Moericus was by no means small: he participated in the triumphal processions of Marcellus on the Alban Mount and later in Rome, and he was granted citizenship and 500 *iugera* of land. Livy adds (26.21.9-13) that to Moericus and his loyal Spaniards were promised *ex senatus consulto* a city and its territory from among those communities that had shown themselves treacherous to Rome. In 211 B.C., the Carthaginians made a last attempt at an invasion of Eastern Sicily; many

matic Chronicle 14, 3rd series (1894) 233-237 comments on these issues.

⁵⁵ The *Sicani* were according to tradition the earlier inhabitants of Sicily and were driven to the western part of the island by the *Siculi* who came from Italy. The *Sicani* are believed by some scholars, like Freeman (*History of Sicily* I [Oxford 1891] 472-494) to have come from Spain, this on the basis of Thucydides (6.2) and Philistus, echoed by Diodorus (5.6). According to Diodorus, Timaeus rejected this theory and contended that the *Sicani* were an autochthonous population.

⁵⁶ Probably the same as those mentioned by Livy as being among Hieronymus' forces (24.24).

⁵⁰ The only specimen known of this type besides the three uncovered in Serra Orlando, is in the collection of the Hispanic Society in New York. This type is unknown to Gabrici, nor does anyone seem to have been aware of its existence.

⁵¹ M. Särström, *op.cit.*, 121, Series XVI, Group A.

⁵² In Greece itself, the coins of Elis are naturally the most obvious instance of the eagle and snake motif on the reverse.

⁵³ The Herbessus reverse shows the eagle, wings closed, standing right, but its head turned left, looking back at a curling snake; see Gabrici, *op.cit.*, pl. III, 10.

⁵⁴ The incident is related by Plutarch, *Timoleon* 26. A. J. Evans, "Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics," in *Numis-*

cities opened their gates to them, among them the town of *Murgentia*⁵⁷ or Morgantina. M. Cornelius Cethegus the praetor crushed the rebellious cities, and according to Livy (26.21.17) . . . "atque ex iis *Murgentiam Hispanis quibus urbs agerque debatur ex senatus consulto attribuit.*"

It is with these *Hispani* that I should like to identify the Spaniards of our coins and I should like also to suggest that Morgantina (or *Murgentia*) was the place where the coins were struck. The language of Livy is clear and the trustworthiness of his sources cannot be questioned: the expressions are so precise and formal that one wonders whether Livy did not study the actual *senatus consultum de Hispanis*; he may, of course, have obtained his information from an early and reliable annalist. There is no reason to doubt, furthermore, that Moericus and his group did actually settle down in Morgantina, although there is no mention of either the city or its "owners" in the subsequent narrative of Livy; indeed, the silence that surrounds Morgantina thereafter should not be taken as an indication of the absence of the *Hispani*. It is, of course, difficult to explain satisfactorily the difference in time between the original settlement in or shortly after 211 B.C. and the appearance of the Hispanorum coins in the second half of the second century. The Spaniards could not strike their own currency immediately upon taking possession of Morgantina and a certain amount of time must have elapsed for the establishment of political and economic organization before problems of currency would arise. The silence that surrounds Sicily, and Mor-

gantina, in the first half of the second century is to be taken as a sign of reconstruction and gradually increasing prosperity. That two generations elapsed before coins were issued by the *Hispani* should not be regarded as excessive, nor should it be assumed that during this interval the ethnic consciousness of the settlers was obliterated. It must be admitted, however, that we do not know the political circumstances, if any,⁵⁸ under which Morgantina's *Hispani* began striking bronze coins.⁵⁹

The only later references to Morgantina in ancient sources deal with its role in the Servile Wars, from 139 to 131 and from 104 to 101 B.C. In the first of these wars, Morgantina may well have been taken by the slaves, while in the second it was certainly besieged, though its capture is uncertain. The account of the events that took place during these slave rebellions are unfortunately not fully preserved and the information at our disposal is, in a very fragmentary state, in the 35th and 36th books of Diodorus, and in a few casual passages of Valerius Maximus and Dio Cassius.⁶⁰ The corresponding books of Livy are lost, and only echoes of them can be extracted from Florus and Orosius as well as from the *Periochae*.⁶¹ In the first century B.C., the *Murgentini* are listed by Cicero (*In Verr.* 2.2.103) among the *civitates decumanae* which apparently suffered at the hands of Verres.⁶² By the late first century, Strabo bluntly asserts that Morgantina no longer exists. (6.2.4). The absence of references to the Iberian origins of the population should not be regarded too seriously, since the passages in question are never long and detailed. In

⁵⁷ The orthographical variants for the name of the city are numerous: Thucydides (4.65.142) uses *Μοργαυτλην*, Diodorus generally *Μοργαυτληα*, Livy, *Murgantia* or *Murgentia*. The form adopted here is Diodorus' because he is the most reliable source, and also because Morgantina is used in the inscription (in Greek naturally) of a silver *litra* from the fifth century B.C. The existence of a *Murgantia* (?) in Samnium, whose precise location is unknown, may explain some of the orthographical variants which are perhaps due to confusions.

⁵⁸ Coinage naturally does not necessarily reflect political events, and this is particularly true in the case of bronze coinage.

⁵⁹ Rome being, of course, the only one to strike in other metals.

⁶⁰ Valerius Maximus: 2.7.3; 2.7.9; 4.3.10; 6.9.8; 9.12.8. Dio Cassius, *Reliquiae* Book 27, frag. 93.1; 93.4.

⁶¹ *Periochae* of Books 56, 58, 59 and 69. Florus 2.7; Orosius 5.6 and 9.

⁶² Cicero's information is probably based on the *Lex Rupilia* (drawn up at the end of the First Servile War) which served as a sort of charter for Sicily. It would seem that the 68 Sicilian communities were, according to that *Lex*, divided into four categories: I) the *civitates foederatae* (3), II) the *civitates liberae et immunes* (5), III) the *civitates decumanae* (34),

among which was Morgantina, and IV) the *civitates censoriae*, (26) among which was Syracuse. The more favorable condition was naturally that of the first two classes. The *decumanae* paid one tenth of their agricultural revenue to Rome. It is difficult to see whether the right of issuing coins had anything to do with this classification: I) two of the *foederatae*, Messana and Tauromenium, strike. (Notum is not known to have struck coins either before or after 212 B.C.); II) All the *liberae et immunes* (i.e. Centuripae, Halaesa, Panormus, and Segesta) strike, except Halicyae. III) Twenty of the thirty-four *decumanae* are known to have issued bronze coins. IV) Only Acrae, Eryx, Lilybaeum, and Syracuse issue bronzes after 212. The lack of coins for Notum and Halicyae could be explained by the fact that neither city struck coins even before 212. In the case of the *censoriae*, Eryx (because of religious importance), and Lilybaeum and Syracuse, the seats of the two quaestors, may well have issued coins by special permission. As to the *decumanae*, one can certainly conclude that their status did not prevent them from striking bronze coins. Moreover, these communities were certainly in productive areas, a fact which their classification suggests. It is not surprising, therefore, that Morgantina should issue coins in the second century B.C. under the name of its *Hispani*.

truth, Morgantina, like many other Sicilian towns in the interior, must have been gradually deprived of its importance in the course of the first century B.C.

The closest parallel to the establishment of the *Hispani* at Morgantina is provided by that of the Mamertines at Messana.⁶³ Both cities were occupied by former mercenaries of Syracuse who became friends and allies of the Romans. In both cases, the mercenaries replaced the old population and substituted their own names for the former name of the city, at least on the coins. The Mamertines issued coinage from about the second quarter of the third century on, first of all as an independent state and, after the Roman conquest, under the same conditions that applied to the bronze coinage of other Sicilian towns. It may be presumed that this was also true for the *Hispani* of Morgantina after 211 B.C. It is therefore unnecessary to search for a Roman precedent for these coins simply because they bear Latin inscriptions. The *Hispani* put Latin legends on their coins because their own native language, probably a form of Celtiberian, lost significance in a Greek or Latin-speaking milieu, and also because they may have preferred the language of their patrons to that of their possibly unfriendly Greek neighbors; the Mamertines, on the other hand, began striking coins at the time when Sicily (at least Eastern Sicily) was Greek speaking as a whole and accordingly they put Greek legends on their own coinage. The similarity of the coins issued by these two groups of alien mercenaries has already been discussed. A further interesting analogy can be observed in the coin legends. In fact, the absence of the name of Morgantina on the Hispanorum coins immediately recalls the case of the Mamertine coins which never bear the name of Messana but only display ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ. Both are genitive plural forms which imply possession or origin of the coins, or which depend perhaps on the name of the city (i.e. *Morgantina Hispanorum*; *Μεσσήνα Μαμερτῖνων*). It is significant to remember that neither *Hispani* nor Mamertines enjoyed Roman

citizenship when the coins were issued. Assuming that the *Hispani* were aware of their ethnic origins (the Mamertines undoubtedly were), it is both logical and even juridically correct that they maintained their ethnic names in order to be distinguished from Romans and Latins, whose privileges and rights they did not share. There is a further parallel to draw between the two coin series: the Mamertines always clearly advertised their warlike characteristics on their coinage, even after the third century B.C., through various figures of warriors on the reverse and through heads of Ares or Zeus on the obverse. Similarly, the favorite reverse design of the *Hispani* was the galloping horseman, charging with a spear. The military implications of the type (as well as those of the Athena on the obverse of Type 1) are self-evident, and one is fully justified in inferring, from the frequent use of this type, that the original *Hispani* were above all skilled horsemen, a fact which was recalled by their descendants.

It remains now to inquire into the history and the location of Morgantina. According to Strabo (6.1.6 and 2.4), Morgantina was⁶⁴ founded in pre-historic times by migrant tribes from Italy, the Morgetes, and by their eponymous king Morges, who also gave his name to the city. The first mention of the city in historical times occurs in connection with Ducetius' attempt (ca. 459 B.C.) to unify the Sikels against the Greeks (Diodorus 11.78), and if one believes Diodorus, Morgantina was at that time a "πόλις ἀξιόλογος." In 424 B.C., Thucydides (4.65.142) says that Morgantina was ceded to Camarina by Syracuse against the payment of a certain sum: this was part of the transactions of the Congress at Gela. In 396 B.C., Dionysius captured the town (whether from Camarina or from the Sikels of the interior is uncertain) along with Menaenum (Diodorus 14.78.6). In 392 Mago the Carthaginian encamped "in the territory of Agrigium, near the road leading to Morgantina" (Diodorus 14.95.2). In 317 Agathocles, fleeing Syracuse, took refuge and raised new troops in Morgantina (Diodorus 19.6.2-3) and in the other cities "ἐν τῇ

actually took place in or about 404. The similarity between these coins and those of the *Hispani* is interesting, but the ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ coins have unfortunately never been carefully studied. Diodorus 14.9. Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia antica*, I, 298.

⁶⁴ Strabo calls the city *Μοργάντιον*. See footnote 56, for the variant forms of the name.

⁶³ Messana was treacherously seized by the Mamertines. This incident is not without precedent in Sicily: in the late fifth century, the Elymian city of Entella was seized by Campanian or Samnite mercenaries. In the fourth century, Nakone was subjected to the same fate. Aetna, Catana, and Alaesa also had to cope with similar situations. The mercenaries who seized Entella actually coined money with the inscription ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ, dated ca. 340 B.C., though the original settlement (or seizure)

μεσογείω." These last two passages are significant for the location of the town which must have been well known to Diodorus Siculus. Thereafter, Morgantina is not heard of, although, as mentioned above, she struck bronze coins ca. 340 B.C. commemorating very probably the victory of Timoleon at the Crimisis: from this one can infer that she fought alongside Timoleon. After the First Punic War, or at the beginning of the Second Punic War, Morgantina must have been held by a Roman garrison and must have contained large food stores; for in 214, the garrison was massacred by the inhabitants when they decided to join Himilco's side. The first revolt was followed by another in 211, after Marcellus departed from Sicily. This action antagonized the Romans sufficiently to decide on the transference of the city to Moericus and to his *Hispani* (Livy 26.21.17). The subsequent history of Morgantina has already been briefly sketched, and there is no ground to doubt the truth of Strabo's statement (6.2.4) that the city had ceased to exist in his time (ca. 25 B.C.). The occurrence of her name in one or two writers of the first century after Christ (e.g. Silius Italicus 14.265; Pliny, *N.H.* 3.7.91) in no way shows her continued existence, since the authors in question probably used earlier sources, such as Livy. Pliny mentions the *Murgentini* among the *stipendiarii* of Sicily, but his reference does not prove the maintenance of an urban community at Morgantina. The gradual "de-urbanization," and especially "decentralization" of Sicily in Imperial times may well have affected also Morgantina, and it is probable that many of the towns listed by Pliny, particularly those lying in the interior of the island, no longer existed as urban and commercial centers, but gave their names to very small market gathering places and rural and local populations living about the abandoned sites.⁶⁵ In the case of Morgantina, the cultivation of the vine (*vitis* or *uva Murgentina*) which seems to have had some renown, if we consider its mention by Cato, Columella, and Pliny,⁶⁶ may have kept the farmers of the neighborhood busy.

The most intriguing problem is the precise location of Morgantina. No completely satisfactory

⁶⁵ The same may have already been the case in the time of Cicero; one *Murgentinus*, by the name of Polemarchus who, according to Cicero (*In Verr.*, 2.23.56) mistreated by Verres, was actually a farmer. As already noted, it would seem that many of the *decumanae* listed by Cicero are in agriculturally productive areas. See footnote 61.

⁶⁶ Cato *D.A.* 6; 4; Columella 3.2; Pliny, *N.H.*, 35 and 46.

identification of its site has been suggested so far, although several theories were advanced by well-known archaeologists and historians. In examining the various literary references, one is faced by one primary difficulty, namely the absence of geographical precision. However, the problems are not as insoluble as they may appear at first glance. First of all, the role played by Morgantina in both the Second Punic War and the Servile Wars suggests that the town was inland, near the center of the island, yet in close communication with the eastern shore. The crucial evidence is offered by Diodorus' mention of Morgantina "καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πόλεων" (11.78.5). Moreover, Diodorus (14.78.6) and Cicero (*In Verr.* 2.103) mention Morgantina together with several inland towns such as Agyrium (Diodorus' native town), Assorus, Menaeum Centuripae, and Henna, which are today's Agira, Assoro, Mineo and Enna.⁶⁷ These towns lie within the hills and the Heraean range which rise westward from the plains of Catana and Leontini. The proximity of Morgantina to these inland places is confirmed by two passages in Diodorus. In one of them the historian says that the Carthaginian Mago encamped "ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγυριναίων χώρα παρὰ τὸν Χρῦσαν ποταμόν (the modern Dittaino) ἐγγὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς φερούσης εἰς Μοργαντίαν" (14.95.2); the other stands in the account of the Second Servile War (35.7) describing how Salvius-Trypho overran the plain of Leontini after taking Morgantina (which is unlikely) or abandoning the siege thereof. There is not the slightest reason to doubt the accuracy of Diodorus' geographical information in the passages in question; he was a native of Agyrium, a town which he mentions in connection with Morgantina. There are however two passages, one of Thucydides and one of Livy, to be considered. Camarina's claim to Morgantina (Thucydides, 4.65.1) is puzzling, but does not contradict the inland location of Morgantina attested by Diodorus. On the other hand Livy's statement (24.27.5) that a Roman fleet anchored in 215 B.C. *ad Murgantiam*, shortly after the assassination of Hieronymus in Syracuse, is perplexing.

Based chiefly on Diodorus, Holm, Freeman, and

⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that the bronze coins of Agyrium dated by Gabrici between 344 and 317 B.C. are not only stylistically very similar to the 340 B.C. bronze issues of Morgantina, but the reverse types are actually almost identical. Moreover, Gabrici points out (*op.cit.*, 119) that Agyrian coins are sometimes overstruck on issues of Morgantina.

others⁶⁸ searched for the site of Morgantina near Agyrium (Agira) and south of the Chrysas (Dittaino). They decided on a mountain top, south of the river Dittaino, called Monte Jùdica, above the present day village of Castel di Jùdica. On the other hand, Pace, Pais and Dunbabin,⁶⁹ taking Thucydides fully into account, were induced to look for a site further south and closer to Camarina. Pace was in favor of the neighborhood of modern Licodia, near Monte Lauro, Pais thought highly of Terravecchia di Grammichele, while Dunbabin's ideas are vague.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, Paolo Orsi never fully announced his own views, except for rejecting Monte Jùdica on the basis of an inspection of the site.⁷¹ The main obstacle to overcome is naturally the statement that *Murgantia* (or Morgantina) was a coastal town (Livy, 24.27.5). Accordingly, Pace and Orsi proposed two Morgantinas, one inland and one on the shore; the latter, they believed, could have been south of Catana, near the modern village of Agnone where a hamlet consisting of a group of farmhouses was still called Murgo or Murga.⁷² The evidence of Diodorus is clear as far as the *inland* position of Morgantina is concerned,⁷³ and an adequate, and in many respects better, candidate for the site of Morgantina is, I believe, Serra Orlando. Even if definite proof is still lacking, there are certain details which cannot be dismissed easily as pure coincidences in the relationship of Morgantina and Serra Orlando. First of all, the number of Hispanorum coins unearthed in Serra Orlando forms the largest group from any single place, even though it represents only a part of the coins found at the site.⁷⁴ The scarcity of Hispanorum coins in general indicates, moreover, that they were not issued in large quantities. Two additional factors also require attention. Out of the 22 Hispanorum specimens in the collections of the Syracuse Museum, ten coins have recorded provenance and all ten come from Serra Orlando

or Aidone. Similarly, among the 26 specimens in the Museo Nazionale of Palermo, the provenance of only one coin is given, and it is again Aidone. It cannot be a mere coincidence that Aidone, or Serra Orlando, is the only place known where coins of this type were found. Furthermore, the Syracuse Museum has 15 silver and bronze issues of Morgantina, the provenance of only two of which is recorded: both were found in Serra Orlando. If one considers the size of Sicily and the number of places where the coins could have been discovered, one cannot help being impressed by the connections between Serra Orlando and Morgantina.

Finally, if one examines the location of Serra Orlando, one finds that it corresponds very well to the information given by Diodorus about Morgantina. The remains above ground are abundant, the area covered by the ancient city is extensive, but the best evidence comes from the history of the site as revealed by the excavation. According to all present indications, the ancient town on the site of Serra Orlando did not continue to exist beyond the late first century B.C., and even at that period it seems to have been much reduced in size and activity. On the other hand, archaeological finds from the sixth to the early first centuries B.C. are abundant, not to mention indications of a prehistoric settlement uncovered in the course of the 1957 campaign. The cessation of activity in the second half of the first century B.C. corresponds to and agrees with Strabo's statement. The location of Serra Orlando is perfectly suitable not only for a commercial center at the crossroads between the middle, the east, and the southeast of Sicily, near river valleys, but also as a strategic point. The original part of the town must have grown, from the sixth century B.C. on, around the steep slopes of Cittadella (a high conical hill) in a westerly direction along the high ridge which continues

⁶⁸ A. Holm, *op.cit.*, vol. I, 362; Freeman, *History of Sicily I* (Oxford 1891) 153 never speaks directly and approvingly of Monte Jùdica, but his remark in the passage in question leaves no doubt that he does think along the same lines as Holm.

⁶⁹ B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, Vol. I, 312 and Vol. III, 624; B. Pace, *Camarina*, 50; E. Pais, *Italica Antica*, Vol. I (1922) 179-195: "Il rilievo greco arcaico di San Mauro presso Caltagirone e le città antiche dell'altipiano Ereo"; on Morgantina, see 188-191; T. F. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 122, 124. See also A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides III*, 523-524.

⁷⁰ After mentioning Menaenum (Mineo), he asserts (*op.cit.*, 124) that "Morgantina lay in this triangle of hills."

⁷¹ N.S. (1907) 489-491.

⁷² Holm resorted to an emendation of Livy's text, *Murgantia* to Megara, an expedient which cannot be accepted.

⁷³ There may have been a locality on the eastern sea-coast, the name of which started with the letters M U R G—(Murgo, for instance, the hamlet near Agnone) and through confusion of a copyist (if not of Livy himself) the real name of Murg- was turned into *Murgantia*. Orsi's own investigations around Murgo (N.S. [1899] 277-278) revealed a modest settlement of Roman times around a small harbor which could certainly not have been a strong point that was besieged by the slaves during the Servile Wars.

⁷⁴ The Hispanorum coins formed about 6% of the whole amount of coins, the highly predominant issues being from Syracuse, especially coins of Hieron II.

beyond Cittadella. The proximity of the plain of Catana, and the rivers Gornalunga (the ancient Eryces) and Dittaino (the ancient Chrysas) place the site in an advantageous position in respect to food supply. But, above all, a glance at the map shows the position of Serra Orlando in relation to Agyrium, Assorus, Centuripae and Henna. It is interesting to note that, supposing that the majority of today's back-country roads still follow more or less the tracks of ancient roads, the road indicated on a modern map as descending from Agira and

its vicinity crosses the Dittaino (Chrysas) and continues beyond, splitting into two branches, one running south, the other heading towards Serra Orlando and Aidone; this agrees completely with the account given by Diodorus (14.95.12). This tentative identification of Serra Orlando with Morgantina still needs some more definite proof, which I hope will be brought to light in the course of future excavations.

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Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) Preliminary Report II

ERIK SJÖQVIST

PLATES 28-35

The third season of the Princeton excavations at Serra Orlando, near Aidone, began on March 25 and lasted till June 23, 1957.¹ The field of operation, earlier confined to the Hellenistic agora and its vicinity, was this year widened to include the ancient acropolis of the town (Area III), situated some 1400 m. to the northeast; a hill just inside the northern boundary of the city wall some 300 m. northwest of the agora (Area IV); and the western slopes of a second hill to the west of the market place (Area II). The excavations on the acropolis, in particular, furnished additional evidence confirming the hypothesis already presented in this journal that Serra Orlando is the site of the ancient city of Morgantina.² Simultaneously, further excavation of the Lower Agora and adjacent buildings to the east was carried out, and the clearance of the so-called Villa was brought nearer completion.

THE ACROPOLIS (AREA III)

The northeast tip of the long ridge on which the town is situated rises to a steep conical hill (ca. 600 m. above sea level) known today as Cittadella, a name that can be traced at least as far back as to the 16th century, where it appears on Mercator's map of Sicily.³ The denomination is probably much older, and indicative of its earlier role as the citadel of the town. The conical peak is surrounded by lower plateaus to the southwest and northeast. From the outer edges of the plateaus the ground drops steeply down to the valleys below. The south-

west plateau and its vicinity were tested with a series of trial trenches during the last week of the campaign of 1956 and it was found that the soil covering the bedrock was too thin to yield any encouraging results.⁴ The narrow top of the conical hill itself is almost completely covered by a large farmhouse built on hardpan. A cistern and remains of older walls in and below the farmhouse seem to be of mediaeval date.

Exploratory trenches were therefore dug on the northeast platform and all proved productive (pl. 28, fig. 1). The architectural remains found date mainly from four periods: the sixth and fifth centuries, the beginning of the fourth century, the third century, and late Roman Republican times. Of these periods the last is of little significance, and the next to last should be considered as a restoration phase with no real building program of its own (pl. 28, fig. 2). The archaic period introduced a building activity traceable in all the trenches, although the monuments are in a poor state of preservation. No complete house was found, but the walls, founded on bedrock or immediately above, are orientated to form a roughly rectangular system indicative of regular house plans. The foundations are of rubble masonry fairly carefully laid, and the superstructure was of sundried brick and timber. The trenches sample an area of about 80 by 60 m. within the perimeter of which the archaic walls all seem to follow the same orientation. If this is borne out by further exploration, one should be entitled

¹ The staff consisted of the author, director, assisted by Messrs. Thomas Hoving, Fred Licht, Kyle Phillips, Miss Lucy Shoe, Miss Helen Woodruff, Mr. Charles Williams, architect, Mrs. Thomas Hoving, Mrs. Erik Sjöqvist, Mrs. P.-N. Nilsson, and Mr. P.-N. Nilsson, photographer. Sig. Antonino Giucastro represented the Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Siracusa, and acted as foreman and Sig. N. Di Tommaso of the Siracusa Museum was our restorer. The expedition is greatly indebted to the authorities of the Italian Antiquities Service, and above all to Professor L. Bernabò Brea, Soprintendente alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale, for much valuable help and encouragement.

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² K. T. Erim, *Morgantina, AJA* 62 (1958) 79-90.

³ G. Mercator, *Italiae Sclavoniae et Graeciae tabulae geographicae*, Tab. 15, Siciliae Regnum (Duisburg 1589). Cittadella is wrongly placed in relationship to Aidone, a mistake rectified on Giacomo Cantelli's map *Isola e Regno di Sicilia* (Rome 1682). I am indebted to Mr. Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Mrs. H. Fantova, who gave me these and other bibliographical references.

⁴ A fragment of an archaic terracotta revetment plaque was picked up on the surface here by H.M. the King of Sweden, who took part in the work of the first campaign in the fall of 1955. It indicated an early settlement on the Cittadella, but this year's results seem to show that, where found, it was far removed from its original location. It must have been carried from the northeast plateau some 300 m. distant.

to presume the existence of a roughly rectangular street grid.

The architectural debris covering the foundation walls, at places to a depth of more than 1 m., consisted mostly of decomposed mud brick and contained architectural terracottas. Edged pan tiles and curved cover tiles are abundant, as well as several fragments of large ridge pole tiles. Many of the latter are painted in broad strokes of purple, black and brown, to form simple patterns such as the broken meander, bordering lines, and oval leaf-shaped ornaments (pl. 28, fig. 3). A complete unpainted specimen has a length of 0.59 m. Several antefixes of different types and sizes came from the same layer. At least three types of Gorgoneia are represented; all are mold-made and some of them subsequently modelled. They do not conform to any known mold and they are most probably of local manufacture, including probably the original mold (pl. 28, fig. 4 a-c). Their nearest stylistic parallels are found in Syracuse and their date seems to cover the period between 550 and 530 B.C. Another unique type shows a female head, probably that of a maenad. The modelling is good with full rounded forms and the paint is bright and well preserved: black hair, eyebrows, lids and lashes, and red lips and dots on the cheeks. This type is the oldest so far found in Morgantina and seems to date from the 570's B.C. (pl. 28, fig. 5). Its style is Ionic and may indicate the Chalcidian colony of Katane as its place of origin.

A fragment of a large Gorgoneion acroterion belongs likewise to the second quarter of the sixth century. Only a few insignificant fragments of sima were found. It is too early to suggest to which specific buildings these various fragments belonged, but it seems beyond doubt that some of them must have been sanctuaries of the type we know from Monte Bubbonia, Monte Saraceno and other places in the hinterland of Gela.⁵ The only measurable building of archaic date is situated in Trench 3. It is an oblong one-room structure with an anta at the northwest end, and terminates to the southeast in an apse. Its total length, in its present poor state of preservation, is 9.35 m. The surprising shape should be noted and it is to be hoped that further exploration may determine its character.

⁵ D. Adamesteanu, Inspector of Antiquities at Gela and untiring explorer of this region, has accumulated an amount of evidence illustrating the case: for Monte Bubbonia and Monte S. Mauro, see *ArchCl* 7 (1955) 179-186; for Monte Saraceno, *ibid.* 8 (1956) 121-146, cf. his bibliographical footnotes given

A small bronze figurine of Herakles, possibly of local make, was found in a mixed context at a place where a Roman wall had been sunk through the archaic debris. It served as an appliqué and its upper end is in the form of a ram's head. The strict frontality and ornamental details assign it to the latter half of the sixth century (pl. 29, fig. 6).

Three early Syracusan tetradrachms (ca. 490-480 B.C.) were found in such stratigraphical contexts that it can be deduced that the destroyed house to which they belong had a second storey (pl. 29, fig. 7).

The pottery associated with the archaic strata is mainly of four kinds: Attic imports, late Corinthian imports, indigenous Siculan mat-painted ware of Orsi's types Siculan III and IV, and finally a ware which imitates Attic forms and glaze, but still retains an easily distinguished character of its own. This last category represents, I submit, the local pottery of the early Greek colonists, and in that respect is comparable to the architectural terracottas together with which it is found.

This early settlement went through a complete and violent destruction by fire, traceable all over the site in the form of heavy layers of ash, carbonized matter and half-baked mud brick. The fact that several well preserved vases were found in the corner of one of the rooms bears witness to the suddenness of the catastrophe (pl. 29, fig. 8). The latest datable sherds in the deposit are some Attic red figure fragments from about 460 B.C. Thus the end of the archaic settlement is approximately dated. It should be remembered that this date coincides very well with the historical tradition of the capture and destruction of Morgantina by the indigenous Siculan forces under the leadership of Ducetius in 459 B.C.⁶ After this serious setback Morgantina lost so much of its independent importance that, in the congress of Gela in 424 B.C., it could be pawned by Syracuse to Camarina for a sum of money.⁷ The period of decay lasted to the end of the century when the site came to life again, as testified by renewed building activity. Dionysius of Syracuse put an end to Camarina's lordship over the town in 397 B.C. and brought the city back into the sphere of Syracusan interests.⁸ This event may have been the incentive that brought about the

on 145-146.

⁶ Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.

⁷ Thucyd. 4.65.1.

⁸ Diod. Sic. 14.78.7.

revival. The fourth century houses, which differ only slightly in orientation from the archaic ones, are large and relatively well built. Two of the houses are sufficiently excavated to permit a preliminary description. They are placed along a street and have a common separating wall. One enters a courtyard with rooms placed around three of its sides. Right angles are rare. The building material was sundried brick on high rubble foundations. These two houses were restored in Hellenistic times, as can be seen by raised floor levels and repairs of the stucco on the walls, but they seem to have been continuously occupied until the beginning of the second century B.C., when they were abandoned. The few Roman walls which cut through the debris should probably be dated after the First Servile War.

When exploring a stretch of the fortification wall of the acropolis in the north slope of Cittadella's conical hill, some 250 m. west of the houses just described, the stratigraphy revealed remains of a settlement dating from before the Greek colonization of Morgantina in the sixth century B.C. The area explored measures only some 12 x 8.5 m. and much information has still to be gathered before permitting any definite conclusions. What can now be said with certainty amounts to the following. The fortification wall was never anything more than a low footing of rough ashlar blocks, at present remaining *in situ* to the maximum height of three courses. They were laid on top of a layer of debris, and would have served as the footing for a palisade or earthwork. The layer on which they rest contained a few house walls associated with much indigenous archaic pottery and some very good specimens of Attic black figure ware from about 550 B.C. The fortifications, still archaic, belong therefore to the later part of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The archaic house was built on a levelled-off layer of debris containing characteristic pre-Greek Sicilian pottery. Especially characteristic is the gritty buff ware decorated with red fan-shaped ornaments on cream-colored ground,

as exemplified in Gela,⁹ Butera,¹⁰ and many other places, and there known as "decorazione piumata" or "decorazione a flabelli" (pl. 29, fig. 9c). This ware, which is variously dated from the tenth to the seventh century B.C., was accompanied in the upper part of the stratum by some fragments of so-called S. Angelo Muxaro ware, a fine gray pottery decorated with stamped ornaments (pl. 29, fig. 9 g-h).¹¹ The lower part of the stratum revealed the floor of a hut with a hearth and a mill stone *in situ*. While the upper part of the stratum has shifted down from the steep slope above to a considerable extent, its lower section was intact. The painted and the stamped wares were very rare on and immediately above the hut floor, and the bulk of the sherds here collected was coarse hand-made ware with occasional incised ornaments. A great amount of obsidian and flints were also found here.

Below the hut floor down to the bedrock was an accumulation of cultural earth ca. 0.4 m. deep. No architectural remains can be assigned to it, but the pottery it contained is very revealing. The greater part of it is of a coarse undecorated type, but intermingled with this were sherds of the type that Bernabò Brea appropriately calls Ausonian II, a ware of Apennine type recognized by him on the Lipari Islands, and datable to the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. The horned handle with an animal protome is particularly characteristic. Open bowls of bright red burnished ware with angular outline and flaring rim belong to the same repertory as does the conical flat-bottomed spindle whorl (pl. 29, fig. 9 a-b, d-f). This is the first time that such pottery has turned up in bulk in Sicily proper with the exception of Milazzo, the bridgehead of the Liparis on the north coast of the island.¹² Its appearance in Morgantina should be connected with the foundation myth of our city as related by Strabo. When discussing the colonization of Rhegium by Chalcidians and Messenians he states (6.1.6): "According to Antiochus, the Siceli and the Morgetes had in early times inhabited the whole of this region [i.e. Calabria], but later on,

⁹ D. Adamesteanu in *NSc Ser.* 8, Vol. 10 (1956) 284, fig. 4.

¹⁰ D. Adamesteanu, "Butera, a Sicilian town through the ages," *Archaeology* 10 (1957) 166-173, particularly 172, fig. 12.

¹¹ L. Bernabò Brea discusses with full bibliography the characteristics and cultural implications of this ware in his fine paper "La Sicilia prehistórica y sus relaciones con Oriente y con la Península Ibérica" in *Ampurias* 15/16 (1953/54) 137-213, particularly 208-209.

¹² L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier, "Civiltà preistoriche delle Isole Eolie e del territorio di Milazzo," *Bull. Pal. It.* N.S. X,

Vol. 65 (1956) 1-99. See particularly p. 72ff and p. 75, fig. 47, p. 77, fig. 48 and chronological chart opposite p. 98. It should be noted that the specimens from Morgantina correspond to the earlier phase of Ausonian II. The fragments from Morgantina are comparable to fig. 47 a and c. Note the presence of an early specimen of the jars with "decorazione piumata," fig. 47g. In his farsighted and important article Bernabò Brea ingeniously foresees the appearance of this ware in Sicily proper. See pp. 97-98. Cf. L. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily before the Greeks*, 140-147 (New York 1957).

being ejected by the Oenotrians, had crossed to Sicily." In his next chapter he relates how the mighty Syracusans did not permit these immigrant Italic tribes "to lay hand on the seaboard, but were not strong enough to keep them all away from the interior." He continues: "Morgantium, it is reasonable to suppose, was settled by the Morgetes." Pliny (*Nat. hist.* 3.71) also places the original home of the Morgetes in Bruttium. Their eponymous hero Morges belongs to the same group of mythical city founders as Aeolus, the colonizer of the Aeolian Islands and the founder of Lipara. Of Aeolus' numerous sons three settled in Sicily.¹³ The mythology seems to vindicate a more or less continuous stream of Italic settlers coming into Sicily, a stream that sometimes used the Aeolian Islands as a stepping stone on the way. Morges with his Morgetes was one of the founding fathers. The appearance of the Apennine-Ausonian ware at our site gives additional strength to the identification of Serra Orlando as Morgantina.

In the steepest part of the northeast slope of Citadella a necropolis was located (pl. 29, fig. 10). It is called Necropolis II.¹⁴ Three rock-cut chamber tombs, partly opened and completely plundered, were cleared out, and showed some interesting architectural features. Through a stepped *stomion* one enters a fairly regular saddle-roofed chamber. The dead were placed on rock-cut benches provided with a ledge at the head end, or in shafts, or in sarcophagus-like recesses. A fourth tomb, similar to these, was found to the south (pl. 29, fig. 11). Due to the fact that it had partly collapsed in antiquity it had practically escaped the plunderers, and yielded a rich harvest of vases and various objects of bronze and silver. The ceramic *facies* is identical with that encountered in the archaic settlement; late Corinthian (pl. 30, fig. 12), Attic black figure (pl. 30, fig. 13), indigenous Siculan (pl. 30, fig. 14), and the colonists' own ceramic products (pl. 30, fig. 15), form the four groups of pottery found. The bulk of the material can be dated to the decades between 530 and 500 B.C., with some specimens possibly slightly later. The Attic black figure ware is of a quality inferior to that found in the contemporary settlement, and consists mostly of lekythoi with Dionysiac or banquet scenes (pl. 31, fig. 16). In the Corinthian group there is one globular aryballus

among a majority of skyphoi, all of a rather poor quality. Among the silver objects one should mention hair ornaments of elaborate spiral shape, found close to the male bodies, and fibulae.

Before the collapse of the tomb surface water had penetrated and caused most of the vases to float around. A precise distribution of the finds among the subsequent burials is therefore not feasible. The skeletal materials had disintegrated, but at least six burials had taken place in the tomb; one in a rock-cut sarcophagus at the rear end, two in a shaft in the floor, and three on the floor of the chamber. The recorded number of burial gifts in the tomb was 228, to which should be added more vases, yet to be restored.

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE (AREA IV)

Another area, investigated this season, and situated on a hill some 300 m. to the northwest of the agora just inside the northern city wall, brought to light the remains of a sanctuary (pl. 31, fig. 17). It is a curious and very irregular structure, not yet completely excavated. It has suffered considerably by the fact that a house of the Roman Republican period was built (probably in the late second century B.C.) above part of the sanctuary. Further damage was caused by late agricultural retaining walls, partly built with stones taken from the ancient buildings, and in one place founded on so deep a level that its bottom layer cut through one of the altars of the sanctuary.

The complex consists of a small central courtyard off which lies a roughly square room, dominated by a large altar in the form of a column (pl. 31, fig. 18). The core of the column is made of rubble masonry held together by mud and lime mortar. Its surface is finely finished with a thick layer of stucco of high quality worked into a fine base molding. The stucco of the square plinth was painted red while the column itself was yellow. Adjacent to the central courtyard, but screened off from the same by a wall, is a larger court containing a similar but larger columnar altar. On the borderline between the two courtyards is a rock-cut cistern, the inside coated with stucco cement, and provided with an overflow basin directed into the small court. The large altar is in its present form later than the small one, as is clearly shown

¹³ This story is told at some length by Diodorus in 4.67 and 5.7-8.

¹⁴ Cf. *AJA* 61 (1956) 158. Necropolis I is the Hellenistic burial ground west of the city.

by the difference between the moldings.¹⁵ The actual date of the small altar is the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., while the large one may be a century and a half later. It is by no means sure that it had not an earlier predecessor, contemporary with the small altar.

The fact that one altar—the small one—was under a roof while the other was under the open sky requires an explanation. It seems that the roofed-in altar must have been dedicated to a chthonian and the hypaethral one to an Olympian deity. The association of two such deities in one and the same sanctuary is meaningful only if the two were Demeter and Kore. Sicily is full of such sanctuaries.¹⁶ Moreover, Morgantina is close to the most famous of them all at Henna, and Lacus Pergus, the present Lago di Pergusa where the myth tells us that Kore was carried down to Hades, is still closer to our site. It is thus quite appropriate that Morgantina should have a sanctuary dedicated to the protecting deities of the region. The hypothesis is further confirmed by the character of the votive gifts accumulated in the sanctuary. Before dealing with them, a brief description should be given of the rest of the architectural lay-out. The west side consists of a row of rooms facing a street whence a narrow corridor entrance leads to the central courtyard. A system of drains, leading out to the street, carried off humidity and surface water accumulated in the courtyards. In the rooms which were used as workrooms and storerooms, a set of pithoi was found, smashed but *in situ*, as well as installations for pressing oil and wine and grinding corn. Possibly some of the rooms were used as living quarters for the temple attendants. To the north the ground rises considerably toward the city wall and the architectural remains are damaged beyond clear comprehension.

The bulk of the votive deposit was found around the altars. Those in the Kore chapel were particularly plentiful thanks to the fact that the deposit had been sealed off by a compact layer of roof tiles fallen from the collapsed superstructure. Even if the state of preservation leaves much to be desired, the covering layer of tiles was intact and had prevented any later violation of the deposit. The other rooms of the sanctuary and the central courtyard also yielded an amount of votive gifts in the form

of figurines and vases, most of them smashed and many of them incomplete. It should be noted that fragments of the same statuette were often picked up from a considerable area and sometimes from different rooms. This circumstance goes to show that neglect and partial destruction marked the last period of the sanctuary's existence.

At present only samples can be given of the rich finds. The Kore chapel yielded the oldest of the figurines. Among these should be counted a head (inv. 57-721, pl. 31, fig. 19) about half life-size and representing the goddess herself, wearing a polos and taeniae and with the characteristic heavy pendent earrings. Style and features echo clearly the outgoing fifth century, a date that should be suggested at least for the mold. Slightly later, but still very classical, is a fragmentary life-size head (inv. 57-1311) found in the cistern but originally belonging to the Kore chapel. It is also a Kore head worked with a sculptor's tool after it came from the mold. The polos and better part of the taeniae are broken off. Still to the early group and datable to the first half of the fourth century belongs a bust of a veiled devotee carrying a dove in her right hand (inv. 57-2052, height 0.245 m.).

The majority of the finds belong to the third quarter of the fourth century. Among them should be mentioned a bust somewhat under life-size of a woman (inv. 57-2050, pl. 32, fig. 20) in a high-girt chiton and melon coiffure, interesting particularly because of the many traces of coloring still preserved; also a statuette, 0.62 m. high, of a priestess with polos and taeniae and with her right hand stretched out as if offering a libation (inv. 57-806, pl. 32, fig. 21). The rich drapery adds to the three-dimensionality of the figure. One of the few male statuettes found (inv. 57-719, height 0.36 m., pl. 31, fig. 22) resembles an Apollo Musagetes but may be a youthful Dionysus or a male companion of the goddesses.¹⁷ A second life-size female bust (inv. 57-2060) was recovered in several pieces from the cistern.

Three figurines of devotees should also be mentioned (inv. 57-809, 57-2053, 57-2054, pl. 32, fig. 23 a-c). They are all of good quality and range in time from the end of the fourth to the middle of the third century B.C.

Further specimens can be dated to the latter half

¹⁵ Miss Lucy T. Shoe recorded and analyzed the moldings.

¹⁶ For a preliminary enumeration see Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, Vol. 2, col. 1309-1311, s.v. Kora.

¹⁷ Cf. the epigraphic appendix to this article, where G. Stamires individualizes a hitherto unknown deity, Elaielinos.

of the third century B.C. while the second century so far seems to be only sporadically represented, if at all.

Among other finds should be mentioned a remarkable silver diadem, 0.32 m. long, decorated with palmettes in repoussé work and rosettes in appliqué (inv. 57-1166, pl. 30, fig. 24). It was found rolled up, broken, much corroded and seemingly beyond repair, but thanks to the expert services of Signora A. Cacace, of Rome, this rare piece of fourth century jewelry was saved and well rehabilitated. It was either a votive gift or a ritual headgear worn by a priestess, and kept in the sanctuary.

The accompanying pottery ranges in date from the late fourth to the late third century B.C. Many fragments of the elaborate so-called Centuripe vases were found, and a few could be restored. Some of the original coloring and even the gilded bands and edges were preserved. Black glazed ware with white paint of the so-called Gnathia-class was common and also an amount of pithos ware. One of the pithoi carries an inscription on the rim (see Appendix) while a Gnathia bowl carries the non-revealing graphito ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ.

THE WESTERN HILL (AREA II)

On this hill the Italian archaeologist L. Pappalardo excavated a Hellenistic house in 1884.¹⁸ Its remains are now hardly traceable, with the exception of some remnants of mosaic floors. The soil covering the top plateau of the hill is thin and a ruined farmhouse was to a great extent built by material recovered from the surrounding ancient buildings. Our explorations were concentrated on the west slope of the hill where the soil was deeper, and a trench, 3 m. wide and 38 m. long, was dug perpendicularly to the slope in a southeast-northwest direction. Several walls were found in the northwest, or lower, part of the trench. Their significance cannot be evaluated without further exploration, but it may now be said that they belong to a period contemporary with the gradual development of the agora, i.e. from the late fourth to the end of the second century B.C. In the lowest section of the trench these walls and the drainage pipes belonging to them rest on a thick accumulation of cultural earth, mostly washed down from the adjacent hills. No architectural remains are attributable to this stratum, but it holds a remarkably great percentage of Attic fifth century pottery.

The upper end of the trench revealed a mosaic

floor and the area was enlarged for further investigation. What came out was a sizeable house covering an area of some 38 by 14 m., henceforth called the House of the Tuscan Capitals (pl. 33, fig. 25). Its main entrance faces southeast and lies off a cobbled street that runs past the façade of the house (pl. 33, fig. 26). A wide entrance vestibule, flanked to the right by three rooms of equal size and to the left by the service department of the house, leads into an atrium-like room with an impluvium. The impluvium is covered by tiles and placed off center along the southwest wall. The superstructure was carried by that wall and by two brick columns in the opposite corners of the impluvium. From this oddly non-axial "atrium," doors open to the main rooms of the house and a sloping corridor leads out to a peristyle surrounded on two sides by a large reception room. The peristyle is U-shaped and its central area was never paved but probably planted with bushes and flowers. Four big rock-cut and cemented cisterns, some 7 m. deep, provided an ample water supply. Some of the floors are covered with *cocciopesto* mosaics, others with mosaics entirely made up by tesserae. The room to the southwest of the peristyle has a floor of multicolored marble tesserae forming an irregular pattern suggesting a textile archetype. To the southwest of the "atrium" lies the largest room of the house with a podium, possibly for a statue, at the rear wall opposite the door. To the northwest of the big room and in communication with the same are two rooms with installations for oil and wine presses and for grinding corn. Some of the rooms facing the U-shaped peristyle have walls stuccoed in red, white and blue, similar to the "Incrustation Style" of Pompeii. The southeast part of the house which originally was accessible from the peristyle through another sloping corridor was later screened off and used as a separate dwelling. At this time it was provided with a small garden peristyle of its own, carried by four brick columns (pl. 33, fig. 27). Two of the limestone capitals were recovered. They are surprisingly enough of the so-called "Tuscan" order, and one of them was repaired in antiquity. In the service quarters left of the main entrance vestibule were found a group of terracotta figurines seemingly datable to the first century B.C. (pl. 33, fig. 28). A rare bronze coin in very good condition from the island of Gaulos, present day Gozo off Malta, was found in the lime incrustation of one of

¹⁸ L. Pappalardo, *La contrada di Serra Orlando presso Aidone* (Caltanissetta 1884).

the mosaic floors. It is also datable to the first century B.C. as far as can be ascertained (pl. 33, fig. 29).¹⁹ These finds indicate that the house was abandoned some time around the middle of the first century B.C. Investigations under the floors failed to yield any clue to the date of the erection of the house, but proved that the hill was inhabited in the fifth century B.C. The plausible date of the existing building is the latter half of the second century B.C.

The plan of the house shows an interesting mixture of Roman and purely Hellenistic elements. To the former belong the atrium-like central room and the peripherally placed peristyles, which were not paved but used for planting.

THE AGORA AND ITS VICINITY (AREA I)

The operations in the agora had two main objectives: to complete the excavation of the Villa, henceforth called the House of the Doric Capital, and investigate the slope between the same and the stepped area, henceforth called the Lower Agora, and to free the polygonal area of the Lower Agora from the accumulation of sedimentary material rising to a height of 4.5 m. over an area of some 750 square meters. The area between the steps and the later market, henceforth called the Macellum, was also excavated in order to clarify the relationship between them.²⁰

Between the House of the Doric Capital and the Lower Agora a house came to light which may have served as a dependency of the former. It contained four main rooms which seem to have been used mainly as storerooms. It faces a street running parallel to the slope from southeast to northwest. Still further down the slope lies a building of considerable size with a façade which overlooks the Lower Agora. In front of it runs a terrace (pl. 34, fig. 30). The building, which has to be further excavated before anything can be said for certain about its total plan and function, consists of a pillared U-shaped peristyle with tile paving, opening toward the terrace. Rooms surround it on the other three sides. The two rooms to the northwest are older than the peristyle and were only later incorporated into the complex. This older part is contemporary with the steps of the Upper Agora and thus belongs to the initial building period in the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century. The

fine ashlar masonry and the solidity of the structure seem to designate it as a public building. The peristyle and adjacent rooms, which went through several later modifications, were added in the third century, simultaneously with the front terrace. A built drain under the peristyle leading down to the Lower Agora correlates the construction dates of peristyle and terrace.

The House of the Doric Capital was further explored (pl. 34, fig. 31). Its southern quarters consist mainly of the service department. One room, opening to the peristyle, is of special interest because of its Greek inscription in the *cocciopesto* mosaic, a framed Εδ̄ ε̄χει (pl. 34, fig. 32).

The laborious task of liberating the Lower Agora from superimposed earth proved rewarding for several reasons. In addition to the monumental values created (pl. 35, fig. 33), useful information was gathered from the stratigraphy, confirming the dates suggested for the temporary abandonment and silting up of the place. Off center and toward the east side of the polygonal area there came to light the foundation layer in ashlar masonry of a platform facing southwest and measuring 7.4 by 3.7 m. A second row of stones, now missing, was drawn in about 0.3 m. from the face of the lower row, so that one can conclude that the platform was stepped. This circumstance, as well as the position and general character of the structure, strongly suggest that we have to do with a speaker's platform, a bema. The hypothesis, earlier expressed,²¹ that the Lower Agora served as the meeting place of the public assembly seems thus confirmed. Close to the center of the Lower Agora the otherwise trodden floor of the square was solidified into a real pavement of lime cement. In this zone an irregular row of ten post holes appeared. I am unable to suggest a reasonable explanation of their purpose.

The great Roman drain sunk into the alluvial deposits which silted up the Lower Agora in the beginning of the second century B.C. was explored and removed. This drain is identical with a drain visible in the northwest corner of the Upper Agora at a distance of about 130 m. It provides a welcome item of structural correlation between the building periods of the Upper and Lower Agora.

The clearance of the area between the Macellum

¹⁹ I thank Miss M. Thompson of the American Numismatic Society for expert help in identifying the coin and for bibliographical references.

²⁰ For the denominations Lower Agora, Later Market and Villa, see *AJA* 61 (1957) 152, 154, 156.

²¹ *AJA* 61 (1957) 152.

and the big steps, and the excavation of the remaining part of the Macellum itself yielded some surprising results. The southeast corner of the Macellum was built over an oblong stepped altar lined up with remains of a rough temenos wall founded on the rock. A twin altar of similar shape and orientation was found a few meters to the south of the first one (pl. 35, fig. 34), and just to the southwest are the foundations of a small temple in antis (pl. 35, fig. 35). This is the first temple of regular Greek plan found in Morgantina. Temple and altars preceded in time not only the Macellum, but also the steps of the Lower Agora. It is still hard to determine their absolute date but it seems reasonable to suggest that they were built in the beginning of the fourth century B.C., if not earlier. No finds were made around or in the altars. The temple was probably desanctified in the second century B.C. A line of heavy bricks was placed on edge blocking the inner doorway and on the floor of the cella were found several coins, of which one was a Morgantina issue of about 340 B.C. and another an example of the Hispanorum issues. The latter indicates the date of the desanctification.

The southwest terrace wall (J/K-13/14, pl. 35, fig. 36) discovered in 1956 was laid free in its entirety this year. It can now be stated that even its northern branch was provided with regular buttresses in conformity with the south part. The structure as a whole is probably Agathoclean (pl. 35, fig. 37).

Clearing operations were also carried out in the northwest corner of the Upper Agora (E/F-6/7, pl. 35, fig. 36).

A postern gate in the city wall to the northwest

of the Agora (A/B-1/2, fig. 36) was located and excavated.

Finally, another house, partly laid bare in 1956 (T/U-11/12, fig. 36), was further explored. It will hence be referred to as the House of the Griffin because of a fine but badly destroyed emblem mosaic with the remains of a polychrome representation of the mythical animal decorating its main room. It is still too early to discuss its plan, but it seems to be a peristyle house of a type similar to that of the House of the Doric Capital.

OTHER FINDS

Among the finds from Area I the coins continue to play an important role. Seventy-seven new Hispanorum coins and four earlier issues of the Morgantina mint are of special interest. Other coins of interest are some archaic silver coins from Gela, a fourth century Syracusan silver coin and a good crop of Roman denarii from the second century B.C.

A fragment of a 2/3 life-size archaic terracotta head was found in the area of the public building and a very good "fish plate" of fourth century red figure ware came from the zone to the northwest of the House of the Doric Capital. From a cistern in this very house comes a welcome harvest of broken but complete pots, providing us with complete forms of the household and storage pottery of the time preceding the building of the house.

From Area IV just outside the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore came a hoard of terracotta mask medallions all in fragmentary state. They must await restoration before evaluation.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

APPENDIX

GEORGE A. STAMIRES

Institute for Advanced Study

Before the current Princeton University excavation at the unknown town on Serra Orlando, near the modern village of Aidone (ancient Morgantina?), there were only eight known Greek epigraphical texts from the site, all in fragmentary

¹ Four of these are on thin laminae of copper dealing with the same subject and perhaps are fragments of the same original document; one is on bronze and one on a silver tablet, one on a brick, while one more, in a mosaic, was found during the

condition. They are published by P. Orsi, six in *Rivista di storia antica*, n.s., V 1900, pp. 52-54, nos. 21-26, and two in *Notizie degli scavi*, IX 1912, pp. 451-454 (the latter with transcription and commentary by D. Comparetti).¹ During the 1957

season of 1956 (pl. 26, fig. 38, and *ILN*, November 9, 1957, p. 788). For better republications of some of these texts see D. Comparetti, *Annuario della R. Scuola Arch. di Atene*, I 1914, pp. 113-118, V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri, *Inscriptiones*

Princeton campaign the following text, an incised inscription on the lip of a large pithos, came to light. Because of the scarcity of inscriptions from this town, a scarcity which is rather general for the whole island of Sicily, the new text is welcome in spite of its briefness and the problems which it raises. It shows that the jar was a sacred object in the sanctuary of some local god or hero whose name it gives. Thus it is important for the topography of the town and for the information on the local cults. It runs thus: *ἱερὸς Ἐλαιελίνου* (pl. 34, fig. 38).

The shapes of the letters indicate a date in the fourth century B.C., especially the *nu* with the second vertical line shorter. However note the shape of the letter *sigma* with the exterior strokes almost parallel. Note also the unequal height of the letters and especially of the two *lambdas*. The lack of sufficient dated epigraphical material from Sicily does not allow any certainty in dating inscriptions from there.

Names of local gods and heroes or their epithets are often strange and their interpretation is difficult, since their derivation depends on local dialect forms or sometimes even goes back to the aboriginal languages of their respective districts. We cannot know if the present case is an example of such an origin.² If we assume that the second part of the text—the name of the god—is pure Greek, we must postulate that it is one word. Any attempt to divide it leads us to unacceptable results. The one-word name of the god has to be in the nominative *Ἐλαιέλινος* or less probably *Ἐλαιελίνης*. It appears to be a compound, but an attempt to interpret it raises serious difficulties. Obviously the second part is not *λίνον*—*flax* (or its derivative meanings), neither the more attractive *λίνος*—*the song of Linos* or the mythical minstrel *Λίνος* himself, although there is the example of his being called in compound form *Οἰτόλινος*.³

If we take the first element of the compound we recognize the word *ἐλαία*—*olive-tree*, *olive* or *ἐλαιὸν*—*olive-oil*. Since the first element does not end in *ο* (as in *ἐλαιο-τριβέον*), the first letter of the second part must begin with a vowel, in this case an *ε* (as in *ἐλαι-εμπορία*). In the second element of our compound we may recognize the word *ἔλιος* (*ὀ* and *ῆ*)—*vine-tendrils*, *branch of vine*, *vine*, and metaphorically *wine*, meanings which might be thought of as fitting the present context. A combination of oil and wine is in principle suitable for the name of a god who would be the patron of these products.

These products were playing an important role in the life of the inhabitants of Sicily. For the cultivation of olives there a glance at the characteristic inscriptions from Halaesa and Tauromenium republished by Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri *loc.cit.* nos. 2, 4, and 8, will be sufficient. Where viticulture is concerned we have specific mentions of *vinum Murgentinum* by Cato *de agricult.* 6.4 (cf. also Varro *res rust.* 1.25; Plin. *nat. hist.* 14.46) and *vitis Murgentina* by Columella *de re rust.* 3.2. 27, quoting Celsus; cf. also Plin. *nat. hist.* 14.35. This evidence becomes significant in the light of the recent conclusion that the ruins in Serra Orlando belong to Morgantina.^{3a}

It is to be noted in this connection that both these products are highly cultivated in the neighborhood of the excavation and that they are the main source of livelihood for the nearby inhabitants. It is true that the word *ἔλιος* occurs in such later authors as Nicander *Alexipharmaca* 181, Maximus the astrologer *περὶ καταρχῶν* 492, Oppianus *Cynegética* IV 262, Dionysius the periegete 1157, and Nonnus *Dionysiaca* XII 299. Lack of evidence from earlier times could be attributed to the paucity of literature on relative subjects from earlier times. In fact still later lexicographers⁴ attest the listing of

Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad jus pertinentes (Milan 1925) pp. 128-129, no. 14, 139-142, no. 17; cf. also J. V. A. Fine, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 9 (1951) 166. I feel, however, that the date given in *Hesperia, loc.cit.*, to the last fragment is questionable, and that the shapes of the letters, the nature of the names, and the subject itself could place it even as early as the fourth century B.C. To these texts a few scraps from Latin inscriptions found during the first campaign of the American excavations are to be added.

² See below.

³ Sappho fr. 62 Bergk. There is not any apparent connection with the noun *αἴλιος*—*dirge* or the adjective *αἴλιος*—*mournful*, although the word *αἴλιος* with the meaning *ode of the weavers* is attested by the Sicilian poet Epicharmus, fr. 88

Olivieri. However Kaibel has found reasons to believe that the comedy *Ἀταλάνται* in which the word occurred could not be the work of a Sicilian poet; cf. A. Körte, *R.E.*, s.v. Phormis, and A. Olivieri *Frammenti della commedia Greca e del mimo* . . . I (Naples 1946) 6.

^{3a} See E. Sjöqvist, *ILN loc.cit.* (note 1), K. Erim, *AJA* 62 (1958) 79-90, and E. Sjöqvist, *supra*.

⁴ *Etymol. Genuinum* p. 107 Miller; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 330, 39 Gaisford. Derivatives of the word (*ἐλινοφόρος* and *ἐλινότροπος*) are found in the *Hymn to Isis*, *IG XII* 5, 739, line 18 (1 cent. B.C.; cf. W. Peek *Der Isishymnus von Andros* [Berlin 1930] 15, 36, 93, and for the date p. 101). See also G. (=W.) Kuchenmüller, *Philetæe Coi reliquiae*, Diss. (1928) 102-103, fr. 43.

the word in early lexicographical works: the Γλωσσαι of Philetas (fr. 11 Bach) and the Ἑτυμολογούμενα (?) of Apollodorus (fr. 214, *FHG* I 465; 247, *FGrH* 244). All this shows that the word was already in use in earlier times. Perhaps it was better known in Sicily.⁵ In favor of such an explanation is the evidence about Aristaeus, a deity widely worshipped around the ancient world as patron of various agricultural products, among them oil and wine, and one whose cult was, in Sicily, especially connected with oil-production; his statue stood in a temple at Syracuse, and was abducted by Verres. He is described as πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφῇ μία.⁶ However, besides the rather unsatisfactory solution from this uncommon word there is another more serious difficulty. The compound so made is one of the type known as *dvandva*, so rare in ancient Greek that the introduction of a new one becomes problematical and is to be treated with great caution.⁷

I note finally that according to Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἐλινοί, a town of Sicily had that name.⁸ Nothing is known about it and its location. If our name is somehow connected with this town we would expect an adjective derived from it to designate the god. An explanation would be that the god was named after the town by an etiological myth on the analogy of several such examples as Gortys, the town, and Gortys, the founder. But there remains the difficulty of the first part of the compound and also the lack of topographical information about the town Elinoi itself. Therefore it would be unjustifiably rash to find in the newly excavated ruins the town Elinoi, especially in view of the excavators' conviction that they are the ruins

of Morgantina, a town better known from literature and so more fitting to the importance of the ruins found at the place.

The search so far leads us to inadmissible solutions. As it is well known, epithets of gods, later becoming names, usually are adjectives. The name of our god has, in fact, adjectival form (Ἐλαιέλιος). There is no word which will constitute the theme of the adjective and even if we take it to be compound we find fitting only the words ἔλα = ἥλιος · ἀργή · καύμα and ἔλη—the sun's heat. These meanings would have been good (cf. Ἐλιεύς, title of Zeus in Thebes, Hesych.), but the first part of the supposed compound is left without explanation.

Mention has been made above of the possibility that the name took its origin from some other language. I note for comparison the lake *Velinus* etc.,⁹ the tribe and the town of Gallia *Helinium*, and the tribe of west Sicily, *Elymoi* or *Helimoi*¹⁰ in Latin and the form *elina* for Helene in Etruscan.¹¹

I have not seen the work of V. M. Amico, *Lexicon topographicum Siculum* (Palermo and Catania 1757-1759, 3 vols.) or its revision by G. di Marzo, *Dizionario topografico della Sicilia* (Palermo 1858, 2 vols.). Nothing relevant is in I. Scaturro, "La religione dei Siculi e dei Sicelioti," in the volume *Studi di antichità classica offerti . . . a Emanuele Ciacerei* 1940, pp. 269-280.

I express my thanks to Prof. E. Sjöqvist for entrusting to me the publication of this firstling of epigraphical finds in the excavations of Serra Orlando, to Prof. H. Cherniss for encouraging discussion of the problem, and to Mr. Harry Avery for correcting my English. *Caveat lector.*

⁵ A collection of *glossae* from Sicily is in G. Kaibel, *Comiconum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1899) 212-218; cf. 198-202.

⁶ Diod. Sic. IV 82.5: παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασι τιμηθῆναι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ὡς θεὸν καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸν; IV 81, 2: (μυθολογοῦσι τινες) τοῦτον -- τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὴν κατεργασίαν διδάξει πρῶτον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. (Source of Diodorus is Timaeus of Tauromenion; cf. J. Geffken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* [Berlin 1892] 168. R. Laqueur, *R.E.*, *s.v.*) Cicero in *Verr.* IV 57 (128): ex aede Liberi simulacrum Aristaei non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Aristaeus, qui, ut Graeci ferunt, Liberi filius, inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud illos eodem erat in templo consecratus; cf. *de nat. deor.* III 45. See E.

Ciacerei, "Contributo alla storia del culti dell' antica Sicilia," in *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Filos. e filol.*, XI 1896, pp. 78-81, and Hiller von Gärtringen, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Aristaeos 1.

⁷ The word *ελινος*—*mournful poem* listed in Stephanus' *The-saurus* from Athenaeus XIV 618d, which anyhow would not help in the interpretation, is nothing more than an erroneous reading in one of the manuscripts for *αἰλινος*.

⁸ One manuscript gives the name to a river of Sicily. Powell accents Ἐλινοί.

⁹ See G. Radke, *R.E.*, *s.v.*

¹⁰ Hülsen, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Elymoi.

¹¹ Cf. Fiesel in Roscher's *Lex. d. Myth.*, *s.v.* velenā.



Fig. 1. Cittadella hill and the northeast plateau



Fig. 3. Fragment of painted ridge tile



Fig. 2. The archaic settlement. Architectural remains of sixth, fourth and second centuries B.C.



Fig. 5. Maenad antefix, second quarter sixth century B.C.



Fig. 4 a-c. Gorgoneion antefixes, second half of sixth century B.C.



Fig. 8. Vases *in situ* in room of archaic settlement



Fig. 10. Necropolis II



Fig. 11. Tomb 4

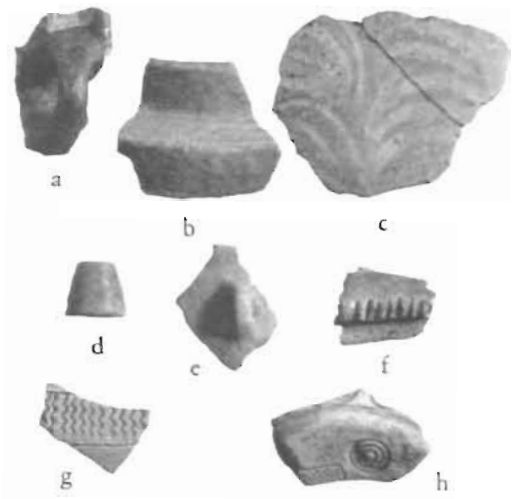


Fig. 9. Pre-Greek pottery: a-b, d-f Ausonian II ware; c painted ware with fan-shaped decoration; g-h S. Angelo Muxaro ware



Fig. 6. Bronze attachment with figure of Herakles and ram's head



Fig. 7. Syracusan tetradrachm



Fig. 21. Terracotta statuette of priestess



Fig. 20. Terracotta bust of a woman



b



a



c

Fig. 23. Three terracotta figurines

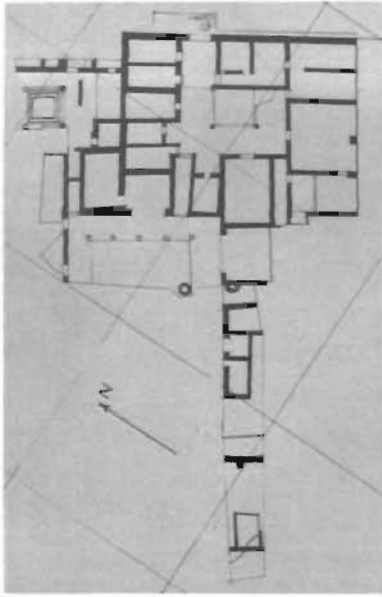


Fig. 25. Area II, plan of house and trench



Fig. 26. House of the Tuscan Capitals seen from north



Fig. 28. Terracotta figurine from House of the Tuscan Capitals



Fig. 27. House of the Tuscan Capitals, small garden peristyle



Fig. 29. Bronze coin from island of Gaulos (Gozo)



Fig. 31. House of the Doric Capital



Fig. 30. View of Lower Agora, public building, terrace house and House of the Doric Capital



Fig. 38. Inscribed pithos rim

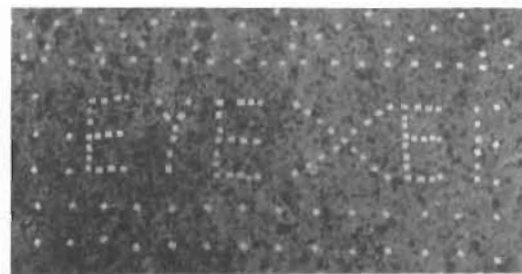


Fig. 32. Mosaic inscription in House of the Doric Capital



Fig. 33. Lower Agora with speaker's platform in right middle distance



Fig. 35. The temple in antis



Fig. 37. Southwest terrace wall

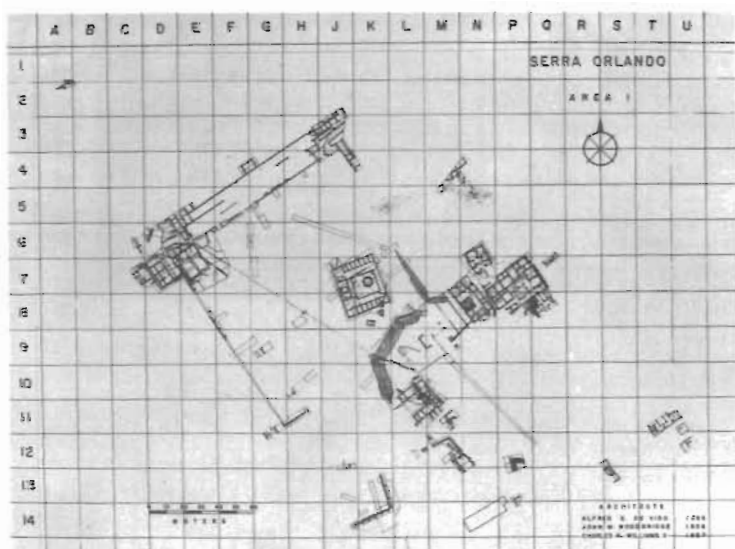


Fig. 36. Plan of Area I



Fig. 34. Altar in area between Macellum and Lower Agora

University News

DR. Arthur S. Flemming, president of Ohio Wesleyan University and a member of President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, will give three lectures at Princeton on Feb. 25 to 27. He will give the 1957-58 Fund for Adult Education Lectures, it was jointly announced by C. Scott Fletcher, President of the Fund for Adult Education and President Goheen.

"The Liberal Arts and the Government of Men" is the general theme of the three lectures Dr. Flemming will give at 5 p.m. daily in the conference room of Woodrow Wilson Hall. The public lectures are sponsored by Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Baker Lecturers

Follows the list of the Baker Fund Lecturers from the faculty this year. Usually they address the local club at its annual meeting, but are also available to give public lectures if the local alumni so desire.

Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland, Jan. 26-30, C. S. Pittendrigh, "Living Clocks, and the method of measuring time by animals and its use in navigation by birds."

Indianapolis, Louisville, Feb. 4, 5, W. J. Oates, "Nationalism and Internationalism in Ancient Greece."

Charleston, Columbus, Milwaukee, Feb. 18-22, Frank Craven, "The New View in American History."

Erie, Buffalo, March 6, 7, R. A. Lester, "A Hard Look at New Labor Legislation."

Atlanta, Memphis, March 31-April 3, Willard Thorp, "'Well of English now Defiled' or Why Johnnie Can't Write" and "Some Aspects of Southern Literary Renaissance."

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, April 1, 2, 3, W. W. Eason, "Is Russia Winning the Battle of Production?"

"Sayre Hall"

The late Daniel Clemens Sayre, pioneer in aviation, whose career spanned the development of aviation from World War I "Jennys" to supersonic jets, was honored last week as Princeton officially named the headquarters building for the aeronautical sciences at the James Forrestal Research Center, Sayre Hall. Called to



ON THE COVER: The Atomic Energy Commission recently announced the progress of the experiments on the peacetime use of controlled thermonuclear power, and the *N.Y. Times*, *Time* and other publications carried learned explanations with diagrams about "plasma" and the "pinch effect;" this seems like a good time to show our wares in this avant-garde field, as comparable research is being carried on at Los Alamos and in England. This is an artist's conception of what the Model C Stellarator Project will look like upon completion, planned for about 1960. Included are buildings which will be designed by Walter Kidde Constructors, Inc., under a contract awarded last summer, and others to be designed by an architect yet to be selected. The picture does not attempt to show the actual design of the latter, only the approximate size. The Stellarator at the James Forrestal Research Center is a part of Project Matterhorn, a phase of the Atomic Energy Commission's over-all Sherwood Project aimed at the achievement of controlled thermonuclear power. The AEC and the University recently announced that the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company and the Radio Corporation of America had established a combined engineering staff organization—C Stellarator Associates—to design and build a facility and coordinate the fabrication of its components. The new installation will be based on the original concept of Dr. Lyman Spitzer Jr., Chairman of the Department of Astronomy. Research with smaller models has been proceeding since 1951 under his direction, and the general supervision of a faculty committee headed by Dr. Henry D. Smyth, formerly a member of the AEC. Announcing approval of plans for the Model C Stellarator last April, AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss said the facility would make possible advanced experimental work which could be performed more effectively than with the present smaller models. The decision to build was in line with the Commission's policy to pursue all promising and feasible avenues of thermonuclear research, he said. The name "Stellarator" is a coined word from "stellar" to "generator."

Princeton in 1941 to organize the then new Department of Aeronautical Engineering and a decade later named first Director of the Forrestal Research Center, Professor Sayre served continuously as a member of the Princeton Faculty until he died late in 1956 at age 53. At the time of his death he was combining the direction of the Forrestal Center with his duties as Associate Dean of Engineering.

Sayre Hall was one of the major buildings acquired by the University in 1951 when it purchased the buildings and 800-acre tract of land formerly occupied by the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. This became the site of the Forrestal Research Center, established as a memorial to Princeton's distinguished alumnus who served as the Nation's first Secretary of Defense. Conceived as an extension of the University's research facilities in the natural sciences and engineering, the Center's research program is currently emphasizing the nuclear sciences and aeronautical engineering. The largest single project at the Center is Project Matterhorn, a major part of the Nation's long-range effort to develop a means of producing and controlling thermonuclear fusion. Sayre Hall now adjoins the site of the 3-billion volt, high-intensity Princeton-Pennsylvania Accelerator, a mammoth research tool which is being largely financed by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at a cost in excess of \$6,000,000.

The plaque memorializing Professor Sayre in the main entrance to the building recalls that he was "the first Chairman of the Department of Aeronautical Engineering and a guiding spirit in the establishment of the James Forrestal Research Center."

More Faculty Homes

The University has announced a program for providing more faculty homes by a plan to develop its "Grey Farm" property north of Lake Carnegie and east of Harrison Street. The first phase will make available 26 lots for professors of permanent rank and administrators of equivalent stature to build homes, mortgaged by the University on liberal terms and to be purchased back by the University on a no-profit no-loss basis when the professor leaves its ranks. He can choose to stay on in retirement, as can his widow.

MORGANTINA

The Life and Death Of a Sicilian Town

HOWARD C. RICE JR.

“MORGANTINA . . . was once a city, but exists no more” — *Μοργάντιον* . . . πόλις δ' ἦν αὐτῆ, νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. So stated the Greek writer Strabo (64 B.C.-A.D. 19) in the chapter of his *Geography* describing the inland towns of Sicily. Other ancient writers—among them Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides, and Livy—testify to the city's former importance and to its role in the Peloponnesian War when Athens unsuccessfully attempted to conquer the towns of Sicily, in the Punic Wars when Sicily was battlefield and pawn in the struggle between Rome and Carthage, and in the Servile Revolts when the Sicilian slaves strove to liberate themselves from the yoke of their masters.

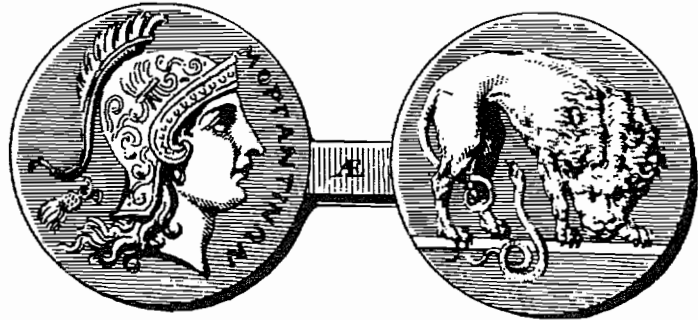
Many centuries after Strabo, the humanists of the Renaissance and their learned successors, pondering these ancient texts and the ancient coins bearing the name of Morgantina, proposed hypothetical locations for the lost city. Some of them, misled not only by a doubtful passage in Livy which mentions a Roman fleet lying before the city, but also by the fact that a small fishing village named Murgo then survived on the eastern coast of Sicily, placed Morgantina be-

tween Catania and Lentini near the mouth of the river Dittaino. Others, interpreting correctly the preponderant testimony of the classical texts, rightly situated Morgantina in the interior of the island, but failed to determine its precise location. Maps of ancient Sicily, plotted by scholarly cartographers in the 17th and 18th centuries (for example, Guillaume de L'Isle's *Sicilia Antiqua*, 1714, and J. B. d'Anville's *Italia Antiqua*, 1764) reflect the hypotheses of these arm-chair geographers.

Meanwhile, as cartography in-

city which was actually about thirty miles to the northwest. None, however, identified this particular ruined citadel near Aidone as the lost city of Morgantina mentioned by the ancient historians and geographers. Indeed, it is only during the past year—1957—that, as a result of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily, this identification has been made.

When excavations were begun on the Serra Orlando ridge near Aidone in 1955, the identity of the ruins was not known. The site had been chosen in the hope that it might reveal information about the extent of Greek colonization in the Sicilian hinterland, and because promising finds had been made there in the course of trial operations by local antiquarians. Now, at the end of the third season of the Princeton “dig,” archaeological evidence has been correlated with the historical and numismatic evidence, and together they have resulted in the rediscovery of Morgantina. “The archaeological results and the historical sources,” according to the directors of the excavations, “complement each other in a singularly happy way, so that what may have seemed unclear



creased in accuracy and detail, from the time of Gerard Mercator onward, maps of modern Sicily based on local observation recorded on a hill-top near Aidone in the central part of the island a locality known as “Cittadella.” Some of the maps even indicated the presence there of ruins—“ruinata,” while others erroneously labelled the spot “Erbita,” an ancient

in the latter is well illustrated by the former, and vice versa. These recurrent coincidences form the basis for our identification. One day, we hope, an inscription bearing the city's name will bring the final proof of our hypothesis.”

These recurrent coincidences also provide the story of Morgantina as it is summarily sketched by the classical

Howard Rice, Chief of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in the University Library, in the course of preparing the present exhibit on Princeton's Sicilian expedition has become a noted armchair archaeologist. The exhibit will be up until April 27th.



Serra Orlando ridge: agora to left, acropolis to right



Lower agora, 2nd century houses



Sanctuary of Demeter, 4th c., with columnar altar

trial trench uncovers 2nd c. house



6th c. rock-cut chamber tomb

Pre-steps of 4th c. Greek temple in agora



authors, and more fully documented by the recent archaeological excavations. (The name Morgantina was used by the early Greek colonizers and has consequently been adopted in preference to such forms as Murgantia or Morgantium which were used by later, Latin writers.) The ancient texts are shown in early editions—many of them notable as examples of distinguished printing or as landmarks in classical scholarship—selected from the Library's extensive collections in this field. The archaeological evidence is presented through maps, charts, photographs, and working papers of the Princeton expedition. By previous agreement the actual objects dug up at Morgantina remain the property of the Italian government, and can be shown only through photographs. However, it has been possible to include, from the collections of the Princeton Art Museum and other sources, a few characteristic objects, such as coins and pottery of the same type as those found at Morgantina. The Library exhibition thus constitutes a "progress report" on the Princeton expedition to Sicily, while aiming at the same time to demonstrate the methods and problems of archaeological research and to emphasize its dependence upon related fields of humanistic study.

The origins of Morgantina are given a new dimension as a result of the evidence brought forth by the Princeton archaeologists. While the geographer Strabo merely records the legendary tradition of a tribe called "Morgetes" which emigrated to Sicily from the region of Rhegium in southern Italy and gave its name to a settlement there, the recent excavations have uncovered on the northern slope of the acropolis the traces of a prehistoric Siculan village, whose origins date to the end of the 12th century B.C. and which probably lasted until the 8th century or later.

The next period, during which this early settlement made way for a Greek polis, can be more precisely determined. Shortly before the middle of the 6th century B.C., Greek pioneers from the eastern coast of Sicily moved inland and settled on the site. Four separate excavation areas show that they were well established over the better part of the acropolis. A fortification wall was built around the hill; traces of temple architecture and decorative terracotta reliefs reveal the existence of the holy places. Pottery fragments of indigenous Siculan ware, of imported Attic ware, and of native imitations of the latter, indicate the gradual fusion of Greek and indige-

nous elements, which in time resulted in the characteristic Siciliote Greek culture. All of these discoveries change considerably the traditional historical conclusions concerning the extent of the Hellenization of the Sicilian hinterland during this early period.

The first period of Greek colonization of Morgantina lasted approximately a hundred years and came to an abrupt end about the middle of the 5th century B.C. This interruption in the city's development is reflected in the scanty archaeological remains representing the late 5th century. The negative evidence of the excavations is corroborated by the historian Diodorus Siculus who records that, in 459 B.C., "Ducetius, King of the Sicilians . . . attacked and seized the important city Morgantina (*πολιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντίναν*), for which he was highly honored by all his countrymen." Thucydides tells us how, a quarter century later, the Sicilian cities, warring among themselves, finally in 424 B.C. made a common front against the threat of an Athenian invasion, and adds: "Each city kept what it had, except that the Camarinaeans were to have Morgantina on payment of a stated sum to the Syracusans."

THE GOLDEN AGE

The brief golden age of Morgantina—as symbolized by the great civic center or agora, the most spectacular find uncovered by the Princeton expedition—came in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. The agora, one of the finest and best preserved Hellenistic public squares outside Asia Minor, was planned about the year 300 B.C., when Agathocles was King of Syracuse. Agathocles, it is related by Justinus, in his abridgement of the lost history of Trogus Pompeius, found refuge at Morgantina when he was exiled from Syracuse, and was greatly aided by troops from this and other interior towns in his subsequent rise to power. It seems probable, therefore, that the ambitious civic improvements initiated at Morgantina reflect his royal patronage and gratitude.

The great agora, begun under the reign of Agathocles and continued during the early reign of Hieron II (275-215 B.C.), was doomed to remain forever unfinished. The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.), when Sicily became the main battlefield in the struggle between Rome and Carthage, seems to have brought the ambitious undertaking to a halt. The Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) had even graver results for Morgantina. The historians Livy and Diodorus Siculus both record the changing fortunes dur-

ing this period of the Sicilian cities, wooed now by the Romans and now by the Carthaginians. Morgantina had the misfortune of espousing upon at least two different occasions the cause of Carthage, ultimately the losing side. Roman punishment was prompt and severe: the city and its public land were taken away from the local owners and by a Senatorial decree of 211 B.C. were given to the Spaniard Moericus and his mercenaries, who had rendered great services to the Romans during the Sicilian campaign. The excavations furnish ample evidence of the rapid decline and serious depopulation of Morgantina at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century B.C. Furthermore, they have supplied an essential bit of evidence for the identification of the site in the form of bronze coins issued by the new Spanish overlords with the proud inscription HISPANORUM. Nearly three hundred of these otherwise very rare coins have been found in the excavations, and are stratigraphically bound to this period.

The final phase of Morgantina's history extends roughly to the end of the Roman Republic (30 B.C.). During this period a new market-place was installed in the upper agora, and shops were added to the old northern portico and adjacent areas. Elegant residential quarters rose on the two hills overlooking its east and west sides. Then the life of the city gradually ebbed away, owing, it would seem, to the social, political and economic changes which took place at the end of the Roman Republic. Cicero in his impassioned and scathing indictment of the administration of Gaius Verres as governor of Sicily tells of ruinous taxation (the case of Polemarchus, a "worthy man of Morgantina," is cited as a scandalous example of Verres' abuses), of abandoned wheatfields in Rome's Sicilian granary, and of impoverished towns, like Morgantina, which are now deserted—"nihil omnino relictum." A few decades later Strabo, as previously mentioned, recorded that Morgantina was no longer a city—"nunc nulla est," as the Latin translators rendered his phrase. The name of the town survived, however, in the name of a wine; Pliny, and, still later, Columella, both following Cato the Elder, writing on rustic matters, speak of Morgantinian grapes, well suited to foggy climates, as the hardiest of the Sicilian vines. More enduring than wine, coins inscribed with the name of Morgantina out-lived the city, and survived through the centuries to puzzle and perplex the scholars of later ages.



Imported Attic vase



4th c. head emerges



Full size priestess



Silver 4th c. diadem from Demeter sanctuary



Medusa head from drinking cup

Ritual dancer from sanctuary



Athena terra cotta head



Late black-figured style



ON THE CAMPUS

BY REEVE PARKER '58

LAST year's end of Bicker was heralded by a *Princetonian* headline which proclaimed the "Easiest Bicker Ever." This year's Bicker might well be termed the hardest, if not the worst. On the Wednesday before Open House night, the *Prince* charged the ICC* with a "snafu" in its handling of the 100 per cent problem, and the following day in an editorial warned Prospect Club that its Open Bicker (*PAW* Jan. 17) placed it in danger of becoming a dumping ground for the rest of the ICC members.

Prospect's president Myron Margolin '58 denied that Prospect would become an ICC "Scapegoat," since it was a condition of the Open Bicker that Prospect would extend bids only to those sophomores who "wish to join" the club. Steve Rockefeller, ICC Chairman, on the following day severed relations with the *Prince* for its handling of the coverage, and the *Prince* responded by claiming on Friday night that over 45 sophomores were without bids to any club.

The situation was actually even worse than predicted. According to ICC figures, on Friday afternoon 143 sophomores had no first list bids, and twenty had no bids at all. By 9:30 Saturday night (Open House) forty-two were not in clubs, and by midnight this figure had been reduced to 35. Prospect kept its books open until 6 p.m. Sunday, taking six more, and five other clubs took another six (the ICC stressed that these were not considered as "100 per centers") and by 9:00 p.m. Sunday when Bicker was officially declared over by the ICC and all club books closed, there were still 23 sophomores who were not, in the final analysis, in clubs. (Wilson Lodge had signed up five.)

Shortly after midnight Sunday, following a three-hour meeting attended by Dean Lippincott, the ICC issued three statements on the 1958 Bicker. The first treated the issue of 100% and said that it "could not and should not" be assumed, since possible failure was inherent in the system. It denied that 100 per cent was the responsibility of the ICC or that achievement of 100 per cent should be a criterion of the ICC's success.

* The Inter-Club Committee, composed of the 17 club presidents.—ED.

The second statement concerned the 35 boys not in clubs by midnight Saturday. The committee declared that each of them had had an opportunity to join a club, but that many of them had held out in hopes of being placed in clubs other than Prospect on the basis of 100 per cent; therefore, the ICC refused to consider them as 100 per centers, and abandoned them to the mercy of the individual clubs. The twenty-three left out on Sunday night when all books were closed were left out for good.

In the background of the problem all the time was the subject of the third ICC statement, racial and religious discrimination.* Several of the boys left out expressed the feeling that they had been discriminated against by quotas; while deploring the possibility of such discrimination on the part of any clubs, the ICC declared that it had no jurisdiction over the policies of the individual clubs, since they were selective organizations. Previously, and this was perhaps the most important part of their second statement, the ICC denied that proof of racial or religious discrimination on the part of any one club had any effect on the sophomore's opportunity to join a club during Bicker. One could infer from the statement that Prospect's Open Bicker was the justification for this assertion. As this went to press, however, it seemed certain that the issue of 100 per cent and discrimination in Bicker was far from closed.

The status of the twenty-three made it clear that whatever "bluff" any of them had attempted in hopes of receiving placement by the ICC as 100 per centers had backfired, but it was plain at the end that the ICC had not gone back on its word to help any sophs whom it considered to be 100 per centers. In fact, technical 100 per cent was somewhat irrelevant by their definition.

Bicker Trivia

For better or for worse, Bicker, as inevitable as rain in Princeton's spring monsoon season, had arrived last week and had three-quarters of the undergraduate body firmly in tow. Prince-

* A question applicable to only half of those finally left out.—ED.

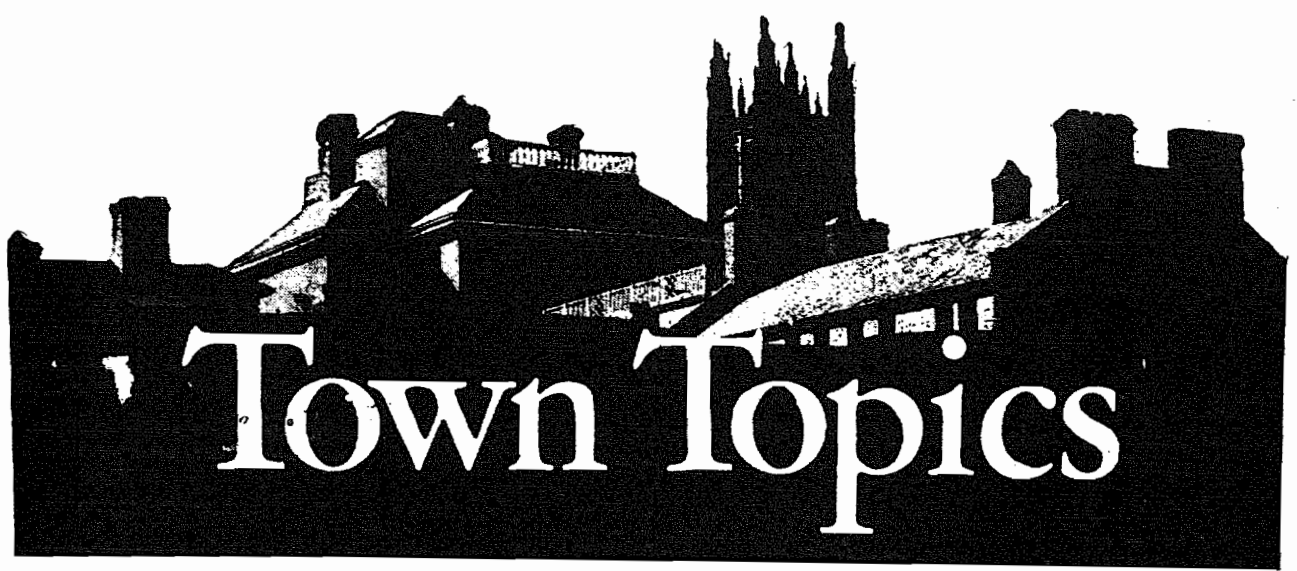
ton's spring is heralded by the influx of red-breasted robins from de souf-lands and the omnipresent aroma of Walker-Gordon No. 5 from the local dairy and fertilizer factory. Bicker has its harbingers also; the most reliable are the appearance of small, three- and four-man groups threading their ways around about the residential campus.

Bicker, as well as spring, has its blooming garb, and there is little doubt that Princeton's Tweed Rating is ever higher than during the ten-day fashion show. Even football weekends, which have the added enticement of tweedy-colored trees to lure *Sports Illustrated* photographers, cannot match Bicker for the sheer virtuosity of its tweedism.

Unfortunately, what Bicker dress boasts in its depth (or shallowness, depending upon your point of view), it lacks in its imagination. There is depressingly little deviation from the shaggy (but not baggy!) suit and the charcoal-flannel-topping sport coat. In fact it is undeniable that avant-garde tweedism makes a strategic retreat when it comes to mutual impressions between clubbers and clubables.

It seems that impression-conscious students are reluctant to go very "far out" even in their tweeds: creeping meatballism thrives during Bicker. Pipes, for all their functional eccentricity so exotic in their appearance that they must be considered part of one's dress, vanish à la American Indian; bow ties, ironically enough indicative of extreme clubbiness, tend to disappear; and vests, those liberal manifestos of left-wing tweedism, temporarily join the ranks of the mothball tweed.

For those uninterested (!) or uninvolved in Bicker there was little to do except clear out. Even entertainment was Bicker-slanted, as the sophomore class sponsored a "Polygon Show" during which Bicker was spoofed, and the Pit offered a "Special Bicker Showing" of "La Strada" at 11:00 P.M. to attract post-calling period flicksters. An on-campus showing of "All Quiet on the Western Front" was advertised but drew sparse crowds, and even the Balt succumbed to pressure and announced that it was staying open an hour later each night to fill hungry Bicker stomachs.



WE NOMINATE

Erik Sjoqvist and Richard Stillwell, two eminent Princetonians, who in the age of "Ike-nik" and Sputnik, have been instrumental in turning back the clocks some 2,000 years and answering a riddle involving a once-thriving city that literally disappeared from all known maps shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era. This week the University Library launches a striking major exhibition, "Morgantina: The Rediscovery of a Lost City in Sicily," which documents how Princeton archaeologists, led by Sjoqvist and Stillwell, have vastly strengthened this community's reputation as a center of classical studies by not only identifying Morgantina but also by reconstructing the history of a Sicilian site whose origins date back to 1100 B.C.

The site, located by the 55-year old Sjoqvist while on a "prospecting trip" in 1953, had been chosen in the belief that it might reveal long-missing information about the extent of Greek colonization in the interior of Sicily. Now, after three seasons of "digging" along a ridge rising some 1,600 feet, archaeological data has been correlated with the historical and numismatic evidence and together they have resulted in the re-mapping of a city that, according to a Greek geographer writing between 30 and 20 B.C., "was once a city but exists no more." The impending exhibition, opening the evening of February 7th and continuing through April, is a progress report on the Princeton expedition and points up the methods and problems of archaeological research.

Three comparatively brief "digging seasons," with Sjoqvist and Stillwell alternately directing the field work and carrying out laboratory research here in

Princeton, have unearthed a 22-century old marketplace, one of the best preserved Hellenistic squares known to the modern world. They have also yielded a storehouse of archaeological treasures, including statuary, pottery, jewelry and an important inventory of coins. The latter, the subject of a searching thesis by a Turkish-born graduate student, proved all-important in pinpointing Morgantina's place in history and provided such positive identification that the only possible missing link is expressed in the archaeologists' fervent hope for eventually finding an inscription bearing the city's name.

Sjoqvist, Swedish-born and at one time a special adviser to the King of Sweden (who joined the Princeton expedition for a brief period in 1955), was named a permanent member of the University Faculty in 1951. For a decade prior to his Princeton appointment he had been headquartered in Rome and concerned with the international organization of archaeological research. The 59-year old Stillwell, Princeton-trained and associated with the Department of Art and Archaeology for more than three decades, is a former director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. A member of past Princeton expeditions to Antioch and Corinth, he returns to Sicily next month to direct the fourth season that opens March 24th.

For showing that a field expedition, or excavation, is to archaeology and related studies what basic research, is to the sciences; for writing a new chapter into our understanding of the Ancient World; for strengthening a "field tradition" that brought Princeton wide recognition for some 70 years; these two teacher-scholars are our nominees for

PRINCETON'S MEN OF THE WEEK

DR. LEON C. NUROCK

DR. BARRY LAVINE

OPTOMETRISTS

Eyes Examined

6½ Chambers Street

WAlnut 4-0918

**The Mather
Funeral Home**

Off-Street Parking

40 Vandeventer Ave.

WAlnut 4-0242

FEBRUARY 9-15, 1958

Library Notes &
Queries
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO PRINCETON

MORGANTINA

"Morgantina: The Rediscovery of a Lost City in Sicily," a progress report on the work of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily during the 1955-1957 seasons and the Library's major winter exhibition (February 7 through April 27, 1958), is more fully described in the leaflet mailed to *Chronicle* subscribers with this issue. Some further remarks are presented here by way of commentary on the utilization and importance of library resources in archaeological research. The exhibition traces the rise and fall of an inland Sicilian town over a period of five centuries or more, by interrelating the archaeological evidence—shown through charts, photographs, and working papers of the Princeton expedition—and the literary or historical evidence (including cartography and numismatics)—shown through the works of ancient authors and the writings of Renaissance scholars and their successors.

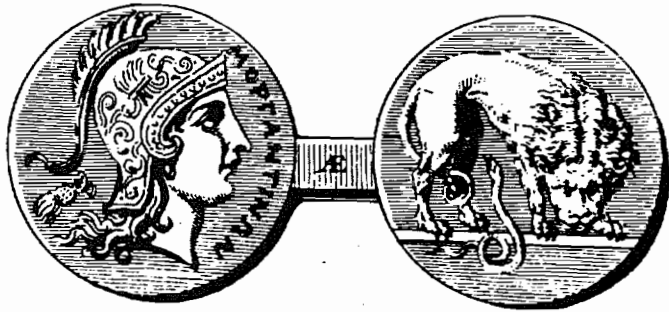
The Greek and Roman authors whose writings contain references to Morgantina are: Thucydides, Cato the Censor, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Silius Italicus, Columella, and Justinus. The pertinent texts of these writers are included in their historical context at the appropriate points in the exhibition. Early editions, notable as examples of distinguished printing or as landmarks in classical scholarship, have been selected for display. In several instances the first printed edition is shown. For example, two of the finest of the Library's incunabula find a place in the exhibition: the first edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, printed at Venice in 1469 by Johannes de Spira, and the first printed version—a Latin translation of the original Greek text—of Strabo's *Geography*, printed at Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz, also in 1469. With the *editio princeps* of Justinus' "epitome" of the lost history of Trogus Pompeius, printed by Nicolas

Jenson at Venice in 1470, are shown two attractive fifteenth-century Italian manuscripts of the same work (Grenville Kane Mss. Nos. 42 and 43). Another first edition included is the beautiful Thucydides printed by Aldus Manutius at Venice in 1502.

Diodorus Siculus is the most frequently cited of the ancient authors in the exhibition. Although his world history, which enjoyed a considerable reputation among scholars of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, has been somewhat disparaged by later generations, it nevertheless has particular significance for the identification of Morgantina and the reconstruction of its history by the Princeton archaeologists. Diodorus (*fl. ca. 40 B.C.*), a Sicilian as his name indicates, was born in Agyrium, a town situated only some thirty miles north of Morgantina; his topographical references to inland Sicilian localities carry therefore special weight. The same is true of his discussion of events in Sicily; the Slave Revolts (139-132, 102-99 B.C.), for example, had taken place during the half-century preceding his own birth, so that during his boyhood he might well have heard them discussed by participants. The story related by Diodorus of Gorgus Cambalus and his father, who were slain by bandits within sight of the city walls of Morgantina, sounds very much like a bit of local lore. Although the Library does not have the first (incomplete) edition of Diodorus' *Βιβλιοθήκη Ιστορική* published at Basel in 1539 (containing Books XVI-XX only), it has been possible to show the first edition that includes the principal texts relating to Morgantina, published at Geneva in 1559 by the French scholar-printer Henri Estienne, as well as significant later editions: that of Lorenz Rhodoman (with his Latin translation), printed at Hanau by Wechel in 1604; Wesseling's folio edition (Amsterdam, Wetsen, 1745); and the attractive octavo Bi-Pontine edition, edited by Heyne (Strasbourg, 1793-1807). Although the Library possesses a manuscript of Diodorus' *History*, written in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century (Garrett Ms. No. 105), this is a Latin translation by Poggio of Books I-VI only (those dealing with mythology), and does not therefore include the later books pertinent to the subject of the exhibition.

Taken as a whole these early editions of ancient authors bear eloquent witness to the role of the scholar-printers of the Renaissance in the recovery and wider diffusion of the classical heritage. Their books, which helped preserve the scanty historical information we now possess concerning the city of Morgantina, thus have their place in the exhibition as essential links in the chain of trans-

mitted knowledge connecting this ancient Sicilian city, which flourished during the five centuries preceding the birth of Christ, with the Year of Our Lord 1958. Incidentally, they present a good sampling of the Library's extensive holdings in this field. In view of this evidence of bibliothecal strength, it is appropriate to mention at the same time, for the guidance of possible future donors, certain first editions which the Library does *not* possess. Such a desiderata list might include: the first editions of Livy's *History* (1469), of Cicero's *Orations* (1471), and of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus (1471), all three printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome; the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, published by Nicolas Jenson in Venice in 1472, containing the first appearance in print of both Cato's *De re rustica* and Columella's *De re rustica*; the first edition of the Greek text of Strabo's *Geography*, from the Aldine press, Venice, 1516; and the first edition of any portion of the Greek text of Diodorus Siculus, issued in Basel in 1539, as mentioned above.



Another division of the Library's resources which contributes to archaeological studies is reflected in the maps, early atlases, and geographical treatises shown in the exhibition. By means of these it is possible to trace the history of the site now being excavated under Princeton auspices from the time of the Renaissance down to the present. One of the first "modern" maps of Sicily, Gerard Mercator's *Siciliae Regnum* (Duisburg, 1589) records on a hilltop near Aidone in the central part of the island a locality known as "Citatella," although the exact relationship between the two places is incorrect. Giacomo Cantelli's map of a century later, *Isola e Regno di Sicilia* (Rome, 1682), not only shows "Cittadella" in correct relationship to Aidone, but further indicates the presence there of "ruinata" (identified, erroneously, as the ancient city of Herbita); Guillaume de l'Isle's *Carte de l'Isle et Royaume de*

Sicile (Amsterdam, ca. 1710-15) carries the story a step further by providing a profile of the ridge. While such increasingly detailed maps of modern Sicily were succeeding each other, several generations of classical scholars, all working without benefit of archaeological excavations, made attempts to locate the city of Morgantina mentioned by the ancient authors. Somewhat surprisingly, none of them appears to have identified the ruined citadel near Aidone as ancient Morgantina. Guillaume de L'Isle's map, *Sicilia Antiqua* (Paris, 1714), reflects the hypotheses of such scholars as Tommaso Fazello (*De Rebus Siculis*, Palermo, 1558-60)¹ and Philipp Clüver (*Sicilia Antiqua*, Leyden, 1619)² who placed Morgantina on the eastern coast of Sicily at the mouth of the river Symaethus (the modern Dittaino). Their hypothesis rested on a doubtful passage in Livy, which mentions a Roman fleet lying before the city, and on the fact that a small fishing village called "Murgo" or "Murga" had survived at this spot. Another hypothetical map, frequently reprinted in subsequent years, is J.B. d'Anville's *Italia Antiqua* (Paris, 1764); it interpreted correctly the preponderant testimony of the classical texts, rightly situating Morgantina in the interior of Sicily, but presumably selected as the site Monte Judica, a Roman and Byzantine fortress close to the present village of Castel Judica, which is some twelve miles east of the Citadel near Aidone, now identified by the Princeton archaeologists as the site of the ancient Morgantina.



Another field of study closely related to archaeology, and given emphasis in the exhibition, is that of numismatics. In addition to the modern reference works on ancient coins, several older treatises on numismatics are of interest as records of collections now dispersed and of the conclusions of earlier scholars. Although the Library does not possess the original editions of two of the earliest

¹ The Library has the Frankfurt, 1579, and later editions.

² The Library has the Wollensbüttel, 1679, and later editions.

works on Sicilian coins—Hubert Goltzius, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia, sive Historiae urbium et populorum Graeciae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae* (Bruges, 1576); and Filippo Paruta, *La Sicilia descritta con medaglie* (Palermo, 1612)—it does have the substance of both works as incorporated into the *Sicilia Numismatica*, edited by Syvert Haverkamp, which in turn constitutes Volumes VI, VII, and VIII of the fifteen volumes comprising the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae*, compiled by Joannes Georgius Graevius (Leyden, 1723-25). Also of interest in this connection are Jacques Philippe d'Orville's *Sicula* (Amsterdam, 1764), the second part of which is devoted to *Numismatica Sicilia*, with commentary by Pieter Burman, II; and the "Notice ou Description sommaire des Médailles de la Sicile," which forms an appendix to the handsome illustrated work, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, edited by Abbé J.C. Richard de Saint-Non (Paris, 1781-86). Engravings of Sicilian coins from these works have supplied decorative ornaments for the exhibition leaflet,³ and are on display in conjunction with enlarged photographs of coins found in the Princeton "dig" and with actual coins similar to those found at Morgantina. The coins come from the Library's own Numismatics Collection, from the University Art Museum, and from the collection of Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone. In addition, the American Numismatic Society has generously lent four examples of the rare "Hispanorum" coins which have provided a key bit of evidence in solving the identity of the excavation site, and two Morgantina issues. One of the latter, a small silver litra minted in the fifth century B.C., has on the reverse an ear of barley (indicating the agricultural importance of the region) and the Greek inscription: ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΑ. This coin is the authority for the form of the city's name adopted by the Princeton archaeologists in preference to such forms as Murgantia or Morgantium, used by later, Latin writers.

In addition to the coins already mentioned, Dr. Joseph V. Caltagirone, of Brooklyn, New York, has lent to the exhibition several other small objects, such as pottery and terra-cotta heads, which

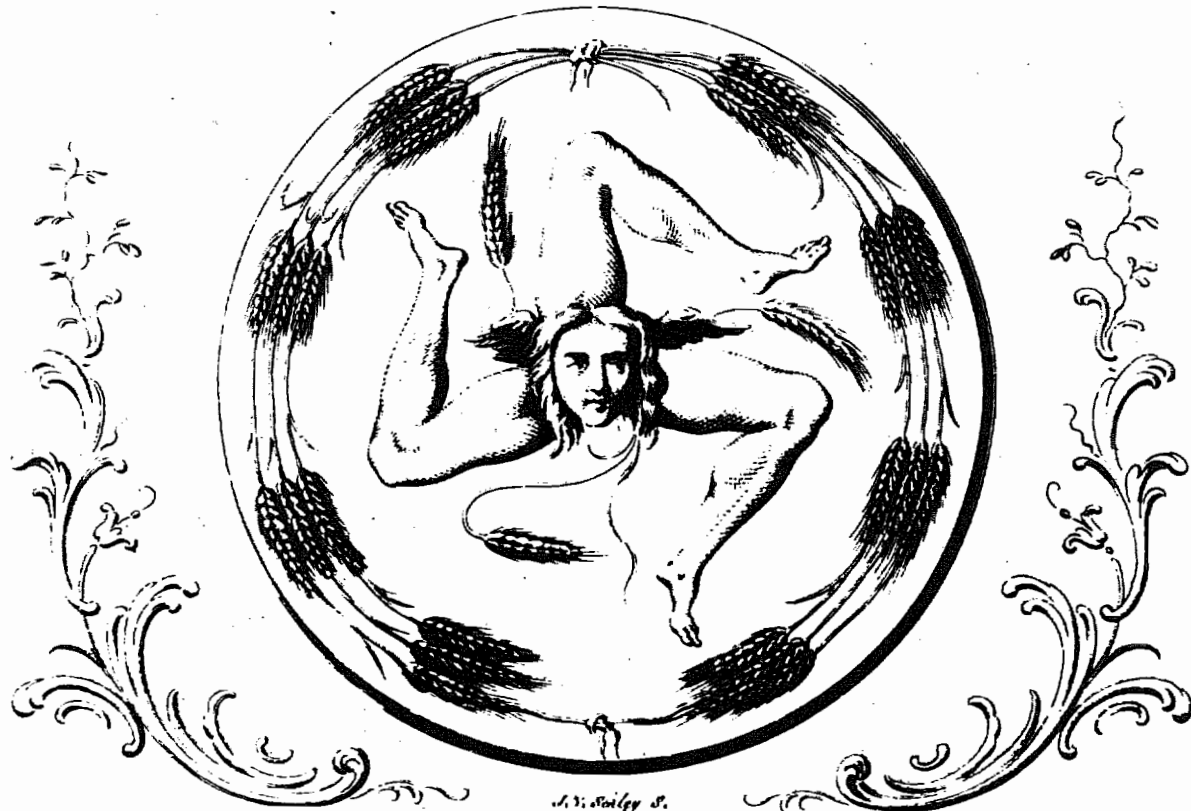
³ Reprinted here. The obverse and reverse of the Morgantina bronze coin of ca. 310 B.C. is from a plate engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin in the *Voyage Pittoresque . . . de la Sicile*, Vol. IV, facing p. 375. The Agathoclean coin—showing the head of Kore (Persephone) on the obverse and on the reverse Nike crowning a trophy, with the triskele of Sicily and name of Agathocles (tyrant of Syracuse, 317-289 B.C.)—is from Plate CLII Haverkamp's *Sicilia Numismatica*. The Hispanorum coin (reverse) of the second century B.C. is also from Haverkamp's work, Plate CLXII.

had been found on the Serra Orlando Ridge, the site being excavated by the Princeton Archaeological Expedition and now identified as the ancient city of Morgantina. Dr. Caltagirone was born in this region of Sicily and maintains an active interest in the history and present welfare of his boyhood home. Other characteristic objects of the same general type as those found at Morgantina, shown in the exhibition, come from the University Art Museum's fine collection of ancient art, and from the personal collection of Gillett G. Griffin.

The photographs of the excavations at Morgantina and of the "finds" made there—which constitute an essential part of the display—were for the most part taken by Pal-Nils Nilsson, staff photographer of the Princeton Expedition during the 1957 season. Enlargements have been executed especially for the exhibition by Miss Elizabeth G.C. Menzies of Princeton. The relief model of the excavation site, another striking feature of the display, was made by the Princeton School of Architecture. Miss Frances F. Jones, Curator of Classical Art in the Princeton Art Museum, who worked in Sicily with the expedition during the 1955 season, has provided invaluable aid and advice. Finally, no roster of acknowledgments should omit the names of the directors of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily: Professor Erik Sjöqvist and Professor Richard Stillwell '21, of the Department of Art and Archaeology, whose patient and close co-operation with the Library staff has made the "Morgantina" exhibition possible.



To place the present expedition to Sicily in its proper historical perspective as far as the University is concerned, the Library arranged in the Princetoniana Room an exhibition entitled "The Archaeological Tradition at Princeton." This tradition had its beginnings with the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, all of whose members were connected with the University. Howard Crosby Butler '92 was in charge, as he was



J. V. Seilly S.



A Check List of a Set of Photographs
selected for the exhibition in
The Princeton University Library
(February 7 -- April 27, 1958)

from the records of
The Princeton University
Archaeological Expedition
to Sicily

M O R G A N T I N A

The Rediscovery of a Lost City in Sicily

A Check List of a Set of Photographs
selected for the exhibition in
The Princeton University Library
(February 7 -- April 27, 1958)
from the records of
The Princeton University Archaeological Expedition
to Sicily

Princeton University Library
1958

NOTE

The photographs, with the few exceptions noted in the check list, were made by Pål-Nils Nilsson, staff photographer of the Princeton Expedition during the 1957 season, and the enlargements were executed especially for the Library exhibition by Miss Elizabeth G.C. Menzies of Princeton.

By arrangement, this set of photographs will be available for consultation as part of the collection of the Graphic Arts Division of the Library, and will be held there for use as needed by the directors of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition.

The brief explanatory captions appearing in this check list are also transcribed on the verso of each photograph. For more detailed explanation and for the place of the photographs in the general context of the Princeton excavations and in the history of Morgantina, see the retrospective type-written catalogue of the Library exhibition which is available on the reference shelf in the Rare Books Reading Room.

M O R G A N T I N A

Set of Exhibition Photographs

* * *

THE SITE

1. The Serra Orlando Ridge, Province of Enna, seen from the south, 1957.

Showing in the distance, at the right (east), the hill-top known locally and traditionally as "la Cittadella." This summit and the adjacent plateau stretching left (west) for a distance of some two miles or more form the site of the Princeton excavations. The town of Aidone (not visible in this photograph) is situated on another hill-top to the left (west).

Note the vineyard, middle distance, right.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by Elizabeth G.C. Menzies.

(Negative number A 24-8.)

2. The Town of Aidone, on the top of the hill, looking from the south. Rising mists (cf. Cato the Elder).

Photo. and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson.

(Negative unnumbered; Nilsson's personal files.)

3. "Morgantina is no more..." View on the Serra Orlando Ridge.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative number A 10-5.)

4. Shepherd and flocks, in the mist, on the road...

Photo. and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson.

(Negative unnumbered; Nilsson's personal files.)

5. "The Wine of Morgantina -- 1957."

Photo. and enlargement by P.N. Nilsson.

(Negative unnumbered; Nilsson's private files.)

THE PREHISTORIC SICULAN VILLAGE

6. Stratigraphical excavation of the prehistoric layers.

The round object in the center is a mill stone on the hut floor, dating from the 8th century B.C., while the layer of dark earth below it is mouldered debris of earlier huts from the late 12th century.

Photo. by Erik Sjöqvist.

(Negative unnumbered.)

7. Fragments of pottery of four centuries from the prehistoric village.

Some of these sherds are of Italic type, known as "Ausonian ware," not hitherto found in Sicily. They confirm the legend of the Italic origin of the founders of Morgantina.

Photo. (color), Felbermayer, Rome.

(Unnumbered.)

THE GREEK CITY

8. Face of a Maenad, ca. 570 B.C. Antefix.

An antefix which once adorned the eaves of the first Greek temple at Morgantina. This is the oldest of the terracotta reliefs found on the excavation site.

[Inventory number 57-2732.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 43-13.)

9. Terracotta antefix representing the grinning face of Medusa.

Fragment of a decorative relief from one of the early temples of Morgantina, ca. 550 B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-870.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 33-3.)

10. Excavation of a 6th century B.C. rock-cut chamber-tomb.

The tomb is one of several discovered on the northeast slope of the "Citadel," in the area designated as "Necropolis II." The rock-cut floor is being cleaned and the burial shaft uncovered.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 67-5.)

11. Burial shaft of tomb (above).

The burial shaft of the tomb has been emptied of debris and of burial gifts. The remains of skeletons of two early Greek settlers of Morgantina are revealed.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.
(Negative no. A 69-9.)

* * *

Local Siculan pottery, 6th century B.C. Examples found among burial gifts in the tomb, in conjunction with imported Attic pottery [cf. nos. 16-18] and with pottery of local manufacture imitating Attic prototypes [cf. nos. 19-20].

12. Siculan jug.

[Inv. no. 57-2031.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. ~~XX~~
(Negative no. 48-4.)

13. Small oinochoe, "Siculan IV" ware. 6th century B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-2006.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson.
(Negative no. 31-5.)

14. Siculan crater.

[Inv. no. 57-2946.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson.
(Negative no. 54-10.)

15. Siculan four-handled bowl.

[Inv. no. 57-3005.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson.

(Negative no. 58-24.)

16. Group of imported Attic vases, burial offerings, from the 6th century rock-cut chamber tomb, on the northeast slope of the "Citadel."

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 61-3.)

17. Oinchoe (wine jug), imported Attic ware, black-figure style, late 6th century B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-2721.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 45-20.)

18. Lekythos (oil flask) of Attic manufacture, black-figure style, late 6th century B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-2838.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 45-25.)

19. Group of pottery, of local Morgantinian manufacture, found in the 6th century B.C. tomb.

The examples grouped here are all of local Morgantinian manufacture, made by Greek settlers in imitation of imported Attic ware.

Compare these with the examples of Attic ware, "made in Greece" [nos. 16-18], and with the "native" Siculan ware [nos. 12-15]. The fusion of these two traditions into this hybrid pottery reflects the development at Morgantina of a characteristic Siciliote Greek culture.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 61-4.)

20. Kylix (drinking cup), made by the Greek settlers of Morgantina, imitation of the finer Attic prototypes. Late 6th century B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-2586.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 40-13.)

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

21. View of Serra Orlando Ridge, looking east, with the "Citadel" in the distance.

The trenches in the foreground mark the beginning of the excavations which uncovered a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Demeter and Kore.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 11-3.)

22. Altar in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

The column in the center is the altar dedicated to Kore (Persephone). It stands in a small room with stuccoed walls and was surrounded by votive offerings. Some of the vases are still lying on the floor where they were originally deposited by worshippers many centuries ago.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 12-6.)

23. At work excavating the Sanctuary.

Expert workmen, Don Ciccio and Lorenzo, carefully work their way through the final layer of the sanctuary. Here they are cleaning a vase which is still "in situ."

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 15-7.)

24. Foreman Francesco Campione cleaning the earth from a deposit of votive offerings found in the Sanctuary. (Cf. next item.)

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 20-11.)

25. Lamp, with nine wick-holes, 4th century B.C.

The lamp, of local Morgantinian ware, 4th century B.C., is an example of the Siciliote adaptation of Greek prototypes. It was found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Previous photograph in series shows the lamp being dug out of the ground.

[Inv. no. 57-705.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 32-11.)

26. Terracotta head of Kore.

This head is one of the oldest found in the sanctuary and shows that the cult began at least as early as the beginning of the 4th century B.C., possibly just after the Syracusan conquest of Morgantina in 396 B.C.

The ~~enlargement shows the~~ head ^{is} one half life-size.

[Inv. no. 57-721.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 43-10.)

27. Priestess of Kore.

Statuette of a priestess of Kore, whose pose indicates that she is pouring a libation. She is dressed in her ritual robes and wears the "polos," a cylindrical headgear characteristic of the goddess.

[Inv. no. 57-806.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 49-32.)

28. Head of a statuette as found in the excavation.

Photographed before its removal. Masses of superimposed soil have been removed by expert workmen using small picks, knives, and finally dentist's tools and brushes.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 57-3.)

29. Statuette of a worshipper.

Note her veiled head. Last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

[Inv. no. 57-2054.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 41-19.)

30. Votive statuette of female worshipper. [Inv. no. 57-809.]
Photo. by P.N.N. Enlargement by E.G.C.M. (Neg. no. A 45-4.)

31. Votive statuette of a female worshipper.

Like the preceding, this is an example of the statuettes offered by worshippers to the goddess.

[Inv. no. 57-2053.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 41-24.)

32. Statue of a young male god of unknown identity.

The god resembles young Apollo or Dionysius, but may very well be a hitherto unknown companion deity of Demeter and Kore, Elaielinos, mentioned in an inscription found in the sanctuary.

[Inv. no. 57-719.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 41-10.)

THE AGORA

33. The Discovery of the Lower Agora in 1955.

The first trench cut through the steps is in the right middle-ground. The soil is worked with pick axes, then passed along by many spades to the top of the temporary dump, some twenty-one feet above the bottom level.

(Negative unnumbered.)

34. The "Great Dump," 1957.

The "great dump" outside the ancient city wall has entirely re-shaped the terrain. What was once a steep ravine is now a steadily growing plateau, built up by some 150,000 cubic feet of soil and rubble, removed from the Agora.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. ~~Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies~~

(Negative no. A 59-7.)

35. The Lower Agora in March 1957.

The Lower Agora was covered by a 15-foot layer of sand and silt. The first two campaigns of the Princeton Expedition, in 1955 and 1956, brought to light the outlines of the monumental plaza, but left some 75,000 cubic feet of dirt in the center, as shown in this photograph taken in March, 1957.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 13-9.)

36. The Lower Agora in June 1957.

In the foreground are the walls of a private building which encroached upon the public area in the latter half of the 3rd century B.C. The monumental polygonal steps, built under the patronage of Agathocles and Hieron II, led to the Upper Agora and also served as the meeting place for the public assembly. Note the foundation blocks of the speaker's platform in the right middle-ground.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.
(Negative no. A 70-7.)

37. The Lower Agora seen from the west.

The steps enclose on three sides a polygonal area. In the foreground: the walls of an aristocratic private house (note the mosaic floor in the lower left corner), subsequently built in the early 2nd century B.C., when the "Spaniards" were the lords of Morgantina.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.
(Negative no. A 64-9.)

38. Life-size statue honoring an unknown lady.

Found in the Lower Agora, where it had been erected in the 3rd century B.C.

[Inv. no. 55-2713 and 56-1759.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.
(Negative no. A 1-7.)

THE ROMAN PERIOD

39. Slope rising from the old Agora.

At the upper right are private residences built in the 2nd century B.C., on the slope rising up from the old Agora. Public buildings of the 3rd century in the middleground. Steps of the Agora are visible in the left foreground.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 73-8.)

40. Residential quarter built in the 2nd century.

On the hillside sloping down to the old Agora (steps of which may be seen in the middleground, left). In the foreground is the peristyle court of an aristocratic home.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 62-6.)

41. "WELCOME" Εὖ εἴχεται

A Greek inscription in a mosaic floor of one of the 2nd century villas. The language of the inscription provides interesting evidence of the survival at Morgantina of Hellenic culture during the period of Roman rule.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 74-1.)

42. Excavating in a Roman villa.

Kyle M. Phillips, "trenchmaster" in charge of the zone here illustrated, at work on a preliminary classification of masses of broken pottery found in an abandoned water cistern belonging to the Roman house shown in Photo. 40.

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. A 50-1.)

43. Small statuette of Venus.

Found together with four other such statuettes in one of the rooms of a Roman house situated to the east of the Agora.

[Inv. no. 57-3018.]

Photo. by P.N. Nilsson. Enlargement by E.G.C. Menzies.

(Negative no. 56-14.)

Morgantinas Ruins Yield More Relics

Dr. Eric Sjoqvist
Reports Findings
Of Princeton Unit

The fortified Greek hill city of Morgantina, erased from the pages of history after flourishing in Sicily some 22 centuries ago, has yielded new material dating from the period of Agamemnon, around 1,300 B.C., according to Dr. Eric Sjoqvist, a leader of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition which has completed its fifth season of excavation work.

Dr. Sjoqvist described the new discoveries as "something of a small archaeological sensation". The season, which ended during the past Summer, was most important and productive, he said.

The new treasures include Greek bronze-age pottery in the Mycenaean style of the Homeric Greek period which provides important information concerning the early history of the site. Agamemnon, legendary hero, a king of Mycenae, led the Greeks in the Trojan War.

This material has turned up for the first time in central Sicily and throws unexpected light on the

vigorous expansion of the Greek mainland culture of that time,

The city of Morgantina, nameless for 2,500 years with its existence unknown until discovery of the site by Dr. Sjoqvist in 1953, is located at Serra Orlando, some 125 miles northwest of the coastal city of Syracuse. It apparently declined at a time roughly coinciding with the Roman conquest of the island.

RICHMOND



AT
ce

GREEK ART FOUND ON SICILIAN SITE

Treasures Unearthed by Princeton

Princeton Team Unearths a Wine Vessel and Busts From Sixth Century

Special to The New York Times.
PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 29—A rich yield of 2,000-year-old treasures has been unearthed from the site of an ancient Greek city in Sicily by the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition.

Prof. Richard Stillwell of the Department of Art and Archaeology, co-director of the expedition, said that during the summer his team had discovered a number of artifacts dating to the sixth century before Christ. The search centered on the Sicilian town of Aidone in the Serra Orlando range.

The site, selected in 1953 by Dr. Stillwell's colleague and alternating co-director, Prof. Erik Sjoqvist, is 125 miles northwest of the coastal city of Syracuse. Unlike most Greek colonies in the area, the ancient settlement is nestled in the interior of Sicily.

A large ornate vessel for mixing wine with water was listed as the chief discovery. A number of life-sized human busts, a stone offertory box and many architectural terra cotta were also found.

Four Summers' Work

Princeton teams have been digging in the Serra Orlando region for the last four summers. Recently, Dr. Stillwell was assisted by three Princeton graduates and sixty resident laborers.

Aidone, once a fortified inland Greek settlement known as Morgantina, flourished from 600 to 20 B. C., when it disappeared from the pages of history.

Since 1955, Princeton archaeologists have uncovered a well-preserved architectural plan with advanced concepts of civic planning and evidences of thriving industry.

The latest operations centered in a sanctuary of Demeter, the Greek goddess of crops and fertility. The sanctuary was discovered last year, when Dr. Sjoqvist headed the expedition.

The remains of two altars and a large number of busts of Hellenic women, crowned with diadems, were found inside the sanctuary last month, Dr. Stillwell related. Seven of the nine terra cotta busts were found in complete form. They are believed to belong to the third century B. C.

Vessel Reconstructed

The archaeological team's prize discovery, the red, figured wine and water vessel, was reconstructed from many broken fragments. Pieced together, it is forty-two centimeters in diameter (about sixteen and a half inches). The neck is decorated with a combat scene between Hercules and Amazons and a depiction of a symposium.

"It was fashioned by the hand of a master in the sixth century B. C.," Dr. Stillwell said, "and that master may be confidently recognized as Euthymides." The vessel was used for mixing wine and water, he noted, because the Greeks did not drink wine straight.

With other treasures unearthed from the Serra Orlando area, it has been mended, photographed and deposited in the museum at Syracuse.

Work will be resumed next spring under the leadership of Dr. Sjoqvist. The project is supported by funds from the Bollingen Foundation, the university and several Princeton alumni.



The archaeological team's prize discovery at the site of an ancient Greek city in Sicily is this red figured wine and water vessel, reconstructed from many fragments. The container measures about 16½ inches in diameter.



This is one of the life-size human busts found.

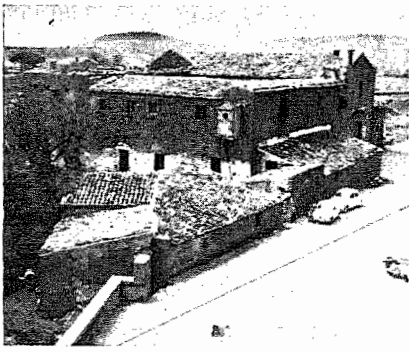


The New York Times Sept. 30, 1958
Area of excavation (cross)

Malcolm Bell III, A.B. Princeton, a graduate student in the Program of Classical Archaeology, spent two seasons at Morgantina, is now at the American Academy in Rome writing his dissertation on terra cotta finds at Morgantina.

The Treasures of Morgantina

TEXT & CAPTIONS BY MALCOLM BELL III



Proposed museum building

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
No. 19-26
In August 1955 an expedition sponsored by Princeton University's Department of Art and Archaeology first broke the soil of a nameless Greek city in the mountains of central Sicily—its aim, to learn more about Greek colonization in that area.

The expedition, under the direction of Profs. Erik Sjöqvist and Richard Stillwell, has reaped a rich harvest. Eleven seasons of excavation in Serra Orlando, as the site is known today, have yielded much information—

along with a trove of objects, some of them shown in these pages.

The city has been identified as Morgantina, once only a name in ancient literature. Prehistoric huts and burials of prosperous farmers and shepherds tell us of the city's earliest occupation. Athenian and Corinthian pottery and Greek houses and sanctuaries document the arrival of Greek colonists in early 6th century B.C. Distinguished public buildings and rich houses of the 4th century B.C. indicate the revival of Greek life after

the Sicilian Ducetius sacked the city in mid-5th century B.C.

In 211 B.C. a Roman army sacked the city and civic life declined. At about the time of Christ's birth the city disappeared, to revive with Sicily in the medieval period.

Discoveries at the site now number over 20,000 objects from houses, streets, and sanctuaries. Above left is the abandoned convent in the neighboring town of Aidone which, remodeled, will, it is hoped, house these treasures.



A panoramic view of Morgantina and eastern Sicily. In the foreground, the Hellenistic market square, terraced by a series of monumental steps. A Roman market, later addition, can be seen in the foundations to the left, and climbing the hillside to the

right were rich Greek houses of the 3rd century B.C. In the distance the hill, Cittadella, site of the earliest Greek settlement 6th century B.C. Across the valley, the snow-covered cone of Mt. Etna.

Faces to Ward off Evil

THE first 50 years of Morgantina's life as a Greek colony (roughly 550-500 B.C.) saw the founding of several sanctuaries where Greek gods could be worshipped. Most conspicuous of these was the temple at the top of Cittadella. These modest sacred buildings took the form of long, narrow, rectangular rooms, sometimes subdivided, the walls of which might be stuccoed with white plaster inside and out. In such chaste and unpretentious spaces the religious life of archaic Morgantina had its focus. The roofs of these temples were decorated according to Sicilian fashion with colorful terra cotta tiles. Along the cornices ran a series of faces—Gorgons, maenads, leopards—to ward off evil which might menace the god's house. Such faces are known to the archaeologist as antefixes.



Gorgon antefix, mid-6th century B.C. The large eyes and fearsome smile were meant to be frightening, for Gorgons could turn men into stone and their images shared that power.



Maenad antefix, ca. 560-550 B.C. Come hither look suggests this maenad may have been regarded as femme fatale. Painted eyelashes, rouge, and style suggest Ionian Greek influence.



Leopard antefix, ca. 530 B.C. Lions are a common decorative element in archaic Greek art but, so far as is known, the leopard antefixes from Morgantina are unique.



Gorgon antefix, ca. 530 B.C. Still frightening, the terra cotta Gorgon here begins to assume a more decorative, more human, form.



Gorgon antefix, 3rd century B.C. Humanization of the Gorgon is almost complete—only her piercing eyes and snake-like curls betray her primitive menace. From portico of private house.

Sculpture in Clay

THE creative currents which led the Greeks to sculpt images in stone were strongly felt in Sicilian cities—where, however, most sculptural activity was limited to the use of terra cotta, perhaps because good stone was scarce on the island. Such sculpture in clay flourished from earliest times well into the Roman period, often reflecting the strength of the cult of the agricultural goddesses Demeter and her daughter Kore (or Persephone), whose benedictions were essential to the prosperity of Sicilian farmers. The discovery of several sanctuaries filled with votive offerings of terra cotta shows that Morgantina was a major center of production. (These shrines belong to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., and are thus the descendants of the ones mentioned on the opposite page.) The terra cottas found in them cover a variety of types, ranging from images of the goddesses to representations of farm animals. All the terra cottas on this page were found in sanctuaries.



Head of a goddess, late 4th century B.C. This bust of Demeter or Kore belongs to the Sicilian "classic revival." The cult of the two goddesses has mythic relevance at Morgantina: it was in the neighboring vale of Henna that the god of the underworld seized Kore and carried her down to his kingdom.



Statuette, 3rd century B.C. Votive offerings often have an ambiguous identity: is this the goddess or the fashionable donor?



Comic actor, 3rd century B.C. The donor of this votive may have performed in the theater of Morgantina.



Statuette, ca. 300 B.C. The goddess Demeter here wears her characteristic crown, a device used for measuring wheat.

Prehistoric Pottery

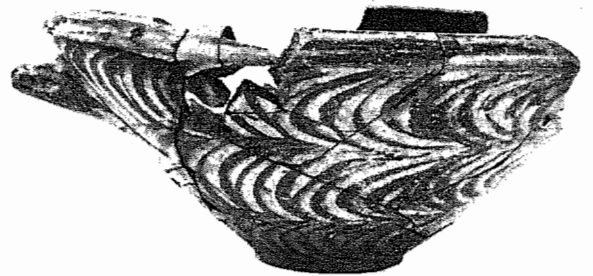
WHEN the first Greek settlers arrived at Morgantina in the sixth century B.C., the site had already been occupied for more than a thousand years. The name Morgantina itself is a bequest from this early and still somewhat hazy period. The Greek historian and geographer Strabo records a legendary King Morges who departed from his native Italy and with his people crossed over the Strait of Messina to found a city in Sicily. Strabo assumed that the city was Morgantina, and the Princeton expedition has found evidence to strengthen his case. Pot sherds very similar to Apennine wares used in central Italy toward the end of the second millennium have turned up at Cittadella. As yet no settlement has been found, but the pottery evidence suggests strongly that Strabo's story is true in outline and that the first important settlement at Morgantina was made by invaders from central Italy. These invaders were not alone—their cousins the Sikels gave their name to the island itself. At Morgantina these pre-Greek Sicilians (or better, "Morgetians") planted fields and probably lived peacefully. Some of their later huts have been found, and some of their pottery can be seen on this page.



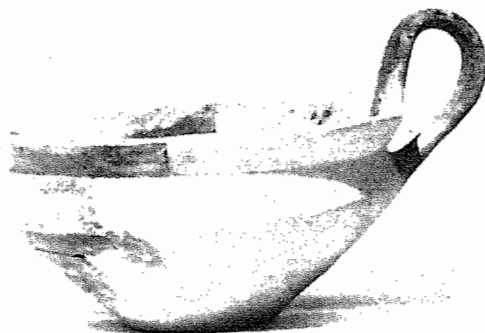
Siculan amphora, early 6th century B.C. Greek geometric pottery penetrated inland Sicily in the 8th century, and had a lasting influence on local wares. The shape and linear decoration of this pot are owed to Greek models.



Siculan bowl, 6th century B.C. Here the shape is traditional "Morgetian," especially the high handles and the angular profile accentuating the vessel's shoulder. But the painted decoration justifies the name given the style—Siculo-geometric.



Siculan bowl, 9th-8th centuries B.C. Earlier native pottery is sometimes painted in the *piumata*, or "feather-painted," technique. This organic decoration, perhaps imitating baskets, contrasts strongly with the severe ordering of geometric design.

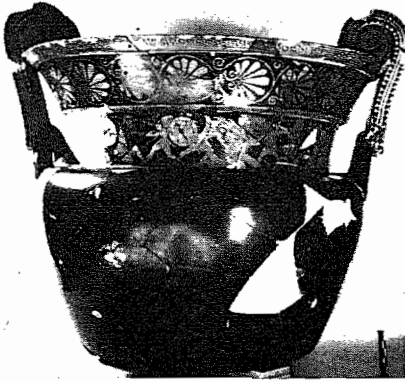


Siculan cups, 9th-8th centuries B.C. Typically Sicilian are the high handles and the carinated profile—a term used to describe the angular outline of the shoulder, derived from the Latin word for keel (*carina*). The Morgetians who drank from these cups farmed the hillsides and valleys around their settlement. A

recently discovered hut, large enough to be considered a house, yielded half a dozen storage jars, several large enough for a man to stand in. Such spacious pots were used for storing grain and produce, and are good evidence of prosperous farming—and the rich fields which drew the Greeks to Sicily.

Vases Imported from Athens

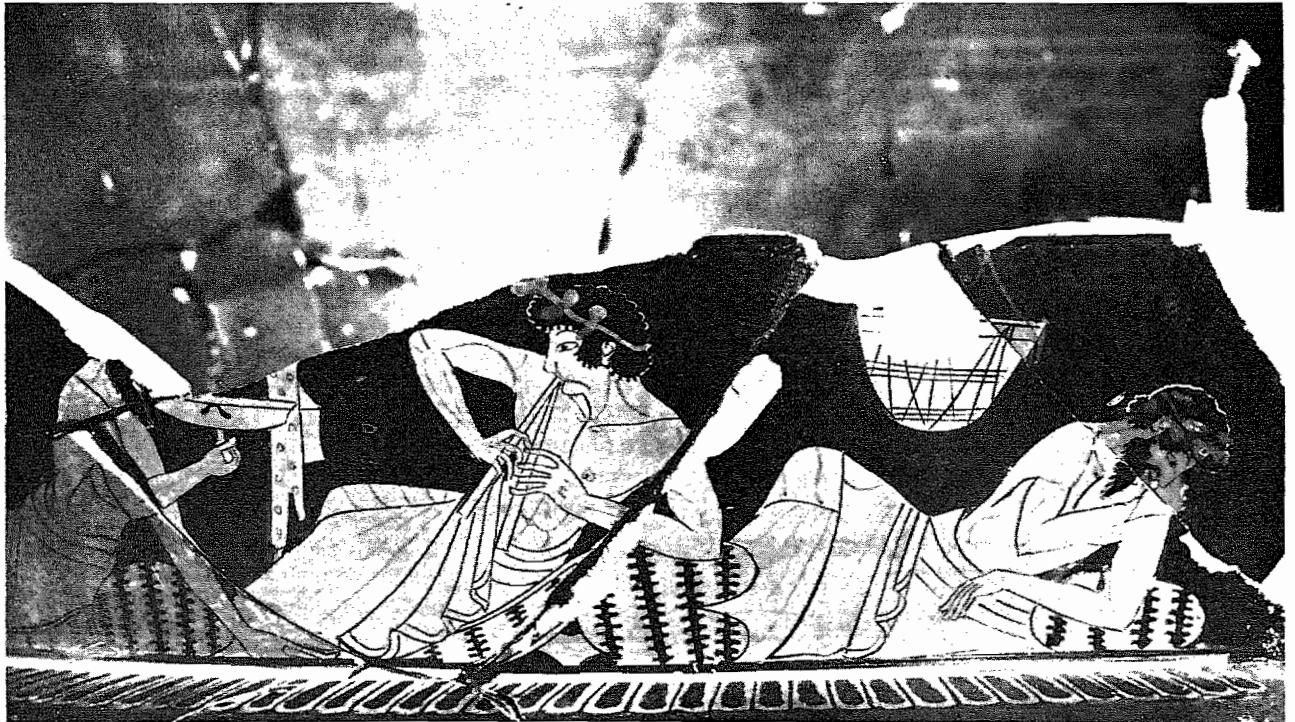
At the end of the 6th century B.C. the finest Greek pottery was made at Athens, where potters were shifting their allegiance away from the old technique of black-figure to the newer red-figure style. The export trade was heavy. Sicily received her fair share, and both black- and red-figure vases have been found at Morgantina. A good example of each technique is seen on this page.



Volute krater, ca. 500 B.C. Painted by great red-figure artist, Euthymides.



Oinochoe, late 6th century B.C. Appropriate subject for a wine pitcher: a satyr dances through vine tendrils, suggesting the power of the grape.

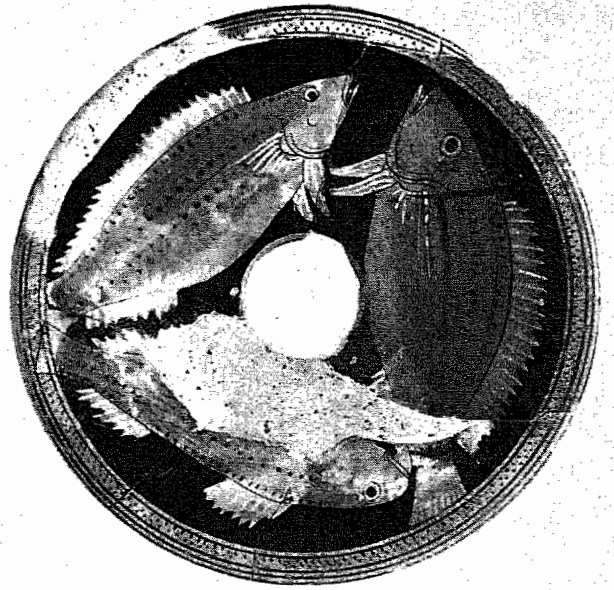


Detail, from krater above, left. Side shown there depicts heroic battle at Troy. The other (here) shows contemporary drinking party. One of the first painters to look closely at human body,

Euthymides treats each reveller as a problem in representation—note twisted shoulders on the left, the flutist's arms, and hunched realistic gesture on the right.

Later Greek Pottery from Sicily

SCHOOLS of red-figure vase painting flourished in southern Italy and Sicily in the classical period and they remained active long after the end of Athenian red-figure. In the western schools there was a fondness (increasing with time) for the decorative in style and subject, and the artists frequently embellished their vases with such applied colors as white, yellow, and blue. At the end, in the advanced old age of red-figure in the third century, some Sicilian vases even began to resemble wall paintings, with the same broad range of colors. Morgantina has yielded much significant pottery from the second half of the fourth and the whole of the third century. The hoped-for Morgantina museum could thus provide a visual documentation of the transition from traditional shapes and subjects to the manifold forms and new colors of Hellenistic pottery—frequently “contemporary” in appearance.



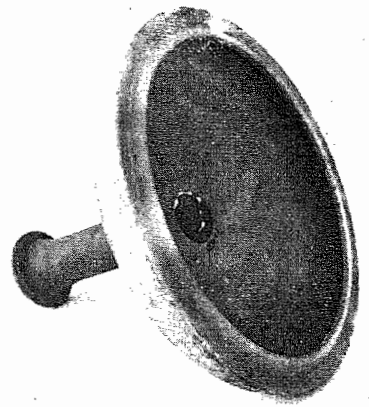
Fish plate, second half of the fourth century B.C. Fish plates were popular in southern Italy, where the sea is never far away. What food was served on them can be guessed. The Morgantina plate is particularly fine.



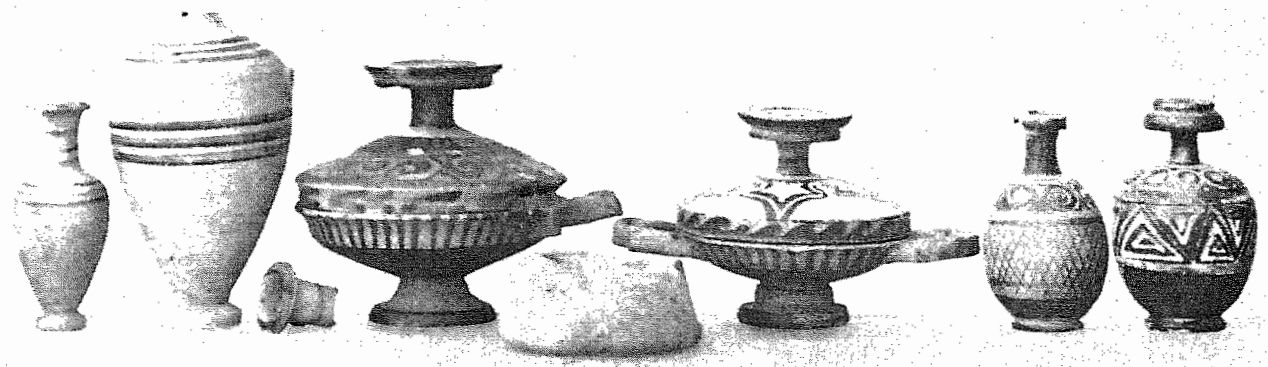
Cup, second half of 4th century B.C. The white paint, added after the cup had been fired, and the decorative use of a female head, are typical of the period.



Miniature amphora, ca. 330 B.C. Sicilian painter of this gaudy amphora used a rich repertory of decorative patterns.



Lid of a large vessel, 3rd century B.C. This unpainted object relies on its shape for its beauty. Such a shape has few precedents, and such originality is rare in earlier Greek art.



Tomb group, ca. 300 B.C. These objects found together in a grave reveal the tastes and customs of the person whom they accompany, and are therefore important social documents. They are also all of roughly the same date. One datable object (for instance, a coin) dates the others, and for the still unclear chronology of Hellenistic pottery a tomb like this is welcome.



Punic, 3rd century B.C. Silver issue with portrait of Carthaginian prince, influenced by realism in contemporary Greek portrait sculpture.



Syracuse, ca. 480 B.C. Dolphins surround nymph Arethusa. Syracusan coins of this period are among most beautiful ever minted.



Morgantina (?), ca. 215 B.C. Sikelia, on a silver coin probably minted during Second Punic War, to rally Sicilian cities against Rome.

A Harvest of Coins

Each year's excavation at Morgantina produces hundreds, sometimes thousands, of new coins. Such a quantity speaks for the town's prosperity, and perhaps also for the absence of pockets in Greek clothes. Most coins are of bronze but sometimes silver and gold issues are found. A widely publicized hoard of 44 gold coins was found in 1966, including coins of Alexander the Great. Always useful in archaeology, coins have had a special importance at Morgantina, where they have provided the means for identifying the city itself. Thus it is that the first of a series of volumes on Morgantina—to appear soon—will deal with the coins.



Punic, 3rd century B.C. Carthaginian armies marched across Sicily throughout third century. Their coins were influenced by Greek models and may have been minted in Sicily. Many have been found at Morgantina, including this rare issue of electrum.



Morgantina, 2nd century B.C. At end of Second Punic War Romans gave Morgantina to Spanish mercenaries, one of whose bronze issues is seen here.



Rome, 32-31 B.C. Silver denarius of Mark Antony, minted just before battle of Actium, where both Antony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavian.



Syracuse, ca. 300 B.C. High standards were traditional at Syracuse, even for bronze issues like this one with its fine bull, struck by tyrant Agathokles.

Greek Objects: Archaic & Late Medieval

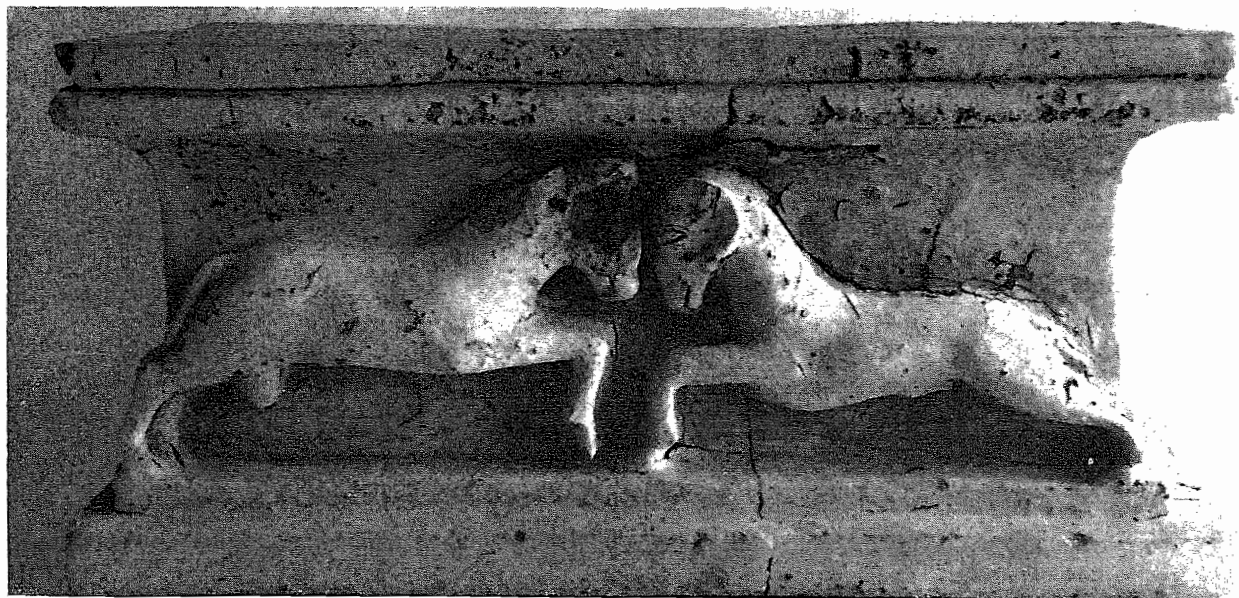
THE two objects on this page are related only by their quality and provenance. They represent the extremes of Greek archaic and late medieval which frame the historical period studied by the Princeton expedition and they ornament the collection which would be housed in a Morgantina museum.

The museum would serve several purposes. It would preserve the carefully collected evidence of the successive levels of occupation in each trench, permitting the reconstruction of the archaeological context of any object found at Morgantina. It would permit the display of the most beautiful and significant finds. And, in addition to these scholarly and aesthetic functions, would be an economic godsend to an impoverished town—and a monument to Princeton's commitment to Sicilian archaeology and to the generous efforts of the expedition's co-directors, Professors Stillwell and Sjöqvist.

With their retirement (Stillwell in 1967, Sjöqvist at the end of this year), Princeton's role will be diminished but research will continue through an arrangement with the University of Illinois, with the two universities jointly sponsoring further work.



Glass beaker, ca. 1150-1200 A.D. In the later Middle Ages Morgantina and its neighborhood revived after a long decline. This glass beaker from Aidone is a direct consequence of the Norman conquest. In 1147 Roger II captured the Greek city of Corinth and moved her industries to Sicily; in Corinth identical beakers have been found by the American excavators.



Terra cotta altar, ca. 500 B.C. Small altars like this were used in the religious life of private families. This one from Cittadella, decorated with heraldic butting rams in relief, was found close by the volute krater of Euthymides. Both objects, along with

the others shown in these pages, reveal the high standards of taste and craftsmanship which prevailed throughout the Greek world, even in a town like Morgantina, far from the Greek homeland.

New Highways in Sicily Open Up Island's Interior

By NICK MIKOS

PALERMO, Sicily — Sicilian tourism, after recouping its 1968 earthquake losses last year, appears to be heading for a record in 1970. The key to this development is found in the emphasis placed on air-sea communications not only with the mainland, but also with "charter flight" countries in the north.

Besides hastening work on a new jet runway at Palermo, Sicily is opening the islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa to air traffic. The runway at Catania is being lengthened, and at Gela an unused airport has been reopened.

Joint Service

Working with the regional government are Italy's domestic airlines and tour-bus services. They have established special rates to and from Sicily, as well as providing all-inclusive plane-bus tours of the island.

The prices for such inclusive tours are about \$165 for a week's visit. The rate includes rooms at the best hotels, meals, tips and entrance fees to monuments, museums and excavations.

Progress in extending the autostrada (superhighway) system in the past year was marked by the opening of the highway between Catania

and Messina. Construction of the inland Catania-Enna-Palermo Autostrada is well under way, with parts of it in operation. Like the recently opened mainland autostrada linking Naples and Bari, the inland highway will open up Sicily's interior to visitors.

Missing Link

These roads, like the lower part of the mainland's Autostrada del Sole, are toll free, but the biggest bottleneck to the full development of the island has been the lack of a direct connection with the mainland. Preliminary results of feasibility studies for a bridge over the Strait of Messina are positive, but it is unlikely that work on the span will start before 1975.

Meanwhile, numerous ferriboats make the crossing from Reggio Calabria and Villa San Giovanni to Messina, with sailings at peak periods as often as every half-hour.

Puny Fare

The rate for passengers is so slight that it reminds one of the 5-cent Staten Island Ferry fare, and there is some talk of abolishing it altogether. Rates for cars depend on their size and weight, but they are not unreasonable.

It is best to visit Sicily in the spring, early summer or fall because so many of the

island's attractions are outdoors, such as the ruins of the Greek temples at Agrigento, Selinunte and Segesta.

A new haunt for the archeological-minded tourist is the ruins at Morgantina, an ancient inland town developed by Greek colonists some 600 years before the birth of Christ. Excavated artifacts and statuary dating from that period will be put on display in a museum soon to be completed at Aidone, a few miles from the site.

Apart from the island's archeological treasures, cities and towns such as Palermo, Syracuse and Taormina continue to be of interest both artistically and historically.

Major Effort

And to enable the visitor to get the full benefit of his trip, Sicily has made considerable efforts to improve its hotel and other living accommodations. There are now hardly any towns without at least one or two good hotels.

In this area, private industry in the form of the Valtour Company has undertaken to build two tourist villages for some 2,000 vacationers. One of the villages is near Catania and the other is near Cefalu, on the northern coast of the island. These villages will be ready by the end of 1971.

F = Aug 27

DRILLING FOR GAS URGED OFFSHORE

House Panel Gets Warning Here of Winter Shortage

By WILL LISSNER

Representatives of public utilities and business spokesmen, fearing a natural-gas supply crisis next winter, urged a Congressional committee yesterday to concentrate on expediting exploration and development of the Outer Continental Shelf in the Atlantic Ocean from Nantucket to Maryland.

Robert A. Low, the city's Environmental Protection Administrator, leading a group of environmentalist and ecological spokesmen at the hearing, said that preliminary data indicated that 35,000 million cubic feet of gas and at least 5 billion barrels of oil might be recoverable from the shelf's Baltimore Canyon Trough.

If a field of this magnitude were discovered and brought into production, petroleum economists said, it could provide up to 15 per cent of the needs of the Northeast region, now dependent on high-priced foreign imports of oil and gas.

Mr. Low, other officials and officers of groups with environmental concerns urged that measures be taken to protect coastal zone interests. Some opposed any development or proposed that it be undertaken slowly and carefully.

European Field Studied

The hearing, held at the Americana Hotel, was one of a series, being held by the House Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf. Members of the panel returned recently from Europe, where they had studied the development of submerged oil land in the North Sea.

Representative John M. Murphy, Democrat of Staten Island and Brooklyn and chairman of the committee, charged that the Interior Department "is rushing headlong into leasing arrangements with the oil companies."

He said that in spite of President Ford's statements that he would veto any legislation amending the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953—which gave the Interior Department leasing authority—the House majority was determined that independent producers and

Erik Sjöqvist, 72, Archeologist Who Found Ancient City, Dies

Dr. Erik Sjöqvist, the archeologist who discovered the ancient Greek city of Morgantina on a Sicilian mountaintop, died Wednesday in Drottningholm, Sweden. He had marked his 72d birthday Tuesday.

Dr. Sjöqvist's discovery followed a lifetime of work in academic institutions in Rome, Sweden and the United States. From 1940 to 1948 he was director of the Swedish Archeological Institute in Rome. He then spent two decades as a professor of classical archeology at Princeton University.

In 1954, Dr. Sjöqvist headed a team of Princeton archeologists who unearthed Morgantina at Serra Orlando, 125 miles from the city of Syracuse on Sicily's eastern coast.

Imposing Fortifications

They found well-preserved ruins that indicated advanced concepts of civic planning, imposing fortifications and the existence of thriving industry within the walled city.

Dr. Sjöqvist, who was associated with Prof. Richard Stillwell of Princeton's department of art and archeology as co-director of the expedition, said Morgantina was a flourishing commercial center overlooking the junction of two river valleys, the natural arteries of communication with the old Greek trading centers.

Morgantina's existence came to an abrupt end about 40 B.C., but the scientists were unable to ascertain whether it was cut short by a natural cataclysm or by some human agency.

The archeologist said Morgantina's inhabitants were indigenous people of Sicily, who had fallen under Greek political



Dr. Erik Sjöqvist

domination in the fourth century B.C. Their culture was chiefly Greek, and it is likely that they spoke Greek, since the only two fragments of inscriptions that have been found were in Greek.

Coins Minted in Carthage

Morgantina's industry appeared to have been mainly in lumber, for the area was then heavily forested. Many coins that were found were minted in Carthage, indicating international trade.

For some time even the name of the city was not known. A number of Greek and Roman authors, including Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus and Livy, mention it, and what they wrote coincided step by step with what the Princeton team found.

Dr. Sjöqvist was also a former adviser and assistant to the late King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden.

He is survived by his widow, Gurli.

PAUL M. LUND DIES; A.T.&T. EXECUTIVE, 50

Paul M. Lund, a vice president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in charge of public relations and employe information since June, 1971, died Thursday in New York Hospital. He was 50 years old and lived in Ridge-wood, N.J.

Mr. Lund, an active member of the Public Relations Society of America, received its chairman's citation for meritorious service in 1973 and in 1974.

HELEN HENNESSY, 59, AN N.E.A. COLUMNIST

Helen Hennessy, women's editor of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, a syndicate serving newspapers throughout the United States and abroad, died of a live ailment Thursday evening in St. Vincent's Hospital. She was 59 years old and lived at 77 Seventh Avenue.

Miss Hennessy's reporting of the fashion world in a daily column was distributed for some 15 years to more than 500 daily newspapers in this country and Canada. She was born

Deaths

ABRAMS—Jacob H., beloved husband of the late Sadie. Devoted father of Samuel and Rhoda Berger. Loving grandfather. Dear brother of Esther Oppenheim and Bessie Bender. Services Sunday, July 20th, 12:15 P.M. at "The Riverside," 76th St. and Amsterdam Ave.

ARBIB—Edna (nee Henry), on Thursday, July 17, 1975, beloved widow of Robert S. Arbib, devoted mother of Robert, Richard & John. Also survived by 6 grandchildren and 2 great-grandchildren. Service at Frank E. Campbell, Madison Ave., at 81 St., on Sunday at 1 P.M. Interment, private.

BALDWIN—James T., Capt. USNR Retired, of Old Brookville, L.I., on July 17, 1975, after a long illness. Beloved husband of Marie Heck Baldwin, devoted father of Barbara B. Dowd, of Hamden, Conn., and loving brother of Louise B. Bourquin, of Concord, Mass. Services in Christ Church, Oyster Bay, L.I., Monday, July 21, 1975, at 11 A.M. In lieu of flowers contributions may be made to the Choir Fund of Christ Church, or the Society of St. Johnland.

BARBER—William P. On July 17, 1975, of Ossining, N.Y. Survived by wife, Marcia, daughter Catherine, father William E., 2 sons, Miss Alice Barber and Miss Anne Barry. Will repose Waterbury & Kelly Funeral Home, 45 So. Highland Ave., (Rte. 9) Ossining, on Saturday and Sunday, 2 to 4 and 7 to 9 P.M. Funeral Mass, St. Theresa's Church, Pleasantville Rd., Scharlet Manor, N.Y., on Monday, 10 A.M. Interment, L.I. National Cemetery, Farmingdale, L.I. In lieu of flowers contributions to St. Peter's Alumni Association, Jersey City, N.J., would be appreciated.

BLUMBERG—Rosa, Beloved wife of Martin. Devoted mother of Susan, Laurie Schwartz, and Jody. Loving daughter of Morris and Anne Woronoff. Services Sunday 10:30 A.M. "Jetter Funeral Homes," Hillside Ave. at 188 St., Hollis, L.I. In lieu of flowers contributions may be made to Roslyn Chapter of Hadassah or Cancer Care.

BOBIS—George. Beloved husband of Sylvia. Devoted father Florence Lustig. Dear brother. Services were held Friday.

COLLINS—Charles B., on July 16, 1975 of Maplewood, N.J. Husband of Marjorie Perine Collins, brother of Aimee Collins Scofield, of River Edge, N.J. Father of Charles Collins Jr., of Livingston, N.Y. Mrs. Robert L. Curry (Patricia) of Upper Montclair, N.J., Mrs. Frederick H. Raldbach (Susan) of Smoke Rise, N.J. & Mrs. J. Stephen Jenkins (Marcia) of Atlanta, Georgia and 7 grandchildren. A memorial service will be held in Memorial Methodist Church, Ridgewood Road, Maspeth, N.Y. at 11 A.M. Monday, July 21st. In lieu of flowers, contributions to Rotary Foundation, c/o Rotary Club of Newark, Suite D, 50 Park Place, Newark, N.J. 07102.

CONILL—Sarah. Beloved wife of the late Rafael Martinez. Devoted mother of Sarah Nunez, Rafael and Oscar. Loving grandmother and great-grandmother. Reposing at Walter B. Cooke Funeral Home, 85th St. and 3d Ave., N.Y.C., until Monday at 8:30 A.M. Mass of Christian Burial at Faith, Hope and Charity Church, N.Y.C. Burial at Maple Grove Cemetery, Queens, New York.

CONLON—Richard, husband of Joan, father of Susan Spensler, Peter and James Conlon, son of Katherine and the late Harry Conlon, brother of Avery Williams and Beth Kapple, grandfather of Matthew Spensler. Reposing at Frank E. Campbell, Madison Avenue, at 81st St., 2 to 4 and 7 to 10 P.M. Mass of Christian Burial, St. Patrick's Cathedral, 5th Ave. at 51st St., Monday, 10:30 A.M.

CROSS—Mary. On July 5 in Piestany, Czechoslovakia. Devoted wife of Ephraim, loving mother of George Nelson. Mother-in-law of Ann. Grandmother of Robert and grandmother-in-law of Bonnie. Retired, a dedicated teacher of physically and mentally handicapped children in the New York City school system. Funeral private. The family will receive friends at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George Nelson, 11 Riverside Dr., N.Y.C. Sunday, July 20 from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. The family requests donations to humanitarian causes.

DAVENPORT—Eileen. Association Residence For Women, Inc., 283 Lexington Ave. records with deep sorrow the loss of a beloved Board Member and friend. Mrs. HOWARD COX, Honorary President. Mrs. BENJAMIN ROSE 3d, President. Mrs. KERNER EASTON, Secretary.

DAVENPORT—Mrs. Frederick. 81 The Woodmont, Secaucus, N.J. Devoted wife of the late Frederick Davenport. Beloved mother of Mrs. George Nelson, 11 Riverside Dr., N.Y.C. Sunday, July 20 from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. The family requests donations to humanitarian causes.

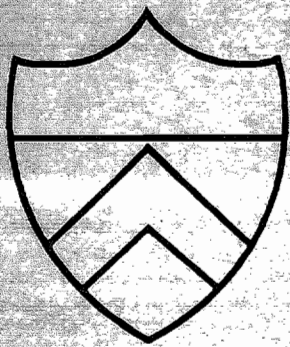
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Glickel,
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Heffernan,
Inkar,
Jarostow,
Kaufman,
Kelly,
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Koenig,
Ruth

McKEON—M. Punjabes, 17, 1975. B. McKee. L. Dr. Charles P. I. Edwards and C.P.D. of Beatrice survived by great-grandson on Hudson 1 Avenue, Bronx hours 2-5 on July 21st. Resurrection St. Nicholas hattan at 1. Cemetery.

MUNSON—Henry Ret. on July husband of survived by h. Munson, and one grand held at St. Pa O'LEARY—Ruth, of Charles, Al and four nec one of the este Ollivierre, who trip to Jamaica, Sunday, July 20 neral Chapel, 6. ligious services a Church, 127th St July 21, at noon.

PENN—Florance (s PETERSON)—Leonard husband of Dorc Louise Bailey and at Andreit Funeral 20th St., N.Y. Se P.M. Saturday, and 7 to 10. In il- lions may be made.

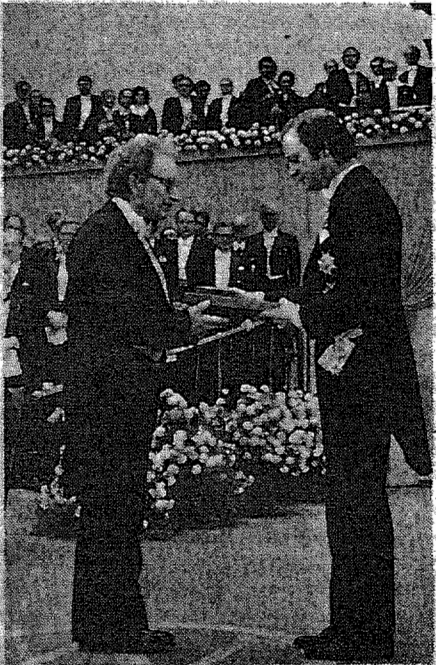
RADELOFF—Gertrude, 1975, in Florence, il ished sister of Fan shinsky, Emma Heff Pomerant, Bertha We B. Friedland, Becky great-aunt, great-grand held on Sunday, July Riverside Memorial C Amsterdam Ave. READ—Frederick Wilhel posing at Astor C. Home Inc., 135 E. Visiting hours Sun- ices 2 P.M. Monday, Fort Washington, 10 Cemetery, in lieu of Memorial Fund would be appreciated. REUCK—Lena, 1975, in Florence, il ished sister of Fan shinsky, Emma Heff Pomerant, Bertha We B. Friedland, Becky great-aunt, great-grand held on Sunday, July Riverside Memorial C Amsterdam Ave.



Princeton Weekly Bulletin

CHESNUT HILL
BRATTLEBORO, VT 05301

People



Courtesy of Bell Laboratories

King Carl Gustaf XVI of Sweden presented Professor of Physics Philip W. Anderson with a gold medal, diploma, and monetary prize at the Nobel award ceremonies in the Stockholm Concert Hall on 10 December.

Woodrow Wilson School Librarian **Margery S. Blake** has been named librarian for Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

A graduate of Wellesley College, Blake earned her M.L.S. at the Columbia University School of Library Service. She joined the general reference staff of Firestone Library in 1967 and was named Wilson School librarian the following year.

In her new position, which she will assume on 1 February, Blake will be responsible for planning the library in the Kennedy School's new building, now under construction and scheduled for completion in September.

Term trustee **Robert Curvin '75** has been appointed to the editorial board of the *New York Times*, effective 1 February. Curvin, who is 43, has been an associate professor of political science at Brooklyn College since 1974. He is a trustee of WNET (Channel 13) as well as of Princeton.

Professor **Theodore Weiss**, acting director of the Creative Writing Program, has been named one of 21 judges for the 1978 National Book Awards. The awards are presented annually for books written or translated by American citizens and published in the United States and which have "contributed most significantly to human awareness, to the vitality of our national culture and the spirit of excellence."

Prizes are awarded in seven categories. Each of the seven panels is composed of three judges, who are responsible for selecting five nominees and choosing the winner in their area. The books will be selected from those published in 1977. The awards, consisting of \$1,000 and a citation to each of the winners, will be announced in March and presented at a ceremony in Carnegie Hall on 12 April.

Weiss, who will serve on the poetry panel, is the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation Professor of Ancient and Modern Literature and, with his wife, Renée, is publisher and editor of the *Quarterly Review of Literature*. Weiss's own books of poetry include *The Catch*, *Gunsight*, *The Medium*, *The Last Day* and *The First*, and *Fireweeds*.

Morgantina site research funded by NEH

The National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded the University \$119,990 to be used over the next two years to complete research at the ancient site of Morgantina, a city that existed from the eighth to the first centuries B.C.

The onetime Greek, and later Roman, city, which sits on a hilltop in central Sicily, was discovered in 1953 by the late Erik Sjöqvist, professor of classical archaeology.

Excavation of the site was begun in 1955 and Princeton archaeological teams went to Morgantina each year until 1967, when project director Sjöqvist was taken ill and Richard Stillwell, co-director and Butler Memorial Professor of the History of Architecture, retired. In 1968, Hubert Allen, who had worked at the digs as a Princeton graduate student and was then on the faculty of the University of Illinois, became director. Excavation continued under the auspices of Princeton and Illinois until 1971, when formal excavation ceased.

Under the NEH grant, the site will be cleaned and documentation of the excavation will be collected and prepared for publication; volumes are planned on the topography, architecture, and history of the site. "Bushes have grown up and walls have fallen down since excavation stopped," says William A. P. Childs, assistant professor of art and archaeology, who will direct the project. "We plan to send a stereo camera aloft on a balloon to photograph parts of the site, so we'll have to patch and clean the area in order for the photos to show every detail."

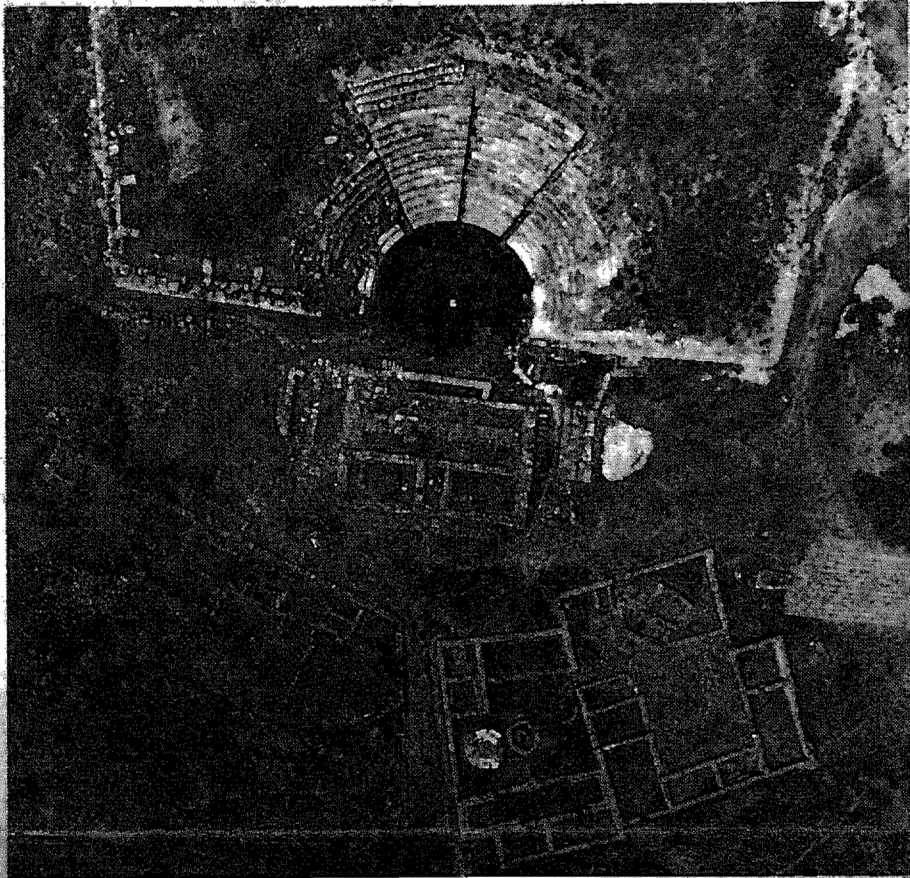
"Morgantina is one of the most beautiful places you could imagine," notes Childs.

The city was built on a ridge which projects eastward toward the sea, about 20 kilometers away; northward, it looks toward Mt. Etna, which smokes in front of your eyes.

"Morgantina is an academic rather than a tourist dig," says Childs. "This was a working town with no large temples."

One of five promising sites found by Sjöqvist in 1953, the 2,500-year-old town was selected for excavation because it offered what Sjöqvist termed "unusual opportunities for studying the interactions between Greek civilization and the indigenous Sicilian culture."

The Princeton archaeologists were able to trace the history of the site to the early



Whitney Foundation

The theater and marketplace at Morgantina, as it appeared in 1973 from a balloon tethered above the excavation site.

Bronze Age (18th-16th centuries B.C.), when the cattle-breeding Sicilians tilled the soil in the valleys below their mountainous abode. In the 12th century B.C., the Morgetes arrived from the Italian mainland. These were the tribes who ultimately gave the site the name it carried through antiquity.

In the first half of the sixth century B.C., Greeks from the Sicilian coast came in search of new land for settlement. Under their leadership, Morgantina was a flourishing city until 459 B.C. when, during a general uprising of the Sicilians against the Greek colonists, the city was destroyed. Reborn in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., it grew until it stretched for more than a mile and a half over a long and hilly ridge, now known as Serra Orlando.

During the second Punic War, Morgantina sided with Carthage and was severely punished by the victorious Romans. Town and territory were taken away from the old inhabitants and given to a legion of Spanish mercenary troops. The city gradually decayed until, in the 20s B.C., Greek geographer Strabo stated that the once important Morgantina no longer existed.

Morgantina, which is situated more than 2,000 feet above sea level in a mountainous region, was difficult to reach in antiquity and is still not on the beaten path. "You must have a private car to get around in central Sicily," explains Childs. "There is no public transportation to speak of, and good accommodations are hard to find, although some hotels were built about

(Continued on page 3)

Performance during emergency earns O'Neill citation



Mike Beahan

Uniformed officer Pat O'Neill

Officer Patrick O'Neill's face is not one that is familiar to many members of the Princeton University community. He has been a uniformed security officer here for only 10 months and has customarily worked the shift from midnight to 8:00 a.m. Nevertheless, his presence on duty in the early morning hours of Friday, 16 December, and his quick and skillful reactions in an emergency are probably responsible for saving the life of Peter M. Gayton '78.

Gayton accidentally fell from the roof of Patton Hall, suffering severe injuries. Although Proctor Anthony Amalfitano was in the immediate area at the time of the accident and was able to summon assistance by radio within seconds of the fall, it was the arrival moments later of O'Neill with his special skills in the administration of first aid that probably saved the student's life. Gayton was subsequently rushed to the Medical Center at Princeton by the borough first-aid squad and is in satisfactory condition following several operations.

O'Neill was active for some seven years with the Rusling Hose Company as well as the ambulance and rescue squads of Hamilton Township. Additionally, as a Navy hospital corpsman, he spent two and one-half years at the U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Md., where he was on rotating duty throughout all departments of the hospital.

Just before joining the University's Security Department last February, O'Neill was appointed civil defense coordinator for emergency medical services in Hamilton Township. He is also a "special officer" in the township, a post he has held for almost four years; in this capacity, he augments the regular police force at special events and in case of disaster. He was graduated from the liberal arts curriculum of Hamilton High West in 1971.

In a letter of official commendation to O'Neill following the Patton Hall accident, Director of Security Jerrold L. Witsil expressed his personal appreciation "for the outstanding manner in which you exhibited your knowledge, skills and human compassion."

On the first, second, and third floors, a repetitive system of modular laboratory suites, seminar rooms, and faculty offices will surround the building's central core of specialized research facilities. Each laboratory module measures approximately 26 feet by 10, 20, or 30 feet and contains standard research furniture such as lab benches and fume hoods, as well as study areas. There will be six modules on each side of the building and they will be distributed in groupings of one, two, or three modules according to the kind and magnitude of work being undertaken in each grouping.

For convenient access, research facilities with special environmental requirements are clustered in the

major commitment by the University to the study and teaching of the life sciences — the study at a fundamental level of how life begins and how living organisms change and develop. Laboratories designed for various kinds of research, among them artificially recombinant DNA research, which is now being undertaken at the so-called P-1 and P-2 levels, will be included.

Three broad areas of biochemical research that Princeton students and scientists are pursuing include cell biochemistry — cell division and differentiation, and immunology; the genetic mechanisms of cell regulation — chromosome structure, replication, and function; and the biochemistry of cancer —

life sciences. Strengthening our capabilities in this area is an objective of highest priority for Princeton University."


Noting a pleasant and effective relationship over the years between Princeton University and the Milbank Memorial Fund, Bowen stated that "this splendid grant is a major contribution to the University's very important endeavors in the life sciences."

The funding of the new building was a critical goal of the University's \$125 million development program. Funds for the program, which eventually reached \$127.2 million, sought to strengthen areas of major importance to the University as a whole. Gifts were received from individuals, foundations, and corporations.

Museum and *Morgantina Studies* result from "dig"

(Continued from page 1)

15 years ago. Still, a good number of tourists find their way to Morgantina."

At the town of , about five kilometers from the site, the Italian government has almost completed a museum to house the treasures recovered during the excavations, which have been in a large storeroom until now. In the museum, areas have been set aside where researchers may study the finds. These new facilities make possible a thorough evaluation of the excavations and the proposed publications.

The three volumes being prepared under the NEH grant are part of a projected six or seven volume series, entitled *Morgantina Studies*. Already completed are volumes on terracotta figurines, coins, and pottery; a fourth volume will contain specific classes of objects such as mosaics, glass, and bronzes. Publication of the series is being made possible by private donations to the Morgantina Publication Fund, which has raised some \$64,000 toward its goal of \$100,000.

Childs, who is responsible specifically for the domestic architecture, some of

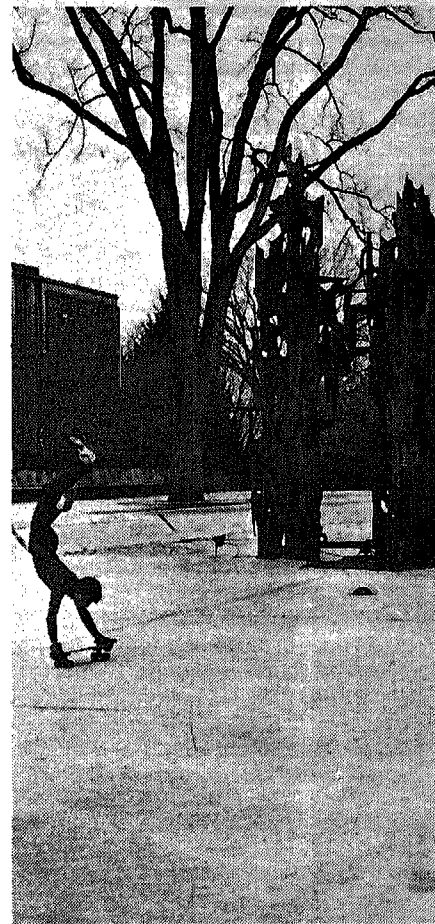
which he excavated in 1965 while a graduate student here, will spend the next two summers at Morgantina. Allen, who is now curator of the World Heritage Museum at the University of Illinois, will prepare a topographical survey and study the public architecture. He will be assisted during the next two summers by John Kenfield, an associate professor at Rutgers University, who is preparing a study of some of the archaic architecture; Carl Östenberg, director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, who has begun a study of the fortifications of Morgantina; and a graduate student. Specialists will be hired to finish architectural drawings and restore significant finds.

Although only about three or four percent of Morgantina has been excavated, no further excavation is planned, according to Childs. "Archaeologists never dig a site completely," he says. "We believe we have a sufficiently accurate picture of what it was like living here from the eighth to the first centuries B.C. We'll leave the site so that future archaeologists may test and correct, if necessary, our conclusions."

— Dot Lupichuk



An archaic antefix in the form of a Maenad's head. These were used as ornamental ends on roof tiles at the eaves of buildings.



Young David Steffens of Princeton enjoyed the privacy of the Woodrow Wilson School's skateboarding arena for a brief time before the snow fell and also immediately before being chased out.

Mike Baahan