

THE COROPLASTIC ART FROM SARDIS:  
EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL TRADITIONS

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Frances Gallart Marques

January 2015

© 2015 Frances Gallart Marques

THE COROPLASTIC ART FROM SARDIS:  
EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL TRADITIONS

Frances Gallart Marques, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2015

This dissertation focuses on the coroplastic production of the archaeological site of Sardis in western Anatolia. It addresses key issues of manufacture, function, and iconography of terracotta figurines that were recovered from a broad range of contexts, and that span, chronologically, from the Archaic to the Modern period. It concludes that the site was a production center for terracotta statuettes during most of its history, and that its local traditions were firmly grounded in the practices of the larger Mediterranean. Although the Sardian coroplastic corpus is somewhat narrow, rather than feeling circumscribed by scant data, I suggest that when working with fragmentary or ambiguous material one should still offer and analyze possible distinct scenarios that explain its form, function, and meaning; although these explanations would remain within the realm of conjecture, they should be attempted, and a certain freedom of exploration encouraged.

Special attention is given to the haptic qualities of figurines. During the majority of the periods under study, figurines were not just made to be looked at, but it was intended that they be touched and manipulated. It is likely that their easy malleability made them particularly successful political objects, and that people could effectively use them to represent, nourish, or challenge their relationships with others.

Although a handful of the figurines from Sardis had previously been examined and published, a comprehensive study and analysis of the site's entire excavated corpus had not yet been executed. This dissertation, and the appended catalogue that presents the detailed data collected on 400 artifacts, makes available the figural terracottas of the site as comparative material for coroplastic studies elsewhere.

## **BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Frances Gallart Marqués was born and raised in Puerto Rico. In 2002, she earned a Bachelor of Science degree in the Interdisciplinary Program in Natural Sciences at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. A couple of summers spent in excavations in Italy and Jordan bolstered her interest in archaeology, so she chose to devote her graduate studies to the exploration of that subject. She received a Master of Arts in History of Art, Archaeology and Visual Studies in 2006 from Cornell University, where she then joined the doctoral program in the same field.

While pursuing her degree, Dr. Gallart Marqués worked as a teaching assistant for the Department of History of Art and Visual Studies at Cornell University, and as a lecturer for the Department of Art History at Ithaca College. She has also been a field team member of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis since the summer of 2003, where she has served as site registrar, archaeologist, and specialist for terracotta figurines. She has presented research that she conducted at the site at international conferences, including the Archaeological Institute of America's annual meeting.

Dr. Gallart Marqués' dissertation, "The Coroplastic Art from Sardis: Emergence and Development of Local Traditions," was directed by Prof. Andrew Ramage.

*A a mis hermanos, mis primeros maestros.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was invited to undertake this project by the then director of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. (Greenie), and by my own adviser at Cornell, Andrew Ramage. I thank both of them for trusting me with the responsibility of giving a voice to the terracotta figurines of the site, for their support throughout, and for the many summers that, because of their first invitation, I have been able to spend at Sardis. Greenie, who was always kind and humble when giving advice and answering questions, also generously shared with me his personal notes and drawings. He is missed profoundly.

Andrew Ramage, as my thesis director, guided me patiently and steadily; I thank him for his knowledgeable advice, his great sense of humor, and for spurring me into completing this project. I also thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Peter I. Kuniholm and Annetta Alexandridis, for their careful readings of my drafts, and for their many insightful comments and suggestions. I am especially grateful for the assistance of Nancy Ramage, who volunteered to read my work, and who lent me the kind of love and encouragement one usually affords to family.

I would not have been able to carry out the research for this dissertation without the support of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, and of its current director, Nicholas D. Cahill; I thank him for allowing me to work in the office with the best view in the world, the Sardis compound, and for his generosity in making available to me all of the necessary resources at the site and at the Sardis office in Massachusetts. I was not the first person to work on the figurines from the site; Dr. Ruth S. Thomas had initially undertaken the project in the 1970's, but was very kind to allow me to take over where she had left off, and to share with me her initial notes and conclusions. Bahadır Yıldırım, Elizabeth Gombosi, Robin Woodman, and the Sardis

office staff, were always available to answer my innumerable questions, and to scan even more innumerable photographs. I am thankful also for all of the editorial and emotional assistance from Katherine Kiefer, whom I had the great fortune to share a workspace with, and to incessantly bother, this past summer.

The beauty of Sardis lies in the people who work and live there, and my research would not have gone on so smoothly if not for the assistance and friendship of the many archaeologists, conservators, architects, photographers, and laborers that I have had the pleasure of spending my summers with. I am greatly indebted to Catherine S. Alexander, who deftly drew the figurines, and who provided countless insights into their possible meanings and arrangements. I am grateful for the wonderful women who have lived with me at the site, especially Amanda Flaata, Sheila Nightingale, Alexandra Helprin, Vanessa Rousseau, and Lauren DiSalvo; all of them, at one point or another, have freely shared with me their rooms, their clothes, and their research, and have showed me by their example what sincere camaraderie is. I have also forever been changed by the people of Sart who have so graciously welcomed me into their home; Osman Pala and his family, particularly, have always made sure that I am healthy, well-fed, and happy.

I have benefited in many ways from my years at Cornell University, and a word of appreciation is due to the encouraging faculty, staff, and graduate students in the Department of History of Art and Visual Studies. Keeley S. Boerman always had her door open, and supported me both administratively and personally; Judith Bernstock made me love teaching art at Cornell. The family of graduate students at the Big Red Barn kept me sane, entertained, and nourished; I thank Kris Corda for letting me work there, and for rooting for my success and happiness.

I have been fortunate to make many good friends in Ithaca, and it is thanks to them that I survived the long, cold winters of graduate school. Jessica Smith and Mila Kundu, in particular,

are my family. These past few years would have also been less rich without the love and companionship of Drew Brisbin; although we did not begin this journey together, I am happy that we are ending it side by side.

Lastly, I would like to thank my father, José A. Gallart, my eldest brother, José A. Gallart, jr., my aunt, Lydia Marqués, and the rest of my family for their unconditional love, patience, and support. I am also grateful for the life of my brother, José Alberto, however brief; he was the first archaeologist of the family, and I hope to have made him proud. Mercedes Marqués, my mother, is my inspiration, and the reason that I decided to become a scholar and educator. Without her example of endurance, grace, and generosity, and without the reassurance of her affection, I would not have succeeded.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| <b>Biographical Sketch</b> .....  | <b>iii</b>  |
| <b>Dedication</b> .....   | <b>iv</b>   |
| <b>Acknowledgements</b> .....   | <b>v</b>    |
| <b>Table of Contents</b> .....  | <b>viii</b> |
| <b>List of Illustrations</b> .....  | <b>x</b>    |
| <b>List of Figures</b> .....  | <b>xi</b>   |
| <b>List of Plates</b> .....   | <b>xii</b>  |
| <br>  |             |
| <b>Chapter One: Studying the Figurines from Sardis</b> .....              | <b>1</b>    |
| 1.1 Goals and Scope of the Study .....                                    | 2           |
| 1.2 A Brief History of Sardis and its Excavations .....                   | 5           |
| 1.3 The Development of Coroplastic Studies .....                          | 10          |
| 1.4 Methodology .....   | 15          |
| 1.5 Structure of the Dissertation and Catalogue .....                     | 17          |
| <br>  |             |
| <b>Chapter Two: The Figurines of the Lydian and Persian Periods</b> ..... | <b>21</b>   |
| 2.1 Techniques .....  | 22          |
| 2.2 Formal Styles .....   | 28          |
| 2.3 Subjects .....  | 30          |
| 2.3.1 Animals .....   | 30          |
| 2.3.2 Human Figures .....   | 42          |
| 2.4 Find Contexts .....   | 48          |
| 2.5 Conclusions .....   | 52          |
| <br>  |             |
| <b>Chapter Three: The Figurines of the Hellenistic Period</b> .....       | <b>55</b>   |
| 3.1 Techniques .....  | 57          |
| 3.2 Formal Styles .....   | 76          |
| 3.3 Subjects .....  | 83          |
| 3.3.1 Human Figures .....   | 83          |
| 3.3.2 Animals .....   | 108         |
| 3.4 Find Contexts .....   | 111         |
| 3.5 Other Sites .....   | 115         |
| 3.6 Conclusions .....   | 123         |
| <br>  |             |
| <b>Chapter Four: The Figurines of the Roman Period</b> .....              | <b>125</b>  |
| 4.1 Techniques .....  | 126         |
| 4.2 Formal Styles .....   | 133         |
| 4.3 Subjects .....  | 136         |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| 4.3.1 Human Figures.....                                | 136        |
| 4.3.2 Animals.....                                      | 152        |
| 4.4 Find Contexts.....                                  | 155        |
| 4.5 Conclusions.....                                    | 155        |
| <b>Chapter Five: The Later Figurines.....</b>           | <b>157</b> |
| 5.1 The Late Roman Figurines.....                       | 159        |
| 5.2 A Group of Zoomorphic Whistles.....                 | 167        |
| 5.3 Modern Explorations in Clay.....                    | 172        |
| <b>Chapter Six: A Tenuous Grasp.....</b>                | <b>175</b> |
| <b>Appendix A: Catalogue.....</b>                       | <b>179</b> |
| <b>Appendix B: Plates.....</b>                          | <b>392</b> |
| <b>Appendix C: Concordance.....</b>                     | <b>477</b> |
| <b>Appendix D: Figurines Excavated Before 1958.....</b> | <b>482</b> |
| <b>Bibliography.....</b>                                | <b>485</b> |

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All illustrations appear with the permission of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Illustration 1: Sardis and its environs .....  | 6   |
| Illustration 2: Sardis urban plan.....   | 10  |
| Illustration 3: Lydian architectural terracotta fragment in the shape of a bird .....      | 33  |
| Illustration 4: Lydian architectural terracotta fragment in the shape of a bearded man ... | 44  |
| Illustration 5: Plastic vase in the shape of an ithyphallic man.....                       | 46  |
| Illustration 6: Two muscular legs made in the same mold .....                              | 60  |
| Illustration 7: Two female torsos made in the same or similar mold .....                   | 61  |
| Illustration 8: Woman's head filled with plaster for attachment .....                      | 64  |
| Illustration 9: The irregular back of a plaque next to the smoother back of a mask.....    | 69  |
| Illustration 10: Sample location for testing of pink pigment on an actor's head .....      | 75  |
| Illustration 11: Back of a Kybele figurine, perhaps embracing a companion .....            | 91  |
| Illustration 12: Figurine and associated mid third century B.C.E. ceramics .....           | 112 |
| Illustration 13: A few Kybele fragments found within a Hellenistic fill .....              | 114 |
| Illustration 14: Roman theatrical mask found within a grave.....                           | 147 |
| Illustration 15: <i>Skoutlosis</i> 'camel' from the forecourt of the Sardis synagogue..... | 163 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: Percentage of Hellenistic Figurines Fired to a Hard State ..... | 58  |
| Figure 2: Percentage of Roman Figurines Fired to a Hard State .....       | 127 |

## LIST OF PLATES

All photographs appear with the permission of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Plate 1: Bovine.....                                | 392 |
| Plate 2: Birds.....                                 | 393 |
| Plate 3: Women.....                                 | 394 |
| Plate 4: Wheel, Horses, Griffin.....                | 395 |
| Plate 5: Ungulates.....                             | 396 |
| Plate 6: Lion and Bird.....                         | 397 |
| Plate 7: Humans Figures.....                        | 398 |
| Plate 8: Turtle and Birds.....                      | 399 |
| Plate 9: Quadrupeds.....                            | 400 |
| Plate 10: Kybele and Lions.....                     | 401 |
| Plate 11: Kybele.....                               | 402 |
| Plate 12: Kybele Plaque.....                        | 403 |
| Plate 13: Kybele Torsos.....                        | 404 |
| Plate 14: Kybele Fragments.....                     | 405 |
| Plate 15: Lions.....                                | 406 |
| Plate 16: Attis and Others.....                     | 407 |
| Plate 17: Lion, Kybele Torsos, Flying Figure.....   | 408 |
| Plate 18: Human Heads, Mostly Women.....            | 409 |
| Plate 19: Draped Women, Foot.....                   | 410 |
| Plate 20: Kybele Torsos.....                        | 411 |
| Plate 21: Aphrodite, Flying Creature, Wings.....    | 412 |
| Plate 22: Athena, Artemis, Eros.....                | 413 |
| Plate 23: Herm and Zebu, From Burial.....           | 414 |
| Plate 24: Women's Heads.....                        | 415 |
| Plate 25: Women's Heads.....                        | 416 |
| Plate 26: Worshippers, Alexander, Children.....     | 417 |
| Plate 27: Actors, Foreigners, Theatrical Masks..... | 418 |
| Plate 28: Kybele Heads, Torsos, and Lion.....       | 419 |
| Plate 29: Aphrodite, Artemis, Wing.....             | 420 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Plate 30: Young Dionysus or Apollo, Eros.....                           | 421 |
| Plate 31: Women’s Heads.....  | 422 |
| Plate 32: Women’s Limbs.....  | 423 |
| Plate 33: Human Limbs, Drapery .....                                    | 424 |
| Plate 34: Figures With Articulated Limbs, Actors .....                  | 425 |
| Plate 35: Lions .....   | 426 |
| Plate 36: Aphrodite .....   | 427 |
| Plate 37: Goddesses and Other Women.....                                | 428 |
| Plate 38: Male Divinities and Miniature.....                            | 429 |
| Plate 39: Women’s Heads.....  | 430 |
| Plate 40: Draped Women .....  | 431 |
| Plate 41: Human Limbs, Drapery .....                                    | 432 |
| Plate 42: Male Figures .....  | 433 |
| Plate 43: Human Lower Bodies .....                                      | 434 |
| Plate 44: Seated Figure, Feet on Bases .....                            | 435 |
| Plate 45: Children’s Heads .....  | 436 |
| Plate 46: Children .....  | 437 |
| Plate 47: Articulated Limbs .....                                       | 438 |
| Plate 48: Performers, Mask.....   | 439 |
| Plate 49: Animals.....  | 440 |
| Plate 50: Miscellaneous .....   | 441 |
| Plate 51: Aphrodite and Horse and Rider .....                           | 442 |
| Plate 52: Figure on Base, Apollo, Dionysus.....                         | 443 |
| Plate 53: Bacchus, Serapis, Hermes.....                                 | 444 |
| Plate 54: Hercules, Zeus, Satyr, Centaur .....                          | 445 |
| Plate 55: Women’s Heads, Double Portrait .....                          | 446 |
| Plate 56: Matrona as Venus, Women with Flavian/Trajjanic Coiffures..... | 447 |
| Plate 57: Women’s Heads.....  | 448 |
| Plate 58: Woman’s Bust and Child’s Head, From Pithos.....               | 449 |
| Plate 59: Figures on Bases, Arms .....                                  | 450 |
| Plate 60: Boy’s Heads, Men’s Backs.....                                 | 451 |
| Plate 61: Soldiers, Gladiators.....                                     | 452 |
| Plate 62: Gladiators.....   | 453 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Plate 63: Charioteer and Actor.....           | 454 |
| Plate 64: Muscular Men.....                   | 455 |
| Plate 65: Dwarfs and Actors.....              | 456 |
| Plate 66: Mimes.....                          | 457 |
| Plate 67: Fierce Men, Phalloi.....            | 458 |
| Plate 68: Theatrical Masks.....               | 459 |
| Plate 69: Theatrical Masks.....               | 460 |
| Plate 70: Horse, Roosters.....                | 461 |
| Plate 71: Animals.....                        | 462 |
| Plate 72: Wheels.....                         | 463 |
| Plate 73: Military Bust, Human Heads.....     | 464 |
| Plate 74: Human Heads.....                    | 465 |
| Plate 75: Masks.....                          | 466 |
| Plate 76: Amor and Camels.....                | 467 |
| Plate 77: Zebus.....                          | 468 |
| Plate 78: Horses and Other Quadrupeds.....    | 469 |
| Plate 79: Quadruped Legs.....                 | 470 |
| Plate 80: Spotted Animal, Birds.....          | 471 |
| Plate 81: Bears, Canines.....                 | 472 |
| Plate 82: Horse and Rider, Other Animals..... | 473 |
| Plate 83: Zoomorphic Whistles.....            | 474 |
| Plate 84: Modern Figurines.....               | 475 |
| Plate 85: Molds and Paint Pots.....           | 476 |

# CHAPTER ONE

## STUDYING THE FIGURINES FROM SARDIS

Not all art is meant to be touched. The examination of terracotta figurines affords the researcher the rare opportunity to engage with materials that in many cases were not just intended for viewing, but in fact were designed to be held, turned, carried, and even broken. That their tangibility, along with their visibility, needs to be considered when thinking about the models, manufacture, and function of figural terracottas, makes these objects unique among other types of figurative art. Because they have the potential to reveal certain ways in which humans modified and felt their material surroundings, and because they can be manipulated and altered with ease, the analysis of coroplastics offers a fertile ground for inquiries regarding agency, performance, and identity, among others. The study of the figurines from Sardis has been undertaken, then, with the hope that it will contribute to our knowledge of ancient people, not just their objects.

The terracotta statuettes thus far discovered at Sardis are perhaps most notable for their ordinariness; most are the type of object that gets summarily recorded by the archaeologist, counted, and almost as quickly discounted as having given up all the information that it could. The attempt to tease some further knowledge out of these artifacts through the slow and careful study of their physicality has resulted in the present dissertation.

This introductory chapter is meant to provide a general social and historical context for the more focused discussion of the figurines presented in the subsequent chapters. It begins with a delineation of the goals and scope of the dissertation, and continues with a brief introduction to the city of Sardis, its history, and the history of its excavations. A short review of the significant

trends and contributions in the development of the discipline of coroplastic studies follows. The chapter ends with an outline of the methodology employed, and an account of the organization of the rest of the chapters and appendices.

### **1.1 Goals and Scope of the Study**

Over the course of the 55 years of excavations conducted by the Harvard-Cornell Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, a handful of the terracotta figurines discovered at the site have been pictured or briefly discussed in the preliminary and final excavation reports; these objects, however, have hitherto not been catalogued or analyzed thoroughly. The present dissertation aims to study all of the figurines discovered at the site, regardless of their state of preservation, find context, or date, thus making them available as comparative material for coroplastic studies elsewhere. In not limiting the sample, I hoped to determine if and when Sardis was a production site for figurines, if there were any noticeable changes in technological and iconographic traditions during its history, and if there were any elements that make the coroplastic production of the site unique.

Unfortunately, no great number of terracotta figurines has been found at Sardis; to date, only about 720 fragments have been identified. Although the group boasts a few museum-worthy pieces, it is mostly comprised of disembodied heads and limbs, or alternatively, beheaded or dismembered bodies. The damage to the statuettes likely happened prior to their deposition as most were recovered from terrace fills, refuse piles, or similar contexts. The scarcity of figurines traceable to more informative deposits, as those offered, for instance, by the sanctuaries at Pergamon and Kommos,<sup>1</sup> the houses at Priene and Olynthus,<sup>2</sup> or the cemeteries of Tanagra and

---

<sup>1</sup> Töpperwein 1976. Shaw 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Rumscheid 2006. Cahill 2002.

Myrina,<sup>3</sup> is possibly significant, but the site is vast, and it is possible that we have yet to find comparable deposits at Sardis.

With the exception of a few grave goods, most of the figurines from Sardis are isolated finds, attached neither to use nor production contexts, nor even to easily dateable strata. A statuette's findspot by itself, then, does little to reveal its function, process of manufacture, or date of creation or use. Comparative studies may help fill in these blanks, but it should be noted, for instance, that while a good archaeological context may suggest one function for a given figurine, it does not supply the entire history of that object.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, while useful when trying to situate figurines in a meaningful chronological and social context, the study of their style and its development, especially if seen as dependent on that of monumental sculpture and other art forms, has its limitations. Not only is it likely that works in terracotta inspired works in marble and bronze, but because figurines often fulfilled different needs, there must have been instances in which they developed independently. Furthermore, once molds were adopted as the predominant tools of manufacture, the evolution of style in terracotta seems to have occurred at a different pace from that of works in other media.

The study of a figure's iconography can be deployed to determine its function, but even this traditional approach can be taken only so far. Because figurines can be easily manipulated -- that is, they can be dressed or undressed, painted and re-painted, moved and adorned -- their iconography tends to be rather unstable, especially when compared to that of monumental sculpture or painting. What options is one left with, then, if style and iconography are slippery, when the information that can be gleaned from them is contingent on context, and

---

<sup>3</sup> Higgins 1986. Burr 1934.

<sup>4</sup> Scholars working on prehistoric figurines, for instance, have suggested that we move away from contextual analyses and attempt alternative approaches in the interpretation of statuettes. Bailey (2005, 2013, 2014), for example, prioritizes the physicality of the figurines, and its impact on the people who used them. See also Gosden and Marshall 1999; Lesure 2011.

when context, even when present, can only illuminate so much?

I would propose that the above limitations not be viewed as such, as a too scientific approach to the study of figurines may in the end restrict the type of questions and interpretations tackled by the researcher. Rather than feeling circumscribed by scant data, I suggest that when working with fragmentary or ambiguous material, one should still offer and analyze possible distinct scenarios that explain its form, function, and meaning; although these explanations would remain within the realm of conjecture, they should be attempted, and a certain freedom of exploration encouraged. It should be kept in mind, however, that this type of analysis constitutes an additional form of cultural production. The fragmentary nature of the material under study requires a gesture analogous to that of a restorer: that one translate and reconstruct the object in order to make it comprehensible. The result is a deliberate and creative act.

As I set out to study the figurines from Sardis, I begin with the assumption that since their production -- and the needs that they satisfied -- were determined by wider social interactions, the way in which power was exercised at different levels in society must have been articulated in these artifacts, and should, at least in theory, be readable. A second assumption is that as relatively easily and inexpensively fashioned objects, figural terracottas were largely (although not exclusively) produced by and for non-elites. Because the material record of the popular classes has not always been well preserved, or even analyzed, I wanted to attempt the study of terracottas through this lens, in an effort to counter the historical tendency to over-emphasize the interests and views of the elite.

Another problem that I want to address is the common tendency to explain the development of a site's coroplastic tradition as directed and determined by unseen, external forces. Jaimee Uhlenbrock is one of many to indicate that, for instance, "the coroplast was rarely

interested in creating unique masterpieces, but rather mass-produced a limited number of types by the hundreds, and sometimes the thousands, to satisfy the needs of the popular market.”<sup>5</sup>

I believe that the meaning and the use of figurines were bound to the ways in which their production processes were organized, so I take note not just of their form and decoration, but as far as I can determine them, the choices that the coroplast made in their manufacture. The intention is to shift the attention away from the invisible hands of the market to the very real ones of the artisan.

Clay, as an inexpensive and easily manipulated material, is an ideal medium for experimentation. In this sense, the dynamics of production that caused the manufacture of a local figurine to come into being and to develop distinct stylistic features might tell us much more about the local character of a site, than say, the production of monumental art, usually constrained by the greater demands imposed by and on the powerful. Words are also an ideal medium for experimentation, and I will attempt to interpret the materials at hand regardless of the amount of objective information that can be gleaned from them.

## **1.2 A Brief History of Sardis and its Excavations**

The archaeological site of Sardis, located at the foot of Mt. Tmolos on the south side of the Hermus River plain in western Anatolia, has been continuously inhabited for the last five thousand years. Because of its location in one of the main thoroughfares between the Aegean and the Anatolian interior, the site, at once highly defensible and ideally suited for trade, is significant to our understanding of East-West relations in antiquity (Ill. 1).<sup>6</sup> Historically, the city was first noted as the wealthy capital of Iron Age Lydia, yet Sardis lived beyond the rule of its

---

<sup>5</sup> Uhlenbrock 1993, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 17, fig. 8. Foss 1976, 1.

last sovereign dynasts to become an important Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman center.<sup>7</sup> In fact, some of the more prominent material remains at the site date to these later phases of habitation, and not to the city's most celebrated chapter. Still, Sardis' cultural identity as a prosperous imperial capital did survive its incorporation into larger empires, and indeed continues to inform many of our scholarly interests.

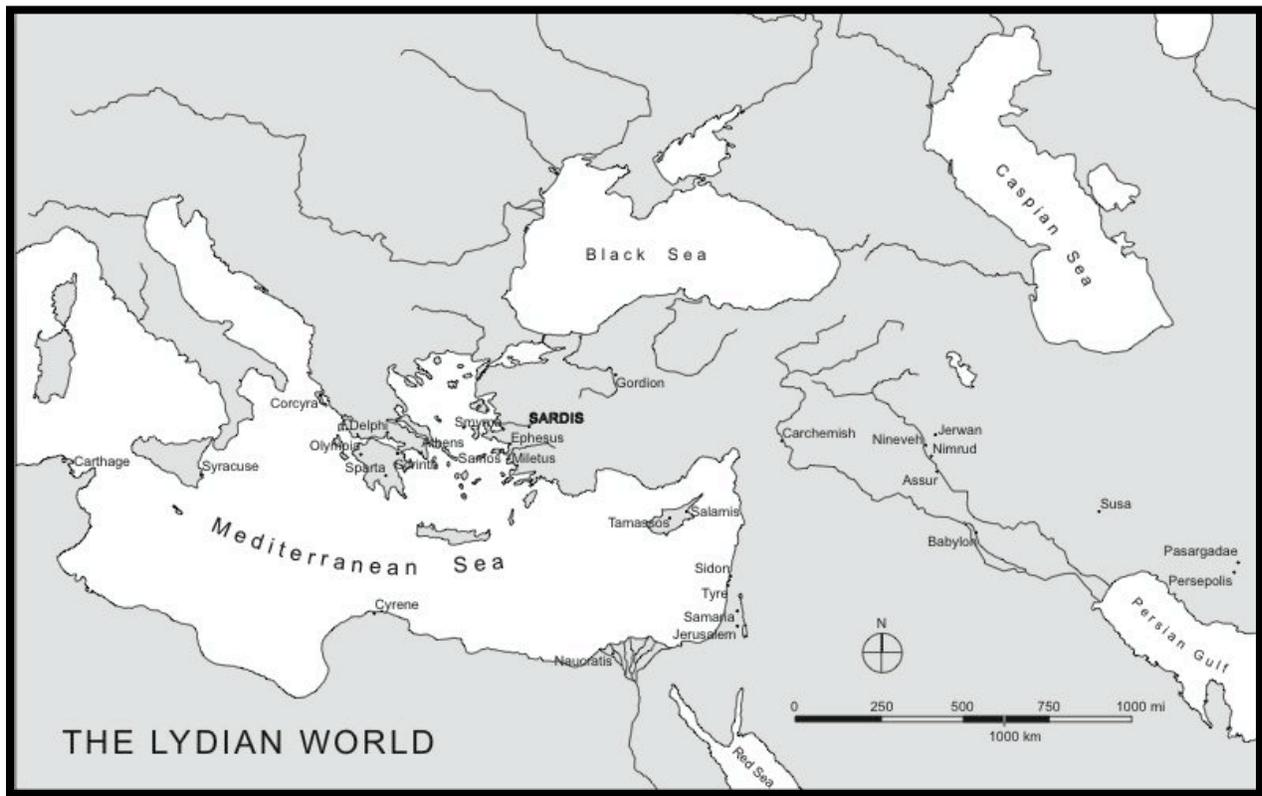


Illustration 1: Sardis and its environs.

Much of our knowledge regarding the history of “Golden” Sardis is derived from ancient authors. Herodotus, in particular, while attempting to account for the hostilities between the Greeks and the Persians, chronicles the rise and fall of the Lydian kingdom from the founding of

<sup>7</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 19.

the Mermnad dynasty in the seventh century B.C.E. to the capture of the city by king Cyrus of Persia in 547 B.C.E.<sup>8</sup> Sardis was then transformed from imperial center to peripheral satrapy, though as the western end of Persia's Royal Road, the city was still important enough to be seen as a strategic target for the Ionian Greeks during the revolts of the early fifth century. Sardis was destroyed in 499 B.C.E., its demise used as justification for the wars between Persia and the Greeks.<sup>9</sup>

Alexander the Great captured the city in 334 B.C.E., after which Sardis became a Hellenized urban center, with typical Greek buildings (e.g. stadium, theater, gymnasium), and Greek politics, language, and customs. First the capital of cis-Tauric Asia under the Seleucids, Sardis eventually passed to the hands of the Pergamene kings, but not before enduring yet another destruction at the hand of Antiochus III in 213 B.C.E.<sup>10</sup> Though given to the Romans by Attalos III in 133 B.C.E, the city continued to be Hellenistic, at least in appearance, until a devastating earthquake in 17 C.E. led to the re-terracing of the site, and a reconstruction both funded and inspired by the Roman Imperial court.<sup>11</sup>

As a metropolis of Asia, Sardis reached its greatest extent in the six centuries following its destruction by earthquake. The Roman and Late Antique city was fairly affluent, especially after the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian at the end of the third century C.E. transformed it into the capital of the newly established province of Lydia. Though perhaps not as prosperous or cosmopolitan as other provincial capitals such as Ephesus, both textual and archaeological sources support the notion that Sardis was an important center for production and

---

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. 1.1-1.94.

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, Charon of Lampsacus, *FGrHist* 262 F 10, in Pedley 1972, 49, no. 149.

<sup>10</sup> Pompeius Trogus, *Historiae Philippicae* 30 proleg., in Pedley 1972, 60, no. 204. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 2.47. See Pedley 1972, 64, no. 220. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 32.

trade.<sup>12</sup>

The city was once more destroyed when its wall was breached in 616 C.E.<sup>13</sup> As was with other east Mediterranean metropolises, Sardis then experienced a marked decline,<sup>14</sup> and became a somewhat loose conglomeration of villages surmounted by a further settlement and castle set on the Acropolis hill.<sup>15</sup> The aqueducts were abandoned, the population decreased, and although some building activity did take place, the paltry character of Medieval Sardis remained unchanged, even beyond the eventual takeover of the area by the Seljuk Turks in the 14<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>16</sup> The settlement on the Acropolis seems to have stopped functioning as a citadel at that time, while the small villages that surrounded it continued to develop along agricultural, rather than urban, lines. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it seems, Sardis had been further reduced to a single rural village. More recently, with the reincarnation of the Royal Road of the Persians into a modern highway between Izmir and Ankara,<sup>17</sup> Sardis has swiftly reversed its long trajectory of urban decline.

The role of modern archaeological excavations in the site's most recent growth and development, as well of the effect of the latter on the former, should be noted. The first well-organized, large-scale project was carried out by the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, led by Howard Crosby Butler on behalf of Princeton University. Five campaigns were completed beginning in 1910, but work had to be stopped due to the onset of the First World

---

<sup>12</sup> Foss and Scott 2002, 616-617. An imperial arms factory, for instance, established at the site by Diocletian, seems to have been a major supplier for the province of Asia.

<sup>13</sup> It has been suggested that the seventh century C.E. destruction of Sardis happened at the hands of the Sassanian Persians under Chosroes II, but this is not certain. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 32-33.

<sup>14</sup> Rautman 1995, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 32-33.

<sup>16</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 34.

<sup>17</sup> The road was improved and upgraded in the early 1950's. Though still used, the official highway was eventually moved north, reducing the amount of traffic running through the excavated portions of the ancient settlement.

War. Butler's explorations of the site focused mostly on the Artemis Precinct and the Lydian graves on the Necropolis mound; although elegantly published,<sup>18</sup> many of the expedition's finds, as well as their dig house, were lost or destroyed during the Great War or the following Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922.<sup>19</sup> The rest of the objects are chiefly divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, Princeton University, and museums in Izmir and Manisa.

Work at the site was renewed by the Harvard-Cornell Exploration of Sardis in 1958, and has continued until the present day.<sup>20</sup> Although the most recent excavations have not shied away from the exposition of grand architectural complexes or fine objects, the focus of research has changed. A better understanding of the regional topography of the site has been a major concern, along with issues of urban planning and development, population dynamics, and the use and manipulation of local resources. To this end, excavation areas have been greatly extended, with trenches opened not only within the city proper, but also near its limits and on its periphery (Ill. 2).<sup>21</sup> Also to this end, the expedition has encouraged the undertaking of more focused studies, of which this dissertation is an example.

---

<sup>18</sup> See Butler 1922.

<sup>19</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 2. Also Yegül 2010.

<sup>20</sup> See Hanfmann 1972.

<sup>21</sup> For an explanation of the system currently employed at Sardis for its grids, levels, and to plan its topography, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 7-12. See also Cahill 2008 and 2010.

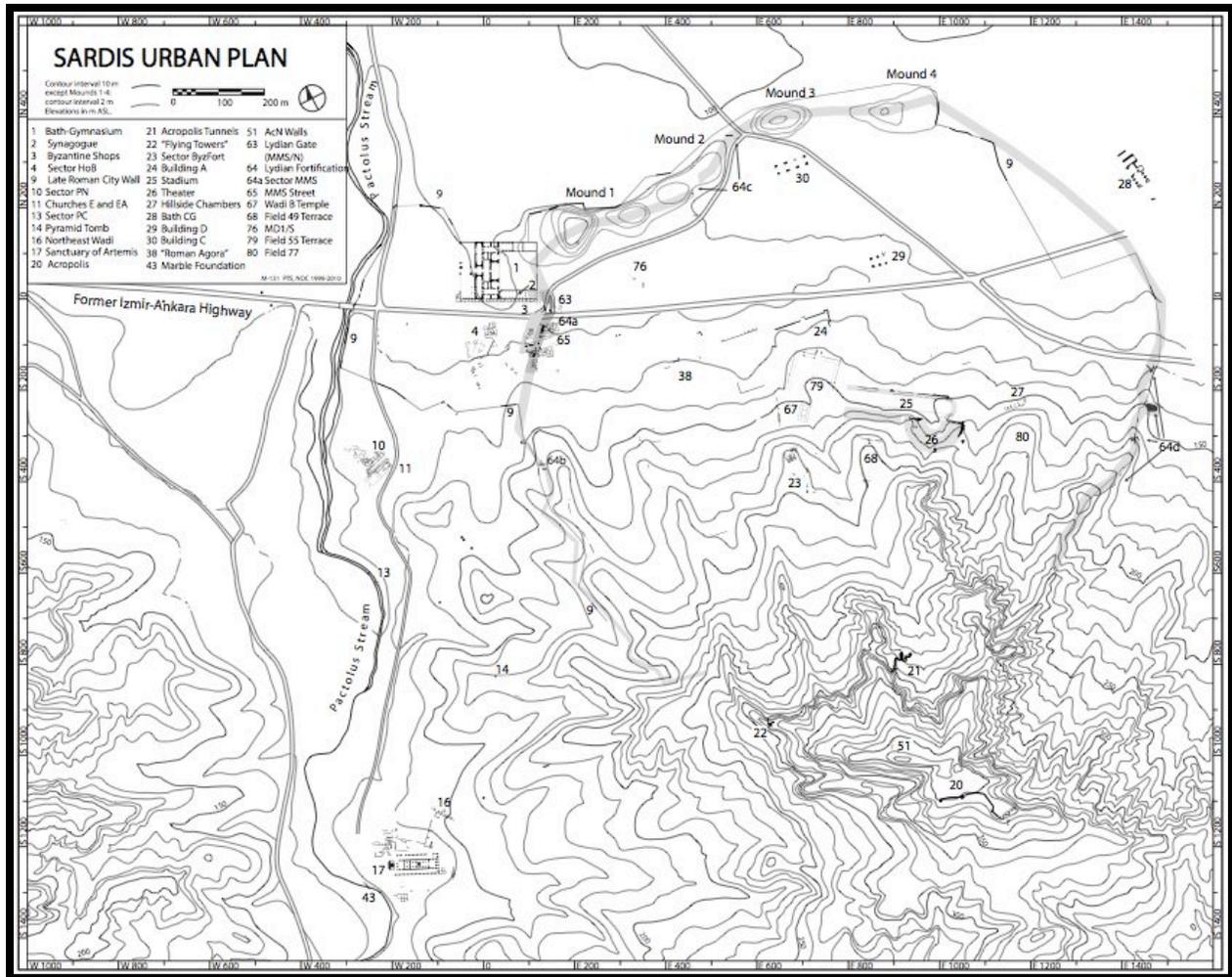


Illustration 2: Sardis urban plan.

### 1.3 The Development of Coroplastic Studies

In order to better place the present study within what is a rapidly evolving field, a brief overview of the development of coroplastic studies, highly indebted to Jaimee Uhlenbrock's 1993 article on the historiography of the Greek branch of the discipline, follows. The beginnings of Greek coroplastic studies, at least, can be traced to the interest of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians in the terracottas that were being unearthed from Etruscan and early Roman sites in Italy. Perhaps the earliest text devoted to a group of figurines dated to classical antiquity was written by Jacopo Filippo Tomasini in 1639, concentrating on Etruscan materials. Tomasini had

already recognized that the objects must have served as votives, and suggested that the holes present in many of their backs were used for hanging the statuettes from temple walls.<sup>22</sup>

The 18<sup>th</sup> century saw the swift amassing of terracotta statuettes, especially those found in the island of Sicily, into private collections. Their significant numbers prompted the first superintendent of antiquities for the island, a man by the name of Gabriele Lacellotto Castello, to advocate for the study of figural terracottas (not just figurines) as a category of their own.<sup>23</sup> However, scholarly interest in material in other media trumped the attention directed to what was considered a minor art, and thus the discipline evolved slowly.<sup>24</sup>

Many of the earliest texts devoted to the analysis of figurines had a heavy philological bent; the trend changed with the contributions of Johann Joachim Winckelmann to the study of art, after which figurines began to be appreciated for their aesthetic value and their potential to instruct the scholar in the expressions of “true” beauty.<sup>25</sup> However, progressively regular notices of discoveries published by the German Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, among others, along with a handful of museum catalogues, turned the focus away from more abstract notions of aesthetics and taste, to more immediate concerns of use and function. Because the majority of figurines were being recovered from graves, an interpretative interest in the associations between statuettes and funerary practices and beliefs became prevalent at this time.<sup>26</sup>

In 1870, the discovery of thousands of Hellenistic figurines in the cemeteries surrounding a small city in Boeotia called Tanagra, would have a profound impact on the developing

---

<sup>22</sup> Tomasini 1639.

<sup>23</sup> Castello 1758.

<sup>24</sup> Uhlenbrock 1993, 7-8.

<sup>25</sup> Winkelmann 1755.

<sup>26</sup> Uhlenbrock 1993, 7-9.

coroplastic scholarship. Found in large groups, as if deposited hastily, the figurines from Tanagra were noteworthy as much for their delicate modeling, as for the then curious and seemingly overwhelming prevalence of secular, female subjects. The preservation of bright pigments, along with their often gilt surfaces, made "Tanagras" a sensation within and beyond academic circles. Although similar figurines would be found at other sites, and Athens would eventually be accepted as the place of origin for the type, the name stuck and is used to this day to denote a particular type of genre figure.<sup>27</sup>

Tanagras surfaced within a social milieu that was poised to accept and celebrate their arrival. The brightly colored figures of young women, at once lively and quiet, seemed to echo contemporary fashions and behaviors. The result was that both academic and popular culture, for a short moment at least, turned to a class of objects mostly ignored until then, and in them sought justification for their own values and tastes. Tanagras, then, became the focus of multiple museum exhibitions and scholarly works, and would also inspire works of literature,<sup>28</sup> painting,<sup>29</sup> and music,<sup>30</sup> among others.

Thus burdened with both the stylistic and ideological standards of an age that did not create them, Tanagras were no longer the remnants of a long lost past, but the mirrors of a present that had a very firm notion of how they should look. The joyous appropriation of these ladies by the 19<sup>th</sup> century public, along with the demands of an insatiable market, had an immediate effect on the objects themselves. The figurines were cleaned, as one might expect,

---

<sup>27</sup> See Higgins 1986. Also, Becq 2010, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Oscar Wilde, for instance, compared two of his heroines to Tanagras: Sybil Merton (*Lord Arthur Savile's Crime*, 1887, and *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1890) and Mabel Chiltern (*An Ideal Husband*, 1899).

<sup>29</sup> Jean-Léon Gérôme's 1893 *Sculpturae Vitam Insufflat Pictura*, now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, for example.

<sup>30</sup> *La danseuse de Tanagra: drame lyrique en 4 actes et 5 tableaux*, by H. Hirschmann, is one such opera from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

and in some cases their paint was retouched. If the figure's limbs were damaged or missing, they would be repaired, or even fully restored. If a statuette could be made more appealing with certain additions, those would be appended as well. When genuine Tanagras became harder to procure, molds were made out of existing statuettes, enabling at once the recreation of the objects themselves and of their original method of fabrication. The resulting reproductions then led the way for the construction of wholly modern objects.<sup>31</sup>

Because one of the Tanagras' major draws was that they validated 19<sup>th</sup> century mores, it became easy to confuse the genuine ancient article with its modern recreation, and to eventually give into the latter's more powerful allure. It also became quite easy to forget about the statuettes once the tastes and values that gave them meaning went out of fashion. Together, the flooding of the market with fakes, and the changing priorities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, soured the public's regard for the figurines. For their part, scholars decried what they now understood to have been a misplaced admiration for objects that were at once sentimental and coarse, that lacked the vitality and quality of other forms of art, and that might or might not be authentic in the end.<sup>32</sup>

As brief as it was, the Tanagras' infamous moment in the spotlight did have a lasting effect in the way that we approach the study of clay figurines. For one thing, many of the most significant studies in the field have since been carried out by women, a possible result of the association of Tanagras in particular, and other figurines in general, with subjects that were considered appropriate in the education of ladies. The popularity of fakes also meant that many early works were focused on issues of connoisseurship, and therefore centered on the meticulous examination of style and iconography, especially as related to more legitimate works of art.

---

<sup>31</sup> Mathieux 2010, 17-19.

<sup>32</sup> Higgins 1986, 163.

As the number of known figurines from scientifically explored contexts increased, the scholarly interpretations of the material became more nuanced. An 1878 study by Reinhard Kekulé is significant in that it was based on his personal examination of hundreds of figural fragments.<sup>33</sup> Publications like his, and like the 1883 thesis of Edmond Pottier,<sup>34</sup> encouraged others to reassess older symbolic interpretations, to consider that the meanings of figurines may be tied to the intentions of their owners, and to attempt the analysis of objects from a single site as a cohesive, meaningful group.<sup>35</sup>

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the publication of Franz Winter's catalogue *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*,<sup>36</sup> his unprecedented approach was to organize the material under study neither chronologically nor geographically, but by type. Although his methodology has since been revised,<sup>37</sup> the analysis of type is still employed by current researchers.

Perhaps most significant are the multiple contributions to the field by women, especially those by Dorothy Burr, later Thompson. Working with figurines from Myrina, Athens, and Troy, Thompson explicitly recognized the independent traditions in the manufacture of terracotta figurines, and succinctly described and dealt with the many problems a researcher might encounter when trying to establish a chronology for the coroplastic production of a site.<sup>38</sup> Other women would carry out the study of figurine assemblages unearthed by scientific excavations or amassed by major museums; Hetty Goldman, Simone Besques, Gloria Merker, Claireve

---

<sup>33</sup> Kekulé 1878.

<sup>34</sup> Pottier 1883.

<sup>35</sup> Uhlenbrock 1993, 13-14.

<sup>36</sup> Winter 1903.

<sup>37</sup> See for instance Nicholls 1952.

<sup>38</sup> Burr 1934. Thompson 1952, 1954, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1963a, 1963b, 1965, 1966a, and 1966b.

Grandjouan, and Jaimee Uhlenbrock are but a few.<sup>39</sup>

In the later 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the combination of careful archaeological practice with the advent of reliable tools for scientific evaluation, has resulted in a more complicated understanding of terracotta figurines, and has changed the focus of coroplastic research. On the one hand, the availability, and ease of access to non-destructive methods of elemental analysis, for example, has meant that the study of the materials with which figurines were made and decorated has become routine, and is employed in answering questions about provenience, trade, and crafting practices. On the other hand, growing influences from more theoretically advanced disciplines such as anthropology, have challenged traditional conceptualizations of figurines as passive, second-class art objects, and have led to their analysis as dynamic components of material culture.<sup>40</sup>

Although the character of the sample under study necessitates a somewhat traditional approach, the present dissertation attempts to contribute to current conversations in the field of coroplastic studies by adding a few examples to our shared corpus of figurines from the Mediterranean area, and by attempting the interpretation of fragmentary materials that are frequently ignored. I also hope that an emphasis on the haptic qualities of figurines, on their manipulation, and on their unstable iconographies, might not only add to our understanding of these objects, but also eventually allow for new insights in the reading of other types of material.

#### **1.4 Methodology**

As mentioned above, only about 720 figural terracotta fragments have been retained at the site since the beginning of the excavations undertaken by the Harvard-Cornell Exploration of

---

<sup>39</sup> Goldman 1943, 1950, 1963; Besques (sometimes Mollard-Besques or Besques Mollard) 1950, 1954, 1963a, 1963b, 1964, 1972, 1986, 1992; Merker 1990, 2000, 2003; Grandjouan 1961; Uhlenbrock 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c.

<sup>40</sup> Bailey 2005, for example.

Sardis in 1958, to its most recent season in 2014. Most of the fragments are small and somewhat weathered, and though recovered through careful and systematic excavation, most of their contexts offer little information regarding the objects' manufacture, use, or chronology. These limitations to the direct, objective analysis of the material are welcomed inasmuch as they allow some interpretative freedom and room for experimentation.

Every single fragment that was at least suspected of having belonged to a terracotta figurine was studied, regardless of state of preservation, find condition, clarity of form, or doubtful authenticity. Pieces that had already been inventoried by the excavation team were reassessed; those that had yet to be examined received equal treatment, and in many cases were retroactively added to the site's official inventory.<sup>41</sup> Because most of the materials under consideration are stored at Sardis, access to them was straightforward, and their examination relatively unrushed. I was graciously allowed to inspect the few figurines kept by the Manisa Museum on several occasions, and although under different conditions, I attempted to be as thorough in their observation as I was with the rest of the fragments.

Although several well-preserved and interesting figural terracottas were recovered by the expedition led by Butler in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, I have not been able to inspect them personally; they are, therefore, not considered fully in the present discussion. Appendix D offers a list of the known figurines found by the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, along with their current locations if available.

The figurines were studied following the guidelines suggested by G. Sanders, N. Bookidis, C. K. Williams II, and A. Rohn in the *Archaeological Site Manual of the Corinth*

---

<sup>41</sup> Objects that are officially inventoried by the excavation receive a number, a full description, are drawn, photographed, and treated by conservators. Other objects are kept for study but do not receive the full treatment that those that are officially catalogued do; most significantly, they are not given numbers, and so are not entered into the site's database.

*Excavations* (2008). Clay fabrics were examined with a hand lens in a shaded area under natural light conditions, their colors read using a Munsell Soil Color Chart. Though close comparisons were made to a wide range of ceramic objects known to have been made at the site and previously subjected to scientific analysis, no petrographic or elemental analysis was performed on the figurines themselves. A few objects with preserved pigments were subjected to X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, though successful readings were not always possible.<sup>42</sup> Physical dimensions were measured with a dial caliper, and read to a fraction of a millimeter.

When possible, dates were determined through the analysis of a figure's archaeological context and its associated finds. When not, stylistic and technical considerations were given primacy, guided by a comparative examination of the published materials from contemporary sites, as well as art in other media known from Sardis. Because the many limitations of these latter approaches in the dating of terracotta figurines have been widely accepted, a good dose of intuition was allowed to supplement the dating methods. I have indicated a date for every object included in the catalogue; many of these are broad and conjectural. They should be taken as informed opinion rather than as a certainty, and are meant as a point of departure for further discussion and, I hope, future refinement or revision.

### **1.5 Structure of the Dissertation and Catalogue**

Despite our current inability to corroborate the existence of workshops, it nonetheless appears that figurines were being produced near or within Sardis throughout much of its

---

<sup>42</sup> The qualitative analysis of the pigments of eleven objects (**10, 16, 39, 50, 66, 67, 75, 76, 99, 399, and 400**) was performed using a Bruker Tracer III-V+ portable XRF. They were examined at 15kV, 19 $\mu$ A, for 60 seconds with no filter. In some cases, it was difficult to get the samples to be flush with the detector, so that good readings were not possible. In others, plaster repairs, or the naturally occurring iron in the clay body of the object, may have skewed the results.

history;<sup>43</sup> the following discussion, then, is divided into four broad chronological units. Chapter Two is concerned with the figurines of the periods traditionally known as Lydian and Late Lydian or Persian, beginning with our earliest dateable example, a large quadruped found in a ninth to eighth century B.C.E. deposit, and ending with a few objects that seem to have been made after the Persian sack of the city in 547 B.C.E. The materials represent about five percent of the sample, but because they are markedly distinct in both style and manufacture, deserve a separate discussion.

About 85 percent of the materials in the study can be broadly dated to the Hellenistic or Roman phases at the site. Although most of these figures reveal a long-lasting continuity of style (a feature common to terracotta figurines), differences in the standards of their construction, perhaps related to differences in their functions and meanings, have suggested the separation of the material into two chapters. Chapter Three deals, then, with objects that are typically Hellenistic in style, that seem to have been made or used in the last three centuries B.C.E. Objects that were made or used during the first three centuries C.E. are discussed in Chapter Four, even though stylistically they share many aspects with those treated in the previous chapter.

Finally, Late Antique materials are reserved for Chapter Five. Although figurines continued to be made at Sardis without interruption up until the city's destruction in the early seventh century C.E., the figurines from the fourth century and beyond have a clearly distinct character, and should be treated separately from their earlier Roman predecessors. Figural terracottas become scarce sometime after the seventh century C.E., but reappear in the material record of Sardis after a lull of near a millennium. A group of zoomorphic whistles, probably

---

<sup>43</sup> The vast majority of the figurines have very similar clay bodies to objects that are known to have been locally produced. See Chapter Two.

made at some point between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century C.E. is also discussed in Chapter Five.

There are currently no active or professional coroplasts at Sardis, or at least, none that I have found. This is probably due in large part to the particular character of the site's tourist industry. Local women produce items like hand beaded scarves and crocheted jewelry that they can sell both to day-trippers on fast-paced tours, and to their neighbors. On the other hand, more developed and heavily visited sites like Ephesus, which moreover claims the happy confluence of Artemis and the Virgin Mary, are still active centers of coroplastic production. The situation then, may yet change at Sardis. A small number of figurines found at the site, however, may be fakes produced in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century; they are also treated in Chapter Five. Chapter Six concludes with suggestions on how to interpret the available coroplastic evidence from the site, and with recommendations of problems to tackle during future study.

Several topics are given special attention within each chapter. Technical aspects of the figurines' process of manufacture are noted, followed by a discussion of their style, and an examination and interpretation of the preferred subjects for each period. Any significant archaeological contexts are explored; when comparative material is abundant, it is discussed as well. The aim is to locate the objects under study within the context of the history of coroplastic production at the site, and to enable a comparison between local trends and those evidenced at contemporary sites.

Appendix A is a catalogue that presents the detailed data collected on 395 figural terracottas, three terracotta molds, and two recycled plain ware vessels likely used as paint pots or painting palettes. The 395 profiled fragments were chosen to be representative of the larger corpus, but for the sake of convenience, some of the better-documented figures (e.g. those with official inventory numbers, photographs and drawings) were given precedence over other

examples.

The catalogue roughly follows the chronological organization of the dissertation. Objects that were found together were kept together, regardless of their style or subject matter. Once both their date and find spot had been considered, the figurines were grouped by type or subject. Catalogue entries contain the following information: the entry number and title, bolded; the plate number; the official Sardis inventory number;<sup>44</sup> the object's dimensions in meters;<sup>45</sup> the figure's state of preservation; a description of its form; a discussion of painted decoration or other surface treatment; the technique of manufacture; a description of the figure's fabric; a color reading; comparanda, if any; previous publications, if any; a note on the sector, coordinates, elevation and brief description of the object's findspot where available; an opinion on the piece's date, and its provenance if not local.

Appendix B contains the images associated with the catalogue arranged into 85 plates. Appendix C offers a concordance list in which the material has been organized by its Sardis inventory number. Finally, Appendix D provides a list of the known terracotta figurines found by the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis and when available, their current locations.

---

<sup>44</sup> Full inventory numbers at Sardis consists of two parts: first, a number with an alphabetic prefix that designates the kind of object (e.g. T for terracotta, P for pottery) followed by the current year number and a period, then a number indicating its place among the objects of that type (e.g. T99.001 was the first terracotta object to be catalogued in 1999). The second part or running number is separated from the first by a colon and indicates the object's place in the totality of objects catalogued, regardless of type, (e.g. T99.001: 11124 is the eleven thousand, one hundred and twenty-fourth object to be inventoried since 1958).

<sup>45</sup> These are presented to up to three figures beyond the decimal point; the unit symbol "m" is omitted.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE FIGURINES OF THE LYDIAN AND PERSIAN PERIODS<sup>46</sup> (Nos. 1-25)

Only about five percent of the figurines found at Sardis seem to have been made or used before the incorporation of the city into the Seleucid Empire. While the percentage may seem low, there is no immediate reason to suppose that small-scale clay sculpture was not a significant element of Lydian material culture.<sup>47</sup> Of the pre-Hellenistic figurines, the earliest datable fragment was retrieved from a late-ninth to early-eighth century B.C.E. context (**1**), while the latest can be dated stylistically to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E (**23**). All but a few figures (**19**, **20**, **23-25**) seem to have been made before the Persian conquest of 547 B.C.E. The scarcity of clear Persian examples, or of local counterparts dating to the period between 550 and 330 B.C.E.,<sup>48</sup> makes the dating of some of these seemingly later pieces difficult (e.g. **24**, **25**). Most of these were recovered from one of the few sectors at Sardis with clear Persian levels,<sup>49</sup> but as the area was heavily disturbed in Hellenistic, Roman, and later times, the objects are not unambiguously associated with any one depositional layer. When an object did not seem to conform well to either early or late periods, I have dated it provisionally to the fifth century B.C.E. or later. Persian materials and architectural features are scant or entirely absent in most

---

<sup>46</sup> The term “Lydian” is used here to describe the figurines that were made at Sardis, or that were imported to the site, in the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. and the Persian conquest of 547 B.C.E. “Lydian,” then, should be understood here as a broad chronological marker, rather than a geographical or cultural one.

<sup>47</sup> At Sardis, generally speaking, Lydian remains have been found in lesser quantities than other later materials. For more on the Lydians, their culture and their remains see: Hamfmann 1980, 1983b; Ramage et al., 1983; Roosevelt 2009. Cahill 2010

<sup>48</sup> While some fine, dateable materials were recovered before 1958, these are now either difficult or impossible to consult. Most of the finds from the earlier excavations were destroyed or lost during the political turmoil of the years 1915-1921. I will refer to published accounts of these objects when pertinent, noting that I have not studied them myself. See also Appendix D.

<sup>49</sup> Sector PN (Pactolus North); no. 10 in Ill. 2.

excavated sectors of the site, so this is not a peculiarity of the coroplastic corpus. Since Sardis, was after all, an important satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, the scarcity of obvious material remains dating to this era may be due to altered patterns of habitation.

Broadly speaking, Lydian figurines are comparable to contemporary fine pottery and tableware in their fabric, firing, surface treatment, and painted decoration. The extant examples demonstrate a very careful manipulation of the clay, and a considered design, especially as concerns the relation between form and surface decoration. Some types, at least, seem to be unique to the site; as a subject, animals are the most widely represented.

## **2.1 Techniques**

While I do not believe that all of the choices undertaken during the manufacturing process of figurines can be explained ideologically, an understanding of these choices is not complete without taking into account the human being or group that made them. I will, therefore, attempt to outline and analyze the processes and technologies involved in the making of figurines using an approach that highlights the agency of humans.<sup>50</sup>

A fundamental assumption at work here is that the transmission of technological knowledge in pre-industrial societies was profoundly different from that of our own, and that it depended a great deal on oral instructions and on the directed replication of movements. A further assumption is that the result of the transmission of that knowledge would not be just the creation of new objects, but the development of people with new views, abilities, and social

---

<sup>50</sup> The attempt is generally in line with social constructivism, which acknowledges, in the words of David Killick (2004, 571): “[...] that there is usually more than one technology that satisfies the minimum requirements of any given task; and second, that the choice of a particular technology from a pool of satisfactory alternatives may be strongly influenced by the beliefs, social structure and prior choices of the society under study.”

relations.<sup>51</sup> In the case of the coroplasts of ancient Sardis, the pertinent social interactions are mostly lost to us, but could be approached by studying the operational sequence, or *chaîne opératoire*,<sup>52</sup> in the manufacture of the figurines. Unfortunately, this is also difficult, since no coroplastic workshops have yet been found at the site. Regardless, a careful consideration of the technological style of an object,<sup>53</sup> that is, the result of all of the choices (conscious or unconscious) that the artisan made in its construction, may still shed some light on the life of the artisan.<sup>54</sup>

The first step in the construction of any figurine, then, is the acquisition and treatment of the clay from which it will be made. The process by which raw clay is transformed into workable clay has been discussed elsewhere<sup>55</sup> and will not be restated here, other than to note that what constitutes workable clay for the manufacture of statuettes is slightly different from what is considered most suitable for the production of non-figural vessels. Clay shrinks when baked, and when formed into irregular objects it shrinks at irregular rates. Tempering the clay with some extraneous material (e.g. grog,<sup>56</sup> sand), reduces shrinkage, and helps preserve the intended form of a statuette. Tempering, however, makes the clay more malleable,<sup>57</sup> so figurines had to be handled more carefully before firing than regular vessels.

For the most part, the figurines of the Lydian period were made from the local Lydian

---

<sup>51</sup> As noted by Killick (2004, 573): “[...] the world view and social persona of the apprentice are shaped by the apprenticeship, just as clay is shaped by the potter.”

<sup>52</sup> A term first coined by anthropologist André Leroi-Gourhan in 1966.

<sup>53</sup> Following Lechtman 1977, 3-20.

<sup>54</sup> Consideration of technological style in coroplastic studies has been used, for example, to determine the cultural origins of artisans. Barrett (2011, 89-118) focused on technological style, rather than iconography, to determine whether the makers of Egyptianizing figurines at Delos were local or Egyptian.

<sup>55</sup> Richter 1923, 1-3; Higgins 1954, 3; Schreiber 1999, 3-8.

<sup>56</sup> The term “grog” is used to describe very finely ground clay that has already been baked and is added for its porosity and texture; it speeds up drying while preventing shrinkage and cracks. Higgins 1954, 3; Schreiber 1999, 227.

<sup>57</sup> Schreiber 1999, 5.

clay,<sup>58</sup> which is naturally micaceous and light reddish in color, thanks to a substantial amount of iron oxide in the clay beds. It was always finely levigated, with no obvious inclusions other than the characteristic mica and some very fine grog. Although baking temperatures for statuettes could technically be lower than those used in the production of pottery,<sup>59</sup> the figurines of this period tend to be very hard,<sup>60</sup> in some cases even stone-like (e.g. **1**). In fact, it is likely that Lydian figurines were fired alongside other ceramic products, with most statuettes reaching a hard or very hard state, and only about a quarter acquiring medium hardness.<sup>61</sup> After firing, the resulting body colors most frequently encountered are light brown and light red, and occasionally, if the piece was fired in a reducing atmosphere (or misfired), gray.<sup>62</sup>

Prior to firing, the clay had to be formed into the desired shape; in order to achieve this, the Lydian coroplast employed multiple tools and techniques. The tool most frequently evident in the group under study is the artisan's own hand. Although hand modeling never goes out of use, it is employed to a more significant and varied degree in earlier statuettes. The use of free modeling (e.g. **1, 8, 16**), rolling (e.g. **10, 11**), and the slab method (**10, 13**) are attested in the Sardinian sample, either alone or in combination with other techniques. As a method, hand modeling is usually considered basic or "primitive," perhaps because of its immediacy; its results

---

<sup>58</sup> This was determined by comparison with a hand lens to ceramic items that had previously been scientifically tested. See Ramage 1978, table 2, for results of petrographic thin section mineral analysis of several Lydian architectural terracotta fragments, Lydian moldmade lamps, and for the mineral assemblage typical of ceramics from Sardis (all periods).

<sup>59</sup> 750-950 degrees Celsius according to Higgins (1954, 6). Though Hostetter (1994, 59) notes that in order for the slips used to decorate Lydian tiles to mature they had to be fired at temperatures higher than 900 degrees Celsius, but lower than 1000 degrees Celsius. Figural terracottas were decorated using the same materials.

<sup>60</sup> Descriptions of fabric hardness follow the modified Moh's scale presented in the *Archaeological Site Manual of the Corinth Excavations*. Sanders et al. 2008, 64-65.

<sup>61</sup> None of the Lydian figurines can be described as soft-baked. It should be noted, however, that mineral cohesion (what we usually understand as hardness) can be also affected by soil conditions. Sanders et al. 2008, 64.

<sup>62</sup> Achieving consistency in the color of the clay body may not have been a priority for the coroplasts of this period since most figurines were covered in paint before firing.

are commonly described as “crude” or “hasty.”<sup>63</sup> While it is true that the forms produced by this method tend to be simple, they conform to the stylistic standards of the era, and are likely not the result of limited craftsmanship only. Furthermore, at least in what concerns Sardinian figurines, the adjectives “crude” or “hasty” should not be applied when describing the sculpting process proper. Care was taken by the coroplast to carefully smooth outer surfaces, to hide joins, and to keep interiors clean and regular when the figurine was hollow. As part of the finishing process, fine details were often reworked with an incising tool to enhance the clarity of the form.

Hand sculpting provided the artisan with a clear tie to the coroplastic production of the past. Gloria S. Merker, in discussing the Corinthian coroplastic industry, suggests that the persistence of hand modeling in Bronze Age, Iron Age and early Archaic figurines may have been driven by the desire to achieve the same continuity in ritual seemingly guaranteed by the slow-changing figurines of the Neolithic period. She argues that “the tendency to cling to tradition was sometimes expressed in an apparently deliberate imitation of early forms, a purposeful, although sophisticated, primitive look, when other, contemporaneous arts were much more advanced in naturalistic representation.”<sup>64</sup> It is possible that shaping the clay by hand was thought to improve the efficacy of those figurines destined for the performance of some ritual, and that it was thus the favored sculpting method even when other techniques were available.

One of these alternative processes, and one that seems to be unique to this period, is the use of the potter’s wheel to construct figurines (e.g. **3, 4, 6, 7**). While it is likely that some of the figural fragments under discussion belonged to plastic vessels rather than to statuettes proper, the use of the wheel does not seem to have been limited to the construction of vase elements (e.g. spouts), and can in this context be avowed as a legitimate sculpting method. The application of

---

<sup>63</sup> Higgins 1954, 3, for example.

<sup>64</sup> Merker 2003, 233.

this particular tool, and the exceptionally knowledgeable manipulation of clay evidenced in our sample, may indicate that the making of some figurines, at least, was closely related to the production of non-figural vessels or other ceramics; the reasons for the relation, however, are not clear from the available evidence.

Merker has suggested that at Corinth the production of statuettes was mostly propelled by the needs of cults, and that:

Therefore, insofar as it was dependent upon the religious calendar, the work of the coroplast must have been seasonal. The possibility that such work could have provided only a marginal living in itself may have been one of the reasons why in Corinth there is evidence that at least some coroplasts worked in the same shops as potters of finewares, and may have been the same individuals. Such an arrangement seems to have been normal elsewhere in the Greek world as well.<sup>65</sup>

At Sardis, we cannot say with certainty that the coroplastic production of the Lydian period was by and large driven by the cultic calendar; makers of figurines and makers of other ceramics, if indeed different artisans, may have been working together for reasons beyond the needs of the market. It is my feeling that the function of some of these wheel-made figures may have been closely related to that of figural architectural tiles, for example.

Molds were also employed in the manufacture of Lydian figurines, but their use was not as common as it would eventually become, nor were they deployed to achieve the same ends; rather than providing an opportunity for rapid and standardized production, the use of molds in the Lydian period seems to have facilitated the reproduction of complicated forms, like faces (**5**, **18**). The creation and use of molds will be discussed more extensively in the following chapter; for now it suffices to say that molds utilized in this period, like the figurines they produced, were made out of terracotta. Also worth noting is the fact that most of the moldmade examples from Sardis date to the sixth century B.C.E. or later, and are for the most part solid figures (e.g. **17**, **21**,

---

<sup>65</sup> Merker 2003, 240. For a brief discussion of workshops and their locations see Uhlenbrock 1990a, 15-21.

23). In light of the fact that the use of molds would have expedited the sculpting process considerably, one must conclude that “efficiency” was not a high priority for the Lydian coroplast; I believe that when applied, molds may have been a small concession to the changing aesthetic preferences and stylistic approaches evidenced in other crafts, and perhaps demonstrate a growing tension between traditional and innovative technologies.

Most of our examples reveal a combination of the above-mentioned techniques, as illustrated by the late seventh century B.C.E. torso of a horse or large quadruped (7). In this case, the animal’s torso was thrown on a wheel to achieve its main shape, but its exterior surface was later re-formed by hand in order to convey the proper anatomy of the animal. What remains of its legs suggest that these were rolled by hand and later attached. The head does not survive, but it is likely that some part of it was pressed within a mold. Despite the regularizing effect of both the mold and the wheel, and despite the popularity of certain standard types (2, 8), this horse, as other early figurines, is a unique product; the coroplast’s heavy reliance on hand modeling is a likely explanation.

As has been noted, the modeling of clay figurines seems to have been a meticulous activity during the Lydian period; the same cannot be said about the application of painted decoration. Like most figurines of all periods, Lydian statuettes were painted; because shapes were in many cases simple or stylized, the communication of formal detail was often relegated to the colored surface. Paint<sup>66</sup> was applied to an unprepared exterior before firing, in a casual, rather than exacting manner. The care that the sculptor put into concealing seams and smoothing surfaces contrasts with the imprecise strokes of the painter’s brush.<sup>67</sup> In several cases (10, 11, 13)

---

<sup>66</sup> In this case “paint” is taken to mean a refined clay with mineral pigments that imbue it with color.

<sup>67</sup> In discussing a similar effect evidenced in Lydian architectural terracottas, Hostetter (1994, 52) notes: “Fluid brush strokes, uneven application and careless outlying of relief designs on Lydian terracottas betray practiced practitioners who usually worked quickly and freehand.”

drips were left uncorrected, and irregularities were allowed to take part of the design. Even in figures with “geometric” schemes (e.g. 2, 4) the final product is remarkably ungeometric; no compasses or rulers were used for setting out a design before painting the figurines.

The most commonly used colors are red, black and a mottled brownish-red. Sometimes these are placed directly on the clay surface, and sometimes they are used to accent an all-over yellowish-white (or creamy) base. The latter tends to be somewhat glossy, and is clearly distinct from the matte white ground that becomes the norm in later figurines.

The limited selection of colors corresponds to that used in contemporary architectural terracottas<sup>68</sup> and fine Lydian ceramics. Despite the restricted palette, the expressive power of color is optimized by the frequent use of strong contrasts in all three classes of object.<sup>69</sup> A further connection, the choice of animal subjects, will be discussed below; like the choice and use of color, the preference for certain animals is something that Lydian ceramics share with East Greek products, especially those made in the styles commonly known as “Wild Goat” and “Fikellura.”<sup>70</sup>

## 2.2 Formal Styles

This chapter considers objects made over several hundred years, so cohesiveness of style should not be expected, especially as concerns surface decoration. The forms of the figurines under study tend to replicate the representational approach familiar to us from Iron Age Greece. The body, be it human or animal, is first divided into its primary components (i.e. head, torso, limbs), and then these are reduced to their simplest, recognizable forms. Earlier shapes tend

---

<sup>68</sup> See Ramage 1978, 12, for color descriptions and Munsell code readings. See also Hostetter 1994, 47-52.

<sup>69</sup> See Ramage 1978, 40, for a discussion of the use of color in architectural terracottas. See Greenewalt 2010a, 107-124, for a brief introduction to Lydian ceramics.

<sup>70</sup> Greenewalt 1971a, 153-180; Ramage 1978, 38. For a more recent discussion and classification of these wares, see Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005.

toward the angular, and favor bilateral symmetry and frontality, forcing a single viewing point onto an otherwise three-dimensional object.

If there is a difference between Greek votive statuettes of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods and the Sardian terracottas, it is that the sculptors from Sardis seem to have employed a softer hand in the final articulation of the body. A late-ninth, early-eighth century B.C.E. large quadruped, likely a bovine (**1**) does not appear to have a single sharp angle in its body. Much is communicated with great economy of means: the alertness of the animal is visible in the tense curve that unites the neck and tail; its powerful musculature is suggested by the broader proportions of its front quarters. In this example, what should be distinct shapes flow into each other instead; precision and strict order are lost, but stability remains, now tempered by a hint of dynamism.

Two female torsos (**4, 16**) suggest that women were also depicted slightly differently at Sardis. In both examples, the waist is clearly indicated, whereas analogous Greek figures<sup>71</sup> tend to be fully rectangular. Human faces, however, would appear to match more closely those of their western neighbors; unfortunately, this cannot be stated with any certainty since our only two examples (**5, 18**) might themselves be imports.

Surface treatment and painted decoration find their inspiration in local ceramics. The Iron Age bovine discussed above (**1**) most closely resembles contemporary Gray Ware, self-slipped with a burnished surface that is uniformly gray. When fine and table wares adopted a colored geometric style, so did the figurines. A particularly interesting example is an early-seventh century B.C.E. bird (**2**), with a complicated geometric scheme done in purplish brown on a buff ground. The same rejection of rigidity that was discussed regarding the modeling of shapes is

---

<sup>71</sup> Higgins 1954, 248, no. 909, pl. 132, a “dancing doll” from Corinth. Also, Stillwell 1952, 35, no. I-19, pl. 2; 36, no. I-29, pl. 2; 41, no I-54, pl. 5; and others.

followed through in the decoration of this dove. The patterns displayed on its surface, while abstract, aim to reinforce the more lifelike facets of a bird, transforming dotted “s”s into feathers, lozenges into wings, and long wavy lines into a tail. The preferred shapes are curvilinear rather than angular, and were applied by a free, relaxed hand.

Later figurines abandoned the abstracted-pattern approach to decoration, and aimed at an increasingly dramatic use of color. Different parts of the body were painted different colors as in the small leg of an early sixth century B.C.E ungulate (13), where the leg proper is rendered in white, but the hoof was picked out in black. Both in style and in the chosen palette, these later figurines most resemble contemporary architectural terracottas. Architectural terracottas were also sculptural, but despite the three-dimensionality of their motifs, their silhouettes were often painted in a color that contrasted with that of the main body.<sup>72</sup> A similar effect can be seen in a pair of ungulate legs (10) where the white hooves’ edges are lined in red.

### **2.3 Subjects**

Although human subjects are not entirely absent, the great majority of the extant figurines of this period portray animals.<sup>73</sup> For the most part, the types found at Sardis have multiple parallels around the Mediterranean.

#### **2.3.1 Animals**

Sculptural depictions of small-scale animals, in terracotta, bronze, bone, ivory, or other materials, are attested frequently in the material culture of the ancient Mediterranean, and likely served a variety of religious and secular functions. At Sardis, the range of animals represented seems to be broad; however, because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it would be

---

<sup>72</sup> Ramage 1978, 20, no. 19, fig. 50, for example.

<sup>73</sup> It is possible, however, that some of these animals, even the birds, may have been supporting human or divine riders. See, for example, a man riding a goose from Boeotia, late fifth century B.C.E. in Higgins 1954, 215, no. 806, pl. 109.

disingenuous to state so categorically.

### ***Bovines***

The earliest dateable figurine from our sample depicts a large quadruped, very likely a bovine (1).<sup>74</sup> As domestic cattle, bovines were valued animals, essential food-supplies that were also capable of hard labor. Because of their considerable size, however, they were costly to maintain, especially in large numbers. Bovines, then, could simultaneously represent a necessity and a luxury, a paradoxical state that alone would have made them desirable subjects for small-scale sculpture. Cattle, additionally, were popular sacrificial animals,<sup>75</sup> and as such, their miniature replicas would have been deemed appropriate gifts to the gods.<sup>76</sup>

Several examples similar to our early bovine were recovered from Temple A (ca. 1020-800 B.C.E.) and Temple B (ca. 800-600 B.C.E) at the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, in the island of Crete.<sup>77</sup> Like the example from Sardis, those from Kommos are handmade and solid, bilaterally symmetrical, and have legs that are placed obliquely to the body; they are also comparable in size, with an average height of eight to nine centimeters, and an average length of just over ten centimeters.<sup>78</sup> Unlike the example from Sardis, the Cretan bovines have straight body contours, and communicate little sense of movement. Maria Shaw who published these figurines admits that determining their meaning is “challenging,”<sup>79</sup> even though their function as votives is all but

---

<sup>74</sup> The mass of the animal’s forequarters would further suggest that this is a bull. Bovine figurines from other sites, such as the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, often had clear indications of the sex of the animal; since none are present here, the more generic “bovine” is preferred. Shaw 2000, 137.

<sup>75</sup> Perhaps “elite” sacrificial animals, since at least the burnt remains recovered from the Greek sanctuary at Kommos were those of smaller animals. Shaw 2000, 172.

<sup>76</sup> This would have been doubly so if the god in question had a special affinity for cattle, as was the case for Zeus in Crete (Shaw 2000, 172). Watrous (1996, 87-82) would call these “specific” votives as opposed to “conventional.”

<sup>77</sup> Shaw 2000, 135, and 176-177, nos. AB1-AB9, pl. 3.20. Comparable bovines were also found at Tarsus (Goldman 1963, 346, nos. 86 and 88, fig. 161) and Gordion (Romano 1995, 56, nos. 137 and 138, pl. 34).

<sup>78</sup> Shaw 2000, 136.

<sup>79</sup> Shaw 2000, 166.

confirmed by their find spots. While she, as others before her,<sup>80</sup> notes the importance of animal sacrifice in ancient religion, Shaw argues that because bovines were dedicated alongside other non-sacrificial animals (e.g. horses), “[...] they served as a plea to the gods to guarantee the health of the beasts, rather than as a promise that entailed terminating their life.”<sup>81</sup>

The bovine from Sardis is remarkable for the high quality of its surface treatment, and the strength and dynamism that it so economically communicates. I believe that it was a piece to be touched, held, and moved, not just merely displayed; there is no reason to suppose, then, that unlike its Cretan brethren, which appear static and untouchable, this bovine could not have had a more mundane life, perhaps as the beloved possession of a child.

### ***Birds***

Birds<sup>82</sup> are represented in small-scale terracottas at Sardis since at least the early seventh century B.C.E. (2, 3, 15, 21, 22, 23). Even though some bird figurines are more fragmentary than others, it seems likely that many of our examples conformed to the seated type (with wings held close to the body, the tail lower than the head and/or resting close to the ground, and visible legs).<sup>83</sup> The type is well known from contemporary figurines and plastic vessels at other sites,<sup>84</sup> and from other materials at Sardis.<sup>85</sup> Of interest is a fragment of an architectural terracotta (Ill.

---

<sup>80</sup> Martin Guggisberg, quoted by Shaw (2000, 171): “Animal sacrifices played a central role in this [celebration of initiation rites], reflecting the causality of destruction and re-creation of life as the basis of human existence...”

<sup>81</sup> Shaw 2000, 172. A corollary of this interpretation is that the dedicant would have been the privileged owner of livestock.

<sup>82</sup> Commonly referred to as doves at multiple sites (Corinth, for example); perhaps because of their soft contours, and generally noble demeanors; certainly not because of any clear morphological markers.

<sup>83</sup> A couple of bird figures, one of them a dove sitting on a pomegranate, were found within a late Lydian tomb by the Butler Expedition. Associated materials were both imported and local; there is no indication of where the figurines may have been made. Butler 1922, 188, ill. 124.

<sup>84</sup> Stillwell 1952, 185, no. XXVII-2, pl. 41; 186, no. XXVII-7, pl. 41, both from Corinth. Higgins 1954, 78, no. 183, pl. 34, a dove from Camirus; 155, no. 569, pl. 73, a dove from Mytilene; 184, no. 693, pl. 90, a dove from a tomb in Athens. Romano 1995, 5-6, nos. 1 and 2, pl. 1, both plastic vases from Gordion.

<sup>85</sup> For example, birds depicted in Fikellura style pottery; see Greenewalt 1971a, 169, no. EF 3, pl. 6.

3), dated to ca. 550 B.C.E., which depicts a small bird.<sup>86</sup> The piece was trimmed from a relief frieze or sima, and could have had a second life as a figurine. Its color scheme, with red body and white wings outlined in black, is reminiscent of that of a proper figural example (15) that boasts white wings adorned with black cross-hatching and with which it is roughly contemporary.

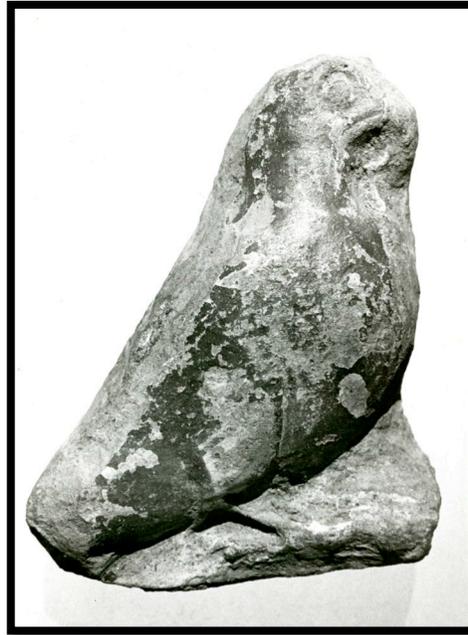


Illustration 3: Lydian architectural terracotta fragment in the shape of a bird.  
1:1

The Sardinian birds span the bulk of the period under study, so it is possible to see in them the changing approaches to form and painted decoration discussed in the section above. The earliest examples (2, 3) have controlled, contained shapes, but are enlivened by rhythmical, abstracted patterns on their otherwise smooth surfaces. The latest example (23) is no longer painted, but the form has broken its earlier bounds, displaying wings that begin to be distinct from the now more naturalistic body.

---

<sup>86</sup> Ramage 1978, 18, no.10, fig. 41.

Birds, especially gentle birds, could be kept as pets, or exchanged as gifts between lovers;<sup>87</sup> at least two of our examples (**21**, **22**) seem to have been figural attachments for unguentaria, perhaps due to their identification as loving companions. Birds also have a long historical association with death and remembrance.<sup>88</sup> A couple of examples found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century at Sardis, as well as many others from contemporary sites,<sup>89</sup> were recovered from tombs, so it is possible that the fragments unearthed at Sardis since 1958 had some funerary function as well.

### *Horses*

Horses (**7**, **8**) appear as subjects in Lydian terracotta statuettes at least as early as the seventh century B.C.E. The popularity of the horse in the Iron Age, especially as a votive, has been attested at numerous sites. Horses were the most commonly represented animal in terracotta in Iron Age Tarsus,<sup>90</sup> and also appear frequently in the figurines of Corinth,<sup>91</sup> Boeotia,<sup>92</sup> Rhodes,<sup>93</sup> and Cyprus,<sup>94</sup> to name a few. In bronze, small horses dominated the sculptural output of mainland Greece in the early Iron Age, both in the form of discrete statuettes, and as fanciful attachments for tripod cauldrons.<sup>95</sup>

In antiquity, as they are today, horses were luxury animals; they were expensive to maintain, and as a rule suited to only certain tasks such as racing, or the speedy transportation of single riders. Unlike cattle, horses were not sacrificed at sanctuaries, but could, on occasion, be

---

<sup>87</sup> As seen in several Attic vases, for instance, a red-figure amphora depicting Zeus and Ganymede with a bird, in Beazley 1971, 511.

<sup>88</sup> See Douglas 1928, 62-116.

<sup>89</sup> See for example, Higgins 1954, 78, nos. 183-186, pl. 34, from Rhodes, dated to the early fifth century B.C.E.; 184, nos. 692-693, pl. 90, from Athens, dated to the mid fifth century B.C.E.

<sup>90</sup> Goldman 1963, 336.

<sup>91</sup> Stillwell 1952, 164.

<sup>92</sup> For example, Besques 1954, 18, nos. B105-B106, pl. XIII-XIV.

<sup>93</sup> For example, Higgins 1954, 75, no. 168, pl. 32, dated to the early fifth century B.C.E.

<sup>94</sup> For example, Young and Young 1955, 73-74, no. 1491.

<sup>95</sup> Zimmerman 1985.

sacrificed at funerals.<sup>96</sup> A further funeral connection was the participation of horses in the games held for dead “heroes” (e.g. Patroklos).<sup>97</sup> They could be indicators of social status, as well as convincing symbols of power.

At Sardis, in particular, horses were associated with military might. Lydians, in fact, were famous for their cavalry.<sup>98</sup> A fragmentary poem by Mimnermus of Smyrna<sup>99</sup> has been interpreted as an attempt to incite his contemporaries to engage Alyattes in battle; the poet’s strategy was to contrast his people’s lack of resolve with the extreme bravery of a hero who defied the might of Gyges and his *hippomachoi* alone. More than a century later, Herodotus remarked that during the reign of Croesus, “[...] there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skillful at managing horses.”<sup>100</sup> Herodotus’ comments are at least partially backed up by a limestone relief found in the royal burial mounds north of Sardis,<sup>101</sup> which shows a series of horsemen in profile carrying long spears.

Two different types of horse figurines dating to the Lydian period were found at Sardis. The first, highly stylized, solid and handmade (8), is similar to a type very common in Boeotia in the mid-sixth century B.C.E.,<sup>102</sup> at Corinth beginning in the last quarter of the seventh century

---

<sup>96</sup> As noted by Shaw (2000, 1972), “[...] the death of their owner symbolically terminated their usefulness [...]” One early example is found underneath the Toumba building at Lefkandi (1000-950 B.C.E.). There, the double shaft grave of a warrior or “hero” was found; one of the compartments contained the skeletons of four horses. Popham et al. 1993, 21.

<sup>97</sup> See Roller 1981 for a discussion of the representation of these games in art.

<sup>98</sup> For a good introduction to Lydian horsemanship, see Greenewalt 2010e, 217-223. See also Hanfmann 1945.

<sup>99</sup> Fragment 14 of what has been called the *Smyrneis*, discussed in West 1974, 74.

<sup>100</sup> Hdt. 1.79.3. A further passage in the *Histories* (Hdt. 1.27) compares the proficiency of Lydians as horse-riders to that of Greek islanders as sea farers.

<sup>101</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 156, no. 231, fig. 401, British Museum B 269.

<sup>102</sup> Besques 1954, 18-19, nos. B105-B107, pl. XIII-XIV.

B.C.E.,<sup>103</sup> and elsewhere. Only the head is preserved, but comparable examples from other sites show that many of these horses were meant to carry riders. The Sardian head is notable for its gracefulness, tilted slightly to the right, with pointed ears and muzzle; the fused mane undulates as part of an elongated neck. The painted decoration is interesting in that it reverses the usual scheme of dark on light, and in that it is applied by a light and easy hand.

The second type of horse (7) appears to have been much larger, hollow, and wheelmade. The figure's head is missing, so it cannot be stated categorically that this was a horse; however, its chest has the feel and look of a that of a horse, much more so than that of a bovine, and its coloring scheme, with the shoulder and barrel done in black, and the chest and neck in white, is reminiscent of that of horses in Lydian architectural terracottas.<sup>104</sup> Our fragment has some parallels in the large, wheelmade figures of quadrupeds found at the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, most of which are supported by hollow, wheelmade legs.<sup>105</sup> Inspection of our example's underbelly, however, and comparison to other local figural finds (10, 11, 12) suggest that the animal's legs would have been tubular and solid; if this was the case, then our horse would have been a distinctively local product.<sup>106</sup>

The possibility of a third type of horse at Sardis is implied by the discovery of a wheelmade terracotta wheel (6), dating to no later than the sixth century B.C.E. Small-scale wheels were made in terracotta and other materials throughout the ancient Mediterranean, and in

---

<sup>103</sup> At least sixty were found in the Demeter sanctuary at Acrocorinth, and are known to have been produced at the Potters' Quarter. Merker 2003, 235.

<sup>104</sup> See Ramage 1978, 20, no. 19, fig. 50, in this case, a winged horse.

<sup>105</sup> The average height of these figures is about 40 centimeters (Shaw 2000, 143); the horse from Sardis (9) is preserved up to five centimeters in height, so it was perhaps around 20 centimeters tall.

<sup>106</sup> The famous terracotta centaur from Lefkandi also has a wheelmade body placed upon solid legs. It was made, however, several centuries earlier than the horse from Sardis, and is decorated in an entirely different style. Desborough et al. 1970.

later contexts may have functioned as votives by themselves.<sup>107</sup> The wheel from Sardis, however, is clearly meant to be attached to some other figure, perhaps a cart, or more likely a horse. Wheeled horses are known from the Greek sanctuary at Kommos,<sup>108</sup> the sanctuary at Isthmia,<sup>109</sup> and the Heraion at Samos,<sup>110</sup> among others, and seem to have been made in the Aegean since at least the Late Bronze Age.<sup>111</sup> In Attica, small-scale horse-and-vehicle figures have also been found, but mostly in funerary contexts.<sup>112</sup>

Because their wheels were removable and replaceable, these figures suppose a more lengthy involvement with their makers, as well as an interactive relation with the eventual owners who would have been able to move and modify them. A horse on wheels might have functioned as a kinetic representation of the animal's renowned speed, or as an abbreviation for a chariot; either way, it could have fulfilled multiple needs, both secular and religious.<sup>113</sup>

### *Ungulates*

A more frequent type at Sardis seems rare elsewhere, and starts appearing at the site in the late seventh century B.C.E.: the even-toed ungulate<sup>114</sup> attached to a flat base (**10**, **11**, **12**, **13**). Only the legs of these figurines remain, so it is difficult to determine whether they were meant to represent cattle, goats, sheep, deer, or even camels.<sup>115</sup> A pair of forelegs (**10**)<sup>116</sup> presents an

---

<sup>107</sup> See Thompson 1959, 143, no. 35, pl. 30.

<sup>108</sup> Shaw 2000, 179-180, nos. AB19-21, pl. 3.39; and reconstruction, 179, nos. AB16-17, pl. 3.39.

<sup>109</sup> Morgan 1999, 172-74.

<sup>110</sup> Ohly 1940, no. 1595, pl. 62. Cited by Shaw 2000, 140.

<sup>111</sup> Shaw 2000, 142.

<sup>112</sup> Shaw 2000, 140.

<sup>113</sup> A horse on wheels might be also reminiscent of the Trojan Horse; the version depicted in the so-called Mykonos Vase has small wheels at its feet. Ervin 1963.

<sup>114</sup> Ungulates are large mammals whose defining characteristic is that they use the tips of their toes, usually hoofed, to support their bodies and move around. While horses are also ungulates, their hooves are not cloven (equids are odd-toed). Groves and Grubb 2011, viii.

<sup>115</sup> Camels are not technically hoofed, but they do have two large toes that might be represented through similar pictorial means.

interesting example. Rolled by hand, they are tubular in shape, with two projecting dewclaws<sup>117</sup> at back near the hoof, and larger, rounded protrusions, possibly knees, on the opposite side. The hooves, which come out straight from a thin rectangular base, are cloven, as indicated by painted detail, rather than incision or modeling. The base, which was left unpainted, has three pairs of parallel, circular piercings. The hooves were painted white, with their silhouette indicated in the same brownish red that was used to cover the length of the legs. Even if an ordinary goat, this animal must have presented a striking figure, covered in bold, solid colors, and large enough to require the stabilizing help of the almost 13 centimeter long base.<sup>118</sup>

Once more, the large, wheelmade quadruped figures of Kommos are recalled, but as noted above, in those the legs are also wheelmade and hollow, and much more stylized.<sup>119</sup> Closer parallels may be found at Gordion, where at least two instances of ungulate legs attached to plinths have been recovered.<sup>120</sup>

Like cattle, smaller ungulates (e.g. goats, sheep) could have served as sacrificial animals in sanctuaries, and would have also been valued for their milk or wool; that coroplasts would have wanted to represent them in clay is not surprising. If the animals depicted are camels, their small-scale counterparts may have been enjoyed as curiosities from afar.

---

<sup>116</sup> Although it is difficult to determine with certainty if these are forelegs or hind legs, the presence of a forward facing knee would suggest the former.

<sup>117</sup> The number and position of the dewclaws narrows down the possible subjects to sheep, goats and maybe cattle.

<sup>118</sup> The legs are preserved almost to a height of 15 centimeters, so perhaps the figure was around 25-30 centimeters tall.

<sup>119</sup> Shaw 2000, 185-186, nos. AB62-AB73.2.

<sup>120</sup> Romano 1995, 54-55, nos. 131-132, pl. 34. The former was found in association with pottery dateable to no later than the second half of the sixth century B.C.E; both seem to have been manufactured in central Anatolia. Romano (1995, 49), estimates their restored heights to 0.15-0.30 meters, but cautions that since there are no complete examples, one cannot be sure that the animal in its entirety was depicted. The best-preserved example at Sardis (**10**) would suggest otherwise.

## *Lions*

A slightly more striking animal depicted in terracotta was the lion.<sup>121</sup> Lions have a long history of representation at Sardis; they were the insignia of the Lydian royal house,<sup>122</sup> and frequently appeared in coins,<sup>123</sup> monumental sculpture,<sup>124</sup> and painted ceramics.<sup>125</sup> Because of their association with Lydian kingship, representations of lions often served secular and administrative purposes. They were also connected to the cult of the local goddess Kuvava, whose name and worship likely had their origins in Late Bronze Age western Anatolia,<sup>126</sup> and whose likeness recalled that of Phrygia's Matar.<sup>127</sup> The somewhat scant material evidence relating to Kuvava, which notably includes an open-air altar bedecked with lions<sup>128</sup> located in the gold refining district at Sardis, indicates that the Lydian goddess was chiefly connected with mountains, the acquisition and manipulation of valuable metals, and more generally, the control of the natural landscape. The worldly spheres presided over by Kuvava, not coincidentally, were the same that secured and legitimized Mermnad rule. The lion, then, both secular and sacred, made visible the connection between divine power and Lydian sovereignty.

A figural fragment from Sardis (14) about three centimeters high, and slightly longer and wider than five centimeters, seems to have been part of the head of one of these ferocious felines. A large, flat, brownish red tongue, handmade, curls out over a heavy, solid, rounded mandible.

The mandible itself was formed in a mold, and painted in the same brownish red as the tongue. A

---

<sup>121</sup> Homeric poetry has suggested to many scholars that small lions lived in western Asia Minor, and that thus, depictions of the felines would have been based on lived experience. See Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 21, note 67.

<sup>122</sup> Hdt. 1.84 notes that already under the Heraklids the lion was of importance.

<sup>123</sup> Cahill and Kroll 2005, 590, figs. 2-5.

<sup>124</sup> In the words of G.M.A. Hanfmann (in Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 20): "The Lydians suffered from a regular *leontomania*." See also, Ratté 1989, 379-393.

<sup>125</sup> Schaeffer et al. 1997, 36, no. Cor 63, pl. 11.

<sup>126</sup> Munn 2006, 120-125.

<sup>127</sup> Flaata 2012, 126-137. See also Rein 1993 and 1996.

<sup>128</sup> Ramage and Craddock 2000, 72-79. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 66-67, nos. 27-29.

very thin lip rendered by an incised line, colored black, separates the two. Hand-shaped teeth, painted white with incised detail, crown the mouth. At least two teeth are missing, likely the sharp canines, as is the upper jaw and the rest of the animal. This wild cat would have been heavy and substantial, and its fierce presence keenly felt. If not a figurine proper, it would have been part of a figural vessel,<sup>129</sup> and likely used to hold precious oils or perfumes, fine commodities aptly marketed by the regal lion.

Another representation of the feline may be found in a fragmentary, solid thigh, foreleg and paw (24), covered in mottled black and red paint. The modeling of the foot, though still stylized, is close enough to the natural form of the animal as to suggest that this might be a later piece. Regardless, the feeling of the figure, with the unusual inward turn of the thigh as if about to attack, recalls that of the earlier example.

### *Turtle*

A single example of a turtle seems to date to the pre-Hellenistic period at Sardis (20).<sup>130</sup> Partly made in a one-sided mold, its shell was pressed into a simple, but naturalistic form, while the head and flippers were made and attached by hand. The freedom granted by the handmade elements allowed for flippers with non-symmetrical positions, adding a certain cadence to the piece. The turtle's hollow underside was treated carefully and covered with paint; there might have been an expectation that the piece would have been grabbed and viewed from below. Turtles could have both negative and positive associations, the former due to their perceived lethargy, the latter because of the suitability of their shells in the manufacture of lyres and the

---

<sup>129</sup> Compare to Higgins 1954, 47, no. 54, pl. 11, a vase with a lion's head, excavated at Camirus, derived from the Gorgoneion-class type, dated to the mid sixth century B.C.E.

<sup>130</sup> Comparable material from Thrace dates to the late sixth century B.C.E. Besques 1954, 50, no. B 323, pl. XXXIV.

resulting connection with the god Hermes.<sup>131</sup>

### *Semi-divine creatures*

Finally, though not technically an animal, the wing of some sort of mythical creature also appears in the coroplastic corpus of Lydian Sardis (9). It must have belonged to a griffin, sphinx, or winged horse, and as in contemporary architectural terracottas, it has a painted striped decoration of orange-red on white.<sup>132</sup> Unlike in the architectural terracottas, however, the stripes on this wing were painted with a changeable slant, creating a lively, almost rippling effect. These types of creatures commonly appeared in heraldically arranged pairs in two-dimensional representations;<sup>133</sup> it is possible, then, that the three-dimensional version would have been accompanied by a twin.

The broad range of animals represented at Sardis is not unique, and corresponds to those attested at contemporary nearby sites such as Tarsus and Gordion. Well-documented use-deposits, such as those excavated at Kommos and other sanctuaries, prove that at least some of these animal figurines were at one point used as votives. The notion that small-scale models of actual sacrificial animals could serve as sacrifices themselves is not implausible, but this interpretation, as noted by Merker, is “probably an oversimplification.”<sup>134</sup> Animal figures are also found as companions to the dead, and as adornments on vessels that held precious materials. Because some of the examples from Sardis so much resemble the terracotta tiles used to decorate houses, it is possible that they might have served a similar function.<sup>135</sup> That some figures, furthermore, had movable, and therefore interchangeable parts, suggests that they could assume

---

<sup>131</sup> Although concerned with Roman examples, Toynbee’s (1973, 221-223) discussion of tortoises may be relevant.

<sup>132</sup> Ramage 1978, 20, no. 19, fig. 50; 23, no. 29, fig. 62.

<sup>133</sup> For example, Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 122, fig. 307.

<sup>134</sup> Merker 2000, 322.

<sup>135</sup> Fjeldhagen (1995, 23), in studying Graeco-Roman examples from Egypt, also argued for the use of animal figurines as decorative household objects. See also, Boutantin 2014.

different roles at different times. In fact, it is true for all figurines that they probably fulfilled not just one, but a variety of needs.

### 2.3.2 Human Figures

Figurines that represent human subjects, as at other contemporary sites, appear to be greatly outnumbered in the earlier periods at Sardis, with the earliest examples dating to no later than the seventh century B.C.E. Because of their fragmentary nature, it is impossible to determine whether these figures were meant to represent divinities or mere mortals; in some cases it is even difficult to establish the sex of the figures.

The wheelmade torso of a female, perhaps a goddess, seems to be the earliest example of a small-scale sculpted human at the site (4). Her form is quite simple, with broad shoulders, round, knobby breasts and a nipped-in waist. Her left arm, at least, seems to have been kept close to the body. Dark brown paint on a yellowish-white base was used to apply an East Greek pattern of decoration all over the surface; the suggestion is of a very rich robe, which might have been in keeping with the feel and appearance of famed Lydian textiles.<sup>136</sup>

The girlish waist, in particular, sets this torso apart from those of female figurines known from other sites. Although earlier, so-called bell dolls<sup>137</sup> are similar in the knobby breasts and painted decoration. As their nickname implies, however, their bodies are shaped like bells, and increase in circumference the farther away they get from the head. These “dolls” also have movable legs. More roughly contemporary examples from Tanagra, Thebes, and Locris,<sup>138</sup> to name a few, have flattened, solid bodies shaped like long rectangles. Their heads can range from handmade, abstracted bird-like forms, to moldmade, stylized human ones, but the bodies retain

---

<sup>136</sup> Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 133-148.

<sup>137</sup> Sometimes called “Boeotian bell-dolls.” A good example from Thebes is now in the Musée du Louvre, Besques 1954, 9, no. B53, pl. VI.

<sup>138</sup> Besques 1954, 9-13, nos. B55-B74, pl. VII-IX.

the same abbreviated shape.

In addition to the richly clad torso, two partial heads were recovered from early levels at Sardis **(5, 18)**.<sup>139</sup> Neither seems to have been made at the site,<sup>140</sup> nor to be a figurine proper. Since, however, the same molds were used on occasion in the creation of figurines and of the plastic components of vessels, it is worth including them in this survey.

The first **(5)**, rendered in Daedalic style, seems to have belonged to a female with curly, patterned hair, kept close to her head, framing a high, rectangular forehead. Her eyes are wide and large, her nose is broad, and her lips, full and closed, form a slight smile. Traces of black paint enhance the hair and eyebrows, and outline the eyes. The face is painted white, so it could have also belonged to a male if following East Greek stylistic traditions.<sup>141</sup>

A Rhodian female head, dated to 630-620 B.C.E., and now in the British Museum,<sup>142</sup> is a good parallel with eyebrows and eyelids picked out in black, a triangular face with staring eyes, and a dignified, solemn expression. Similar examples from mainland Greece and from Crete attest to the existence of a shared sculptural style firmly grounded on earlier Egyptian models.<sup>143</sup>

The second example found at Sardis is smaller, and may have been imported from Corinth **(18)**.<sup>144</sup> The face is angular, and possibly, but not necessarily, female. It is framed by wavy hair, parted at the middle, and preserved down the ears. Almond-shaped eyes, a triangular nose, and a plump, straight mouth, suggest a date in the mid sixth century B.C.E.

---

<sup>139</sup> The two heads discussed here were excavated by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition. An additional couple of Lydian heads, either masks or protomes, were discovered in 1912 by the Butler Expedition in a funerary context dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C.E. The heads seem to be rendered in the Archaic style, but there is no indication of where they might have been made. Butler 1922, 188, ill. 124.

<sup>140</sup> Their identity as imports is suggested by the particularities of their fabric rather than by stylistic or technical concerns.

<sup>141</sup> See Greenewalt 1971b, 37, especially note 15. See also Ills. 4 and 5, below.

<sup>142</sup> Higgins 1954, 38, no. 22, pl. 4.

<sup>143</sup> For example, Stillwell 1952, 71, no. VIII-33, pl. 12.

<sup>144</sup> Its fabric is very hard and smooth, bone white to light yellow, and has no visible inclusions. The lack of mica is especially telling.

A notable pre-Hellenistic human figurine found at Sardis is that of a fat old man, perhaps a dwarf, naked and seated (19). The statuette is interesting in that it was made in a bivalve mold, and in that it is at least partly hollow. He has a full, droopy chest, a round, wrinkled belly, and narrow yet protruding buttocks. Small traces of paint remain within the crevices of his wrinkles, suggesting that the figure was once colored red. Comparable examples from Rhodes date to the second half of the sixth century B.C.E.<sup>145</sup>



Illustration 4: Lydian architectural terracotta fragment in the shape of a bearded man.  
1:1

Small-scale male heads and bodies in clay, sculpted at Sardis, and seemingly representing Lydians, are known in other ceramic types and may be used here to supplement our picture of human depictions during the Lydian period. The site's architectural terracottas, once more, provide several good examples.<sup>146</sup> A fragmentary sima shows a bearded Lydian in profile (III.

---

<sup>145</sup> Besques 1954, 38, no. B 221, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>146</sup> Ramage 1978, 15-17, nos. 1-6, figs. 30-37.

4),<sup>147</sup> with a white face, long, black hair, and richly clad in red. Nicknamed the “Lydian Dandy,” he was likely mounted on a horse; this is not known with certainty because, like the small bird (Ill. 3) discussed above, the figure was trimmed off from its background, perhaps so that it could function on its own as a figurine.

The unusual and ornately decorated figure of a seated, ithyphallic man is also worth discussing (Ill. 5).<sup>148</sup> Possibly a water-pressure trick vase, this large vessel was found broken into many fragments within the same refuse pile as a pair of ungulate legs (**10**). The torso, extant leg, and penis are all wheelmade and hollow, while the head seems to have been made with a combination of mold and free-hand modeling. Like the “Lydian Dandy,” he is a light-skinned, bearded male, with long, black double-tresses framing his extended neck. Unlike the dandy, he wears a sleeved jacket over a thinner garment, long, banded trousers, and boots. A triangular cap or hood falls at his back. While the features and style of the head seem to be inspired by contemporary East Greek fashions, the ornate costume seems to be Asiatic.<sup>149</sup> The message conveyed by this humorous piece hinges on the correct identification of the origin of the costume, but a likely option is that it expresses fascination with, or perhaps antipathy to, the presence of eastern foreigners in Lydia.

### *Articulated figures*

Two examples from Sardis provide evidence for the use of figures with jointed limbs before the Hellenistic period (**16, 17**). Articulated figures took different forms: they could have bodies with separately molded legs (full length, or knee down) attached in such a way as to allow them free movement; conversely, the legs could be molded along with the body, while the arms

---

<sup>147</sup> Ramage 1978, 15, no. 2, fig. 33.

<sup>148</sup> Greenewalt 1971b, 29-46.

<sup>149</sup> Perhaps Persian or Mede. For a detailed discussion see Greenewalt 1971b, 38-44.

were given free reign; in some cases, all four limbs were capable of motion. They are discussed separately from other human figures because their component parts had the potential not only for movement, but for interchangeability; as such, they might have been understood to work in similar ways to the wheeled-horses discussed above (6).



Illustration 5: Plastic vase in the shape of an ithyphallic man.  
Reconstruction; not to scale.

Much has been speculated about the function of these dynamic figures. They have been called everything from dolls, to puppets, to marionettes, to idols;<sup>150</sup> it is my belief that all of these terms (and some that we may have not yet imagined) can be used to describe them

---

<sup>150</sup> See Elderkin 1930. Grandjouan, for example, refers to them as puppets. For a recent and thorough discussion on some of these terms see Handler 2012.

accurately. Problems arise when one term is privileged to the exclusion of the others. In 1930, Kate Elderkin published the first broad study of figurines with jointed limbs. Her diachronic survey of the evidence begins with wooden examples from Bronze Age Egypt, and closes with several Coptic models made of bone and ivory, and dating to the seventh century C.E.<sup>151</sup> It is a useful survey, even though Elderkin discusses the figurines as dolls and toys first, and only then grants them a secondary function as votives; at best this is an oversimplification.

While the earliest articulated figurines in Greece, some of the so-called bell-dolls of Boeotia, appear to date to the Sub-Mycenaean period,<sup>152</sup> the two fragments from Sardis are several centuries later and most closely resemble Archaic examples from Athens, Rhodes and Corinth, to name a few.<sup>153</sup> In the Greek figurines, the torso is flattened, and shows minimal modeling of anatomical features such as breasts; some examples are decorated with bands of geometric motifs, suggesting that the figures were already “clothed.”<sup>154</sup> A torso from Sardis (16), dating to the mid sixth century at the latest, shares these characteristics. Handmade and solid, the practically flat chest is simply rendered. Small traces of red and blue paint on a thick, white base suggest that the figure was brightly dressed. The shoulders have small perforations at the sides for the attachment of arms, while pierced spurs remain at the hips for the attachment of legs.

Like its Archaic Greek counterparts, the example from Sardis had its legs attached at the hip, rather than further below. The legs, as an example from Sardis demonstrates (17), would have been fairly schematic, with no indication of the knee. Unlike its Greek sisters, however, which seem to revel in their rectangular body types, the example from Sardis has a nicely nipped-in waist, a characteristic which it shares with the ornately clad torso (4) discussed above.

---

<sup>151</sup> Elderkin 1930, 456-457; 475-479.

<sup>152</sup> Elderkin 1930, 458-459.

<sup>153</sup> Elderkin 1930, 460-61.

<sup>154</sup> Elderkin 1930, 461. In the Greek examples the heads rise seamlessly from the torso; they have long hair falling to the shoulders and wear a short *kalathos*. Our example does not preserve the head.

Because the legs of these figures continue to be rendered in abbreviated ways for several centuries, barring their discovery in an early sealed deposit, it is nearly impossible to date them with accuracy. Torsos, however, do change; the prevalence of Hellenistic and Roman examples suggests that figures with jointed limbs became much more popular in later periods at Sardis. Lacking any evidence to the contrary, most limbs with holes for attachment to a body have been dated as “Hellenistic/Roman,” and will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Though minimal, the evidence for the representation of small-scale humans in early Sardis allows us to reach a few conclusions. First, in style and manufacture, Sardian examples seem to share the standards known from neighboring and contemporary sites. Second, representations of humans fulfilled different needs; like the more ubiquitous animals, they could adorn small vessels, accompany the dead in their graves, and be manipulated and toyed with by their owners. Unlike animals, perhaps, human figures could function as an image of the individual or communal self, or in the case of the ithyphallic man (Ill. 5), an image of a foreign other; as such, they may shed some light into lived experiences of the people who made and used them.

## **2.4 Find Contexts**

Unfortunately, the majority of the figurines thus far recovered at Sardis come from functionally unclassifiable fills or deposits. Many of the statuettes discussed in this chapter, nonetheless, were excavated in dateable, sealed contexts that provide us, at least, with a useful *terminus ante quem*.

Almost half of our sample was found in one of the best-documented Lydian areas at Sardis, the so-called “Lydian Trench” in a sector known as “House of Bronzes” (HoB) after the first structure discovered there.<sup>155</sup> HoB lies in an area outside the confines of the city proper, but

---

<sup>155</sup> No. 4 in Ill. 2. See also, Hanfmann 1962, 5-15; Hanfmann 1964, 5-14; Hanfmann 1965, 10-14; Hanfmann et al. 1966, 8-18; and Greenewalt et al. 1986, 18-19.

very near its monumental wall, and well connected to other areas of the settlement.<sup>156</sup> The “Lydian Trench” in particular, shows evidence of continuous habitation from the later Bronze Age (ca. 1200 B.C.E.) to the destruction of Sardis by the Persians in the mid-sixth century B.C.E., and has distinct habitation levels that have allowed for the dating of the Lydian objects discovered therein. Because Lydian ceramics are notoriously difficult to date, researchers relied more heavily on stratigraphic markers (e.g. floors and alluvial deposits), than on finds to date the levels.

If a figurine was found within one of the sealed levels of the “Lydian Trench,” it has been attributed to the same time period as the related ceramics, or slightly earlier when stylistic considerations and comparable materials suggested some reconsideration; dates given here then, should be understood to be well-intentioned approximations.

Our earliest example (1) comes from Lydian Level IV, which is dated to the Early Iron Age (ninth and early eighth centuries B.C.E.). Although the excavated area yielded no clear structures dating to this period, a large number of pithoi, a whetstone, some knives, and other tools, suggested to the researchers that the space was used for seasonal work and large-capacity storage. Comparable figurines are usually found as votives in sanctuaries, but that should not preclude a non-devotional function for the Sardian fragment.

Seven figurines, a stylistically coherent group (7, 10-12, 14, 15), were found in Lydian Level I, dated from the end of the seventh century B.C.E. to the middle of the sixth. This level is characterized by a series of scattered rectangular, single-unit buildings, alongside distinct features such as hearths and a well. Finds, ranging from cooking wares to implements used for working gold, suggest that the area served domestic, as well as industrial and commercial needs.

---

<sup>156</sup> Cahill 2010, 86-90.

The remaining figurines were similarly found in association with domestic (e.g. **6, 21**), or industrial (e. g. **17, 23**) remains. None of our finds, then, can be linked conclusively to a religious context; this is not entirely surprising since sound religious contexts are rare in the Sardinian archaeological record.

That sanctuaries existed at Lydian Sardis, at least extramurally, is known from ancient texts<sup>157</sup> and from a small number of finds around the site, yet direct evidence of their location or form is for the most part lacking. A depiction of Lydian Kuvava, and perhaps her *hieron*, is found in the so called “Cybele Shrine,” a marble temple model found built into one of the piers of the Sardis synagogue, and stylistically dated to 560-530 B.C.E.<sup>158</sup> Additional spolia used in the construction of the synagogue might have come from a later temple to Kybele,<sup>159</sup> likely the replacement for the one burned by the Ionians in 499 B.C.E. Roman coins showing the goddess Kore as a symbol of Sardis suggest the existence of a formal sanctuary dedicated to her.<sup>160</sup> Figurines might have been dedicated in all of these places, but that is impossible to say given the current state of our knowledge.

A well-documented locus of religious activity was found in sector PN (Pactolus North),<sup>161</sup> where some of the figurines from our study were also discovered. The site is a humble altar that has been identified with the cult of Lydian Kuvava because of the presence of several decorative lion sculptures,<sup>162</sup> and an associated ceramic fragment bearing a partial painted inscription with the name of the goddess. The surrounding area is not a sanctuary but an

---

<sup>157</sup> For instance, the destruction by fire of the *hieron* of Kybele at the hands of the Ionian Greeks in 499 B.C.E. is presented by Herodotus as the cause for later retribution by the Persians. (Hdt. 5.101-102.)

<sup>158</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 43, no. 7, figs. 20-50.

<sup>159</sup> Hanfmann 1983a, 110.

<sup>160</sup> Buttrey et al. 1981, Greek coins no. 90. Greenewalt 2010e.

<sup>161</sup> No. 10 in Ill. 2.

<sup>162</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 66-67, nos. 27-29.

industrial center set up for the refining of precious metals;<sup>163</sup> the worship of Kuvava is not unwarranted in this setting, however, since she had strong ties to the natural sources of the metals, and to the kings who would most benefit from their manipulation.<sup>164</sup> Although several figurines (e.g. **17**, **19**, **23**) were found in the vicinity of the altar, none can be associated with it with certainty.

No figurines have been found within the few Lydian tombs excavated by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition since 1958. However, in 1912, during one of the five archaeological campaigns led by Howard Crosby Butler, explorations in the Necropolis Hill revealed a Lydian chamber tomb with a pertinent assemblage of goods. The tomb's single chamber contained three limestone sarcophagi, and seemed to date to the mid sixth century B.C.E. Although disturbed, some of its original contents were salvaged by the expedition, including several well-preserved figurines: two birds (one of them perched on a pomegranate),<sup>165</sup> a recumbent deer, and two female heads (perhaps protomes):

There were also a few terra-cotta masks and animal figures. The pieces of Lydian pottery in the group [...] are of poorer workmanship, as regards to both manufacture and decoration, than most Lydian ware discovered thus far. They probably represent a period immediately following the end of the era of Lydian greatness, at the time of the Persian conquest...<sup>166</sup>

It can be stated with certainty, at least, that some figurines had funerary functions in pre-Hellenistic Sardis. But perhaps too much weight is placed on use contexts in the interpretation of these objects. It is almost reassuring that despite the fact that most of the Lydian figurines from the site were recovered from deposits that shed little or no light on their original uses, they seem

---

<sup>163</sup> Ramage and Craddock 2000. Greenewalt 2010b.

<sup>164</sup> Ongoing reconsideration of the altar and its surroundings may eventually prove, however, that the former is in fact later than (rather than contemporaneous to) the metal refinery. Bruce 2014.

<sup>165</sup> About the bird: "Some of the terra-cotta objects in the group retain their colour; the dove being treated in grey and blue upon a deep red pomegranate." Butler 1922, 118, ill. 124.

<sup>166</sup> Butler 1922, 118, ill. 124.

to appear in association with domestic, commercial, and industrial contexts. The association, however tenuous, suggests that figurines were part of the routine experiences of the living, and were not only considered useful in the realms of the gods or of the dead. It may also suggest something about their makers; as noted by Hostetter: “The status of coroplasts might have been similar to that of the potters, jewelers, gem cutters, weavers, bronze workers and other specialized craftsmen whose shops and dwellings, kilns and industrial waste have been recovered in sector PN and in the Lydian market area, sector HoB.”<sup>167</sup>

## 2.5 Conclusions

Of the figurines found at Sardis, those of the Lydian and Persian periods display the most variety in terms of the techniques that were employed in their manufacture. The artisans’ heavy reliance on hand modeling, and its combination with both mold and wheel technologies, resulted in a coroplastic production that managed to be distinct while keeping in line with established practices at contemporary sites. Whereas the preferred types and subjects correspond to those found in Crete and mainland Greece, for example, the stylistic approach to them is unique; Sardian coroplasts seem to have excelled at supple, dynamic forms, and at equally lively surface decorations.

With the exception of a couple of fragments representing human heads, all of the figurines were made locally, and evidence an interesting mix of Greek and Anatolian conventions. The same can be said for other ceramic objects made at the site, in particular, plastic vases such as the one depicting an ithyphallic man discussed above (Ill. 5), and the architectural terracottas. The latter especially share several features with the figurines, among others, the hardness of the finished material, the bright color palette, and a painting scheme that

---

<sup>167</sup> Hostetter 1994, 65.

treats the three-dimensional as if two-dimensional.

Several scholars<sup>168</sup> have come to the conclusion that coroplastic work was likely not an isolated enterprise, and that the artisans responsible for the production of the figurines were not so to the exclusion of other crafts. In a recent article,<sup>169</sup> Arthur Muller argues that the complete chain of steps required to complete a figurine did not have to be carried out by one individual (or unified set of individuals), nor necessarily in one place; Muller, in fact, sees coroplastics as a secondary activity of potters, a notion that corresponds well to Merker's assertion that the need for figurines was "seasonal."<sup>170</sup>

At Sardis, I believe that the manufacture of terracotta statuettes was more likely associated with that of architectural tiles.<sup>171</sup> The skills necessary for the successful production of both types of object were the same, among them, proficiency in the treatment and baking of clay, the sculpting of prototypes, and the use of molds. Likewise, surface decoration on both tiles and figurines appears to have been done to the same standards, the results being vibrant if also hasty in appearance. I would argue further that these objects were likely understood to fulfill similar needs. The fact that at least two architectural terracottas were trimmed, seemingly in order to be repurposed as figurines, further supports this notion.

Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, contemporary figurines have been found in great numbers and in association with functional deposits. While this is not the case at Sardis, the limited evidence yet allows us to come up with a few conclusions regarding the function of figural terracottas at the site. Other than their brightly colored surfaces, the most compelling characteristic of these objects is their superb surface finish and the smoothness of their forms.

---

<sup>168</sup> Merker 2003, 240; Uhlenbrock 1990a, 15. Barr-Sharrar 1990, 31-36.

<sup>169</sup> Muller 2014, 63-82.

<sup>170</sup> Merker 2003, 240.

<sup>171</sup> For an account of the possible organization of tile workshops at Sardis see Hostetter 1994, 65-76.

The figurines are pleasing to the touch and easy to grasp, which suggests that they were created not just to be appreciated visually, or remotely, but also to be enjoyed physically. I believe that the coroplasts of Sardis were consciously making a product that was primarily meant for the enjoyment of living people, regardless of whether they ended up as votive offerings to the gods or as parting gifts for the dead.

I think, additionally, that like the tiles they so resemble the figurines of this period may have been largely associated with the needs and preferences of the elite. As noted by Hostetter:

As architectural terracottas presumably adorned some of the more prestigious buildings in the Lydian capital, and thus were valued products emblematic of royal, religious, and/or aristocratic ideology, the status of coroplasts, or at least the owner or overseer of the workshop producing architectural terracottas, may have been somewhat better than of other artisans or craftsmen associated with the building trades.<sup>172</sup>

Taken together, the earliest figural terracottas from Sardis show great ambition and originality in their form, painted decoration, and tangibility. They are of a consistent high quality, and seem to embody the benefits of living in a prosperous and autonomous land. Though influenced by the practices of neighboring sites both east and west, a definite local tradition was already established during this period; whether that tradition would survive the changing political fortunes of the city will be seen in the following chapters.

---

<sup>172</sup> Hostetter 1994, 65.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THE FIGURINES OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD**  
**(Nos. 26-229)**

Slightly more than half of the figurines excavated at Sardis date to the Hellenistic period, which for the purposes of this study is understood to encompass about 350 years, and to be shaped at the site by three major events: the capture of the city by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.E.,<sup>173</sup> its destruction by Antiochus III in 215-214 B.C.E.,<sup>174</sup> and its further devastation by earthquake in 17 C.E. At the time of the latter catastrophe, Sardis had been part of the expanding Roman Empire for about 150 years, but it was the leveling of its Late Hellenistic structures, and their eventual replacement with typologically Roman ones, that made Sardis a Roman city.

The figurines of the first century B.C.E and early first century C.E. included in this chapter are then, strictly speaking, Late Hellenistic or Roman.<sup>175</sup> Because many of these “Roman” figurines embody types that display a continuity of style and subject with known Hellenistic examples, it is preferable to label them Hellenistic/Roman, and to discuss them along with their earlier counterparts.<sup>176</sup> The penchant of coroplasts to retain traditional styles, already evident in the archaizing figurines of the Early Iron Age, is in this period coupled with the widespread use and re-use of durable molds; the combination all but guaranteed the staying

---

<sup>173</sup> Arrian notes that the city surrendered peacefully. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.17.3-6, in Pedley 1972, 68, no. 235.

<sup>174</sup> The capture and sacking of the city are described by Polybius, *Plb.* 7.15-7.18.9 See Pedley 1972, 59, no. 203; 78-79, nos. 283-286.

<sup>175</sup> This is especially true if one follows traditional chronologies that place the beginning of the Roman (imperial) period after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E.

<sup>176</sup> Rotroff and Oliver (2003, 1), in their monograph about the Hellenistic ceramics from Sardis also use 334 B.C.E. and 17 C.E. as the limits for the period. They make a point of noting the endurance of certain Lydian or Late Lydian traditions in the earlier ceramics, and the influence of Roman materials in the later examples. The same can be said about the figural terracottas discussed in this chapter.

power of certain sculptural types long after they were abandoned in other materials.<sup>177</sup> Figurines with techniques, subjects, or findspots that suggest a clear Roman date, however, regardless of their style, will be discussed in the following chapter. Differences in technological style and subject should not be ignored, as they may suggest changing roles for the figurines, as well as for the artisans who made them.

The large proportion of Hellenistic examples in the Sardian corpus attests to the popularity of small-scale clay sculpture during this period at the site; the trend is also evident in contemporary cities in Asia Minor, the Aegean, mainland Greece, and beyond. Throughout, Hellenistic terracottas are characterized by an outward uniformity of style and subject matter; for the most part, the examples from Sardis are no exception. Especially when compared to the seeming preference for animals as subjects at earlier and later periods, humans or human-like divinities seem to be preferred by the Hellenistic coroplast. As in other contemporary sites, the quality of manufacture for Hellenistic figurines tends to be exceptionally high. Sardian examples are almost universally moldmade and hollow, with plastically rendered details even on the back.

The majority of the Hellenistic figurines from Sardis seem to date to the period after the destruction of the city by Antiochus III in 215-214 B.C.E.<sup>178</sup> Contemporary ceramics, more plentiful, but also of a lesser quality than those produced by and for an earlier generation, suggest that by the later second century B.C.E., a greater proportion of the city's population was enjoying a certain amount of economic prosperity.<sup>179</sup> That this change in affluence would in turn

---

<sup>177</sup> Nicholls 1952, 226.

<sup>178</sup> Style was a determining factor in dating more often than context was. However, figurines that were recovered from clear pre-214 B.C.E. contexts tend to conform to the expected stylistic standards of their time, thus allowing for a of a certain degree of confidence when dating stylistically.

<sup>179</sup> Berlin 2014. At this time, Sardis was no longer a Seleucid possession. After the Peace of Apamea (188 B.C.E.), the city passed into the hands of the Pergamenes, and although its official station was diminished, it did enjoy some reprieve from oppressive taxation and a greater degree of autonomy. Ratté 2008, 126. Ma 1999, 130-131.

affect the production and consumption of figurines is not unlikely.

### 3.1 Techniques

As was the case with the Lydian figurines before them, the Hellenistic terracotta statuettes found at Sardis were, for the most part, made from the local red, micaceous clay, and tempered and treated in a fashion similar to contemporary local ceramics. The preparation of the clay required, as before, tempering with fine grog; some Hellenistic examples (e.g. **58, 97, 104, 122**), nonetheless, show evidence of the addition of larger fragments of quartz or lime.

Slightly more than 60 percent of the figurines of this period were fired to a medium hard state at most; about a third of those have a clay body that is soft or very soft, the highest proportion of softer-baked statuettes for the entire period under consideration (Fig. 1).<sup>180</sup> Although hardness can be affected by the conditions of the soil within which the terracottas rested for many centuries, it is also likely that the Hellenistic figurines were being fired at lower temperatures. If enough figurines were being manufactured at a given time, even if formed alongside other ceramics, they could have been fired separately. Because the independent baking of figurines would have been a desirable option given the reduced amount of fuel (and associated costs) necessary to heat a slower burning kiln, we must consider the possibility that the coroplastic industry was kept separate from that of other similar crafts at least during the firing stage.

Unlike earlier statuettes, which were overwhelmingly formed by hand or with the aid of the potter's wheel, the figurines of the Hellenistic and later periods were, more often than not, created with the assistance of molds. Molds were also used in the production of contemporary bowls and lamps, and it is quite possible that these industries were related, at least in some stages

---

<sup>180</sup> Medium hard fabrics characterize **26, 29, and 30**, for example; **28, 46, and 47**, on the other hand, are soft.

of the manufacturing process. Hand modeling did not cease to be used in the construction of figurines, but it was relegated to the making of extraneous features, and rarely (if ever) employed in the crafting of a figure's core body. The use of the potter's wheel for sculpting purposes seems to have died out at Sardis sometime before the conquest of Alexander the Great.

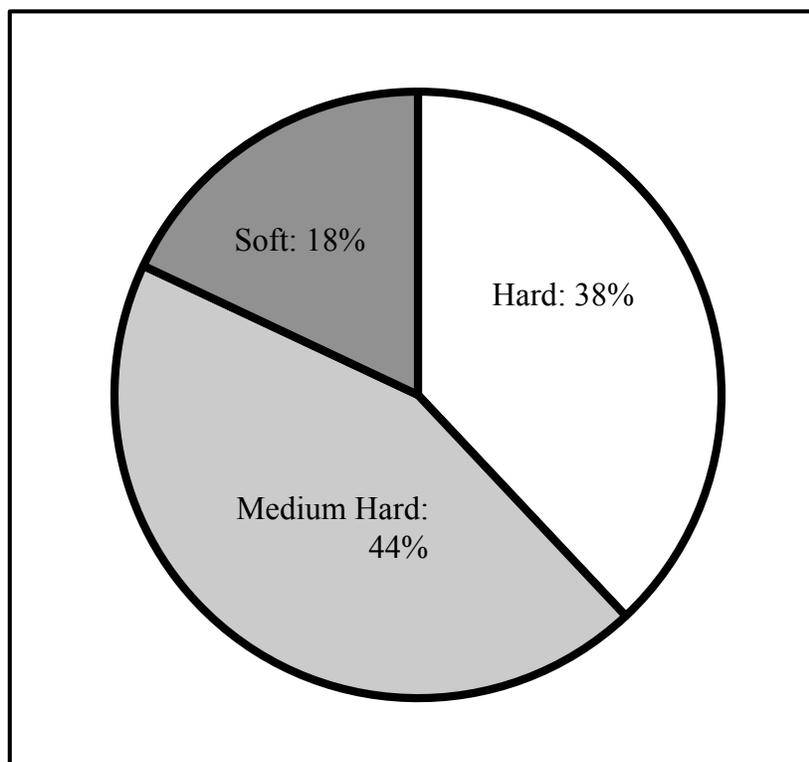


Figure 1: Percentage of Hellenistic figurines fired to a hard state compared to those fired to a medium hard or softer state.<sup>181</sup>

In order to use a mold, one must first create or acquire it; either entails the existence of an archetype. An archetype is a model from which impressions can be taken to produce a mold,<sup>182</sup> and since impressions can be taken from most three-dimensional forms, a wide variety of objects (and in some cases, even people) could have functioned as archetypes. Statuettes in bronze,

---

<sup>181</sup> Hardness was determined following the modified Moh's scale presented in the *Archaeological Site Manual of the Corinth Excavations*. Sanders et al. 2008, 64-65.

<sup>182</sup> Nicholls 1952, 217-218.

terracotta, and other materials would have sufficed, as would have the figural attachments of pots or lamps. It is possible that at least one example in the Sardinian corpus was made by taking an impression of a human face (**221**). Statuettes that were made with the sole objective of producing a mold were also archetypes; depending on the material of the mold itself, these archetypes could have been formed out of clay, plaster, wax, or other materials.<sup>183</sup>

When figurines themselves are used as archetypes, the resulting process is known as serial production or surmoulage.<sup>184</sup> Since appropriate and desirable molds could be created efficiently from other statuettes (either local or imported, and if popular, already proven successful), one must surmise that the practice was commonly used, and that it accounts for the seeming uniformity of style and recurrence of types evident in the greater Hellenistic world. Because the molds that are taken from existing figurines, if made of terracotta themselves, shrink during the baking process, surmoulage can result in generations of figurines that have the same or similar form, but that are progressively smaller in size. The shrinking effect is not so marked if the mold is made out of plaster.<sup>185</sup> A series of statuettes from Sardis that seem to depict a squatting ithyphallic man provide a compelling example (**294-296**).<sup>186</sup> Two were made from the same plaster mold, and are identical in size, surface treatment, and the presence of a small “wart” below the left knee (**295** and **296**; Ill. 6). The third belongs to an earlier generation; it is identical in form (although a right leg, rather than a left), but slightly larger (**294**).

---

<sup>183</sup> Higgins 1967, 2.

<sup>184</sup> Nicholls 1952, 219-224.

<sup>185</sup> Plaster molds can lessen this shrinkage between two generations of statuettes by as much as 50 percent. Muller 1996, 287.

<sup>186</sup> These are likely Roman, and will be discussed further in the following chapter.



Illustration 6: Two muscular legs (**295** and **296**) made in the same mold.  
Both have the same “wart” below the knee.  
2:1

A further effect that surmoulage may have is the dulling of surface detail; because figurines were covered in paint, an impression made from a finished statuette would necessarily be less crisp than one made from a purpose-made archetype. A good illustration is found in a couple of fragmentary torsos (**63** and **64**); while the torsos are identical in form and size, in the former, surface details are mostly modeled, and in the latter, they are incised (Ill. 7).<sup>187</sup> They were found together in a fill along with a significant number of moldmade bowls; perhaps debris from a

---

<sup>187</sup> An alternative explanation for the blurring of detail can be the use of an old, worn mold, though molds that have been buried for centuries still produce sharp images.

combined workshop.

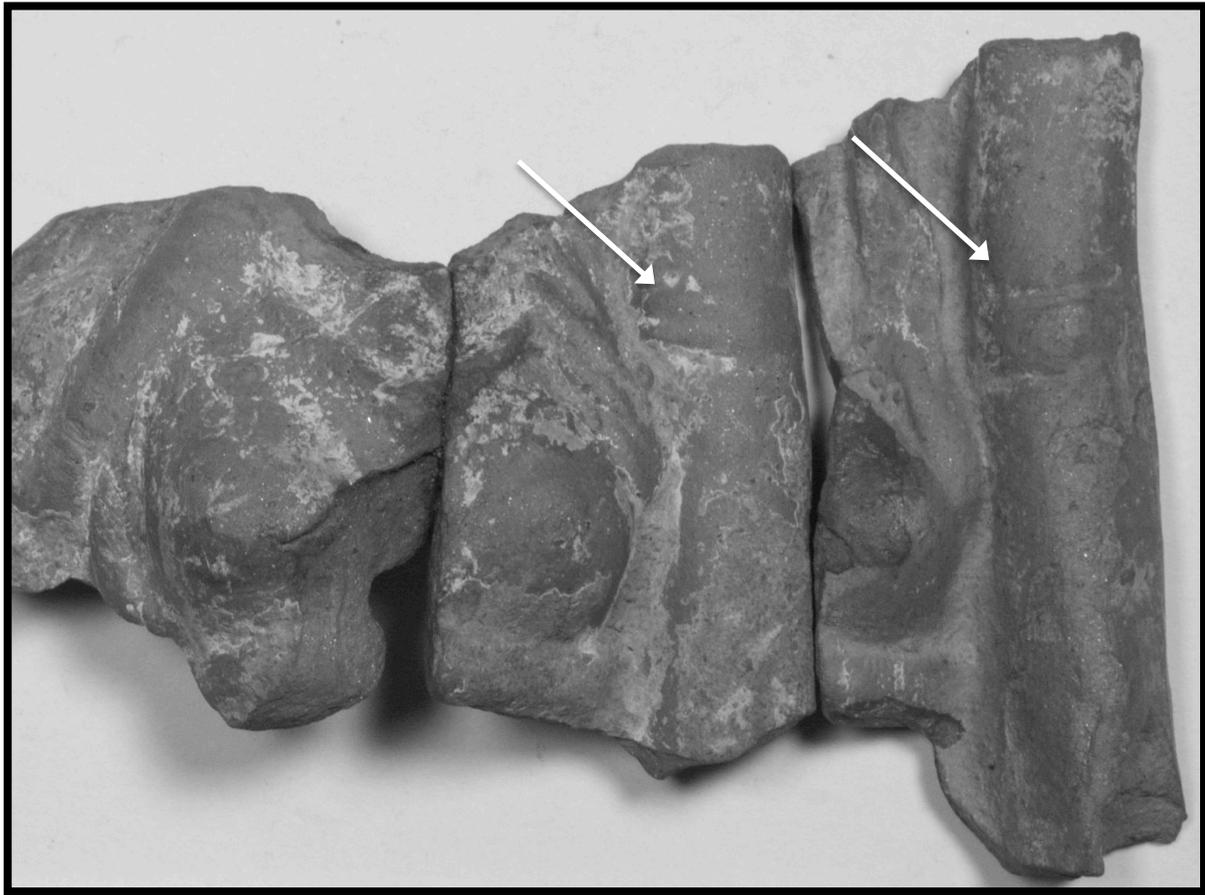


Illustration 7: Two female torsos (**63** and **64**) made in the same or similar mold.  
The first has modeled detail; the second has the same detail incised.  
2:1

Since archetypes need not be made from terracotta figurines, however, one should make an allowance for the possible close relationship between artisans working in clay and those working in other materials.<sup>188</sup> In his study of the famous figurines of Tanagra, Reynold Higgins proposed that local molds were made from impressions taken from bronze statuettes.<sup>189</sup> Merker, working with the material from Corinth, suggested that the production of molds was a specialized

---

<sup>188</sup> See Barr-Sharrar 1990, 31-36. Also Goldman 1950, 305.

<sup>189</sup> Higgins 1986, 66.

enterprise, not taken on by the coroplasts themselves, but rather by the artisans who were engaged in the production of molds for small bronze statuary.<sup>190</sup> The coroplast, then, need not be highly skilled in the art of sculpting, only in the manipulation of clay. The current state of research at Sardis does not allow for easy answers concerning the creation or acquisition of molds, or of the archetypes from which they were made; one thing that can be said for certain is that at least until the Hellenistic period, the persons making figurines were greatly accomplished in the handling of their raw materials.

Regardless of how molds were created, or the places from which they were acquired, evidence from Sardis allows for the use of at least two materials in their manufacture: terracotta and plaster. The use of terracotta molds at Sardis is attested by the presence of the objects themselves in the material record. Two fragmentary molds (**396** and **397**), likely dating to the Hellenistic period, have been unearthed thus far. One of them could have been used in the creation of a small statuette, but more likely functioned in the production of figural plaques or of figural appliqués for vessels. It depicts a furry-chested lion in profile, with its mouth open in a growl, and its foreleg extended forward. The second (**397**) seems to have been used to form a standing draped female, and shows the bottom portion of long, plastic folds of different widths. The fabric of both molds is much coarser than that used to make figurines; the varied inclusions would have decreased the shrinking of the mold as it baked.

The use of plaster molds at Sardis is surmised from the figurines themselves. Plaster heats up and produces air bubbles when mixed with water; as the bubbles rise to escape through the plaster's surface, they leave small, round voids that become permanent when the plaster hardens.

---

<sup>190</sup> Merker 2003, 242.

Positive impressions made from these pockmarked negatives result, then, in telltale “warts.”<sup>191</sup>

About one third of the Hellenistic figurines from Sardis show signs of these protrusions. Many more, however, may have been formed using plaster molds; because the evidence is fragmentary, we might just be missing the warty fragments. Furthermore, careful coroplasts, or perhaps those producing fewer statuettes, took care to remove imperfections from a figure’s surface before sending it to be fired.<sup>192</sup>

Molds made out of plaster begin to be used at Sardis as early as the second half of the third century B.C.E. A fragmentary figural plaque with a complicated group composition (**45**) is the earliest datable example from Sardis. It was found as part of a Hellenistic fill, but the associated ceramics formed a consistent assemblage datable to within half a century. It seems to portray an Attis and lion group, rendered through plastic modeling combined with an intaglio technique.

A second example, likely dating to the later third century B.C.E., is also worth noting. The head of a woman, bearing the telling warts of plaster, was made in a bivalve mold with seams running along the head’s coronal plane just behind the ears (**54**). The entire fragment is hollow, including the neck, which shows no signs of ever having had a knob for attachment to the body.<sup>193</sup> Despite very careful handling by the expedition, the two halves fell apart, revealing an interior that was filled with plaster (Ill. 8). Hetty Goldman, in discussing the figurines from

---

<sup>191</sup> Called “beads” or “blisters” by others, for instance, Thompson 1963b, 16, and Goldman 1950, 298-300. Because beads are desired adornments, and blisters suggest wounds that can burst at any moment, I prefer the more evocative “wart,” as indicative of an undesired (and at times removable) protrusion. A particularly good example of a “wart” can be seen at proper left, below the mouth of figurine **259**. See also Ill. 6, above.

<sup>192</sup> At Sardis, the most tangible evidence results from the smoothing out of join seams. Additionally, figurines were often covered with a light self-slip that would have further evened out any imperfections (see **191**, for instance). At other sites, such as Athens, there is evidence for the rubbing of the unbaked figurine with a fine cloth (Barrett 2011, 101). Attempts to smooth surfaces are common elsewhere (e.g. Muller 1996, 36-37; Merker 2000, 15-17), although apparently not in Egypt (Barrett 2011, 99-101).

<sup>193</sup> A knob for attachment, of course, would not have been necessary if the head and body formed a continuous line in a single mold; this does not seem to be the case here, however.

Tarsus, notes that heads such as this may have been joined to bodies by filling both with plaster:  
“The joining of the body and its limbs was done by means of plaster, either by hollowing out both ends of the joint, or by merely scarifying the surface and filling the incision. Terracottas so joined would easily fall into their component parts at first shock.”<sup>194</sup> At Gordion<sup>195</sup> and at Seleucia<sup>196</sup> there is also evidence of statuettes with parts attached in this fashion. It must be recognized, then, that at least in Asia, plaster was being used both to form the figurines and to hold them together.



Illustration 8: Woman's head (54) filled with plaster for attachment.  
2:1

---

<sup>194</sup> Goldman 1950, 300.

<sup>195</sup> Romano 1995, 76.

<sup>196</sup> Van Ingen 1939, 10.

The use of plaster molds to make figurines seems to have originated in Egypt,<sup>197</sup> perhaps as early as the mid fourth century B.C.E.,<sup>198</sup> and eventually became common practice elsewhere in the Hellenistic world. Every single mold excavated at Tarsus was made from plaster.<sup>199</sup> Fragments recovered from the necropolis of Samothrace suggest that plaster molds were employed there at least since the early third century B.C.E.;<sup>200</sup> while at Corinth, their introduction seems to have happened around the same time as it did at Sardis.<sup>201</sup> They were used in Ilium since at least the late second century B.C.E. and became the preferred tools of the Trojan coroplast of a century later.<sup>202</sup>

If ceramic and plaster molds were being used concurrently at the site, one has to wonder what were the advantages and disadvantages of using either material. With plaster, one disadvantage has been noted already: the formation of air bubbles and their associated warts. Additionally, plaster can become quite warm as it sets, and must thus be handled carefully. The material is in general less sturdy than fired clay, and can easily break and crumble. A broken plaster mold is not only a problem unto itself; loose bits of plaster that get inadvertently mixed with unfired clay will fall out after baking, leaving behind unseemly holes. Some scholars, Thompson for example, have indicated that the use of these molds results in the blurring of surface detail.<sup>203</sup> Examples from Sardis that were certainly made in plaster molds show both blurred (e.g. **70, 91**) and sharp features (e.g. **82, 100**); my feeling is that something other than the material of the mold, perhaps the state of the archetype, had a more significant effect on the

---

<sup>197</sup> Goldman 1950, 305.

<sup>198</sup> There is some debate about the dates; see note 25 in Goldman 1950, 299.

<sup>199</sup> Goldman 1950, 298.

<sup>200</sup> Dusenbery 1998, 846.

<sup>201</sup> Merker 2000, 16.

<sup>202</sup> Thompson 1963b, 65. Thompson, who also studied the Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora, cites the same dates for Athens. See also Thompson 1965, 35-36.

<sup>203</sup> Thompson 1963b, 16.

quality of a figurine's surface.

A clear advantage that plaster molds have over those made in terracotta is that they do not require firing in a kiln; thus, their manufacture is both speedier and less costly. Plaster shrinks less than clay as it loses moisture, so, when used in serial production, figurines will conserve a greater fraction of their archetype's original size. Finally, and it is difficult to say whether this is an advantage or a disadvantage, some scholars believe that the use of plaster molds requires less skill. Merker, for instance, noticed that Corinthian statuettes formed in plaster molds rarely had separate attachments, and were hardly ever retouched, whereas those pressed into terracotta molds often had separately-attached limbs, backs that were modeled by hand, and carefully re-worked surfaces; the latter suggesting a more knowledgeable maker.<sup>204</sup> That these characteristics can be explained by reasons other than skill has been noted elsewhere,<sup>205</sup> and perhaps, when discussing "skill," we should be focusing on differences of kind rather than of degree. In my opinion, the convergence of plaster molds with simplicity of form, and with minimal surface treatment, is more likely the result of a particular coroplastic tradition, likely one that placed a high value on swift production, and that relegated the communication of detail to the painted surface rather than to the sculpted form.

Nevertheless, the figurines from Sardis (**54** discussed above, for instance), contradict the broad association of plaster molds with simple forms. One of Sardis' best-preserved examples, a winged Nike or dancer (**67**), draped, with left arm akimbo, was made in several plaster molds, and then put together carefully. While the body, head, and extant arm were pressed into a single

---

<sup>204</sup> Merker 2000, 16.

<sup>205</sup> See Barrett 2011, 89-118. Also, recent work by Marcie D. Handler on a Roman coroplastic atelier in the Athenian Agora has yielded figurines of the same type made in both plaster and clay molds; while she thought that this might indicate artisans of different abilities working alongside each other, she also suggested that they might have been trained in different traditions. Handler 2012, 158.

mold, the wing was molded and attached separately. The back half was left plain, but it corresponds to the front in size and alignment. Exterior seams were well hidden, and the inside was reinforced with the aid of plaster. Surface details, like the textured hair and the “rings of Venus” on the neck, were added by hand after removal from the mold. Time and effort were invested in the creation of a statuette of this type; it took skill to work with both plaster and clay, so that the preference for either might be indicative of other factors, easy access to a kiln, for instance.

Clay molds may have been preferred if plaster was not readily available, or if the artisans in question were not trained in the use of the latter material. Additionally, estimates by scholars indicate that terracotta molds may have had a longer use life than those made out of plaster.<sup>206</sup> Whether this is true or not, one thing seems certain: clay molds would have been easier to repair if broken. Workshops at Sardis have a long tradition of repairing rather than discarding;<sup>207</sup> frugal habits should not be discounted as the reason behind certain material choices.

Whether availing themselves of terracotta or plaster molds, the evidence from Sardis indicates that coroplasts were using clay in a solid state, and pressing it carefully into the forms to create the figurines. Although a few statuettes have thin and regular walls, fingerprints on their inside confirm that they were not being cast from liquid clay (e.g. **76, 186**). One figural fragment from the Athenian Agora that shows the imprint of a textile hints at the possibility that artisans at this site were rolling out sheets of clay and then using cloth to move and position these sheets inside the molds.<sup>208</sup> The practice, which was also attested in Medieval and later examples from

---

<sup>206</sup> Van Boekel (1987, 229) believed that terracotta molds remained functional even after hundreds of pressings; Higgins (1967, 108), on the other hand, assessed that plaster molds would have worn out much sooner (after fewer than a hundred applications).

<sup>207</sup> Ramage 2008, 79-86.

<sup>208</sup> Handler 2012, 159, 255. A dancer, no. 72, fig. 6.

the Netherlands,<sup>209</sup> might account for examples with thin and even walls. There is no such evidence at Sardis where thin, even-walled statuettes are in a minority. When excess material needed to be removed to create a lighter, more even figure, flat-edged tools were used (e.g. **152, 204**).

Although the production of moldmade figurines was, in many cases, a straightforward affair, molds could be used in increasingly involved ways to create statuettes of varying complexity and originality. Perhaps the simplest method was to use a single, one-sided mold, as was the case in the making of figural plaques (e.g. **32, 155**) and miniature theatrical masks (e.g. **102-104**). In both types of object, the clay was pressed as uniformly as possible into the mold; but, whereas the backs of masks were cleaned and evened out with the aid of a tool, the backs of plaques were allowed to remain irregular, with multiple visible fingerprints (Ill. 9). Since masks and plaques were routinely hung on walls, the lack of detail on their backs is accounted for by a corresponding lack of need for visibility. Masks, however, were likely moved and handled more frequently, perhaps even held up to the face, explaining their greater degree of finishing.

The next step up in complexity was to create a figurine using a bivalve mold; in this case, the statuette was divided into front and back halves. The division usually occurred along the coronal plane of the body in human figures (e.g. **170**),<sup>210</sup> and along the sagittal plane in the case of most animals (e.g. **76**). The earliest example of a figurine made in a bivalve mold at Sardis is that of the fat old man (**19**) dating to the second half of the sixth century B.C.E., and already discussed in the previous chapter.

---

<sup>209</sup> Van Boekel 1987, 201.

<sup>210</sup> In working with the figurines from Troy, Thompson (1963b, 17) noticed that up to the late second century B.C.E, the seam on human heads was usually placed behind the ears, while in later examples it tended to fall just at the ears. At Sardis, this seems to hold mostly true, although there are some clearly late examples with seams behind the ears (e.g. **263**).



Illustration 9: The irregular back of a plaque (32, left) next to the smoother back of a mask (103).  
1:1

Despite the three-dimensionality of the medium, the figurines made in bivalve molds tend to be frontal and two-dimensional, with limbs projecting away from the body only along the same plane where the mold was divided. In some cases, the figures are worked almost as in relief, with the “spaces” that should be free between body and limb left solid, but in a slightly receding plane (e.g. 76). More often than not, the back halves of these statuettes tend to be minimally modeled, with key forms insinuated but not precisely rendered. In most Hellenistic examples, however, the backs seem to correspond in size and form to the front, demonstrating that the molds were conceived as a whole with two parts that were meant to be kept and used together. The same cannot be said about some later figurines, with back halves that are smaller than their fronts, and not always matching in shape (e.g. 247, 293).

To use these molds, one would first press the clay into its halves, remove excess material if desired, and then set front and back together with some slip. The molds themselves would then be trussed, and the whole would be set aside to dry. A figurine would remain inside its mold until the clay had reached the leather-hard stage; only then could pieces be removed without major damage while being still pliable enough to be reshaped where needed.<sup>211</sup> At this stage, so-called vent holes would be added to allow access to the inside of the figure. Joins would then be reinforced with added clay (sometimes in the form of a coil, as in **97**), or added plaster. The outer portion of the seam would be flattened or otherwise covered, blemishes would be corrected, surface detail enhanced, and handmade embellishments attached.

Also at this stage, some figurines were coated with slip (e.g. **148, 149**), a more finely levigated version of the material that was used to make them that usually fires to a lighter color. Slip may have been applied to achieve a high degree of finishing on the surface, or to provide an even canvas for the paints that would be added later. Several of the statuettes that show signs of being self-slipped also preserve traces of an overall white wash (e.g. **26, 70, 174**), so the former explanation is perhaps more likely.

Three Hellenistic figurines from Sardis made in bivalve molds preserve large holes on their backs; in the case of **75**, a herm, the opening is long and rectangular, while in both **184** and **206**, human torsos, the holes are elongated ovals. Whether these openings were used as vents to allow hot gases to escape during the firing process, or as access points for the joining of the figurine's two halves, has been widely debated. The fact that many statuettes would have been left completely open at the bottom (**75** for example), and would require no extra vents, argues for the latter explanation. Arthur Muller has also suggested that a pin-sized opening was all that was

---

<sup>211</sup> Separation from the mold at this stage would have been facilitated by the clay's loss of water. See Schreiber 1999, 26, for a description of the leather-hard stage.

required to allow for the free flow of air in and around the figurine.<sup>212</sup> In the Hellenistic examples from Sardis, all three have joins that were reinforced in the interior and carefully hidden on the outside, suggesting that the openings at their backs allowed for this type of careful finishing. One later example (233, an Apollo Musagetes), however, bears a small (about 1 centimeter in diameter), round hole on its back that would not have easily served as an access point to the interior. The phenomenon has also been noted by Burn and Higgins<sup>213</sup> in some of the statuettes in the British Museum, so no easy answers as to the function of these openings is readily forthcoming.

A good example of the fine work that could be achieved through the otherwise simple use of the bivalve mold is the head and upper torso of an enthroned Kybele (30), made sometime in the early third century B.C.E. Its especially finely modeled front, revealing the delicately featured goddess wearing a turreted polos over long wavy hair, contrasts with the plain, almost smooth back. The join seam, behind the hair and the ears, was well concealed, giving no hint that the figure was made in two distinct pieces.

A more elaborate approach to moldmade production derived from those described above was the use of multiple bivalve molds to create a single figure. This method, although the most involved and time consuming,<sup>214</sup> did allow for great variety in output; while it did require more molds per figure, it also necessitated fewer molds per figure type.<sup>215</sup> Bodies, heads, limbs, and attributes that had been formed separately could be combined into countless different statuettes, vastly increasing the repertoire of an artisan with an otherwise limited source of archetypes.

Furthermore, the use of multiple molds allowed for the manufacture of figurines with limbs that

---

<sup>212</sup> Muller 1996, 38-39.

<sup>213</sup> Burn and Higgins 2001, 19.

<sup>214</sup> Some figurines from Myrina were made by combining as many as 15 molds. Burn and Higgins 2001, 20.

<sup>215</sup> Muller 1996, 504.

could project beyond the principal planes of the body, as was the case with the wing of the Nike or dancer (67) mentioned before, or with the beautifully delicate arm of a young child (209).

The evidence from Sardis suggests that many figurines of the Hellenistic period had at least separately molded heads and bodies. While using multiple molds did allow for more complex statuettes, it also rendered the resulting product more fragile. Depending on how the different elements of the figure were attached, they could eventually come apart with more or less ease, perhaps explaining the considerable number of disembodied heads in the Sardian coroplastic corpus. For the most part, limbs, heads, and attributes would be attached to the figure's main body during the leather-hard stage. As mentioned above, if both joining parts were hollow, they could be filled with plaster and thus attached (54). Solid surfaces could also be scored and then held together with a supplementary layer of clay or plaster; this seems to have been the case with a large seated figure that was molded separately from its throne or bench (now missing), but that shows a significant amount of scoring along the back of the thighs and lower buttocks (195). Heads or limbs could also be fitted with projecting knobs (51) that would then fit snugly into unbaked bodies.

The different parts of a figure could alternatively be joined together after firing, as in the case of statuettes with articulated limbs. The separate components of the statuette would be provided with suitably placed and sized holes; these would then be aligned with each other, and tied together with wire or twine in a manner that would allow for the free rotation of the pieces. A small female torso (136) is a good example of such a figure with attachment holes for both arms and legs. While its limbs do not survive, other fragments may provide a clue as to their forms: a small, thin arm, with a further aperture for an object inside the hand (139), and a group of legs, ranging from the naturalistic to the stylized (210-216).

The final step in the production of Hellenistic figurines was the application of colored pigments to the surface. In a few cases, the exterior of the statuette was first prepared with a slip (as noted above, this would occur before firing); in most, the surface was primed with an all-over white wash or white ground. In the latter case especially, the purpose was to provide an even, light-colored ground for the paints. Slips were easily produced by further levigating the clays used in the construction of the statuettes; the matter of the making and use of the white ground is slightly more complicated. The composition of the white ground, and ultimately, whether it was applied before or after firing, seems to vary by site.

X-ray diffraction analysis performed by A. Middleton on some of the figurines of the British Museum showed that white ground could be composed of several different materials.<sup>216</sup> Testing on several figures that had been attributed to Attic sources, as well as on some that have been attributed to Boeotia, showed that their white ground was made of kaolinitic clays, materials that are common to the area.<sup>217</sup> Kaolinitic clays are composed of aluminum silicates that degrade at temperatures lower than those used in the firing of figurines; thus, the ensuing conclusion was that the white ground must have been applied after removal from the kiln.<sup>218</sup> Figurines attributed to Corinth, on the other hand, bore ground rich in lead, perhaps originally white lead, an artificial pigment known in antiquity.<sup>219</sup>

More recent testing on the terracottas found at the workshops at Pherai revealed that about 85 percent were covered in calcite,<sup>220</sup> a stable form of calcium carbonate found in limestone,

---

<sup>216</sup> Burn and Higgins 2001, 307-310. Testing performed on the figurines at the Louvre yielded similar results. Bourgeois 2010, 238-243.

<sup>217</sup> Burn and Higgins 2001, 308.

<sup>218</sup> Kaolinite degrades at around 500-550 degrees Celsius. Middleton also suggests that, after firing, figurines may have been handled at different workshops than those where they were formed. Burn and Higgins 2001, 309.

<sup>219</sup> Burn and Higgins 2001, 308.

<sup>220</sup> Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti et al. 2013.

travertine, and some bivalves, among others. Calcite was also found on several of the British Museum examples attributed to Halikarnassos and to Smyrna.<sup>221</sup>

Recent X-ray fluorescence spectrometry carried out on a few of the figurines from Sardis similarly revealed that the white ground used on the tested samples was made with either calcium carbonate (**66**, **67**, **76**, **99**) or lead white (**50**). Lead white degrades at 400 degrees Celsius,<sup>222</sup> so, as in the case of a white ground made out of kaolinitic clay, it would have had to be applied after the figurines were fired. Although calcium carbonate occurs naturally in several forms, calcite is the most likely source of the white ground from Sardis. Calcite remains stable at higher temperatures than either kaolinite or lead white, but it still degrades at 825 degrees Celsius.<sup>223</sup> While it is possible that a white ground made out of this material would have withstood the firing process, it is more likely that the white ground was painted on after removal from the kiln.

The limited testing performed on the Sardian figurines suggests that calcite had an additional use as a coloring agent proper, and that it was mixed with iron oxide, for instance, to produce certain colors like pink or yellow.<sup>224</sup> The fragmentary statuette of a man wearing a Phrygian cap seems to have been colored in this manner (**99**); the pink of his hat contains iron and calcium rather than mercury, thus excluding cinnabar as a possible pigment, and the yellow of his hair also presented a similar chemical profile (Ill. 10). It would make practical sense to keep together materials that were meant to be mixed (see **399** and **400**, below), and therefore to make use of them at the same time, regardless of whether they were functioning as a ground or as a colored paint.

---

<sup>221</sup> Burn and Higgins 2001, 308.

<sup>222</sup> Perry 2011, 223.

<sup>223</sup> Perry 2011, 629-631.

<sup>224</sup> These were the same materials that were being used in the Lydian period to paint figurines and other terracottas, albeit before firing.



Illustration 10: Sample location for testing of pink pigment on an actor's head (99).  
Identified elements: silicon, potassium, calcium, titanium, manganese, and iron.  
Not to scale.

Unmixed iron oxide seems to be the source of the bright red that some Sardinian figurines exhibit (e.g. 66) while red lead might be the base for others (e.g. 75). Iron oxide was additionally used as an under layer for gold leaf in figurines that had gilt elements. A conclusive example is found on the gilt stephane adorning a third century B.C.E. head (50), while an iron oxide-covered ornament on the head of an Eros-Harpokrates (66) suggests the same type of treatment. The recent studies conducted at the workshops at Pherai show that several of their figurines were decorated with tin foil, and that in these cases the foil required a cinnabar under layer in addition to the preparatory white ground;<sup>225</sup> since cinnabar like iron oxide is red, it is likely that the color modulated or enhanced the appearance of the metals placed above it. The only other pigment conclusively identified in the small sample from Sardis was *terre verte*, an iron silicate clay that

<sup>225</sup> Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti et al. 2013.

is quite long-lasting (66).

Two fragmentary plain ware vessels (399, 400) seemingly reused as painting pots or palettes, may give an indication of a further pigment used in the decoration of figurines: Egyptian blue. While this pigment has not been identified in the figurines proper, its presence on these pots alongside materials that have been (*terre verte* in 399 and calcite in 400), makes its use on statuettes plausible.

The fact that only a reduced palette has been confirmed for the figurines from Sardis is likely due to accidents of preservation, but it may also imply that the techniques involved in the painting of the statuettes were highly developed. Skill and imagination would have been necessary to create the subtle effects seen on some figurines given the limited materials available; the painter would have had to mix colored pigments with calcite to produce different tones, and then layer the results to render them more brilliant or opaque. As with the separately molded limbs that could be arranged into seemingly endless combinations, a few pigments could have been blended into a wide array of colors. There is then no reason to suppose that figurines of the same type would have been painted identically, or that these objects, even when moldmade, would have appeared mass produced.

### 3.2 Formal Styles

The fragmentary nature of the Hellenistic figurines from Sardis, as well as the dearth of repeating types, or of closely datable contexts, make all but impossible a thorough appreciation of the stylistic development of the statuettes produced at the site. The issue is complicated by our current understanding of Hellenistic art in general, and by the archaizing trends already noted in the coroplastic medium.<sup>226</sup>

---

<sup>226</sup> For a brief discussion of the challenges that arise when establishing a Hellenistic chronology for figural terracottas see Rotroff 1990.

That coroplasts were inspired by other contemporary arts is evident from the figurines that seem to reproduce well-known sculptural types (e.g. **29**, **66**), that follow modeling trends known from works in metal or stone, or that tackle subjects more closely associated with live performance (e.g. **100**, **103**). However, as noted by Dorothy Burr Thompson, “the coroplastic tradition long retained its independence and must be surveyed as a distinct craft with its own trends and styles.”<sup>227</sup> For example even when famous sculptural types were imitated, the resulting statuettes are rarely faithful copies. Additionally, because of the use of long-lasting molds, short-lived trends in other media might have had a much longer run in the coroplastic arts.

Many scholars working with Hellenistic materials across the Mediterranean, Thompson included, tend to see a decline in terms of creative range and manufacture as they move from the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. to the later Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Reasons proposed for said decline vary from the devastating effects of the Mithradatic Wars, to the rise of commercialization.<sup>228</sup> The figurines excavated at Sardis exhibit a range of styles and techniques; while it is tempting to fit them into a model of decline, the archaeological evidence, vague as it is, does not clearly support such a linear development. Furthermore, even when differences in the manufacturing technique of figurines can be detected, it is not for us to say which ones were made properly and which ones were not; to do so requires that we know what the standards of a certain period were, and, at least for the coroplastic production of Sardis, we do not.

Generally speaking, there is an identifiable tendency for the fully developed, naturalistic forms of the earlier Hellenistic period to become more linear and perhaps less dynamic with time. However, somewhat linear approaches do occur early (e.g. **35**), and vibrant, sculptural ones

---

<sup>227</sup> Thompson 1963b, 20.

<sup>228</sup> Thompson 1963b, 20. Andrea Berlin, while studying the Hellenistic pottery from Sardis, has noticed similar tendencies in the production of ceramics, though perhaps for different reasons. Berlin 2014.

are evident even in the late Roman period (e.g. **355**). At least in the Hellenistic figurines from Sardis, then, it is more revealing to note what sorts of stylistic approaches are represented, rather than to attempt to organize those approaches into a discrete chronology that might prove to be incorrect. Still, because stylistic analysis has been used at most other sites to infer the dating of pieces that lack the proper contexts, I have not ignored the conclusions reached by others when suggesting dates for the Sardian material. A brief discussion of the applicable trends noticed by Thompson, who so patiently studied the figurines from Myrina, Troy, and Athens, follows. Her analysis of the materials from Asia Minor is particularly useful, since both Troy and Myrina exhibit a similar range of subjects to the one discernible at Sardis.

Conclusions reached about the stylistic development of human facial features are the easiest to apply to the material from Sardis. While not all of the heads from the site are well preserved, they do tend to reveal a good amount of information, certainly more than the many disembodied limbs and fragments of drapery that are hard to ascribe to a specific type of body. In studying the material from Troy, Thompson noticed certain developments in the treatment of the faces of statuettes that were useful in their dating. The handling of the eyes especially, was noted by both her<sup>229</sup> and Hetty Goldman<sup>230</sup> as being particularly helpful.

Early on, eyes were rendered naturalistically in an unremarkable scale that was meant to harmonize with the rest of the face, and perhaps to imitate the blurred, “melting gaze” of sculpture in the Praxitelean tradition. The fully blurred treatment was followed in the third century B.C.E. by a marked preference for emphatic brows and upper lids. Good examples from Sardis that demonstrate this trend are a fragmentary Kybele (**30**), and the charming head of a woman with a gilt stephane (**50**). In the second century B.C.E., both lids began to be rendered

---

<sup>229</sup> Thompson 1963b, 28.

<sup>230</sup> Goldman 1950, 304.

plastically, yet the eyes still gave the impression of being wide open, as in the crisply detailed head of a woman adorned with ivy (78). Eventually, the emphasis on both lids became so pronounced as to suggest swollenness, or the laborious gaze of a squinter.<sup>231</sup> The peculiar thickening of the lids seems to have been popular from the second century B.C.E. onwards, as demonstrated by an otherwise lovely kerchiefed head from Sardis (119).

The particular way in which a nose was treated is less often helpful in determining a chronology, since this feature was not always rendered with much precision. One exception is the long, narrow nose, with detailed nostrils that some scholars believe was made popular by the portraits of the Ptolemaic princess Arsinoe II and her successors; the characteristically slim feature was imitated in terracottas down to the second century B.C.E.<sup>232</sup> The Sardian figurine of a veiled woman, with many parallels in Asia Minor and beyond (77),<sup>233</sup> provides a good example. Most other noses, however, if preserved, are unremarkable.

Mouths, like eyes, evidence a greater range of representation, with the earliest being plump with markedly bowed upper and lower lips; though missing its other features, a partial head from Sardis provides a good example (58). A plump upper lip remained popular at first, but mouths tended to become smaller and straighter with time; the trend is already noticeable in a melon-coiffed head of the second century B.C.E. (87). By the Roman period, Thompson noted, some mouths acquired a sour, down-turned look.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> Thompson 1963b, 28-29.

<sup>232</sup> Thompson 1963b, 29. For one discussion about sculptures usually identified as portraits of Arsinoe II, see Thompson 1955. Regardless of whether one agrees or not with the classification of these as likenesses of the Ptolemaic princess, the popularity of the long, narrow nose down to the second century B.C.E. seems to stand.

<sup>233</sup> Thompson 1963b, 127, no. 171, pl. XXXVIII, dated to the early second century B.C.E. Besques 1963a, 98, no. MYR 655, pl. 114, c., dated to the second half of the second century B.C.E. Rumscheid 2006, 468, no. 185, pl. 75. Töpperwein 1976, 221, no. 296, pl. 45.

<sup>234</sup> Thompson 1963b, 30.

The handling of chins and necks also changed through time, with their most noticeable feature being the angle at which they met. Earlier figurines tend to have distinct, rounded chins that are positioned perpendicularly to the neck (e.g. **50**), while later figurines have chins that slope down gradually (e.g. **106**), or that seem to melt into their supports (e.g. **96**). Early necks tend to be longer, and in many cases beautified by plastically rendered “rings of Venus” (e.g. **50**); eventually, these rings were depicted through intaglio technique (e.g. **78**) or not at all.

A fine example of a head that seems to conform to the stylistic trends just described is the above-mentioned woman with a gilt stephane (**50**), likely made in the third century B.C.E. Broken off below the neck, the head is poised with a graceful tilt to the right. She wears her hair in typical Knidian coiffure, parted at the middle, and pulled away from her face in full, loose, and well-defined waves. A very low and smooth stephane, thinly coated in gold, rests on her crown. Her facial features are delicate and idealized: a short, triangular forehead above thin, rounded eyebrows; almond-shaped eyes with slightly modeled upper lids; the long, thin nose with pronounced tip and indicated nostrils; the rounded chin that meets the neck almost perpendicularly; and the long, elegant neck itself, with a couple of plastically rendered “rings of Venus.”

While a few other Sardinian fragments (e.g. **77**) seem to conform precisely to these standards, many more do not. A small head made in a plaster mold (**54**), for instance, has the nose, mouth and neck associated with earlier types, but the swollen eyes of later examples. The fact that different treatments of facial features occurred concurrently complicates any attempt to date figurines solely on stylistic grounds.

Changes in the depiction of bodies, either draped or undraped, are more difficult to pinpoint at Sardis since not many complete examples survive. Once more, I suspect a tendency

from the dynamic and naturalistic, to the more static and ornamental. A good example is found in the fragmentary torso of a statuette with articulated arms (98), possibly representing a temple attendant. The features of her nude body were carefully modeled; she has small, naturalistic breasts, a slight navel, and stomach creases that suggest a seated position rather than her having a fatty constitution. The delicate detailing of her anatomy sharply contrasts with a presumably later depiction of Aphrodite (146). The pose of the goddess is somewhat awkward, with the summarily modeled chest fully frontal, and a slight twist of the body just below the waist. She raises her left arm on the same plane that divides her body, while a cloak falls behind it in stiff, vertical folds done in an intaglio technique.

The abbreviated, incised approach to the folds of this Aphrodite's cloak, exemplifies one of the many trends evidenced in the extant depictions of textiles at Sardis. While famous sculptural types from the Greek mainland had a major impact on the coroplastic production of the Hellenistic world as a whole, the drapery styles made popular in Asia Minor, and most likely developed in Pergamon, also had a profound effect in the depiction of textiles, especially in nearby centers such as Troy and Myrina.<sup>235</sup> Because an important factor in the identification of these types is the pose and scale of the figures, rather than just the treatment of the fabric itself, their adoption at Sardis can be suggested but not proven with certainty.

Thompson notes three styles that occur at Myrina:

(1) 'monumental' for the drapery which heavily muffles a figure standing in a pompous pose, dated from ca. 225 to 175 B.C.; (2) 'extravagant' for the drapery which is rendered transparent and complicated on a figure standing in an exaggerated pose, dated from ca. 175 to 125 B.C.; and (3) 'decorative' for the drapery in which the folds are treated as linear patterns on a figure of unnatural proportions and lifeless modelling, dated after 125 B.C.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>235</sup> Thompson 1963b, 15, 24. Töpperwein 1976. Rumscheid 2006, 393-398.

<sup>236</sup> Burr 1934, 19.

The “monumental” style might be an appropriate label for a draped female body recovered from a domestic context (**60**). The lady in question is tightly swathed in a himation which winds obliquely across her torso and then falls along her left leg, bunching above the thigh. The hem of the outer garment, and the chiton below are visible near the bottom of her left leg. The right knee is bent, its shape and profile insinuated through the heavy drapery.

The “extravagant” style seems applicable to a couple of large legs (**128** and **129**),<sup>237</sup> where the drapery was held taught, clearly revealing the contours of naturalistically rendered limbs beneath. The folds of fabric themselves, however, are somewhat stiff, and gather in a large mass towards the inner leg, from where they fall vertically to the ground. An example of the “decorative” style is perhaps given by a fragmentary standing figure on a base (**172**), where the stiff, tube-like drapery suggests a patterned surface rather than a solid body beneath. Other examples from Sardis appear to follow styles from further abroad (e.g., Tanagra or Athens), as in what may be the lower edge of the himation of a dancer (**180**). The edge of the outer garment falls in soft s-curves, revealing a chiton with diagonal, widely spaced folds suggestive of a rocking motion.

Although animals are less widely represented than humans during the Hellenistic period, some broad observations can be made regarding the manner in which they were rendered. The stylistic approach employed in the representation of animals seems to depend on the function of the creature in question. Generally speaking, animals that serve as attributes, as the lap lion of an enthroned Kybele (**28**), tend to be much more stylized, while animals that are depicted for their own sake, as in the case of a fragmentary sea turtle (**224**), are more naturalistic. Archaizing tendencies in animals that served a religious purpose are not surprising, given the traditionalist

---

<sup>237</sup> Preserved up to almost 20 centimeters in height, by themselves larger than the average Hellenistic statuette from Sardis.

approach already mentioned in other figurines that were intended for the performance of ritual.

One final notion to keep in mind is that since many of the objects in the Sardian corpus were made using multiple molds, one must allow for a mix of styles to be embodied within a single statuette. Unfortunately, this intriguing possibility cannot be easily proven given the fragmentary state of most of the figurines in the study.

### **3.3 Subjects**

Especially when compared to the seeming preference for animals as subjects in the Lydian period, humans or human-like divinities seem to be favored by the Hellenistic coroplast at Sardis. As in most other contemporary sites, adult females, either religious or secular, are the most widely represented.

#### **3.3.1 Human Figures**

Small-scale terracotta representations of secular subjects became increasingly popular in the wider Hellenistic world after the fourth century B.C.E. thanks to a vibrant type that then developed in Athens. Now widely known as “Tanagras” after the first place where they were discovered, figurines of this type not only influenced coroplastic production elsewhere in subject matter, but did also in matters of style. At Sardis, as in other centers in Asia Minor, it seems that the style, careful and naturalistic, was adopted before the interest in scenes of daily life became popular; it was then manipulated to suit preferred religious subjects. Because the treatment of both religious and secular subjects was so similar, it is often difficult to determine to what category figurines should be assigned. When no clear indication of divine status is evident, I have designated the representation as that of a mortal.

### *Kybele and her entourage*

At Sardis, at least 50 distinct figural terracotta fragments related to the cult of Kybele were recovered from what seems to be an early Hellenistic re-occupation of a Lydian house<sup>238</sup> within the confines of the city. The area was disturbed when it was later terraced for the construction of a large stone theater, but the consistency of the materials within the deposit suggests the presence of a small, humble shrine to the Mother Goddess. Comparable examples from Troy suggest that the pieces date to either the third or second century B.C.E. As noted, however, figural terracottas of this period tend to be difficult to date; the associated ceramic finds are either Lydian<sup>239</sup> or date to the early third century B.C.E., so the figurines in question are likely early Hellenistic as well.

Representations of Kybele at Sardis are not limited to the examples from this one coherent deposit, however. Terracotta figurines of the lion-accompanied goddess hail from multiple sectors around the site, and account for about 40 percent of the identifiable divinities in its Hellenistic coroplastic corpus. The next most widely represented deity in clay is Aphrodite, who claims about 18 percent of the figures.

Most of the figural fragments from Sardis associated with Kybele either represent or accompany the enthroned goddess, whose appearance corresponds to the widely disseminated Athenian version of the type, based on the famous fifth century B.C.E. sculpture by Agorakritos. Originally displayed on the Athenian Agora, the sculpture is today known to us from smaller copies<sup>240</sup> and descriptions in literary sources.<sup>241</sup> Agorakritos' Kybele was no longer a *kore*; she sat on a throne dressed in a chiton, and draped with a himation. She held up a tympanon

---

<sup>238</sup> Located within what was eventually to become the cavea of the theater; see Ill. 2, no. 26. See also Cahill 2010, 88-90, and figs. 25-26.

<sup>239</sup> Dated to the destruction of 547 B.C.E.

<sup>240</sup> See for instance Richter 1954, 75-76, no. 127, pls. 97a-c.

<sup>241</sup> Paus. I.3.5.; Plin. Nat. 36.17.

effortlessly while a quiet lion rested by her feet.

Kybele depictions from Sardis consist mostly of small votive statuettes and figural plaques. They were made from the local Lydian clay, and their surface treatment resembles that of contemporary ceramics that we know to have been produced at the site, so it is likely that they too were manufactured locally. Interestingly, some of the larger figurines closely parallel in scale and style an example from Troy that was interpreted by Thompson to have functioned as a cult image rather than as a votive.<sup>242</sup> The best preserved Sardian version (**29**) depicts a seated Kybele, preserved up to a height of 15.5 centimeters, holding a tympanon against her left shoulder, a phiale on her right hand, and supporting a small lion upon her lap. Although much of her is missing, most unfortunately her head, similar examples found in the same context (e.g. **30**) suggest that she would have worn a crenellated polos over her long, wavy hair. Round earrings would have adorned her ears, and fine, regular features would have defined her face. She wears a light chiton underneath a girded peplos with a high, floppy v-neck. A thick himation falls straight down from her left shoulder, and is draped across her lap diagonally from right to left. Very little paint survives, but at least it is certain that the tympanon would have been colored red.

The impossibly small lion, with his short, restricted mane, and his wide grin, is just one among many attributes. Facing the phiale in Kybele's right hand, he turns his back on the potentially loud tympanon, at once balancing out the composition and the solemn mood. This lap lion is not the only representative of his ilk, however. More substantial feline companions also form part of the Sardian assemblage. A seated lion, facing forward, provides a good example (**41**). The roundness of his large eyes copies the large mouth, which seems to open with a growl.

---

<sup>242</sup> See Thompson (1963b, 77-81) for a discussion of the type as it occurs at Troy. No. 44 in particular (83, pl. XIII) is similar to the Sardian example (**29**); **42**, however, might have been even larger. The identification of objects as cult images rather than votives has been recently problematized (e.g. Mylonopoulos 2010, 1-19). Any of the figurines in the sample could have feasibly functioned as a devotional object (or not), regardless of size.

The abundant mane, with teardrop-shaped lumps of hair, complements the healthy muscles of the forelegs. This is a strong, proud lion: nature controlled, but not entirely tamed.

An additional lion (42) seems to have worked neither as attribute nor as companion, but rather as a component of the goddess' throne. It sits, facing forward, with its mane modeled in low relief in stark contrast to its highly protruding face. It has large thick eyebrows over large, round eyes. A fat, bulbous nose with clear nostrils sits atop a wide, possibly growling mouth. The lion is flat and plain at top and at left, indicating his status as furniture rather than living creature.

As noted before, the particular interpretation of Kybele common at Sardis during the Hellenistic period is very much Greek, especially in the choice and arrangement of her attributes. While it would be tempting to explain this imported goddess' popularity by some affinity with her local predecessor, it does not seem as if Kybele looked anything like the goddess of the Mermnads.

A good depiction of Lydian Kuvava is found in the so called "Cybele shrine," a marble temple model found built into one of the piers of the Sardis synagogue, and stylistically dated to 560-530 B.C.E.<sup>243</sup> On it, the goddess stands stiffly, facing forward, at the entrance of a peripteral Ionic building with seven columns. She wears a chiton that partly covers her arms, a veil that covers her shoulders and back, and a thick, beaded necklace. As contemporary Ionian *korai* tend to do, she pulls her chiton tightly to her right side in order to display the careful craftsmanship of her skirt, and to assure us of the presence of strong legs underneath. While her right hand is busy with her dress, the left is used to hold an attribute up to her bosom. Although now eroded, her

---

<sup>243</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 43, no. 7, figs. 20-50.

companion seems to have been a recumbent lion.<sup>244</sup>

Kuvava greets us at the entrance of a temple, while Kybele sits on an elaborate throne. Kuvava displays her light garments, while Kybele covers herself in a thick himation. Kuvava stands silently, while Kybele holds up a potentially loud instrument. They both have lions. While it is likely that Kybele's adoption was just part of the normal course of membership in the greater Hellenistic world, it is also plausible that the persistence of the beloved feline guaranteed the popularity of the goddess at Sardis.

Like Sardis, the city of Gordion was once a prosperous imperial capital, and like it, it also boasted the patronage of a powerful mother goddess, Phrygian Matar. Kybele figurines of the standard Hellenistic type, enthroned, with tympanon, phiale, and lion, also appear in the figural terracotta corpus at Gordion.<sup>245</sup> Although the nature of the archaeological evidence does not allow us to make quantifiable comparisons with scientific certainty, because the coroplastic corpora of the two sites are similar, a comparison can nonetheless be attempted. While terracotta votives to Kybele do occur at Gordion, they occur only about a third as often as at Sardis. Furthermore, while all of the extant examples from Sardis were made locally, most of the Kybele statuettes found at Gordion seem to be imports, and were recovered from domestic contexts.<sup>246</sup> No major shrines or temples to the goddess have been found in the Hellenistic levels of Gordion.<sup>247</sup> Accidents of discovery may of course be the cause of these perceived differences; if the evidence, however, corresponds to an actual disparity in the reception of the goddess at the two sites, I would like to propose that the reason for that disparity was the presence of the lion.

---

<sup>244</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969, 268 and Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 45 use a later sculpted fragment, the so-called "Two Goddesses Relief," as evidence for their restoration of a lion. They also consider that the companion, because of its small size, may have been a lion cub.

<sup>245</sup> Romano 1995, 22-28, nos. 52-64, pls. 15-19.

<sup>246</sup> Romano 1995, 23-24.

<sup>247</sup> Romano 1995, 24.

Like Kuvava, Phrygian Matar was a young standing goddess. Unlike Kuvava, Matar was usually accompanied by birds of prey.<sup>248</sup> Hellenistic Kybele presented a complete break with her Phrygian predecessor, not only in her features and stance, but also in her dress and choice of companions. Lions did not have the same religious significance at Gordion that they did at Sardis<sup>249</sup> or the same historical association to kingship and sovereignty.<sup>250</sup>

I believe that the popularity of Kybele at Sardis and the easy acceptance of her imported iconography were safeguarded not just by the desire of Sardians to conform to the wider Hellenistic world, but because the remolded goddess conformed to their expectations of what a great goddess should look like. Her proud lion companion, once the ultimate symbol of kingship, and of the city itself, made the new goddess familiar, and suggested a connection with the Lydian kings of old. A strong association with the city's glorious past, rather than with its most recent foreign rulers, might have legitimized Kybele's claim to worship in Hellenistic Sardis.

An additional member of Kybele's entourage portrayed at Sardis, though much less frequently than the lion, is the god Attis. Like that of the goddess he accompanies, Attis' Hellenistic iconography has a Greek origin. An early depiction of the god can be found in a votive stele from Piraeus dating to the mid fourth century B.C.E.<sup>251</sup> The deity is represented wearing a knee-length tunic with long sleeves belted over loose pants, boots with pointed toes, and an equally pointed hat commonly known as a Phrygian cap. As he rests upon a rock, he holds two attributes: a syrinx in his left hand, and a shepherd's crook.<sup>252</sup> The attributes,

---

<sup>248</sup> Roller 1991, 129.

<sup>249</sup> At least in their association (or lack thereof) with the Mother. See Flaata 2012, 77-100; 126-137. Munn 2006, 120-125.

<sup>250</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 20-23.

<sup>251</sup> Roller 1994, pl. 55.

<sup>252</sup> Roller 1994, 246.

especially the syrinx, link Attis to Pan,<sup>253</sup> a companion of the goddess Meter, a Greek goddess that resembled Lydian Kuvava and Phrygian Matar.<sup>254</sup> The costume, on the other hand, associates him with other Anatolian characters, such as Paris in his role as shepherd, but it reflects Greek attitudes towards foreigners, rather than actual local traditions. For the most part these attitudes were negative; Phrygians were considered barbarians by the Greeks, and, like Lydians, were decried as vain and effeminate.<sup>255</sup>

As noted by Lynn E. Roller, “[...] as a partner to the goddess Meter, Attis became prominent as the companion of a helpful deity. At the same time he was the representative of the unpleasant stereotypes of barbarism and effeminacy that often characterized Greek attitudes towards their Eastern neighbors, attitudes which were to influence subsequent perceptions of him, both ancient and modern.”<sup>256</sup> The ambiguity embodied by the god, one that must have been especially felt by the inhabitants of Sardis, might explain why he was not the preferred companion of Kybele at the site. That he gets represented at all might have to do with his fame as a protector of children,<sup>257</sup> rather than with any perception of him as a local deity.

Two fragmentary terracottas from Sardis seem to represent Attis. On the first (44), the head and much of the back is missing, while the front is preserved down to just around the area of the waist. He wears a long-sleeved, belted tunic that seems to hide his left arm, while his right is bent at the elbow and held close to the body. He holds a syrinx flush to his chest with his right hand.<sup>258</sup>

---

<sup>253</sup> Roller 1994, 253.

<sup>254</sup> For a recent discussion of the cult of Meter in Greece see Flaata 2012, 138-182.

<sup>255</sup> See for example a description attributed by Athenaeus to the comic poet Plato in Pedley 1972, 42-43, no. 128.

<sup>256</sup> Roller 1994, 259-260.

<sup>257</sup> Roller 1994, 257.

<sup>258</sup> As in Besques, 1972, 44, no. D 256, pl. 53, b, from Macedonia, an Attis holding a syrinx dated to the early second century B.C.E.

A badly preserved figural plaque (**45**) suggests a second representation of Attis. Its extant lower right corner shows a complicated group composition on a low, mostly plain, rectangular base. The feet of a human figure, either bare and stylized or wearing pointed boots, are discernible near the plaque's right corner. The figure's right foot rests flat on the ground, while the left foot crosses in front of it at the ankle, leaving only the toes in contact with the base. The figure seems to wear loose trousers that go down to the ankles. To its left, and in much lower relief, are either two clawed-paws, bird-like, yet possibly belonging to an extremely large lion, or alternatively, the bottom folds of a draped, seated figure.

One last fragment perhaps portrays an accompanied Kybele (**30**). Its front, while delicately modeled, is preserved less extensively than its back; it shows the goddess' head and shoulders, and an odd protrusion at her right that might be the ornamental corner of a trefoil throne.<sup>259</sup> The back, however, although minimally modeled, seems to depict the right arm of the goddess placed around the back and "shoulders" of the odd protrusion (Ill. 11). Is this Attis? A lion? Another as of yet unattested companion?

Unquestionably, the relationship between iconography and actual practice and belief can be difficult to disentangle. The people who owned or dedicated these particular figurines of Kybele would have used and understood them in different ways that would have been mostly contingent on their own personal needs and experiences. Without a better grasp of the context in which these objects were created and disseminated, my explanation for their popularity at Sardis remains highly conjectural.

---

<sup>259</sup> As in **32** and **63**. Also, Romano 1995, 26-27, no. 59, pl. 18 and frontispiece.



Illustration 11: Back of a Kybele figurine (30), perhaps embracing a companion.  
1:1

### *Aphrodite*

About 18 percent of the identifiable divinities at Sardis seem to depict Aphrodite; the total marks her as the second most represented goddess in the surviving Hellenistic examples from the site. Although it is probable that some of the heads of beautiful women, especially those that are crowned, belonged to the goddess, since it is equally likely that they represented mortals, they will not be considered in the present discussion. The goddess is portrayed at Sardis either nude or partially so, in what have been traditionally understood to be imitations of well-known sculptural types.

For the sake of consistency with previous coroplastic analyses,<sup>260</sup> and to facilitate comparisons with other sites, I will discuss the principal sculptural types that may have inspired the Sardinian terracotta Aphrodites. It should be noted, however, that for the most part the examples from Sardis combine a variety of motifs (likely because of the use of multiple molds in their construction), and can only be loosely connected to their marble or bronze counterparts. It also bears repeating that figural terracottas tend to follow their own traditions in manufacture and stylistic development, and that as such they should not only be approached as miniature versions of works in other media.

In her thorough study of the female nude in Greek Art, Christine M. Havelock noted that the popularity of representations of Aphrodite in several states of undress began in the later second century B.C.E., almost two and a half centuries after the creation of the notorious Knidian Aphrodite by the sculptor Praxiteles.<sup>261</sup> Not all of these representations, which varied greatly in scale from the monumental to the miniature, as well as in material,<sup>262</sup> were exact copies of the renowned Praxitelean nude; they were, however, inspired by it. Havelock identified seven original types that can trace their creation to the Knidia;<sup>263</sup> of these, at least two may have inspired variants in the Sardinian coroplastic corpus.

Although the coroplasts of Sardis, as those working at other sites,<sup>264</sup> varied the pose and attributes of the Praxitelean prototype, at least six fragments can be identified with the Knidia herself or with its Capitoline<sup>265</sup> or Anadyomene<sup>266</sup> variants (**111, 147-151**). The original Knidia

---

<sup>260</sup> See Burr 1934 and Merker 2012, for example.

<sup>261</sup> Havelock 1995, 73.

<sup>262</sup> Havelock (1995, 73) suggests that the earliest imitations of the type may have been made in terracotta.

<sup>263</sup> Havelock 1995, 69-101.

<sup>264</sup> Havelock (1995, 110) discusses the many variants made by Diphilos from Myrina, noting that in his case, “[...] the most ingenuity was applied to the drapery [...]” See also Burr 1934 and Besques 1963a.

<sup>265</sup> Havelock 1995, 74-80.

<sup>266</sup> Havelock 1995, 86-93.

does not survive, but its form is known from literary texts<sup>267</sup> and from many Roman copies, the most faithful of which may be the Colonna Venus in the Vatican collection.<sup>268</sup> In this statue, the goddess of beauty is caught in a moment of undress; she is either preparing for a bath or finishing one, as suggested by the hydria at her side. She stands in a slight contrapposto with her right leg engaged. Her right hand is held gently in front of her genitals in what has been interpreted as an innocent gesture to safeguard her modesty, or alternatively, as one that “underlies her divine power.”<sup>269</sup> The Capitoline variant exaggerates the pose, with an increased forward lean to the body, and a switch in the position of the arms; the right arm and hand now aim to cover the breasts, while the left hand attempts to hide the pubic area.<sup>270</sup>

The Aphrodite Anadyomene type, by way of contrast, depicts the goddess at the moment following her birth, “rising up” from the sea as her name implies. She usually stands in a strong contrapposto, with both arms brought up to wring out the seawater from her hair. Although Pliny<sup>271</sup> mentions a fourth century B.C.E. work by the famous painter Apelles that some consider to be the origin of the type, sculpted examples<sup>272</sup> which might have not faithfully imitated the painting are a likelier source of inspiration for the terracotta statuettes. The type is attested at Sardis in a fragmentary marble statue, probably of Roman date.<sup>273</sup> Additionally, the 1911 excavation of several of the Hellenistic tombs from the Necropolis at Sardis discovered a fairly complete Aphrodite Anadyomene among other well-preserved terracottas. As Butler notes: “The

---

<sup>267</sup> Plin. Nat. 36.20; Lucian, *Amores*, 13-14.

<sup>268</sup> Vatican 812; *LIMC* II, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 390 (A. Delivorrias).

<sup>269</sup> Havelock 1995, 78.

<sup>270</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum 409; *LIMC* II, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 409 (A. Delivorrias); Haskell and Penny 1981, 318-320. For a careful discussion of the meaning of the varying poses, and of the attendant psychological states of the goddess, see Neumer-Pfau 1982.

<sup>271</sup> Plin. Nat. 35.91.

<sup>272</sup> See, for example, a semi-draped Anadyomene: Vatican 807, *LIMC* II, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 667; and a nude version: Rome, Palazzo Colonna 765, *LIMC* II, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 424, (A. Delivorrias).

<sup>273</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 107, no. 111, fig. 237.

figurines appear to be of the Myrina fabric; one which was almost complete is a female figure, probably Aphrodite, represented at the bath. At her feet is a water jar, and she is wringing water out of her hair. Only the face of this figurine is missing.”<sup>274</sup>

Despite their differences, all three types share the full or partial nudity, and the prominent contrapposto pose. The fragments from Sardis preserve only the lower torso of a woman (111, 147-151), and in most cases only the back half, so it is difficult to determine exactly which type, if any, they were imitating. Their identification as Aphrodites, and as Knidia variants at that, is only dictated by their nudity and what can be surmised of their pose; the complete figurines, as allowed by the use and combination of multiple molds, may have looked nothing like the specific sculptural types just discussed, and may have not even been meant to represent the goddess. Because brief descriptions of figurines recovered by the Butler expedition identify fragments as belonging to “Anadyomene” types, and because the traditional practice by other scholars has been to organize their typology based on these famous examples, I have persisted in making parallel identifications in order to make evident that the same or similar examples have been found at Sardis.

A further Knidia variant possibly represented at Sardis is that known from the Aphrodite of Melos,<sup>275</sup> traditionally attributed to the sculptor Alexandros from Antioch on the Meander. In this rendition, the goddess’ pose is different from the ones discussed above, with a slight twist to the body, and the left leg lifted and projecting outward. There is some question as to the position of the arms,<sup>276</sup> but a later variant, the Capua Venus, suggests that she might have been holding a

---

<sup>274</sup> Butler 1922, 81, ill. 76.

<sup>275</sup> Havelock 1995, 93-98.

<sup>276</sup> See Kousser 2005.

shield to left.<sup>277</sup> The example from Sardis (**152**) preserves only the front half, and then only from the waist to just above the left ankle. The left leg is bent forcefully, with the engaged right leg providing the necessary support. A twisted swath of drapery gathers around the hip, and then falls between the legs in tight, straight folds.

A few other fragments from Sardis may have been inspired by the type represented by the Fréjus Aphrodite.<sup>278</sup> The sculpture, which is thought to derive from a work of the late fifth century B.C.E.,<sup>279</sup> presents the goddess dressed in a thin, almost transparent chiton that leaves her left breast uncovered. Her right arm is bent and held over her shoulder as she lifts one edge of a mantle in order to cover her head. The mantle already drapes over her outwardly extended left arm, which stretches forward to present the contents in its hand: an apple.

Though at most an imaginative interpretation of this famous type, a nude Aphrodite from Sardis holding a long, flowing mantle behind her left arm, might have been inspired by the Fréjus (**146**). Her arm stretches out on the same plane as the body rather than projecting forward; the change might have been adopted to allow the construction of the figurine in a single bivalve mold. The left leg of a standing, draped female, slightly bent at the knee, may also belong to an Aphrodite of this type (**153**). The drapery, which reaches her ankle, is drawn so tight against her leg as to render it almost nude. Beyond the leg, to the left, the fabric drapes voluminously in soft, plastic folds, as if held up by the figure's left arm. Finally, a large,<sup>280</sup> outstretched arm holding a round object may have also belonged to this type of goddess (**125**).

---

<sup>277</sup> For a discussion of the type's use in the Antonine Period, see Kousser 2007, 673-691.

<sup>278</sup> After a Roman Imperial statue thought to have come from Forum Julii in France. Louvre MA 525; Stewart 1990, 167, fig. 426. Also known as the Aphrodite Louvre-Neapel, or as Venus Genetrix because of the type's identification with the statue of the goddess in the Forum of Caesar in Rome. Margit Brinke (1991), however, argues against this association.

<sup>279</sup> Plin. Nat. 13.146.

<sup>280</sup> About eight centimeters in length.

A final Aphrodite type represented in the Sardinian sample is the one commonly referred to as the Aphrodite in the Gardens. The type likely originates in a fifth century B.C.E. statue known to us from a description by Pausanias,<sup>281</sup> as well as from multiple copies.<sup>282</sup> The sculpture, which was likely displayed in the Athenian agora, depicts the goddess wearing a chiton and mantle, while leaning on a tree trunk to her left. The pose is almost nonchalant, with the left leg crossed before the right, and all the weight of the body placed upon the tree.

The example from Sardis is a variant of the type, and probably the earliest fragment at the site of a small-scale terracotta that depicts the goddess (66). It was also more than likely inspired by other terracottas rather than by larger marble versions, as similar examples are well represented elsewhere.<sup>283</sup> Aphrodite, who in this instance is accompanied by Eros, is missing her head, left arm, and all of her back. She is partly draped, and leans against a pillar to her left. Her right arm is held akimbo, with the hand resting on her hip. The weight of her body is displaced onto the right leg, while the left leg is relaxed, resulting in a strong s-curve. A mantle cascades in large waves from her left shoulder onto the pillar, while avoiding the goddess' torso completely; it then gathers under her stomach, before falling diagonally from the left thigh down to the right ankle.

What seems to be an Eros-Harpokrates, now mostly missing, sits atop the pillar, likely attempting to cozy up to the goddess' bosom. His left leg crosses under the right knee, while the right leg hangs down on the pillar. His head, small and childlike, carries a high ornament shaped like a crescent. The entire figure would have been brightly painted, and likely gilt, as suggested

---

<sup>281</sup> Paus. I.19.2. See also Plin. Nat. 36.16.

<sup>282</sup> See, for instance, a Roman variant now in the Louvre (Ma 414). Ridgway 1981, 116.

<sup>283</sup> For example, Besques 1963a, 31, no. MYRINA 941, pl. 34, d., dated to the early first century B.C.E.; and 27, no. MYR 627, pl. 28, b., dated late first century B.C.E. Burn and Higgins 2001, 58, no. 2092, pl. 17, posed in the opposite direction; and 98, no. 2220, pl. 40. Töpperwein 1976, 215, no. 212, pl. 35. Burr 1934, no. 83. Winter 1903, 84, no. 9.

by the red ground preserved on Eros' crown. Aphrodite's mantle would have been green, and her hair might have been red.

Regardless of whether the figural terracottas from Sardis that represent Aphrodite were inspired by a famous sculptural counterpart or not, what is clear is that a great many versions of the goddess were being produced at the site. The varied approaches are especially interesting when compared to the more standardized renderings of Kybele. It is likely, then, that the Aphrodite figurines fulfilled more wide-ranging needs than those of the Mother. One apparent function would be to facilitate the cult of the goddess, either as votives or as objects of devotion. A further possibility is that they enabled the worship of another as "visiting gods," a term coined by Brita Alroth to explain the appearance of images of one deity in the shrine or sanctuary not dedicated to their cult.<sup>284</sup> Finally, these might have served no immediate religious functions, but have been employed, rather, in the education of a young woman, or in the general pleasure or entertainment of an owner who appreciated the goddess' kind of feminine beauty.

### *Other deities*

As many as seven other divinities or semi-divine beings can be identified in the Sardian corpus; these include the god Hermes in the form of a herm (75),<sup>285</sup> a martial Athena in a helmeted head (70),<sup>286</sup> and a nude Herakles in two vigorously muscular backsides (161 and 162).

The goddess Artemis can be recognized in just five fragments, and then only tentatively; this is surprising, perhaps, given the large sanctuary dedicated to her worship at the site (Ill. 2, no. 17). One piece that could be associated with her seems to represent the ornamented chest of

---

<sup>284</sup> Alroth 1989.

<sup>285</sup> Published in Greenewalt and Freedman 1979, 14, no. 13, fig.19. For similar examples, Rumscheid 2006, 524, no. 366, pl. 151, dated to before 135 B.C.E. Burn and Higgins 2001, 118, no. 2276, pl. 49, similar herm, but with Aphrodite in attendance, dated to 100 B.C.E. Winter 1903, 231, nos. 1-7.

<sup>286</sup> Compare to Töpperwein 1976, 201, no. 11, pl. 2, a mortal woman. Thompson 1963b, 76, no. 13, pl. VI, a head wearing a Corinthian helmet, dated to the first century B.C.E. Rumscheid 2006, 442, no. 112, pl. 46, from a domestic context, dated to before 135 B.C.E.

the Ephesian variant of the goddess (71). Artemis of Ephesus appears in terracotta at nearby sites other than her own,<sup>287</sup> but, regardless, her presence at Sardis is not unanticipated considering that she seems to have been the founder of the goddess' cult at the site.<sup>288</sup>

Several other fragments parallel in one way or another the earliest certain depiction of Artemis at Sardis, a marble stele in which she appears in the company of Kybele and two of their worshippers within a naiskos.<sup>289</sup> The Sardian goddess is represented frontally and standing, dressed in a chiton with half-length sleeves and a cloak. She wears a low polos over a veil, while her hair is parted at the middle and falls down to her shoulders. More significantly, she holds a deer up to her chest, supporting it with her right arm.

A small figural fragment from Sardis preserves the head of the goddess (113). Like her counterpart within the naiskos, she seems to wear a low polos over a veil, and has her hair parted at the middle. Unlike the marble version, the end of a quiver projects from behind her right shoulder. It is an interesting example in that its clay was fired to a dark gray, and its surface was covered entirely in a glossy black paint, perhaps in imitation of bronze.

Three further fragments may also represent Artemis. The first likely belonged to a figural plaque (155). It preserves a small portion of a draped, standing figure, facing left with her right arm stretched forward, and holding a small wreath near the muzzle of a deer. In what makes for an intimate arrangement, the deer stands in front of the figure, facing left, but with his head turned back so that he may look up at his mistress. A second fragment is odd, but may also show Artemis holding a small wreath, perhaps in a forested setting; it preserves the upper portion of a

---

<sup>287</sup> Smyrna, for example; see Besques 1972, 159, no. E/D 1080, pl. 219, a, an Ephesian Artemis dated to the late Hellenistic period.

<sup>288</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 179, no. 12. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 55-56, no. 17, figs. 70-71.

<sup>289</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 58-60, no. 20, figs. 78-83, dated to 400 B.C.E.

woman wearing her hair in a bow-knot, and holding a wreath above her head (154).<sup>290</sup> Finally, a small fragment of a torch with a finger around it may have also been associated with Artemis (156).<sup>291</sup>

Accurate representations of age became popular in the arts of the Hellenistic period. Children, especially, were favored as subjects, so it comes as no surprise that the child-god Eros is represented several times in the Sardian coroplastic assemblage. A few incomplete figurines with juvenile features and proportions, rounded, nude bodies, and dynamic poses, may have belonged to the deity; these include a chubby head (72)<sup>292</sup> and three partial torsos (73, 74, and 158). At least one figure preserves the short wings of the god (118), though unfortunately the fragment is a minimally modeled back. Two others may present Eros in the company of animals: in one he may be riding a large quadruped (117),<sup>293</sup> on another, he stands next to a large rooster (208).<sup>294</sup>

A more certain representation of Eros is seen in the small companion of an Aphrodite in the gardens (66, discussed above). His high head ornament, which seems to have been gilded in antiquity, suggests that this is an Eros-Harpokrates.<sup>295</sup> As the son of Isis, who was herself sometimes identified with Aphrodite, the child deity Harpokrates often presented an iconography that overlapped with that of Eros, especially in the child-like proportions, presence of wings, and

---

<sup>290</sup> The pose is similar to that of some Asiatic dancers, e.g., Thompson 1963b, 106, no. 86, pl. XXIII.

<sup>291</sup> Pausanias mentions at least three sculptures that showed the goddess holding torches. Paus. VIII.37.1, Paus. IX.19.6, and Paus. X.37.1. See also a marble example now in the Vatican Museum, Galleria Chiaramonti. Inv. no. 1439; *LIMC* II, s.v. "Artemis/Diana," no. 9 (E. Simon).

<sup>292</sup> Compare to Thompson 1963b, 123, nos. 145 and 147, pl. XXX-XXXI, the head of a boy, maybe an Eros, dated to the second century B.C.E.

<sup>293</sup> This is a common motif; e.g. Thompson 1963b, 138, nos. 282 and 283, pl. LV The style seems to have also been popular before the Mithradatic wars at Delos, Tarsus and Pergamon.

<sup>294</sup> Compare to Goldman 1950, 324, no. 105, fig, 220, found under a grave. Roosters are not unusual companions for children. Töpperwein 1976, 232, no. 445, pl. 67. Winter 1903, 274, no. 2

<sup>295</sup> See, for instance, Burr 1934, 39, no. 18, pl. VIII, from Myrina.

attributes of cornucopia or fruit.<sup>296</sup> A figurine from Sardis of a standing boy, facing forward, and carrying fruit, may represent the Egyptian god (**163**). He wears a short-sleeved tunic, and holds up its bottom hem so that it can function as a sling for fruit. His small arms are held close to the body and bent at the elbow up to his chest. His thighs are bare, but he wears tall boots that come up to the level of the knees. The back and head are missing, so that it is impossible to know if he wore a crown or had wings, but some very close parallels from Pergamon were identified by Töpperwein as Harpokrates, so I will suggest the same.<sup>297</sup>

Additional figural fragments of youths may have also represented deities. Two torsos of nude (**115**) or partially nude (**116**) young men standing in an exaggerated curve could be either Dionysus or Apollo. The better-preserved example (**115**) has small rounded pectorals, a long torso, and hips that are slightly wider than his narrow shoulders.<sup>298</sup> Both preserve long locks of hair framing the neck. An even younger Dionysus might be represented in two very fragmentary examples (**159** and **160**): chubby right arms bent at elbow, holding bunches of grapes.<sup>299</sup>

### *Winged creatures*

Winged or flying creatures, whether anonymous Victories or dancers,<sup>300</sup> or specific individuals like Eros or Psyche, tend to be associated with the coroplastic production of Myrina.<sup>301</sup> They also appear at Sardis, though not so frequently nor well preserved; perhaps more significantly, they do not appear in association with funerary deposits. The great proliferation of

---

<sup>296</sup> For example, what might be a Harpokrates (though identified as an Eros) with wing and foliate crown, from Tarsus (Goldman 1950, 325, no. 114, fig. 222); or one with foliate crown and cornucopia but no wings, also from Tarsus (Goldman 1950, 326, no. 121, fig. 222). Finally, a figurine from Myrina now in the Louvre, with wings, elaborate crown, and cornucopia (Besques 1963a, 56, no. MYRINA 805, pl. 68f.)

<sup>297</sup> Töpperwein 1976, 228-229, nos. 406-407, pl. 58.

<sup>298</sup> Compare to Goldman 1950, 317, no. 55, fig. 217, a Dionysus, though the possibility of identification with Apollo was not excluded.

<sup>299</sup> See more complete examples from Tarsus: Goldman 1950, 320, nos. 77, 79, 83, and others, fig. 218-219.

<sup>300</sup> For instance, Thompson 1963b, 106, no. 88, pl. XXIII.

<sup>301</sup> See Burr 1934, Besques 1963a, and Mrogenda 1996.

the type within the graves of Myrina has suggested to some that the figures worked as representations of the transit into the afterlife, or as companions to the dead.<sup>302</sup> That however need not be the case since the lively effects that were achieved with these dynamic statuettes could have been desirable in a multitude of contexts.

Winged figurines that were represented mid-flight were often provided with small holes or loops for suspension so that their feet need not have been functional supports; a flying figure, then, may be surmised from a lone foot and lower leg that are posed so as to preclude standing (49). More flying figures may be assumed from the presence of wings in the corpus, though it may be noted that wings could be attached to earth-bound characters as well. The types represented at Sardis (68, 69, and 114) usually belonged to Victories, Eros, or dancers; Psyche would have had butterfly wings which have yet to be found at the site.

The best-preserved winged creature is that of a Victory or dancer (67).<sup>303</sup> She wears a pink, short-sleeved tunic, and is posed with her left arm akimbo and her head looking slightly downwards to the left. Her hair, painted dark red, is arranged into braids that eventually gather up into a high bow-knot. A wing comes out of her left shoulder; it is plain on top, but then bursts into seven long, individual feathers; it preserves a striking red band going across it, and a light blue pigment near its upper edge.

### ***Mortal women, men, and children***

Terracotta figurines that portrayed the activities and likenesses of mortal women, men, and children reached the height of their popularity during the Hellenistic period. The interest in mundane lives, and the exploration of secular subjects in clay that followed, likely started in Athens and later spread to the rest of the Mediterranean. Especially fashionable were the

---

<sup>302</sup> Thompson 1963b, 102. Mrogenda 1996.

<sup>303</sup> Compare to Thompson 1963b, 106, no. 88, pl. XXIII, perhaps a winged Phrygian dancer, dated to the second century B.C.E. Besques 1963a, 39, no. M 36, pl. 45, f, the wing of an Eros figure.

renderings of charming young women in varied poses, a preference that was satisfied by developments in mold technology that allowed for the combination of basic bodies with differently positioned limbs, heads, and accessories. We commonly know these figurines as Tanagras after the first place where they were discovered.

Despite the flexibility afforded by multiple molds, the basic forms and their arrangements are fairly standard around the Hellenistic world. Sardis seems not to be an exception, although the examples from the site are fragmentary and could have feasibly been assembled in yet unknown poses. Women tend to have idealized facial features with very little variability between individual examples, yet the diversity in the arrangement of their hair and its ornamentation is astounding. No two female heads in the corpus are identical in the latter respect (**50-58; 77-92; 119-124, 165-169**).

The most commonly represented hairstyles are the so-called “Knidian” (e.g. **50, 53, 54** and **169**) and “melon” coiffures (e.g. **55, 86, 88, 120, and 124**), or variants thereof.<sup>304</sup> Hair adornments are frequent but varied, with at least two instances of stephanes (**50** and **121**), two of wreaths (**85** and **86**),<sup>305</sup> and one of a complicated kerchief (**119**). Some of these women, especially the highly decorated ones, may be goddesses; at least five or six may have been temple attendants or slaves (heads: **84, 87, 88**; bodies: **61, 93, 98**).

Unlike certain men, goddesses, and temple slaves (e.g. **93** and **98**), mortal women tended to be dressed. In fact, the accurate representation of contemporary fashions might explain the appeal of these secular subjects.<sup>306</sup> Examples of draped bodies are not as frequently preserved in the Sardian sample as one might expect, but they are still present (e.g. **130-132; 170-172**).

---

<sup>304</sup> Thompson 1963b, 37-39.

<sup>305</sup> Not all wreaths are worn by women. The arrangement of the hair and the presence of earrings in these examples suggest that they are women despite their worn faces.

<sup>306</sup> Bell 1993, 40.

Draped, seated figures, however (e.g. **174** and **175**), may have been divine.

Men, but seemingly not ordinary types, also abound within the figurines from Sardis. One particularly extravagant head might have been a portrait of Alexander or an avid imitator (**94**), while a beardless youth (**181**), and a mature bearded man (**182**), may have been a hero and a philosopher respectively. Nude male bodies, conceivably those of heroes, are common (**183-186**; **188-192**), but not as popular as they seem to have been in nearby Smyrna.<sup>307</sup> One example (**192**) covered in a solid red slip might in fact be an import from that site. Finally, a nude, possibly enthroned male may have been intended as a Zeus (**195**).

Thoughtful studies of children and youths account for some of the more expressive representations in the coroplastic assemblage of this period. Although they share some general characteristics (e.g. round cheeks, button noses), the heads of children convey a wider range of emotion than those of adults (**96**, **97**, **200-204**). Inasmuch as can be surmised from other fragments that might have belonged to youths (**95**, **135**, **205**, **206**, **209**), the same can be said about their bodies, which tend to be dynamically posed and variedly engaged. The figure of a young child, possibly a girl, provides a good example (**206**). She wears a short chiton with short sleeves that she has turned into a fruit sling by lifting up its lower hem with her left hand. Though she seems to stand with legs together, her arms and dress are caught in mid-movement resulting in a much more animated depiction than, for example, that of the also fruit-bearing Harpokrates (**163**).

### *Spectacle, caricatures and the grotesque*

Somewhat emblematic of the Hellenistic period are the performers, caricatures, and grotesques often associated with the coroplastic corpora of Alexandria and Smyrna. At Sardis

---

<sup>307</sup> Uhlenbrock 1990c, 77.

these include representations of performers of the mime, theatrical masks, deformed individuals, and perhaps foreigners (**99-104**; **140-141**; **218-221**). Because these subjects gain further popularity at Sardis later in the Roman period, the differences and meanings between the categories will be discussed in the following chapter.

A fine fragment preserves the brightly colored head of what might have been an actor wearing a Phrygian cap (**99**, see also Ill. 10).<sup>308</sup> He has straight yellow hair that flows out from under his pink cap, a wrinkled forehead, raised and protuberant eyebrows, and particularly prominent cheekbones. Although his full-lipped mouth seems to be formed into a growl, his profile view suggests that he is laughing instead. The overall effect is that of a mischievous character, rather than a frightening one.

Somewhat similar in spirit, though perhaps more frightening is the head of a bearded mime (**140**). His face is emphatically asymmetric, one eye rendered thicker than the other, a long, softly hooked nose above an even further protruding mouth, and an uneven yet well-maintained amount of facial hair around wrinkled cheeks. His overall expression is fierce yet comical. The construction of the head is similar to that of lamps, and its entire surface is covered in a very fine red slip; perhaps this piece was imported from Pergamon or Smyrna.

Fragmentary comic masks (**102-104**) also make part of the Sardian Hellenistic repertoire. Although equipped with functional components such as pierced eyes and mouths, these masks are very small, and likely intended to be hung as decorations in the home. A remarkably naturalistic nose, commensurate with an adult face, may have been part of a mask that was meant to be worn, and was possibly formed by taking an impression from a real human face (**221**).

---

<sup>308</sup> Another Hellenistic fragment also wears the cap (**141**) but it is not as well preserved.

### *Articulated figures*

Figurines with separately attached and often moving limbs were enormously popular in the Hellenistic world. Their manufacture persisted into the Roman period and beyond, but, because the examples from Sardis give no clear indication of their date of construction or use, they are discussed here as a group. It should be further added that some of the legs, especially the very stylized ones, may be earlier than Hellenistic.

In considering the jointed figurines from Athens, Dorothy Burr Thompson noted that they were found most frequently in fourth century B.C.E. deposits,<sup>309</sup> and insisted that coroplasts continued making them throughout the Hellenistic period even though, at least in the Agora, only a couple of fragments of later date had been unearthed at the time.<sup>310</sup> As with other figural types, she noticed a decline in the quality and technique of these statuettes already beginning in the third century B.C.E.<sup>311</sup>

At Sardis, several bodies with holes for the attachment of limbs, and a significant number of limbs (legs especially) with corresponding piercings, have been found. A lovely nude torso (**98**) may have belonged to the figure of a temple attendant. She is seated with her legs close together as do nude temple servants in terracotta found at Troy,<sup>312</sup> and has piercings placed just below the shoulders for the attachment of articulated arms. Careful modeling shows small breasts (with almost no indication of nipples), a navel, and stomach creases.

A slightly more stylized depiction of the nude female body can be found in two almost identical statuettes (**136** and **137**); these differ only the state of their preservation, in the position of their navel (which was likely rendered by hand), and in the fact that the latter example was

---

<sup>309</sup> Thompson 1954, 75.

<sup>310</sup> Thompson 1965, 63, 71, no. 1, pl. 21.

<sup>311</sup> Thompson 1963a, 278.

<sup>312</sup> Thompson 1963b, 94, no. 61, pl. XVIII, a nude hierodule dated to the mid second century B.C.E.

fired to a dark gray rather than a light red. They were both provided with small, rectangular knobs that project about half a centimeter down below the stomach; they have a circular opening at the bottom, and a small, cylindrical piercing across from left to right that would have served to attach legs. The straight, cylindrical shoulders are also equipped with piercings for arms. The chests of these figurines are narrow, with small, rounded breasts. Very short waists give way to bulging, rounded stomachs, wide, low hips, and low, heavy buttocks.

One last torso, perhaps that of a young girl, also has piercings for arms (**138**). In this case, the figure appears to be dressed in a chiton bound by an ornate belt high above the waist. A slender arm, bent at the elbow, may have belonged to a figure of this type as indicated by a small piercing near its top (**139**). It also held a small object in its hand, now missing. Although not certain, a hand (**217**) looks very similar to the hands of better-preserved dolls from elsewhere in the Mediterranean.<sup>313</sup>

An array of legs with piercings for attachment was found at Sardis (**210-216**). Some are particularly schematic in their approach (e.g. **210, 211**), making it difficult to determine if they are meant to represent the entirety of the leg, or just the portion below the knee or even if they are nude or clothed. Others are more naturalistic; though missing its foot, one example shows a clear knee and shapely calf (**214**). A slightly flatter rendition, on the other hand, has nicely modeled toes (**215**). At least one example is dressed in loose trousers and shoes; perhaps this was the leg of an Asiatic dancer.<sup>314</sup>

The functions and meanings of figurines with jointed limbs have been widely debated, with no clear consensus yet reached.<sup>315</sup> That some, but not all,<sup>316</sup> may have functioned as dolls or

---

<sup>313</sup> For instance, a terracotta doll from Athens pictured in Elderkin 1930, 470, fig. 21.

<sup>314</sup> Grandjouan 1961, 58, nos. 492 and 493, pl. 11, the body and leg of a dancer in eastern dress.

<sup>315</sup> See Elderkin 1930 and Muratov 2005, for example.

toys seems clear to me, though I would argue the same for all figurines. Most interpretations of these objects' use stems not just from their capacity for movement, but from their archaeological contexts, with those that are found in domestic spaces presented as dolls, and those discovered in sanctuaries or graves understood as votives. In all likelihood, and like most other statuettes, these articulated figures could have been understood as secular or religious at different stages in their "lives." In their function as dolls, however, it is interesting to note that they may not have functioned only as entertainment for the child, but especially in the case of girls, models of proper gender and class behavior.<sup>317</sup>

### *Miscellanea*

One last group of diverse objects is mentioned here because of its likely association with human figures. Though several bases preserve fragments of feet (**196-199**), a couple of others do not (**225-226**). What seems to be a kline with a depression on its mattress may indicate a now missing occupant (**227**). A lovely bouquet of flowers (**228**) may have been held by a young lady, perhaps one with movable arms (e.g. **139**). Lastly, a very small<sup>318</sup> cooking pot and lid may have been the plaything of a child.

The presence of bases or plinths does seem to suggest a further connection with monumental art, and may indicate that some figurines were conceived of primarily as accessible, miniature versions of large-scale masterpieces.<sup>319</sup> The bases, however, might have just been employed for the sake of the integrity and balance of the figure, as legs could break easily, especially if supporting unaided the weight of a body rendered as if in motion.

---

<sup>316</sup> The temple attendant (**98**) discussed above may have required movable arms for the ease of dressing and undressing during certain rituals.

<sup>317</sup> Dolansky 2012.

<sup>318</sup> Preserved up to a height of 2.4 centimeters.

<sup>319</sup> For more on miniature copies of sculpture in terracotta see Reeder 1990 and Rumscheid 2008.

As a way of a conclusion before continuing with the discussion of figurines with non-human subjects, it bears to note that the more frequently represented human or divine characters, that is, fashionable mortal women, Kybele, Aphrodite, and youthful male divinities such as Apollo, Dionysus and Eros, are likely the most flexible in terms of their iconography; their forms lend themselves particularly well to the terracotta medium, the use of multiple molds, and the eventual manipulation by their owners. Representations of divinities associated with major sanctuaries (Zeus, Athena, and Artemis to name a few) are scant if at all present; these, perhaps, were not considered easy subjects to portray in a material as potentially malleable as clay. The discovery of the more flexible subjects in varied contexts, both within and outside the home, in graves, and in industrial or commercial areas, suggests that the uses and meanings of these figures were likewise more elastic.<sup>320</sup>

### **3.3.2 Animals**

#### ***Lion***

As noted above, during the Hellenistic period at Sardis, lions appeared frequently in the company of Kybele, the syncretic result of Greek Meter and Lydian Kuvava. It is likely, however, that small-scale depictions of the feline were valued for their own sake, given the lion's long history of representation at the site, and its particular association with the Lydian kings of old.<sup>321</sup>

Because of their fragmentary nature, it is difficult to determine whether the extant representations of lions from Sardis showed the feline alone or as part of a more complicated composition. In some cases, where only the feline's forelegs are preserved upon a short base (e.g. **144**, **145**), the easy supposition is that the animal was seated, facing forward, and in the

---

<sup>320</sup> Compare the conclusions reached by Rumscheid 2006 (especially 76-177), and Mrogenda 1996.

<sup>321</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 20-23.

company of another figure. Other fragments, as in a small paw sculpted in the round (143), are more challenging to interpret.

Since most companion lions tend to be seated or crouching and are usually represented frontally, the figurine of a striding lion in profile may be one of the few studies of the animal on its own (142). Unfortunately, most of the figure is missing, with only the front half of the statuette extant, and then only the body, with no head, tail, or complete legs. Naturalistically modeled, with the tufts of a regal mane visible upon its back and shoulder, the lion strides forward with the aid of his well-defined muscles. What remains of his legs indicates that they were worked on low relief upon a solid recessed space, so the figure was likely made in a single bivalve mold.

A more interesting example is a long, straight leg rendered in an archaizing style (27), and seemingly belonging to a large lion.<sup>322</sup> It was found in what was described by the excavator as a moist and brick-filled Roman dump, along with some early Roman pottery and loads of Hellenistic debris. Rolled by hand, and then trimmed with a scraping tool, the leg itself is reduced to its simplest form; the paw, on the other hand is naturalistic, showing careful detailing of its five toes and their knuckles. The paw was formed in a mold, with details added with a pointed tool thereafter. A round, flat base beneath the paw, and the fact that the piece is solid, would have provided it with stability. With the base flat on the ground, the leg leans back rather than going straight up, giving the impression that this was a lion in motion. The way that the paw was rendered, and the way in which the fabric was treated, suggest a Hellenistic date for the figure. The technological style of the leg proper complicates the picture.

---

<sup>322</sup> The leg alone is preserved to more than nine centimeters in height.

As outlined above, Hellenistic figurines are rarely, if ever, handmade and solid or geometric in their form. These characteristics are usually associated with the figurines of the Lydian period, especially those that represent large animals. Several comparable fragments to our lone lion leg that date to the period just before the destruction of Sardis by the Persians in 547 B.C.E. have already been discussed in the previous chapter. A pair of quadruped legs on a base (10) present the closest parallel. While these long, straight legs probably belonged to a goat, like the Hellenistic lion, they were rolled by hand, and took on a tubular shape. Unlike the lion's paw, the goat's hooves were not made in a mold, but concisely hand-shaped and given life through paint. The resulting figure, covered in bold solid colors would have been large and striking and immediately identifiable as a Lydian product.

A Hellenistic terracotta lion rendered, at least partially, in the characteristic Lydian style suggests an early preference by the coroplastic industry at Sardis to uphold local traditional practices. It also demonstrates a direct involvement of native technological knowledge and values in an industry that was highly standardized within the Hellenistic world. The leg, which seems to have belonged to a striking figure that could stand on its own, further supports the notion that the lion upheld its cultural significance at Sardis well past the Persian conquest, and beyond its religious association with the goddess Kybele.

### *Other animals*

At least six other animals beside the lion can be identified in the Sardian coroplastic assemblage; of these, the horse or large quadruped (117 and 222), the bird (208), the goat (223), and the turtle (224), emerged as subjects for figurines early on, and their possible significances have been discussed. On the other hand, the humped ox or zebu, and the deer, seem to inspire terracottas for the first time during the Hellenistic period. In the Sardian sample, the deer appears

only as a companion to the goddess Artemis (**155**); the zebu, which becomes a popular subject later on (e.g. **358-364**), is already deemed a desirable theme on his own.

Zebus are strong and efficient draught animals; they can perform a variety of agricultural tasks, are a good source of milk and beef, and tend to be hardier than other cattle. They are characterized by their gentle demeanors, droopy ears, large dewlap, and especially, by a hump at their shoulders.<sup>323</sup> One Hellenistic figurine found alongside a terracotta herm (**75**) underneath a bench within a chamber tomb at Sardis seems to represent the humped bovine (**76**). He stands on a short, rectangular base, possibly striding forward with his left foreleg. His proper right side, which commands the principal viewpoint, is naturalistically modeled, showing the bull with his head slightly turned towards the viewer. As expected, he has a broad, wrinkly neck, short, droopy ears, and a large, fatty hump on his shoulders. The whole is worked as if in relief, with the negative spaces between the legs rendered as a plain, receding plane. The overall effect of the figure is that of strength and peace, perhaps explaining why this reliable animal would have been considered a suitable companion for the dead.

### **3.4 Find Contexts**

Of the figurines discussed in this chapter, only a few were found in datable use contexts. Four, at least, were recovered from domestic spaces alongside coherent household ceramic assemblages, so that their use within the home can be surmised.<sup>324</sup> The back of the head of a woman wearing her hair in a melon type arrangement (**55**) was found among the remains of a Hellenistic house in conjunction with a couple of Seleucid coins and a set of locally made table and cooking wares datable to the middle of the third century B.C.E (Ill. 12). A standing, draped

---

<sup>323</sup> Epstein and Mason 1984.

<sup>324</sup> Berlin 2012; Berlin 2013; Berlin 2014.

woman (**60**) was also found within a house, but with pottery of a different character<sup>325</sup> datable to the late third or early second century B.C.E. A fragmentary theatrical mask (**103**) was discovered in a room decorated with First Style plaster.<sup>326</sup> Lastly, the head of a Kybele figurine (**105**) was also found in a domestic context, this time dating to the first century B.C.E, and seemingly of a lower quality than the ones mentioned above. The consistent presence of terracotta figurines within these otherwise changing ceramic assemblages suggests that despite the fluctuating economic and social circumstances of the city and its inhabitants, the need for terracotta statuettes within the home endured. Evidence from other sites suggests that within domestic settings terracotta figurines were used in all sorts of manners, perhaps most frequently as part of the household's cultic activities, but also as decoration, and sometimes as toys.<sup>327</sup>



Illustration 12: Figurine (**55**, middle object on the top row) and associated mid-third century B.C.E. ceramics.

1:2

---

<sup>325</sup> Serving vessels, for instance, no longer imitate Lydian products, but are rather “Hellenistic” in character. Berlin 2013.

<sup>326</sup> Greenewalt et al. 1983, 15-22.

<sup>327</sup> See Rumscheid 2006 for a thorough discussion of the cultic use, meaning and distribution of terracotta figurines within the houses of Priene.

Only two figurines excavated after 1958 were found securely associated with a funerary context. A herm (75) and a zebu (76) were discovered together underneath the north bench of an early chamber tomb that was violated and re-used during the Hellenistic period.<sup>328</sup> The practice of leaving terracotta figurines among the offerings to the dead seems to have been a unexceptional one, however, as at least thirteen more statuettes were recovered from tombs by the earlier excavation team lead by Howard Crosby Butler (see Appendix D); these include a few theatrical masks, an Aphrodite, a Nike, an Eros, and several draped women, either standing or sitting. The wide variety of subjects represented suggests that no one particular type was preferred as a grave offering. A similar conclusion was reached by Ute Mrogenda in her study of the terracotta figurines from six of the better documented graves from Myrina; through careful comparative work she was able to determine that the material from the tombs was fairly representative of that found elsewhere in the site (the houses in particular), as well as comparable to funerary and domestic finds at both Pergamon and Priene.<sup>329</sup>

Although no large votive deposits have been found at Sardis, at least one consistent group of fragments suggests the existence of a small shrine to the goddess Kybele near the area that would eventually accommodate a Hellenistic, and later, Roman theater (Ill. 2, no. 26). The most easily identifiable features in this location are the remains of a large stone theater dated to the later first or early second century C.E.,<sup>330</sup> and the ruins of a Lydian house likely destroyed during the Persian attack of 547 B.C.E. A large Hellenistic fill lies between these two features.

---

<sup>328</sup> Greenewalt and Freedman 1979, 9-19.

<sup>329</sup> Mrogenda 1996.

<sup>330</sup> A general Roman date was first suggested by the presence of mortared walls, and was later refined with the analysis of associated pottery finds.



Illustration 13: A few of the Kybele fragments found in the Hellenistic fill beneath the Roman theater.  
Not to scale.

The lower levels of the fill contain Lydian and Hellenistic ceramics, the latest of which have been dated to the first quarter of the third century B.C.E.<sup>331</sup> The Kybele figurines were discovered within this early deposit (28-44; a few of these are also pictured in Ill. 13). Altogether, the finds suggest that sometime in the early third century B.C.E. at least one wall of the Lydian house was robbed, and that the associated activities affected a nearby shrine to the mother goddess. The nature of the disturbance to the shrine, that is, whether it was moved, improved, or, conversely, destroyed, cannot be determined from the archaeological record. Still, the consistency of the assemblage does seem to confirm a notion already expressed by others,<sup>332</sup> that figurines destined for public or official religious use tended to be more specific than those

---

<sup>331</sup> Berlin 2013.

<sup>332</sup> For instance, Rumscheid 2006, 76-177, and Mrogenda 1996.

destined for use in the home or the grave.<sup>333</sup>

Though scant, the evidence available allows us to confirm that terracotta figurines were being made at Sardis during the Hellenistic period to fulfill a wide array of needs; what these needs were, beyond their association with domestic, funerary, and religious spheres,<sup>334</sup> is more difficult to determine; that they were used as votives, in ritual performance, and as decorations for the home, at least, seems likely.

### **3.5 Other Sites**

To understand better the position of Sardis as a center of coroplastic production within the context of the broad common culture of the Hellenistic world, it is necessary to look at other sites, and, as much as possible, at the relationships between them. Because most of the terracotta figurines that have been studied and published elsewhere date to the Hellenistic period, the task, which is more difficult for earlier and later periods, is in this case feasible. What follows is a brief summary of the pertinent conclusions reached at several sites known for their coroplastic production; the discussion begins with Athens, rather than closer to Sardis, since it seems that the Greek city was the source for some of the more important trends of the age.

#### ***Athens***

It was Dorothy Burr Thompson who studied the more than 4,000 terracotta statuettes and fragments recovered from several datable, closed deposits in the Athenian Agora. She presented her findings in a chronologically organized series of articles in *Hesperia* (1952-1966) that sketch out the sharp decline, in quality and quantity, she perceived in the Athenian coroplastic industry from the third century B.C.E. down to the first. Thompson judged the Athenian figurines produced up to the third century B.C.E., especially those concerned with depictions of mortals

---

<sup>333</sup> It should be noted, however, that opportunities for the performance non-official ritual should have been easily available in a small shrine.

<sup>334</sup> These are not discrete categories.

and their daily lives, to be the finest and most innovative.<sup>335</sup> Possibly inspired by contemporary small-scale bronze sculpture, these “genre” statuettes would have the most profound effect on the coroplastic production beyond the Greek mainland. Although we commonly refer to them as Tanagras, Thompson long held the belief, now widely accepted, that the type was developed in Athens rather than Boeotia.

Athenian figurines made in the second century B.C.E were already of an inferior quality, though Thompson did note a fresh creative surge, inasmuch as a broader range of subjects could be attested for that period. Mythological types, many of them inspired by famous fourth century B.C.E. monumental statues,<sup>336</sup> supplanted the earlier secular subjects in popularity.<sup>337</sup> A possible reason for the influx of new subjects is suggested by the concurrent introduction of superior Corinthian clay (and perhaps Corinthian coroplasts) into the Athenian workshops.<sup>338</sup>

Although new types and subjects keep getting introduced into the Athenian repertoire throughout the Hellenistic period, Thompson noticed a significant decline in the process of figurine manufacture after the Sullan siege of Athens.<sup>339</sup> Thompson concluded that at Athens coroplastic production all but stopped in the first century B.C.E.; more recent scholarship supports this notion, while placing the recovery of the local industry in the first century C.E.<sup>340</sup>

### *Corinth*

The figurines of Corinth were studied by Agnes N. Stillwell, and more recently, by Gloria S. Merker. The earliest attestation for the production of terracotta statuettes at the site dates to the seventh century B.C.E., and the latest in the Hellenistic period at least, to the mid second

---

<sup>335</sup> Thompson 1957, 126.

<sup>336</sup> Thompson 1965, 47.

<sup>337</sup> Thompson 1965, 68-69.

<sup>338</sup> Thompson 1965, 68.

<sup>339</sup> Thompson 1966b, 257.

<sup>340</sup> Handler 2012, 10-11.

century, as the city was destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C.E.<sup>341</sup> Early workshops were located in the northwestern sections of the city, an area now referred to as the Potters' Quarter,<sup>342</sup> but a devastating earthquake in the late fourth century changed that.<sup>343</sup>

The coroplastic workshops of the Hellenistic period seem to have proliferated all throughout the site, their location determined by the needs of shrines and temples, rather than by a central market.<sup>344</sup> The earliest styles employed by the Corinthian artisans were archaizing, and the preferred subjects were religious rather than secular. Similar early preferences have been already noted for Sardis. Because of the influence of Athens, a more “worldly outlook” was adopted by the third century B.C.E., and the dominant representational traditions were reinterpreted with a more up-to-date sculptural style.<sup>345</sup>

Unlike their Sardian counterparts, Corinthian figurines seem to have fulfilled mostly religious needs,<sup>346</sup> the notion is supported by the fact that around half of the figurines recovered at the site come from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.<sup>347</sup> Despite the superior nature of their raw material, the abundant yield of Corinthian coroplastic workshops evidences a full range of competencies in its handling; Merker interprets this as proof that all Corinthians, regardless of class, would have wanted access to figurines.<sup>348</sup> As in Athens, it seems that the coroplastic industry in Corinth was not revived until the first century C.E.<sup>349</sup>

---

<sup>341</sup> Merker 1990, 54.

<sup>342</sup> See Stillwell 1952.

<sup>343</sup> Merker 1990, 54.

<sup>344</sup> Merker 2003, 238.

<sup>345</sup> Merker 1990, 54.

<sup>346</sup> Merker 2003, 238-240.

<sup>347</sup> See Merker 2000.

<sup>348</sup> Merker 1990, 56.

<sup>349</sup> Merker 1990, 54.

## *Pergamon*

Its status as the capital of one of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and as the largest city in the region of Mysia, made Pergamon a significant cultural center. Boasting some of the most stupendous monuments of the period, of which the great altar to Zeus might be the most famous, the sculptural style that flourished under the rule of the Attalids influenced the coroplastic production of the city, and spread to other nearby centers such as Troy and Myrina. Eva Töpperwein, working in the mid 1970's, studied the figurines made and found in Pergamon, most of which came from excavations carried out before 1900.<sup>350</sup>

Coroplasts working in the Hellenistic tradition are evident at Pergamon at least from the late fourth century B.C.E. onwards, and continue to produce figurines until the first century C.E.<sup>351</sup> At first influenced by the Attic tradition and its penchant for secular subjects, the artisans of Pergamon also turned their gaze towards Alexandria, and sometime in the second century B.C.E., towards their own sculptural production.

Pergamene figurines have been recovered all over the site, but a great number were found in association with the sanctuary of Demeter, and with the famed temple of Asklepios. The fact that common subjects in the city's coroplastic corpus are the worshipper with upraised arms and the temple attendant comes as no surprise. As at Sardis and other Anatolian centers, the goddess Kybele is frequently represented; other mythical subjects are also attested, as well as dancers and figures associated with the theater. Though the coroplastic style that emerged in Pergamon during the second century B.C.E. seems to have affected the production of figurines elsewhere,<sup>352</sup> the pertinent types are usually better known and preserved at other sites, Troy, for

---

<sup>350</sup> See Töpperwein 1976.

<sup>351</sup> Töpperwein 1976, 180-182.

<sup>352</sup> Sardis was part of the Kingdom of Pergamon in the second century B.C.E.

instance.<sup>353</sup>

### *Myrina*

Myrina was a small, coastal city in the region of Aeolis, located roughly between Pergamon and Smyrna. Of no major consequence in antiquity, it is now famous for its plentiful and beautiful terracotta figurines, recovered in most part from its Hellenistic cemetery. More than 5,000 tombs, and around 1,000 figurines, were excavated from 1880-1883 by the École Française d'Athènes.<sup>354</sup>

Recent reconsideration of the find contexts of the figurines, and of their attendant meanings and functions, has shown that the material recovered from tombs is representative of the material found elsewhere at Myrina, especially within domestic settings, and that the most popular (and likely multivalent) subjects were draped female figures, winged beings, the goddess Aphrodite, children, actors, grotesques, and animals.<sup>355</sup> A similar distribution has also been noted at Pergamon and Priene, and could thus be surmised for Sardis. It should also be noted that in all three sites official sanctuaries revealed the most specificity in terms of the figural terracottas used within their confines.

The figurines from Myrina are perhaps most important for the information they provide us about their makers. Because of their great numbers, their excellent state of preservation, and,

---

<sup>353</sup> In the Hellenistic period, the city of Troy was a relatively small commercial hub under the sphere of influence of grander centers such as Pergamon. Though fragmentary, especially when compared to the remains from Myrina or Tanagra, the figurines of the site were studied by Dorothy Burr Thompson; her monograph on the subject remains one of the most used sources for the understanding of the terracotta statuettes of the Hellenistic period (Thompson 1963b). The more recent discovery at Troy of a debris layer associated with a workshop, and containing figurines, molds, raw clay, and bone tools, has increased our knowledge of coroplastic production at the site and elsewhere (Miller 1991).

<sup>354</sup> See Pottier and Reinach 1887. The École itself kept some of the statuettes; the rest were split between the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul and the Musée du Louvre (Besques 1963a). At least 1,000 more figurines have been recovered illicitly or during more recent rescue excavations. The Museum of Fine Arts of Boston owns some examples, about which Dorothy Burr Thompson (then Burr) wrote her doctoral dissertation (Burr 1934).

<sup>355</sup> Mrogenda 1996.

significantly, because many of them, especially those dating to the second and first centuries B.C.E., preserve signatures, these statuettes have allowed the identification of a significant number of workshops and at least 40 different artisans.<sup>356</sup> The work of one of these men, a Greek by the name of Diphilos, seems to have made it all the way to Sardis. Because he was working in the first century C.E., the pertinent figurine will be discussed in the next chapter.

### *Smyrna*

The city of Smyrna, the closest one to Sardis of the centers thus far covered, enjoyed great commercial prosperity in the Hellenistic period thanks to its prime location for both land and maritime trade. Unfortunately, the site was “clandestinely” excavated in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, so the archaeological contexts, as well as the authenticity of most of the figurines that appear to come from Smyrna, is in question.<sup>357</sup>

The clay used to make Smyrnian figurines is comparable to that common at Sardis; light red, dense, and with frequent mica inclusions. Manufacture practices, as well, are similar at the two sites; figurines of this period often have carefully modeled fronts and backs, well-concealed joins, and “vents” that are small or all together absent. Unlike on the extant examples from Sardis, gilding often survives on those thought to have come from Smyrna. A more distinctive feature of Smyrnian practice is the use of a red slip, rather than white ground and colored pigments, to decorate the surface of certain figurines.<sup>358</sup>

Jaimee Uhlenbrock identifies four major categories of preferred subjects: reproductions of famous statuary types, grotesques, hand-made miniatures, and draped women in the Tanagra style; all of these are also attested at Sardis to a greater or lesser degree. Unlike the Sardian

---

<sup>356</sup> See Kassab 1988.

<sup>357</sup> Uhlenbrock 1990c, 76-78. Most of the figurines supposedly found at the site are thought to have been recovered from either its acropolis or its domestic quarter.

<sup>358</sup> Uhlenbrock 1990c, 76.

repertoire, however, the one from Smyrna, as far as the evidence allows us to tell, seems to have favored the nude male form.<sup>359</sup>

The subjects most readily associated with Smyrna, however, are those generally known as grotesques or caricatures.<sup>360</sup> The popularity of these figures at the site is likely explained by the merging of several factors, among them the emergence of anatomical treatises in the fourth century B.C.E. and consequent interest in depicting imperfect types alongside ideal ones; the influence of Old and Middle Comedy, and later of the mime, and the general Hellenistic penchant for social realism.<sup>361</sup> The proximity of the two sites likely explains the popularity of these same subjects at Sardis.

### *Priene*

The vast majority of the terracotta figurines discovered at Priene, an Ionian city on the Meander Valley, were recovered during 19th century excavations led by a German team. Though not much material was found, their find contexts were sufficiently documented, allowing the tracing of most statuettes to either to rich domestic spaces,<sup>362</sup> or to a significant votive deposit in the sanctuary of Demeter.<sup>363</sup> In general, the figurines from the homes were of a better quality than those of the votive deposits,<sup>364</sup> their surface treatment and size suggesting to the original researchers that these objects were deployed in the homes of the elite as markers of status.

Recent reassessment of these finds has resulted in a convincing argument for the cultic, rather than ideological, use of figurines within most spaces of the home (not just the rooms for

---

<sup>359</sup> Uhlenbrock 1990c, 77.

<sup>360</sup> For the type in Alexandria see Connelly 1990.

<sup>361</sup> The presence of a Faculty of Medicine at Smyrna may have further brought to the site many real subjects from which to draw inspiration (Besques 1972, 153); and in fact, it has been remarked by those who study these figurines that many of the “grotesques” or “caricatures” are actually studies of people with identifiable physical or mental pathologies (Stevenson 1975).

<sup>362</sup> Wiegand, and Schrader 1904, 330-336.

<sup>363</sup> Wiegand, and Schrader 1904, 153-157.

<sup>364</sup> Some were fully gilt in imitation of bronze.

public display).<sup>365</sup> It has also been noted that the subjects preferred in these contexts are mostly female and rarely include the major deities worshipped in the region's sanctuaries; the same preferences were discussed above for Sardis.

### ***Gordion***

Like Sardis, Gordion was the capital of a rich empire during the Iron Age, and like Sardis, the once Phrygian citadel experienced a major cultural transformation after the conquest of Alexander in the fourth century B.C.E. Although figurines are attested at the site since the Bronze Age, it is during the Late Phrygian and Hellenistic period that a more varied and abundant production of these objects takes place. Despite this, a significant proportion of the Hellenistic terracotta statuettes found at Gordion are Greek imports. The types that were introduced from the west are the same that proliferated at Sardis and the cities discussed above: representations of Kybele, Eros, standing draped women, and theatrical masks. Local production, on the other hand, is best characterized by a group of bust-flower incense burners.<sup>366</sup> Most of the figurines from Gordion date to the period before the abandonment of the city mound in 189 B.C.E.; after this date, the site did not reclaim its former prominence in Anatolia, and coroplastic production seems to have become sparse.<sup>367</sup>

As sketched in this section, the course of Hellenistic coroplastic practice at Sardis aligns well with that of other Greek and Anatolian sites, especially those that are geographically closest. Though clear evidence for the exchange of figurines or molds, or for the movement of coroplasts is largely missing, that these small objects and their makers were moving from place to place is likely given the similarities between sites in terms of preferred subjects, styles, and

---

<sup>365</sup> Rumscheid 2006.

<sup>366</sup> Romano 1995, 17-22, nos. 31-51, pls. 10-14.

<sup>367</sup> Romano 1995, 71-74; Romano 1990.

manufacturing techniques. Furthermore, the consideration of neighboring centers where figurines were recovered from well-documented functional contexts, bolsters some of the arguments regarding the use and meaning of Sardian figurines presented above.

### **3.6 Conclusions**

The production of terracotta figurines at Sardis appears to have been most prolific during the Hellenistic period. Especially after the city's incorporation into the Pergamene Kingdom when a larger proportion of the population seems to have enjoyed a modicum of material wealth, the demand for these objects increased and resulted in a robust and inventive industry. Unlike Lydian manufacture, which seems to have occurred in close collaboration with other ceramic crafts, the increased production of figurines may have allowed for a more independent workshop organization. That the figurines were being fired separately from other materials, at least, is suggested by the decreased hardness of their clay bodies.

A more varied repertoire of subjects is sculpted in clay during this period. The advance of mold technology, and its widespread use around the Mediterranean, facilitated the diffusion of types and styles so that the figurines from Sardis are comparable to those made at other centers. The persistence of hand modeling, however, and the increased freedom afforded by the use of multiple molds in the construction of one figurine, assured that the coroplastic production from Sardis retained a unique local character. This is especially true of some of the earlier figurines that upheld local manufacturing traditions already established during the Lydian period.

The expanded stock of subjects suggests an equally varied range of uses for these objects. If the patterns of use and deposition that have been attested at sites like Myrina, Pergamon, and Priene hold true for Sardis, then it is likely that the majority of the figurines discussed in this chapter were used within the home in several capacities, for instance, in the performance of

domestic ritual, in the education and entertainment of children, and for the aesthetic appreciation those who inhabited the home. Clear evidence from the site also demonstrates that the types of figurines that were being used within domestic spaces could also function as funerary votives. The subjects and types preferred by the local sanctuaries, however, is not yet known to us.

Although Sardis was greatly affected by the earthquake of 17 C.E., the production of terracotta statuettes was not interrupted and, in fact, continued along similar lines for several centuries. The ways in which figurines either changed or stayed the same will be discussed in the following chapter.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE FIGURINES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD**  
**(Nos. 230-342)**

About one fourth of the figurines thus far excavated at Sardis date to the Roman period. For the purposes of the present study, the Roman period is understood to encompass the years after the devastating earthquake of 17 C.E. until the end of the third century C.E., when thanks to the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian, Sardis became the capital of the newly established province of Lydia. Although the city had been part of the growing Roman Empire for a century and a half by then, it was the disaster of 17 C.E., and the restorations carried out under the patronage of Tiberius and Claudius, that turned Sardis into a Roman metropolis. And, although the city continued to be “Roman” for several centuries after, the designation of Sardis as a provincial capital once more changed the character of the city and of its material culture. The figurines that were made or used at Sardis in the fourth century C.E. and later will be discussed in the following chapter.

Sardis was an important regional center within the Roman province of Asia, with its political situation stable yet several notches below that of its glorious past. Grand building projects, such as that of the decorative court at the east side of the Bath-Gymnasium complex, inaugurated under the Antonines and expanded under the Severans,<sup>368</sup> and newly developed residential and commercial areas in the west side of the city,<sup>369</sup> make it plain that Sardis enjoyed a reasonable amount of prosperity during this time.

The figurines of this period give the impression of having been more hastily made than their Hellenistic and Lydian predecessors. Statuettes, for the most part, are still moldmade and

---

<sup>368</sup> Yegül 1986. See also Ill. 2, no. 1.

<sup>369</sup> Rautman 1995, 50.

hollow, with plastically rendered detail even on their back halves, but halves are not always joined carefully, and blemishes and join seams are rarely fully concealed. The use of plaster molds seems to increase, as does the use of the intaglio technique for rendering surface detail. Local clay is still used, but contains larger and more varied inclusions.

Although animals regain some of their earlier popularity, human subjects still account for about 80 percent of the sample. The Hellenistic fondness for graceful ladies, however, wanes, and is replaced by a fascination with the spectacular. The world of entertainment, with its dynamism and tendency towards the hyperbolic, provided excellent material for the Roman coroplasts. The subjects represented include those associated with major spectacles (e.g., gladiators and charioteers), and with minor yet popular forms of entertainment such as the mime and the pantomime.

The changed priorities in the process of the figurines' manufacture likely goes hand in hand with the changed preference in their subject matter; since many of these statuettes probably served as knick-knacks or souvenirs it might not have been essential that they be constructed with the same standards required of objects intended for other purposes, especially those meant to demonstrate a certain level of affluence through their high quality finishes.

#### **4.1 Techniques**

The figurines of the Roman period at Sardis, for the most part, were made following the same techniques employed by Hellenistic coroplasts. As in other periods, the great majority of the statuettes were constructed out of the local clay, light red to light orange in color, and highly micaceous; one notable change is that in some cases (e.g. **240, 324, 339**), the material is not as finely levigated as it was in the past. Slightly more than half of the sample is hard fired; this represents a higher proportion of the fragments than in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 2).

Regardless, a significant number of the objects was fired to a medium or soft state, suggesting that figurines were being baked at lower temperatures and, thus, separately from other ceramics. Separate firing would have lowered fuel-associated expenses.

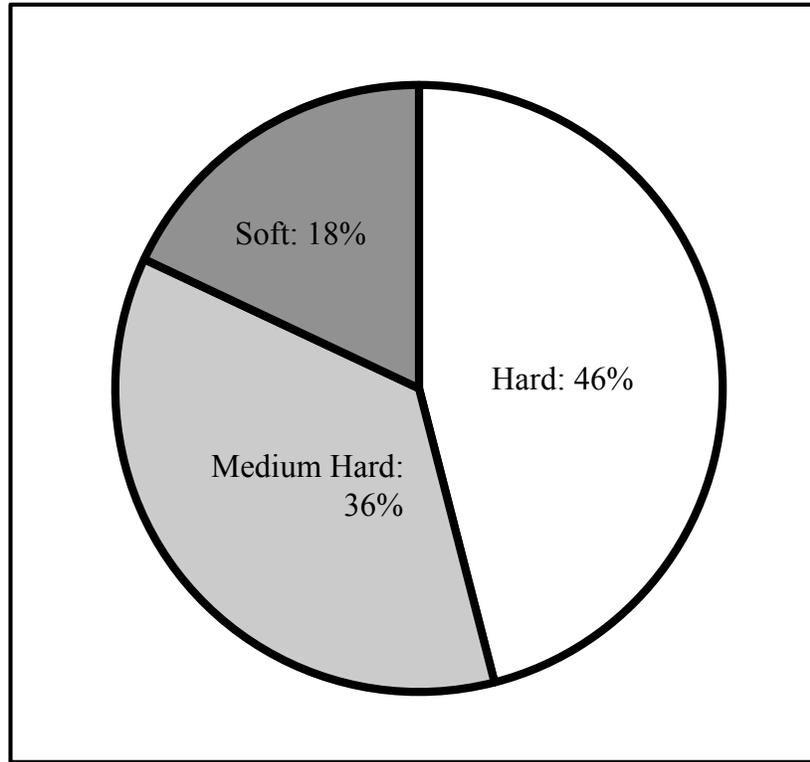


Figure 2: Percentage of Roman figurines fired to a hard state compared to those fired to a medium hard or softer state.<sup>370</sup>

There seems to have been a marked increase in the use of plaster molds during this period. At least 42 percent of the sample was clearly made in a mold of this material,<sup>371</sup> as compared to 30 percent of the fragments dated to the Hellenistic period. The perceived increase, however, may just mean that the products of plaster molds are easier to identify for this later period because surface warts were less often removed. The evidence then may be showing not an increase in the use of a certain technology but a change in its application.

<sup>370</sup> Hardness was determined following the modified Moh's scale presented in the *Archaeological Site Manual of the Corinth Excavations*. Sanders et al. 2008, 64-65.

<sup>371</sup> A few good examples: **259**, **291**, and **338**.

All types of mold manufacture are still in evidence. Single-sided molds were used to make wheels, for instance, which seem to make a re-appearance at the site during this period. Several examples from Sardis (**338-341**), suggest that a common method for creating wheels was to press clay into a simple mold that would result in a relief rim and spokes on an otherwise plain, solid disc. The mold was filled to its rim, and the clay flattened and smoothed by hand, until a somewhat flat back was achieved. Once in the leather-hard stage, the clay wheel would be removed from the mold and a circular piercing for attachment to another figure (a cart or horse most likely) would be carved out. One wheel (**342**), however, is different in several respects: it was fired gray and to a stone hardness, its back was shaped to be slightly convex, and the details of the spokes and rim were rendered in intaglio technique rather than through plastic modeling. Although this is perhaps a later product, there is no reason to suppose that there could not have been several contemporary approaches to terracotta wheel making at Sardis.

Miniature theatrical masks were also made in single-sided molds. In fact, one such mold has been found at Sardis (**398**); it is made out of coarse, micaceous clay and is likely a local product, demonstrating that clay and plaster technology co-existed at the site during the Roman period. Although the mold is incomplete, it seems to have been used to make small comedic masks. The extant fragment preserves a furrowed brow over a deep-set eye with a raised pupil. The pupil in the resulting impression would have been sunken, and likely pierced through completely after the mask's removal from the mold.<sup>372</sup>

The fragmentary theatrical masks from Sardis (**314-323**) reveal some features that cannot be gleaned from the molds alone. Unlike wheels, whose single-sided molds were filled by hand up to their rims and then flattened out; excess clay was removed from mask molds until a slightly

---

<sup>372</sup> Clearly pierced pupils can be seen on **314** and **315**, for example.

concave backside was achieved. It is likely, too, that much of the clay removal was done with the aid of tools, as mask backs tend to be clean and even, if at times a bit coarser than the fronts. After removal from the mold several holes were cut into a mask before it was sent to the kiln. As noted above, pupils could be pieced through, as could auricles (e.g. **322**). Additionally, most masks seem to have had non-anatomical piercings at the center-top and at the sides, likely for hanging from walls (e.g. **318, 320**).<sup>373</sup> The careful treatment of their backs, however, suggests that masks were not always left to hang, but on occasion may have been removed from their walls and placed in front of their owners' faces.<sup>374</sup>

Two figural fragments from Sardis appear to be odd cases in which single-sided molds (or perhaps just a mold's front half) were used to create statuettes that should have been formed in bivalve molds. The first seems to be the head of a mustachioed man, perhaps Serapis wearing a wreathed modius (**240**). It is a solid, heavy piece, with fine modeling at the front, and a lumpy, unfinished back, as if clay had just been pressed into a single-sided mold without any retouching. That the back is an actual surface and not a break is suggested by the presence of light, vertical scoring. Perhaps the head was to be attached to a larger object at the back.

A slightly more puzzling example is the figure of a bearded man or centaur with a twisted and truncated body (**249**). While the head is finely rendered with both plastic and incised detailing, the body is cruder; it is only partially moldmade, with most of the seemingly hasty sculpting done by hand. The piece might have been a waster or an experiment; however, the presence of white ground on both front and back surfaces, and colored pigments on the chest and face, suggest that the figure was considered good enough to be finished after firing.

---

<sup>373</sup> Holes would also have been present on masks that were intended for proper performances, and would have allowed for their safe fastening to the actors' heads. It then cannot be said with full certainty that the terracotta masks were pierced to aid in their hanging rather than to imitate the original object.

<sup>374</sup> For a discussion of the techniques involved in the construction of the better-documented masks of Lipari, see Schwarzmaier 2011, 30-49.

Simple bivalve molds were also used during the Roman period at Sardis; this is best exemplified by a curious double “portrait” (255), and by a group of roosters (325-329). As in earlier periods, figures tend to be divided along the plane that would have resulted in the shallowest mold halves; for most human bodies and heads, the division occurs along the coronal plane, while most animals and the heads of “grotesque” humans with elongated profiles are divided along the sagittal plane. Although it is likely a matter of convenience that masks of humans with deformities were built up like animals, it is an interesting possibility that they were conceived of similarly beginning with the earliest stages of their manufacture.

As in the Hellenistic period, most figurines seem to have been made in several parts and then joined before firing; at the very least, two separate fragments can be identified (head and body, as in 280), but in many cases, outstretched limbs, or the bases upon which figures stand (e.g. 273), were molded independently as well. A good example is provided by the figure of a contorted dwarf (297), whose body, though incomplete, indicates that the head, arms, and erect phallus were formed separately from the main torso and legs.

Sometimes, complicated figures (especially those that were intended to be mobile) were molded in separate fragments and not joined until after firing. That was the case with wheels, certainly, but also with at least one further example. The back of a muscular man, perhaps a divinity or a hero, has two large oval piercings just at the shoulder blades (278). These holes were probably used to attach a cloak or wings that could admittedly have been made out of a different material.<sup>375</sup> Finally, although some figurines had parts that were meant to go together, they were never physically joined, either before or after firing. That seems to be the case of a horse and his side-saddled rider, clearly made for each other, but not connected other than in

---

<sup>375</sup> Compare to Grandjouan 1961, 74, no. 927, pl. 25, with oval-shaped holes on back. Dated to the mid second to mid third centuries C.E; a youth holding lamps.

their corresponding forms (**231**).<sup>376</sup>

Although there is a clear continuity from earlier periods in the prevalence of mold technology, some changes in manufacturing practices are nonetheless evident. While most figures continued to be divided along the usual planes, join seams were moved forward (that is, the front piece became shallower), and they were not concealed as carefully as in the past. The new proportions of mold halves is most evident in human heads; whereas earlier figurines tend to have fronts that cover about half of the head, with modeled detail up to the ears and the join seam concealed behind them, later examples have much shallower fronts that tend to stop right before the ears. When ears are still pictured in the front, they are usually in the form of earrings placed next to the cheeks (e.g. **259**, **262**).

It is also apparent that not all mold halves were kept or used together as may have been originally intended. Some figurines, notably **247** and **281**, have fronts and backs that correspond to each other in form but not in size. The disparity seems to not have been a concern, since it is a fairly common occurrence. The coroplast may have had multiple halves to choose from, especially if a certain figurine type was popular. Alternatively, it is possible that if one of the mold halves broke, rather than replacing the whole, the broken piece was restored by making a new impression on a smaller archetype (perhaps even one of the broken half's products). Regardless, I believe that this change in the priorities set in the construction of the statuettes is related to a change in their function and in the aesthetic preferences of the time, rather than to a change in the abilities of their makers.

---

<sup>376</sup> This was likely a purposeful arrangement to allow for play or other manipulation.

A related perceivable difference is that surface detail was increasingly rendered in intaglio technique during the Roman period.<sup>377</sup> A commonly held theory is that incision becomes necessary when old molds no longer produce clear impressions; this is perhaps demonstrated by a pair of gladiator arms from Sardis (**289** and **290**). These two fragments are identical in size and form, but the former's hand and *manica* are rendered plastically, whereas they are incised in the latter. Recent discussion,<sup>378</sup> however, has pointed out that most molds, even after centuries of being buried, still produce sharp images. Blurry impressions that require retouching by incision could rather be the result of molds that were made from archetypes that were covered in paint, as would be the case of finished figurines. I would add that the change in plastic modeling to incised detailing might also stem from an increased popularity of the linear style, which is more economically conveyed through these means. A related preference for frontality may also account for the summary treatment of backs, and the single principal viewing points of many of the Roman figurines from Sardis; it must be remembered, however, that most figurines, regardless of date, tend towards the frontal approach.

Unfortunately, no statuettes of this period at Sardis have had their pigments tested; their colored decoration, however, has a similar appearance to that of earlier examples, and one may suppose that the process and materials involved in their painting would have been much the same. Before baking, some figures were self-slipped,<sup>379</sup> and, likely only after removal from the kiln, a white preparatory ground was applied; both of these steps served to create an even ground for the colored pigments that were later painted on. Commonly surviving pigments include red, pink, and yellow; all three of these colors are attested on the surface of the odd centaur (**249**)

---

<sup>377</sup> A few good examples are **245**, **261**, and **342**.

<sup>378</sup> Uhlenbrock 2013.

<sup>379</sup> As in the Hellenistic figurines, about 20 percent of the sample shows clear indication of having been self-slipped.

mentioned above.

As previously noted, there is enough of a change in the figurines' technological style at Sardis after the beginning of the Roman period to warrant a separate discussion, even though a strong continuity in formal style, subject matter, and even popularity can be traced from the fourth century B.C.E. onwards. Differences in technological style may be good indicators of the origins of an artisan's working life; many of the unconscious decisions involved in manufacture can be traced to early modes of training, and are difficult to abandon even when imitating another's style. While it is possible that foreign coroplasts may have made their home at Sardis during this period, in the absence of any other corroborative evidence, I would prefer to trace the changes in their standards of manufacture to a shift in the needs that were fulfilled by the figurines.

#### **4.2 Formal Styles**

In many regards, the discussion of the development of formal style presented in the previous chapter is still applicable to the material covered in this one. With an even smaller sample to examine, however, the problems already noted (i.e. the fragmentary state of the material, the scarcity of repeating types, the lack of closely datable contexts) are further compounded. The continued prevalence of mold technology, and the general archaizing trends typically associated with figurines, further complicate any understanding of stylistic change.

There would appear to be an identifiable tendency for the fully developed, naturalistic forms of the earlier Hellenistic period to become more linear and static with time, though this development, if it can be deemed as such, is far from linear and static itself. Interestingly perhaps, the trend is most evident in figures with either religious or ordinary, secular subjects. A figurine of a nude, standing woman, possibly Aphrodite (230), presents a good example. Perhaps

an Anadyomene variant,<sup>380</sup> what should be a lively and sensuous form is rendered stiff and unnatural by the odd positioning of the head and arms, among other things. Even though this statuette was made using at least four different molds (one for the head, one for each arm, and one for the torso and legs), the coroplast did not take full advantage of the technique, leaving the body and its appendages to inhabit the same plane; a similar result could likely have been achieved using a single bivalve mold. Furthermore, the body, both in its forms and their proportions, is less naturalistic than those of earlier examples (e.g. **98**, **111**). Finally, while the back was at least summarily modeled, the figurine seems to have been made to be appreciated from a single, frontal perspective.

The same can be said about a figural group that was found along with the Aphrodite within a tomb. In this case we are confronted with a saddled horse and its female rider (**231**).<sup>381</sup> Though both figures are modeled in the round to some extent (the horse much more so than its rider), the pairing can be best appreciated from the horse's right side. The horse, in fact, turns its head in this direction, and the rider, who rides sidesaddle, faces the viewer completely. No sense of real movement is conveyed by either; the horse stands, the rider sits, but they are going nowhere.

Facial features, musculature, and textiles that could have been rendered plastically were increasingly communicated through superficial linear design in this later period. The fresh treatment is evident in what seems to be the chest of a Hercules figure (**245**), where the muscles are mere recessed lines on an otherwise flat torso. "Rings of Venus," which often adorned the necks of beautiful ladies, were also transformed from subtle plastic bumps (as in **50**), to thick, recessed lines (**250**). Dramatic portrayals of fabric, once inspired by the monumental sculpture of

---

<sup>380</sup> See, for instance, Burr 1934, 15, fig. 9, an Aphrodite Anadyomene by Menophilos, fully dressed.

<sup>381</sup> Compare to Besques 1963a, 84, no. CA 2217, pl. 102, c., dated to the end of the first century B.C.E.

important Hellenistic centers such as Pergamon, were eventually superseded by quieter, cord-like depictions, as those of the dress worn by a standing woman on a shallow circular base (269).<sup>382</sup>

Quite conversely, figures describing subjects associated with the world of entertainment, or those of individuals who exhibit some sort of pathological disorder, real or imagined, tend to be vibrant and vigorously modeled, if not always naturalistic. A fragmentary statuette portraying a gladiator (281) shows the range of movement that can be achieved when constructing a figure from multiple molds.<sup>383</sup> Although his limbs are missing, his right shoulder is twisted so that at least his upper arm would have extended behind his back. His left leg was considerably advanced, while his back is at an incline to his right leg, suggesting that the figure was forcefully striding forward. The body, then, managed to occupy several planes, and it was additionally rendered more naturalistic by the treatment of its muscles and the minimal clothing that covered it.

A further example is given by a fiercely dramatic head (311), likely a caricature, which manages to be menacing and comical all at one. Through deep and textural plastic modeling, the angry man, sporting wavy, stylized features, ends up being charming while still baring his teeth in a furious growl. While certainly not naturalistic, the depiction is neither linear nor frontal, nor necessarily earlier than those figures that are.

It is difficult to pin down an unequivocal development in the formal style of Roman figurines at Sardis, and perhaps the exercise should not even be attempted. Rather, one should consider that there are several contemporaneous approaches to figural composition that sometimes (though not always, as in the case of wheels) may have to do with the type of subject

---

<sup>382</sup> Compare to Goldman 1950, 340, no. 206, fig. 233.

<sup>383</sup> Compare to Burn and Higgins 2001, 165, no. 2455, pl. 77, the torso of a gladiator, right leg up. He wears the double belt associated with gladiators, with short skirt below; dated to the early imperial period.

depicted, rather than with the date or the maker of the statuette. As with the changes already discussed regarding the figures' technical style, I believe that the coroplast's choice of formal style had more to do with a figurine's function and with evolving aesthetic preferences rather than with his or her ability or ethnic origin.

### **4.3 Subjects**

Although the Roman period at Sardis sees the reemergence of animals as welcomed themes for terracotta figurines, depictions of humans and their divine counterparts still dominate the sample under study. Most subjects that were well liked in earlier periods continued to be so in the early Roman centuries, though a difference can be detected in the extent of their popularity; for instance, men, both mortal and divine, seem to have been more widely represented than the young ladies favored by the Hellenistic public. Perhaps more significant is the absence of certain types; representations of Kybele and her entourage, for example, cannot be clearly attested in the Roman period despite their earlier popularity. Whether the status of her cult also waned cannot be determined by the lack of figurines alone, of course; at most it may be argued that a change in the traditions of her worship occurred.

#### **4.3.1 Human Figures**

Following representational traditions established early in the Hellenistic period, divinities and humans received similar treatment when rendered as clay statuettes. In most cases, even when divine status is suggested by certain attributes, a clear identification either way is neither possible nor desirable. The classifications offered below, then, should not be understood to be definitive, but rather, exploratory.

### *Aphrodite or Venus*

Aphrodite or Venus is the only goddess who can be identified with a modicum of certainty in the Sardian Roman coroplastic corpus. That she is represented at all is of no surprise, since the goddess, as noted by Clairève Grandjouan in her study of the Roman terracotta figurines and plastic lamps of the Athenian Agora, “was perhaps the most popular single type shown by coroplasts, bronze workers, and makers of marble statuettes all over the Empire.”<sup>384</sup> Many of these small-scale representations of the goddess appear to have been modeled following the examples set by famous monumental sculpture. However, as emphasized by Grandjouan, since the popular adaptations of the types had spread widely around the Mediterranean as early as the third century B.C.E., “to try and trace a particular figure to its eventual marble ancestor serves no good purpose.”<sup>385</sup>

Nonetheless, two examples from Sardis (**230** and **256**) could be considered variants of the Anadyomene and Capua types respectively. In neither case, though, but especially in the latter example, is it evident that the figurine is meant to represent the goddess rather than a human supplicant. As argued recently in separate instances by Arthur Muller<sup>386</sup> and Stephanie Huysecom-Haxi,<sup>387</sup> in figurines where the presence of certain features such as nudity, a bejeweled neck, or a seashell would suggest a ready identification with Aphrodite, the way in which the statuettes were used could alter the significance of their attributes and thus the identity of the woman represented. If the referent for the figure was a mortal dedicant rather than a divine model, then the usual attributes of divinity could correspond either to important phases in the cycle of female reproduction, or to special stages in the sequence of traditional female roles.

---

<sup>384</sup> Grandjouan 1961, 7.

<sup>385</sup> Grandjouan 1961, 7.

<sup>386</sup> Muller 2013.

<sup>387</sup> Huysecom-Haxi 2013.

In other cases, the body of the goddess was attached to a mortal female head, and could have functioned as an index of fertility and of proper Roman values.<sup>388</sup> Found within the confines of a burial near Sardis, a 25 centimeter-tall figurine depicts a fashionable, mortal *matrona* in the guise of the goddess Venus (256).<sup>389</sup> Her intricate hairstyle, following the fashions established by the Flavian and Trajanic imperial houses, is characterized by a high-arching forehead-crown formed by a mound of pin curls, and by a mass of braids coiled into a low bun at the back. Nude, save for her coyly draped left leg and sandaled feet, the *matrona* tempers the sensuous exaggeration of her hips with the sobriety of her head. With its particular styling,<sup>390</sup> the hair works alongside the idealized body type to make an ideological statement of class, political alliance, and cultural identity.<sup>391</sup> She may look like a goddess, but more importantly, she is thoroughly Roman, an identification that would have had special significance outside of the imperial center. It is interesting to note, then, that according to the excavator, the figurine was found with its head detached, and that the separation was likely purposeful and conducted just prior to its deposition within the grave.

The figure's *romanitas* is further bolstered by its pose. With her arms outstretched to her side, the *matrona* most closely parallels the stance of the so-called Aphrodite of Capua, which, though derived from a Greek original,<sup>392</sup> was wildly popular in public Roman sculptural representations, either as a voluptuous Venus, or as a war-like Victory.<sup>393</sup> The type would

---

<sup>388</sup> D'Ambra 1996, 219-232.

<sup>389</sup> Compare to an almost identical similar figure found in a grave in Dundarli, pictured in Töpperwein 1976, pl. 102, no. 2; same position of arms and drapery style; the hair is arranged similarly, but rendered differently.

<sup>390</sup> Bartman 2001, 8-10.

<sup>391</sup> See D'Ambra 1996. Compare to a marble sculpture of a matron in the guise of Venus, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Inv. no. 711; in Wrede 1981, 306, no. 292.

<sup>392</sup> Likely dated to 350-300 B.C.E. See Kousser 2001, 12-16.

<sup>393</sup> Kousser 2007, 681.

become a popular model for private funerary group portraits later in the Antonine period,<sup>394</sup> so it is perhaps significant that it was already deployed at Sardis for similar purposes a couple of decades earlier.

### *Apollo & Dionysus*

At least six fragmentary figurines from Sardis seem to represent the god Apollo, the god Dionysus, or a member of the latter's *thiasos*. Despite the long Western tradition that depends on the Apollonian-Dionysian dichotomy, because both gods are depicted here in their youthful forms, and because their popularity can be partially explained by an increasing fascination with the theater and its performances, it is convenient to discuss them together.

The first example more than likely represents an Apollo of the Musagetes type (233), dressed in the long *chiton* with rounded neckline, wide belt, and full skirt typical of Ionian bards.<sup>395</sup> He has a small chest and a slightly protruding stomach, and with his weight on his right leg he appears to be swaying forward with the grace of a dancer. His hair, now mostly missing, would have been worn in loose waves down to shoulders.

A similar, yet more exaggeratedly sensuous stance, is adopted by four partly draped torsos of slender young men with nipped-in waists (234-237).<sup>396</sup> Their hair, when preserved, seems to have been worn in the same style sported by the Apollo Musagetes, and their bodies, though no longer dressed, seem to follow the same type, with small, rounded pectorals, a soft, pouch of a stomach, and rounded hips and thighs. With an amplified Praxitelean arch, their stance suggests lively movement. Cloaks of different sorts drape across the torsos, leaving most

---

<sup>394</sup> Usually forming a loving couple with Mars. See Kousser 2007.

<sup>395</sup> Compare to Goldman 1963, 314, no. 27, fig. 214, from a Roman context. Also see a marble sculpture of Apollo Musagetes in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Muses Hall, Inv. 310; in Bieber 1961, 235, ill. 781.

<sup>396</sup> Compare to Granjouan 1961, 49, no. 234, pl. 6, a Dionysus leaning on a grapevine, dated to the third century C.E., before 267. Goldman 1963, 317, no. 55, fig. 217, a young Dionysus, dated to the first century B.C.E.

of the chest and the genitals exposed. If the cloak were to be identified as a *nebris*, then the body would most likely belong to a young Dionysus or a fellow reveler. The drape of the cloak in **237**, for instance, is similar to that of a Hadrianic marble satyr found at Sardis.<sup>397</sup>

Finally, a slightly plumper figure shows a partially draped Dionysus (**238**), alongside some vine branches with grapes and perhaps the head of a goat.

### ***Other divine and semi-divine beings***

Several other male divine or semi-divine beings can be recognized in the Sardinian coroplastic corpus, yet their state is so fragmentary that their identification must remain tentative. A head (**242**), a semi-draped chest (**243**), and a leg (**244**), may all have belonged to figures of the god Hermes wearing a *petasus*, a *chlamys*, and a pair of winged boots, respectively. Three heads of older, hirsute men (**239-241**) may have been parts of statuettes or plastic vases, and seem to represent either an older Dionysus or Bacchus, or the Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis. A couple of nude, muscular bodies may have depicted Hercules (**245**) or a striding Zeus or Jupiter (**247**); the presence of a club-like object in the sample (**246**) seems at least to confirm that coroplastic representations of the former existed in the city.

The very fine head of a laughing satyr (**248**) seems to have functioned as a lid for a plastic lamp or other vessel. Finally, the previously discussed and odd, partially handmade, figure of what might have been a bearded centaur (**249**) rounds out the specifically mythological subjects at Sardis.

### ***Mortal women, men and children***

Most of the figural fragments that can be classified with some confidence as both mortal and Roman tend to be heads, with their dating heavily reliant on the styles of their coiffure, or on

---

<sup>397</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 109, no. 118, figs. 244-245.

the qualities of their facial features (especially in the case of young men). Although there is no good reason to exclude the possibility that heads, even if portrait-like, could have been attached to divine bodies, I believe that it is important to make the case for the presence of secular subjects within the Roman coroplastic corpus.

Of the 14 females heads included in the catalogue (**250-254** and **257-266**) at least five sport easily recognizable hairstyles made popular by the empresses of the Trajanic or Hadrianic households (**257, 258, 261, 262**),<sup>398</sup> or of the Severan court (**263**).<sup>399</sup> The rest wear similarly inspired coiffures, or other creative arrangements datable due to the availability of comparative material from sites with larger coroplastic corpora (such as the Athenian Agora). Their faces tend to be idealized, following long-established classicizing norms but perhaps are somewhat heavy-handed in the communication of their features. In the case of **263**, for example, it seems to have been preferable that the eyes be visible, rather than that they be delicate or naturalistic. Additionally, chins and necks appear to have transformed into a single, continuous unit, as noticeable in **261** and **262**.

The bust of lady with a stately demeanor, with her head cocked slightly to the right, and her hair arranged as in several Antonine coiffures,<sup>400</sup> is one of the best preserved-pieces from Sardis (**267**). A bust –a particularly Roman type– depicts the upper part of a human body, from the head to the chest; the form was introduced to the provinces through sculpted bronzes, coins, and gems, amongst others. Georgette M. E. C. van Boekel, who studied the terracotta production

---

<sup>398</sup> Compare to Besques 1972, 144, no. E40, pl. 182, g, from Smyrna, dated 100-115 AD. Burn and Higgins 2001, 135, no. 3727, pl. 60. A sculpture of a woman with Hadrianic coiffure in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Sk 438, with a date prior to 130 C.E; in Heilmeyer 2005, 26. A portrait of Plotina found in the Terme di Nettuno, now in Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 339; in Felletti Maj 1953, 95, no. 175, ill. 175.

<sup>399</sup> Compare to Thompson 1963b, 83, no. 40, pl. XI, a Hellenistic Kybele with similar facial features. The hair is similar to that of empress Julia Domna; see one of hers busts in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, Inv. no. 564; in Felletti Maj 1953, 132, no. 260.

<sup>400</sup> For example, a bust of Faustina Minor in the Louvre, Ma 1144 (Kersauson 1996, 244, no. 108).

of Central Gaul and the Rhine-Mosel region, suggests that figurine busts were frequently found in the sanctuaries and graves of that area because representations of the human head were already important in Celtic cult. She also notes that it is mostly women and children that get represented in this form.<sup>401</sup> The bust from Sardis was found within a pithos alongside a similarly proportioned head representing a child, now broken at the neck (**268**); it is possible that this was a bust as well. Because the pithos seems to have been part of a domestic assemblage, a religious function does not need to be attached to the busts from Sardis.

A couple of male heads could perhaps be portraits. A young man with Augustan curls and a confident countenance (**276**) may have been identified as the beloved Lucius or Gaius Caesar, or as a faithful follower.<sup>402</sup> The head of another youth (**277**), though weathered, conveys a strong, imperious temperament that suggests a particular individual rather than a generalized type.

Children, conversely, seem to have been depicted through more traditional approaches, their age, and likely their innocence, suggested by the round softness of their forms. The head of a young girl or boy (**274**) is a good example, with short curly hair framing a chubby face. Lightly defined eyes with heavy lids, give way to a short, broad nose, full lips, and rounded cheeks. A short chin meets the fleshy neck at an obtuse angle.

A final statuette to note is that of a soldier (**280**). Although missing its head and lower body, the figure is clearly that of an armored man standing at the ready. A cloak falls from a clasp on his right shoulder, framing the neck, and then goes over his left shoulder. He wears a short-sleeved tunic under a cuirass and pleated skirt, and holds a short sword in his right hand,

---

<sup>401</sup> Van Boekel 1987, 629-683.

<sup>402</sup> See, for instance, a portrait of either Lucius or Gaius Caesar in the British Museum; in Smith 1904, 149, no. 1876, pl. 13, 2.

and a large oval shield in his left.<sup>403</sup> Fighting men and their weapons had been a common subject in Mediterranean small-scale sculptural traditions since the Early Bronze Age, but do not seem to have been popular in Hellenistic terracottas despite, or perhaps because of, the frequency of war in the period. It is interesting, then, to see a soldier once more represented in clay.

### *Spectacle, caricatures, and the grotesque*

Almost 40 percent of the Roman figurines found at Sardis are in one way or another related to the world of entertainment if one broadly understands the class to include not just performers, but caricatures and grotesque *apotropaia*. Not only do these subjects seem to have been the most popular at the site, but they offer the best evidence of serial production or perhaps of dedicated ateliers or shops. The categories of entertainer, grotesque, and caricature do not always overlap, however, and should not be conflated with each other. Because they share certain attributes of style and, on occasion, function, they are discussed together here.

The most straightforward set of figurines is the one that includes the performers involved in major spectacles such as chariot races, gladiatorial combats, and classical theatrical stagings. Roman Sardis had a theater and stadium in close proximity to each other, so at least some of the pertinent entertainments had an appropriate venue for their display. It is easy to imagine that after a rousing day at the theater, spectators would want to take an affordable remembrance home, or that the enthusiastic fan of a certain horse racing faction would cherish a figurine that displayed the colors of the beloved team. Images of actors, gladiators, and charioteers are common in other media, and in contexts as varied as the tombs and homes of the elite or the

---

<sup>403</sup> Compare to the cenotaph of the centurion Marcus Caelius, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. U 82; in Schalles and Willer 2009.

graffito-covered walls of the local hotel.<sup>404</sup> That the coroplasts of Sardis would have been eager to adapt these subjects to clay is easy to surmise.

At least ten of the fragments included in the catalogue seem to depict gladiators (**281-290**).<sup>405</sup> Though incomplete, these are robust representations that through an economy of means communicate the strength and dynamism of the performers. Bodies are rendered naturalistically, and limbs appear to be depicted in a full range of motion. The costumes evidenced tend to be simple, so it would have been up to the heads and accessorizing weapons to define the particular type of fighter depicted. A single mold for a generalized body, if supplemented with a series of others for varied heads, limbs, and attributes, could have produced a wide array of distinctive figurines; these would have showcased the creative freedom of the coroplast, and surely met the demands of a passionate public.

An almost complete figurine of a charioteer was found near the exterior of a grave at Sardis (**291**).<sup>406</sup> Carefully modeled like his gladiatorial counterparts, the charioteer nonetheless expresses a more controlled sort of vigor. The figure stands calmly, and in full command of his body, so that he was likely depicted at the moment of triumph, rather than in the process of obtaining it. The pose is similar to that of victorious charioteers depicted in mosaics, wall

---

<sup>404</sup> See, for instance: a charioteer wall painting from the Caseggiato degli Aurighi in Ostia (Gallico 2000, 44); gladiator graffiti in the peristyle of the Casa dei Ceii (I.6.15) in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 8055); gladiator graffiti in Residential Unit 4 of Terrace House 2 in Ephesus (Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 92, fig. 144); a mosaic depicting masked actors from the Villa di Cicerone in Pompeii (Coarelli 2002, 107); charioteer paintings in the acrosolium of the catacomb of the Jordani in Rome (Dunbabin 1982, fig. 21); the “Theater Room” (SR 6) in Residential Unit 1 of Terrace House 2 in Ephesus (Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 117, figs. 204 and 205); and the House of the Theatrical Pictures in Pompeii (Clarke 2007, 40-41, figs. 6 and 7).

<sup>405</sup> Compare to Burn and Higgins 2001, 165, no. 2455, pl. 77, the torso of a gladiator, right leg up; he wears the double belt associated with gladiators, with a short skirt below; dated to the early imperial period. Grandjouan 1961, 78, no. 1027, pl. 29, the arm of a bestiarius, dated to the third century C.E.

<sup>406</sup> Hanfmann 1960, 28.

paintings, and other media around the Empire.<sup>407</sup>

A very small figural fragment possibly depicts an actor from a farce (**292**); the extant piece preserves a short skirt with two thick plastic folds falling vertically down its center, and a few others, rendered in lower relief, fanning out diagonally from the former. More overtly associated with the theater, in this case the performances adapted from classical Greek plays, are a series of miniature and life-size theatrical masks (**314-323**). Miniature masks were already made and used in Hellenistic Sardis, but larger masks seem to have been more commonly produced in the wider Mediterranean world from the mid first century to the mid second century C.E.;<sup>408</sup> our examples (**318, 319, and 322**), however, appear to be slightly later.

Regardless of their size, the masks do not appear to have been worn; several scholars agree that the material would have made them too heavy and cumbersome for actual performance.<sup>409</sup> I have argued that because of the careful treatment of their backs, and because of the presence of other practical features such as piercings, it was likely that masks were at times nonetheless held in front of the faces of their owners, allowing for a certain amount of interactive play with an object that would have otherwise been inert. I believe that the same was true of the miniature examples; even though their size would have precluded proper placement on the head, working structures such as the open eyes would have allowed a person to look through them.

Theatrical masks made out of terracotta, then, should have served alternate purposes; comparative material found within informative contexts at other sites, and the frequent

---

<sup>407</sup> Dunbabin 1982. See, for example, charioteer mosaics from Dougga, Mérida, and Carthage (Dunbabin 1982, figs. 6, 15, and 18).

<sup>408</sup> Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, 99.

<sup>409</sup> Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, 99. Others, like G. M. E. C. Van Boekel, have argued for their use in proper theatrical settings, noting the masks' functional characteristics (e.g. convex backs, piercings for eyes, adequate size), and suggested that their cumbersome aspects may have been overcome if lined in cloth or leather. Van Boekel 1987, 804.

appearance of masks in other art forms, would suggest that, at least privately,<sup>410</sup> they served as offerings to the dead, as decorations for the home, and as protective talismans against evil; one particular role, of course, would not preclude the others.

The funerary function of masks at Sardis is perhaps the easiest to prove, since at least two masks have been found in association with burials. One of them is included in the catalogue (320), but its link with the graves in HoB is tenuous at best. The other was found within a grave, but I have not studied it personally;<sup>411</sup> it seems to have been about 15 centimeters in height, and to have depicted a woman with a frightened expression, and her hair styled up in a high mass of curls (Ill. 14).

The common appearance of masks on sculpted Roman sarcophagi further corroborates their association with death and burial.<sup>412</sup> The masks' potential as decorative objects for the home and garden, on the other hand, is suggested by the holes that would have made them ideal for hanging from walls, or in between columns or pilasters, and by representations of this very phenomenon on painted walls.<sup>413</sup>

---

<sup>410</sup> Theatrical masks also appear in public monuments, for instance the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. See Jory 2002.

<sup>411</sup> This mask should be in the Manisa Museum but seems to have been misplaced. It was published when first discovered: Hanfmann 1964, 21, fig. 12. The grave that it was found in also contained another object in the catalogue, a rooster (325).

<sup>412</sup> For example, see Paribeni 1932, Cat. No. 83.

<sup>413</sup> The Second Style paintings in the so-called "Room of the Masks" in Augustus' house on the Palatine are a good example (See Cerutti and Richardson 1989, fig. 1). The walls in cubiculum 114 of Nero's Domus Aurea, now decorated in the Fourth Style, also depict masks in their top register (Iacopi 1999, figs. 121-122). See also some walls in Terrace House 2 in Ephesus (Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, figs. 176, 177, and 179), and Ambiente B in the Casa Belleza in the Aventine (Boldrighini 2003, figs. 111 and 112a-d).

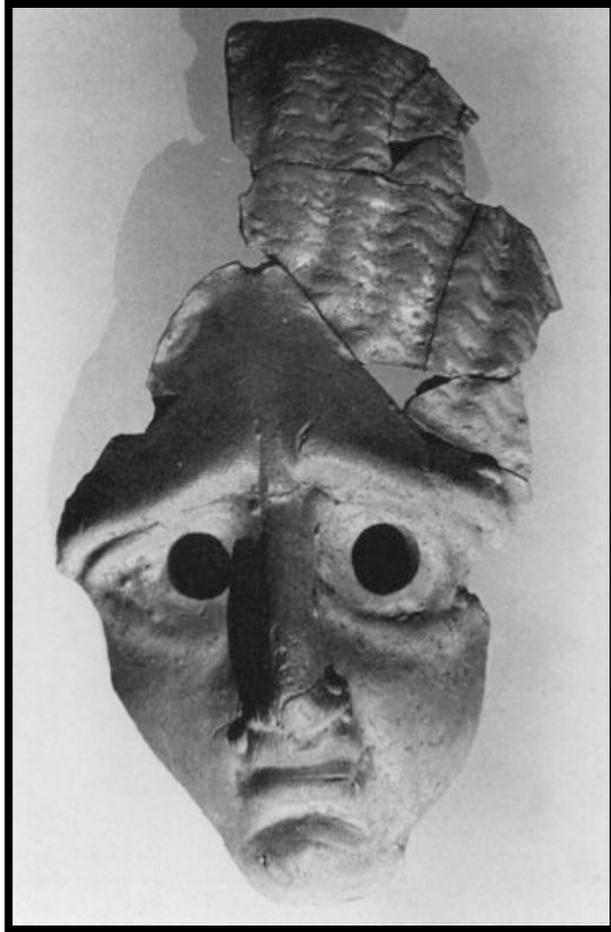


Illustration 14: Roman theatrical mask found within a grave.  
Not to scale.

The longstanding tradition of hanging masks may have started in shrines to Dionysus,<sup>414</sup> whose association with the theater suggested this kind of offering to his devotees.<sup>415</sup> The connection with Dionysus is important, since a couple of the better-preserved fragments from Sardis seem to depict characters associated with the god's *thiasos* (318 and 319). In her recent study of the funerary votive masks from Lipari, Agnes Schwarzmaier challenges studies that see these terracottas as direct colonial reproductions of Attic theater, and notes instead the

---

<sup>414</sup> Jory 2002, 239.

<sup>415</sup> Athenian actors are believed to have dedicated their masks to the god after giving a performance. Green and Handley 1995, 76.

uniqueness of their symbolic programs.<sup>416</sup> The masks, she believes, were conceived to conjure a symposium in the Dionysian tradition, and were likely deposited during the performance of a similar funerary banquet right after the burial. A similar phenomenon may have occurred at Sardis.

While the rest of the Sardinian masks appear to represent several stock comedic characters, and scholars have often tried to identify specific mask types following the descriptions offered by Pollux in the *Onomasticon*, one must be careful to remember that small-scale sculpture in terracotta was its own distinct medium with its own traditions. It is perhaps more sensible to imagine clay masks as objects that indicated theatricality, rather as faithful imitators of the tools used by real performers.<sup>417</sup>

One must similarly note the peculiarities of the coroplastic medium when dealing with figures that are often labeled as grotesques or as caricatures. In his study dedicated to what he termed the “pathological grotesque,”<sup>418</sup> William E. Stevenson proposed clear definitions for these terms and encouraged other scholars to refrain from conflating the two. Although the label “grotesque” is often used as “a catch-all term applied to anything potentially or actually peculiar, out of the ordinary, grossly exaggerated or obscene,”<sup>419</sup> Stevenson suggested that it should be reserved to label only the figures that were peculiar because they represented an actual pathological disorder or infirmity; caricature, on the other hand, should be used to denote works that have grotesque qualities that result from a misrepresentation and distortion of an observed reality.<sup>420</sup>

---

<sup>416</sup> Schwarzmaier 2011, 26-29, 201-217.

<sup>417</sup> Handler 2012, 128.

<sup>418</sup> Stevenson 1975.

<sup>419</sup> Stevenson 1975, 23-24.

<sup>420</sup> Best explained by Stevenson (1975, 32), “the ultimate distinction, therefore, between caricature and pathological grotesque is one between two antipodal artistic intents; the one for intentional exaggeration

While the differentiation between the two approaches is certainly meaningful, the sure identification of a coroplast's intention is often difficult to ascertain, especially if the materials under study are fragmentary. That is certainly the case with a couple of phalli found at Sardis (312 and 313). Similar in size and manufacture, both seem to be anatomically correct, though the former reveals a much more naturalistic approach than the latter. They are also similarly broken near the area of potential attachment to a figure, so that it is impossible to determine whether they functioned as autonomous figurines, or as attachments to others. That phalli could be modeled separately from the statuettes they festooned is suggested by a contorted dwarf from Sardis (297) who was provided with a round depression for the attachment of his member (now missing). The two phalli in question seem too large to properly fit a figurine such as the dwarf, but there is no reason to suppose that they must have been proportional to the body they belonged to.<sup>421</sup> Did the potentially overlarge phalli function then as caricatures, or were they honest depictions of a real physical deformity? And how would this have affected the impression they had on their viewers?

The difficulties in differentiating exaggerated invention from straightforward depiction are amplified when considering figural representations of mimes. The mime, a variety of comic performance that often privileged the visual over the verbal, had a clear relation to legitimate comic theater,<sup>422</sup> and, like it, played with the reversal of expected and proper social roles. In statuette form, many of its performers transformed into grotesque figures, their ugly and

---

to produce a comic effect, the other, intentional realism toward the actual representation of a phenomenon.”

<sup>421</sup> See, for instance, three ithyphallic terracotta sileni dated to ca. 480 B.C.E., in Hanfmann 1967, 40-41, V.

<sup>422</sup> As noted by Stevenson (1975, 21), ‘the institution of the mime was a vulgarization of the New Comedy which retained after the latter’s disintegration its stock characters. In a comic sense these figures which were physically distorted with masks or costumes could be considered ‘grotesques,’ but not ‘caricatures.’”

deformed bodies functioning as signs of moral imperfection, and deployed to incite healthy laughter. They were also often shown wearing the Phrygian cap,<sup>423</sup> a triangular hat that was originally part of traditional Anatolian costumes, and was early on appropriated by conquering elites as an easy signifier of otherness.

Some modern theories of humor,<sup>424</sup> in particular those concerned with superiority, point out that laughter may boost the traits or actions of an individual or group vis-à-vis those of another, especially when amusement is generated by the perceived misfortune of the latter. The truly malformed, the strange or misunderstood, and even those who merely act the part, provide excellent fodder for this kind of humor. The one who laughs is able to exert control, either real or imagined, over that which occasioned his laughter. In the case of the laughing Romans and their laughed-at subordinates, whose traditional attribute—the pointed cap—had been conflated with signs of moral imperfection, that control was real.

It is therefore significant that the Sardian coroplastic corpus includes mimes that wear the Phrygian cap (304-306), perhaps alongside some that do not (301-303), and definitely together with a couple that were instead bedecked with the coiffure reserved for the upper class women of the empire (307-308). The latter examples present a sort of carnivalesque reversal that turns the rigid, imperial class system upside down; by appropriating the physical signifiers of wealth and power, and making the mighty the object of a joke, the disenfranchised assume the role of the privileged. Comic inversions of this type, however, are only temporary; in this case they end up emphasizing the very class difference they are trying to subvert. The mime, in the end, has to

---

<sup>423</sup> Stevenson (1975, 73) believes that because some deformities are not meant to be exaggerations but portrayals of actual pathologies, only grotesques that wear the Phrygian cap should be labeled as mimes. While I would agree with him that not all grotesques should be identified with the mime (as opposed to Richter 1913), one should also allow for the possibility that a coroplast might have also wanted to represent performers with real disabilities.

<sup>424</sup> See Clarke 2007, 4-9.

undo his hair and put on his hat.

Other fragmentary statuettes also walk a fine line between caricature and the grotesque. Especially in cases where no head survives, it is difficult to determine the intentions of the coroplasts who made them. Bodies of contorted dwarfs, such as **297** and **298**, likely fall within the category of the pathological grotesque. It should be noted that these two examples in particular are similar to well-known statuettes from Smyrna,<sup>425</sup> however, because of the proximity of the sites, and the similarity of their clays, it is a challenge to ascertain their origin. In the absence of clear evidence either way, I have decided to think of them as locally produced rather than imported. The close relationship of the sites in terms of the figurine types that their artisans chose to make, and the styles they sought to adapt, should be noted nonetheless.

Perhaps more clearly aligned with the caricaturesque is a series of at least four distinct figurines that seem to represent squatting, ithyphallic men (**293-296**). At least two of the fragments were made in the same mold, while another pair was cast from a slightly larger mold, suggesting that the statuette must have been highly sought after. To the best of my knowledge, the type is a local original: an overly muscular man, fully nude, posed in a deep squat, with his arms to the back, and his hands placed upon his buttocks for better leverage. In fragmentary form, however, the parts that make up this comic whole resemble those that make up striding heroic males, and could have been easily misidentified as such. The sheer exaggeration of the muscles and the unusual stance are enough, however, to negate any associations with ideal muscular bodies and their attendant virtues. His body distorted, the squatting man is perhaps deformed to the very core of his character, and despite his potential strength, rendered powerless.

---

<sup>425</sup> Contorted dwarfs from Smyrna (Besques 1972, pls. 244-245) are typically dated to the Hellenistic period, though for instance, Simone Besques notes that they could be Roman instead. (e.g. Besques 1972, 174, no. D1227, pl. 243, e. Stevenson (1975, 171-172) argues that the pathological grotesque was more commonly produced in the first centuries C.E.

Whether the figure was used primarily to incite laughter, or rather embodied some nuanced critique about power and how it was reinforced through material culture, remains a thorny question.

Finally, a small group of fierce heads should be undoubtedly labeled as caricatures (**309-311**). Though they have little else in common, all three appear to have belonged to growling men, with stylized features so exaggerated as to occasion laughter (likely salubrious) rather than fear.

#### **4.3.2 Animals**

Representations of animals for their own sake, rather than as divine attendants or mortal companions, came back into their own during the Roman period at Sardis, and began to regain some of the popularity they had enjoyed during the first half of the first millennium B.C.E.

Animal figurines, however, did not become dominant again until after the fourth century C.E.<sup>426</sup>

##### ***Rooster***

The rooster is the most widely represented animal at Sardis during the Roman period. At least six figures depict the bird (**325-330**); although different in their size and sculptural approach, the composition seems to be the same for all the statuettes: the bird stands, at least in one case atop a base (**325**), with feet together, wings held close to the body, neck and head held high, and tail majestically exposed.<sup>427</sup> The bodies are divided down their sagittal planes, and although modeled in the round, the left side usually exhibits a higher level of detailing, and presumably should have faced the viewer.

Roosters were, of course domestic animals, but they were also prized as fighting birds;

---

<sup>426</sup> For a very thorough and recent discussion of the functions and meanings of terracotta animals in Greco-Roman Egypt see Boutantin 2014.

<sup>427</sup> Compare to Boutantin 2014, 374, nos. 258-259, dated to the second or third centuries C.E., from a tomb in Tounah.

they were occasionally sacrificed to the Lares, and sometimes appear as companions to the god Mercury.<sup>428</sup> These figurines likely functioned as votives to the household gods; at least one, however, may have served as a rattle for a child (327), and another (325), found near the pelvis of a skeleton within a sarcophagus, was a grave gift.

### *Other animals*

At least five other animals are accounted for; three of these, the horse, the lion, and the goat, appear in the coroplastic assemblages of Sardis from early on, and have been discussed in previous chapters. The other two, the bear and the dolphin, seem to make their appearance at the site for the first time during the Roman period. Two furry legs probably belonged to bears (334 and 335);<sup>429</sup> the latter's odd positioning suggests that the animal was a performer. There were bears in Asia Minor, and they were perhaps the most commonly hunted and displayed animals in the Roman world.<sup>430</sup> Bear figurines made out of Yorkshire jet are known to have functioned as amulets worn around the neck, and at least one example has been found within the grave of a child at Malton;<sup>431</sup> this suggests that bear figures may have been considered apotropaic.

A figural fragment depicting a tail fin might have belonged to a dolphin (337).<sup>432</sup> Dolphins are associated with Aphrodite, and often appear in the company of her son in coroplastic representations. Romans appreciated dolphins because of their snub-noses, and because of their friendliness and supposed musical inclinations.<sup>433</sup> According to Pliny,<sup>434</sup> the dolphin was the swiftest of all animals, and as such, its representations could have functioned as

---

<sup>428</sup> Toynbee 1973, 257.

<sup>429</sup> Compare to Grandjouan 1961, 67, no. 794, pl. 19, dated to the third century C.E.

<sup>430</sup> Toynbee 1973, 93.

<sup>431</sup> Toynbee 1973, 99-100.

<sup>432</sup> Compare to Goldman 1950, 324, no. 106, fig. 221, an Eros on a dolphin.

<sup>433</sup> Toynbee 1973, 206.

<sup>434</sup> Plin. Nat. IX.7.20.

indexes of speed. Perhaps relatedly, they are often featured in funerary art as symbolic of the journey the dead soul must undertake,<sup>435</sup> it would have not been odd, then, for a figure of a dolphin to serve as a grave offering.

### *Wheels*

Though not technically animals, because the wheels present in the Roman coroplastic corpus from Sardis are provided with clear means of attachment to another figure, they are discussed here (338-342).<sup>436</sup> Even if the figure in question were a cart rather than a horse<sup>437</sup> or bull, the presence of the beasts of burden would have been implied by the cart's motion. These dynamic objects may have functioned as votives or as toys.

All but the last of our samples seem to have been made in a similar way, with the aid of single-sided molds. The number of spokes, their thickness, and their level of ornateness vary from wheel to wheel, but all share the general arrangement of their parts and the fact that they were solid, that is, that there are no openings in between their spokes. "Open" wheels have been attested elsewhere in the Mediterranean. A particularly interesting case is that of a recently excavated Roman coroplastic atelier in the Athenian agora.<sup>438</sup> Marcie Handler, the primary excavator and researcher, noted that wheels made up the bulk of the workshop's output (she recorded 110 fragments), and that they were consistent in one of two forms: an open wheel with four spokes, or a solid wheel with six.<sup>439</sup> The more varied approaches at Sardis may indicate the involvement of several different workshops in the manufacture of wheels.

---

<sup>435</sup> Toynbee 1973, 207.

<sup>436</sup> Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, some wheels seem to have functioned as votives by themselves; that does not seem to be the case at Sardis. See Thompson 1959, 143, no. 35, pl. 30, for example.

<sup>437</sup> A wheeled-horse dated to the Neronian period was found at Corinth. See Shear 1930, 430, fig. 20.

<sup>438</sup> Handler 2012.

<sup>439</sup> Handler 2012, 55-60.

#### 4.4 Find Contexts

A good ten percent of the figurines dated to the Roman period at Sardis can be traced to a functional funerary context; the numbers prove categorically that figurines were still being used as grave goods, and furthermore, that a funerary function was not limited to any particular type of figure. Subjects found in graves include animals (**324**, a horse, **325**, a rooster); divinities or humans in their guise (**230** and **256**, Aphrodite/Venus types); performers (**291**, a charioteer); theatrical masks (**320**); grotesques (**297**, a contorted dwarf); and even children (**274**).

Most other findspots prove more difficult to interpret. At least seven figural fragments (**286**, **287**, **293-296**, and **307**), all associated to the world of entertainment, were found near each other and in close proximity to the Roman city wall at the east edge of the site.<sup>440</sup> Their significant concentration, the fact that the group contains duplicates, and the location of their discovery not far away from the Sardinian theater and stadium, suggests that perhaps a dedicated atelier or shop was located nearby.

A final noteworthy context is that presented by a pithos found near an “L”-shaped Roman wall within a large torrent bed northeast of the Artemis Temple.<sup>441</sup> The pithos contained at least 17 objects, including several amphorae and plain ware pots, a couple of flasks, a bronze coin, and two figural terracottas (**267** and **268**). This was seemingly a modest domestic assemblage.

#### 4.5 Conclusions

A significant conclusion to draw from the evidence available at Sardis is that figural terracottas are still prominent within the material production of the Roman Imperial period. Their formal styles are similar to those of objects made in previous centuries, granted that there is a perceptible progress towards the linear and the frontal. Preferred subjects change, however, not

---

<sup>440</sup> See Ill. 2, no. 9.

<sup>441</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 118-120.

so much in the types represented, but in their quantities relative one another; animals, for instance, start slowly regaining the popularity that they enjoyed in the early traditions, while the interest in secular female subjects, so fashionable in the fourth century B.C.E. and thereafter, starts to wane. The most marked change is the increased presence of subjects associated with the world of spectacle and entertainment, which in turn may indicate a change in the function of the figurines.

I believe that there is a noticeable shift in the Roman Imperial period as figural terracottas fulfill religious votive needs less frequently, and function more often as cheap, secular objects within the home (as toys, decoration, souvenirs, etc.). The modifier “cheap” is important in this instance, as it does not seem that terracottas were acting as status symbols anymore, as I contend that they were during the Lydian and Persian periods, when coroplastics (especially those associated with architecture) were closely linked with the ruling elite, or in the early Hellenistic period, when figurines, especially those gilded and posed on plinths, may have worked as miniature versions of monumental art. Tangible fluctuations in the standards of manufacture of the Roman figurines can be thus explained by their new roles in the home, and the connection of those roles with the popular classes.

That most of these observations hold true at other contemporary sites is significant; however, changes in manufacturing standards, especially, tend to be interpreted as signs of decline and as the result of political instability. In making sense of local Sardinian traditions within the Mediterranean world, I would like to argue that neither a model of decline nor a volatile political situation are necessary to explain the observable trends in Roman Imperial coroplastic production.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**THE LATER FIGURINES**  
**(Nos. 343-395)**

About 15 percent of the figurines found at Sardis were made or used after the fourth century C.E. and into the sixth century C.E. Although a few later examples demonstrate that figural works in clay did not disappear entirely from the Sardian material landscape (388-395), the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. witnessed the last strong surge of coroplastic activity at the site.

Thanks to the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, which among other things saw the designation of Sardis as capital of the new province of Lydia, the city experienced a sort of revival; it is interesting to note, however, that although fresh construction, renovation, and decorative programs were undertaken at this time, the quality of the materials used declined, and the practice of spoliation increased.<sup>442</sup> New public works included a synagogue within the old Bath-Gymnasium complex (now protected by a recent extension of the city wall), and several Christian churches, one of which was built close to the southeast corner of the Temple of Artemis.<sup>443</sup>

By the later sixth and seventh centuries C.E., Sardis was no longer a thriving metropolis but a small settlement with a fortress on a high peak. Several military incursions from the east managed to upend well-established routes of commerce and communication, resulting in extensive resettlement and a marked diminution of the local population. The situation would remain virtually unchanged until Sardis became part of the Empire of Nicaea (Iznik) during the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century C.E.; because the administrative heart of the now shrunken state was

---

<sup>442</sup>Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 146.

<sup>443</sup>Church M, built ca. 400 C.E. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 195.

located in nearby Magnesia, the site benefited from its proximity to once more popular routes. Sardis then came under the control of the Turkish state of Saruhan in the 14<sup>th</sup> century C.E. and of the Ottomans in the 15<sup>th</sup> century C.E.; under both regimes the site continued to be a clerical center for its region. More recently, with the increased accessibility facilitated by the construction of the Izmir-Ankara highway, Sardis (now the village of Sart) experienced a spurt of growth and development, despite the fact that the center of the region had been moved east to the city of Salihli.<sup>444</sup>

For the most part, the Sardian figurines of the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. were still made in molds, and followed manufacturing procedures similar to those of the preceding centuries. An increased use of pointed tools for rendering surface detail is evident, as well as a firmly established frontal stylistic approach to many of the depicted subjects. Like some contemporary ceramics, rather than being painted, several statuettes were covered in a highly micaceous wash that gave their surface a golden or metallic appearance.

Humans were still represented in figurine form, but animals, especially large quadrupeds, account for about 75 percent of the Late Roman sample. The shifted preferences in terms of subject matter likely resulted from the similarly shifted demographics of the Sardian population. A greater presence of Christians and Jews, and of others who had no need of figurines as religious votives, meant that statuettes were being produced to fulfill other roles. Whatever these roles were, they seem to either have been satisfied by other objects or deemed unnecessary after the city began to decline in the sixth century C.E.

Figural works in clay reappear at the site sometime before the 17<sup>th</sup> century C.E., and once more in the 20<sup>th</sup> century C.E.; the little evidence that we have acquired concerning these objects

---

<sup>444</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum, 24.

will also be discussed in this chapter.

### 5.1 The Late Roman Figurines

All of the terracotta figurines found at Sardis that appear to have been made between the fourth and seventh centuries C.E., are, as far as I can tell, local products. They were constructed from the same clay as their predecessors, using similar techniques, and as in other periods, share a certain affinity of surface treatment to contemporary ceramic products. It is likely that at this moment of reduced production, figurines were once more made by the same artisans who crafted other ceramic vessels, and that they were thus fired alongside objects that required higher temperatures; this might explain why the Late Roman sample shows an increase in hard fired figurines as compared to preceding centuries when statuettes were more popular commodities and perhaps produced and fired separately at lower temperatures.

The few figurines that depict humans are mostly consistent in style and construction, and are all heads, rather than torsos or limbs. Other than a bust of a military man (343), and a very fragmentary head of a woman sporting an elaborate fourth century C.E. coiffure (344),<sup>445</sup> the sex and potential divinity of the others are practically impossible to ascertain. The heads in question (345-352) are highly stylized and appear to share the following features: round or elongated almond-shaped eyes within circular frames, usually with a pierced or clearly recessed pupil (e.g. 349-352); noses with narrow bridges and suddenly broad bottoms (shaped like an upside-down “T”), and clearly indicated nostrils (e.g. 346 and 349); and elongated, oval mouths, with a very narrow recessed line at their center, as if partially open (e.g. 346). When hair is present, it is represented by upraised circles with depressed centers (e.g. 350-351). All of these features may be plastically rendered or incised, or communicated by a combination of both techniques.

---

<sup>445</sup> Compare to Grandjouan 1961, 16, 48, no. 189, pl. 5.

The impression is that these figurines were rather severe and emotionless, an effect that would have been furthered by the lack of bright, local colors on their surfaces. It seems that instead of being decorated with naturalistic pigments, these statuettes were covered in dark, brown-red mottled slips that did not require the additional step of a white preparatory ground. It is likely that the mottled slip was applied to the statuettes before firing, and it perhaps suggests that some of these fragments belonged to vessels with figural attachments rather than to autonomous figures. In fact, an almost smiling head with round eyes and round curls (350) has a thick-walled, shallow, open vessel attached to its crown.

In addition to the human heads and the military bust, two fragmentary theatrical masks dating to the fourth century C.E. have been found at Sardis. One of them is a miniature (353), and preserves a very detailed and stylized almond-shaped eye below a high brow. The brow and the eyelids were rendered in high relief, while the iris and pupil were incised; notched lines further textured most of the surface.

The second mask, perhaps that of a priestess, is large and quite heavy, and could have been worn over an adult face, at least briefly (354).<sup>446</sup> It has hair arranged in an intricate fourth century C.E. style, comparable to that sported by a contemporary head (344). She seems to have been further festooned with a crown and garlands. Because a thick white ground covers both front and back surfaces, the mask was likely painted following the same techniques used on figurines since the Hellenistic period.

Unfortunately, neither the masks nor the human heads were found in contexts connected to manufacture or use so that it is difficult to determine how the people of Sardis consumed and deployed them. The bust of the military man belongs to a long-standing Roman tradition, and as

---

<sup>446</sup> Compare to Grandjouan 1961, 16, 48, no. 189, pl. 5.

such, would not have been a rare product within the Sardinian material landscape. Elsewhere in the Roman provinces, terracotta busts have been found in sanctuaries and graves,<sup>447</sup> so it is possible that the bust from Sardis could have had a religious or funerary function. Busts in other materials, such as bronze or marble, have been found in domestic contexts, so that a more mundane use, perhaps decorative, cannot be discounted. The masks, which also have a long history of production at the site, could, like busts, be associated with graves or houses. Regardless, it is significant to note is that for this period at the site, one can no longer attach a religious function to the figurines with any certainty.

A few other humans are represented alongside animals as their riders; one of them is the only demonstrable divinity in the sample: the god Amor riding astride a camel (**355**). The almost complete figure of the god and his mount seems to have been a lamp rather than a figurine proper, but it nonetheless merits discussion here since the legs of the camel were made in the same fashion as those of other quadrupeds from Sardis (**367-377**). The clay figure is also interesting for the seeming contrast between its crude bottom half, and its fine, lively top.

Well-balanced, and able to stand on its own, the figural lamp or statuette was meant to be enjoyed from multiple angles, although its proper left side might have offered the primary view. The camel walks, striding forward with its left foreleg and right hind leg. Its tail, which resembles a leaf, is short and points out and up. The face is gentle, with soft, rounded features, giving the impression that the camel is smiling affably.

Meanwhile, Amor sits on an ornate saddle. His wings, textured in relief, fall back as he looks to the left. His right arm surrounds the fill hole for the vessel, as if it were some kind of pot on his lap. There is an additional, smaller hole on the camel's head, perhaps the wick hole, but it

---

<sup>447</sup> Van Boekel 1987, 629.

does not have a conspicuous finished rim, and was probably not meant to be noticed. Amor's left arm is kept back, with the elbow bent at a 90-degree angle, and the hand grasping a bow, which then hangs down upon his thigh. His left leg falls back, while the right leg swings forward, ensuring that the figure is balanced not only structurally but also compositionally.

The sides of Amor's body do not reflect each other perfectly, nor do those of the camel's body; the arrangement is subtle, but lends a significant amount of movement to the piece. The god seems to be riding happily along, flapping his legs as a child would, while the camel slowly tumbles about. The unaffected cadence of the figure is then contrasted by the solid, trunk-like legs of the camel, and by the particular surface treatment: a very thin and glittery micaceous wash instead of colored pigments.

Smiling camels with rounded, gentle features account for a reasonable portion of the animals represented in the Sardian sample (355-357).<sup>448</sup> These benevolent creatures also appear in the wall decoration of the peristyle forecourt of the synagogue,<sup>449</sup> the area most visitors would have seen first upon entering the building, which was seemingly remodeled various times during the sixth century C.E. Improvements to the forecourt included newly painted plaster walls along with marble revetment, some of which was done in an opus sectile technique known as *skoutlosis*. Opus sectile fragments in the shape of birds, dolphins, fish, donkeys, and camels were excavated in this area; they all have very expressive countenances, and should be understood as signs of abundance instead of as specifically Jewish symbols.<sup>450</sup>

The *skoutlosis* camels share several traits with their terracotta counterparts; chief among them are the rounded ears, the soft, furry necks, the communicative eyes, and the seemingly

---

<sup>448</sup> Slightly earlier examples from Egypt differ in their approach to the eyes and in the arrangement of the legs, but share the roundness of the ears. See Boutantin 2014, 293-321.

<sup>449</sup> Ill. 2, no. 2.

<sup>450</sup> Rousseau and Rautman 2014.

smiling mouths (Ill. 15).<sup>451</sup> The fact that camels appear in both secular and religious contexts, and in different media, attests to their appeal, as well as to their potentially malleable meanings.<sup>452</sup> Camels could accompany a pagan god like Amor, but also be suitable mounts for the three wise men of Christian tradition; they could decorate the forecourt of a synagogue, or illuminate a home in the shape of a lamp.

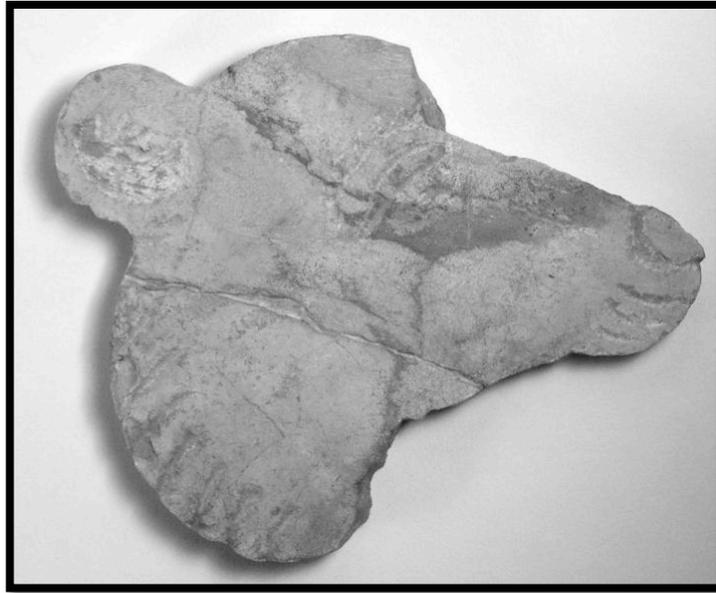


Illustration 15:  
*Skoutlosis* “camel” from the forecourt of the Sardis synagogue; marble.  
1:2

Another animal commonly represented in clay is the zebu (358-364).<sup>453</sup> The humped oxen in the Sardian sample are linear in style, with grooves used to indicate all their features, from the eyes, the wrinkles of the cheeks and neck, the ribs, and the bridles and saddles. The eyes are almond-shaped and alert, while the ears are downturned, and the mouths seem to smile.

---

<sup>451</sup> Published in Hanfmann 1972, 174, fig. 130, and described as a dog or sheep.

<sup>452</sup> See Toynbee 1973, 137-140.

<sup>453</sup> For a discussion of terracotta representations of zebus and other bovines in Egypt, see Boutantin 2014, 251-291.

The examples from Sardis appear to have been part of a series, as they plainly correspond to each other in shape, but not always in size. Like the camels, some of them may have functioned as lamps.

Zebus were, of course, useful beasts of burden, yet it is interesting that like the camels discussed above, they were rendered as expressive and smiling, perhaps in an attempt to underline their peaceful characters. Zebus and other domesticated animals, especially when friendly towards the wild beasts that should be their natural enemies, were understood in pagan and Judeo-Christian contexts alike as emblems of a “Golden Age” bursting with life and abundance.<sup>454</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that statuettes or figural vessels in the shape of benevolent quadrupeds became popular at Sardis from the fourth century C.E. onwards.

That zebus and other quadrupeds were desired in statuette form is attested by the ubiquity at the site of crude quadruped legs (**367-376**) similar to those on the camel that carried Amor (**355**). When only the legs are present, it is difficult to determine to what animal they might have belonged to, as the same style was used for camels, zebus, horses (**365-366**), and perhaps even lions (**372-373**).<sup>455</sup> They were all made with a combination of hand modeling and the use of bivalve, plaster molds, and are solid up to the juncture with the main body, with joints reinforced with thick coils of clay in the interior. The form of the legs is rather simple; they resemble tree-trunks and are mostly round in section, with very little anatomical detail rendered through modeling or incision. Their arrangement is straightforward as well; usually the right foreleg and hind leg are ahead of the left,<sup>456</sup> although the general impression is that they are all lined up on the same plane. Tails are either fused to the body along the sagittal plane (e.g. **373**), or placed

---

<sup>454</sup> Toynbee 1973, 284-288.

<sup>455</sup> A strikingly similar example from Ephesus, now in the British Museum, has been identified as a lion or panther, wearing a saddle. Burn and Higgins 2001, 166, no. 2463, pl. 78.

<sup>456</sup> The camel that carries Amor seems to be an exception.

along the haunch of the animal in low relief (e.g. **366**). In many cases it seems that the finished product was covered in a glittering, micaceous wash rather than painted.

While the legs are simple and highly functional (all can stand unaided, and their solid interiors would have made them safe for grabbing and carrying), the top halves of the figures can be finely modeled and manipulated to create different animals or compositional groups of varying complexity (e.g. **355** and **365**). Perhaps all of these animal statuettes were made by one or two workshops; if so, the economy of their methods is admirable, as well as the creativity involved in producing a seemingly endless variety of products. The addition of recessed circles turns the basic legs into those of a spotted, or perhaps, armored animal (**377**), for example; a simple rotation of the axis of the figure, and a leg suddenly becomes the wing of a bird (**378**). It is further significant that these figures, in all of their variations, have been found in late contexts in multiple sectors around the site; once more, regrettably, none of their findspots is particularly helpful in determining their use.

Fragments of differently constructed animals were also found within late fills at Sardis; these include parts of birds (**379-380**), bears (**381-382**), canines (**383-384**), and other quadrupeds (**385-386**). Most of these were formed in molds, but at least one (**385**) is handmade and solid. Two of the fragments more than likely belonged to figural vessels, as suggested by piercings on their mouths that might have served as pour holes (**383** and **386**).

Of the attested animals, only the canines have not been identified with certainty among the examples from earlier periods at the site. Dogs had many roles in the ancient world; they could be household guards or wranglers of sheep, trained performers or beloved pets, and on occasion, even draught animals.<sup>457</sup> One of the fragments from Sardis (**384**) was probably a guard

---

<sup>457</sup> See Boutantin 2014, 217-250, for Egyptian examples.

dog or pet, as implied by the thick collar around its neck. It is an interesting figure in that although its ears and muzzle correspond to those of other terracotta dogs found in sites around the Mediterranean,<sup>458</sup> its eyes are overlarge and bulging, almost as if a caricature. Perhaps this figure, like its distorted human equivalents, was meant to protect its owner by occasioning healthy laughter.

A final figurine that deserves mention is that of a horse and rider (**387**) found among the ruins of a Roman bath building that seems to have remained in use up until the seventh century C.E. (sector CG).<sup>459</sup> It is difficult to say when this piece was made, as its manufacture is unusual, and the latest datable associated material is a coin of the 12<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>460</sup> It is a local creation, though the clay is coarser than usual for figurines. It is heavy, handmade and solid, and seems to have been formed by bringing together several straps of sliced clay, and then arranging and smoothing them together into the desired shape. The horse's body consists of two of these straps, each forming the hind and foreleg of one side, and meeting at the torso along the figure's sagittal plane. The animal's head and neck were formed by a separate strap, as were the saddle (two straps) and the rider (distinct straps for the torso, arms and legs). No finishing surface treatment is evident.

Horse and rider figurines have a long tradition of manufacture in the ancient world,<sup>461</sup> especially at sites east of Sardis;<sup>462</sup> the local example, however, bears little resemblance to its more famous eastern cousins. The Sardian figure rather looks like an object that someone constructing amphorae or other utility vessels could have made at the end of a long day at work;

---

<sup>458</sup> See Van Boekel 1987, 725-732, nos. 219-223, for example. Also, Boutantin 2014, 243, no. 96, dated first to third centuries C.E., from Hawara.

<sup>459</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 164.

<sup>460</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 142-143.

<sup>461</sup> Egypt, for instance; Boutantin 2014, 163-216.

<sup>462</sup> See for instance Downey 2003, 142-152, nos. 91-98, figs. 84-95.

not only is the coarse clay not typical of figurines, but the slicing technique is that usually employed in the crafting of strap handles. What makes a coroplast, then? Is the title applicable only to those who produce figurines professionally, or is anyone who gives into the urge of sculpting clay into a figure worthy of it as well?

Irrespective of how narrowly one defines the term, coroplasts were operating at Sardis up until at least the seventh century C.E. The works that they produced embodied certain seeming incongruities; sometimes rudimentary in appearance, their clay was nevertheless refined, and their bodies proficiently fired. Depictions of humans seem to have followed the hieratic standards of the age, while those of animals, although linear and stylized, evidence a greater freedom in their conception. Eventually, though, the needs that the figurines were fulfilling diminished or found some other outlet, and the production of terracotta statuettes rapidly declined.

## **5.2 A Group of Zoomorphic Whistles**

After a possible hiatus in coroplastic production of as many as one thousand years, small-scale clay sculpture re-emerged at Sardis. It is difficult to say exactly when terracotta figurines ceased being made at the site; barring a traumatic and abrupt disruption in the way of life of the city's inhabitants, the process was likely a gradual one. Additionally, one should consider that wherever there was a working kiln and the raw materials for making clay objects, there were hands, either idle, or tired, or tentative, that could form clay into something else. For all we know, figurines were made at Sardis without interruption, but just informally enough to leave no discernible traces in the archaeological record.

Although the evidence relating to them is scant, a set of five zoomorphic whistles forms a coherent group worth studying (**388-392**). They were found in the sector known as Pactolus

North,<sup>463</sup> in between what the excavators described as two “Islamic” levels sloping down to the west. The upper level was associated with two or three rectangular constructions, while the lower level contained three aligned and reused column bases, an odd curving wall, and more significantly, a group of 13 coins dated to 1687-1688, or to the reign of Sultan Süleyman II.<sup>464</sup> The whistles seem to have been more closely associated with the lower level, so the late 17<sup>th</sup> century C.E. might be a plausible *terminus ante quem* for their construction.

The group consists of three horses, at least one of them saddled, and two birds, perhaps hens. They still function nicely, producing a high-pitched whistle that disappointingly neither sounds like a neighing horse, nor like a chirping bird.

The hens are the smallest and the simplest in form. They were partially moldmade, and partially handmade from a single piece of clay, with hollow, globular bodies, long pointed necks, and flattened tails. The mouthpiece for the whistle lies across the tail’s end, oval and horizontal, while a circular vent is positioned under the tail. But for the neck and head, the entire body comprises the sound chamber. In one of the two examples (**391**), the clay used was very finely levigated, with no inclusions other than the local mica. Both, however, were self-slipped before being fired to a hard state.

When not in use, the hens can “stand” on their own, resting with their tails and underbellies on a supporting surface, while their necks and heads look slightly up. When in use, the hens can be grasped by the thumb and index finger from below; in fact, one of the examples (**392**) has a slight round depression at the place where the thumb naturally lands, providing for a safer grip.

---

<sup>463</sup> Sector PN; no. 10 in Ill. 2.

<sup>464</sup> Hanfmann 1965, 3.

The horse whistles, which are larger and more complex, seem to have been fully handmade, and are mostly solid. First, a solid tube of clay was rolled up to make the main body of the horse; four smaller tubes with rounded ends made the legs, and a separate piece of clay, flattened and pinched, made the head. Once the pieces were attached to each other, a thin sheet of clay would be rolled out, and then placed over the basic form, almost as if skin; modeled and painted detail would be added to this layer. The back was then partially hollowed and modified to function as a sound chamber and mouthpiece. The finished product would have been very heavy, and able to stand unaided.

An almost complete example (388) gives us the best idea of what these horses would have looked like. Its body is tubular and roughly round in section, with the tubular legs attached at an oblique angle to it. Its head is very simple, with narrow, pinched-out muzzle, pointy ears that are kept back and separate from the head, and circular eyes rendered in relief. A small depression at the end of the muzzle looks like the beginnings of a smile. A short mane, also pinched up, adorns the thick and wobbly neck. The horse carries a high saddle with a cylindrical container (a quiver?) placed on its front right side. The functioning parts of the whistle are located in the hindquarters of the horse. A short, strap-like projection off the horse's rump, the tail, is the mouthpiece. A round vent lies atop the horse's rump near the tail; the area underneath is hollow and functions as the sound chamber.

A vitreous, white glaze, decorated with irregular blue stripes, covers the horse from its head to the back of the saddle. The right eye is blue, while the left eye is white. There seems to have been no concern for naturalism in the application of the pattern to the painted surface. Most of the stripes are short, thick, and hastily applied; two long, thin lines cover the length of the neck at the front. Around the muzzle, a possible circle might be interpreted as a harness. The

quiver and saddle are painted in the same pattern, as if they were part of the horse rather than separate objects. The working section of the whistle, notably, was left in reserve. The other two examples (**389** and **390**) seem to have been painted in a similar pattern, with the former being striped in green rather than blue, and both showing a matte, rather than vitreous, white ground as base.

Irene Bald Romano, while studying the figurines from Gordion, came upon a piece similar to the Sardian horse whistles. Because it was missing the functional back, she had no way of knowing that it may have been an instrument. It was decorated with a thick vitreous glaze in either green or dark brown over a white ground, close perhaps to what remains on **389**. It was found within a pit alongside Byzantine green-glazed pottery; its context and the type of vitrified glaze suggested a medieval date, between the ninth and fourteenth centuries C.E.<sup>465</sup> Another strikingly similar object was found in Lorca, in the region of Murcia, Spain.<sup>466</sup> Though only preserving part of the animal's trunk, its neck, and two partial forelegs, the presence of a possible sound chamber at its back suggested the ready identification of a horse-shaped whistle. Like the examples from Sardis, it was handmade in at least two observable phases; its preserved dimensions are also commensurate to those of the Sardian whistles. Finally, an analogous decorative scheme of parallel diagonal lines achieved by juxtaposing brushstrokes of manganese oxide and iron oxide was noted in the Lorcan piece.

---

<sup>465</sup> Romano 1995, 57, no. 147, pl. 35. For a contrast, see a very different zoomorphic whistle from Nishapur, dated to the ninth or tenth centuries C.E., is now held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (No. 39.40.116).

<sup>466</sup> Mas Belén 2011, 170-173, láms. 10-14. The archaeologists dates the fragment to the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.

Since one of the Sardinian horses has a saddle, a possible implication is that we are missing a rider; I believe, however, that there was none, at least not in the traditional sense.<sup>467</sup> The rider for the horse would have been provided by the whistler's hands, as the saddle affords the perfect space for a couple of fingers to grasp the object securely. These are very heavy objects; if used by a child, especially, the secured grip, with the thumb placed underneath and the index and middle finger placed within the saddle, would have been a welcome addition.

Children were not necessarily the sole users of these whistles. When brought up to the face, human and animal could become one, as they confronted the world in the same direction. A blow on its tail, and the animal suddenly came to life. Was the act joyful and life affirming, or the humorous breaking of a taboo? Was any of this supposed to be salubrious?<sup>468</sup>

Zoomorphic clay whistles and toys have also been found in the southern regions of Spain at Islamic sites of diverse dates and characters (public buildings and burials, for example) despite the fact that such representations were viewed by contemporaries as the physical remnants of Christian customs that should be rejected by Muslims.<sup>469</sup> In his study of the medieval clay instruments of the region, Roselló Bordoy argues that the importance of clay whistles lies in their ongoing survival as desired objects, and in the fact that they suppose “the persistence of a fundamental element in the art of noise-making, be it for therapeutic or magical ends, or simply for the pleasure of being a pest.”<sup>470</sup>

---

<sup>467</sup> For similar modern examples that do carry a rider see a group of 20<sup>th</sup> century C.E. whistles from Andalusia and Mallorca in Roselló Bordoy 1996, figs. 14-16.

<sup>468</sup> Roselló Bordoy (1996, 34) believes that the limited nature of whistles as instruments made them suitable apotropaic noise-makers in addition to their still valid use as attention-getters.

<sup>469</sup> Roselló Bordoy 1996, 34.

<sup>470</sup> My translation: “[...] la perduración de un elemento fundamental en el arte de hacer ruido, ya sea con fines terapéuticos, mágicos o simplemente por el placer de incordiar.” Roselló Bordoy 1996, 35.

Clay whistles are not currently made at Sardis, yet they are imported from nearby Denizli and sold next to the ancient ruins of the site.

### **5.3 Modern Explorations in Clay**

Following the zoomorphic whistles, no clay figurines were made at Sardis until perhaps the 20<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Once the Harvard-Cornell Exploration of Sardis got established in 1958, the residents of Sart began bringing ancient surface finds to the excavators for safekeeping and study. Despite the fact that these actions were not monetarily compensated, the presence of a few objects of questionable antiquity in the excavation's stores suggests that fakes were made at the site, and then passed along to the dig either knowingly or not.

Two such objects are a pair of almost identical figurines representing enthroned women holding up what appear to be mirrors (one of them is included in the catalogue as **393**). I found them in a box kept within the excavation's deposit alongside other statuettes. They had no context information attached to them, and no numbers written on them. A search of the dig's records proved fruitless, as the two had never been entered into the system. Interestingly, they must have been thought of as worthy of some minimal conservation, since one of them had its head reattached. They likely came into the excavation's possession sometime between 1958 and 1979, and must have been recognized as forgeries soon after, explaining why they were never properly recorded.

The subject is itself not odd; enthroned women and goddesses are commonly depicted in terracotta in most sites around the Mediterranean, including Sardis (e.g. **29** and **272**). The clay used to make the figurines was local and handled by someone used to working with this type of raw material. The form, construction, and surface of the figurines, however, are suspicious. Although these were made within a mold, it appears that they were constructed through the

method of slip casting, which requires that liquid clay be poured into the mold; the method is not attested in the ancient coroplastic examples from the site. Furthermore, while slip casting tends to produce very sharp contours, the edges of these figures are rounded, as in imitation of weathered and worn surfaces. A deviously homogenous layering of plaster accretions completed the “aging” of the products.

A better forgery is that of an almost complete, and very legible statuette of a girl (394). Only missing her feet, the young girl stands with legs together, and wears a long tunic with short sleeves that is somehow pulled up at the front to reveal her knees, although both hands seem otherwise engaged. She wears short hair, pulled away from the face and gathered in a roll at the back of the head. Her face is round with rounded cheeks, and looks down slightly to the right. Deep-set eyes are complemented by a slightly overbroad nose, and thin, tight lips formed into a small frown.

The fabric used to construct the figurine is once more local, though it was fired to produce a deeper red than is usual in the ancient statuettes. The feel of the piece is odd, as if the mold used in its manufacture were filled unevenly. Most incriminatory, however, is the fact that although the surface preserves some traces of white ground, these were tempered by the superimposition of terracotta colored paint, seemingly in an attempt to age the white color.

The last example is likely not a forgery, but an innocent experimentation with clay (395). It was found when sifting the contents of a wheelbarrow, and, although of doubtful antiquity, there is no good reason to suppose that it is a modern product either. Only a “head” survives, and then only the front half of it. It is lumpy and oval in shape, with a crude face incised onto its surface: the eyes are rendered as two round depressions, the nose seems to be a semicircular line, and the mouth is a wide, straight slash. It is handmade and solid, with no extant painted

decoration, and badly baked if baked at all. The effect is both odd and comical, giving the impression that this was a face made, and later discarded, by a “coroplast” of opportunity. If that was the case, then this head is a lovely testament of the universal human tradition of shaping the materials around us, in many cases, to mirror our own image.

The history of Sardis and the lives of its current residents are now closely bound with the activities of the excavation. We are bound by material culture as Sardis was once bound to the Seleucids, or to the Romans, or to the Ottomans. That our relationship is forged in great part by objects, that these objects can embody conflicting meanings, and that they have active roles in the formation of archaeological discourse, is a notion that we should do well to keep in mind. In the same way that I reconstructed some of the figurines discussed in the previous chapters, these odd, modern statuettes, are the maker’s materialization of what he or she thought the archaeological object ought to look like to us. We expect that the remains of the past show the passage of time, so the figurines were damaged, their features worn, and their surfaces furthered obscured by plaster accretions. We expect that the remains of the past be understandable, so although broken, the figurines were presented as potentially whole. We expect that figurines be barely an art, so these are correspondingly uninspired. In his or her attempt to replicate the passage of time, the modern coroplasts revised it, and made way for a Sardis of sheer invention.

## CHAPTER SIX

### A TENUOUS GRASP

At the outset of this study I indicated my hope that an understanding of the figurines from Sardis would contribute to our knowledge of people; the previous chapters and the catalogue that follows, however, are primarily devoted to objects and only tangentially to the humans that made and used them. Because of the particular constitution of the Sardinian coroplastic corpus, my research has had to focus on the physicality of the figurines; with that done, one may then attempt an interpretation of the meanings that physicality had to the people that grasped these objects.

The verb “grasp” is used here intentionally because of its multiple meanings, and its association with both holding and understanding. During the majority of the periods under study, figurines were not just made to be looked at, but it was intended that they be touched and manipulated. It is likely that their easy malleability made them particularly successful political objects, that is, that people could effectively use them to represent, nourish, or challenge their relationships with others, and to actively apprehend the meanings of those relationships. Perhaps more significant for this study, it was through the patient act of holding and touching that I came to know much of what I do of the statuettes from Sardis. In the absence of complete figurines, of a large sample, or of informative find contexts, all of which may have led to easy but perhaps simplistic conclusions, I had to observe and touch the available fragments and attempt to imagine the effects that performing these same actions would have had on their original makers or owners. A further consideration was the uniqueness of these effects, and whether they could have also resulted from the interaction with other objects.

What then, makes Sardinian figurines materially distinct from other contemporary objects? In his analysis of pre-historic statuettes, Douglass Bailey chose three characteristics: that they were miniatures, that they were anthropomorphic, and that they were three-dimensional.<sup>471</sup> Although these traits do not always hold true for the sample under study, nor do they make the Sardinian figurines different from other contemporary materials, it is still helpful to begin by noting the statuettes' size and three-dimensionality.

Because most of them were small, figurines could be handled easily by both adults and children; many, in fact, could be effortlessly grasped with just one hand. While this is true of other miniature objects, for instance, small-scale sculpture in ivory or bronze, the feel of clay (either baked or unbaked) is fundamentally different from that of metal, stone or bone. Other clay objects -cups or plates, for example- may have felt superficially similar, but because of their shape required different interactions with the hand. It was neither their size nor their shape alone that made figurines distinct, then, but the combination of these two characteristics with the material from which they were made.

Clay is a soft substance when raw; it must be tempered with other materials in order for it to become workable, but even when tempered it retains its pliability. Bailey notes that once clay is fired it becomes "permanent and unchangeable;"<sup>472</sup> this is not true of the Sardinian figurines of the historic periods: painting and re-painting, the addition of movable parts, breaking, reassembling, trimming, etc., transformed the material physically as well as conceptually. I think that therefore there is much to learn from the feel of the clay, and from the careful consideration of how it was treated before and after firing.

---

<sup>471</sup> Bailey 2014.

<sup>472</sup> Bailey 2013, 254.

The figurines of the Lydian and Persian periods at Sardis are sturdy, they correspond well to the contours of the hand, and they have impeccably supple surfaces; that their haptic qualities were taken into consideration during the process of their manufacture is more than likely. These figurines were also brightly if simplistically painted, with a significant amount of visual intensity achieved by the strong contrasts between their colors. They would have been pleasurable to the sight and to the touch, and perhaps intended as commodities for the elite.<sup>473</sup>

In the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, figurines were available to a wider portion of Sardinian society and seem to have fulfilled a multiplicity of needs. Statuettes that were made to be viewed from just one angle, and that were thus displayed but rarely moved, were covered with vivid paints, but their surfaces were allowed to remain rough, and their backs were often plain or untreated. I do not believe that these changes in surface treatment are an indication of the “decline” of manufacturing practices or of the upsurge of a non-elite clientele, but are rather the appropriate way of meeting the objects’ functional requirements. Yet other figurines were carefully smoothed and worked in the round; these perhaps were to be inspected more carefully, by the children that played with them, by the symposiasts who used them as conversation fodder, or by the temple attendants who cared for them on behalf of a worshipped deity.

Eventually, the needs that figurines met evolved, ceased to exist, or were satisfied by other objects. More recently, terracotta statuettes were desired again, not as votives or toys or decoration, but as the valuable remnants of an unfamiliar past. Because we have very firm notions of what the archaeological object should appear like, the figurines that were made to match this recent demand look and feel old, their surfaces roughened and accreted, their bodies broken and worn down.

---

<sup>473</sup> The association and many parallels of the figurines of this period with the painted terracotta tiles that were made to decorate the more important and elegant buildings of the city, supports this assumption. See Hostetter 1994, 65.

The present analysis represents my very tenuous grasp on the changing, conflicting, and likely unknowable meanings and functions of the figurines that have been made and used at Sardis from the Iron Age until the present day. My research and conclusions can of course be refined, so it is suggested that future investigations pay closer attention to the patterns of deposition of the figurines found in the many fills and dumps at Sardis, and that they more closely reflect recent theoretical questions posed by those working in other fields or with different materials. There are at least 300 additional figural terracotta fragments at Sardis that, although studied summarily, have not been given the full attention that the objects included in the catalogue were; these should be reconsidered and made available for comparison with figurines from other sites.

As scientists and humanists we have a responsibility to the people that our research affects. I have already noted how the presence of modern excavations at Sardis have impacted the local economy, and have perhaps resulted in the production of archaeological fakes. Future study must not only attempt to understand the lives of ancient peoples, but should value the contributions to the ongoing material history of the site made by those who are alive today.

## APPENDIX A: CATALOGUE

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

*Agora VI*: Grandjouan, C. 1961. *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*. Athenian Agora VI. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

**BASOR 157 (1960)**: Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1960. "Excavations at Sardis, 1959." *BASOR* 157: 8-43.

**BASOR 174 (1964)**: Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1964. "The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1963)." *BASOR* 174: 3-58.

**BASOR 199 (1970)**: Hanfmann, G. M. A., J. C. Waldbaum, A. Ramage, S. M. Goldstein, L. J. Majewski, and G. Bates. 1970. "The Eleventh and Twelfth Campaigns at Sardis." *BASOR* 199: 7-58.

**BASOR 233 (1979)**: Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. and E. E. Freedman. 1979. "The Sardis Campaign of 1977." *BASOR* 233: 1-32.

**BASOR 245 (1982)**: Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., E. L. Sterud, and D. F. Belknap. 1982. "The Sardis Campaign of 1978." *BASOR* 245: 1-34.

**BASOR Suppl. 24 (1986)**: Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., M. Rautman, and R. Meriç. 1986. "The Sardis Campaign of 1983." *BASOR Suppl. 24*, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1980-84: 1-30.

**BASOR Suppl. 25 (1987)**: Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., M. Rautman, and N. D. Cahill. 1985. "The Sardis Campaign of 1985." *BASOR Suppl. 25*, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1982-1985: 55-92.

**Bath-Gymnasium**: Yegül, F. K. 1986. *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis*. *SardisRep* 3. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.

**British Museum I**: Higgins, R. A. 1954. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. Vol. I: *Greek, 730 - 330 B.C.* London: British Museum.

**British Museum II**: Higgins, R. A. 1959. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. Vol. II, Part I: *Plastic vases of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.* London: British Museum.

**British Museum III**: Burn, L., and R. Higgins. 2001. *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*. Vol. III. London: British Museum.

**Corinth XV.2:** Stillwell, A. N. 1952. *The Potter's Quarter: The Terracottas*. Corinth Vol. XV, pt. 2. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

**Corinth XVIII.4:** Merker, G. S. 2000. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Corinth Vol. XVIII, pt. IV. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

**Gordion:** Romano, I. B. 1995. *The Terracotta Figurines and Related Vessels*. Gordion Special Studies II. Philadelphia: The University Museum.

**Hellenistic Pottery:** Rotroff, S. I. and A. Oliver, Jr. 2003. *The Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis: The Finds Through 1994*. *SardisMon* 12. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

**Kommos IV:** Shaw, M. C. 2000. "The Sculpture from the Sanctuary." In *Kommos: An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete*. Vol. IV: *The Greek Sanctuary*, edited by J.W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, 135-209. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**Letters:** Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1972. *Letters From Sardis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Louvre I:** Besques, S. M. 1954. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. I: *Époques Préhellénique Géométrique, Archaique et Classique*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Louvre II:** Besques, S. M. 1963. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs et Romains*. II: *Myrina*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Louvre III:** Besques, S. M. 1972. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. III: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Louvre IV.1:** Besques, S. M. 1986. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. IV, pt. 1: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Italie Meridionale, Sicile, Sardaigne*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Louvre IV.2:** Besques, S. M. 1992. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. IV, pt. 2: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Cyrénaique, Egypte Ptolémaïque, et Romaine, Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Lydian Houses:** Ramage, A. 1978. *Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas*. *SardisMon* 5. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Metalwork:** Waldbaum, J. C. 1983. *Metalwork from Sardis: The Finds Through 1974*. *SardisMon* 8. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Myrina:** Burr, D. (See also Thompson, D. B.). 1934. "Terra-Cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.

**Pergamon:** Töpferwein, E. 1976. Terrakotten von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen, Bd. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter.

**Pottery ROM:** Hayes, J. W. 1976. *Roman pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue*. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

**Priene:** Rumscheid, F. 2006. *Die Figürlichen Terrakotten von Priene: Fundkontexte, Ikonographie und Funktion in Wohnhäusern und Heiligtümern im Licht antiker Parallelbefunde*. Archäologische Forschungen, Bd. 22, Priene, Bd. 1. Wiesbaden : Reichert.

**Tarsus I:** Goldman, H. 1950. "The Terracotta Figurines." In *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*. Vol. I: *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, edited by H. Goldman, 297-383. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**Tarsus III:** Goldman, H. 1963. "Terracotta Figurines." In *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*. Vol. III: *The Iron Age*, edited by H. Goldman, 333-346. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**Troy:** Thompson, D. B. 1963. *The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period. Troy Supplementary Monograph 3*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**Sculpture:** Hanfmann, G. M. A. and N. H. Ramage. 1978. *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds Through 1975. SardisRep 2*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Survey:** Hanfmann, G. M. A and J. C. Waldbaum. 1975. *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls. SardisRep 1*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Winter:** Winter, F. 1903. *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*. Bd. III. Teil I & II. Berlin and Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann.

## **Sector Abbreviations**

**AcN** : Acropolis North (north spur of Acropolis)

**AhT** : Ahlatli Tepecik

**AT** : Artemis Temple

**B** : Bath-Gymnasium Complex

**BS** : Byzantine Shops

**ByzFort** : Byzantine Fort

**CG** : Roman Bath CG (City Gate)

**CW6** : City Wall 6

**CW32** : City Wall 32

**EHT** : Excavation House Trench

**F49** : Field 49

**F55** : Field 55

**HoB** : House of Bronzes

**LAW** : Late Antique Wall

**MD2** : Mound 2

**MMS** : Monumental Mudbrick Structure

**MMS/N** : Monumental Mudbrick Structure North

**MMS/S** : Monumental Mudbrick Structure South

**NEW** : Northeast Wadi

**PA** : Palaestra East of Marble Court

**PC** : Pactolus Cliff

**PN** : Pactolus North

**RT** : Road Trench

**Syn** : Synagogue

**ThSt** : Theater Stadium

**Wadi B** : Wadi B Temple

## Technical Abbreviations

**ca.** : circa

**D.** : depth

**Diam.** : diameter

**E** : east

**Est.** : estimated

**H.** : height

**L** (preceding numeral) : lamp

**L.** : length

**Max.** : maximum

**Munsell** : Soil color charts produced by Munsell Color Company Inc. (Baltimore, Md. 1971), for color abbreviations and equivalents.

**N** : north

**NoEx** (preceding numeral) : not from the excavations

**P** (preceding numeral) : pottery

**P.** (preceding measurement) : preserved

**S** : south

**T** (preceding numeral) : terracotta

**Th.** : thickness

**W** : west

**W.** : width

**\*** (preceding numeral) : level (e.g. \*98.00)

## 1 Large quadruped, bovine

Pl. 1

T83.002: 8726

P.H.: 0.044

Max. W.: 0.030

P.L.: 0.073

Max. Th.: 0.023

Only the main body is extant; missing the head, most of the legs, and tail. Slightly weathered.

The body of a large land quadruped, possibly a bovine or a horse. The front of the body is more massive than the back; the neck, in particular, is very thick and gives the impression of great strength. Stylized, with dynamic, graceful lines.

No painted decoration remains; seems to have been burnished.

Handmade and solid. Modeled simply but carefully. Smooth finishes, except at the bottom of the animal where clay was visibly gathered together into a lumpy seam. The tail seems to have been pinched away from the body. The legs were probably rolled separately and then attached at an oblique angle.

Hard, stone-like fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are granular for the most part. Small, gray, rounded inclusions are common and give the surface a slightly rough texture. The surface also shows some medium, silvery mica inclusions in rare quantities.

Both surface and core are the same stone gray with yellow undertones. Munsell: 2.5Y 5/2, grayish brown.

Cf. *Kommos IV*, 176-177, nos. AB1-AB9, pl. 3.20. *Tarsus III*, 346, nos. 86 and 88, fig. 161. *Gordion*, 56, nos. 137 and 138, pl. 34.

HoB W 24.25 S 95.96 \*96.20  
Lydian Trench, Lydian Level IV.

Ninth to eighth century B.C.E.

## 2 Bird

Pl. 2

T83.014: 8790

P.H.: 0.062

Max. W. at legs: 0.038

P.L.: 0.095

Th.: 0.007

Mended from four fragments. Missing: top of body, including head; bottom of legs; tip of tail.

The stylized figure of a bird standing on two legs. While the tail is a smooth continuation of the line that should have started at the bird's head, its legs are stumpy cylinders, placed at a 45-degree angle to the body. The wings were not modeled, but rather indicated with painted geometric decoration.

Purplish-brown paint on buff. Starting at the bottom center and moving up (design appears to have been the same on both sides): a series of hatched horizontal lozenges (vertical diamonds aligned with the main axis of the body) between the legs (four extant); these are encased in an even larger diamond; a series of "s" shapes with dots between them (feathers?); above these, more lozenges, this time smaller and squatter, running in the same direction as the ones on the bottom (wings?); above these the pattern is too faint to make out; at the very top, a series of paired wavy lines with dots in between (four extant), run then

length of the body and complete the design (as a tail?). The geometric shapes complement the form of the bird, and seem to have been arranged in order to mirror the look of real creatures.

Wheelmade and hollow. The walls of the body are very regular, with a solid yet light feel. The feet were rolled by hand and later attached. A well-balanced piece, both in form and decoration.

Medium hard fabric with a very smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Fine, gray, rounded inclusions; micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Corinth XV.2*, 185, no. XXVII-2, pl. 41; 186, no. XXVII-7, pl. 41. *British Museum I*, 78, no. 183, pl. 34; 155, no. 569, pl. 73; 184, no. 693, pl. 90. *Gordion*, 5-6, nos. 1-2, pl. 1.

Published: *BASOR* Suppl. 24 (1986), 7-8, figs. 8-10.

MMS E 106-110 S 79.50-80 \*104.29-104.10  
Lydian clay and gravel strata.

Early seventh century B.C.E.

### 3 Bird fragment

Pl. 2  
P60.110: 2378

P.H.: 0.022  
P.L.: 0.048  
Max. Th.: 0.005

One small body sherd is extant.

A fragment of a bird, possibly a “wing,” with painted geometric decoration; body would have been convex.

Dark brown paint on yellowish-white. Mostly regular pattern of crisscrossing lines that result in small diamonds, many of which are dotted.

Wheelmade and hollow, with a carefully smoothed surface.

Very hard fabric with a smooth feel. Some small grog and lime inclusions.

Color ranges from light red to gray (from firing). Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. Dotted diamond pottery in Phrygian pottery, e.g. Sams 2013, figs. 5.4-5.6.

PC \*88.80  
Zone 2, Level III.

First half of the seventh century B.C.E. Import, possibly Phrygian.

### 4 Woman's torso, goddess?

Pl. 3  
T64.009: 6001 = T66.003: 6973

P.H.: 0.069  
Max. W.: 0.084  
Th. at waist: 0.007

Mended from two fragments found two years apart and catalogued separately. Only the front half is preserved; torso, from waist to neck, with left shoulder and upper arm. Missing: arms, head, and body below waist.

A female figure, perhaps a goddess, clad in a richly painted robe. Stylized, with broad shoulders, round, knobby breasts, and a nipped-in waist. The left arm seems to have been kept close to the body.

Dark brown paint on yellowish-white. East Greek pattern; from top to bottom: (at shoulders) alternating horizontal and vertical rectangles, dotted; (above breasts) a solid, horizontal band with dotted pendants semi-circles; (flanking breasts) meanders with crossed-hatched diamonds; (below breasts) a solid, horizontal band; (on ribcage) crossed-hatched diamonds and triangles.

Wheelmade and hollow, with thick but mostly regular walls. Clean if somewhat grainy interior; carefully smoothed exterior. The breasts were handmade.

Medium hard fabric. Breaks are granular. Small, rounded, white inclusions (lime?) are rare.

Munsell: 10 R 6/4, pale red.

Cf. Filling ornament in Greenewalt 1970, no. 17, pl. 14.

HoB E 18-20 S 119-117 \*99.70-99.5  
HoB W 9 S 99 \*98.2  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level and  
Lydian Level I.

Seventh century B.C.E.

### 5 Woman's head

Pl. 3  
T67.018: 7527

P.H.: 0.047  
Max. W.: 0.032  
Th.: 0.007

Only the front half of the head is preserved; broken off below the chin and above the hairline. Pitted, with facial features worn.

A human head, perhaps female, rendered in Daedalic style. Curly, patterned hair,

represented by multiple circular irregularities in relief; kept close to the head, the hair frames a high, rectangular forehead, and goes down on the sides to at least the level of the eyes. The eyes are incised, wide, large, and almond-shaped. Broad nose with clear nostrils. Very little space was left between the nose and mouth. Full lips; the mouth is closed, forming a slight smile. Round, somewhat heavy chin; the face in general is long and oval, however. A dimple or an incidental pit dots the chin. Overall expression is serene.

The face is painted white; could be a male following East Greek tradition. There are traces of black paint on the hair, eyebrows and edges of the eyes.

Moldmade with some incised detail; the eyes, for instance, are rendered plastically, and then further marked out with an incised line and black paint. Partly hollow, although the walls are quite thick.

Medium hard fabric that would have been smooth originally; now pitted. Breaks are laminar. No inclusions immediately visible. Rare, very fine mica may be from the ground. Somewhat friable.

Very light yellowish pink. Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *British Museum I*, 38, no. 22, pl. 4.  
*Corinth XV.2*, 71, no. VIII-33, pl. 12.

PN W 273.25 S 324.5 ca. \*85.8  
Near "Archaic" house with finds dating to sixth century B.C.E.

Late seventh century B.C.E. Perhaps an import.

## 6 Wheel, from cart or horse

Pl. 4

T10.020: 12637

Diam.: 0.059

L. (at center bore): 0.021

Th.: 0.006

One wheel, complete; object to which it was attached is now missing.

A wheel in the form of a disk, slightly convex at the back, flat at the front, and with rounded edges. It should have been attached to a cart or horse with two pins: one, the axle, would have fitted into a small cylinder (the center bore) projecting from the back of the wheel; the second, a cross-pin, should have secured the axle to the bore (two small holes extant). The "center bore" continues all the way to the front of the wheel where it becomes a much larger and better finished projecting cylinder with a flat, squared rim; space possibly left open for some sort of ornament.

No painted decoration remains. Self-slipped.

Wheelmade and solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Mica is frequent.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Kommos IV*, 179-180, nos. AB19-21, pl. 3.39; reconstruction, 179, nos. AB16-17, pl. 3.39. *Gordion*, 60-61, nos. 160-161, pl. 36.

ThSt E 945.7 S 277.85 \*148.01

Lydian house, west room, north corridor-below floor level; probably belonging to an earlier phase of the house.

Seventh century B.C.E.

## 7 Large quadruped, horse?

Pl. 4

T62.035: 4678

P.H.: 0.048

Max. W: 0.059

P.L.: 0.042

Th.: 0.005

Mended from two fragments. Only the chest, shoulders, top of forelegs and some of the flanks are extant. Missing: head, legs, rump, tail.

The forequarters of a horse or other large quadruped. While its chest and underbelly are flat, the animal's flanks are convex. The legs are round in section. The shoulder is nicely rendered despite otherwise simple form.

Polychrome painting on exterior: dark brownish-red, white and black. The chest is white, while everything from the shoulders back is a mottled brown-red. Extant top of right flank is black.

Wheelmade and hollow. The interior is clean and regular like that of a vessel; perhaps a plastic vase. The legs would have been solid and handmade. Careful craftsmanship.

Medium hard fabric with a very smooth feel. Breaks are granular to smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Kommos IV*, 182-183, nos. AB40-AB50.1, pls. 3.11-3.12. *Lydian Houses*, 20, no.19, fig. 50. *Winter I*, 25, no. 6.

HoB W 20 S 95 \*99.-98.50

Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I, S part of Building C.

Late seventh century B.C.E.

### 8 Horse's head

Pl. 4  
T63.046: 5450

P.H.: 0.069  
Max. W.: 0.024  
P.L.: 0.046

The head is complete but for the right ear. Broken below the neck where it would have joined the body, which is now missing. The surface is flaking off and is partially accreted.

The head of a horse, tilted slightly to the right. Minimal geometric modeling of basic forms (e.g. muzzle, ears); detailing done in paint. The head and ears are pointed yet present no overly sharp angles. The horse's mane is fused onto an elongated, curved neck. The mane's upper edge is slightly wavy, adding liveliness to the piece.

White paint on dark reddish-brown. The horse's ears and the center of its face are painted solid white. The upper edge of the mane is delineated in white as well. On the neck's left side, a falling mane is indicated by diagonal lines. The lines that form the mane, about eight in total, are not parallel, lending the piece a messy, wind-swept air; perhaps a running horse?

Handmade and solid. The broken area at the base of the neck shows a depression in its center; perhaps for attachment to body.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Louvre I*, 18-19, nos. B105-B107, pl. XIII-XIV; 58, no. B378, pl. XL. *Winter I*, 7, nos. 1-5.

PN W 235 S 352-355 \*90.60-90.20  
Found while removing a late wall.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

### 9 Griffin wing

Pl. 4  
T64.006: 5985

Max. W.: 0.028  
P.L.: 0.080  
Th.: 0.015- 0.007

Only the proximal end of a wing is preserved; the distal end or tip of the wing, as well as the rest of the figure, are missing. Chipped.

The curved wing of a griffin, sphinx, or other creature, with painted linear decoration. It grows thinner and narrower as it moves from proximal to distal end.

Red paint over yellowish-white. Both the top and bottom edges of the wing are painted solid red. The sides have a similar linear scheme: one has short parallel lines, running almost perpendicularly to the long edges of the wing, and framed by solid lines that follow its form and length; on the other side, the short lines were painted at a more obvious slant, creating a lively, almost rippling effect.

Handmade and solid, with a carefully smoothed surface.

The fabric is very hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Lydian Houses*, 20, no. 19, fig. 50; 23, no. 29, fig. 62.

HoB W 12-17 S 117-120 \*99.95-99.65  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

### 10 Ungulate on base, legs

Pl. 5

T63.048: 5500

P.H.: 0.145

Th. of legs at knees: 0.027

W. of base: 0.046

L. of base: 0.126

Th. of base: 0.006

Two joining fragments, not mended. Two legs (forelegs?) broken away from their body; in the case of the right leg, possibly at the point of juncture. Missing: body, head, hind legs, etc. Paint flaking off surface.

The long, straight forelegs of a cloven-hoofed ungulate, probably a goat. The legs are tubular, with two projecting dewclaws at back near the hoof, and larger, rounded protrusions, possibly knees, on the opposite side. The hooves, which come out straight from a thin rectangular base, are cloven, as indicated by painted detail rather than by incision or modeling. The base has three pairs of parallel, circular piercings: two pairs flank the legs on the exterior; one pair lies in between but is not centered.

Red and white paint on reserved ground. From top to bottom: legs proper are red, while hooves are white, with silhouette delineated in red. Only the left hoof seems to have a cleft, also in red; might be the result of dripping paint from above (evidence of dripping paint elsewhere on the base). The right leg has a thin, white,

horizontal line below the “knee;” could also be extraneous. The base was left in reserve.

Handmade and solid. The legs were rolled into tubes; other elements were modeled separately. Core burnt gray.

The fabric is hard and mostly smooth. Breaks are smooth. Some silvery mica inclusions present.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Gordion*, 54-55, nos. 131-132, pl. 34.

Published: *BASOR* 174 (1964), 11-12, fig.5.

HoB W 11-13 S 103-104 \*99.50-99.20  
Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I, in refuse pile.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

### 11 Ungulate on base, leg

Pl. 5

T11.060: 12933

P.H.: 0.120

P.L. (hoof): 0.027

Diam. (leg): 0.022

One leg extant, broken off at top and bottom (possibly separated from a base). The hoof is chipped. Missing: rest of animal.

The long, straight leg of a hoofed ungulate, probably a goat. The leg is tubular, with two projecting dewclaws at back near the hoof; higher up, a larger projecting claw, spur or hock. The hoof should have been cloven, but a cleft is not indicated. Very similar to **10**.

Red and white paint on reserved ground. The leg proper is red, while the hoof is white. Some white drips (perhaps

purposeful) on the leg. Appears to have been hastily painted.

Handmade and solid. The leg was rolled into a tube; other elements modeled separately. Core burnt gray.

The fabric is hard and mostly smooth. Breaks are smooth. Some silvery mica inclusions present.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Gordion*, 54-55, nos. 131-132, pl. 34.

HoB W 10 S 105 \*99.70-99.60  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

### **12 Ungulate, leg**

Pl. 5  
T61.079: 3777

P.H.: 0.064  
W. (hoof): 0.035  
L. at fetlock: 0.038

One leg, broken above fetlock. Chipped.

The leg of a large ungulate, maybe a camel, with a fetlock (or fatty deposit) at back, and a round, fleshy, cloven foot.

Red paint on reserved ground. Most of the leg, including bottom of foot, is solid red. The tops of the toes were left in reserve.

At least partially thrown on a wheel, with some elements handmade. The foot was cloven with a sharp tool.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth. Micaceous. Core is light gray.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB W 6 S 88 \*98.90  
Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

### **13 Ungulate on base, leg**

Pl. 5  
T67.011: 7439

P.H.: 0.030  
P.W. (leg): 0.015  
L. at dewclaws: 0.017  
P.W. (base): 0.036  
P.L. (base): 0.032  
Th. (base): 0.006

Mended from two fragments. One leg on a base, broken above dewclaws. Only the front right corner of the base is extant. Missing: rest of animal, base.

The hoof and lower leg of an ungulate, perhaps a goat, standing on a thin base. Right foreleg (?), with two dewclaws. Simplified form.

White and black paint on reserved ground. The leg proper is solid white, while the toes are black. The base was left in reserve. Some drips of white paint on toe and base.

Handmade and solid.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Gordion*, 54-55, nos. 131-132, pl. 34.

PN W 275-277 S 337-340 \*88.63-85.9

Second quarter of sixth century B.C.E.

#### 14 Mandible of a large feline, lion

Pl. 6

T61.102: 4026

P.H.: 0.029

P.W.: 0.052

P.D.: 0.054

Th. of one of back walls: 0.01

Only the mandible and bottom half of the mouth are extant. At least one tooth is missing on each side, likely the canines. Also missing: rest of head, body. Chipped.

The mandible and lower mouth of a large feline. A large, flat tongue curls out over a heavy, rounded jaw that supports two pairs of square molars. A very thin lip, rendered by an incised line, separates the tongue from the jaw proper.

Polychrome decoration in brownish-red, white and black. The tongue and mandible are both brownish-red; the teeth are painted white. The dividing line between lip and jaw was further enhanced with black.

Moldmade with handmade additions. The mandible itself is moldmade and solid; the rest of the head might have been hollow. The tongue and teeth were formed and added by hand. The teeth have some incised detail. Thick and irregular walls at back.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth. Some small lime inclusions. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *British Museum I*, 47, no. 54, pl. 11, a vase with a lion's head, excavated at Camirus, derived from the Gorgoneion-class type, dated to the mid sixth century B.C.E.

HoB W 3 S 93 \*98.70

Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

#### 15 Bird

Pl. 6

T65.004: 6633

Max. W.: 0.048

P.L.: 0.077

Th.: 0.005

Only the top half of the body is preserved. Missing: head, tail, bottom. Chipped.

The body of a resting bird, perhaps a dove. The bird is widest at the "shoulders" and tapers down towards the tail. The neck is round in section.

Black and red paint on yellowish-white ground. Two parallel black lines run the length of the bird from the base of the neck back; these are paralleled by gently curving lines, also black, that follow the distal contours of the body. The area enclosed by these lines (the wings?) is filled by black, crisscrossing diagonals. The neck has some staggered red dots at its front. Simple form with anatomical details picked out in paint.

At least partially moldmade and hollow. The neck is solid and rolled by hand.

The fabric is hard and somewhat rough. Breaks are granular to hackly. Micaceous. Core burnt gray.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

HoB W 17-20 S 101-104 \*99-98.70

Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I, Building D.

Late seventh to mid sixth century B.C.E.

**16 Torso of a woman with articulated limbs**

Pl. 7  
T61.108: 4097

P.H.: 0.045  
Max. W.: 0.031  
Th. of torso: 0.016  
Th. of leg-attachment spur: 0.004

Only the torso is extant; missing outermost spur for the attachment of the right leg. Also missing: head, limbs. Chipped.

The stylized torso of a woman with articulated arms and legs. Shoulders with perforations on each side for the attachment of arms. Somewhat flat chest still manages to give the impression of girlish breasts. Nicely formed and nipped in waistline. Two half disks with perforations function as spurs for the legs. Profile view is flat and narrow; oval in section.

Red paint on thick white base. Traces of red near the waist at the front. Possible traces of blue near the central spur for the legs. Resulting impression is that the figure is already clothed.

Handmade and solid. Components would have been put together after firing.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly coarse feel, although much effort was put into smoothing the surface. Breaks are smooth. Both small varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 5YR 5/3, reddish brown.

Cf. A terracotta figurine in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 19.313, pictured in Elderkin 1930, 461, fig. 8. *Winter I*, 169, no. 4.

HoB W 2-3 S 89-90 \*99.10-98.75  
Lydian Trench, Lydian Level I.

First half of sixth century B.C.E.

**17 Leg for articulated figure**

Pl. 7  
T69.007: 7984

P.H.: 0.050  
L. (foot): 0.021  
W. (foot): 0.012  
Th. (top): 0.007

Only one leg extant; complete. Scratched surface.

The left leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. Circular hole for attachment to main body on flattened area at top. Modeled simply, the leg is a flattened oval in section. The foot is triangular in shape with the detail of the toes incised on its upper surface. The bottom is flat, as if sandaled.

Some light traces of white paint extant on surface.

Moldmade and solid. Details added with a pointed tool after removal from mold.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

PN W 277.7 S 322 \*85.3  
Near water channels in gold refinery, Lydian levels.

Second quarter of sixth century B.C.E.

## 18 Human head

Pl. 7

T63.030: 5218

P.H.: 0.026

Max. W: 0.021

Th.: 0.006

Only the front half of the head is extant, broken off below the chin and above the hairline. The face is complete except for the left edge of the chin, the nose, and a portion of the right forehead or hairline.

A very angular human face, perhaps female as suggested by the soft arrangement of the hair. Wavy locks frame the face, and are parted at the middle; extant fragment preserves hair down to the ear, but it could have been longer. Rounded, protruding eyebrows above almond-shaped eyes. The eyes have very thin upper and lower lids modeled in relief, as well as irises (or pupils). The nose is broken off but seems triangular. The mouth, close to the bottom of the nose, is wide and straight; its upper lip is thicker than its bottom one. Pointed chin. A tiny trace of a neck is discernible at the right below the chin. Perhaps not a figurine proper, but a figural appliqué on an aryballos or alabastron.

No painted decoration extant. Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow with thick walls.

Hard fabric with a very smooth feel; now pockmarked. Breaks are smooth with no visible inclusions.

Bone white to light yellow on surface; breaks are still light, but a bit pinker. Surface: Munsell: 10YR 7/4, very pale brown.

Cf. *British Museum I*, 62, no. 113, pl. 21, a standing woman from Camirus, dated to the early fifth century B.C.E.

HoB W 30 S 90-95 \*100-99.50  
Lydian trench, Hellenistic Level.

Mid sixth century B.C.E. Import;  
Corinthian.

## 19 Wrinkled-bellied man, perhaps a dwarf

Pl. 7

T70.001: 8086

P.H.: 0.037

P.W.: 0.032

D. at buttocks: 0.025

Th.: 0.007

Missing the head, both shoulders, most of the right arm, and legs. At back, only the buttocks remain. Much of the original surface detail is now worn.

What seems to be a fat old man, nude and seated. His chest is full, yet droops over a round and wrinkled belly. His arms are kept close to the body, with elbows bent, and hands resting on the stomach. A small penis is visible just below the lowermost belly folds. The nearness of the thighs suggests that the legs were kept close together. Round, protruding buttocks, good or sitting. Perhaps a dwarf, given the odd proportions of the body.

Some traces of red paint extant within belly wrinkles and on the left breast.

Made in a bivalve mold, hollow, with surface detail added by hand. The walls are thick and irregular. Some modeled detail on the back. Irregularly fired; friable surface with core burnt dark gray.

Soft fabric with a powdery feel. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Louvre I*, 38, no. B 221, pl. XXVIII, from Rhodes.

PN W 252 S 374.5 \*88  
Between Persian walls.

Second half of sixth century B.C.E.

## 20 Turtle

Pl. 8

T11.054: 12926 = T11.056: 12928

H.: 0.024  
P.W.: 0.045  
L.: 0.063  
Th.: 0.003

Missing back left flipper. Mended from three fragments.

A small sea turtle, sweet and graceful. The position and contrasting directionality of its head and flippers add a certain cadence to the piece. Very simply, but naturalistically rendered with some plastic detail on the shell.

Some white ground remains on the surface.

The body is mold made and hollow, while the head and flippers are handmade. Completely open at bottom; underside covered in white ground. Core baked to a light gray.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are laminar. The underside is a bit coarser, maybe because of a few small grog inclusions. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Louvre I*, 50, no. B 323, pl. XXXIV, from Thrace. *British Museum I*, 79-80, nos. 191-197, pl. 35, from Rhodes, dated to the early fifth century B.C.E.; 178, nos. 667-668, pl. 87, from Athens, dated to the early fifth century B.C.E. Pisani 2006, 336-338, no. 102, fig. 27, dated to the fifth century B.C.E.

HoB E 0, 5, 10 S 130 \*103.40-103  
Lydian Trench, walls.

Late sixth century B.C.E.

## 21 Bird's head

Pl. 8

T67.017: 7514

P.H.: 0.025  
P.W.: 0.012  
P.L.: 0.019  
Th. at break: 0.017

Only the head and neck are extant.

The small head and short neck of a bird with a curved and pointy beak. Similar pieces elsewhere are referred to as ducks; rather resembles a bird of prey.

Traces of brownish black paint extant.

Moldmade and solid. Possibly an attachment for an unguentarium.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth, with no inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Gordion*, 12, no. 23, pl.6.

PN W 260 S 331 \*85.5

Cobbled courtyard, "Archaic" house.

Sixth century B.C.E. or later.

## 22 Bird's head

Pl. 8

T71.002: 8166

P.H.: 0.024

P.W.: 0.013

P.L.: 0.024

Th. at neck: 0.013

Only the head and neck are extant. The surface is flaking off.

The small head and neck of a bird with a hooked, pointed beak. Short, arched forehead; eyes possibly indicated by modeling. The rounded cheeks and curving neck are a pleasure to the touch. Similar to 21.

A light slip was carefully applied all over the surface. A small trace of red paint is visible beneath the beak.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is medium hard with a smooth feel. Breaks look conchoidal. Small silvery mica is frequent on the slip; seems to be present as well on the break, but less frequently.

A very light, almost sandy slip above red fabric. Slip: Munsell: 10YR 6/4, light yellowish brown. Fabric: Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Gordion*, 12, no. 23, pl.6.

Syn E 121-121.50 N 10-12.50 \*96.80-96.20

Sixth century B.C.E. or later.

## 23 Bird

Pl. 8

T62.029: 4551

P.H.: 0.065

W. (at wings): 0.056

P.L.: 0.095

Missing the head, tail, left wing, and whatever rested below the main body. Accreted.

The large body of a bird, perhaps a dove, resting. Close to a naturalistic rendering. Both neck and tail are oval in section. Rounded chest; closed wings, fused with body. The remains of a round stump are extant at the bottom; perhaps the bird was perched on some sort of base or other object.

Very light traces of white ground or paint extant on surface.

Moldmade and solid. Very heavy. Unevenly fired.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 10, no. M 143, pl. 8, d.

PN \*88.20-88.00  
"Persian East"

Early fifth century B.C.E. or later.

## 24 Lion's leg

Pl. 9

T61.091: 3903

P.H.: 0.053

W. of paw: 0.023

L. of paw: 0.030

Th. of leg, not at break: 0.014

Figure above "elbow" is missing. Chipped; missing a toe.

The front right thigh, leg and paw of a lion. The underside of the paw reveals five distinct toes and a slightly concave sole. The top of the paw shows just the outline of the toes. Some small, round object rests above the middle three toes, giving the impression that the lion was bejeweled. The ankle bones are distinct on both sides. Unusual inward turn of the thigh, as if about to attack.

The length of the leg was painted in mottled black and red paint, except for a band just above the ankle that was left in reserve (seems as if an attached ornament is now missing). The sole is solid dark red. White ground underneath?

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are either granular or smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

PN W 250 S 365-370 ca. \*88.28

Fifth century B.C.E. or later.

## 25 Quadruped, sheep?

Pl. 9

T64.021: 6165

P.H.: 0.032

P.L.: 0.082

Max. W.: 0.023

Missing the tail, hind legs, and part of the head.

A long, short, and very strange quadruped. Its head is narrow and pointy, and ends in a down-curved muzzle. The mouth and eyes are indicated by small, circular piercings. The body widens steadily from the neck down to the tail. The legs are short and stubby, and at least the front two are kept together in the same line. The animal, then, seems to stand peacefully, rather than to be engaged in some movement. Its back is either covered in fur, wool, spots, or scales rendered as short, curved, incised grooves, and placed in every which way and direction. A fat-tailed sheep? A lizard?

Some red paint remains on the surface. No traces of preparatory ground.

Hand made and solid. Surface detail done in intaglio technique.

Hard and slightly gritty fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. Pisani 2006, 307, no. 31, pl. 22 d, the head of a bird, mid to late sixth century B.C.E.

PN W 258-263 S 348-350 \*87.60-87.45  
Mostly in association with materials dating to the third century B.C.E.

Fifth century B.C.E. or later.

## 26 Woman's head, goddess?

Pl. 10  
T90.001: 9729

P.H.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.021  
Th.: 0.001

Only the front half is preserved, and then only part of the left side of the face: eye, nose and mouth. Broken off right below the chin.

A human head, likely female, looking forward. Features rendered in soft relief. The eye seems sad, as its outside corner droops down. Heavier upper lid; depressed and thin lower lid, almost blurred. The nose is straight with clear nostrils. A small, plump mouth lies just below the nose and remains closed. The upper lip is slightly bowed, while the lower is almost straight. The chin is shaped like a heart and seems to have sloped down softly towards the neck. Her expression is coy and imploring. Typical mask-type face used for divinities in the fourth century B.C.E.

Self-slipped. Small amounts of white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade and hollow. Very thin walls with very smooth interior.

Medium hard fabric with an extremely smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Small silvery mica inclusions are quite rare.

Yellowish beige. Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 43, pl. XII, a Kybele.

MMS/S E 110 S 135 ca. \*111.80  
Hellenistic fill.

Fourth century B.C.E. Perhaps an import.

## 27 Lion's leg

Pl. 10  
T13.015: 13645  
P.H.: 0.093  
Diam. (leg): 0.023  
W. (paw): 0.037  
L. (paw): 0.037

Only one leg extant, broken away from the body.

The long, straight, tubular leg, likely a foreleg, of a large lion. The leg itself is reduced to its simplest form, but the paw is naturalistic, with great detailing of its five toes and their knuckles. The bottom of the paw seems to be a narrow, round base, flat; possibly for stability. With the base flat on the ground, the leg leans back rather than going straight up. A sitting lion, perhaps. The style seems reminiscent of that of the large animals of the Lydian period. The treatment of the paw and the fabric, however, seems Hellenistic.

No painted decoration, except perhaps some very light traces of a dark slip applied directly onto an unprepared surface.

Mixed techniques; the leg was probably rolled by hand, and then trimmed with a scraping tool. The paw was moldmade, with details added later with an incising tool. Solid.

Hard-fired with a rough feel. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. No. **10** in this catalogue for the shape of the leg; no. **42**, below, for the rendering of the paw.

MMS E 100.40-95 S 88.7-89.7 \*103  
Roman dump layer, moist and brick-filled,  
with plentiful Hellenistic material.

Fourth century B.C.E. or later.

### 28 Kybele and lion, fragments

Pl. 10  
T09.014: 12447

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| Lion:       | Himation:   |
| P.H.: 0.015 | P.H.: 0.038 |
| P.L.: 0.031 | P.W.: 0.041 |
|             | Th.: 0.005  |

Two small, non-joining fragments of a seated Kybele with a small lion on her lap. Lap-lion and part of the throne/himation are extant. Mostly well-preserved with some areas flattened or otherwise worn.

The first fragment is of a small lap-lion, simply rendered. His mane is small and triangular, indicated by short but deep incisions. His eyes are deep-set; the mouth has thick lips and is formed by a long, straight, horizontal incision that gives the impression of a grin. He would have faced towards the goddess' left hand. The second fragment seems to be a segment of the goddess' himation draped over the right armrest of a throne.

Very light traces of white ground extant on the throne/himation.

The lion was formed by hand; the detailing of his face and mane could have been done with a fingernail. The Kybele fragment is moldmade and hollow. The core was baked to a dark gray.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Troy*, 77, for discussion of changing directions of lion companions. Lions facing the left hand of the goddess tend to date to the fourth century B.C.E.

ThSt E 944.35 S 281.7 \*148.37  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Fourth century B.C.E.

### 29 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 11  
T09.016: 12454

|                                |
|--------------------------------|
| P.H.: 0.154                    |
| P.W.: 0.115                    |
| Th. (of wall at bottom): 0.005 |

Mended from at least eight fragments, with at least two more non-joining. Missing the head, left arm with tympanon, and legs from the knees down. Also missing a phiale at the right hand.

Kybele, seated on a throne, holding a tympanon against her left shoulder, a phiale on her right hand, and supporting a very small lion upon her lap. Although her head is missing, one may suppose that she wore some kind of polos, and it is still apparent that her hair was long, with loose waves that fell upon her shoulders. She wears a light chiton underneath a peplos. The peplos has a high, floppy v-neck, is girded just beneath the breasts with a thin belt, and is held together by large, round buttons on long sleeves, as seen on the goddess' right arm. In addition to the chiton and peplos, she wears a thick himation that falls straight down from her left shoulder and is draped across her lap diagonally from right to left.

A small lion with a short mane and a wide, straight, grin sits above her himation. The fact that he faces right balances the composition and dates the figurine to no earlier than the third century B.C.E.

Significant traces of white ground remain on the right arm and on the lion. Some red paint is extant on the tympanon.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was left plain and has a large rectangular opening beginning at the height of the waist, and continuing all the way down to the bottom of the figure. The bottom was left open as well. The walls are different widths, but seem even nonetheless. The mold was filled by hand; multiple fingerprints visible. The sides were smoothed with the aid of a tool.

The fabric is medium hard with a smooth feel. Breaks are either granular or laminar. Small, varied grog and small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 77-81 for discussion of Kybele type. *Troy*, 83, no. 44, pl. XIII, dated to the second century B.C.E. Good quality pieces of this size are generally thought to have acted as cult images for small shrines rather than as votives. *Louvre I*, 120, no. C 234, pl. LXXXVI, dated 360-350 B.C.E.

ThSt E945 S280.1 \*148.35  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 30 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 11  
T06.005: 12131

P.H.: 0.117  
P.W.: 0.109  
Th.: 0.005

Mended from at least eight fragments. Only the head, upper shoulders, and back down to the area of the waist are extant. Slightly accreted on face and neck.

An enthroned Kybele. She wears a polos: a short, triangular crown is backed by a tall, straight conical headdress with a turreted pattern of alternating vertical bands (three slim ones protruding, two wide ones receding). Very long and wavy hair, parted at the middle, tucked behind the ears, and draped over the shoulders. Round earrings. Finely modeled facial features. Rounded, thin eyebrows and eyelids. The right pupil seems to be indicated in relief, although that impression might be given by a well-placed accretion. The nose is fine and straight, with clear nostrils. The mouth is slightly wider than the bottom of the nose, with thin, straight lips. A small, round chin completes a delicate and pleasing face. The goddess' left arm seems to have been upraised, likely to hold a tympanon. The figure to the goddess' right is likely the corner of a trefoil-embellished throne; however, an arm embracing it is suggested at the back. The figure could then be a companion, perhaps Attis or a lion.

Some traces of white ground are extant, especially on the neck and face, but also on the back.

Moldmade and hollow. Very finely modeled in front, but left mostly plain at the back. The seams were well concealed, and lie at

the point where modeling stops, behind the hair and ears.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth to grainy feel. Breaks look smooth to granular; fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Exterior: Munsell: 7.5YR 7/4, pink. Interior: Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 41, pl. XI. *Pergamon*, 214, no. 199, pl. 33, has a similar polos.

ThSt E 948.64 S 280.49 \*148.83  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 31 Kybele head

Pl. 11  
T06.006: 12135

P.H.: 0.037  
P.W.: 0.024  
Th.: 0.003

Only the front half of the head is present, broken off below the shoulders. Worn.

Kybele wearing a polos with molded top. Her hair is parted in the middle, and falls to her shoulders in face-framing waves. Her facial features are now worn, but the forehead is triangular, the eyes seem squinty, the nose broad, and the mouth straight.

Some white ground remains on the area of the neck and chin.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is even with regular walls.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Light orange. Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Troy*, 82, no. 34, pl. XI, dated to the late third century B.C.E.

ThSt E 946.76 S 278.44 \*149.06  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 32 Figural terracotta plaque, enthroned Kybele with lion

Pl. 12  
T06.007:12139 = T09.006: 12424

|             |                   |
|-------------|-------------------|
| Top:        | Bottom:           |
| P.H.: 0.078 | P.H.: 0.050       |
| P.W.: 0.097 | H. of base: 0.013 |
| Th.: 0.005  | P.W.: 0.073       |
|             | D.: 0.013         |
|             | Th.: 0.005        |

A plaque in two non-joining fragments. The top portion preserves a head and upper torso of a goddess, but is missing the right side of her body, as well as everything below the waist. Also missing: most of her left arm and the tympanon that she is holding. The bottom portion has been mended from seven fragments. Only the bottom right corner of the plaque is preserved.

A figural terracotta plaque depicting an enthroned Kybele with a lion companion. The goddess wears a short, smooth polos over loose, wavy hair, parted at middle, with long tresses falling over her shoulders. Short, triangular forehead over almond-

shaped eyes with clear upper lids. Fine, straight nose; the mouth is unclear, but a simple rounded chin slopes softly down to the neck at a 45-degree angle. Well-proportioned oval face. She seems to wear the typical peplos over chiton, girded high, below the breasts. A thicker himation drapes over her left shoulder and across her lap. Her left arm is raised in order to hold up a large tympanon. To her right, in very low relief, and at the height of her head, there seems to be a trefoil object, likely the ornament of high-backed throne. Above her head, behind the polos, what appears to be a very simple framing device for the plaque, though seemingly not its upper edge. The lion companion would have stood at the goddess' right. The extant fragment shows a frontal depiction of the lion's feet and legs in between a column base at its right, and the right bottom corner of a throne, at its left. The bottom section of lion's mane is also preserved. All of these are set atop a short rectangular base.

The front and sides preserve large amounts of white ground. The plaque's framing device and the goddess' throne show traces of bright red/pink paint; the tympanon is true red; her hair is deep maroon; her neck, light pink. The lion was painted in yellow.

Moldmade, with multiple fingerprints on the back surface. Core baked to a light gray.

Hard fabric with smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Small varied grog and very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *BASOR Suppl.* 26 (1990), 160, no. 36, fig.25, an additional figural plaque depicting an enthroned Kybele from Sardis, now in the Manisa Museum.

ThSt E 944.72 S 280.54 \*148.79

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 33 Kybele torso

Pl. 13

T08.006: 12328

P.H.: 0.046

P.W.: 0.059

Th. at top center: 0.005

Only the front half of the figurine is preserved, and then, just the torso, from below the neck to just above the waist, is extant.

The torso of an enthroned Kybele. Long locks of wavy hair fall on her shoulders. Her peplos, worn over a chiton, is girded quite high, and has a deep v-neck. Right-angled folds frame the breasts. Her himation hangs on both sides over the shoulders. Its folds are vertical and mostly straight.

Some light traces of white ground remain within creases. One very small patch of red pigment extant below hair at right side.

Moldmade and hollow. Very fine modeling.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent on the surface. Small (0.02 cm), white rounded inclusions are rare.

The surface is light yellowish gray, while the core is red. Surface: Munsell: 10YR 6/2, light brownish gray. Break: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 44, pl. XIII.

ThSt E 944.7 S 281.2 \*146.68  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 34 Kybele torso

Pl. 13  
T08.010: 12337

P.H.: 0.58  
P.W.: 0.32  
Th. at back: 0.007

Only the right breast and shoulder are extant. Most of the back is missing.

The right breast and shoulder of a draped woman, likely an enthroned Kybele. A long lock of wavy hair hangs on her shoulder. A peplos, worn over a chiton, is girded quite high, and seems to have a deep v-neck. The back was left plain.

Traces of white ground extant under arm and on back.

Moldmade and hollow. Walls are thick and irregular.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

ThSt  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 35 Kybele torso

Pl. 13  
T09.005: 12421

P.H.: 0.076  
P.W.: 0.051  
Th.: 0.003

Only the front half is preserved, and then only the left shoulder, left breast, some length of the himation, and the bottom of a tympanon. In three non-joining fragments.

The torso of an enthroned Kybele holding a tympanon against her left shoulder. One long and thick lock of hair falls on her shoulder; it was formed and applied by hand, and then scored diagonally to suggest texture. She wears a light chiton, also indicated by scoring. A thicker himation, rendered plastically, falls over her shoulder.

Self-slipped and then covered in white ground, of which very light traces remain. There is some red paint on what remains of the tympanon.

Moldmade and hollow, with much of the detailing done by hand. The interior preserves multiple fingerprints. The walls are quite thin and regular. Core baked to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 81, no. 16, pl. VIII, dated to the third century B.C.E.

ThSt E 944.2 S 282.6 \*148.50

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### **36 Kybele torso**

Pl. 13

T13.007: 13637

P.H.: 0.018

P.W.: 0.019

Th.: 0.003

One small fragment, preserving the left breast. Only the front half of the figurine is extant if not a plaque.

A small female chest, draped, likely that of an enthroned Kybele. A peplos over chiton likely, and a heavy himation draped over the left shoulder rendered with delicate plastic folds. Perhaps a figural plaque rather than a figurine proper.

Very small traces of white ground extant within folds of drapery.

Moldmade with careful retouching of detail. The interior (or back) is smooth.

The fabric is medium hard, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

ThSt E 943.0-946.05 S 279.9-278.3  
\*148.70-148.32

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### **37 Kybele lap**

Pl. 14

T09.003: 12416

P.H.: .041

P.W.: 0.036

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half of the figure is preserved, and then only the right side of the body, from the elbow to just below the knee. Mended from two fragments.

An enthroned Kybele, likely, wearing a long-sleeved garment and resting her right hand upon her right knee. Her fingers are long, delicate, and finely modeled. A seemingly light garment covers her leg and drapes over it with soft, plastic folds. Above the arm, and covering its left side, however, a thicker himation rendered with stronger, stiffer folds, drapes onto the center of her lap. Could be part of a figural plaque.

Very light traces of white ground extant on both exterior and interior. Some pink paint is preserved on the lighter garment.

Moldmade and hollow. Mold was filled by hand, with multiple fingerprints preserved on the interior of the figure. Surface detail must have been retouched upon removal from mold, as modeling is quite fine.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Very fine golden mica seems common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

ThSt E 944.8 S280.8 \*148.59  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 38 Kybele fragment

Pl. 14

T09.010: 12439

P.H.: 0.014

P.W.: 0.027

P.D.: 0.028

Th.: 0.005

Only one small fragment of a lap is extant.

What seems to be the lap of a seated female, wearing a chiton (or peplos), and a thicker himation draped diagonally across her knees. The find context suggests that this might be an enthroned Kybele.

White ground preserved within the folds of the lighter garment, while the himation retains some dark (black?) pigment.

Moldmade and hollow. Very crisp modeling of naturalistic plastic folds. Narrow, regular walls. The interior preserves some fingerprints, and dribbles of white ground. Perhaps a figural plaque.

The fabric is hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

ThSt E 944.05 S 280.2 \*148.53

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

### 39 Kybele fragment

Pl. 14

T09.019: 12473

P.L.: 0.047

P.W.: 0.030

Th: 0.008

Only a small fragment of the front half of a seated figure is preserved.

A draped leg, possibly belonging to an enthroned Kybele. Its orientation is unclear, but the fragment likely depicts the area where the leg abuts the throne, thus accounting for the very straight edge and angle next to the more flesh-like part with plastic folds.

The exterior is covered in white ground and what seems to be a dark pigment, likely a faded black. Testing on the pigment was inconclusive.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is very clean; excess clay was likely removed from the mold with a tool. Plastic modeling throughout; quite crisp.

Hard and smooth fabric.

Surface: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown. Core: Munsell: 6/6, light red.

ThSt

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### 40 Kybele's tympanon

Pl. 14  
T09.004: 12419

P.H.:0.055  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th.: 0.017  
Est. Diam.: 0.058

Only about half of a tympanon extant. The rest of the figurine is missing.

The tympanon of an enthroned Kybele figurine, round with plain front and back. The tips of two fingers of Kybele's left hand are rendered plastically near the bottom of the disc.

White ground and red pigment preserved on the exterior.

Moldmade with the seam along the curving side of the disc. The interior is lumpy and preserves several fingerprints.

Hard-fired, smooth and micaceous fabric with a few, small, white inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 82, no. 30, pl. X.

ThSt  
Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### 41 Kybele's lion

Pl. 15  
T06.008: 12146

P.H.: 0.061  
P.W.: 0.028  
P.D.: 0.023  
Th: 0.004

Only the front is present, and then missing some of the right side and bottom of the lion, as well as the accompanying figures. Some scratches and holes, especially in the area of the face around the nose and mouth. Worn.

A seated lion, facing forward; part of a larger composition, so likely one of Kybele's entourage. Big round eyes, and open mouth, perhaps growling. The mane was indicated plastically, with lumps of hair signaled by simple and regular teardrop shapes. The size and scope of the mane beyond the top of the head is uncertain, but the presence of a mane on its chest indicates the maleness of the lion. Only its forelegs are extant, straight and muscular. To the left, a real edge, left plain. To the right, the figurine curves up, suggesting that the lion was part of a larger figural arrangement.

Some traces of white ground extant on exterior. Yellow paint extant on legs.

Moldmade and hollow. Walls look regular; interior is nicely clean and smooth.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

ThSt E 946.80 S 280.44 \*149.09

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### **42 Kybele's lion throne**

Pl. 15  
T06.009: 12147

P.H.: 0.110  
P.W.: 0.041  
P.D.: 0.056  
Th.: 0.007

The proper left side of the figure is extant, preserving an almost complete lion. Slightly worn.

A lion from a larger assemblage, likely the arm of a throne, with head and mane preserved. Gives the impression of having been carved out from a rectangular block. The lion sits, facing forward. Large, thick, rounded eyebrows define large, round eyes. A large, bulbous nose with clear nostrils sits atop a wide, possibly growling mouth. The mouth is open, showing teeth, with lower left canine clearly preserved. The left foreleg, the only one extant, is muscular. The side and top of the lion were left plain.

Some very light traces of white ground extant on the surface. One very small patch of dark red paint on the left leg; the left side of the figurine proper seems to have been painted red as well.

Moldmade and hollow. The detail of the mane may have been completed by hand with an incision tool. Heavy with thick walls. Core burned dark gray. The interior is smooth.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth to grainy feel. Breaks look hackly to granular. Fine golden mica is frequent.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Priene*, 410, no 9, pl. 3, Kybele on a lion throne, found in a domestic context, dated to before 135 B.C.E. *Pergamon*, 214, no. 191, pl. 30.

ThSt E 944.46-950.01 S 279.96-284.16  
\*150.61

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### **43 Lion on base**

Pl. 15  
T13.008: 13638

H. (base): 0.026  
P.H. (with lion): 0.036  
P.W.: 0.039  
Th.: 0.008

Only part of the base and one partial foot preserved.

A plain, rectangular base for a group composition, likely a Kybele with a lion. The front is flat, while the top slopes down towards the edge. Perched on the sloping surface, the foot of a clawed feline. Two well-articulated toes preserved.

Light traces of white ground extant on exterior, evenly applied; thicker traces on interior, irregularly preserved. Small traces of yellow pigment extant between the toes of the lion.

Moldmade. Foot and base formed separately. Fingerprints evident on the underside of the base (floor), but the back of the vertical section was carefully smoothed with a tool.

Hard, smooth, and micaceous fabric.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

ThSt E 942.9-946.1 S 282.8-281.8

\*148.92-148.33

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### **44 Attis**

Pl. 16

T06.010: 12149

P.H.: 0.070

P.W.: 0.060

P.D.: 0.043

Th.: 0.005-0.006

Much of the back is missing; the front is preserved down to just about the waist. The head is missing. The left arm seems to be concealed beneath the tunic, though it might be entirely missing as well.

The torso of Attis, holding a syrinx in his right hand. He wears a long-sleeved, belted tunic that seems to hide his left arm, while his right is bent at the elbow and held close to the body. Plastic folds fall vertically from behind the syrinx over a slightly bulging stomach. A separate garment, perhaps a short cloak, drapes over the left shoulder, with folds falling in semi-circular fashion away from the body, and then around it at the back. The syrinx consists of six similarly sized, vertical tubes bound together at the

top and bottom by two horizontal bands.

Self-slipped. Some pink pigment extant on the left side of the tunic.

Moldmade and hollow. A particularly heavy piece with thick walls. Core fired to a dark gray. The back was left plain and with a rough surface. The interior is mostly smooth. Very nicely modeled fingers.

Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks look smooth to granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 44, no. D 256, pl. 53, b, from Macedonia, an Attis holding a syrinx dated to the early second century B.C.E.

ThSt E 946.51 S 279.75 \*148.91

Hellenistic fill under theater; early third century B.C.E. pottery seems to be latest dateable material.

Early third century B.C.E.

#### **45 Attis and Kybele on base?**

Pl. 16

T13.009: 13639

P.H.: 0.046

H. (base): 0.027

P.L.: 0.093

P.D.: 0.028

Th.: 0.007

Fragment preserves the lower right corner of a plaque or figurine, up to the feet of a couple of major figures. Seems to have been a plaque, but if not, it is missing its back. Signs of burning.

A complicated group composition on a low, mostly plain, rectangular base. The feet of a human figure, either bare and stylized or wearing pointed boots, are discernible near the plaque's right corner. The figure's right foot rests flat on the ground, while the left foot crosses in front of it at the ankle, leaving only the toes in contact with the base. The figure seems to wear loose trousers that go down to the ankles. To its left, and in much lower relief, are either two paws with long claws, bird-like, yet possibly belonging to a very large lion, or alternatively, the bottom folds of a draped, seated figure. Attis and Kybele? Attis and a lion?

Traces of white ground extant on the surface, especially on base. Red and pink pigment on and near figure to the left. Small traces of yellow near feet at right.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. Plastic decoration alongside incised details. Core is very dark.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth, with some mica. The color is strange, possibly due to burning.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/2-5/2, pale red to weak red.

Cf. Bird-like claws on a marble lion (Lion C) from Sardis, dated to 450-350 B.C.E. in *Sculpture*, 63-65, no. 25, fig. 99.

MMS/S E 146.20-143.20 S 117.20-114.70 \*104.60-104.20  
Hellenistic fill accumulation of the second half of the third century B.C.E.

Second half of the third century B.C.E.  
Could be an import.

## 46 Lion

Pl. 17  
T65.008: 6690

P.H.: 0.069  
P.W.: 0.029  
P.D.: 0.034  
Th.: 0.006

The figure is extant from below the mouth to the chest. Missing the head, bottom of left leg, right leg, and everything beyond it to the right.

A majestic lion, either standing or sitting, looking forward. Possibly a companion to Kybele since the figure continues to the right. Naturalistically rendered mane and furry chest, plastically modeled. The shoulder is strong, and gives way to a sturdy leg with two horizontal incised grooves. The left side of the lion is a straight, plain wall rather than a naturalistic continuation of his body; perhaps this lion was part of a throne.

Some white ground remains on exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The sides were left plain.

Soft and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

PN W 282 S 332 \*86.3

Before 215 B.C.E.

#### **47 Kybele torso**

Pl. 17

T62.004: 4174

P.H.: 0.045

P.W.: 0.048

Th.: 0.006

Only the left breast and upper arm of the figure are preserved. Weathered.

A fragment of female chest covered with a chiton; beneath it, the fold of a himation drapes down. Very thick, plastic folds. Likely a Kybele figure.

Some white ground extant on both exterior and interior.

Moldmade and hollow. Perhaps a plaque. It would have been a heavy piece regardless.

Soft fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are laminar; small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Dark brown. Munsell 5YR 4/3, reddish brown.

HoB W 25 S 95 to \*100.10  
Lydian Trench, just above Hellenistic levels.

Late third century B.C.E. or later.

#### **48 Kybele torso**

Pl. 17

T11.031: 12894

P.H.: 0.033

P.W.: 0.036

Th.: 0.005

Only the torso down to a girded waist is extant; missing the head, arms and most of

the body. Back half, if not a plaque, is also missing.

The torso of a goddess, probably Kybele, wearing a peplos with a deep v-neck, girded high, just below the breasts, over a chiton. She also wears a himation draped over her shoulders. The folds on the neck and breast are stiff and angular. A high girdle is rendered shorthand by an incised line.

Very light traces of white ground remain within modeled crevices.

Moldmade and hollow. Walls are very thin, possibly a relief plaque.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent on the surface.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

HoB W 2-12 S 117-122 \*100.20-99.80  
Lydian trench, Hellenistic Level.

Third century B.C.E.

#### **49 Leg of a flying figure?**

Pl. 17

T61.015a: 3252

P.H.: 0.043

P.W. at calf: 0.013

L. of foot: 0.022

Th. at break: 0.005

Missing most of the figure; the only extant portion is the left leg below the knee. The tips of the toes are a bit chipped, but otherwise in good condition.

The lower left leg and foot of a flying figure, perhaps male. Very finely modeled toes with toenail detail indicated. Between the big and

second toe there is a round sandal buckle. The sandal's sole is flat; the sandal band, a little above the ankle, is raised. The leg is naturalistically modeled, with joint seams completely hidden, making for a very attractive calf. The position of the foot suggests that it is lifted from the ground as in flight.

Some traces of white ground remain on the surface, as well as a small amount of orange/red pigment on the ankle.

Moldmade and hollow. Crisp, delicate modeling.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 5YR 6/3, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Priene*, 428, no. 64, pl. 28, a Knidia, with three coils around ankle, but no sandal, earlier than 135 BC. Herbert 1959, 108-109, fig. 17, a Bacchic dancer dated to the second century B.C.E., from Myrina.

HoB W 5 S 85 \*101  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century B.C.E. or later.

## 50 Woman's head

Pl. 18  
T09.013: 12446

P.H.: 0.063  
P.W.: 0.039  
P.D.: 0.050  
Th. (at neck): 0.005

Broken off below the neck. Missing hair on the left side, as well as much of the back. The mouth was scraped off, but has now

been restored. The tip of the nose was also flattened, but otherwise surface detail is well preserved. Mended from three fragments.

The head of a fairly large female figurine wearing a gilded stephane. Could be a goddess, though not necessarily. Her head is poised with a graceful tilt to the right. She wears her hair in a typical Knidian coiffure, decidedly parted at middle, pulled away from the face in full, loose and well-defined waves, and then (one would suppose) gathered at back. A very low and smooth stephane rests at her crown. Triangular forehead above thin, rounded eyebrows. The eyes are almond-shaped with Praxitelean blurred edges. The upper lids were very lightly modeled. Long and thin nose, with pronounced tip and clear nostrils, perhaps inspired by Arsinoe II-type portraiture. The mouth is now destroyed, but had a clearly bowed upper lip. Rounded chin meets neck in a convex curve, almost perpendicularly. The neck is long, elegant, and adorned with at least two "rings of Venus," rendered plastically. The shape of the face is oval to rounded. One smallish, round earring is preserved on the right ear. Her expression is modestly aloof. Third century style; manufacture could be a bit later.

The face is for the most part covered in white ground (lead white). The front of the stephane is gilded, over an iron oxide ground.

Moldmade and hollow. Very fine modeling at the front, with detail retouched after removal from the mold. The detail at the back was carefully worked by hand. The interior is very smooth; excess clay was probably removed from the mold with the aid of tools, although there are some (possibly incidental) partial fingerprints visible. The walls are for the most part regular. Core baked to a very dark gray.

Possible terracotta mold; very high quality product.

The fabric is (surprisingly) soft; well-baked, however, with a smooth feel. Breaks seem laminar. Small silvery mica is common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 132, 219, pl. XLVII, dated to the second century B.C.E. *Louvre II*, 164, no. MYR 826, pl. 199, d, a Victory, but could also be an Aphrodite or mortal.

F49 E 837.95 S 395.80 \*181.10  
Series of Hellenistic use/burning surfaces.

Third century B.C.E.

### **51 Woman's head**

Pl. 18  
NoEx69.021

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.031  
P.D.: 0.034  
Th. of neck: 0.021

Preserved down to the attachment knob at the neck. Facial features are worn; part of the nose has been chipped away.

The head of a woman, facing forward, yet leaning slightly to the left. Her hair is parted at the middle, descending in soft waves that frame the slightly angular face. At the level of the ears, the hair widens a bit, and then gathers into a small, oval-shaped (vertical) bun at the nape. Some scoring on the back of the head may indicate the presence of braids. Her forehead is small and triangular, ending in slightly protruding and rounded eyebrows. The eyes are almond-shaped, with modeled upper lids, seemingly melting lower lids, and no indication of pupils

visible. The nose seems to have been straight. The mouth is also straight, and no wider than the bottom of the nose, with plump, bowed and closed lips; it is placed high up, right underneath the nose. The chin recedes slightly and slopes a little down to the neck. The neck is curved and graceful from the front, but too thick from the side. Small earrings are probably present. Vacant to impassive expression.

Traces of white ground visible on the lower right side of the face and hair. Red pigment still present on the lower left side, where hair and neck meet.

Moldmade and solid. Modeled simply at back, although slight diagonal scoring is present, perhaps to enhance the hairstyle. The join seam, which is visible on the right and top of the head, is not consistently concealed; it goes from the left side of the head, just behind the ear, to the right side, on top of the ear.

The fabric is soft with a slightly powdery feel.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Not from the excavations.

Third century B.C.E.

### **52 Female, head**

Pl. 18  
T60.013: 2494

P.H.: 0.038  
P.W.: 0.024  
Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is present, with everything below the neck missing. Part of the hair and nose were chipped off.

The head of a woman, with a high coiffure off the forehead, and teardrop-shaped earrings. Her hair falls down to the chin in very soft curls. The eyes and eyebrows were softly modeled in the typical almond-shape, with upper lids indicated. The nose should have been straight; the mouth, small and closed. The face is oval and pleasingly graceful. Serene expression.

Self-slipped, with no other traces of painted decoration.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam must have been placed behind the ears. The core appears to have burned to a darker gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks seem smooth. Very fine silvery mica is rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

HoB E 15 S 120 \*102.00  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century B.C.E.

### **53 Woman's head**

Pl. 18  
T67.003: 7322

P.H.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.020  
P.D.: 0.027  
Th. at neck: 0.013

Everything below the neck is missing; blurry features.

The small head of a woman, with fine, Praxitelean features, cocked slightly to the right. Her hair is parted by a deep groove in the middle, with wavy locks framing the oval face, and then loosely gathered into a

bun at the back. Typical Knidian coiffure. The bun is deeply grooved, and is composed of three distinct sections. A short, rounded forehead above blurry, almond-shaped eyes. The eyes are wider at the inner corner, and have only their upper lid indicated; typical "melting gaze." The nose is small and straight; the mouth should have been delicate. The chin seems a little bit heavy, but it meets a well-proportioned neck gracefully and almost perpendicularly. Overall expression is calm, perhaps self-satisfied.

Small traces of white ground extant on the back of the neck.

The head is moldmade and solid, but the details of the hair were worked by hand with a tool. The bun was formed separately.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Break looks smooth with no inclusions detectable.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Syn E 99.20 N 21.40 \*95.74  
Forecourt of the synagogue, near a door.

Third century B.C.E.

### **54 Woman's head**

Pl. 18  
T62.015: 4405

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.022  
P.D.: 0.027  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Everything below the neck is missing. Slightly weathered. Part of the bun may be missing.

The head of a woman, with hair parted at middle, swept back in distinct tresses off sides, and gathered into a round bun at the middle back of the head. She wears a thick diadem or fillet. Her face is oval and rather lovely. Well-proportioned triangular forehead, above what seem to be long, horizontal eyebrows. Small, deep-set eyes, with thick upper and lower lids; flattened nose; small mouth with full lips. The cheeks and chin are somewhat round and charming. The chin meets a substantial neck almost perpendicularly. She wears round earrings and an unconcerned expression.

Minimal traces of white ground still visible on the surface.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is covered in plaster. Join seam located behind the ear; visible but smoothed with some care. The front was modeled more extensively than the back; seems to have been retouched after removal from plaster mold. The profile view retains the pleasant proportions of the front.

The fabric is soft and very smooth. Breaks seems granular; maybe some mica present.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Tarsus* I, 300, for discussion of figurines filled or attached with plaster.

HoB W 25 S 85 to \*99.70

Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Third century B.C.E.

## 55 Woman's head

Pl. 18

T98.006: 11094

P.H.: 0.049

P.W.: 0.031

P.D.: 0.031

Th.: 0.008

Only the back half of the figurine remains, and is then missing everything below the neck. Its surface looks distressed.

The back of a woman's head; her hair is pulled back in a melon type style (long, vertical incisions to indicate different plaits of hair, scored with short diagonals to indicate texture within-- maybe curly, maybe rolled, maybe braided). Eleven waves total, gathered into a large oval bun at the back of the head.

Some very small traces of white ground extant on neck. Very light traces of red paint also visible within the crevices of the hair.

Hollow and at least partly moldmade. It seems that all of the modeled detail on the back was rendered by hand. The bun was formed separately.

Soft fabric with a slightly powdery/rough feel. Breaks are granular. Small grog and gold mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Priene*, 479, no. 229, pl. 94.

MMS/S E 143.30-144.80 S 113.30-114.80 \*104.42-103.90

MMS/S 98.1; Hellenistic Layer II in Space O1, a domestic context with a consistent ceramic assemblage.

275-225 B.C.E.

### **56 Human head, male?**

Pl. 18

T59.002: 1251

P.H.: 0.038

P.W.: 0.029

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is present. The head is preserved from above the eyes to the throat; everything below that is missing.

A human head, possibly male. The eyes are subtly modeled; both upper and lower lids are finely indicated, although the upper lids are more pronounced, and seem to slope down towards the outside corners of the eyes. No pupils modeled. Long, straight nose with indented nostrils. The mouth was positioned close to the bottom of the nose, with full, slightly parted lips, a defined bow at top, and dimples marking the corners. The chin may be dimpled. The profile of the chin is neither attractive nor smooth. The impression given by it is of a badly smoothed seam or connection between face/head and neck. Because of this, it is hard to determine at which angle the chin, rendered as a convex curve, connects to the neck, but it seems to do so perpendicularly.

Some very light traces of white ground extant beneath the left cheek. A much clearer presence of black slip behind and below both cheeks may indicate hair. Red pigment extant on lips.

Moldmade and hollow. Core burnt to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a rough, pockmarked surface; should have been smooth originally.

Break seems hackly; some medium, rounded inclusions (rare), both white and brown.

Munsell: 2.5YR 4/2, weak red.

HoB E 20 S 60 \*96.80

Lydian Trench, Area 9; Lydian levels but highly disturbed by later deposits, including some Hellenistic graves.

Third century B.C.E.

### **57 Woman's head**

Pl. 18

T11.013: 12839

P.H.: 0.024

P.W.: 0.016

Th. at neck: 0.007

Only the front half of a face is extant, and then is missing everything above the mouth and below the neck. Chipped and scratched.

The lower half of a woman's head. Her face would have been oval and graceful. The mouth is straight and formed by plump lips, of which the upper one is triangular. A small, pointed chin slopes gently towards a handsome neck and meets it almost perpendicularly.

Some white ground extant on the neck and left cheek. Two blobs of black pigment, one on the mouth and one on the chin, might be incidental.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The clay was pressed into the mold with the aid of a triangular tool. Beautiful craftsmanship.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions immediately apparent; perhaps some mica is present.

Munsell: 10R 5/4, weak red.

HoB E 65-60 S 152-145 \*109.20-108  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Third century B.C.E. or later.

### 58 Human head

Pl. 18  
T64.001: 5919

P.H.: 0.042  
P.W.: 0.050  
Th.: 0.007

Only the front half is present, and then it is broken across at the level of the mid nose; everything above this point and below the chin is missing. There is a large pit near the upper lip.

A human head, perhaps of a woman. Part of a headdress or hair visible on left side. The nose is damaged and flattened, but should have been straight and of a substantial size, with nostrils indicated. The mouth is closed, with a full, bowed upper lip, and a straight lower lip. The chin is slightly convex, and probably met neck perpendicularly. The proportions of the face as a whole seem very pleasant.

Self-slipped. Some traces of white ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow. Seems like a carefully made piece.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Small silvery mica is rare; what seem to be medium sized pieces

of quartz or lime (white and rounded) are also present.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

B E 23 S 2

Third century B.C.E. or later.

### 59 Standing, draped woman

Pl. 19  
T11.047: 12910

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.037  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved. Missing everything above the knees, and part of the right side.

A draped woman, standing. Both legs seem to be engaged. Thick, heavy drapery rendered by stiff, vertical, plastic folds. The left foot is visible and has a fork at its center.

Heavy traces of white ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior preserves some fingerprints.

Hard and powdery fabric. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 126, nos. 165 and 166, pl. XXXVI, with forked shoe, in the style of Myrina of the mid second century B.C.E.

HoB W 10 S 85 \*99.90-99.60  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Late third century B.C.E.

**60 Standing, draped woman**

Pl. 19  
T98.010: 11100

P.H.: 0.092  
P.W.: 0.048  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, and then only from around the waist to just above the ankles. Chipped.

The lower body of a standing, draped woman. She is tightly swathed in a himation, which winds obliquely across her torso, and then falls along her left leg, bunching above the thigh. The hem of this outer garment, with chiton below, is visible near the bottom of the left leg. The right knee is bent; its shape and profile suggested through the drapery. She stands with her weight on the left leg and the right leg relaxed.

Heavy traces of white ground are extant on the exterior. Faint traces of pink paint visible on the lower folds of the garments.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Clay was pressed unevenly into the mold in overlain patches; messy with uneven walls. Core partially fired to a dark gray.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks seem laminar. Fine varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 124, no. 154, pl. XXXIII, dated to the early second century B.C.E.

MMS/S E 147.00-144.80 S 113.30-114.80 \*105.00-104.44

Hellenistic Layer I in Space O1, a domestic context with a consistent ceramic assemblage dating to ca. 225-175 B.C.E.

ca. 225-175 B.C.E.

**61 Seated woman, draped**

Pl. 19  
T65.007: 6663

P.H.: 0.041  
P.W.: 0.034  
Th. at left shoulder: 0.007

Only the front half is preserved. The head, as well as the legs below the hips, are missing. Something else also missing off left side, possibly just an unclear left arm.

The torso of a seated woman, possibly a draped hierodule or worshiper. She wears a garment with a heavy border delineating a low v-neck, and thin, curving, horizontal folds across the body. Her right hand is raised to the right breast from within the garment, while the left hand (missing) seems to have been kept along her left thigh.

Traces of white ground extant within the folds of her dress. Some light traces of pink pigment preserved as well.

Moldmade and hollow. Core baked gray. Very detailed, crisp modeling at front.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to laminar.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 94, no. 64, pl. XVIII, dated to the late second to early first century B.C.E.; only similar in pose, modeling is crisper in

our example. A draped hierodule. *Winter II*,  
11, nos. 1-10.

PN W 285.40-286.20 S 331.50-332.10  
\*82.15 - 81.15  
From well.

Before 215 B.C.E.

## 62 Human foot

Pl. 19  
T11.081: 12963

P.H.: 0.025  
P.W.: 0.014  
P.L.: 0.022

Only the front half of a foot is preserved;  
everything above the ankle is missing.

A right, human foot, bare. Nicely modeled  
toes. Its sides and bottom are flat.

Some very small traces of white ground  
extant on surface.

Moldmade and solid.

Soft and grainy fabric. Breaks are granular.  
Some small grog inclusions. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB \*100  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Third century B.C.E. or later.

## 63 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 20  
T67.004: 7333

P.H.: 0.057  
P.W.: 0.051  
P.D.: 0.038  
Th.: 0.008

Only a fragment of the left side of the  
figurine is extant. Missing the head, right  
half of the body, and everything below the  
chest.

The torso of an enthroned Kybele. She  
seems to wear the typical peplos over chiton,  
girded high, below the breasts. A thicker  
himation drapes over her left shoulder. A  
long lock of curly hair is preserved over the  
himation. Although most of her left arm is  
covered by the himation, her forearm and  
hand, held under her breast, are left exposed.  
She seems to be holding something; a small  
lion? At her left, the trefoil ornament of a  
high-backed throne remains.

Some white ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was left  
plain. The front seems to have been worked  
in low relief, with the folds of her garment  
indicated by shallow incisions.

Soft and powdery fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

PN W 227 S 332 \*87.3

Second century B.C.E. or later.

## 64 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 20

T90.007: 9754

P.H.: 0.044

P.W.: 0.065

Th. at bottom of chest: 0.003

Th. of wall at side: 0.005

Only the front half is present. Missing the head and everything below the girded waist. Mended from two fragments.

The torso of a goddess, probably an enthroned Kybele, wearing a peplos with a deep v-neck, girded high, just below the breasts, over a chiton. She also has a himation draped over her arms, and long locks of twisted hair falling on both shoulders. The plastic folds over the breasts are naturalistic, unlike those of other more angular examples. The girdle seems to be twisted around itself. To her left, there is a sort of tree trunk adorned with raised, horizontal bands at the level of the breasts. Probably a predecessor to **65**, which was made from the same mold, or similar, but at a later date (details are incised rather than modeled).

Most of the surface is covered in white ground. Pink paint is also preserved on the himation over the right arm. Yellow pigment extant on hair.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Very similar manufacture to **65**, with both cores dark gray, and clay baked to the same hardness. The interiors are clean and smooth.

Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are sometimes hackly, sometimes smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Exterior: Munsell: 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

Interior: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 81, no. 17, pl. VII, a degenerate version of a third century type, probably made in late second or early first century B.C.E. *Troy*, 84, no. 50, pl. XV, style of the second century B.C.E. *Pergamon*, 213, no. 188, pl. 30.

MMS/S E 113-115 S 130-137 \*111.0-110.46

Hellenistic fill, found right next to **65**.

Second century B.C.E. or later.

## 65 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 20

T11.027: 12890

P.H.: 0.060

P.W.: 0.025

Th. at bottom of chest: 0.003

Only a small fragment of the left side of the torso is preserved. Missing the head and everything below the girded waist.

The torso of a goddess, probably an enthroned Kybele, wearing a peplos with a deep v-neck, girded high, just below the breasts, over a chiton. She also has a himation draped over her arms, and long locks of twisted hair falling on the extant shoulder. No plastic folds visible on the breast. To her left, there is a sort of tree trunk adorned with incised, horizontal bands just above the level of the breast. Probably a later version of **64**, which was made from the same mold, or similar, but at an earlier date (details were crisply modeled rather than incised).

Some white ground extant on exterior. Pink paint extant on girdle; yellow paint on hair and tree trunk.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The core is dark gray; the clay was baked to the same hardness as **64**.

Same as **64**. Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are sometimes hackly, sometimes smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Same as **64**. Exterior: Munsell: 5YR 5/6, yellowish red. Interior: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

MMS/S E 113-115 S 130-137 \*111-110.46  
Hellenistic fill, found right next to **64**.

Second century B.C.E. or later.

### **66 Aphrodite and Eros, leaning on a pillar**

Pl. 21  
T97.003:10698

P.H.: 0.164  
P.W.:0.089  
Th.: 0.004  
P.H. of head of Eros: 0.020

Only the front half is extant; missing the head, left arm, feet, most of Eros, and part of the pillar.

Aphrodite, leaning on a pillar to her left, partly draped. Right arm akimbo with hand on the hip. The left arm is missing, but should have been mostly hidden by the pedestal, and possibly placed around Eros. Her weight rests on her right leg, with left leg bent and stepping forward, resulting in a strong s-curve. The figure was rendered as

in relief, with empty spaces indicated by solid receding planes. The goddess wears her hair long, loose and in distinct tresses; some of it is still extant on both of her shoulders. The right arm is a bit thick at the top; the hand, likewise, has thick and stubby fingers. Her breasts are round and unnatural; the torso is also unnaturally long, but with a pleasantly rounded stomach, and a large, rounded navel. A mantle falls in large curls and waves from her left shoulder, drapes over the pillar, and manages to avoid the torso completely. It further gathers under her belly, and then falls diagonally from the top of her left thigh down to the right ankle. Plastic folds, done in very low relief, seem almost stiff. The legs can be seen through the drapery and are quite shapely. An Eros, perhaps an Eros-Harpokrates, sits atop a plain pillar, with his left leg crossed under his right knee, and the right leg hanging down. His head is very small and childlike, with a high head ornament adorning his crown. He seems to look lovingly towards his mother's torso. Part of a left wing is also extant. Likely a variant of the Aphrodite in the Gardens type.

The figure was self-slipped before the application of white ground, which is well-preserved all over its surface. A significant amount of green pigment, *terre verte*, is preserved on the mantle over the area of the thighs; might be an accident of preservation, but the green seems to form a discrete band of color. Eros' crown might have been gilt; it now preserves a thick layer of iron oxide ground. The same pigment is found on Aphrodite' hair. Her skin is a pinkish yellow.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely; excess clay was removed from the mold with the aid of tools.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions common on surfaces. Generic grog also seems to be present.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red to 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. A Roman example in marble, now in the Louvre (Ma 414); Ridgway 1981, 116. *Louvre II*, 31, no. MYRINA 941, pl. 34, d., dated to the early first century B.C.E.; 27, no. MYR 627, pl. 28, b., dated late first century B.C.E. *British Museum III*, 58, no. 2092, pl. 17., posed in the opposite direction; 98, no. 2220, pl. 40. *Pergamon*, 215, no. 212, pl. 35. *Myrina*, no. 83. *Winter II*, 84, no. 9.

MMS E 139.6 S 66.4 ca. \*104.7  
Hellenistic fill. Found near 67.

Late second century B.C.E. or later.

### 67 Winged woman, Victory or dancer

Pl. 21

T97.002: 10695

P.H.: 0.109

P.W.: 0.090

P.D.: 0.035

Th.: 0.005

Broken at front below the neck; the left arm, shoulder and wing are preserved. The back goes down to the waist, but the right shoulder, wing and arm are missing. White accretions over the face give features a worn appearance. Repaired at wing.

A winged woman, perhaps a flying Victory or dancer, draped, with left arm akimbo, and head looking slightly downwards to the left. Her hair seems straight; it is pulled away from the face, and comes down to her

shoulders. At top middle, her locks are arranged into a braid that goes back and gathers up into a high bow-knot. Her face has a natural shape; the forehead is specially lovely and long, rectangular rather than triangular. The eyes seem to be too close together, and are downturned at the outside corners. The nose is straight and almost too large at the tip. The mouth, placed very close to the bottom of the nose, has well formed lips, and is kept straight. The chin is small but distinct, and meets the neck perpendicularly. The neck is broad, but not masculine. Two incised “rings of Venus” transverse the neck. A wing comes out of her left shoulder; it is plain on top, but then bursts into individual feathers, seven in total, which begin at bulbous, round knobs. The third feather from the top is the longest; all have a raised spine that divides them lengthwise. The very top edge of the wing, which has been worked in high relief, is curved like an ocean wave. She wears a short-sleeved tunic. There is a round ornament or clasp at the place where the tunic and wing meet.

The figure was self-slipped before being covered in white ground, which is well preserved all over its exterior. The hair is dark red, likely iron oxide, while the tunic was covered in pink. The wing preserves a striking red band going across it, and a light blue pigment near its upper edge.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The back was left plain and smoothed carefully. Join seams were hidden well. The texture of the hair was rendered by hand with a tool; the “rings of Venus” were also rendered in intaglio technique. The high bow-knot was formed and added by hand. The entire front half, including the head and arm, seems to have been molded together in a bivalve mold; the wing was formed separately in a single-sided mold. Halves correspond to

each other in size and are well aligned; attached with the aid of plaster. Some fingerprints are visible on the interior.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are laminar. Very fine golden mica inclusions are common on the surface.

Munsell: 10R 6/4, pale red.

Cf. *Troy*, 106, no. 88, pl. XXIII, perhaps a winged Phrygian dancer, dated to the second century B.C.E. *Louvre II*, 39, no. M 36, pl. 45, f, the wing of an Eros figure.

MMS E 138.1 S 65.5 \*106.15  
Hellenistic fill. Found near **66**.

Late second century B.C.E. or later.

### **68 Wing**

Pl. 21  
T65.012: 6766

P.H.: 0.033  
P.L.: 0.047  
Th.: 0.003-0.008

A wing, broken on at least two sides so that the tips of the feathers and the place where it would have attached to body are missing. The back is rough and accreted.

The light wing of a flying being, with distinctly modeled, long, thick feathers (at least six extant) that begin in bulbous, round knobs. These, in turn, lie just beneath a smooth, flat surface on the top part of the wing. The very top edge, which has been worked in high relief, is curved like an ocean wave, and should have lent a lighthearted cadence to the wing. Similar to the wing on **67**.

Some white ground remains within the creases between the feathers.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold; solid. Plaster mold a possibility. Unevenly fired.

The fabric is medium hard with a smooth feel. Breaks are laminar on one side, and granular on the other. Fine golden mica inclusions are frequent; small, rounded white and gray grog inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Syn E 87-92 N 1.2-3 \*95.50-95.20  
From a pit.

Late second century B.C.E. or later.

### **69 Wing**

Pl. 21  
T13.028: 13768

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.056  
Th.: 0.011-0.002

One fragment, preserving the bottom portion of a wing and the area of attachment to the body.

The large, graceful wing of a flying being. Raised, plain ridge represents the "arm" of the wing; from it radiate four rows of progressively longer feathers with rounded ends and raised spines that divide them lengthwise.

Covered in thick, white ground both front and back. The front also preserves some traces of pink pigment.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold; solid. The distal edges of the wing are quite thin. Very crisp modeling. The back was left plain, but

it is fairly clean and even, with some light fingerprints just barely visible.

The fabric is hard-fired, finely levigated, and smooth.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 36, no. MYR 66, pl. 40, e, an Eros. *Pergamon*, 239, no. 554a and b, pl. 81.

F49 E 845.3-849.5 S 398.7-400.5  
\*185.32-185.23

Fill below an EarlyRoman floor.

Second century B.C.E. Could be an import.

### 70 Helmeted Athena

Pl. 22  
T91.016: 9914

P.H.: 0.046  
P.W.: 0.022  
P.D.: 0.030  
Th.: 0.004

Everything below the neck is missing. Blurry and worn; the tip of the helmet has broken off.

A martial Athena, looking forward and wearing a tall, peaked helmet. A raised ridge goes down over the center and top of the helmet, all the way down to the back. What is visible of her hair is arranged in wavy plaits and pulled away from her face. Her facial features are worn, but the forehead seems to have been covered, the eyes slightly squinty, and the mouth either straight or in a frown. The chin is small and slopes down slightly towards the neck. She also wears large round earrings. Her profile seems commensurate with rest of the figure; good craftsmanship.

Self-slipped, with some very small traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam is located behind the ears, and was flattened down and made mostly inconspicuous. Plaster mold likely. The back was minimally modeled.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are common on the surface.

Slip: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red. Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *Pergamon*, 201, no. 11, pl. 2, a mortal woman. *Troy*, 76, no. 13, pl. VI, a head wearing a Corinthian helmet, dated to the first century B.C.E. *Priene*, 442, no. 112, pl. 46, from a domestic context, dated to before 135 B.C.E. Pisani 2006, 362, no. 156, pl. 37 c, the head of Athena, late first century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

ByzFort E 708-712 S 406-411 \*186.92-185.50

Under a LateRoman floor.

Second century B.C.E.

### 71 Ephesian Artemis?

Pl. 22  
T90.006: 9749

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.038  
Th.: 0.006

Only the right half of the chest is extant. Missing the head, limbs, etc.

What seems to be an adorned chest, possibly of an Ephesian Artemis. Below the neck, one row of globules, followed by one row of

reversed teardrops (convex end at the top). Below, and at very center, a large round object with a stem, perhaps a gourd, bull testicle, or other. To the right, what appears to be her breast, or perhaps an arm, seemingly covered in fabric.

No signs of painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow, with plastically rendered details.

The fabric is hard-fired and slightly rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/4, pale red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 159, no. E/D 1080, pl. 219, a, from Smyrna, an Ephesian Artemis dated to the LateHellenistic period. *Winter I*, 126, no. 2.

MMS/S E 113-115 S 130-137 \*111-110.46  
Hellenistic fill.

Second century B.C.E. or later.

### 72 Child's head, Eros?

Pl. 22  
T86.004: 9208

P.H.: 0.030  
P.W.: 0.023  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing everything below the chin. Worn and chipped.

The head of a child with fat cheeks, cocked innocently to the left. His hair is short, curly, and worn in a plait down the center of the head. His eyes are worn, but deep set, and should have had some plastically rendered

detail. In a spirit that echoes the position of the head and the mood of the other facial features, the eyes seem to be downturned. The nose below them seems wide and rounded, with nostrils indicated. The mouth is barely an incision, clearly downturned, and set close to the pug nose. The chin is short, and practically one with the neck. His overall expression is repentant. Comparable material from Troy is dated to the second century B.C.E., but because of the downturned mouth in this example, a later date cannot be ruled out.

Very small traces of white ground extant. Moldmade and hollow. Seems to have been fired unevenly or otherwise burned.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Medium, rounded, white inclusions are rare to few.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 123, nos. 145 and 147, pl. XXX-XXXI, head of boy, maybe an Eros, dated to the second century B.C.E.

MMS E 100-101.5 S 91-93 \*104.7-104.4  
Roman dump.

Second century B.C.E. or later.

### 73 Child's torso, Eros?

Pl. 22  
T12.006: 13165

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.022  
Th.: 0.003

One fragment, preserving only the front half of the figure, and then only the left arm, lower torso, and upper left thigh.

A standing male, nude, except for his left arm and hand, covered by the plastic folds of a falling mantle, and a narrow strap that cuts diagonally across this torso. Slightly rounded stomach and navel, rounded thighs, and a small penis. Childlike proportions. Eros? A young Dionysus?

Slipped solid black. It is possible that this is not a figurine, but a vessel's figural attachment.

Moldmade and hollow. Crisp modeling and thin, regular walls. The interior is clean and even.

Grayware; hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/1, gray.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 316, no. 50, p. 316, fig. 216, a Hermes.

F49 E 843.5-844.7 S 402.2-404.5  
\*183.87

Mixed Hellenistic fill, dated third to second century B.C.E.

Second century B.C.E.

#### 74 Child's torso, dancing Eros?

Pl. 22  
T85.008: 9071

P.H.: 0.065  
P.W.: 0.040  
D. at stomach and buttocks: 0.028  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Missing the head, both arms below the shoulders, and both legs below the upper thighs. The penis has been chipped off, along with some of the figure's surface. If it is an Eros, it is missing his wings as well.

A young, nude Eros, in a dancing stance with his left leg forward. His torso is twisting with the chest positioned to the left, and hips to the right. His right arm is raised forward, while the left arm is kept lower, near the body. Nicely modeled chest above a rounded stomach with a large navel. At back, the spine and buttocks were also modeled. The upper back retains some scars of what might be missing wings.

Self-slipped before the application of white ground, much of which remains.

Moldmade, with a hollow body and solid limbs. Modeled with equal consideration at back and front. The join seams were concealed with care. Core fired to gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular to smooth. Small varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. Herbert 1959, 107, fig. 15, a LateHellenistic Eros.

MMS E 110.7-112 S 89.8-93 \*104.3  
Roman dump.

Second century B.C.E. or later.

#### 75 Herm

Pl. 23  
T77.002: 8331

P.H.: 0.220  
W. of column: 0.034 H. of base: 0.016  
W. with arms: 0.047 W. of base: 0.045  
D. of column: 0.028 Th.: 0.006  
H. of plinth: 0.017  
W. of plinth: 0.062  
D. of plinth: 0.050

Almost complete; missing the head and some fragments of the column body. Mended from at least seven fragments with some modern fills.

A herm, leaning slightly to the left. Its plinth is square in the front and rounded at back; a drum-like, molded base sits atop of it, and the herm's column body, square in section, rises from that. At the foot of the column, above the base, there are some fruit offerings, possibly pomegranates, apples and grapes. The column shaft is plain and smooth, except for the herm's genitals, which are rendered in low relief at the center front. Red ribbons (painted, not modeled) seem to hang down from over the shoulders; long strands of plaited hair, this time plastic, also hang down over the shoulders. Stump arms, square in section, at each side, just below head. The head is now missing, but the bottom of a square, blond beard remains. The back and sides of the column were left plain.

Small traces of white ground extant on the surface. The hair preserves some yellow, while the shoulders and penis were rendered in red (iron oxide). Dark blue stripes seem to run down the length of the column; color might have been solid originally. The fruit offerings are red and yellow.

Moldmade and hollow. Modeled detail in front and front half of sides. The bottom was left completely open. The back has a long, rectangular "vent" hole. Fingerprints visible inside. Plaster mold a possibility. Seems kind of wobbly, possibly due to modern reconstruction.

Very hard fabric with a smooth to slightly rough feel. Breaks are smooth to granular. Some mica and probably some small grog inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Priene*, 524, no. 366, pl. 151, dated to before 135 B.C.E. *British Museum III*, 118, no. 2276, pl. 49, similar herm, but with Aphrodite in attendance, dated to 100 B.C.E. *Winter I*, 231, nos. 1-7.

Published: *BASOR* 233 (1979), 14, no. 13, fig.19.

Tomb 77.1 W 136.36 S 696.48 \*161.84  
Under the north bench in a chamber tomb.  
Found with **76**.

Late second century to early first century  
B.C.E.

### **76 Humped ox or zebu**

Pl. 23  
T77.001: 8306

P.H.: 0.0111  
P.W.: 0.081  
H. of base: 0.013  
D. of base: 0.031  
Th. at bottom of base: 0.004

Most of the back and head are missing. Also missing the receding plane between the legs, the right foreleg and something else beyond (the left foreleg, striding forward?). Mended from at least seven fragments, with some modern fills. Its surface is in good condition.

A humped ox, standing on a short, rectangular base, possibly striding forward with his left foreleg. Proper right side (front) naturalistically modeled, showing the bull with his head slightly turned towards the right (viewer). Short rounded horn (with tip missing?) above downturned ear that is kept close to the neck. The neck is broad and wrinkled, with a large, fatty hump just behind. The curve of the back continues

smoothly to a long, thin tail that is kept fused to the main body. The hindquarters resemble those of a horse; the top part of the left hind leg is visible in very low relief over recessed, negative space, forward of the right hind leg. Male genitals indicated. Naturalistic rendering of musculature. The area between the hump and rump is slightly concave, perhaps for a rider. Generally peaceful effect.

Significant traces of white ground extant at front; much less at back.

Moldmade and hollow. The walls are of a consistent thickness, thin. The interior is mostly clean, with some light fingerprints preserved. The back was left plain, but was nicely smoothed, and self-slipped.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look granular; no inclusions detected, other than some grog and mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Priene*, 520, no. 352, pl. 146, similar, but not rendered as a relief.

Published: *BASOR* 233 (1979), 14, no. 13, fig.18.

Tomb 77.1 W 136.96 S 696.69 \*161.84  
Under the north bench in a chamber tomb.  
Found with **75**.

Late second century to early first century  
B.C.E.

## 77 Veiled woman

Pl. 24

T68.006: 7672

P.H.: 0.042

P.W.: 0.018

P.D.: 0.028

Th. of neck: 0.017

Missing everything below the neck. Some of the surface is flaking off.

The head of a veiled woman, turned slightly to the left. Her hair would have been pulled away from the face and gathered into a bun at the back of the head. A veil covers all of the hair, falls with graceful, vertical folds over the forehead, and swings below the chin onto her left shoulder. Her forehead is small and triangular, and rests above deep-set, almond-shaped eyes. Their upper lids were lightly modeled, with the outer corners of the eyes seemingly open. Narrow nose, pointed and straight with nostrils pierced. The mouth is closed, straight, and composed of bowed lips. The upper lip seems particularly thin. The chin is small, pointed, and meets the neck almost perpendicularly. Her expression is either solemn or serene. Well-proportioned in profile view. A lovely example of an Arsinoe II-type head.

Some small traces of white ground extant on veil.

Moldmade and solid. The back was not modeled with as much detail as the front. The join seam was not concealed carefully on the right side of the head; less visible at left (would have probably fallen on area behind the ears).

Soft fabric, smooth to the touch. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 127, no. 171, pl. XXXVIII, dated to the early second century B.C.E. *Louvre II*, 98, no. MYR 655, pl. 114, c., dated to the second half of the second century B.C.E. *Priene*, 468, no. 185, pl. 75. *Pergamon*, 221, no. 296, pl. 45.

AT E 3.75 S 210 \*1.97  
Temple "L," Room B, South East corner.

Second century B.C.E.

### 78 Woman's head

Pl. 24  
T05.001: 11932

P.H.: 0.063  
Max. W.: 0.049  
Th.: 0.005  
P.D.: 0.034

Only the front half of the head is extant; missing everything below the neck. The head and hairdo are fine, but part of the head ornament is missing. The face is remarkably well preserved, but for a small chip off the nose.

The head of a young woman. Her hair is parted at the middle, and flows away from her face in easy waves tied back with a fillet. Above her head, some kind of a garland of fruit and radiating leaves; ivy berries? Very delicately modeled features: small forehead; raised, rounded eyebrows; almond-shaped eyes with upper and lower lids in relief, and plastically rendered pupils. The nose is straight; the mouth is small and plump. Oval face. Her graceful neck is adorned with a "ring of Venus" rendered in intaglio technique. She wears roundish hoop earrings. Her expression is either vacant or peaceful.

White ground extant, especially within crevices. Some very small traces of yellow pigment on the right earring and near the head adornment.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam would have been placed quite far back from the ears. The interior is very regular and clean.

Medium hard fabric, with a mostly smooth feel. Break looks granular. Grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

F55 E 703.90 S 119.20 \*128.413  
Late Hellenistic-Early Roman fill between inner and outer terrace wall.

Second century B.C.E.

### 79 Woman's head

Pl. 24  
T92.004: 9992

P.H.: 0.047  
P.W.: 0.024  
P.D.: 0.025  
Th. at neck: 0.017

Everything below the neck, and part of the hair ornament, missing. Otherwise in good condition, although the surface is slightly accreted and weathered.

The head of a young woman, turned slightly to the left, and wearing an elaborate hair ornament. She wears her hair close to the scalp, framing the face with distinct and slightly wavy strands, and gathered at back into a bun (now missing). At the top center of the head, she wears some kind of lozenge-shaped jewel. Beyond the jewel, a high ornament rises from her head. It looks like a flower with four petals, also lozenge-

shaped, but unlike the “jewel,” these are concave at the center. She has a short forehead above rounded, slightly downturned eyebrows. Sunken eyes with modeled upper and lower lids. Both lids are a bit heavy, creating a squinty look. The nose is small and straight, with pierced nostrils. The mouth is small with full lips; the upper lip is bowed, while, the bottom one looks almost downturned. Short, round chin slopes down to the neck in a convex curve. Long graceful neck. Her expression is pouty.

Traces of white ground, and possibly of a dark pigment, extant on the face and hair.

Moldmade and solid. The back was modeled with care. The join seam was concealed well, just behind the area of the ear.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Break seems hackly. No inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. Closest parallel in *Troy* is 131, no. 210, pl. XLV, dated to the late second century B.C.E. Face is similar to Arsinoe II-type, with pointed features.

MMS E 95-100.40 S 86-89 \*103  
Moist and brick-filled Roman dump.

Second century B.C.E.

### **80 Woman's head**

Pl. 24  
T65.001: 6600

P.H.: 0.040  
P.W.: 0.028  
P.D.: 0.033  
Th. at back of neck: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck. The nose has been flattened; part of the hair ornament is missing.

The delicately pretty head of a young woman. Curled hair, parted in the center, falls gently over ears down to the neck, and is gathered into a bun right above the nape. The top of the head is adorned with a small, oval jewel; a separately attached ornament is also extant at the back of the head. Modeled eyelids; heavier on top, partly blurred below. Rounded cheeks; nose somewhat rubbed off, but with fine nostrils; full lips slightly parted and downturned; round, short chin. Her expression seems slightly pained or melancholic.

Some traces of white ground extant.

Moldmade and hollow, with handmade additions. The back of the head was not modeled with as much detail as the front. The hair was retouched with an incision tool. The join seam was placed behind the ears, and was carefully concealed with the hair ornament.

Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 131, no. 210, pl. XLVI, dated to the late second century B.C.E., with triple knot at top. Forehead similar to *Troy*, 131, no. 211, pl. XLVI, face of the third century B.C.E.

HoB W 34-36 S 105-106.5 \*102.1-101.8  
Lydian Trench; found near a human cranium that was found nowhere near its body or grave.

Second century B.C.E.

## 81 Woman's head

Pl. 24

T59.042a: 2127

P.H.: 0.0587

P.W.: 0.034

P.D.: 0.039

Th. at break: 0.005

Th. of neck: 0.019

Missing everything below the neck, as well as the right ear and part of the hair. Mended from at least three pieces. Heavily accreted and somewhat chipped.

The head of a woman with a crown (only a flat, round ornament remains) or bow-knot on top. Tilted to the left, eyes upraised. Full, flowing hair, parted at the middle above a short forehead, and then gathered at back in a flat, low bun. The hair lies closer to the scalp beyond its wavy borders. The eyes have both upper and lower lids modeled in relief. Straight, large nose with nostrils indicated. The mouth is as wide as the bottom of the nose, and seems to smile slightly. Opposing bows form curvy lips. Distinct chin, not too far away from the neck, manages to meet it almost perpendicularly. The neck is broad, but long and graceful, and enhanced by distinct "rings of Venus." The left ear seems to be decorated with a long, teardrop earring. Very pleasant face, even if expression is a bit blasé.

Some traces of white ground extant on the surface. Some light, flesh-colored slip visible on the forehead.

Moldmade and hollow, with thin walls. Careful modeling at the front; minimal modeling at the back. Plaster mold possible. Core fired to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are hackly. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare; grog is common.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Published: *Bath-Gymnasium*, 105.

B \*94.15

From pit.

Second century B.C.E.

## 82 Woman's head

Pl. 24

NoEx78.016

P.H.: 0.055

P.W.: 0.030

P.D.: 0.036

Th. of neck: 0.017

Particularly well-preserved head; missing everything below the neck.

The head of a young woman sporting a high bow-knot, tilted to the left. Her hair is divided into two parts; one is pulled back and gathered in a bun at the nape of the head; the other is pulled up in curls and formed into a bow. Her forehead is pretty and appropriately sized; eyebrows are not indicated. The eyes have heavy upper lids, and blurred lower lids; almond-shaped, but with fuller inner corners. The nose is straight, with pierced nostrils. The mouth is slightly separated from the nose; its upper lip is formed into a cupid's bow, while the lower lip is downturned, giving the mouth a sour appearance. A dimpled chin meets the neck perpendicularly despite the angle of the head. The face in general is oval-shaped, although a bit pointed at the chin. No ears visible. Overall expression is pained, and yet, thanks to the neck, very graceful. The

neck is very long and slender, and enhanced by at least two “rings of Venus” rendered in intaglio technique.

Traces of white ground extant, especially on the neck and back of the head.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; mostly solid. Modeling is very fine and crisp.

Hard and smooth fabric, with smooth breaks. Very fine golden mica inclusions are extremely rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 131, no. 218, pl. XLVII, with similar facial features; sculptural style of mid second century B.C.E. *British Museum III*, 132, no. 2312, pl. 57, Trajanic, but hairdo is earlier. Also, the head of a Capitoline Aphrodite in the British Museum, marble, GR 1834.3-1.1; in Smith 1904, no. 1578.

Not excavated; found on Mound 4 during Urban Survey reconnaissance.

Second century B.C.E.

### **83 Woman's head**

Pl. 24  
T69.006: 7963

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.034  
P.D.: 0.036  
Th. at front of neck: 0.005

Everything below the neck is missing. The nose is flattened, and other facial features are worn. Some chipping off the surface.

The head of a woman wearing a high hairdo. Her hair is parted at the middle, pulled up

and away from the face, and then gathered into a sort of rolled knot right above the forehead. The forehead is short and triangular, and gives way to faintly indicated eyebrows. Below, the eyes are almond-shaped, with both upper and lower lids modeled. The nose is now flat, but should have been straight, and maybe a little broad at the bottom. The mouth is straight with plump lips, and is set high, quite close to the bottom of the nose. The chin is round, and possibly a bit heavy, yet the overall shape of the face is oval and elongated. Her ears are exposed, and she wears large, round earrings on them. Her general expression is slightly sour. The figure's profile is ungainly, mostly due to the manufacture of the back half, and to the flattening of the nose.

No traces of white ground immediately discernible, but a small patch of red glaze is extant on the right earring.

Moldmade and hollow, yet heavy. The back has no modeled detail, and seems to have been clumsily shaped by hand, resulting in a lopsided head, much heavier on the right than on the left. The join seam was placed behind the ears.

The fabric is hard and somewhat coarse to the touch. Break looks granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface; some fine, rounded gray grog is also present.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. The hairdo is similar to the one worn by the muse of the double pipes on the so-called Mantinea base in the National Museum in Athens, dated ca. 330-320 B.C.E. (Athens, NM 216, Sculpture); in Stewart 1990, 177, 279, figs. 492-494. Also similar to the hairdo worn by a terracotta figure with articulated limbs in Boston

(Boston Museum 01.7883); in Elderkin 1930, 466, fig. 15. *Louvre II*, 181, no. MYRINA 1397, pl. 216, g, a type associated with Diphilos, dated first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 54, nos. 9-10, taf. 30, dated fourth century B.C.E.

Syn E 88.20 N 16.02 \*95.22

Second century B.C.E.

### 84 Woman's head

Pl. 24  
T83.004: 8742

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.028  
P.D.: 0.034  
Th. at neck: 0.015

Only the head is extant. The neck is broken off in front just below the chin; a little bit more is preserved on the back. Facial features are worn, and the surface is weathered, with a significant chunk scraped off the right cheek. A part of the hair has broken off.

The head of a woman, facing forward and cocked slightly to the left. She has straight hair that rises high above the forehead, and away from the face to the sides. What seems to be a hollow banded polos protrudes at a sharp angle from the crown of her head. This is probably a projecting cylindrical bun like those usually sported by temple attendants. Visible beneath her hair are two large, disc earrings. She has typical Hellenistic features: almond-shaped eyes with modeled upper lids; small, straight nose; small mouth with full lips; round, graceful chin; nonchalant expression.

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground extant on hair.

Moldmade and mostly hollow. Some of the surface detail was incised with a tool. Little attention to detail on the back, save for the top of the bun. The join seams were carefully concealed, and placed behind the ears. Plaster mold likely.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth and slightly powdery feel. Breaks look hackly. Medium, silvery mica is rare on the surface.

Slip: Munsell: 5YR 7/4, pink. Fabric: Munsell: 7.5R 5/8, red.

MMS E 122.79 S 84.6 \*106.43  
Stone fill.

Second century B.C.E.

### 85 Woman's head, wreathed

Pl. 25  
T10.009: 12552

P.H.: 0.055  
P.W.: 0.042  
P.D.: 0.036  
Th. at neck: 0.017

Preserved from the neck up only. The features of the face are completely worn. The surface is pockmarked.

The head of a woman, cocked slightly to the left but facing forward. She wears a wreath of fruit and leaves under a larger flower wreath. Her hair is parted down the middle and then pulled back in soft, wavy locks. Large, round earrings are still extant. The face is oval with a very short chin. Long neck with possible "rings of Venus" indicated.

Traces of white ground extant on surface.

Moldmade and practically solid. Much retouching done by hand (e.g. hair, earrings). The wreaths were made separately. The back was left plain. An extra blob of clay was attached and flattened at the back of the neck.

The fabric is soft with a powdery feel. Red and micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 5/8, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 135, no. 261, pl. LII. *Priene*, 509, no. 315, pl. 135, a boy or Eros wearing a similar wreath.

F49 E 839.20 S 400.28 \*181.30  
Low impact pipe fill, dated to the late second century B.C.E.

Second century B.C.E.

### **86 Woman's head, wreathed**

Pl. 25  
T62.045: 4793

P.H.: 0.044  
Max. W.: 0.029  
Th. of what is left of neck: 0.010

Missing everything below the neck; badly chipped. Only part of the right eye and some of the hair are still discernible. The wreath is mostly well preserved.

The head of woman wearing a wreath. Her hair is arranged in a melon-style coiffure, with at least ten flat waves visible above the forehead. A thick wreath, dashed and stippled with small dots, was placed around her head. The back does not seem to have been modeled with much detail; the wreath was attached and finished carelessly in this

area. Two big lumps of clay at the back of the head, on top of the wreath, could be the ribbons used to tie the wreath, or projecting coils of hair.

No painted decoration extant.

The head was moldmade and solid. The wreath was made by hand and attached with a tool, sloppily. The hair was rendered in intaglio technique.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth; looks sandy; no inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 8/4, pink.

Cf. *Troy*, 134, no. 248, pl. L, with similar hair, dated to the second century B.C.E. *Troy*, 135, no. 264, pl. LII, with similar wreath, dated to the early first century B.C.E. based on her face.

RT E 85-90 S 1.5-3.4 \*93.00-94.00  
Under Shop 2.

Second century B.C.E. Could be an import.

### **87 Woman's head**

Pl. 25  
T80.003: 8499

P.H.: 0.021  
P.W.: 0.014  
P.D.: 0.019  
Th. of neck: 0.011

Everything below the neck is missing; surface weathered and pitted, with features worn.

The small head of a woman, probably a hierodule. Her hair is divided into eleven textured braids or waves, and pulled back

away from the face onto the back as in melon-type coiffures. Her forehead is long but narrow. Just below, slit-like eyes are set far apart; both the upper and lower lids seem to have been modeled. A small, triangular nose above a closed, straight mouth. The chin is pointed and slopes at a 45-degree angle towards the neck. The back of the head has indentations, perhaps for some attachment, or possibly a shorthand indication of a bun. Overall expression is robotic.

Traces of white ground extant near neck.

Moldmade and solid. Detailing of the hair and back done by hand with a tool; the mouth and nose seem to have also been rendered in intaglio technique. The join seam was very well hidden, and can only be seen at the break on the neck.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 94, no.68, pl. XIX, a hierodule.

HoB E 7.70 S 73.60 \*100.49  
From a collapse.

Second century B.C.E.

### 88 Woman's head

Pl. 25  
NoEx73.018

P.H.: 0.028  
P.W.: 0.019  
P.D.: 0.023  
Th. of neck: 0.011

Missing everything below the neck. The face is completely worn off and pitted.

The head of a woman wearing a melon-style hairdo with nine discernible waves. Facial features have been completely worn off, but the shape of the face is oval. The chin is very close to the neck, which seems elegant. The hair's details were rendered in intaglio technique. At the back, a bun was formed and attached by hand. It is an unusual type of bun in that it is not round and solid, but rather long and empty at the center, almost in the shape of a horse shoe.

A tiny trace of white ground is extant on the hair at the left side of the head. Dark brown or maroon pigment visible on the bun.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. The detailing of the hair was worked with a tool, with the bun formed and attached by hand.

Soft fabric with a powdery feel. Breaks are granular. No inclusions immediately discernible.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 134, nos. 248 and 249, pl. L, dated to the second century B.C.E.

Not excavated; said to be from the vineyard of Ali Osman Gokturk on the east slopes of the Necropolis hill.

Second century B.C.E.

### 89 Woman's head

Pl. 25  
T90.013: 9799

P.H.: 0.046  
P.W.: 0.028  
P.D.: 0.035  
Th. of neck: 0.016

Missing everything below the neck as well as the bun at back. Worn, chipped, and accreted.

The head of a woman, cocked romantically to the left. Her hair is pulled away from the face in distinct wavy locks; it is lightly parted at center and then gathered into a bun (now missing) at the nape of the head. She might have worn a thin fillet just beyond the face-framing waves. The face is oval with now worn features that nonetheless look very regular and delicate. The eyes seem to have been rendered to give the impression of a "melting gaze." The chin meets the long, graceful neck perpendicularly. She must have been quite pretty.

Thick white ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The back does not seem to have been modeled with as much detail as the front. The join seam is well hidden. Core was fired gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks seem granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/8, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 130, no. 207, pl. XLV, dated to the mid second century B.C.E. *Louvre II*, 179, no. B°67, pl. 214, f.

MMS/S E 100.3 S 151.5 \*111.73

Second century B.C.E.

## 90 Woman's head

Pl. 25

T59.035: 1986

P.H.: 0.038

P.W.: 0.021

Th. at neck: 0.008

Only the front half is extant, from the neck up. Most of the hair and left side of the face have been chipped away, including the tip of the nose and the mouth.

The head of a woman, tilted upwards to the left with seemingly effortless grace. Traces of a high coiffure remain above a short, straight forehead; hair seems to have been parted at the middle, and to have descended diagonally down the forehead creating an inverted "v." Fine modeling around the eyes, which seem upturned, almond-shaped, and framed by very subtle eyebrows. Their upper lids are more noticeable than the lower. The nose should have been straight, above a small, pouty mouth. A short chin slopes smoothly down to the neck.

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground extant below the right cheek.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; the back of the front half is slightly concave but would have still felt solid. The join seam was placed behind the ears.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to grainy; few fine golden mica inclusions.

Slip: Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Fabric: Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

HoB E 90 S 210 to \*119.68

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Second century B.C.E.

### 91 Woman's head

Pl. 25

T61.014: 3244

P.H.: 0.043

P.W.: 0.032

P.D.: 0.036

Th. at neck: 0.018

The head is complete, although chipped at places, especially the left cheek and neck. Everything below the neck is missing. Slightly worn.

The head of a woman, turned slightly to the left. Her hair puffs up and away from a very short forehead. The hair is so puffy and unnatural at the top that it rather resembles a hat or turban. The back of the head was minimally modeled, but a wide, horizontal, oval bun is indicated at its nape. The facial features are small and drawn together. The eyes are not entirely clear, but seem to have been the habitual almond-shape that slants towards the outer corners. The nose is small and straight with nostrils lightly pierced. The mouth is only as wide as the bottom of the nose, and seems to smile coyly. The chin is well defined with a possible dimple; it is a small convex curve that meets the neck almost perpendicularly.

White ground extant all over exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. Join seam was flattened quite visibly, and is especially apparent on the head's left side; seems to have been placed behind the ears. Not much detailing on back; bun may have been made by hand. A slight, rough depression at the top of her head might indicate some now missing attachment.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are smooth with no inclusions visible. Surface has rare quantities of fine, silvery mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 133, no. 242, pl. XLIX, with similar facial features, softly Praxitelean, dated to the second century B.C.E.

HoB W 15 S 105 \*101.50

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Second century B.C.E.

### 92 Woman's head

Pl. 25

T11.009: 12835

P.H.: 0.066

P.W.: 0.036

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing much of the right side of the face and everything below the neck. The surface is pitted, flaked, chipped, and accreted; features, thus, are quite worn.

The head of a woman wearing some type of high head ornament, and looking subtly to the left. Could be a head modeled in the style of Kybele, as in several examples from Troy. Her hair, parted at the middle, pulls away from the face in soft waves. Triangular forehead above deeply set eyes (both lids modeled). The nose is large, triangular, and has nostrils clearly indicated. The mouth is straight with the lips ever so slightly parted; the upper one is bowed and fuller than its counterpart below, which is straight. A well-proportioned chin slopes slowly towards neck at 45-degree angle. The neck's beauty

was enhanced by at least one “ring of Venus” rendered in intaglio technique.

Some traces of white ground extant, especially within the crevices of the neck.

Moldmade and hollow.

Soft fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are laminar. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 130, no. 204, pl. XLIII, a woman with a bow-knot, dated to the mid second century B.C.E. *Troy*, 83, no. 45, p. 83, pl. XIV, a Kybele, wearing a thin crown or veil, dated to the mid second century B.C.E.

HoB E 0 S 115 to \*101.70  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Second century B.C.E.

### **93 Woman’s torso, hierodule**

Pl. 26  
T90.016: 9811

P.H.: 0.049  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing the head, left arm, and body below the waist. Some surface detail now worn.

The torso of a woman, likely seated, and nude. Her graceful right arm is bent at the elbow and raised up to the right breast. The hand seems fat with stubby fingers, but still manages to appear natural. The left breast, however, which was left exposed, is round and stylized. The pose is typical of temple servants or worshippers.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean, with thin, regular walls. Carefully modeled. Some fingerprints extant around the edges.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Grog is rare; micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 94, no. 58, pl. XVII, dated to the second century B.C.E. *Priene*, 433, no. 81, pl. 32, Hellenistic.

MMS/S E 112.5-115 S 140-144  
\*110.73-110.1  
Hellenistic dump.

Second century B.C.E.

### **94 Man’s head, Alexander the Great?**

Pl. 26  
T67.022: 7566

P.H.: 0.057  
P.W.: 0.036  
P.D.: 0.032  
Th. of neck: 0.018

Missing everything below the neck. The face is completely worn off; only the right ear is discernible. The portion of the forehead just below the hair line is deeper than necessary; could have held some additional ornament?

The head of a man, looking up and to the right. A large crown of curls rises from the forehead, falls behind the ears, and tapers towards the back of the neck. His facial features are worn, with upturned eyes still slightly discernible. The long and broad neck is typical of the second century B.C.E.

The ear is not rendered naturalistically, but rather as a curly “c.” Some shallow, perfectly circular indentations at back.

Traces of white ground extant on exterior surface. Some red paint within crevices of curls; some yellow as well.

Moldmade and solid. Hair finished by hand. Very heavy.

Soft fabric with a very powdery feel. Breaks looks granular to laminar. Fine, silvery mica is extremely rare.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

PA E 100-101 N 20.70-21.70 \*93-92.50

Second century B.C.E.

### **95 Dancing child?**

Pl. 26  
T61.025: 3308

P.H.: 0.054  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back half remains. The head, arms below the shoulders, and legs below the hem of the tunic, are missing. Some chips off surface.

The back of a dressed figurine, dancing. Some tiny lumps of clay rest at the nape, perhaps braids. The left arm seems to have been kept next to the body, while the right arm, decorated with some sort of arm band, swings forward. Short, clinging tunic, girdled low, with folds that fall vertically from shoulder to waist, where it blouses out. The right leg strides forward. The figurine as a whole expresses graceful movement.

Could have been a dancing girl, a common type in Anatolia.

Self-slipped. No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Thick walls; many fingerprints extant on the interior. The back was modeled carefully. The legs seem to have been molded separately.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth, with fine golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 106, no. 84, pl. XXIII, a winged dancer with twirling short skirts; style of the fourth century B.C.E., technique of the second century B.C.E. *Tarsus*, 367, no. 472, Pl. 246.

HoB W 15 S 95-105 to \*101  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Second century B.C.E.

### **96 Boy's head**

Pl. 26  
T62.040: 4763

P.H.: 0.028  
P.W.: 0.019  
Th. at neck: 0.004

Only the front half is present; missing everything below the neck and above the forehead. Worn facial features.

Perhaps the face of a boy votary; if so, he seems to be wearing a Macedonian cap. His forehead seems wider than most, but short just the same. Long, almost horizontal eyebrows over long eyes. Flattened nose that seems to have been broad, with clear

nostrils. The mouth below has full lips and seems to smile. His cheeks are slightly pudgy. The chin is small, round, and placed not too far from the neck, which is broad with possible traces of hair on the right side. Very flat and rounded face overall.

No painted decoration extant. Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks seem laminar; no inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 86, no. 56, pl. XVI; these boys may have been votaries dedicated to the service of Kybele or Demeter.

HoB E 5 S 90 \*94.00  
Lydian Trench, late intrusion into early levels.

Second century B.C.E.

### 97 Child's head

Pl. 26  
T63.063: 5902

P.H.: 0.043  
P.W.: 0.061  
P.D.: 0.071  
Th.: 0.006

Only the head is extant, and it is broken across, just above the nostrils.

The large head of a child with chubby, round cheeks. Flat, broad nose with nostrils indicated. Full, unsmiling lips form a mouth that is as broad as the bottom of the nose. Its upper lip is bowed, while a fuller, lower lip is straight. Short, round, convex chin atop larger second chin. The double chin meets

neck area almost perpendicularly. The neck is very short; essentially just a groove that quickly transitions into the shoulders. At the right side of the face, the bottom of a long ear is discernible. The back is smooth with no hair indicated by modeling. The remaining expression is slightly sour.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The back does not seem to have been modeled with as much detail as the front. The join seam was placed just behind the ears and reinforced inside by an additional coil of clay. At the place where the head attached to the body, another coil supports the join. The walls seem even. Core burnt to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a slightly abrasive feel. The surface does not seem to have been smoothed before the application of white ground. Breaks are smooth to laminar. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare. One large (0.11 cm) piece of lime or quartz visible on the shoulder.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Syn E 91-93 S 1.5-3 to \*94.0  
Lamp shop.

Second century B.C.E.

### 98 Torso of woman with articulated limbs

Pl. 26  
T11.030: 12893

P.H.: 0.067  
P.W.: 0.032  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing the head, arms, and legs.

The torso of a nude woman with articulated arms. She is seated with her legs close together, as do nude temple servants from Troy. Piercings for attachment of articulated arms placed just below the shoulders. Careful modeling shows small breasts (with almost no indication of nipples), a navel, and stomach creases that suggest a seated position rather than a fatty constitution. Two lumps of clay flanking the missing neck could be hair.

Some traces of white ground extant on the surface. Yellow/orange pigment visible on some areas of the torso.

Moldmade and hollow. Articulated arms would have been attached after firing. Some fingerprints visible on the interior.

The fabric is medium hard with a smooth to rough feel. Breaks look smooth; slightly micaceous.

Munsell: 7.5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Troy*, 94, no. 61, pl. XVIII, a nude hierodule dated to the mid second century B.C.E. *Pergamon*, 216, no. 224, pl. 37. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 55-56, nos. 161-162, taf. 31, dated third century B.C.E.

AcN W 180-184.50 N 97-101.50  
Fill north west of north spur walls 1 and 2.

Second century B.C.E.

### **99 Actor's head, wearing a Phrygian cap**

Pl. 27  
T58.024: 886

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.030  
P.D.: 0.034  
Th. of back of neck: 0.006

Missing everything below the neck; the tip of the hat is also missing. Mended from at least two pieces, front and back halves. Some fragments chipped off, e.g. top of the right ear; other than that in pretty good condition. The color is particularly well-preserved.

The head of man wearing a Phrygian cap; perhaps an actor. He has fairly straight hair that peeks out from under his cap both in the front and at the back. Receding hairline and unidealized features. His forehead is wrinkled, with raised and protuberant eyebrows. The eyes were finely modeled, with both lower and upper eyelids, as well as pupils, rendered in relief. He has very high and prominent cheekbones. The nose is large and straight, with nostrils indicated. No space was left in between the bottom of the nose and the top lip of the mouth, which seems to be formed into a growl. The lips are thick and slightly parted; the upper one is bowed, while the lower one is straight. His ears are the least naturalistic feature, large and in the shape of curly "c"s. The chin is distinct, and meets the neck at a perfectly perpendicular angle. The modeling is quite spectacular; his skin looks as if it is being pulled tautly. Straight on he appears to be angry or mad; from the side, he looks as if he could be laughing. Overall mischievous expression.

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant on the exterior. The cap is covered in pink pigment, likely iron oxide mixed with calcite; yellow pigment is visible on the hair.

Moldmade and solid. Plaster mold likely. The join seam was placed behind the ear, and just below the bottom edge of the cap.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly. Very little large, silvery mica visible on the surface.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Published: *Letters* 41, fig. 20.

B

South of room 2.

Second century B.C.E.

### 100 Actor's head

Pl. 27

T93.002: 10052

P.H.: 0.034

P.W.: 0.025

P.D.: 0.030

Th. at neck: 0.010

Missing everything below the neck, but otherwise fine.

The head of an emaciated man, looking forward; perhaps an actor. The large, bald head suggests a larger than average brain. Three horizontal wrinkles in relief cross the bottom of the forehead just above a furrowed eyebrow, depicted as a large, raised wave. His eyes are small, with very heavy upper and lower lids, and possibly the pupil indicated. The nose is bulbous, with clear nostrils, and juts out from the head at a right angle. The mouth, placed just below the nose, is open with a sour expression. The cheeks are sunken; the chin is small but distinct, and meets a very thin neck perpendicularly. A fold of skin hangs from below the chin, and at least three further folds crisscross the neck. His ears are large and protrude out at the level of the eyes. Overall expression is vengeful or mischievous.

Self- slipped. White ground and a light orange pigment extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. Very crisp modeling. The join seam was mostly hidden and carefully flattened, placed just behind the ears.

Very hard fabric with a smooth feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 143, no. MYR 337, pl. 176, d, an old, bald character, from the necropolis.

MMS E 91.90 S 103.64 \*100.45  
Late Roman pit.

Second century B.C.E.

### 101 Foreigner's head

Pl. 27

T94.002: 10206

P.H.: 0.057

P.W.: 0.065

Th.: 0.007

Only part of a face is extant, broken across the eyes. The nose and mouth are complete; everything beyond cheeks and chin is missing.

The large, broad face of a man, looking forward. Large staring eyes, with upper and lower lids, irises and pupils modeled in relief. Wide, flat nose with large flared nostrils; very short. Closed, straight mouth with thick lips. The lower edge of the bottom lip is worn. Above the mouth, and just below the nose, a mustache closely follows the contour of the upper lip; it is rendered in intaglio technique with short, diagonal strokes. Round cheeks. The chin is small and receding. Perhaps a foreigner.

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade plaque or mask with some incised detail. Plaster mold. The backside is clean and smooth.

Very hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

MMS/S E 115-120 S 137-142 \*107.74-107.6

Found alongside a Hellenistic moldmade bowl.

Second century B.C.E.

### 102 Theatrical mask

Pl. 27

T62.026: 4524

P.H.: 0.059

P.W.: 0.056

Th.: 0.005

Only the right eye, nose, and upper lip are extant. The surface is a bit accreted, but otherwise fine.

A small comic mask, likely representing a hetairidion. Rounded, narrow eyebrow modeled in low relief; it curves down into a straight, fine nose, with indented nostrils. Below the eyebrow is a finely modeled eye, almond-shaped with both lids in high relief, and a pierced pupil. The mouth was kept open, with a thin, curved upper lip.

Some small traces of red pigment are extant on cheek.

Moldmade in a single-sided plaster mold. The back is clean and well finished.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 120, no. 134, pl. XXIX, a comic mask, a hetairidion, dated to the late second to early first century B.C.E.

HoB W 30 S 85-95 \*to 101.00

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Second century B.C.E.

### 103 Theatrical mask

Pl. 27

T80.005: 8504

P.H.: 0.072

P.W.: 0.060

Th. at base of chin: 0.014

Broken above the eyes; the surface is chipped and weathered.

A small comic mask. High, curving eyebrows, above expressive, almond-shaped eyes: heavy, yet graceful upper lid, lighter, straighter lower lid, an iris rendered in relief, and a pierced pupil. Very short nose, broad at the bottom, with large, flaring nostrils. Impressive, stylized facial hair surrounds an open trumpet mouth. Wrinkled cheeks. Perhaps a leading old man or a Silenos with a cheery expression.

White ground extant at the front. A small patch of red pigment remains on the beard.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. The back is clean and smooth. Gray core.

Medium hard fabric with a rough feel; accreted. Breaks are hackly. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre IV.1*, 132, no. D4080, pl. 131, c., the mask for a satyrical drama, from Capua, dated third to second century B.C.E. *Tarsus I*, 345, no. 259, fig. 234, a slave with a heavy roll of hair, comic, from a Roman fill.

HoB E 69.05 S 61.40 \*99.50-99.55  
Above the floor near the northwest corner of a room adorned with First Style plaster.

Second century B.C.E.

#### 104 Theatrical mask

Pl. 27  
T67.010: 7411

P.H.: 0.057  
P.W.: 0.086  
Th.: 0.005

Only the top of the head and a partial left eye are extant. Pockmarked.

A comic mask; possibly male. A raised roll of hair goes back from the top of the forehead to the upper edge of the mask. The forehead is wrinkled, as if expressing some intense emotion. A large raised eyebrow arches up around a wide open, almond-shaped eye. Its upper lid was modeled in relief, the lower lid is missing. Pierced pupil. Slightly demented look. Perhaps a leading slave type.

Some yellowish pigment is extant within the creases of the forehead and eye.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. The back is finished, but coarse. Core fired to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are mostly granular. Quite coarse. Inclusions include: fine golden mica (frequent), small silvery mica (common),

small, white rounded (rare), varied grog (common).

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Priene*, 528, no. 378, pl. 157, a new comedy mask, dated to before 135 B.C.E.

Syn E 105.75-110.75 N 11.35-13.55  
\*95.80-95.30  
Fore Court.

Second century B.C.E.

#### 105 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 28  
T99.001: 11124

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.049  
Th. of projection at right: 0.005

One small fragment preserving only the right side of the head, and a small portion of the throne or backdrop. The facial features are somewhat flattened, but otherwise fine.

The head of an enthroned Kybele wearing a low polos with a painted ring base over a veil. Her hair is parted at the middle, and pulled back away from the face in separate plaits. Square-shaped face. Short, rectangular forehead above deep-set, and seemingly downturned eyes. The nose is now flat, and thus seems broad; nostrils indicated. Thin lips; upper lip is straight while bottom lip is downturned. Small, rounded chin meets neck almost perpendicularly. To the proper right side of the head, a substantial flat space was modeled, possibly a part of her throne. There is an arched opening at the back, with a circular piercing above it. Likely meant for hanging on a wall.

A substantial amount of white ground is preserved on the front. The polos is painted pink and its ring base, usually modeled in other examples, is painted red. The same red continues onto the hair.

Moldmade and hollow. Arched opening at back.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are somewhat hackly. Both small, varied grog, and small, varied mica are frequent.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 40, pl. XI, also with arched opening at back, dated to the late first century B.C.E. *Troy*, 82-83, no. 28 and 38, pls. X and XI, for the broad face type, also dated to the first century B.C.E.

MMS/S E 145.55 S 116.10 \*104.65  
Soil fill in Space O2; a domestic context with a consistent pottery assemblage dated to the first century B.C.E.

First century B.C.E.

### 106 Kybele

Pl. 28  
T10.003: 12529

P.H.: 0.056  
P.W.: 0.025  
P.D.: 0.026  
Th.: 0.008

Only the front half is preserved; missing the right top corner of the polos, and everything below mid neck. Chipped.

The head of a Kybele figure, wearing a short, plain stephane in front of a high, narrow polos with a flat, molded top (squared and outwardly thickened). The

stephane could potentially be just the molded bottom of the polos. Wavy hair parted at middle, pulled back behind ears, and then let loose over the shoulders. Her head is tilted ever so slightly to the right. Tall, triangular forehead, above very slight, straight eyebrows. Almond-shaped eyes with closed corners and both lids, especially upper lid, modeled. Small, straight nose with visible nostrils. Plump mouth, with bowed upper lip, set very close to the bottom of the nose. A rounded, heavy chin meets the neck at a 45-degree angle. The face has an overall oval shape, and a melancholy expression.

Very small traces of white ground are extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in plaster mold. Core fired to a dark gray.

The fabric is soft with a powdery feel. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent on the surface; small mixed grog is also frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

F49 E 838.06 S 400.55 \*182.68  
Compact terrace fill.

First century B.C.E.

### 107 Kybele

Pl. 28  
T85.001: 9024

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.030  
P.D.: 0.022  
Th.: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck at the front, and below upper shoulders at the

back. Part of the polos is also missing.  
Weathered.

The head of a Kybele figurine wearing a high, narrow polos with a molded top and base. Her hair is parted at the middle, and falls to her shoulders in face framing waves. Triangular forehead above squinty eyes with thickly modeled lids. The nose is somewhat broad with visible nostrils. The mouth is small and seems to smile. A small, round chin meets the neck almost perpendicularly. Round face typical of the first century B.C.E.

Self-slipped; some white ground also extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold a possibility. The back is plain but smooth. Join seam was concealed with some care.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly. Small, varied grog is frequent, while small, silvery mica is rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 38, pl. XI, for the round face typical of the first century B.C.E.  
*Louvre II*, 89, no. MYRINA 1236, pl. 109, g., a Tyche.

Published: *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1987), 79, note 33.

ByzFort E 674-678 S 343-353 \*surface  
Topsoil.

First century B.C.E.

### 108 Kybele?

Pl. 28  
T11.048: 12911

P.H.: 0.033  
P.W.: 0.041  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is extant. Missing the head, arms, and everything below the breasts.

The upper torso of a woman, clothing uncertain. A thick neck gives way to large, lumpy breasts. The shoulder area is thick and modeled in higher relief than the chest proper. One lock of hair is preserved on the right shoulder. Possibly a very crude Kybele, wearing a v-necked peplos over a chiton. It is likely that the thicker arms can be explained by the added layer of a himation.

Small traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Modeling seems quite rudimentary.

Hard and mostly smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

MMS E 118 S 76 \*90.50-90.10

First century B.C.E.

### 109 Enthroned Kybele

Pl. 28  
T11.094: 12987

P.H.: 0.058  
P.W.: 0.043  
Th.: 0.004

Only the left breast, and possibly a throne to its left, are extant.

The torso of an enthroned Kybele, wearing a peplos over chiton. A fold of her himation might be extant just below the breast. To her left, a long, plain, rectangular object; could be the side of her throne or just the border for a figural plaque. A fold of fabric over her breast is indicated by shallow grooves.

Some white ground extant, as well as a very small trace of pink paint.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold a possibility. The interior has some fingerprints, but is otherwise clean and tidy. Real edge at left.

Hard and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

MMS/S E 134-136.5 S 110.8-113  
\*105.85-105.7  
From room N.

First century B.C.E.

### **110 Figural plaque, lion's paw on base (Kybele group?)**

Pl. 28  
T13.021: 13666

P.H.: 0.035  
P.W.: 0.052  
Th.: 0.006

One fragment, preserving lower portion of a plaque near its bottom left corner.

A figural plaque with a likely group composition. The extant fragment shows the front right paw of a lion, standing or sitting at the very edge of a very low base (which is

not the framing device for the plaque). Next to the leg, there is what seems to be the hanging bottom of the lion's chest or mane. Further on, where one would expect the left leg, there is some sort of low object (a cushion? a further base?). Perhaps a Kybele group of uncertain arrangement.

The front surface is covered in white ground. Light traces of some dark pigment are also extant.

Moldmade in a single-sided plaster mold.

Soft, somewhat powdery fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

MMS E 138-140.2 S 65.4-68.5 \*105.2-?  
Late Hellenistic dump.

First century B.C.E.

### **111 Aphrodite**

Pl. 29  
NoEx76.004

P.H.: 0.139  
P.W.: 0.047  
Th.: 0.006

Front half preserved from just above the navel to just above the ankles. Roughened by accretions and chipped.

A standing, partially nude Aphrodite. An indented navel above a pleasantly rounded stomach. Pubic triangle indicated. Her weight placed on the right leg, which is straight and undraped. The left leg, which is slightly bent, is covered with a clingy mantle that gathers into a knot under the pubis and then cascades between the legs in rippling folds. Possibly an Anadyomene type.

Self-slipped. No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Fragment seems particularly light.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth surface. Breaks are hackly. Mica is common, both small and golden, and large and silver.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 20, no. MYRINA 961 pl. 19, e, an Anadyomene type, dated to the late first century B.C.E.

From the vineyard of Göngör, near Keklik Suyu on the north west slope of the Acropolis.

First century B.C.E.

### **112 Aphrodite?**

Pl. 29

T11.075: 12950

P.H.: 0.052

P.W.: 0.032

Th: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved, and then only a fragment of the right leg and hand.

The right leg and hand of a partially draped woman, standing; perhaps an Aphrodite. Slightly bent at the knee. A twisted roll of fabric crosses the body diagonally from the outer thigh to the inner thigh just above the knee. Her right hand appears to be holding the fabric there, and allowing a small amount of excess drapery to hang down next to the thigh. The delicately modeled hand is extant to the wrist.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow.

The interior is even and clean; excess clay was probably removed from the mold with the aid of tools. High quality craftsmanship.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Some mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

LAW E 75-77 S 330-333 \*1.40 meters below surface

First century B.C.E.

### **113 Artemis**

Pl. 29

T93.007: 10098

P.H.: 0.051

P.W.: 0.041

Th. of back wall: 0.004

Missing everything below the shoulders, and something atop her polos. Worn surface.

The head of Artemis, looking forward, and wearing a polos with molded top. The top of polos is flat with broken edges, and likely served as the base for a basket or turret. Her hair is parted at the middle, and falls down to her shoulders in face-framing waves. A plain, smooth back may represent a veil. Short, triangular forehead above open eyes with lightly modeled upper and lower lids. The nose seems a bit broad, with visible nostrils. The mouth is small, with plump lips formed into the beginnings of a smile. The small chin is a convex curve that meets the neck almost perpendicularly. A quiver, with straight sides and a conical upper part, projects over her right shoulder. Style of the first century B.C.E.

Entirely covered in black paint with some white ground visible underneath.

Moldmade and hollow. The back and sides were left plain, but were smoothed evenly. The interior is clean with even walls. Join seams were concealed well on the exterior and reinforced on the interior. The core was fired to a dark gray. Multiple fingerprints are visible at the very top of the polos.

Fingerprints extant on the interior as well; plaster mold likely.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell 10R 5/8, red.

MMS E 94.50 S 82.50 \*99.40  
Gravel and sand wash from glacia; mixed materials up to LateRoman.

First century B.C.E.

### 114 Wing

Pl. 29  
T61.027: 3320

P.H.: 0.040  
P.L.: 0.077  
Th. at join with body: 0.012  
Th. at tip of feathers: 0.004

Only one wing extant, mended from two pieces. Parts of the surface have flaked off, but otherwise in good condition.

The large wing of a flying creature. Very thick where it was to be attached to the body. Several short lines near the bottom, lead to large relief circles at the main body of the wing. Beyond, at least five long, thin feathers that are incised lengthwise, twice. The back was left plain, smoothed with care, and painted.

Red pigment extant on most of the back surface. Nothing, not even white ground, extant at the front.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold; solid. The bottom was scored for attachment to body.

Fabric of a soft to medium hardness and a smooth to powdery feel. Very fine golden mica inclusions are abundant on the surface and breaks.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 97, no. MYRINA 1274, pl. 234, e, from the workshop of Diphilos and Menophilos.

HoB E 5-10 S 110 to \*101.50  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

### 115 Young Dionysus or Apollo

Pl. 30  
T72.002: 8205

P.H.: 0.062  
W. at shoulders: 0.029  
D. at belly: 0.022  
Th. back: 0.005  
Th. front: 0.004

The front and back halves are now separate, but both are extant, with the head, arms and legs missing. The front half was mended from two pieces.

The torso of a young male, nude, standing in an exaggerated curve; either a young Dionysus or Apollo. Small rounded breasts/pectorals, long torso, and hips that are slightly wider than the narrow shoulders. Wavy locks of hair fall on both sides of the neck. A navel is indicated on a rounded

stomach. The curve of the spine and the separation of the buttocks were modeled at the back. The right leg seems to have been engaged, with bent left leg. The position of the arms is unclear.

Self-slipped. Some traces of red pigment extant on the back.

Moldmade and partly hollow. Pronounced fingerprints on the interior where the clay was pressed into the mold.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look hackly. Both small varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 317, no. 55, fig. 217, a Dionysus, though possibility of Apollo not excluded.

AT W 260-280 S 1170-1260 ca \*97.53

First century B.C.E.

### **116 Young Dionysus or Apollo**

Pl. 30

T11.074: 12949

P.H.: 0.031

P.W.: 0.034

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved. Missing the head, left arm, right arm from just above the elbow down, and everything else below the waist.

The torso of a young male, partly draped; either a young Dionysus or Apollo, with chlamys wrapped around his neck and falling behind the arms. Long locks of hair fall over his shoulders. His pectorals are

rounded, but not necessarily feminine. The right arm has nice musculature and is kept close to the body. The left arm might have been raised.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Both tools and fingers were used to fill the mold and remove excess clay. The interior is mostly clean and even.

Fabric is soft and powdery. Micaceous. Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

F55 E 701-705 S 116-120 \*128.113-128.093

Late Hellenistic to Early Roman terrace fill.

First century B.C.E.

### **117 Child riding a horse, Eros?**

Pl. 30

T11.026: 12877

P.H.: 0.038

P.L.: 0.062

Th. at horse's front leg: 0.011

Th. at top of rider's leg: 0.007

Only the right flank of the animal is extant, and then fragmentarily. Both legs are missing; no neck, no head, no tail. The right leg of a rider also remains. Pitted.

A large quadruped, standing, carrying a rider; perhaps Eros on a horse. Simple rendering. The rider's leg is summarily indicated, but looks like the leg of a child. He rides astride, and seems to wear a short chiton that leaves a chubby knee exposed. Behind the rider, on the animal's flank, there seem to be the low relief remains of long feathers. Wings? A cloak? Could also be a

child Dionysus riding a lion, or any other child/animal combination.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow.

Soft fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are granular. Varied, small grog and fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 138, nos. 282 and 283, pl. LV  
Also, a child on a lion from Tavolia, now at the Worcester Art Museum, pictured in *Troy*, pl. LXIII. Style popular before Mithradatic wars at Delos and Tarsus. *Pergamon*, 232, no 448, pl. 67.

HoB W 15 S 115 to \*101.60  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

### 118 Eros

Pl. 30  
T12.02: 13307

P.H.: 0.042  
P.W.: 0.038  
Th.: 0.004

Only part of the back half is present; missing the head, and everything below the buttocks. Signs of burning on exterior.

An Eros or other winged child; either standing or sitting, and nude. He has a wing coming out of his left side, so it seems that the figure was meant to be viewed at an oblique angle. What remains of his right arm is kept close to his body. A mysterious, rounded "belt" goes around his waist, above his buttocks. The arm of a companion

figure? His own arm? Something else entirely?

Small traces of white ground extant.

Moldmade and hollow; plaster mold likely. The back is minimally modeled, and carelessly finished. One big blob of clay was left untrimmed above the "belt."

Soft, smooth fabric; very micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

F49 E 849.05-852 S 402.76-405  
\*186.43-186.23

Soil between two terrace walls.

First century B.C.E.

### 119 Woman's head

Pl. 31  
T62.002: 4143

P.H.: 0.066  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Only the front half is extant; missing everything below the neck. Slightly chipped.

The head of a woman, facing forward but turned ever so slightly to the left. She has a very high and complicated hairdo adorned with a kerchief. Separately modeled tresses are swept up above the ears, and then covered with a type of kerchief that lies flat and taut on her forehead, is later twisted, and finally, tied in a circular knot at center top. Above this, more hair puffs up. Her forehead, because it is covered, seems short and straight. The eyebrows are long and thin, and slightly rounded. The eyes have both lids heavily modeled, giving the

impression that she is squinting with very puffy eyes. Her nose seems significantly broad, partly because it has been flattened. The lips are quite full; the upper one is bowed, while the lower one remains straight. The mouth itself is also straight, and closed. The chin is round and convex, meeting the neck almost perpendicularly. The neck has a subtle a ring of Venus, rendered in very low relief. Her overall expression is thoughtful.

Some traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The walls are thin and regular; the interior is even and smooth.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth as well; no inclusions visible, but for a small amount of mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR, 6/6, light red.

HoB W 20-25 S 85 \*101.50-101

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

### **120 Woman's head**

Pl. 31

T61.002: 3145

P.H.: 0.045

P.W.: 0.030

P.D.: 0.041

Th. at neck: 0.017

Missing everything below the neck; worn.

The head of a woman, with a crown, veil, or other head ornament, cocked ever so slightly to the left. The crown has a row of globules below some sort of circlet tied at the top

center. She has an oval face framed by a melon style coiffure (eight waves) in the front (up to the crown) and then gathered at the back in a low and lumpy bun. She may be wearing lumpy, teardrop earrings; alternatively, these lumps could be part of her headdress/veil. Rounded eyebrows indicated above naturalistically modeled eyes. Straight nose; small, straight mouth with full lips. A small chin meets a short neck perpendicularly.

Some traces of white ground are extant, both front and back.

Moldmade and solid. The back is not modeled with as much detail as the front. The join seam lies over the crown and earrings, and is not completely concealed. Plaster mold a possibility.

Soft fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. The break at the neck is smooth. Some very fine gravel or grog inclusions are visible.

Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Cf. *Priene*, 424, no. 47, pl. 22, different, but with similar profile view.

HoB E 5-0 S 85 to \*101

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels, near ramp.

First century B.C.E.

### **121 Woman's head**

Pl. 31

T61.064: 3601

P.H.: 0.047

P.W.: 0.024

P.D.: 0.038

Th. at back of neck: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck; also missing a large piece at top right. Repaired from two fragments. Chipped.

The head of a woman wearing a high crown, perhaps a goddess, turned slightly to the right side. Her face is somewhat disfigured, either by weathering or from careless manufacture. She wears a very high stephane, with raised outer border. Her hair is parted at the middle and combed in gentle waves along the face. It descends diagonally towards the ears, creating an inverted “v” shape to the forehead. In the back, the hair is gathered into a vertical, oval bun just above the nape. A small, convex chin meets the neck almost perpendicularly. Her features seem to follow Hellenistic models, but lack the habitual grace.

Traces of white ground are extant, both front and back.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam lies along the diadem, behind the ears, and was flattened somewhat carelessly. The profile view is rather long, and the back half is larger than the front. Although the back has modeled details, the general effect is of careless manufacture. The walls, however, are thin and mostly even. The piece is light; plaster mold likely.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look laminar. No inclusions readily visible; few traces of fine golden mica visible on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Troy*, 131, no. 218, pl. XLVII, for type it was probably inspired by.

HoB E 10 S 110 \*101.90

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

## 122 Woman's head

Pl. 31  
T61.005: 3165

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.027  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is present; missing everything below the neck. The left side of the hair is also missing, as well as the right side of the neck. Worn.

The head of a woman, with worn but presumably regular features. Her hair is parted at the middle with curls framing her oval face. The chin, which is quite heavy, slopes down at a 45-degree angle towards the neck.

Self-slipped. Very light traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly. A couple of small pieces of quartz inclusions, and a few specks of the large silvery mica.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

HoB W 5 S 95 \*100.70  
Lydian Trench, just above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

### 123 Human head

Pl. 31  
T86.013: 9296

P.H.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.024  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is present; missing everything above the nose and below the neck. Worn and pitted.

The bottom half of a human head. Plump face with a wide nose with visible nostrils. Closed mouth with full, bowed lips. Round, prominent chin; slopes markedly down to neck.

Some white ground extant; yellow pigment also visible below the chin.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean, if a bit rough. The walls seem to have been regular.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Varied grog inclusions are frequent, while fine golden mica is rare.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

ByzFort E 670-675 S 353-358 \*193.5-193.2  
Sub-floors of Room 7.

First century B.C.E.

### 124 Woman's head?

Pl. 31  
T11.021: 12847

P.H.: 0.034  
P.W.: 0.020  
Th. of neck wall: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck. Face appears to have been flattened; bun at back is chipped.

What seems to be the head of a woman with straight hair divided into waves (as in melon coiffure) and pulled back into a small, projecting bun. Could be something else entirely, as there are no facial features preserved.

White ground remains all over the exterior, even on the flattened face.

Moldmade and mostly solid. Surface was refashioned by hand.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. No inclusions other than generic grog.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 95, no. 70, pl. XX, the head of a hierodoulos.

HoB E 60-65 S 148-151 \*108.2-107.8  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

First century B.C.E.

### 125 Woman's arm

Pl. 32  
T61.048: 3524

P.L.: 0.080  
H. at break: 0.035  
W. of hand: 0.025

Broken off just before the elbow and beyond the fingertips, but otherwise fine.

A human left arm, partially draped. The hand encloses some kind of round fruit. Very nicely modeled with naturalistic detail of fingers and palm. Perhaps the arm of an Aphrodite of the Genetrix type.

Some white ground extant.

Moldmade and solid. Care was taken to conceal join seams.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Break looks laminar. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 15 S 110 \*102.30-101.50

First century B.C.E.

### **126 Woman's arm**

Pl. 32

T91.004: 9847

P.L.: 0.930

Max. W.: 0.024

Preserved from the elbow to the finger tips. Only the front half is present.

The left arm of a woman, long and elegant, naturalistically rendered. Worked in high relief, it might have been part of a larger figural plaque. She wears a bracelet, worked in relief. The separation between her long fingers was incised. The fingers curve back; perhaps holding something.

Small traces of white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade and solid. The back is clean and even.

Soft and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

MMS/S E 115-119 S 122-124

First century B.C.E.

### **127 Woman's arm**

Pl. 32

T13.02: 13655

P.L.: 0.034

Diam.: 0.008-0.004

Broken off below the shoulder where it would have connected to the main body, and beyond the wrist so that the hand is missing.

The left arm of a small and delicate human figure, undraped, likely female. A slight bend at the elbow and at the wrist. Careful depiction of human anatomy.

Traces of heavy white ground and pink pigment extant, especially on the upper arm.

Moldmade and solid. Join seams were completely hidden. The surface was carefully smoothed before the application of the ground.

The fabric is crumbly; finely levigated.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

F49 E 848.1 S 398.2 \*184.91

Fill with a Neronian *terminus ante quem*.

First century B.C.E. Could be an import.

### 128 Woman's draped leg

Pl. 32  
T59.026: 1766

P.H.: 0.120  
P.W.: 0.069  
P.D.: 0.061  
Th.: 0.005-0.008

Only one leg extant, preserved from the hip down to the ankle; mended from three fragments. The thigh is complete, but only the front half of the calf is extant.

The right leg of a partially draped woman, standing; from a large figurine, perhaps as tall as 50 centimeters. A narrow swath of fabric seems to wrap around the thigh, just below the buttocks, but does not cover it entirely. Curving plastic folds. The thigh is overlarge when compared to the calf, but looks powerful and shapely rather than out of proportion. The calf is graceful. The knee is subtly indicated and slightly bent. Similar in form and proportions to **129**. From the same or similar figure?

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade and hollow throughout. Walls are particularly thick considering the overall size of the piece.

Soft and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

PC ca. \*190

First century B.C.E.

### 129 Woman's draped leg

Pl. 32  
T59.036: 2085

P.H.: 0.155  
P.W.: 0.053  
P.D.: 0.045  
Th.: 0.012

Only one leg extant, preserved from the thigh to the ankle. Chipped and heavily accreted.

The left leg of draped female, standing, bent at the knee. Would have made for a very large figurine, perhaps as tall as 50 centimeters. The drapery is held taut against the body, revealing the contours of a naturalistic and shapely leg. The folds of fabric themselves, however, are somewhat stiff. In between the legs, a larger swath of fabric would have gathered and fallen vertically; some of it is still extant. Similar to **128** in form and size. From the same or similar figure?

Some white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade; thigh is hollow while the calf is solid. Heavy, with thick walls and reinforcing coils of clay on the inside. The joint seams were concealed with care. The leg has pleasing proportions from every angle.

The fabric is hard and abrasive. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*121.50-121  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

First century B.C.E.

### 130 Woman's draped leg

Pl. 33  
T97.004: 10701

P.H.: 0.107  
P.W.: 0.061  
Th.: 0.004

One leg is extant, preserved from the thigh to just below the knee. Only the front half is present; mended from three fragments. Signs of burning visible at bottom.

The left leg of draped woman, standing, with knee bent. Would have been part of a large figurine, perhaps as tall as 40 centimeters. Several layers of fabric still manage to reveal the shape of the leg below. A short tunic, or a peplos' overfold, crosses the upper thigh horizontally, and then seems to fall in between the legs. A longer garment below covers the rest of the leg. Soft, plastic folds rendered in low relief.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Thin, regular walls.

Hard-fired and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 139.7 S 67.6 \*104.25  
Hellenistic fill.

First century B.C.E.

### 131 Woman's draped leg

Pl. 33  
T12.023: 13284

P.H.: 0.050  
P.W.: 0.033  
Th.: 0.005

One fragment, preserving the front half of a figure from the right upper thigh to the mid-calf. The left leg, as well as everything else, is missing.

A standing woman, draped. Possible contrapposto pose, with right leg bent at knee. Her dress is pulled back tight along the right leg, with loose, plastic folds cascading in between it and the left leg (now missing).

Some white ground is extant within crevices and on the interior. Perhaps a figural plaque.

Moldmade and hollow. Modeling is not very crisp.

Medium hard fabric, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, light red.

F49 E 837.3-840.03 S 348-353.38  
\*183.59-183.42  
Fill between pipes.

First century B.C.E.

### 132 Drapery

Pl. 33  
T90.011: 9797

P.L.: 0.078  
P.W.: 0.020  
Th.: 0.060

Only one small fragment of drapery preserved; might have fluttered separately from the main figure.

A small fragment of drapery folds, presumably for a standing figure. The garment folds over itself as it falls vertically, creating wavy layers of cascading fabric.

Soft, curving plastic folds. The piece tapers down to a point.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid. Back is plain but tidy.

Soft, powdery fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Pergamon*, 230, no. 422, pl. 63, a male nude with a mantle off of his left leg.

MMS/S E 113.3-115 S 135.6-137 \*111-110.8

Hellenistic fill.

First century B.C.E.

### **133 Foot**

Pl. 33

T63.025: 5196

P.H.: 0.015

P.W.: 0.018

P.L.: 0.037

Only one foot is extant. The top half is preserved until the juncture with the ankle; the heel is missing. The second and last toes are missing their tips.

The right foot of a human figure, bare. Details carefully modeled, including the toenails and the irregular bones of the toes.

Self-slipped. White ground extant on surface.

Moldmade and solid. Very detailed modeling. Bottom surface roughly finished, with the curve of the arch indicated. Plaster mold likely.

Medium hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth as well. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB W 15 S 110 \*100.30

Lydian Trench, just above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E

### **134 Human foot on base**

Pl. 33

T58.027: 991

P.H.: 0.029

H. of base: 0.013

W. of base: 0.047

P.D.: 0.017

Th.: 0.003

Only the front half is preserved, and then only the very bottom of the statuette. Mended from two fragments.

A short rectangular base with plain front and sides. Upon it, on its proper left, a narrow pilaster with molded base, and a standing figure to the right of it. Only the right foot of the figure is extant, preserved up to just below the ankle. The toes are now missing.

Some traces of white ground extant on exterior. Some light pink pigment visible on foot.

Moldmade and hollow. Would have been completely open at the bottom.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth to granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Priene*, 513, no. 329, pl. 141, Eros, rooster, and stele.

HoB \*98.18-97.79

Room 9, fill below mud and ash floor.

First century B.C.E.

### 135 Boy's leg

Pl. 33

T11.085: 12967

P.H.: 0.046

P.W.: 0.026

Th.: 0.002

Only the front half of a leg is preserved. Missing everything above the thigh and below the ankle.

The right leg of young boy, wearing a short cloak or tunic and high boots. Slightly bent at the knee, with the hem of the tunic flaring out to the right imparting to the piece a light sense of movement.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Thin, even walls.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 367, no. 473, fig. 246, dated to the middle Hellenistic period.

HoB E 5 S 110 \*98.80

Lydian Trench; a late intrusion into lower levels.

First century B.C.E.

### 136 Woman with articulated limbs

Pl. 34

T64.027a: 6350

P.H.: 0.044

P.W.: 0.025

D. at belly: 0.015

Th. at neck: 0.004

Missing the head, part of the neck and shoulder, articulated arms, and articulated legs.

The torso of a young woman, nude. She would have had articulated legs, so she could have sat or "stood" with legs extended. Straight shoulder with cylindrical piercing for attachment of arms. The chest is narrow with small, rounded breasts. A very short waist gives way to a bulging, round stomach, wide, low hips, and low, heavy buttocks. Some fine modeling of the muscles or ribs below the chest, and a large, round navel squarely centered on the stomach. At back, the spinal column and buttocks were indicated. Below the stomach and buttocks, a small, rectangular knob, now missing, would have projected about half a centimeter down. Extant still, the circular opening at its bottom (going up the body lengthwise about three centimeters), and a small, cylindrical piercing across, from left to right, just below the torso; this would have served to attach the legs. The piece might have been intended to be dressed. Almost identical to **137**.

Some white ground extant on the exterior; also within the hole for the arms (interior).

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Modeled on both sides. A narrow join seam is visible at the sides of the body.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to hackly. No inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

Cf. Modeling of torso very near that of *Agora VI*, 72, no. 901, pl. 22; probably a nude child, arms hanging at sides, modeling plastic but unrealistic, whole figure both pudgy and stiff. Note on dating indicated that it is doubtful, and might be Hellenistic.

PN W 279-282 S 336-34 \*86.95-86.60

First century B.C.E.

### **137 Woman with articulated limbs**

Pl. 34

T11.042: 12905

P.H.: 0.050

P.W. (shoulders): 0.025

W. (hips): 0.018

D. (max): 0.019

L. (knob for legs): 0.012

Th.: 0.004

Missing the head, part of the neck and shoulder, articulated arms, and articulated legs.

The torso of a young woman, nude. She would have had articulated legs, so could have sat or “stood” (most likely hang) with legs extended. Straight shoulder with cylindrical piercing for attachment of arms. The chest is narrow, with small, rounded breasts. A very short waist gives way to a bulging, round stomach, wide, low hips, and low, heavy buttocks. A circular depression on the stomach may be an off-centered and large navel. Below the stomach and the buttocks, a small, rectangular knob projects about half a centimeter down. It has a

circular opening at the bottom, and a small, cylindrical piercing across, from left to right, just below the torso; this would have served to attach the legs. Almost identical to **136**; different position of navel and fired to gray.

No painted decoration is extant. It is possible that this figure was meant to be dressed.

Moldmade and hollow. Join seams were flattened but are still discernible. The back was modeled subtly, with the spine and shoulder blades indicated. Buttocks rendered through incision.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Some small, white inclusions visible.

Munsell: 2.5YR N 4/, dark gray.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 72, no. 901, pl. 22.

LAW E 75-77 S 331-333

First century B.C.E.

### **138 Woman with articulated limbs**

Pl. 34

T64.035: 6370

P.H.: 0.038

P.W.: 0.027

P.D.: 0.021

Th.: 0.005

The head and arms are missing; broken off below the waist.

The upper torso of a woman, dressed. Round perforations at the shoulders for the attachment of articulated arms. She wears a light chiton, belted high with a trim of small circles. Perhaps a young girl.

Traces of white ground extant on the neck and body.

Moldmade and hollow. Modeled both front and back, with more detail at the front. The surface was smoothed with care. Join seams were hidden well on the exterior and reinforced inside.

Medium hard fabric with a very smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB W 20-25 S 145-150 \*103.40 - 103

First century B.C.E.

### **139 Arm for articulated figure**

Pl. 34  
T11.080: 12962

P.H.: 0.026  
W. of hand: 0.008  
P.L.: 0.031

Complete arm; lacking the object it was holding and the rest of the figure. Chipped and worn.

Thin, though slightly muscular right arm; bent at elbow. The shoulder is pierced for attachment to body. The hand, with carefully modeled fingers, is closed forming a perfectly circular hole; object held now missing.

Some white ground extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Some small golden mica inclusions visible.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

HoB W 20 S 120 \*101.50  
Lydian Trench, just above Hellenistic levels.

First century B.C.E.

### **140 Mime's head**

Pl. 34  
L09.001: 12356

P.H.: 0.038  
P.W.: 0.029  
Th. of wall: 0.002

Only the front half is preserved, and then it is missing everything above the bottom of the eyes, and below the neck. Heavy accretions on the right side of the face.

The head of a male "grotesque," probably a mime. The right eye is almond-shaped with both upper and lower lids modeled; a small, round pupil is also indicated. Only the lower lid of the left eye remains; it seems thicker than its counterpart on the right, enhancing the lively asymmetry that describes the rest of the face. A long, softly hooked nose above an even further protruding mouth elongates the head's profile. The mouth is large and takes the shape of a subtle, downturned growl. The bowed upper lip is mustached (indicated by short, diagonal incisions), and reveals a straight row of teeth (also indicated by incised lines). The lower lip is full, but shorter and straighter than the lip above. The jaw line is covered by a short, well-maintained beard that becomes a square goatee at the pointed chin. Even without the addition of the goatee, the chin juts out significantly, and meets the neck almost perpendicularly. His cheeks are wrinkled and slightly hollowed. The wrinkles and frown marks are rendered plastically. Everything below the jaw is smooth. His overall expression is fierce yet

comical.

Covered in a very fine red slip.

Moldmade and hollow. Very finely modeled and carefully incised. The goatee was formed separately. Much care was taken to smooth the interior, and the walls are thin and even. Could be a lamp rather than a figurine proper.

The fabric is hard with a smooth feel. Breaks are also smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions.

Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red. Slip: Munsell: 10R 5/8, red.

F49 E 837.2 S 395.8 \*182.77  
Fill; likely clean-up from earthquake of 17 C.E.

First century B.C.E. Probably an import; Pergamene?

#### **141 Actor's head, wearing a Phrygian cap**

Pl. 34  
T68.001: 7595

P.H.: 0.054  
P.W.: 0.043  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, and then only the left eye, ear and part of the cheek. The hat is missing its tip. Some of the surface is peeling off. The ear is accreted and partly chipped off.

The head of a man, likely an actor, wearing a Phrygian cap. The extant fragment shows the profile view of his left side, with frontal eye. No hair is discernible below the cap; almost no forehead either, just a rounded, raised eyebrow. Below, the eye is large,

elongated and set in deep; it is almond-shaped, although fuller, and rounder towards the inside corner. Both upper and lower lids are prominently modeled, as are the details of the iris and pupil. The cheekbone below the eye is high. A large ear stands out away from the face, with a circle depressed at its middle. Alert expression.

Red slip applied directly on exterior surface without preparatory ground.

Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to laminar. Micaceous.

Fabric: Munsell: 5YR 6/2, pinkish gray. Slip: Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

HoB W 42 N 106 \*101.3

First century B.C.E. Probably an import; Pergamene?

#### **142 Lion**

Pl. 35  
T90.004: 9740

P.H.: 0.057  
P.L.: 0.060  
Th.: 0.005

Only the right half of the body (if a figurine) is extant. Missing the head, forelegs, tail, and most of the hind legs. Some accretions.

A lion, striding forward. Naturalistically modeled, with tufts of a regal mane visible upon back and shoulder. Powerful muscles. Left legs worked on low relief upon solid recessed space. Perhaps a figural plaque.

No traces of painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

Fabric is hard, smooth and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 138, no. 282, pl. LV, boy riding a lion, dated to the early first century B.C.E.

MMS/S E 111-115 S 140-148 \*110.07-109.53

First century B.C.E.

### **143 Lion's leg**

Pl. 35

T11.051: 12923

P.H.: 0.027

P.W.: 0.016

L. of paw: 0.018

Diam. at break: 0.014

Only one leg extant, preserved below the knee.

The paw of a lion, probably from the right side of the body. Nicely modeled toes.

Some white ground extant between the toes.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is medium hard and slightly rough. Breaks are smooth. Some silvery mica inclusions visible.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

RT E 82-84 S 2-4 \*96.2

First century B.C.E.

### **144 Lion legs on base**

Pl. 35

T10.023: 12648

P.H.: 0.040

P.W.: 0.022

A small fragment of figural plaque extant; right edge preserved from the bottom of the base to just above the knees of a lion.

Weathered.

A lion, standing or sitting on a short, plain base, facing forward. His legs are long and thin, with the toes of the paws indicated.

Another figure, now missing, probably sat to his left; perhaps a Kybele.

White ground extant on front surface.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Fingerprints visible at back. Plaster mold likely.

Fabric is soft and powdery with frequent small grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

F49 E 840.60-840 S 401.45-399.60  
\*185.17-184.49

Terrace fill with copious charcoal.

First century B.C.E.

### **145 Lion leg on base**

Pl. 35

T91.001: 9830

P.H.: 0.051

H. (base): 0.029

D. (base): 0.027

Th.: 0.010-0.004

Only the proper left bottom corner of the figure is extant.

A relief type figurine depicting a lion, probably seated, flanked by a narrow pillar atop a tall rectangular base. The pillar has a molded base. Only the left fore paw of the lion is extant, with at least three toes indicated by shallow grooves. The front of the base was left plain, as were the sides and back of the figurine. Probably part of a larger group with an enthroned Kybele to the right of the lion.

Traces of white ground extant on all surfaces, including the interior.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam was flattened but is still visible. The walls of the back half are thicker than those at the front. The bottom was left entirely open.

Hard-fired and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

MMS/N E 132.7-136 S 30-32 \*97.94-97.70

First century B.C.E.

### **146 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T64.012: 6020

P.H.: 0.055  
P.W.: 0.047  
Th. at cloak: 0.005

Only the front half is present. The head and arms (below the elbows) are missing, as well as the figure beneath the hips. The left breast has been flattened. Chipped and pitted.

A nude, standing woman holding a mantle behind her left arm; perhaps an Aphrodite Genetrix variant. The upper part of her chest is fully frontal, while a slight twist of the body is suggested at the waist and below. Her breasts are small and round; the torso is svelte and elongated. Her shoulders are narrow. The right arm is kept close to the body, while the left arm is raised. A mantle falls in vertical folds over and behind the left arm.

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and hollow with regular walls. Multiple fingerprints visible on the interior. Plaster mold likely.

Medium hard fabric with a very smooth, almost soapy, feel. Breaks are laminar. Very small limestone inclusions are rare, while very fine golden mica is common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Winter* II, 221, no. 1.

HoB E 64-72 S 155-161 \*111.7  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **147 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T11.033: 12896

P.H.: 0.094  
P.W.: 0.054  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved, and then only from the waist to mid thigh in the case

of the left leg, to just above the knee in the case of the right leg. Chipped.

The nicely shaped nude posterior of an Aphrodite. Her right hip is slightly higher than her left, indicating her weight was upon the right leg. Her buttocks are fuller than most. Possible Anadyomene variant.

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant in between buttocks.

Moldmade and hollow. Beautifully modeled and smoothed at back.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks look smooth or laminar. Small, golden mica inclusions are common.

Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red. Slip: Munsell: 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

HoB E 55-60 S 143-145 \*107.5

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **148 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T96.003: 10467

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th.: 0.007

Only the back half is preserved, and then only from the waist to just below the buttocks. Chipped.

The buttocks of a standing Aphrodite, nude. Her upper body seems to sway to the left, with the right hip raised in what should have been a graceful contrapposto. Naturalistic and well modeled. Possible Anadyomene variant.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow. Multiple, large fingerprints extant on the interior. Core burnt gray.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are abundant.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

AT E 4.33-6.73 N 5.54-2.54 \*99.70-99.40

Late Roman pit with mixed material.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **149 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T86.001: 9196

P.H.: 0.070  
P.W.: 0.040  
Th.: 0.006

Only the back half is preserved; missing everything above the waist and below the mid thigh. Some chips off of surface.

A standing Aphrodite, perhaps partially draped. Only the lower back and buttocks are extant. Naturalistic and well modeled. Her body seems to sway to the left, with the right hip raised (weight appears to be on left leg). Something bulky and round surrounds the right thigh and goes down diagonally from inner thigh to outer thigh. Maybe a small Eros holding on to his mother's thigh, or a swath of fabric. Possible Anadyomene variant.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow. Some modeling of detail on back. Interior is clean with regular walls. Plaster mold likely.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are laminar to smooth. Fine, silvery mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 88.6-88.7 S 91.5-91.6 \*104.22  
Topsoil.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **150 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T67.023: 7573

P.H.: 0.080  
P.W.: 0.038  
Th.: 0.006

Only the back half is present, from around the middle of the back, to just above the knees. Some scratches and pockmarks on the surface.

The back of a nude Aphrodite, standing, with left leg forward, slightly bent at knee, and right leg engaged. Her body seems curved into a graceful contrapposto. Long, lean back with a groove to indicate the spine. Something falls next to the left buttock; maybe she was partially draped. Possible Anadyomene variant.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely. Not much detail modeled at the back. The interior is clean and mostly smooth.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are mostly smooth. Small, golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Syn E 36.40-37.60 N 7.50-9 \*92.28-91.5

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **151 Aphrodite**

Pl. 36  
T11.095: 12988

P.H.: 0.067  
P.W.: 0.034  
Th.: 0.006

Only the back half is preserved, and then only from below the waist down to the knee area. Chipped and scratched.

The backside of a standing Aphrodite, partially draped. Her right leg would have been bent, and her left engaged, making the left hip appear higher than the right. Well-rounded buttocks below a svelte waist. Just below, first twisted around itself, and then cascading down, the folds of her falling garment. The ones within the twist are indicated by narrow grooves; the rest of the garment has light plastic folds that curve around the goddess' legs, falling diagonally from left to right, and amplifying the effect of her graceful contrapposto.

No traces of painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Modeled with care at back. The interior is clean, with light fingerprints visible.

Medium hard fabric, slightly powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

CW32 E 120 S 362 \*147.8

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 152 Aphrodite

Pl. 36

T67.025: 7592

P.H.: 0.094

P.W.: 0.053

Th.: 0.007

Only the front half is preserved, and then only from the waist to just above the left ankle.

The legs of a standing Aphrodite, partially draped. The left leg is bent, with the right leg engaged. A twisted swath of fabric gathers around the hip. Tight, straight, and stiff folds fall between the legs from the hip to the feet. The left leg looks mostly smooth with folds falling vertically and loosely from knee. The right leg is covered in stiffer, curving folds. Perhaps a Genetrix variant.

Traces of white ground extant all over the exterior. Light traces of yellow pigment visible on the left leg; light pink pigment extant within the folds over the right leg.

Moldmade and hollow. Excess clay removed from the mold with a tool. Core is gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to hackly. Small, varied grog inclusions are common.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

PA E 99-103 N 20.70-22.70 \*95.20

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 153 Aphrodite?

Pl. 36

T11.032: 12895

P.H.: 0.075

P.W.: 0.032

Th. at ankle: 0.007

Only the front half is preserved, and then only the left leg from upper thigh to ankle, and part of the mantle.

The left leg of standing, draped woman, slightly bent at knee. The drapery reaches her ankle, but it is drawn so tight against her leg that the latter looks nude. Beyond the leg, to the left, fabric drapes voluminously in soft, plastic folds. She seems to be holding part of the fabric up with her left hand. Likely an Aphrodite Genetrix variant.

Thick white ground extant on the exterior, especially within drapery folds.

Moldmade and hollow. Careful plastic detail.

Fabric is medium hard and smooth. Some small grog inclusions; fine golden mica is frequent on the surface.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

HoB \*102.5-100

Upper fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 154 Woman or goddess holding a wreath

Pl. 37

T59.018: 1700

P.H.: 0.055

P.W.: 0.109

D at head: 0.044

Th. of body at back: 0.009

Only the head and top of the right arm are preserved. Difficult to determine what is going on at the back, but it is definitely incomplete. Worn.

The figure of a woman, perhaps Artemis, standing in front of something tubular and horizontal (a tree or deer?). Her right arm is raised above her head, and holds up a small wreath. Her hair seems to be arranged in a short bow-knot above her small, rounded forehead. Her facial features are unreadable, but seem to have been regular. Behind her, a tubular section; resembles a tree but for the fact that it terminates at the level of her head, then curves and continues to her left. The hind quarters of a large animal? Something else entirely? Not a waster; fragments were joined together purposely.

White ground extant front and back. Some red paint visible by the right side of her face.

Moldmade and hollow. The two main parts were molded separately but attached with coils of clay, and in more visible areas, fused and smoothed into one. There seems to have been some care put into the successful presentation of the piece.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. The pose is similar to that of some Asiatic dancers. *Troy*, 106, no. 86, pl. XXIII.

HoB E 80 S 210 \*124.45-123.45  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 155 Artemis and deer

Pl. 37

T89.013: 9714

P.H.: 0.087

P.W.: 0.066

Th.: 0.005

If not a figural plaque, missing its back. Extant: deer, without its legs, hand of Artemis holding a wreath, fragments of her garment.

A figural plaque depicting Artemis, draped and standing, facing left, right arm stretched forward, holding a small wreath in her hand and down to the muzzle of a deer. The deer stands in front of her, body facing left, but with its head turned back towards the goddess. The arrangement is intimate and sweet. Very little of Artemis remains, but she has a nicely modeled thumb, and flowing plastic folds to her garment. The deer has a long muzzle with open mouth. An almond-shaped eye looks up at his mistress. Short ear, downturned, below a protruding horn. Its long and graceful neck, flows down to a slender yet muscular body.

Traces of white ground extant on several places, most notably on the hand and wreath. The deer's eye was painted white, with the detail of the pupil and upper eyelid done in black. The wreath was also delineated in black. Some red pigment is visible on the deer's body.

Moldmade and hollow, if not a plaque. Nice modeling of detail further enhanced by paint.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

MMS/S E 107-115 S 137-140 \*113.16-111.0

Topsoil.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 156 Torch

Pl. 37  
T10.029: 12678

P.H.: 0.045

P.W.: 0.019

Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved. Worn and chipped.

A torch in the form of a fluted column; a flame burns atop in dynamic plastic waves. One finger curled around the bottom. Perhaps an Artemis, Demeter or Hekate.

Very light traces of white ground extant on exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely.

The fabric is soft and powdery with frequent small grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

F49 E 841.40-841 S 402-398.60

\*185.35-184.85

Late Roman foundation trench for a wall.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 157 Woman's torso

Pl. 37  
T11.037: 12900

P.H.: 0.043

P.W.: 0.037

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half of the chest is extant; the neck, head, arms, bottom and back of the body are missing. Some of the appliqué elements of the dress were also chipped off.

The draped chest of a woman. The left breast seems nude; perhaps an Amazon. What seems to be a raised fold of drapery or a strap of some sort hangs down to the left from the right shoulder. Additional folds or straps seem to have been indicated by hand-applied elements, now missing; their negative image (no white ground) is still sharp.

White ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow with handmade additions. The walls are thin and even. The interior seems finished; could have been a relief plaque.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks look smooth. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare. Some fine grog inclusions present as well.

Fabric is gray, slightly darker at core than at surface. Munsell: 2.5YR 6/N6/, gray.

Syn E 11-14 N 10.82-13 \*97.14-96.79  
Room C.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 158 Child's legs, Eros?

Pl. 38  
T61.037: 3429

P.H.: 0.043  
W. at legs: 0.030  
Th.: 0.003

Extant from below the waist to just above the knees.

The rounded stomach and legs of a standing child, nude, male, striding forward with his right leg. Perhaps a dancing Eros.

Some small traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The body is hollow with solid legs. The join seams were flattened but not entirely concealed. Not much detail was modeled, especially on the back. Thin and regular walls.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Few fine golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 325, no. 112, fig. 221. Roman fill.

HoB E 10-5 S 110 to \*101.50  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 159 Hand holding grapes, Dionysus?

Pl. 38  
T59.033a: 1875

P.H.: 0.030  
P.W.: 0.040  
Th.: 0.003

One fragment, preserving only the hand of a larger figure, and the grapes that it was holding.

A right arm bent at the elbow, holding a bunch of grapes. Four fingers are extant, though the thumb is obscured; the little finger is missing. A large bunch of grapes indicated by round, relief globules.

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground extant front and back.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The back does not seem to have been modeled, but was rather nicely smoothed.

Hard and smooth fabric. Breaks are hackly to granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 320, nos. 77, 79, 83, and others, fig. 218-219; Roman fill, unstratified. These are several examples of a seated child Dionysus holding grapes, usually on the left hand, however.

HoB E 80 S 200 to \*121.13  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 160 Hand holding grapes, Dionysus?

Pl. 38  
T10.005: 12531

P.H.: 0.041  
P.W.: 0.033  
Th.: 0.003

One fragment, preserving only the hand of a larger figure, and the grapes that it was

holding.

The orientation of this fragment is somewhat difficult to determine. Probably a right arm and hand holding a bunch of grapes with the tapering portion at top, and resting on a draped torso.

White ground still extant front and back.

Moldmade and hollow, with plain back.

The fabric is medium hard with a powdery feel. Mica and small grog inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 320, nos. 77, 79, 83, and others, fig. 218-219. Roman fill, unstratified.

F49 E 845-841-80 S 402-397.90

\*185.49-185.42

Mixed Late Roman fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **161 Male posterior, Hercules?**

Pl. 38

T83.009: 8758

P.H.: 0.059

P.W.: 0.046

Th.: 0.003

Only the back half is preserved, and then only from below the waist to mid thigh.

A very muscular male, nude, standing, with his right leg engaged and left leg bent. Both the pose and the considerable, well-modeled musculature are suggestive of Hercules. Similar to **162**, which could be its mirror image.

Self-slipped. Much white ground extant on exterior; over it, some pink paint.

Moldmade and hollow with careful modeling of the back.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Few of the very fine mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 5/8, red.

ByzFort E 687 S 336

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **162 Male posterior, Hercules?**

Pl. 38

T05.006: 11957

P.H.: 0.074

P.W.: 0.038

Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved, and then missing the legs from the lower thigh down, and the upper body from just below the shoulders on the left side, and from the mid back on the right.

A very muscular male, nude, standing. He holds himself in an exaggerated contrapposto with his weight on the right leg, and the left leg decidedly bent and forward. Pronounced musculature; could be described as steatopygous, but not grotesquely so. Either an athlete or a Hercules. Similar to **161**, which could be its mirror image.

Some traces of white ground, and possibly some dark pigment, extant on the outer right thigh.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was modeled with care. The interior is mostly clean and regular, with several fingerprints still visible. Core fired to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are laminar. Fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Wadi B E 697.0 S 230.0 \*133.55  
Below floor; earth mixed with abundant slag.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **163 Harpokrates**

Pl. 38  
T04.003: 11813

P.H.: 0.081  
P.W.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.0043

Only the front half is preserved, with the head, left shoulder and hand, right elbow, and legs below the knees missing.

A Harpokrates carrying fruit, standing, facing forward. He wears a short-sleeved tunic and holds up its bottom hem so that it can function as a sling for fruit. The draping of the garment is simple, but naturalistic enough. His small arms are held close to the body and bent at the elbow up to his chest. His legs are straight and close together. The thighs are bare, but he wears tall boots that come up to the level of the knees. The figure's sides (and back, probably) were left plain and smooth.

White ground extant all over the exterior. Some pink pigment visible on the tunic;

some orange pigment on the top right thigh.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is very smooth and the walls are thin and regular.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are mostly smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. Very close parallels from *Pergamon*, 228-229, nos. 406-407, pl. 58. *Priene*, 504, no. 299, pl. 130, a boy, from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

F55 E 703-705 S 121-123.3 \*126.71-216.63

Fill between two terrace walls.

Before 17 C.E.

### **164 Miniature figure**

Pl. 38  
T90.014: 9800

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.017  
Th. at legs: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved; missing feet, but otherwise fine. Worn.

A small draped figure, gender uncertain, standing, head bent forward. Right hand on chest, clasping something long and narrow; left hand at waist, carrying something droopy, like a fish, or a bag, or perhaps holding up the garment. The stomach protrudes out slightly. The legs are bare below the knee. The face looks round with the hair cut close to the head.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and mostly solid. Clear modeling for such a small product.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Few of the small, golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

MMS/S E 109.4 S 1520.8 \*122.16

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **165 Woman's head**

Pl. 39

T63.038: 5286

P.H.: 0.049

P.W.: 0.029

Th. of neck: 0.015

Missing everything below the neck; also missing a hair fragment above the right ear and hair at the center top of the head (maybe an ornament?). The back of the head, although plain and simply modeled to begin with, seems damaged as well. The surface in general is pockmarked; the nose in particular is flattened.

The head of woman, with straight hair parted at the middle and pulled away (if not necessarily up) from the face. She might have worn a stephane above her hair, and most probably, a circular ornament at the very center top of the head. It is probable that a sort of bun at the very back of head was intended, but this part of the figurine was fashioned summarily and it is difficult to know for certain. A short, slightly triangular forehead lies above thick, arched eyebrows; those, in turn, frame intense, open eyes. Both upper and lower lids have been modeled and result in a mostly almond-shaped eye. The lower lid is slightly heavier

and straighter than the upper lid; the detail of the pupil has also been modeled in relief. The nose has been flattened, but should have been straight, even if a bit wide at the bottom. The nostrils were modeled and are still present. The mouth rests just beneath the nose and is a little narrower than the bottom of it. Its lips are plump and are held tight in a straight line. The upper lip is bowed, while the fuller lower lip is straight. Prominent chin, but not excessively so; it goes down to the neck gracefully, meeting it at a 45-degree angle. Long and elegant neck with carefully modeled "rings of Venus." Plump but not heavy cheeks that maintain an elongated, oval shape for the face. The ears are hidden behind the hair. Her overall expression is stern.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and solid. The back is mostly plain, and seems to have been fashioned by hand with little care. Core fired to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica is frequent; small to fine, rounded gray grog inclusions are also present.

Munsell: 10R 5/8, red.

Syn E 119.7 N 3.5 \*97.20

In burned fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **166 Woman's head**

Pl. 39

NoEx73.028

P.H.: 0.054

P.W.: 0.027

Th. at hair: 0.007

Only the front half is preserved. The right side of the hair and the left half of the neck are missing.

The head of a woman, facing forward yet gazing upward. Her hair seems to be pulled back from the face, or is otherwise short. Mostly horizontal tooling marks suggest that the hair is straight and possibly parted at the middle; somewhat high on the top, the hair goes down far enough to cover the ears. Very short forehead above straight, thick eyebrows and large eyes. The eyes are wider near the inner corners, giving a slightly cross-eyed appearance; their outer corners seem almost open. The pupils are indicated in relief. The nose looks straight in profile, although its tip has been squashed. Regardless, the nose seems slightly too broad at the bottom, and is triangular in shape. The mouth is as wide as the bottom of the nose. Unlike the eyes, which were modeled, the nose and mouth were rendered in intaglio technique. A small, protruding chin turns into a slightly hanging jowl, and slopes softly down to the neck. The neck is smooth and as wide as the face, imparting a heavy, yet graceful appearance to the otherwise oval visage. The form of the neck at the bottom, because it is broken, presents an ambiguous picture of this head's function. It could have stood alone, but it might have been attached to a body as well. Semi-linear style.

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Hair, nose and mouth detail worked by hand with thick (1.2 mm) tool.

The fabric is medium hard with a smooth feel. No inclusions visible; breaks are smooth to conchoidal.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **167 Woman's head**

Pl. 39

T11.011: 12837

P.H.: 0.035

P.W.: 0.031

Th.: 0.003

Missing everything below the chin, with facial features worn.

The head of a woman wearing a crown or high headdress. A large diadem radiates from her head like a sun. Her hair seems to be visible below the crown and just above the short forehead, likely worn up. The eyes are indicated by modeled upper and lower lids, wider at the inside corners and somewhat downturned. The nose and mouth seem straight and small. The detail of the crown is indicated on the back by short strokes forming vertical depressions, modeled rather than incised. The headdress could be the high stephane ornamented with rays that is usually associated with temple slaves or attendants.

Some traces of dark red pigment extant on the right side of the face and crown.

Moldmade and hollow. Thin and even walls. Some minimal modeling on the back. Join seams placed just at the head ornament.

Hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are extremely rare.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. The closest parallels are *Troy*, 95, no. 71, pl. XX, quite different, dated to the late first century C.E. *Tarsus I*, 356, no. 381, fig. 241, also different. The example from Sardis is much more linear. The headdress also common in Myrina, may be inspired from Egyptian fashions.

PA E 33.80-43.80 N 97.10-101.96  
\*97.10-96.83

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **168 Woman's head**

Pl. 39

T63.004: 4958

P.H.: 0.037

P.W.: 0.047

P.D.: 0.043

Th. of neck: 0.027

Missing everything below the neck; the nose has also broken off and the rest of the features are worn. Some large chips or holes on the right side.

The head of a woman, wearing a large bouffant headdress; it consists of a face framing rim attached to a rounded covering which balloons from the sides of the face and also becomes fuller as it goes further down the back of the head. The top and back of the headdress have been flattened or smoothed at the center. The woman's face is very round, almost perfectly so, and yet it does not seem pudgy. Small features seem to have been placed together at the center of the face. Almost no separation between the chin and neck.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and solid. Not as heavy as expected.

Hard fabric with a nice and smooth feel. Very fine silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

HoB W 5 S 115, 120, 125 \*103-102.50  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman. Perhaps an import.

### **169 Woman's head**

Pl. 39

NoEx73.034

P.H.: 0.021

P.W.: 0.015

P.D.: 0.022

Th. at neck: 0.010

Missing everything below the neck. The facial features are worn but still somewhat discernible.

The very small head of a woman, cocked slightly to the right. Her hair is straight, parted at the left side, and pulled back into a bun at the back of the head. The bun, which seems to have been made separately, has three circular indentations on it. Large forehead above squinty eyes, with both upper and lower lid closely modeled. Triangular nose now seems broad. Small mouth, probably just a slit, now appears to smile. Very short chin meets a broad neck almost perpendicularly. The overall shape of the face is round yet adult-like. Either ears or earrings indicated at the sides.

Some white ground and some kind of dark purplish brown pigment or stain extant at the top left corner of the head.

Moldmade and solid. Detailing of hair, and possibly nose and mouth, done in intaglio

technique. Bun made and attached separately.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Break at neck is hackly. Very fine golden mica inclusions on the surface, rare, might be from the ground.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **170 Standing woman**

Pl. 40  
T91.015: 9899

P.H.: 0.112  
P.W.: 0.041  
D. at belly: 0.027  
Th.: 0.005

The head and feet are missing. Surface detail has worn away. A large hole over the right thigh.

The body of a draped female, standing in a variation of contrapposto, with left leg bent, and right leg extended. Her left arm is bent across the chest as she grasps the neck of her garment with her left hand. The right arm is kept close to the body, with the hand resting on some sort of tall narrow support.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was left plain. The join seam is visible but smooth. Somewhat heavier than expected.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly and coarse looking. Both small, varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

ByzFort E 710-712 S 411-413 \*183.90 - 183.00

Mixed soil layer with ash and limestone chips.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **171 Standing woman**

Pl. 40  
T05.005: 11956

P.H.: 0.066  
P.W.: 0.024  
Th. at leg: 0.007  
Th. of regular wall: 0.002

Only the front half, from the upper chest to the ankles, is extant. Missing the head, neck, right arm, and feet.

A small, draped woman, standing, facing forward. She seems to stand in a slight contrapposto (right leg forward, left leg engaged), with her left arm kept at ease near the body and pulling away the upper layer of her garments. Deep-v peplos over chiton, belted below the breasts. Round fibulae at the shoulders. Somewhat stiff plastic folds; the body is still discernible under her garments.

Some white ground preserved, primarily within the folds of the garment.

Moldmade and mostly solid. Plaster mold likely. Very smooth interior. Core burnt dark gray.

Medium hard fabric that is smooth to the touch. Breaks are also smooth. Finely levigated, with some mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Sculpture*, 87, no. 54, fig. 165, the lower portion of a peplos figure dated to the Late Hellenistic period.

F55 E 704.20-705 S 118.30-119.20  
\*126.673-126.533

Terrace fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 172 Standing woman on base

Pl. 40

T11.046: 12909

P.H.: 0.063

H. (base): 0.013

P.W. (base): 0.034

P.D. (base): 0.018

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved. Missing everything above the thighs, and most of the left side of the figure.

A draped female, standing on a low, rectangular base. The right leg is engaged, while the left is kept back, slightly bent at the knee. A long garment is kept close enough to the body to reveal the shape of the legs beneath. Long, plastic folds fall stiffly between the legs, suggesting a patterned shell rather than a real body. Simple, closed shoes are visible.

No painted decoration remains.

Moldmade and hollow.

Fabric is medium hard and powdery.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Troy*, 106-107, nos. 93-94, pl. XXV.  
*Sculpture*, 90, no. 61, fig. 175, the lower half

of a peplos figure, dated to the late first or early second century C.E.

HoB W 25 S 110-115 \*101

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 173 Standing woman, Aphrodite?

Pl. 40

T11.036: 12899

P.H.: 0.080

P.W.: 0.030

Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing the body above the waist, the left leg, and feet. Chipped.

The draped legs of a woman, probably striding forward with her left leg. The right leg is bent at the knee, supporting no weight. A thick band and knot at the middle of the waist give way to cascading folds of fabric that would have fallen between the legs. The feet might have been covered by fabric as well. Perhaps an Aphrodite.

White ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean and even.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel.  
Breaks seem smooth. Varied, small grog and small, golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. A very close parallel from *Pergamon*, 215, no. 208, pl. 34, an Aphrodite.

HoB E 0 S 115 to \*101.7

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 174 Seated woman

Pl. 40

T98.009: 11099

P.H.: 0.044

P.W.: 0.054

Th.: 0.004

Small fragment preserving the front half of a group composition; only the right side of the lower body of one figure is extant.

The lower body of a draped, seated woman, with right foot mostly preserved. Rigidly frontal stance, although current impression is that her knees point to the left. Her himation or peplos is pulled loosely across the legs and then falls in diagonal folds from the left knee down to the right ankle.

Beneath, a chiton falls almost vertically between her feet. A shallow flat base lies under the foot. Something curved lies to her right; her seat or throne? Beyond this, a smooth surface. An enthroned goddess?

Self-slipped. White ground extant on the exterior, with some light traces of red and pink pigment on the curved throne to the woman's right.

Moldmade and hollow. Multiple fingerprints extant on the interior surface.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks look granular. Small, varied grog is rare, while very fine golden mica inclusions tend to be common.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

MMS/S E 137-142 S 112-118 \*105.8  
Removal of fallen plaster from Room "O"

apse.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 175 Seated woman

Pl. 40

T11.034: 12897

P.H.: 0.038

P.W.: 0.026

P.D.: 0.024

Th. at base: 0.007

Only the front half is extant, from mid thigh to bottom.

The legs of a sitting, draped woman. A peplos or other garment is drawn tight around her legs, with small horizontal and diagonal folds to emphasize stretching. Around the area of the ankles, a long chiton falls in vertical, stiff folds; a himation falls next to her left thigh. She seems to be sitting with her legs pointing slightly to the left, though the orientation is uncertain due to the missing back.

Some white ground is extant next to the left thigh.

Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard and slightly coarse fabric. Breaks are granular. Grog and mica inclusions are frequent on the surface; some small white inclusions are also present.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

PN W 225 S 340

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 176 Hand holding phiale

Pl. 41  
T11.079: 12961

P.L.: 0.028  
P.W.: 0.016  
Th. of mirror: 0.004

Missing everything beyond the wrist;  
otherwise fine.

The right hand of a human figure, holding a disc, likely a phiale or mirror. The disc has one concave side (the one with the thumb). The fingers are modeled naturalistically with special attention to the shape and position of the grasping thumb. The hand could have belonged to a goddess, perhaps a Kybele with phiale.

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant in between the fingers, with some small traces of red pigment on the disc.

Moldmade and solid. Very crisp detail.

Soft and smooth fabric. Break at wrist is granular. Some very small grog inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 199, no. 2606, pl. 96, a hand holding a phiale, from Halikarnassos.

PN W 220 S 349

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 177 Hand

Pl. 41  
T64.011: 6019

P.H.: 0.015  
P.W.: 0.013  
P.L.: 0.027  
Th. at wrist: 0.006

Missing everything beyond the wrist. Object held is now missing.

The small, left hand of a human figure, held in a loose fist, with the thumb and forefinger meeting, and the others curled around a now missing object. The detail of the fingernails was modeled. On the wrist, a bracelet or armband with a narrow groove at the center was worked in relief. Quite delicate and careful modeling.

Some red pigment extant on the palm of the hand.

Moldmade and solid. Indentations between fingers retouched with a tool.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth to granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 45-50 S 125-130 \*101-100.6  
Late Roman street and buildings near Late Hellenistic-Late Roman dump.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 178 Arm

Pl. 41

T11.090: 12974

P.L.: 0.054

W. (upper arm): 0.013

W. (hand): 0.012

Only the arm below the shoulder is extant. The upper part of the object in the hand is broken off entirely.

The left arm of a human figure, undraped, grasping an object in the hand. Its orientation is uncertain, but seems to have hung down near body. Linear rendering of fingers; thumb was formed separately. The held object is shaped like a strap, oval in section.

White ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The core is dark gray.

Hard and slightly rough fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 0 S 8 \*102-101.80

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 179 Arm

Pl. 41

T59.043: 2017

P.H.: 0.033

P.L.: 0.072

Diam. at break: 0.019

Only one arm is extant from just above the elbow. Three very clear incisions are visible

at the upper break; for attachment to body. Worn.

The left arm of a human figure, bent at the elbow, and with a clenched (but not round) fist. Seems to be wearing a bracelet on the wrist. The hand is posed as if holding an object; whatever the object was, it is now round and flat.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid.

Soft fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. The break is as smooth and worn as the surface. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR, 6/8, light red.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*125.00-12.50

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 180 Drapery

Pl. 41

T59.037: 1993

P.H.: 0.050

P.W.: 0.055

Th.: 0.005

Small fragment with a real edge (proper right) preserved.

A draped woman. Very flat fragment; could be from a figural plaque. Its right edge is real and shows a cascade of excess fabric twisted around itself and falling vertically. A himation is pulled up at the middle, revealing a chiton with diagonal and widely spaced folds that suggest the swaying motion of a dancer.

White ground extant within creases, and on the back as well. Yellow pigment at the front.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The back surface has multiple fingerprints visible through the white ground. Core baked to a dark gray.

The fabric is soft and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 80 S 200 to \*115.38  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **181 Man's head**

Pl. 42  
T59.024: 1757

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.030  
P.D.: 0.037  
Th. at front of neck: 0.004

Missing everything below the neck and cracked all around. Worn.

The head of a man. His facial features are worn, but still discernible. His hair is short and curly, with individual curls indicated by round protrusions. Very short forehead. Features resemble other Hellenistic/Roman pieces, with almond-shaped eyes, straight nose, and closed, simple mouth. The bottom lip, however, seems quite broad. Rounded cheeks and chin, but not as much as those of children. The latter, which is very heavy, slopes down at a 45-degree angle towards the neck, which seems to have been quite broad.

Traces of white ground extant at the back, and around the chin and neck.

Moldmade and hollow. Seems to have been carefully modeled at the back. The join seam is thick and noticeable; smoothed with a tool. No ears are visible, so cannot tell the exact position of the seam. What is visible of the interior is smooth and clean.

Soft to very soft fabric; might be the reason the surface is so worn. Feels powdery, leaving small amounts of residue on fingers. Break looks granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are common on the surface but difficult to detect on the interior.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 90 S 200 ca. \*122.45  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **182 Philosopher**

Pl. 42  
T11.071: 12944

P.H.: 0.069  
P.W.: 0.045  
Th.: 0.006

Missing everything below the neck at the front, and below the mid torso at the back.

The head and upper body of a bearded man, standing, draped. He has abundant, curly hair, and a respectable beard. Short, rectangular forehead above softly rounded eyebrows. His eyes are almond-shaped, and his nose regular, with visible nostrils. His expression is both serious and benevolent. He wears some sort of garment draped over his left shoulder.

Some white ground extant around the area of the beard.

Moldmade and hollow. Not much modeling of the back, especially hair, but not entirely plain. The join seam was flattened, but is still quite conspicuous. Fingerprints extant on the interior surface. A circular perforation at the top of the head goes straight down through the neck and into the body cavity. For hanging?

The fabric is hard with a slightly rough feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

MMS/S E 107.6 S 150 \*113.29

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **183 Nude man**

Pl. 42  
NoEx11.002

P.H.: 0.093  
P.W.: 0.053  
D. at buttocks: 0.029  
Th. at neck: 0.003

The head is missing, as well as the left arm from the shoulder down, and the right arm from just above the elbow. His legs are missing from just above the knees, and his penis has broken off. Chipped and cracked.

The body of a nude man, standing. His right arm is extended away from the body, while the left seems to have been kept close. The muscles of the chest and abdomen were modeled, though the latter, along with a navel, are better preserved. His left leg is straight, while the right leg strides forward. On the back, the detail of the spine and shoulder muscles were rendered plastically.

The buttocks are narrower than the body; overall, the back half seems slightly smaller than the front, though care was taken to join them well. Perhaps a hero or divine being.

White ground extant all over the exterior. Some orange red pigment visible on the back, mostly, but also on the sides, left thigh, and below the neck at front.

Moldmade in a plaster mold, with hollow body and solid limbs. All molded together. Makes for a heavy piece. The join seam is visible but even. The head seems to have been joined to the body with additional plaster.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 329, no. 151, fig. 225, from a Roman fill, for similar stance. Hercules.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **184 Man's torso**

Pl. 42  
T11.045: 12908

P.H.: 0.058  
P.W.: 0.032  
D.: 0.020  
Th.: 0.004

Missing the head, arms, and everything below the waist.

The torso of a man, nude, or otherwise very summarily modeled. His right arm seems to have been kept close to the body, while the left probably extended out to the side.

Somewhat flat when looked at in profile; the neck especially seems to lack depth.

Thick white ground extant both front and back.

Moldmade and hollow. Long, oval vent hole at back. The join seams were reinforced by coils on the interior; well-hidden on exterior. Scoring for attachment of left arm still visible at scar.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

LAW E 76-77 S 330-331 \*1.41 meters below surface

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **185 Man's back**

Pl. 42  
T11.039: 12902

P.H.: 0.033  
P.W.: 0.039  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved, and only from the bottom of the neck to about the mid back. The arms are missing from just below the shoulders.

What appears to be the back of a man, nude, or at least with his chest uncovered. His arms seem to have been kept close to the body. A somewhat square protrusion on the neck might be the remnants of hair. The spine down the back was lightly modeled.

Some very light traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was not modeled with much detail. The interior is clean and regular. Core baked to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Both small varied grog and small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

HoB 1.20 meters below wall top

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **186 Man's torso**

Pl. 42  
T59.033: 1902

P.H.: 0.030  
P.W.: 0.051  
Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is present; missing the head, arms, and everything below the pectorals. A small fragment of the back of the left shoulder is still extant. The surface is a bit rough.

A male torso, with not much muscular definition, but attractive broad shoulders. The pectorals feel nice to the touch as well. Cannot determine if this was meant to be nude or clothed. A narrow indentation on the upper right arm may indicate some type of tunic or arm band.

Some small traces of white ground as well as dark (black?) pigment extant around the right arm.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is rough, but the walls are thin and regular. The join seam is well hidden on the exterior, and reinforced inside. Core baked dark gray

at places. Fingerprints visible on the interior.

Hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are hackly. Few of the small silvery mica inclusions; small varied grog inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 90 S 200 \*123.25-123.00  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **187 Man's arm**

Pl. 42  
T67.005: 7349

P.H.: 0.074  
Max. W.: 0.053

One fragment, preserved from shoulder to wrist. Only the front half is present.

The arm of a man, clad with a chlamys rendered in high relief. Rounded shoulder, now missing something large and round, a pin? Framing the shoulder, three curving grooves suggest a flowing cape. On the upper arm proper, three thicker and shorter grooves, vertical, indicate some further adornment, perhaps just a short sleeve. Two thin, shallow grooves, horizontal and below the vertical ones, may indicate the edge of the sleeve. The arm bends at the elbow and then folds over the flat, plain chest.

Self-slipped. No other traces of painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. The back is clean and even.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly abrasive feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

PN W 268-275 S 335-341 \*87.3

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **188 Striding nude male, back**

Pl. 43  
T13.013: 13643

P.H.: 0.062  
P.W.: 0.046  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved, and then only from just above the buttocks to the left mid thigh (the right leg is missing). Surface chipped; interior accreted.

The muscular backside of a nude, striding man. This seems to be a somewhat common type at Sardis, possibly representing a forceful divinity (Zeus, Heracles?). Figure would have been seen at three quarters view, and indeed, buttocks are not portrayed straight on.

No traces of painted decoration extant, but the figure was self-slipped and preserves a bit of a sheen.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely. Tooling marks on the thigh. The bottom of the leg (below the break, which seems to be a real edge), might have been added separately and been solid. Core fired to a dark gray at parts.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks look granular. Micaceous.

Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red. Slip:  
Munsell :5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 148.50-152.30 S 77.90-82.88

\*103.86-104.16

Room XXIV, upper fill, building tiles and  
stones.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **189 Male posterior?**

Pl. 43

T91.013: 9879

P.H.: 0.061

P.W.: 0.024

Th.: 0.005

Th. of leg: 0.014

Only the back half is present, and then  
missing the body above the waist, and the  
left leg from the lower thigh down. The right  
leg could be missing its foot; if the foot it is  
extant, then it is odd and misshapen.

The lower body of nude man, standing. His  
right leg is engaged, with the left leg bent.  
The former looks abnormally thick from the  
side.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade with hollow body and solid legs.  
Some detail modeled on the back. The front  
of the right leg is odd; from the side as well,  
the leg is too thick. Plaster mold a  
possibility.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Few  
of the fine golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

ByzFort E 709-712 S 410-413 \*186.06-  
184.50

Soft, dark colored soil layer within dump.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **190 Man's leg**

Pl. 43

T13.014: 13644

P.H.: 0.082

Diam. (thigh): 0.035

Diam. (lower calf): 0.017

Th.: 0.0060

One fragment, preserved from where the  
thigh joins the body down to the lower calf.  
Some surface accretions.

The nude left leg, bent at knee, of a large  
figure. Possibly a standing/ lunging man.  
Nicely modeled detail of the knee, muscles,  
and skin folds.

Heavy traces of white ground extant on the  
surface.

Moldmade with hollow thigh and calf, and  
solid knee. The figure would have been  
made in multiple plaster molds and then put  
together. The join seams are practically  
invisible; the surface was carefully  
smoothed before the application of white  
ground. Evenly baked to the core.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth with  
granular breaks. Some mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

F49 \*187.57

Terrace fill with plentiful gravel.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 191 Leg

Pl. 43

T11.078: 12960

P.H.: 0.068

P.W.: 0.021

Only one leg extant, from mid thigh to just above the ankle. Chipped.

A nicely shaped leg, undraped, slightly bent at the knee. Probably a left leg.

Self-slipped. Some very light traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and solid. The joint seam was flattened and is almost undetectable.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are granular. Some small grog inclusions; maybe some lime or quartz. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

HoB to \*111

Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 192 Leg

Pl. 43

T89.007: 9644

P.H.: 0.074

P.D. (thigh): 0.024

P.D. (ankle): 0.014

Only one leg extant, preserved from the high to just above the ankle. Chipped.

The left leg of a human, possibly a man, nude, standing. The knee is bent slightly. Naturalistically modeled. Shapely, powerful calf.

Painted red, without preparatory ground.

Moldmade and partly hollow. The joint seams were carefully concealed.

Hard-fired and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

MMS E 101.5-103 S 103-104.5

\*102.93-102.71

Plaster surface; latest floor of Roman road, south of colonnade.

Hellenistic/Roman. Perhaps an import.

### 193 Leg

Pl. 43

T62.046: 4811

P.H.: 0.050

L. of foot: 0.029

P.W.: 0.011

Th. of leg: 0.013

Only one leg is extant, from the knee down to the foot; in good condition.

A human left leg, barefoot, with toes indicated through modeling. Naturalistic modeling of the calf and knee. Overall a very attractive leg with an awkward looking foot. Could have belonged to a figure with articulated limbs. The bottom of the foot is slightly concave, as if indicating an arch and heel.

Very faint traces of white ground are extant on top of the foot and knee.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. Some parts are smoothed and shaped more carefully than others, but generally carefully treated.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are common on the surface.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow

RT E 112.50 N 12.40 \*96.60  
On floor.

Hellenistic/Roman.

#### **194 Foot**

Pl. 43  
T64.014: 6046

P.H.: 0.025  
P.L.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.013

Only one foot extant, from the ankle down; missing big toe.

A right human foot, bare or possibly sandaled. The toes were rendered plastically. The bottom of the foot is flat and extends slightly beyond the border of the toes, giving the impression that there is in fact an artificial sole present.

Some white ground is extant on the surface.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid.

Medium hard and smooth fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

HoB E 60-65 S 150-153 \*109.9

Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

#### **195 Nude posterior and leg**

Pl. 44  
T11.098: 13004

P.H.: 0.039  
P.L.: 0.080  
P.W.: 0.037  
Th.: 0.007

Only the bottom half is present, and then only the buttocks and the right leg down to the knee.

A human posterior, nude, sitting, likely male. Large buttocks and powerful thighs. The right leg is bent at the knee; the left leg seems to have been fused to the right, at least down the length of the thigh. The bottom of the buttocks and thigh were scored lengthwise, probably for attachment to a seat or throne.

Light traces of white ground extant on the sides.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Some fingerprints extant on the interior. Scored side burnt gray.

Fabric is soft and slightly powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB W 10 S 85 to \*100.30  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 196 Standing figure on base

Pl. 44  
T59.038a: 2090

P.H.: 0.059  
P.W.: 0.059  
D.: 0.036  
Th. at back: 0.005

The front part of the base is missing, as well as the figurine standing on it (from the ankles up).

A rectangular base for a standing figurine. The bottom of the base seems to flare out slightly; the top of the base is grooved to simulate molding. A pair of feet, probably with shoes, are seen off center to the left. Something else is visible to the right of the feet; it is probably a tree, but could also be a column or stand.

Traces of white ground are extant all over, including the interior. Some yellow pigment visible over the feet.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Left open at the bottom. Appears not to have been modeled at the back, although shapes are insinuated (it is not completely flat). The join seam is slightly visible on the right side; seems to have been smoothed quite carefully.

Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are smooth for the most part. Small, white, rounded inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

HoB E 90 S 200 \*124.45-123.45  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 197 Standing figure on base

Pl. 44  
T82.003: 8699

P.H.: 0.065  
H. (base): 0.049  
W. (base): 0.089  
D. (base): 0.084  
Th.: 0.008

Missing the proper back right corner of the base. Also missing, the figure standing on it above the ankles, and the object front and right of it. Accreted. Some signs of burning.

A figure standing on a pedestal that is wider at the bottom than at the top. The base is also slightly taller than the cornice, which has a thin groove running around its length. Two feet, probably wearing shoes, stand at the front left corner of the pedestal. To their right, a now missing object, small and semicircular in section; a staff?

All sides are covered in white ground.

Moldmade and at least the base, hollow. Completely open at the bottom.

The fabric is hard and rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Wadi B E 719.86 S 229.04 \*144.67-143.82

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **198 Standing figure on base**

Pl. 44  
T11.050: 12922

P.H.: 0.038  
H. (base): 0.024  
P.W. (base): 0.029  
P.L.: 0.012  
Th.: 0.004

Only the bottom right corner of a figurine or plaque is extant. Missing everything above and left of the feet.

Two feet, bare, atop a plain, rectangular base.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.  
Fingerprints visible on the interior.

Hard fabric with a soapy feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 65-70 S 155-160 \*109.7

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **199 Standing figure on base**

Pl. 44  
T11.089: 12972

P.H.: 0.052  
H. of base: 0.040  
P.W.: 0.033  
P.D.: 0.028  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front left corner of the base is preserved. One foot of a figure is extant, broken before reaching the heel.

The front left corner of a plain base with a bare left foot preserved on top. The foot is well modeled with detailed digits, including a noticeable toenail on the big toe.

White ground is extant all over the exterior. The side of the base seems to have been painted in a different color, a yellow or orange.

Moldmade and hollow. Smoothed surface. Sharp corners. The detail of the toes was retouched by hand.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth. Some small grog and small golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 5YR 5/4, reddish brown.

HoB E 67-70 S 158-160 \*109-108.6

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **200 Youth's head**

Pl. 45  
T10.017: 12618

P.H.: 0.031  
P.W.: 0.023  
Th. (neck):0.011

Missing everything below the neck; only the front half is present. Eroded surface.

The head of a male youth. He wears what appears to be a flaring head ornament, possibly an ivy wreath, above short, face-framing curly hair. Short, semicircular forehead gives way to rounded eyebrows. The eyes below are almond-shaped with modeled upper lids. Small, straight, triangular nose, just above small, closed mouth with bowed upper lip. The chin is rounded and meets the neck almost

perpendicularly. Oval-shaped face with serene expression.

White ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely.

The fabric is soft and smooth with hackly breaks. Small grog and mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 10R, 6/8, light red.

F49 E 841.40-841 S 402-398.60

\*185.35-184.85

Foundation trench for terrace wall. Late Roman Phase I.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **201 Child's head**

Pl. 45

T68.015: 7823

P.H.: 0.023

P.W.: 0.018

P.D.: 0.019

Th. at neck: 0.010

Missing everything below the neck. Mostly in good condition, except for a small hole in the back right above the parting hairline.

The head of a child, looking slightly to the left, with short curly hair cropped close to the scalp. His hair covers the ears, but not the forehead, and is parted, quite decidedly, down the middle. The hair part is interesting, upraised and mold made. Ample, clear forehead lies above small, squinty eyes. Both upper and lower lids have been modeled, and are close enough together to make the eyes appear swollen. The nose is short and straight, with modeled nostrils. The mouth seems puckered, with a

particularly plump upper lip, quite triangular and lacking a cupid's bow. A small, round chin meets the neck almost perpendicularly. The face is round in appearance thanks to a pair of full cheeks. His overall expression is slightly confused or distressed.

White ground extant all over the exterior, but especially on the face.

Moldmade and solid. The hair was shaped by hand.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel.

Breaks are hackly; fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Syn E 41.11 N 11.72 \*95.71

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **202 Boy's head**

Pl. 45

T93.001: 10033

P.H.: 0.025

P.W.: 0.020

P.D.: 0.022

Th. at neck: 0.003

Missing everything below the chin, but otherwise well preserved.

The head of a boy, tilted down to the right. Eros? His hair covers the head in distinct, short wavy locks; it is equally well-modeled at front and at back where it seems to be parted at the middle. The right ear is shaped like a curly "c." Large, rectangular forehead above deep-set eyes. Broad nose with nostrils indicated. Closed, straight mouth with bowed and plump lips. The chin is round and extremely close to the neck.

Overall chubby face, with large, round cheeks. His expression is slightly mischievous.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Very carefully modeled, including at the back. The join seam is upraised and quite visible but clean; placed just in front of the ears. The interior looks clean with even walls. Somewhat heavy for its size.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. No inclusions, other than some very fine golden mica, which is rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 93.30-095 S 82.30-095  
\*103.40-103.65  
Topsoil.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **203 Child's head**

Pl. 45  
T64.017: 6104

P.H.: 0.037  
P.W.: 0.025  
P.L.: 0.033  
Th. at neck: 0.006

Missing everything below the neck, and chipped in several places, notably the right cheek and front of the neck. Possibly missing some type of head ornament, as there is a marked indentation at the top front. Facial features either worn or originally blurry.

The very round head of a young girl, with short hair arranged in separate bulbous locks, and held in place with a now missing

fillet (or other hair ornament). Wide, flat forehead rests atop small, rounded eyes. Worn features, but eyes seem to have had both lids modeled, and possibly the pupil indicated in relief. In between, there is a very short, round, button nose, and below that, a small, full-lipped mouth. The mouth is kept closed with bowed upper lip, and straight lower lip. A heavy chin that echoes the heft and roundness of the cheeks seems to curve down towards the neck. Her overall expression is stubborn.

Some traces of white ground extant around the hair.

Moldmade and hollow. The back is minimally modeled. The join seam appears to be over or in front of the ear area.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth, although pitted, feel. Breaks are granular; very fine mica inclusions are rare, but present.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

HoB E 60-65 S 150-155 \*109  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **204 Child's head**

Pl. 45  
T59.047a: 2057

P.H.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.022  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is present, and then missing everything below the chin. Facial features are extremely worn.

A child's head, looking to the left, and markedly downturned (seems to rest the left cheek upon the shoulder). Facial features are worn, but resemble those of a child. The hair seems to be short and kept close to the head. Round cheeks. The nose would have been broad and stubby. Small, closed mouth. Bashful in appearance.

White ground still extant within crevices. Some yellow pigment visible next to the nose.

Moldmade and hollow. The walls are of irregular thickness, and the interior seems to have been smoothed with the aid of tools.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 324, no. 109, fig. 221, for position of the head. An Eros; from a Roman fill.

HoB E 90 S 200 \*119.68  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **205 Girl's torso**

Pl. 46  
T86.017: 9365

P.H.: 0.063  
P.W.: 0.034  
Th. at stomach: 0.006  
Th. at arm: 0.010

Only a fragment of the front half is preserved. The head, right side of the body, and everything below the hip are missing.

The torso of a girl or young woman, standing and dressed. She has her left arm akimbo, and wears a flowing dress with long sleeves, perhaps an Anatolian costume. A small breast is discernible above slanting folds of fabric that are pulled tight against the body down to the waist. The dress is then belted before puffing out slightly into a skirt. Her arm looks wider than it should be, but that might be the result of the blousy sleeve. Her hand seems to be tucked under the skirt.

Some white ground extant within crevices, with some pink pigment over the skirt.

Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are hackly. Few of the small silvery mica inclusions.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 72, no. 899, pl. 22, of doubtful date, possibly Hellenistic.

ByzFort E 677-672 S 352.5-356 ca.  
\*193.2-193  
Room 6; Roman fill with some Hellenistic materials.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **206 Girl's body**

Pl. 46  
T11.029: 12892

P.H.: 0.066  
P.W.: 0.044  
Th. at legs: 0.005  
H. of firing hole: 0.028

Missing the head, right arm above the elbow, and the legs. Worn.

The body of a young child, possibly a girl. She wears a short chiton with short sleeves. The folds of the garment are partly plastic (neck), and partly incised (sleeves, bottom of skirt); they droop down with ease into a soft "v" at the neck. Much movement is expressed; quite graceful. Her right arm goes away from the body, while the left is kept close; with it she holds up her skirt. Within the sling created by the raised skirt, she carries a variety of fruit. Her entire body is slightly bent forward. It seems as if her legs might have been fused together; at least the top and back of the thighs are. Perhaps she was sitting.

Some small traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was kept plain, and has a large, oval vent hole. The join seams were mostly well hidden, and the interior is clean with even walls. The entire piece seems to have been molded together; later retouched by hand, with some details rendered through intaglio technique.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly or granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR, 6/6, light red.

HoB W 2-4 S 103-105 \*99.4-99.2

From a dump.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 207 Seated figure

Pl. 46

T13.022: 13667

P.H.: 0.043

W. (torso): 0.021

P.L. (legs); 0.032

Th.: 0.004

One fragment, missing the legs, arms, front of torso, and head.

The body of a sitting figure wearing a short tunic. The back is straight, and the bottom flat. The legs are fused together, at least down to the knees. The arms and lower legs seem to have been molded and attached separately so they may have been articulated. Not much plastic detail at the back. Some sort of temple attendant?

Self-slipped. Some traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

The main body was made in a plaster, bivalve mold. Excess clay emptied out with the aid of a curved-edged tool; the resulting appearance is similar to wheel marks. The legs and arms were probably solid. The join seams were well hidden.

Medium hard fabric, smooth and finely levigated.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MD2 E 525-536.5 N 357-358.5 \*88.25-87.95

Roman dump.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 208 Child and rooster

Pl. 46  
T11.052: 12924

P.H.: 0.039  
P.W.: 0.045  
Th. at tail: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; could be a figural plaque instead. The rooster is missing its head, feet, and part of the tail; the child only has part of his right leg extant.

A nude, standing, child (Eros?) with a rooster standing to his right. The child's right leg is pudgy and slightly bent at the knee. The rooster would have been facing the child. Its feathers and wing were rendered plastically.

White ground extant all over the front, with a bit on the back.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; mostly solid. Fingerprints visible on the interior surface.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Few small grog and fine golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 324, no. 105, fig. 220. Found under a grave. Roosters are not unusual companions for children. *Pergamon*, 232, no. 445, pl. 67. *Winter II*, 274, no. 2

PA E 60-62 N 20.70-22.70 \*92.80

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 209 Child's arm

Pl. 46  
T59.040: 2010

P.H.: 0.023  
P.L.: 0.043  
Diam. of upper arm: 0.014  
Th. at upper arm: 0.003

Only one arm is extant; missing the tips of its fingers.

A right arm with hand open and thumb pointed upwards. Naturalistic. Proportions seem somewhat short; perhaps it belonged to a child.

Self-slipped. Small amounts of white ground extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Very carefully modeled. The join seams were concealed with much care.

The fabric is hard and very smooth. Breaks are smooth. Some small golden mica inclusions on surface could be from the ground.

Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red. Slip: Munsell 7.5YR, 7/4, pink.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*119.00  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 210 Articulated leg

Pl. 47  
T61.007: 3184

P.H.: 0.062  
P.W. (ankle): 0.010  
L. (foot): 0.029  
W. (foot): 0.015  
Th. (attachment): 0.007

Only one leg is extant; complete. Some chips around the area of the foot.

The left leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for attachment lies on the flattened area at top; the connecting side is well finished, while the free side is slightly more irregular. Crudely modeled, the leg is mostly circular in section with some flattened faces. It seems as if a calf was indicated. The leg widens slightly as it goes down to a simply rendered foot. The foot does not have any detail of toes or a shoe modeled on its upper surface. Its bottom is irregular, but does seem to show a heel and an arch. It is unusually wide with splayed out toes.

Some light traces of white ground are extant on the surface.

Moldmade and solid.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB W 5-10 S 100 to \*101  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 211 Articulated leg

Pl. 47  
T64.013: 6021

P.H.: 0.057  
L. (foot): 0.030  
W. (foot): 0.014  
Th. (attachment): 0.006

Only one leg is extant; complete but for the front of the foot.

The right leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for attachment lies on the flattened area at top; the connecting side is well finished, while the free side is slightly more irregular. Crudely modeled, the leg is a flattened oval in section. It widens slightly as it goes down to a simply rendered foot. The foot does not have any detail of toes or a shoe modeled on its upper surface. Its bottom is flat.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and solid.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

HoB E 64-72 S 155-160 \*111.7  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **212 Articulated leg**

Pl. 47  
NoEx59.102

P.H.: 0.069  
P.W.:(ankle): 0.011  
L. (foot): 0.030  
W. (foot): 0.014  
Th. (attachment): 0.007

Only one leg is extant; complete.

The right leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for attachment lies on the flattened area at top; it has a pointed rather than circular end. Crudely modeled, the leg is a flattened oval in section. It widens slightly as it goes down to a simply rendered foot. The foot does not have any detail of toes or a shoe modeled on its upper surface, but simplistically renders its contour. Its bottom is flat.

White ground extant all over exterior.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **213 Articulated leg**

Pl. 47  
T07.001: 12219

P.H.: 0.052

Only one leg is extant; complete.

The left leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for

attachment lies in the flattened area at top. Crudely modeled, the leg is a flattened oval in section. It widens slightly as it goes down to a simply rendered foot. The shaft is vaguely faceted from the finishing process. Short, shallow incisions to mark the toes; they are now slightly chipped. The underside of the foot is slightly curved, as if showing an arch and heel.

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and solid.

Hard-fired fabric. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Tomb 07.1 W 166.75 S 53.50-56.50  
\*99.25-98.94  
Modern looters' fills.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **214 Articulated leg**

Pl. 47  
NoEx59.108

P.H.: 0.053  
P.W. (calf): 0.015  
Th. (attachment): 0.009

Only one leg is extant; missing the foot below the ankle.

The left leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for attachment lies in the flattened area at top. Naturalistically modeled, with the detail of the knee and the calf muscles nicely rendered.

Self-slipped. Some white ground and red pigment extant near the join seam.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is hard fired and smooth.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 215 Articulated leg

Pl. 47

T11.083: 12965

P.H.: 0.052

W. of calf: 0.012

L. of foot: 0.030

Only one leg is extant; broken off at the hole for attachment but otherwise well-preserved.

The straight left leg of a human figure with articulated limbs. Its form is not exactly naturalistic, but there might have been an attempt at making it so. The toes were rendered plastically.

Some white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid.

The fabric is hard and slightly powdery. Breaks look granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface. Resembles stone.

Gray. Munsell: 2.5YR 6/N6/, gray.

Syn E 45 N 7

In 1965 fill over mosaic.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### 216 Articulated leg

Pl. 47

T62.009: 4308

P.H.: 0.061

P.W. (ankle): 0.011

L. (foot): 0.023

W. (foot): 0.012

Th. (attachment): 0.006

Only one leg is extant; complete.

The right leg of human figure with articulated limbs. A circular hole for attachment lies in the flattened area at top. Its sides are flattened, but some shaping of the knee and calf was attempted. Shallow horizontal grooves below the knee may be pants. A raised ring on the ankle may be the top of a shoe. The bottom of the foot is flat. An Asiatic dancer?

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and solid. Detail added by hand.

The fabric is hard-fired and smooth.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 58, nos. 492 and 493, pl. 11, the body and leg of a dancer in eastern dress. Herbert 1959, 108, fig. 16, a flying figure in Phrygian dress, late second century B.C.E., from Myrina.

HoB E 10 S 120 \*101.60

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 217 Articulated hand

Pl. 47

T11.084: 12966

H. (hand): 0.012

W. (hand) 0.014

P.L. (arm): 0.041

P.W. (arm): 0.012

Broken off before reaching the elbow. The tips of the fingers are missing.

A small human hand wearing a bracelet or other wrist ornament. Open palm, with distinct fingers and thumb. Crudely modeled. A bracelet was modeled in relief on the top of the wrist but not at its bottom. Linear style typical of figures with articulated limbs.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and solid. The separation between the fingers was hastily incised.

The fabric is hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/8, reddish yellow.

Cf. A terracotta doll from Athens pictured in Elderkin 1930, 470, fig. 21. Pisani 2006, 348-349, no. 127, fig. 33, dated to the fourth century B.C.E.

HoB E 10 S 50 \*101-10

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 218 Man's torso

Pl. 48

T66.005: 7189

P.H.: 0.066

P.W.: 0.030

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; the head, arms, and legs are missing.

The very fleshy torso of a nude man, standing. Large breasts and a round stomach with a roll of flesh in between. Large oval navel. Wide neck base, with the head possibly tilted down to the left. His weight is on the left leg, as the bit of thigh that remains seems to go straight down. Nice modeling overall.

Much white ground extant on outer surfaces. Some small traces of red pigment are visible within the creases of the belly.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The interior was nicely smoothed and shows regular walls. The core seems to have burned to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

B E 12 N 84 \*1.00-96.90

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 219 Comic actor

Pl. 48

T09.009: 12438

P.H.: 0.073

P.W.: 0.036

Th.: 0.002

A fragment of a relief terracotta figurine with a comic actor. Only the front half (if indeed there was a back) preserved, and then only from just below actor's waist to what seems to be a small platform beneath his feet. Also missing most of the left arm, all of the right arm, anything else that may have been represented at the sides, and the feet. The surface is in generally good condition.

A male figure, facing forward, standing still, partially draped. Possibly a comic actor type, a slave, with exposed, erect penis, likely a prosthetic. He stands with feet together, but his legs are so unusually thin (and slightly bowed) that they create an empty space between them. He wears the short tunic common for the type, formed with stiff, diagonal plastic folds, and possibly a short chlamys. His tunic has been either pulled or pushed up to reveal his penis. It is difficult to determine how his arms were held, but at least the left arm was kept close to the body, either holding up his garments or some sort of droopy object, like a bag.

Self-slipped with some very light traces of red paint next to the right leg. Some possible dark pigment extant on the upper left thigh.

Moldmade. This particular fragment seems to have been attached to something else.

The fabric is hard with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Small silvery mica inclusions are abundant.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 21, 59, no. 507, pl. 11, a farce actor dating to the second century C.E.

F49 E 837.95 S 399 \*182.47

Roman fill.

Before 17 C.E.

## 220 Actor's head

Pl. 48

T64.024: 6214

P.H.: 0.046

P.W.: 0.036

P.D.: 0.027

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is extant. Missing everything below the neck and part of the right side of his hair. Facial features are slightly worn.

The head of a male actor wearing a mask. His hair is straight but frames the face down to the chin with slight waves; it puffs up a bit just beyond the forehead and around the face, and then comes back down to the head. On top of the head, the hair seems to be parted in the middle by two incised lines. Narrow forehead, rectangular, and wrinkled. Round, thin, protruding eyebrows above very long and slightly narrow, almond-shaped eyes. The upper and lower lids were indicated. Long nose, a bit wider than usual, but not knobby or round. Large nostrils are pierced through. The mouth is completely open with no lips; its corners go up while the center comes down. A small, distinct chin comes down to the neck at an almost perpendicular angle. The neck is broad, but not abnormally so. His overall expression is pained.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth; no inclusions apparent.

Fabric: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red. Slip: Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

HoB E 68-70 S 159-160 \*109.1-108.7  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **221 Nose**

Pl. 48  
T90.008: 9768

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.034  
P.D.: 0.031  
Th.: 0.004

Only the nose and upper lip are extant. Scratched and accreted.

A life-size naturalistic nose and part of an upper lip. Could have been part of a mask. Beautiful and straight, could be considered slightly bulbous with long nostrils. The lip is full. Perhaps a medical votive.

White ground extant all over, including on the interior or backside. A pink pigment is visible on the lip.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is a bit crude, but perhaps due to weathering. Core fired to a dark gray.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly. Fine golden mica inclusions are common; some varied grog seems to be present as well.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/4, reddish brown.

MMS/S E 100-101 S 100-102  
Topsoil.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **222 Hindquarters of quadruped**

Pl. 49  
T11.062: 12935

P.H.: 0.060  
P.L.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.004

Only one half is extant, and then only the hind leg and rump. The tail has broken off.

The hindquarters of a large quadruped, either a bull or a horse. The right side of its body is extant; difficult to determine if this was the front or the back of the figurine. The tail, now damaged, is fused to the body. It seems like the "empty space" in between the hindquarters and forequarters would have been solid, as in relief plaques.

Self-slipped. Some white ground also extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Some fingerprints visible on the interior.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 62-65 S 146 \*108.5

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 223 Crouching goat

Pl. 49  
T11.057: 12930

P.H.: 0.075  
P.L.: 0.064  
Th.: 0.006

Missing the head, much of the right side of the body, and the backside of the animal.

The body of a crouching goat. The right side of the body is better preserved, but seems to have been the side that would have faced away from the viewer; still, it was not left entirely plain. The muscles of the neck and foreleg were rendered plastically, as well as the detail of the cleft foot. Running down parallel to the neck are the goat's long horns. The goat seems to be crouching on a shallow base, almost a ground line. The left side of the body, of which only the neck remains, seems to have been the front of the figurine. The texture of its fur was worked onto this side with short incised strokes. The scar of the missing head suggests that it faced this side as well.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are hackly. Some grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB W 3-11 S 117-124 to \*100.3

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 224 Turtle

Pl. 49  
NoEx73.019

P.L.: 0.061  
W. at shoulder: 0.044  
H. of head: 0.020  
Th.: 0.056

Missing everything behind the front flippers. Some flakes off the surface and features worn, but otherwise fine.

The head and fore quarters of a sea turtle or other similar animal. Its head has a pointed beak, with the upper part of the open mouth much longer than the bottom. A tongue seems to have been indicated. Two large round eyes protrude off the top of the head. The head then dips into a short neck and later rises into the hump of the shell. Pointed flippers at either side. The right flipper has been broken off, but the left flipper seems to be complete. There does not appear to be much modeling of detail; perhaps these were indicated by paint.

White ground extant all over, including the interior. Perhaps the white ground was applied before the two halves of the figure were joined.

Moldmade and hollow.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks look hackly. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 225 Column on pedestal

Pl. 50  
T67.016: 7510

P.H.: 0.050  
H. of lower base: 0.032  
H. of upper base: 0.008  
P.W.: 0.026  
P.D.: 0.031  
Th.: 0.004

Only one corner remains, likely the proper right front corner. The figure above it is missing.

A square or rectangular pedestal with additional base on its top, possibly for a column. The pedestal has plain faces, with upraised and rounded upper and lower edges. Above it, an additional square or rectangular base, with at least the front face decorated with two parallel horizontal grooves. Above this, a shallow ring base.

White ground extant all over, including the bottom part of the interior. Some traces of red paint visible on the exterior. The interior was also painted red.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is not very smooth but it was painted. The back was possibly left completely open.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Syn E 34.64-39.60 N 7.50-9 \*94.14

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 226 Base

Pl. 50  
T59.037a: 2089

P.H.: 0.018  
P.W.: 0.098  
P.D.: 0.065  
Th.: 0.005

Only one end is extant. The figure above it, if indeed there was one, is missing. Some signs of burning on the edges.

A long rectangular platform with stepped molded base. Could have served as the base for a figure, but no signs of one are extant on the surface.

Faint traces of white ground extant on the surface.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The interior is tidy, but not nice enough for it to have functioned as a proper lid.

Hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Micaceous surface. Core almost black.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

HoB E 80 S 200 ca. \*115.38  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 227 Kline

Pl. 50  
T59.046: 2054

P.H.: 0.46  
P.W.: 0.074  
P.D.: 0.062  
Th.: 0.006

Only the proper left corner is extant. The surface is flaking off. Some signs of burning.

What seems to be the head of a kline. Its reclining surface is concave and probably held a (now missing) figure. The base's front seems to be covered by fabric, rendered by somewhat irregular diagonal grooves. The head proper has only two vertical grooves near the ends.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Completely open at the bottom. Surface detail rendered with a thick-tipped tool. The mold was filled by hand; small fingerprints still discernible on the underside.

Fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 150, no. MYR 402, pl. 186, b, different, but a votive bed with a mattress; rendered in perspective, so more likely a votive than a toy.

HoB E 80 S 200 to \*119.68  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 228 Flowers

Pl. 50  
T62.036: 4701

P.L.: 0.039  
P.W.: 0.032

Only a bouquet is extant; missing at least one flower or leaf.

A miniature bunch of flowers. Long stems twisted into a solid mass and terminating in a delicately modeled bouquet of leaves and flowers. At least six leaves, with the detail of the midrib and veins indicated. One small flower at the corner, rendered as a small circle surrounded by six others. Something is now missing at the top center: another flower? Opposite the extant flower, the remains of something else: a piece of drapery?

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and solid. The stems were rolled and twisted by hand.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

RT E 80 S 7.5 \*95.2

Hellenistic/Roman.

## 229 Miniature lidded cooking pot

Pl. 50  
NoEx68.018

P.H.: 0.024  
Diam.: 0.019

Complete and in good condition, although a bit accreted.

A tiny stew pot and lid. Globular cook pot with a rounded bottom and everted rim. The lid is attached, and has a pointed knob for a handle. The piece cannot stand unaided. Perhaps a toy or a grave good for a child.

Some very light traces of white ground extant on the surface.

Handmade and solid. Partial fingerprint visible at the handle.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Found and presented by Ahmet Aydin. From his father's field, up river.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **230 Aphrodite?**

Pl. 51

T60.026: 2754

P.H.: 0.159

W. at elbows: 0.067

W. at hips: 0.030

L. of feet: 0.023

An almost complete figurine, mended from at least four fragments. The head and feet had to be reattached; the rest seems fine. The left hand is missing; so are the toes of the left foot. Much of the surface "skin" has flaked off. Facial features are well preserved, if rather crude.

A nude, standing woman. Her head is turned almost entirely to the left, and cocked slightly to the right. Somewhat awkward looking, possibly due to its modern reconstruction. Her hair is parted at the middle, descending in stiff, wavy plaits down the sides of her face; it is then tied back at the nape of her neck with a simple thin strip of fabric represented by a scored line. The result is a rectangular, loose pony tail. Her forehead is small and triangular. Eyebrows are suggested by sunken eyes, but

not modeled in relief. The eyes appear wide open, with both lids softly modeled, and the pupil indicated by a round indentation. The nose is straight and fine with nostrils indicated. The cheeks give the appearance of being sunken in. The mouth has plump lips, is straight and closed, as is positioned very close to the nose. The chin is small and round and it meets the neck at a nice angle; it is not perfectly straight, but it does not slope down greatly, nor does it give the impression of a jowl. The neck is neither elegant nor too thick. No ears are visible. The head seems slightly too small for the body. Rounded, sloping shoulders, not very attractive. The arms are pulled away from the body and bent at the elbows; the left is held perpendicular to the body, while the right has its elbow pointing down. The right hand is closed, with fingers distinctly modeled; a small hole indicates that she was holding something. Her breasts are small and seem handmade. Her left leg is engaged, with the right leg bent at the knee; the effect is an uncomfortable contrapposto, with the hip pushed away from the chest a bit too strongly to the left. Modeling of the back is minimal, with the groove of the spine shown, and buttocks indicated. Her upper thighs are molded as a single unit, but then separate just below knees. The ankles are graceful, but the feet are functional rather than beautiful; they are bare, with toes rendered in relief. An Anadyomene variant of Aphrodite?

Some very small traces of white ground extant on the back. Some yellow pigment visible on the straight hair on top of the head.

Moldmade in multiple plaster molds; hollow body, solid limbs. The weight is well distributed, so that the figure can stand unassisted. The torso was retouched after removal from its mold, with some detail

rendered in intaglio technique. The join seams were well concealed.

The fabric is soft and smooth. Breaks seem laminar. Micaceous. Some small grog inclusions also present but not as overwhelmingly as the mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *Myrina*, 15, fig. 9, an Aphrodite Anadyomene by Menophilos, fully dressed.

PC \*91.20

Tomb D. Found with **231**.

Late first to early second century C.E.

### **231 Horse and rider**

Pl. 51

T60.025ab: 2753

H of horse and rider: 0.134

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| Rider:     | Horse:     |
| H.: 0.092  | H.: 0.088  |
| W.: 0.035  | L.: 0.123  |
| D.: 0.037  | W.: 0.035  |
| Th.: 0.007 | Th.: 0.008 |

Both figures have been mended from several pieces. The horse is complete, and so is the rider, but for her right hand and both feet. Surface features are badly worn, specially on the rider. The clay is very soft, as if poorly baked. Fragments continuously flaked off until consolidated with an adhesive; in fact, much of the surface detail is missing due to flaking rather than wearing down. The horse seems sturdier than the rider; perhaps they were baked separately.

A saddled horse ridden by a woman. The woman sits side-saddle, with arms next to the body and hands extended out. The left

hand has crudely modeled fingers that seem poised to hold something. Her hair rises slightly above her forehead and around her face, and then is pulled down and back in distinct waves into a large, circular chignon. Her facial features are completely worn, but a projecting nose is still discernible. Her torso is flat, and continues down onto a flat lap and legs that seem fused together. She seems to wear some sort of long garment. The horse seems better crafted. He is standing, not walking. His legs are fused together both at front and at back. His head is turned to his right (towards the viewer). Other features are hard to ascertain, other than large, deep-set, and possibly downturned eyes. It seems that his mane is short and that his ears fall slightly to the back. He wears a bridle around the muzzle and a harness that goes back to the front part of the saddle. The saddle has a high part in the front but not at back; a carpet or fringed textile decorates it. A harness continues back from the saddle and goes around the horse's behind. He has a skinny tail that lies flat against his body. His overall expression is gentle. The modeling of the horse is quite beautiful, although also quite impersonal, whereas the woman seems to have been formed partly by hand.

Some white ground extant on both figures. There are also some traces of yellow pigment near the rider's waist.

Moldmade in separate plaster molds. The horse is hollow, while the rider feels solid. The horse is worked in the round, although more attention was given to the modeling of the front (its proper right side). The rider has some features indicated in the back (like her hair), but was mostly left plain. The join seams on the rider were flattened but are still quite visible. The join seams on the horse are better hidden.

Very soft fabric with a powdery to smooth feel. Breaks are laminar. Mica inclusions present all over.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Louvre II*, 84, no. CA 2217, pl. 102, c., dated to the end of the first century B.C.E.

PC \*91.20

Tomb D. Found with **230**.

Late first to early second century C.E.

### **232 Standing figure on base**

Pl. 52

T61.074: 3699

P.H.: 0.029

H. of base: 0.019

W. of base: 0.027

D. of base: 0.022

Th.: 0.003

The base is complete and in good condition but for a hole on the front face, and a chip off the back left corner. The figure on top is broken off just above the feet.

A small rectangular base with a standing figurine. The base is plain on all sides, except at the back which has an incised inscription or signature: Δ I. Two tiny bare feet stand apart on top of the base. Wavy folds of fabric fall in between the feet, while a smoother cloth drapes around them. Separate and delicate modeling of the toes; quite charming. A standing goddess? The delta and iota are very similar in form to those used by the coroplast Diphilos from Myrina (20-70 C.E.) to sign his miniature reproductions of famous bronzes.

The sides of the base are painted red. The front face of the base and the figure standing

upon it are covered in white. The back was left plain.

Moldmade and hollow.

Very hard and smooth fabric. Breaks are smooth; some small golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. Signature similar to *Louvre II*, 204, no.

MYRINA 671, pl. 239, f, and others.

For information on Diphilos, see *Myrina*, 7-16, and *Louvre II*, 201-223.

HoB W 0-5 S 110 \*101.40

First century C.E. Import, from Myrina.

### **233 Apollo Musagetes**

Pl. 52

T92.002: 9963

P.H.: 0.093

P.W.: 0.037

Max. D.: 0.026

Th.: 0.006

Mended from at least six fragments. Missing the head, arms and feet, as well as some parts of his body.

An Apollo Musagetes, standing, dressed in a long chiton with rounded neckline, wide belt, and full skirt. The chiton falls in soft vertical pleats that allow the easy appreciation of the shape of his body underneath. He has a small chest and a slightly protruding stomach. His weight is on his right leg with the left knee bent, creating the appearance that he is swaying forward with the grace of a dancer. A small lump of clay indicates that he wore his long hair loose down to the shoulders. His arms

were most likely held away from the body.

White ground is extant on the surface, as well as some pink paint on the skirt. A small patch of red pigment is visible on the chest.

Moldmade and hollow, although quite heavy. The arms should have been solid. Thick and irregular walls. A round "vent" hole was placed at mid back; this half was not modeled, and is in fact a bit rough.

Very hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly to granular. A few specs of small varied grog and fine golden mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 314, no. 27, fig. 214, from a Roman context. Also see a marble sculpture of Apollo Musagetes in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Muses Hall, Inv. 310; in Bieber 1961, 235, ill. 781.

MMS E 95.87 S 91.84 \*102  
Moist, bricky Roman dump layer.

First to second century C.E.

### **234 Young Dionysus**

Pl. 52  
T92.001: 9939

P.H.: 0.090  
P.W.: 0.037  
Th.: 0.003

Only the front half is preserved; missing the head, arms, and legs from the lower thigh down. Chipped and accreted.

The torso of a standing man, partially cloaked. Slender young man with nipped in waist. Hair in long curls preserved at the right shoulder. The overlapping folds of a

cloak drape across his upper chest and down its right side, leaving most of the chest and genitals exposed; might have covered the bottom of the right leg. Small, rounded pectorals; soft, pouch of a stomach with a clear navel; rounded hip and thigh. The right leg crosses in front of the left. The arms were probably raised or otherwise kept away from the body. A somewhat exaggerated arch towards the right suggests lively movement. Likely a young Dionysus.

A small trace of white ground is extant on the drapery.

Moldmade and hollow. Clean interior. The modeling of detail and the finishing of the surface seem to have been very nice.

Hard fabric with a now roughened feel; should have been smooth originally. Small varied grog and small silvery mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 49, no. 234, pl. 6, a Dionysus leaning on a grapevine, dated to the third century C.E., before 267. *Tarsus I*, 317, no. 55, fig. 217, a young Dionysus, dated to the first century B.C.E.

MMS E 97.6 S 82.89 \*103.905  
Loose, ashy Roman dump layer.

First to second century C.E.

### **235 Young Dionysus**

Pl. 52  
T83.016: 8818

P.H.: 0.056  
P.W.: 0.026  
Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved; missing most of the body, including the head, arms, and legs. Chipped.

The torso of a young male, standing, partly draped. He is wearing a nebris fastened on the right shoulder, covering chest, and falling down its left side. His body seems twisted in an exaggerated curve, with a raised right hip. Likely a young Dionysus.

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean and smooth with some visible fingerprints. Plaster mold likely.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Fine varied grog seems rare, while there are a few specs of the very fine golden mica.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 317, no. 56, fig. 217, from a Roman fill. *Sculpture*, 109, no. 118, figs. 244-245, a Hadrianic satyr, same pose, nebris draped in opposite direction.

MMS/S ca. E 93.37 S 118.79 ca. \*108.5  
South of south face of wall 1.

First to second century C.E.

### **236 Young Dionysus**

Pl. 52  
T11.040: 12903

P.H.: 0.077  
P.W.: 0.029  
Th.: 0.004

Missing the head, arms, legs, left flank, and back. The surface is flaking off. Accreted

interior and breaks.

A long, sinuous, nude torso of what seems to be a standing youth. His right hip is raised. Light pectorals; detail of navel still visible. Likely a young Dionysus.

Some white ground extant on the chest.

Moldmade and hollow. Very thin walls.

The fabric is soft and powdery. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 49, no. 234, pl. 6, a Dionysus leaning on a grapevine, dated to the third century C.E., before 267. *Agora VI*, 74, no. 941, pl. 26, a young Dionysus, dated to the first half of the third century.

HoB E 10 S 100 \*101.5-100  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to second century C.E.

### **237 Young Dionysus**

Pl. 52  
T87.007: 9483

P.H.: 0.059  
P.W.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is present, and then preserved from the waist down to the knee only. Weathered.

A partly draped male, standing in a slight contrapposto. His left leg seems to stride forward; his weight is on the right, with right hip higher up than the left. A nebris or other cloak falls diagonally from below the

left shoulder to his right hip. More fabric seems to hang straight down from the left shoulder to the left thigh. The genitals are exposed. Likely a young Dionysus.

Self-slipped. Some traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are hackly. Small varied grog inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 317, no. 56, fig. 217, from a Roman fill. *Sculpture*, 109, no. 118, figs. 244-245, a Hadrianic satyr with nebris.

ByzFort ca. E 690 ca. S 332 \*182.43

First to second century C.E.

### 238 Young Dionysus

Pl. 52

T61.026: 3317

P.H.: 0.053

P.W.: 0.027

Th. at ankle: 0.004

Only part of the stomach, genitals, left leg (broken off at ankle) and hand are extant.

The figural plaque of a nude, standing male, probably Dionysus. Rounded stomach with a pleasant navel. A fringed cape seems to fall over his left shoulder down to the knee, and is pulled away to the hip by a gentle hand, exposing the genitals. Vine branches with grapes (represented by recessed dots) seem to be growing behind the figure. Above these, the head of a goat?

Some red pigment extant on the calf. The back seems to have been fully painted red as well.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look hackly. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 49, no. 236, pl. 6, a plaque of Dionysus, standing, with fringed drapery over the left shoulder, and grapes or a goat at his side; dated to the third century C.E., before 267.

HoB E 10-5 S 110 to \*101.50  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 239 Bacchus

Pl. 53

T62.008: 4260

P.H.: 0.037

P.W.: 0.028

Th.: 0.007

A few locks of hair, the left half of the forehead, the left eye, nose, left cheek and mustache are extant. The surface is slightly pockmarked but otherwise in good condition.

A man's face, probably Bacchus, looking forward. What seems to be wind-swept wavy hair, is separated from a horizontally wrinkled forehead by a clearly incised line. Rounded, protruding eyebrow above almond-shaped eye. A thin upper lid is indicated in higher relief than a slightly thicker lower lid. A pupil seems to have been indicated. The short nose is slightly

bulbous and broad at the bottom. What looks like a big, wavy mustache would have taken up most of the cheek and lies right below the eye. May be a figural attachment for a vessel rather than a figurine proper.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow, if a figurine. Core baked to a light gray.

Soft fabric with a powdery feel. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are frequent on the surface. Some very small grog inclusions are present as well.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. A handle with the head of Dionysus or a satyr from Sardis, now in the Manisa Museum, no. 7813. Also, other figural attachments with the head of Bacchus, as *Pottery ROM*, 32-33, no. 151, pl. 19.

HoB W 23-26 S 85-90 \*99.5  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

First century C.E.

### **240 Serapis?**

Pl. 53  
T61.019: 3287

P.H.: 0.046  
P.W.: 0.054  
Max. D: 0.021

Missing everything below the nose as well as the right side of the face.

A man's head with a conical headdress and perhaps an ivy wreath. Finely incised hair is parted in the middle, and flows back away from a large triangular forehead. Above, and receding from the front line of the hair, there

is a band with a wreath that is faintly visible. Further on top, there is an overhanging border with very faint stamped leaves. Beyond and to the left of the man's hair, the figure is further embellished with leaves. The eyes have both upper and lower lids modeled, the detail of pupil and iris indicated, and slightly downturned brows. A fine straight nose with incised nostrils sits above a finely modeled mouth. Most of the mouth is missing, but a mustache seems to be indicated in intaglio technique. The resulting expression is that of contained anguish. Perhaps a Serapis with modius?

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and solid. Finely modeled at the front, but the back was left unfinished as if the clay was pressed into a single-sided mold without any retouching. Some odd vertical tool scratches on the lumpy back. Core baked to a dark gray. Heavy.

Medium hard fabric with a coarse to grainy feel. Breaks are laminar to hackly. Fine silvery mica inclusions are frequent. Small, gray rounded inclusions (grog?) are also frequent.

Munsell 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 338, no. 203, fig. 232, a Serapis.

HoB E 10 S 95-100 to \*99.60  
Lydian Trench, Hellenistic Level.

Second to third century C.E.

## 241 Serapis

Pl. 53  
T97.044: 10799

P.H.: 0.066  
P.W.: 0.037  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is present, and then missing the top of the modius, everything below the beard, and parts of the beard itself. Distressed with facial features worn.

The head of Serapis wearing a modius, staring forward. The modius seems to have had some relief decoration. His hair is unkempt, with a lumpy beard and mustache. A short forehead above sunken eyes. Straight nose above the mustache and an almost invisible mouth. His expression is passive. This could have been part of a small flask with the opening at the top of the modius.

Traces of white ground extant all over the exterior.

Partly moldmade and hollow. The beard and hair clumps were formed by hand.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are mostly granular. Micaceous.

Surface: Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown. Interior: Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

MD2 E 525-532 N 357-360 \*88.60-88.25

First to second century C.E.

## 242 Man's head with wreath, Hermes?

Pl. 53  
T92.006: 10021

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.030  
Th. at neck: 0.008

Only the front half is preserved; missing everything below the neck. Worn facial features. Chipped.

The head of a man wearing a wreath or a broad-brimmed hat. Could be a woman but the size of the wreath or hat, and the shortness of the neck, suggest maleness. Short hair is kept close to the head. Broad face, looking forward. Large, round chin meets the short neck almost perpendicularly. Perhaps a Hermes wearing a petasus.

Some white ground extant on the face.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely. Multiple fingerprints are extant on the interior; one very prominent one is visible at the neck. Core baked to a dark gray.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. The break at the neck looks a bit hackly. Fine golden mica inclusions are present but rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 72, no. 2, pl. V, a Herakles dated first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. *Troy*, 73, no. 4, pl. V, a Hermes. dated to the first or second century C.E.

MMS E 90.88-94.50 S 93-97 \*100-69-101.15  
Roman fill.

First to second century C.E.

### 243 Hermes

Pl. 53

T98.003: 11036

P.H.: 0.069

P.W.: 0.056

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing the head, both arms beyond the shoulders, and the lower body below the hips.

The torso of a man, standing, partly nude but attired with a chlamys. The chlamys is attached at the right shoulder and drapes over the left. The right arm is raised; difficult to tell where the left arm would have gone, but it seems to have been kept low. Beautiful modeling of the muscles of the stomach with a navel indicated; a pleasure to the touch. Strength and grace are simultaneously conveyed. Perhaps Hermes or a young hero.

Self-slipped. Above this, there are heavy traces of white ground.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is nice and smooth with even walls. Some fingerprints extant. Core burnt gray. Very fine modeling and finishing of the surface.

Medium hard fabric with an ever so slightly rough feel. Breaks are hackly. A few specs of fine golden mica.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. Similar in manliness and attire (though not in pose) to *Tarsus I*, 333, nos. 169 and 170, fig. 228. Both of these are Hermes, and come from Roman contexts. Also similar to a marble sculpture of Antinous as Androklos killing the boar, now in the Izmir

Archaeological Museum, Inv. 45; in Inan and Rosenbaum 1970, 73, no. 37, pl. 24.

MD2

Found by workmen while back-filling trench.

First to second century C.E.

### 244 Man's leg, Hermes?

Pl. 53

T03.030: 11772

P.H.: 0.069

P.W.: 0.031

Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is present, and then only from above the ankle to just above the knee. Lightly accreted.

The right (?) leg of a man, perhaps Hermes. What looks like a winged boot preserved on the area above the ankle. Either muscles or a cape are indicated near the knee on the side of the thighs. Must have been a large impressive figurine as the leg it is well modeled and of a significant size.

Faint traces of white ground extant near the thigh at left. Some red paint visible on the areas of the knee and boot.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean, shallow, and with even walls. The modeling of the front was carefully done.

Hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are mostly smooth to granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

MMS/S E 119.7-121.5 S 148.85-152  
\*109.7-109.05

Collapse.

First to second century C.E.

**245 Man's chest, Hercules?**

Pl. 54

T90.012: 9784

P.H.: 0.036

P.W.: 0.031

Th.: 0.004

Only extant from the lower part of the neck to just below the pectorals. Missing the sides and arms.

The upper torso of a muscular man, nude except for a cloak (perhaps a very simple lion cloak). Hercules? Linear style; muscular chest indicated by shorthand incisions.

A very small trace of white ground is extant on the chest.

Moldmade and hollow.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. One very large piece of golden mica (0.10 cm).

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

AT

Base #38 (South 13th) foundations.

First to third century C.E.

**246 Hercules' club**

Pl. 54

T61.001: 3140

P.L.: 0.073

Diam.: 0.020-0.017

Only one fragment is extant. Broken at one, possibly both, ends.

A tapering rod, circular in section. Circular knobs decorate three fourths of the figure, leaving the back plain. Hercules' club?

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid. Core baked to a dark gray.

The fabric is hard-fired and rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 327, no. 134, fig. 224; and 329, no. 151, fig. 225. Both from Roman fills.

HoB W 5-10 S 100

Surface find.

First to second century C.E.

**247 Zeus?**

Pl. 54

T97.036: 10772

P.H.: 0.054

W. at shoulders: 0.031

P.W. at arms: 0.041

Max. D.: 0.021

Th. of left shoulder: 0.012

Missing the head, left arm from the shoulder on, the right arm from just above the elbow down, the left leg from the upper thigh down, and the right leg from just above the knee down.

The body of a nude man, standing with limbs outstretched. His right arm is raised to shoulder level, while the legs are spread in a wide stance. The back is extended in an

arching curve that emphasizes the exaggerated roundness of his buttocks. Both the muscles of the front and those of the back have been carefully modeled, but those of the chest and stomach are almost shorthand, and not as naturalistic as those of the back. Linear style at front. The overall impression is of a powerful and lively being, who might not be as graceful as he is excited. Artemision Zeus variant?

Self-slipped. Some small traces of white ground remain above the slip on the right arm, and above this, some large patches of red paint, mostly on the front, but also on the sides and upper back of the figurine.

Moldmade and hollow with solid limbs. Feels somewhat heavier than expected. The join seams are visible but clean. The back half seems smaller than the front, but it was carefully modeled. Core burnt to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look either granular or smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions seem rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. Artemision Bronze in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, no. Br. 15161; in Kaltsas 2002, 92, no. 159.

MD2 E 525-536.5 N 357-358.5 \*88.15  
Roman dump.

First to third century C.E.

## 248 Satyr's head

Pl. 54

T60.015: 2581

P.H., including knob: 0.055

P.W.: 0.037

Max. D.: 0.028

Th.: 0.004

The knob on top of the head is broken, otherwise it is probably complete.

The figural lid of a lamp or other receptacle with a knob with broken hole at the top. It depicts the head of a satyr, facing forward. Finely incised hair goes up from the horizontally wrinkled forehead and towards the back of the head. He has thick, furrowed eyebrows above eyes with heavy upper and lower lids, and distinct pupils. Knob-like and broad nose with visible nostrils. Round cheeks. The mouth has full parted lips that curl up a bit at the corners as in a menacing growl. Perhaps some teeth are showing. His ears are pointy and pointed upwards towards the forehead. The chin is round and distinct and has a small dimple at its center. His overall expression is either angry or mischievous.

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Would have had no back. The underside is clean and regular. Carefully made.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Gordion*, 18, no. 35, pl. 11.

HoB E 10 S 95 \*102

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to second century C.E.

### **249 Centaur?**

Pl. 54

T78.001: 8394

P.H.: 0.064

W. at shoulders: 0.030

P.L.: 0.045

Th. at back leg: 0.010

Difficult to tell exactly what is missing since this is such an odd piece. Extant: head, neck, left shoulder and top of arm, chest, waist, and the front part of the horse's body if indeed a centaur. The surface seems to have been mostly rough and unfinished originally, but has certainly been distressed further.

An odd-looking bearded man or centaur. His proper left profile resembles that of a centaur, except that the horse's trunk would appear very short, and would join with the human torso in an unusual manner. His right profile is lumpy, as if the clay was just pressed into a single-sided mold. The head is, by contrast to the body, fine, with curly hair represented by small lumps worked in relief. The face is flat, with rounded, slightly protruding eyebrows that frame large, staring, sunken eyes, and which continue, uninterrupted, to form a short straight nose. The mouth is rendered by one short, incised line that is slightly downturned. Broad cheeks and chin covered by a textured beard. Big, c-shaped ears jut out from the head. His chest is twisted to the left, while the head, also facing left, is slightly tilted to the right.

White ground extant all over the exterior; some red pigment visible around the eyes. The face and chest seem to have been painted light pink; the hair is yellow.

Only partially moldmade; most sculpting was done by hand and much of the surface detail was rendered in intaglio technique. The treatment of the back was minimal. Solid.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are hackly. Very small grog and fine golden mica inclusions are frequent on the surface.

The surface seems to be a dull, medium gray, but the interior is bright red. Surface: Munsell: 5YR 6/3, light reddish brown. Interior: Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. A much nicer example from *Priene*, 490, no. 262, pl. 110, dated to before 135 B.C.E.

Published: *BASOR* 245 (1982), 21, figs. 23, 24.

MMS/S E 113.60 S 110.90 \*103.57  
Mixed Lydian-Roman debris just above Lydian layers.

First to second century C.E.

### **250 Woman's head**

Pl. 55

T11.022: 12848

P.H.: 0.045

P.W.: 0.030

Th. of wall: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the neck. Her facial features are somewhat blurry.

The head of a woman, cocked to the right. Her hair is parted at the middle and then pulled away from the face in loose wavy locks, revealing small round earrings. A thin fillet seems to have adorned the hair at the

very top. Short, triangular forehead rests above squinty eyes with particularly heavy eyelids. The nose seems broad yet straight, with nostrils indicated. Small mouth has bowed lips and a somewhat sour arrangement. A pointed chin meets a long, graceful neck almost perpendicularly. At least one “ring of Venus” rendered in intaglio technique. The back was likely not modeled as the preserved sides are already smooth. Linear style.

Some white ground extant, mostly within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is smooth with regular walls. Much of the detail (e.g. “ring of Venus”) is rendered in intaglio technique.

Soft fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks are granular to smooth. Generic grog is frequent to common; fine silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 52, no. 334, pl. 8; Early Roman but in the Hellenistic tradition.

EHT \* -60 ground

First century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

### **251 Woman’s head**

Pl. 55

T67.006: 7356

P.H.: 0.046

P.W.: 0.031

Th.: 0.007

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the neck. Her

facial features are extremely worn, and the surface is stained.

The head of a woman, staring forward. Her hair is parted in the middle with wavy locks falling over the ears, but still revealing bulbous teardrop earrings. A very short forehead rests above what could have been regular features but are now worn and misshapen. The eyes might have had both lids modeled, the nose now seems large, and the mouth was small, closed and high within the face. A heavy chin slopes down onto a straight neck.

Some very light traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely.

Soft fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are weathered, and thus seem smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 52, no. 334, pl. 8; Early Roman but in the Hellenistic tradition.

AhT W 2.75 S 54.10 \*ca. 50 centimeters below surface

First century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

### **252 Woman’s head**

Pl. 55

T79.001: 8414

P.H.: 0.030

P.W.: 0.022

P.D.: 0.027

Th. at neck: 0.012

Missing everything below the neck; some facial features are worn and the surface is pockmarked and distressed.

The head of a woman, looking to the left. Her hair is combed back away from the face in soft waves, and possibly braided over the ears and along the nape where it is gathered in a round chignon. Somewhat squashed features, all rendered in intaglio technique. Almond-shaped eyes are downturned. Broad nose with flattened tip, shaped like a triangle. Thick lips form a half smiling mouth. The head's depth is out of proportion with the size of the face.

Some very light traces of white ground are extant.

Moldmade and seemingly solid, although a shallow hole on the head's right side might indicate at least partial hollowness. Careless craftsmanship; the two halves were not aligned properly, the join seams were not hidden, and her facial features were summarily incised. The join seams lie at or behind the ear area. Plaster mold likely. Heavy for its size.

Medium hard fabric with a somewhat rough feel. Break at neck looks granular. Generic grog seems frequent; small silvery mica inclusions are extremely rare.

Munsell: 5YR 7/4, pink.

MMS/S E 114-115 S 112.50-113  
\*103.15

First to second century C.E. An import?

## 253 Woman's head

Pl. 55  
T59.044: 2019

P.H.: 0.032  
P.W.: 0.025  
P.D.: 0.025  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Both the back and front are present, but it is missing everything below neck. Her facial features are worn; the left side of the hair is missing.

The head of a woman with a slight gaze upward. Her hair at front seems to have been short and curly, and is indicated by large round circles modeled in relief and adjacent each other. The texture of the hair at back is suggested by hasty incisions.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow, although heavy. The detailing of the hair at back was done haphazardly with a scraping tool. The join seam was flattened without concern for the preservation of surface detail or the balance of the design; it runs from the right, from behind the ear area, to the left, right up to the face.

Soft fabric with a smooth and powdery feel. Breaks look granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are frequent on the surface, but rare on the breaks.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 80 S 200 ca. \*121.13  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

First to second century C.E.

## 254 Human head

Pl. 55  
T11.025: 12876

P.H.: 0.020  
P.W.: 0.017  
Th.: 0.003

Only the face remains, and it is then chipped along the edges. The piece might have been a relief plaque, but otherwise it is missing its back half as well. Worn.

The head of a human, facing forward. Male? His hair is short and kept close to the head, and is represented by one row of relief circles. Short, triangular forehead gives way to prominent, rounded eyebrows. The eyes below seem to be closed tightly, with thick, upper and lower eyelids modeled. A triangular nose is now flat and straight. The mouth appears to have begun just below nose, but is now practically gone. Small, pointed chin slopes down to neck at more than a 45-degree angle. The face is oval; its overall expression, even despite the lack in clarity of its features, is smiley.

Slight traces of white ground extant by the left cheek.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Thin, even walls.

Hard and smooth fabric with smooth looking breaks. Finely levigated with rare grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

F49 E 844.2-843.14 S 394.09-394.83

Grave fill, Lot 8/10 Graves, top level.

First to second century C.E.

## 255 Bust portraits

Pl. 55  
T92.005: 10001

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.051  
Th.: 0.003

Most of the back is missing, as well as the bottom of the figurine. Weathered with worn facial features.

A group composition with two framed busts, side by side. Trapezoidal frame with rounded corners and fairly smooth, undecorated sides. Within it, a man sits on the right, while a woman is at his left. Their facial features are worn, so gender identification is based, loosely, on the condition of the chests of the figures; the faces and hairdos, in fact, look very similar. Both figures look forward, and yet seem quite connected to each other. A married couple? Below the trapezoidal frame, a smooth, recessed surface, now broken, seems to have mirrored the shape of the portraits above.

Significant amounts of white ground extant at front, top and sides, but not on back. Moldmade and hollow. The back was left plain. The join seams were concealed.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks are hackly. Small golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

MMS/S E 114.85 S 155.70 \*106.48  
Ash layer.

First century C.E.?

## 256 Matrona as Venus

Pl. 56

T67.014: 7495

P.H.: 0.244

W. elbow to elbow: 0.091

W. at hips: 0.047

D. at stomach: 0.032

D. of head: 0.037

L. of foot: 0.035

An almost complete figure, missing its left foot. The head and arms were reattached, possibly awkwardly. Some scratches on the surface, but otherwise nice to the touch.

A Roman matrona in the guise of Venus, standing, nude but for the left leg. Her head is tilted upwards slightly, and she looks towards her proper left. She wears her hair in a typical Flavian or Trajanic hairdo, in this case, rendered with three rows of relief circles and adorned with a plain diadem at the top. The back was left plain, but the square shape of the bun makes the hairdo unmistakable. Regular face with eyes carefully modeled; pupils indicated. Elongated nose and thin, downturned mouth close to it. A graceful neck connects the small head to a larger body; unlike the head, the body is fully frontal. Small, rounded breasts on a small upper torso, with arms held away from it. Both arms are bent at the elbows, and held almost in a formal dancing posture. Her hands are kept closed, as if holding on to something. A small waist gives way to a rounded stomach and generous hips. She stands with her right leg engaged and her left leg bent at the knee; the pose is not entirely comfortable. The left leg is partially draped, with cascading folds that give the impression that they might fall at any moment. The naturalistic draping gives some movement to an otherwise awkward figure. The one extant foot, with its

unattractive shape and size, swiftly counteracts the effect. Some minimal modeling of the spine and buttocks at back.

Self-slipped. Some traces of white ground extant on the legs.

Moldmade in multiple plaster molds; hollow body, solid limbs. Heavy. The join seam at the head goes along the edge of her high coiffure; modeling stops behind the seam. Other joins were better concealed.

Fabric is hard and very smooth, almost greasy. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. Very similar to a figure found in a grave in Dunderli, pictured in *Pergamon*, pl. 102, no. 2; same position of arms and drapery style; hair in similar arrangement, but rendered differently. See also D'Ambra 1996.

AhT W 6.41 S 49.10

Burial AhT 67.32. Found with the head separated from the body.

Late first century C.E. or later.

## 257 Woman's head

Pl. 56

T61.075: 3707

P.H.: 0.059

P.W.: 0.041

P.D.: 0.038

Th. of neck: 0.016

Missing everything below the neck. The upper left section of the hair is also missing. The right eye, most of the forehead and some of the hair has been chipped off.

The head of a woman, slanted slightly to the left, with a Flavian or Trajanic hairdo. Her crown of curls is interestingly rendered: alternating high and low ridges radiate from the face, with the three high ones separated into small rectangles by incised lines. The back of the crown was left plain. The rest of the hair is braided into narrow rows and then gathered into a looped bun at the back of the head. Draped over and looped around the bun there seems to be a veil or other piece of fabric; it crosses under it and stops under the ears. Rounded face. Distinct eyelids form almond-shaped eyes; upper eyelids are more evident than the lower. The nose is missing, but would have been straight and narrow. An almost puckered mouth with full, bowed lips. Round, small chin that meets the neck almost perpendicularly. Her expression is on the cusp of being sour.

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant, visible in the eye.

Moldmade and mostly solid. The back is very carefully modeled. A very thin join seam is visible at the right side of the neck, and goes along the edge of the hair arrangement in front of the ear area.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. The break at the neck is hackly, but those on the face look smooth. Fine, silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 154, no. 2412, pl. 73, from Pergamon, for a similar treatment of the hair.

HoB E 5, 10 S 110 to \*100.80  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Late first century C.E. or later.

## 258 Woman's head

Pl. 56  
T10.027: 12663

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.025  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved; missing everything below the chin. Badly worn facial features.

The head of a woman with a Flavian or Trajanic hairdo. Her face is turned slightly to her right. Her crown of curls is rendered similarly to **257**: alternating high and low ridges radiate from the face, with the three high ones separated into small rectangles by incised lines. Short, triangular forehead, slightly sunken eyes, straight, triangular nose. The face in general is oval. A little fragment of the top back is preserved, and seems to have been summarily modeled with several incised lines indicating hair.

White ground extant on the exterior, especially within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow.

The fabric is soft with a powdery feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 204, no. E 74, pl. 286, h, from Smyrna, dated to 115-130 C.E.

MD2  
Roman dump.

Late first century C.E. or later.

## 259 Woman's head

Pl. 57

T63.018: 5148

P.H.: 0.047

P.W.: 0.039

Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the chin.

The head of a woman, facing forward. High headdress or hair, parted at the middle, with side length down to the earrings, which are round balls at the jaw line. Indented line or part vertical from the center hairline to the top of the headdress or hair. The hair area has an evenly mottled surface texture. Facial features are all intact. Large, triangular forehead above rounded and faint eyebrows. Small, squinty eyes indicated by heavy upper lids and almost melting lower lids. Straight nose. A mouth with full, bowed lips, kept closed in a straight line. Round chin, seems to meet neck almost perpendicularly. The face is oval and well-proportioned. Her expression is blank bordering on sour.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow. A large "wart" next to the mouth indicates a plaster mold. The fingerprints visible on the interior, and the general lightness of the piece, support this assumption.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth; no inclusions detected.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. Face seems Hellenistic, as in *Troy*, 83, no. 40, pl. XI; hair is later. *Louvre III*, f E 14, pl. 118.

HoB W 5,10 S 115 \*100.60

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Late first century C.E. or later.

## 260 Woman's head

Pl. 57

T11.015: 12841

P.H.: 0.31

P.W.: 0.028

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the chin. The surface is somewhat scratched and worn.

The small head of a woman, turned slightly to the right. She wears her hair in two rows of large, tight snail-shell curls that rise from her short forehead and surround her face. The curls are rendered as small, relief "donuts." Below the short forehead, her facial features are worn but should have been regular. The eyes seem large and downturned, and the nose seems broad and triangular. The mouth may have been straight. She wears round earrings.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. A small "wart" near the nose suggests a plaster mold; fingerprints on the interior surface, and the lightness of the piece, support this assumption. Some facial features, presumably the nose and mouth, may have been rendered in intaglio technique.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Generic grog and very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Troy* 137, no. 280, pl. LV. *Agora VI*, 15, 52, no. 336, pl. 8.

HoB E 60-65 S 145-150 to \*107

Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Late first century C.E. or later.

### **261 Woman's head**

Pl. 57  
T80.001: 8481

P.H.: 0.039  
P.W.: 0.023  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing everything below the neck. Facial features are partly chipped off.

The head of a woman, tilted back to the left. Her hair is straight, parted at the center, pulled away from the face, and finally gathered in a tall arrangement on top of the head. It is fastened with a roundish pin just above the forehead, from which it seems to radiate in all directions. Similar to a style worn by empress Plotina. Triangular forehead above worn, downturned eyes. Upper eyelids modeled in relief; lower lids seem to imitate a "melting gaze." Most of the nose is now missing but should have been regular. The mouth, indicated through shorthand incision, is simple and straight. The chin and cheeks are both rounded; the former meets a broad neck almost perpendicularly. Her ears are hidden. Her overall expression is hopefully romantic. Similar to **262**.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and mostly solid. A depression on the interior was made with a thumb; this and hard "warts" on the surface suggest a plaster mold. The walls are thick and irregular, however. Much of the surface detailing was done through incision rather than modeling.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are laminar. Very fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 144, no. E40, pl. 182, g, from Smyrna, dated 100-115 AD. *British Museum III*, 135, no. 3727, pl. 60. A sculpture of a woman with Hadrianic coiffure in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Sk 438, with a date prior to 130 C.E.; in Heilmeyer 2005, 26. A portrait of Plotina found in the Terme di Nettuno, now in Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 339; in Felletti Maj 1953, 95, no. 175, ill. 175.

LAW E 75-77 S 330-331 \*surface to 0.25 meters below

Second century C.E. or later.

### **262 Woman's head**

Pl. 57  
T86.002: 9199

P.H.: 0.033  
P.W.: 0.019  
P.D.: 0.024  
Th. at front of neck: 0.003  
Th. at back of neck: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck. Facial features softly blurred.

The head of a woman with hair parted at the center and then drawn back into a small bun

at the lower back of her head. Very similar to **261**, whose hair is fastened with a roundish pin just above the forehead, from which it seems to radiate in all directions. Similar to a style worn by empress Plotina. Facial features are worn, but could have been regular. Overall, the face is oval, but seems to have a heavy chin. The chin slopes down to the neck, which lies quite close by. She wears large, roundish earrings.

Some small traces of white ground extant near the earrings and at the back.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was minimally modeled, and summarily finished; some joins, especially, could have been smoothed or closed better. The seam, located behind the earrings, was flattened with little care to conceal it. Finger and tool marks are still visible, especially at back. Plaster mold likely.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Both fine golden mica, and small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 144, no. E40, pl. 182, g, from Smyrna, dated 100-115 AD. *British Museum III*, 135, no. 3727, pl. 60. A sculpture of a woman with Hadrianic coiffure in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Sk 438, with a date prior to 130 C.E.; in Heilmeyer 2005, 26. A portrait of Plotina found in the Terme di Nettuno, now in Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 339; in Felletti Maj 1953, 95, no. 175, ill. 175.

MMS E 103.35 S 90.05 \*104.99  
Roman fill. Roman deposit I.

Second century C.E.

## **263 Woman's head**

Pl. 57

T63.017: 5147

P.H.: 0.048

P.W.: 0.031

P.D.: 0.034

Th. at front of neck: 0.004

Missing everything below the neck. Facial features are worn; the tip of the nose has been chipped off.

The head of a woman with straight hair framing her face and parted down the center. The hair is modeled plastically at the front. A high ridge around the head that does not seem to belong to the hairdo might be the join seam. Behind the seam not much is plastically rendered, but an impression is given that the hair is gathered into a looped coil, horizontal and oval, at the lower back. The area is odd in that it is depressed into the head. The style is similar to one worn by empress Julia Domna. The shape of the face is oval, with small eyes with thick, squinty upper and lower lids. The nose is straight and small; the mouth is only as wide as the bottom of the nose, probably closed and very pouty. A very short chin slopes down to a thick neck; the latter is adorned with one "ring of Venus" rendered in intaglio technique. She is further adorned by round earrings. Her overall expression is ever so slightly amused.

Traces of white ground extant all over the exterior. Some orange red pigment visible near the nose.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was summarily modeled. The interior looks clean and even, with a substantial coil strengthening the join. Seems heavy for its size and thickness.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular; no inclusions immediately detected.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Troy*, 83, no. 40, pl. XI, a Hellenistic Kybele with similar facial features. Hair is similar to that of empress Julia Domna; see one of her busts in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, Inv. no. 564; in Felletti Maj 1953, 132, no. 260.

HoB W 5, 10 S 115 \*100.60  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Late second century C.E. or later.

### **264 Woman's head**

Pl. 57  
T59.041: 2012

P.H.: 0.049  
P.W.: 0.033  
Th. at cheek: 0.004

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the neck. Her facial features are worn, especially the nose, which was either broken off or completely rubbed flat.

The head of a woman with a very round face, and either a high coiffure or hat. Above her hair, painted black and with possible horizontal, wavy lines, is the beginning of some type of headdress, perhaps a Phrygian cap. Below that, actual hair is visible, parted at the center and scored diagonally to look straight and pulled back. Her forehead is quite short. The shape of the eyes is difficult to determine, but pupils were indicated by pierced holes. The nose has been broken off, but its nostrils were also pierced. The mouth seems to smile. A weak chin slopes down in

a greater than 45-degree angle to the neck. Could have been a performer rather than a proper lady.

White ground visible within the grooves of the hair. Traces of black paint are extant on her headdress, and red/maroon paint on her hair, face and neck.

Moldmade and hollow. Incised and pierced. Smooth interior. The piece feels heavy and sturdy.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Laminar to smooth breaks. Medium, white, rounded inclusions are rare. A few specs of small silvery mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 15-16, 53, no. 341, pl. 8, a woman with a plaited pyramid coiffure (high cylindrical chignon of coiled plaits), dated to the late second century C.E.

HoB E 90 S 200 to \*120.00

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Second century C.E.

### **265 Woman's head**

Pl. 57  
T11.012: 12838

P.H.: 0.033  
P.W.: 0.032  
Th.: 0.006

Only the back half of a head is preserved, and then much of it is broken away. Surface detail is still clear, but has some accretions.

The back of the head of a woman wearing a complicated hairdo. Her hair, rendered in intaglio technique, is straight and has been pulled back into a bun at the back of the head. It seems to be parted not only at the middle, but at the sides as well. The round bun is surrounded by a wisp of curly hair or some wavy ornament. Evocative of the complicated hairdos of the empresses Faustina Maior, Faustina Minor, or Julia Domna, which sometimes consisted of several layers of braids brought together into a solid chignon.

Some white ground extant, as well as some red pigment.

Moldmade and hollow. Most of the hair is rendered in intaglio technique. Light with even walls. The interior is very smooth; the clay was worked into the mold with care and the aid of tools.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular; fine grog inclusions are rare but present.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. A portrait of Julia Domna now in Fulda, in the Schloss Fasanerie. Inv. no. FAS. ARP 43; in Meischner 1964, 140, no. 42.

HoB W 20-25 S 150-155 \*104.0

Second century C.E. or later.

### **266 Woman's head**

Pl. 57

T11.017: 12843

P.H.: 0.016

P.W.: 0.015

Th. of wall: 0.004

Only the back half is preserved, and then missing everything below the nape.

The very small head of a woman with her hair arranged in large braids and kept close to the scalp. The coiffure is referred to as the double roll, and it was popular during the second century C.E.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. The back was modeled quite crisply.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small varied grog inclusions seem frequent; a few specs of the fine golden mica.

Munsell: 7.5YR N5/, gray.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 15-16, 53, no. 354, pl. 8.

HoB E 63-68 S 153-158 \*107.1-106.6  
Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

Second century C.E.

### **267 Woman's bust**

Pl. 58

T69.003: 7938

H.: 0.123

Max. W.: 0.086

Th. at shoulder: 0.004

Th. of base: 0.016

D. of head: 0.054

Complete, and for the most part, well preserved. Facial features are worn, and some of the surface has chipped off. Heavy

white accretions, especially on the back.

The bust of a lady with a stately demeanor, her head cocked slightly to the right. Her hair is gathered in waves near the front of the head (as in several Antonine coiffures) and then loosely tied in the back in a very large and solid chignon. The chignon is scored, giving the impression that it was made by the weaving together of several braids. Regular features are now worn. Short, straight forehead above what seem to have been rounded eyebrows and almond-shaped eyes. The nose now looks broad, and should have been of a significant size. The mouth seems to have been kept closed and straight. Her cheeks are somewhat rounded and her jaw-line is strong. The chin is short and round, and meets the neck somewhat less than perpendicularly. The neck is graceful, even though it is not particularly long or slender. Her shoulders are rounded and covered by a shawl that is tied in the front with a knot. Underneath, she wears some type of tunic that cowls in front of the neck in plastic folds. Below the shawl, where the figurative part of the bust ends, there is a small, rectangular foot support.

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant on the bun.

Moldmade and hollow. Completely open at the back, which was kept clean and even. Some details, like the hairs within the bun, were incised. The join seam has been well concealed, and should have rested at or behind the ears.

Hard fabric with a somewhat rough feel. No breaks, but edges seem smooth. A few specs of the fine silvery mica.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Louvre IV.2*, 165, no. E 470, pl. 103, e, dated to the third quarter of the second century C.E. From North Africa, perhaps Hadrumete. *Louvre IV. 2*, 165, no. E472, pl. 103, f, dated to the early third century C.E. From Hadrumete, North Africa. A bust of Faustina Minor in the Louvre, Ma 1144; in Kersauson 1996, 244, no. 108.

Published: *Survey*, 119, 120, fig. 289, 290; *BASOR* 199 (1970), 36.

NEW W 110-110.50 S 1118.40-1119.50

Within a pithos. Found with **268**.

Late second century C.E. or later.

### **268 Child's head**

Pl. 58

T69.004: 7939

P.H.: 0.050

Max. W.: 0.035

Max. D.: 0.051

Th. at neck: 0.003

Separated along the join seam but mended. Facial features are worn. The body below the neck is missing.

The rather round and pudgy face of a young girl or child, ever so slightly turned to the left. She must have had a very tight hair arrangement, as she now seems bald; still, the indication of an oval-shaped bun remains at the back of the head. The position of the eyes, but not their shape, is still discernible. A large, pointed nose, slightly broken at the end, juts out from the center of the face. The mouth may have been kept closed. The cheeks are full and round; the chin is also round, and slopes comfortably down to a very short neck. The ears are hardly recognizable but still present. Might have

been part of a bust, as **267**.

Traces of white ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The walls are very thin and even. The join seam seems to have been placed behind the ears. Very light; plaster mold a possibility.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are laminar; small silvery mica inclusions are visible but rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Published: *Survey*, 119, 120, fig. 291.

NEW W 110-110.50 S 1118.40-1119.50

Within a pithos. Found with **267**.

Late second century C.E. or later.

### **269 Standing woman on base**

Pl. 59

T10.025: 12656

P.H.: 0.084

P.W.: 0.036

Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, from the waist to just above the bottom of the base.

A draped woman, standing on a base, with her weight on the right leg, and the left leg bent at the knee. She wears a chiton and himation, the latter drawn diagonally across the body in a thick fold. Two thick, plastic folds (from the chiton) fall vertically at the center. Both feet are visible. The base is molded, round or oval.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade and hollow with a clean interior. Fired to a dark gray.

The fabric is hard with a somewhat rough feel. Small grog and silvery mica inclusions are both common.

Munsell: 5YR 5/1, gray.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 340, no. 206, fig. 233, a Tyche found within a Roman fill.

F49 E 845-841.80 S 402-397.90

\*185.49-185.42

Fill. Late Roman Phase I.

First to third century C.E.

### **270 Hand**

Pl. 59

T59.015: 1635

P.L.: 0.056

P.W.: 0.040

Th. at wrist: 0.001

Only one partial hand is extant, missing its left half, including the thumb. Only the middle and ring finger are preserved, though not entirely.

A right hand and wrist. The fingers curve down towards a very nicely modeled palm. Would have been part of large figure, or alternatively, a medical votive.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; mostly solid.

The fabric is hard and very smooth. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/3, light reddish brown.

HoB E 30 S 20 \*98.70  
Roman grave area.

First to second century C.E. Import?

### 271 Human arm

Pl. 59  
T80.008

P.L.: 0.063  
Diam. of upper arm: 0.018

Only one arm is extant, preserved from below the elbow to the lower palm. Some chips off the surface.

A right, human forearm. Circular in section, it narrows down to the wrist, and then flattens out into a hand. The hand seems to be held open. A deep groove at the wrist may be the edge of a sleeve or a bracelet.

Some small traces of white ground extant.

Seems to have been moldmade, but could have very well been rolled by hand. Solid and heavy.

Hard-fired and slightly rough fabric.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

HoB W 1.75-1.5 S 62.25-62.5 \*99.40  
Outside east corner of Grave 80.8.

First to second century C.E.

### 272 Seated figure on base

Pl. 59  
T13.017: 13647

P.H.: 0.052  
H. (base): 0.026  
W. (base): 0.056  
D. (base): 0.051  
Th.: 0.006

Mended from two fragments; preserving just the bottom of the figurine, up to the feet of the main figure.

A roughly square base with plain vertical sides. An enthroned figure sits upon it, with feet flush with the edges of the base. Possibly a woman or goddess, draped, with shoes.

Traces of white ground are extant on the exterior on all sides.

Moldmade in double mold, with more plastic detailing (but not much more) at the front than at the back. The bottom was left entirely open. Core baked to a light gray.

The fabric is hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. A matrona and child at the British Museum pictured in *Agora VI*, pl. 3.

MMS E 100.40-95 S 88-82.30 \*103.24-103.06  
Roman dump.

First to third century C.E.

### 273 Standing figure on base

Pl. 59

T13.018: 13648

P.H.: 0.053

P.W.: 0.055

P.D.: 0.114

Th.: 0.008

L. (foot): 0.048

W. (foot): 0.025

Mended from two fragments. Preserving one corner, possibly the front right. Pitted with chipped edges.

A large rectangular pedestal. Plain base molding; slightly tapering orthostate with at least three, possibly four, grooves (triple molding or facets?); topped by a grooved molded cap. The scar of a large, right (?) foot is flush with the edge of the cap.

Thick traces of white ground are extant on all surfaces; a thinner wash is visible on the interior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The standing figure was attached separately. Incised detail added later with some sort of tool.

Inconsistent treatment of sides. The core, especially in the scar left by the figure, was fired to a dark gray. The underside was smoothed carefully, and shows traces of fingers in the form of white ground. Two sets of four fingers are preserved; the figurine was possibly held in different directions as it was being painted.

The fabric is soft and underbaked. Its feel is a bit powdery; breaks are granular.

Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 144.8-145.4 S 75.5-77.5

\*103.3-102.75

Room XXII, stone pit.

First to third century C.E.

### 274 Child's head

Pl. 60

T07.010: 12258

P.H.: 0.025

P.W.: 0.018

P.D.: 0.026

Th. or neck: 0.015

Everything below the neck is missing. Facial features are worn.

The head of a child, likely a girl. Curly hair pulled into a bun at the back of the head. A thick curl lies at the center of the upper forehead. Somewhat chubby, oval face with mid-length forehead. Lightly defined eyes with heavy lids, short and broad nose, full lips, and round cheeks. A small chin meets a fleshy neck at an obtuse angle. The neck is broken off just below the point of juncture with the body. The right ear is marked by a curving ridge; the left ear has worn away.

Self-slipped. A thin layer of light gray on the back of the head is perhaps a trace of paint.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. The bun may have been made by pinching clay out with fingers. Some modeled detail on the back. The join seam is visible on the top of the head.

Medium hard and smooth fabric. Breaks look hackly. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Tomb 07.1 W 167.25-169.25 S 54.97-56.50 \*99-98.67

Dirt floor of the chamber and soil units underneath the floor, dated to the Early Roman period.

First century C.E.

### **275 Head of a youth**

Pl. 60  
T96.001: 10414

P.H.: 0.034  
P.W.: 0.022  
P.D.: 0.014  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the neck. The surface seems somewhat rough, but modeled detail is still crisp.

The head of a young man, looking to his left. Typical Early Imperial coiffure: short, bowl-cut hair with distinct locks both modeled and incised. Rectangular forehead over light, rounded eyebrows, and deep-set eyes. The eyes have quite prominent eyelids, both upper and lower, and yet do not appear squinty. The nose is a bit worn down, but seems to have been a good size and have visible nostrils. The mouth looks slightly downturned with thin lips. The chin area is mostly missing, but the impression is of a very short neck if any at all. The cheeks are round and full. A cape or cloak is visible at the right side of the head.

Some small traces of white ground are extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Light, with regular walls, and fingerprints visible on the interior. Surface detail was retouched after removal from the mold.

Medium hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are a bit hackly. Grog and fine golden mica inclusions are present but rare.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 54, no. 389, pl. 8, with similar eyes. A portrait head dated to the first century C.E.

MMS/S E 137.0 S 123.7 \*107.52  
Topsoil.

First century C.E.

### **276 Head of a youth**

Pl. 60  
T64.020: 6154

P.H.: 0.034  
P.W.: 0.022  
Th. at neck: 0.006

Only the front half is present, and then broken below neck. Facial features are worn; some chips off hair.

The head of a young man with Augustan curls. His head is turned slightly to the left, with his gaze seemingly directed upward. The detailing of the hair is quite fine, giving the appearance of a carefree, yet well-maintained hairdo. A rectangular forehead gives way to subtle, rounded eyebrows. Below, eyes have both lids lightly modeled, and seem wider at their inner corner; their outer corners seem to be open or “melting.” A straight thin nose with indicated nostrils just above a small closed mouth with full lips; its upper lip is bowed, while the lower lip is straight. Short, pointed chin meets the neck gracefully and almost perpendicularly. The face is oval, balanced and very graceful. His overall expression is thoughtful. Lucius or Gaius Caesar?

Self-slipped. Light traces of yellow pigment extant on the hair.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The join seam, at least on the right side of the head, seems to have been placed behind the ears.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look smooth to granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. A portrait of either Lucius or Gaius Caesar in the British Museum; in Smith 1904, 149, no. 1876, pl. 13, 2.

HoB E 65-70 S 155-160 \*109-108.5

Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

First century C.E.

### **277 Head of a youth**

Pl. 60

T61.070: 3665

P.H.: 0.029

P.W.: 0.021

Th. at neck: 0.005

Only the front half is present; missing everything below the neck. Facial features are worn but still discernible. The surface in general is pockmarked. Underbaked. Parts of the hair are missing.

The head of a man or youth, turned slightly to the left. Traces of hair off the forehead and over the ears; looks short and possibly straight. Distinct upper lids and light lower

ones form very small eyes. Squashed nose; full lips with drooping corners. Round, small, convex chin meets neck almost perpendicularly. The face in general is round, which gives it a child like appearance. The cheeks are not as full as that of some children. The forehead, on the other hand, seems longer and larger than that of an adult. That could be due to the fact that the hair was painted on rather than modeled or incised. His expression is sour or imperious.

Some traces of white ground are extant. Yellow pigment visible around the area of the hair.

Moldmade and hollow. The join seam is located behind the ears. The neck would have been solid.

Soft fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are hackly with no inclusions discernible.

Munsell: 2.5YR, 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 55, no. 405, pl. 9, an athlete, dated to the first half of the third century C.E.

HoB E 5, 10 S 110 to \*100.60

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels. First century C.E. or later.

### **278 Man's back**

Pl. 60

T91.012: 9878

P.H.: 0.044

P.W.: 0.050

Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved, and then just the upper back; no head, arms, lower

body, and also missing whatever was attached to the figure.

The back of a nude man. Broad, muscular shoulders; spine and musculature modeled naturalistically. On each shoulder there is an oval hole; these could be for the attachment of a separate cloak (or perhaps wings?). Also, going down diagonally from the right shoulder to the left armpit, is a line of additional darker clay; more clay was placed where the line ends at the armpit and on the left shoulder.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Core is light gray. Fingerprints visible on the interior surface.

Medium hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are granular. A few specs of the small golden mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 74, no. 927, pl. 25, with oval-shaped holes on back. Dated to the mid second to mid third centuries C.E. A youth holding lamps.

ByzFort E 709-712 S 410-413 \*186.06-184.50  
Soft, dark soil layer within dump.

First to third century C.E.

### **279 Man's back**

Pl. 60  
T11.072: 12947

P.H.: 0.046  
P.W.: 0.043  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back half is preserved. Missing the head, arms, most of the left side, and everything below the waist.

The back of a muscular man, nude. The detail of the muscles and spine were naturalistically modeled.

Trace amounts of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. The arms and head were molded separately.

The fabric is soft and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

LAW  
Pottery samples, all levels.

First to second century C.E.

### **280 Soldier**

Pl. 61  
NoEx59.059

P.H.: 0.083  
P.W.: 0.074  
P.D.: 0.032  
Th.: 0.004

Missing the head and lower body below the upper thigh in the front, and below the waist at the back. The front surface is slightly scratched, while the back and interior have many accretions.

The body of a soldier or other fighting man, dressed, standing. A cloak falls from a clasp on his right shoulder, frames the neck, and then goes over his left shoulder. He wears a short-sleeved tunic under a cuirass and pleated skirt. He holds a short sword or dagger in his right hand, and a large oval

shield in his left. A centurion or other commander?

Self-slipped. Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The back is minimally modeled but not entirely plain. Thin even walls; light in general. The interior looks clean.

Medium hard and smooth fabric. Breaks are smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. The cenotaph of the centurion Marcus Caelius, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. U 82; in Schalles and Willer 2009.

First to second century C.E.

## 281 Gladiator

Pl. 61

T00.001: 11152

P.H.: 0.113

W. at shoulders: 0.059

Th. at waist: 0.027

Missing the head, arms and legs. One small hole near the neck.

The body of a strong male, partially draped, stepping forward with his left leg; a gladiator. His right shoulder is twisted so that at least his upper arm would have extended behind his back. His left leg was considerably advanced, while his back is at an incline to the right leg, suggesting that the figure was depicted in the action of striding forwards. He wears a thick waistband wrapped in three loops around his

torso with flaps hanging down over his groin and rear, above a thin skirt which extends to the tops of his thighs. Might have had some kind of armband on the right arm. The chest and back muscles were modeled with some attempt at naturalism.

Self-slipped and then covered in white ground. No other pigments remain.

Moldmade in multiple plaster molds. The torso was made in a double mold with non-matching back and front halves (there is a slight overlap between the front and back sides visible at the stumps of the legs and the right arm). Very heavy. The chest is hollow, but density suggests that the bottom half is solid. Plastic detail both front and back, although a bit less on the back; the skirt, for instance, has plastic folds at the front but is rendered in a very low relief at back.

Hard fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks are a bit hackly. Grog and mica inclusions present.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 165, no. 2455, pl. 77, the torso of a gladiator, right leg up. He wears the double belt associated with gladiators, with short skirt below; dated to the Early Imperial period.

PA E 127.60 N 52.30 \*96.00

First to second century C.E.

## 282 Gladiator

Pl. 61  
T70.002: 8090

P.H.: 0.061  
P.W.: 0.054  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing the head, legs, and both arms below the shoulders.

A strong muscular figure with pronounced chest and rib cage. The right shoulder, which is better preserved than the left, is thick and goes down straight next to the body. The left arm may have been kept next to the body as well. A wide double belt around the waist and upper hip area is indicated by three wide rounded bands at the top, and an even wider band at the bottom. Likely a gladiator.

Some white ground extant on both the exterior and interior. Dark red pigment visible on the chest.

Moldmade and hollow.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small varied grog and fine silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 165, no. 2455, pl. 77, the torso of a gladiator, right leg up. He wears the double belt associated with gladiators, with short skirt below; dated to the Early Imperial period.

PN W 245-247 S 335-336 \*88.5-88

First to second century C.E.

## 283 Man's torso

Pl. 61  
T67.013: 7461

P.H.: 0.063  
P.W.: 0.050  
P.L.: 0.031  
Th.: 0.005

Missing the head, the front half of the body below the waist, the back half below mid back, the right arm below the shoulder, and the left arm below the mid upper arm. Heavy accretions.

The torso of a nude or semi-nude man, standing. Broad powerful chest with left arm possibly kept next to the body. Hardly any modeling of muscles. He has a slightly protruding stomach. The back is definitely flatter and less detailed than the front. Perhaps a gladiator.

White ground extant at the front, none on the back.

Moldmade and hollow. The joint seams were well hidden and reinforced on the interior. The attachment knob for the neck is still extant and visible within the body cavity. The walls are regular.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth to laminar. Very fine golden mica is frequent.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Published: *Bath-Gymnasium*, 42.

PA E 100 N 103 \*97.00  
Unstratified destruction layer in the long north hall of the palaestra; modern material found at a lower elevation.

First to second century C.E.

### **284 Man's torso**

Pl. 61

T60.005: 2383

P.H.: 0.044

P.W.: 0.049

Th.: 0.006, varies greatly

Only the front half is present. The left arm and the head are missing. The torso is broken off just below the right arm.

The torso of a nude or semi-nude man, with his right arm placed across his stomach, and holding a dagger or other object in his hand. The right shoulder seems bigger than what should be naturalistic. The nipples also seem oddly large, and sit atop somewhat bulging, round pectoral/breasts. The fingers, four of which are visible, are fat and round like sausages, and actually increase, rather than decrease in thickness at the tips. The object held in the hand could be a scroll or some sort of staff or weapon. A very thin incised line goes down vertically near the area of the wrist.

Some very faint traces of white ground are extant. The surface has a slight pearlescent sheen to it.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.  
Modeled in very low relief. Core fired to a light gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel.  
Breaks looks smooth for the most part. Fine silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 362, no. 439, fig. 244, for example. This might be a Parthian warrior or

barbarian with a short dagger or knife. *Agora VI*, 57, no. 474, pl. 10, with a similar chest. This is cited as the chest type for a child, and dated to the late third or early fourth century C.E.

HoB E 15 S 115 \*101.8-100.9  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century C.E.?

### **285 Gladiator**

Pl. 62

T59.042: 2016

P.H.: 0.067

W. at shoulders: 0.041

D. at chest: 0.021

Th. at back: 0.004

The head missing; the arms are preserved to just below the shoulders. The front half of the body is extant down to the upper thighs; the back half goes down to just above the waist.

A standing male figure, nude except for a short skirt and armband on the upper left arm. Striding with left leg extended and right leg forward. The left arm is kept close to the body but seems to have come forward rather than straight down. The right arm goes out along the coronal plane of the body. The muscles of the chest and stomach were rendered plastically. At the back, the spine was indicated. His skirt has one thick horizontal band below the chest, and at the center, one long vertical band that goes down to the crotch; one last band indicates the separation between it at the thighs. Likely a gladiator.

Some white ground is extant; red pigment visible on the shoulder area.

Moldmade and hollow, with the arms, and probably the head, solid. The back was modeled quite carefully. The interior is clean with regular walls. Plaster mold likely. Partial fingerprints extant on the exterior. Core baked to a dark gray.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. A few specs of the fine golden mica on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*123.00-122.50  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

First to second century C.E.

### **286 Gladiator**

Pl. 62  
T04.005: 11846

P.H.: 0.061  
P.W.: 0.035  
Max. D.: 0.021  
Th. at waist: 0.005

Lower torso (from the waist down) and left thigh down to the knee, extant. The surface is slightly pockmarked.

The lower torso of standing gladiator, dressed. He wears a short skirt with semi circular folds that goes down to his upper thighs and in the back covers his buttocks. Likely a canvas loincloth (subligaculum). A thick band goes around his waist. His chest was likely kept nude; a fine, incised vertical line at the center might be an indication of stomach muscles. Some type of cap covers the knee; an ocrea? He stands with legs set apart and seems to stride forward forcefully with the left leg. The left knee might be slightly bent. His profile is quite thin and

flat, with almost no difference in the shape of the front and of the buttocks. Similar to **287**, but larger.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Modeled detail on both front and back. The join seams were disguised carefully and reinforced with an internal coil. The interior is clean. The walls are thinner at the back half than at the front, but regular otherwise.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

CW6  
Within backfill.

First to second century C.E.

### **287 Gladiator**

Pl. 62  
T11.076: 12958

P.H.: 0.042  
P.W.: 0.024  
Th.: 0.007

Only the front half is present, and then only a small fragment below the waist with a bit of upper right thigh preserved.

The lower torso of a gladiator, standing, dressed. He wears a short skirt with semi circular folds that goes down to his upper thighs. Maybe a canvas loincloth (subligaculum). A thick band goes around his waist. The chest seems to have been kept nude. He stands with legs apart and strides forward with his right leg. Similar to **286**, but smaller.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Fine modeling. The interior shows at least one fingerprint.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small, rounded, white inclusions are rare. Small varied mica is common.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

CW6 E 1453.75-1456 S 146.5-148  
\*110.93-111.26

Loose fill & rubble heaps (destruction), dated to the fifth century C.E.

First to second century C.E.

### **288 Gladiator**

Pl. 62  
T11.035: 12898

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.026  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, and then only the right side of the body from the waist down to just above the ankle. The right arm is missing, but the hand is preserved below the wrist.

The right leg and hand of draped male, standing with legs apart. Likely a gladiator, but perhaps an acrobat or dancer. He wears a short, triangular tunic with a thick waistband. His hand is delicate; it is kept closed, with the thumb visible on top, next to the right hip. The leg is slightly bent at the knee.

Very light traces of white ground extant; some red pigment visible on the hand.

Moldmade and hollow. Light, somewhat worn modeling. The sides seem to have been left plain. The interior was worked with a tool. Core baked to a dark gray.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular for the most part. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

HoB to \*2.2 below walls  
Below the walls of a Roman building.

First to second century C.E.

### **289 Gladiator's arm**

Pl. 62  
T11.028: 12891

P.L.: 0.072  
Max. W. (arm): 0.022  
H. of hand: 0.019

Only the right arm is preserved, broken off just below the shoulder. The weapon held in his hand is now missing.

The arm of a gladiator, upraised, bent slightly at the elbow, wearing the manica. The hand is clasped around a cylindrical handle, pierced through, suggesting the absence of an additional object. A gladius? Made of a different material? Might be a predecessor to **290**, which seems to have been made from the same mold (same size, identical bend at elbow), but is much more linearly rendered. The present example is also redder at its core.

Traces of white ground extant.

Moldmade and solid. The join seam is raised, thick and evident, but clean; especially on the inner part of the arm it

seems to be part of the intended design. Modeled front and back. The fingers were rendered plastically.

Soft and smooth fabric. Breaks seem to have been hackly. Some small golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 78, no. 1027, pl. 29, the arm of a bestiarius, dated to the third century C.E.

HoB W 25, 30 S 115 to\*102.40  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to second century C.E.

### **290 Gladiator's arm**

Pl. 62  
T11.024: 12871

P.L.: 0.065  
Max. W. (arm): 0.017  
P.L. (sword): 0.029

Only the right arm is preserved, broken off just below the shoulder. The weapon held in his hand is also broken.

The arm of a gladiator, upraised, bent slightly at the elbow, wearing the manica. The hand is clasped around a weapon, either a gladius or a dagger. See **289**, which was probably its predecessor.

Very light traces of white ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade and solid. Molded separately from the rest of the body. Only the front half was modeled with much detail; the back was left plain but for a couple of indentations to denote the folds of the manica. The fingers

were crudely rendered by simple incisions. The join seams were flattened but not well concealed. Plaster mold likely.

The fabric is medium hard and grainy. Breaks look smooth. Small golden mica inclusions are frequent on the surface and breaks.

Munsell: 5YR6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 78, no. 1027, pl. 29, the arm of a bestiarius, dated to the third century C.E.

F49 E 844.25 S 391.17 \*184.62  
Lower level of basin fill.

First to second century C.E.

### **291 Charioteer**

Pl. 63  
T59.012: 1467

P.H.: 0.108  
Max. W.: 0.042  
Max. D.: 0.029  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Missing the head, right arm below the shoulder, left arm from just above the elbow, the right ankle and foot, the left leg below the thigh and its back half. Some accretions and chips, but otherwise finely preserved.

A standing charioteer with his right arm (missing) upraised (possibly in a salute, or holding a victory palm/wreath) and his left arm (preserved to about the elbow) held down to the side. Rope-like horizontal folds ("thongs") over the torso. The arms are bare. Loose short tunic falling from the hips to the upper legs. Long pants shown by horizontal folds. Worked in the round. Might have had

something attached at the back, now missing.

Some white ground extant, as well as a small amount of pink pigment over the leg area.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; mostly hollow. The legs and arms would have been solid. The legs were molded together with the body; the arms and head were formed separately. Modeled detail front and back. The join seams are visible but otherwise carefully treated. A small vent hole was placed below the tunic at back; perhaps it was used to hold an attached support for the figurine.

The fabric is hard and somewhat smooth. Breaks are smooth to granular. Very fine golden mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 360, nos. 424 and 425, fig. 244, dated to the Late Roman period.

HoB E 10 S 60 to \*99.00  
Outside of a grave. See *BASOR* 157 (1960), 28.

First to second century C.E.

### **292 Man's lower torso, actor**

Pl. 63  
T10.028: 12549

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.029  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is extant from the waist to the thigh.

The lower torso and upper legs of a draped, standing man. Two thick plastic folds fall down vertically at the center; more folds, in lower relief, then fan out diagonally from the center folds. Possibly an actor from a farce.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Plaster mold likely. Interior surface has been nicely smoothed; it is possible that there was only a front to this piece. Perhaps a figural handle?

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Small grog and mica inclusions are frequent. Red, but core baked to a dark gray.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

F49 E 836.65-838.8 S 397.38-401.7  
\*180.49

Compact dark soil with small stones.

First to second century C.E.

### **293 Muscular man**

Pl. 64  
T11.073: 12948

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| Torso:      | Rear:       |
| P.H.: 0.063 | P.H.: 0.065 |
| P.W.: 0.042 | P.W.: 0.037 |
| P.D.: 0.012 | P.D.: 0.018 |
| Th.: 0.005  | Th.: 0.004  |

Two non-joining fragments. One preserves the front of torso, the other, the rear and back of the right leg. Missing the head, arms, left leg, and feet.

A strong, muscular man, nude, standing. The muscles of the torso were naturalistically modeled. The left arm, at least, seems to have been raised. The back half was not

modeled as carefully. Large muscular buttocks. The right leg strides forward. Must have been quite the dynamic figure. Could be a Hercules, or Zeus, or perhaps a squatting exhibitionist as **294-296**.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in as plaster mold; hollow. The head would have been attached with plaster. Fingerprints extant on the interior.

Fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

CW6 E 1467-1468.50 \*113.91-113.42  
North foundation trench for a Late Roman wall.

First to second century C.E.

### **294 Muscular man, leg and foot**

Pl. 64  
T13.027: 13765

Thigh:           Foot:  
P.H.: 0.038   L.: 0.026  
P.W.: 0.018   P.H.: 0.027  
Th.: 0.005

Calf:  
W.: 0.012

Two non-joining fragments: the right foot up to the lower calf, and the front half of the right thigh. The rest of the figure is missing.

What seems to be a very muscular man, legs spread apart, squatting. Probably an ithyphallic exhibitionist. Same type as **295** and **296**, but slightly larger, with thicker ankles. The treatment of the muscles, and the positioning of the leg and feet is identical to the following two examples.

Perhaps an earlier generation. The foot is flat, with long skinny toes carefully picked out in intaglio technique.

Smoothed and self-slipped. Some light traces of white ground extant on the foot.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The lower leg was filled to an almost solid state; the thigh would have been slightly more hollow. Careful plastic modeling of the muscles; good understanding of the moving body. The join seams are visible, but were covered with some care. The foot is flat, so the figure might have very well stood unassisted. The toes seem to have been indicated in the mold, and then redone with a tool.

Fabric is hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

Cf. An additional calf fragment, not yet catalogued, seems to have been made in the same mold.

CW6 E 1467-1468.50 S 145-148.50  
\*113.91-113.42  
North foundation trench for a Late Roman wall.

First to second century C.E.

### **295 Muscular man, leg and torso**

Pl. 64  
T13.026: 13764

Chest:           Leg:  
P.H.: 0.039   P.H.: 0.045  
P.W.: 0.022  
Th.: 0.005

Two non-joining fragments: the left leg from just above the knee to the heel, missing the thigh and the foot; and the left side of the

torso, just the abdomen and hip, missing the chest proper.

What seems to be a very muscular male, legs spread apart, squatting. Probably an ithyphallic exhibitionist. The torso shows abdominal and oblique muscles, and suggests that the arms would have been pushed back, elbows bent, hands resting on the buttocks or hips. Made in the same mold as **296**.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The leg was filled to an almost solid state; the torso would have been hollow. Careful plastic modeling of muscles; good understanding of the moving body. The join seams are visible, but covered with some care on the leg's outer side. What remains of the foot is flat, so the figure might have very well stood unassisted.

The fabric is hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

Cf. At least two other partial figures (thighs), not yet catalogued, were also made in the same mold. The legs themselves have the exact same plaster warts, and their seams were smoothed in very similar ways. The uncatalogued thigh fragments preserve some white ground.

CW6 E 1467-1468.50 S 145-148.50  
\*113.91-113.42

North foundation trench for a Late Roman wall.

First to second century C.E.

## **296 Muscular man, leg**

Pl. 64

T13.016: 13646

P.H.: 0.062

P.W. (thigh): 0.020

D. (at calf): 0.013

Mended from two fragments; only one leg is extant, from the upper thigh to the heel. The front of the foot is missing, as is the back of the thigh. Missing the phallus as well.

The almost comically muscular left leg of a nude male, bent at the knee. A space for an attachment at the upper inner thigh suggests that the figure might have been ithyphallic, and that he was posed mid squat, with knees pointed outwards so as to better display himself. Made in the same mold as **295**.

Surface treatment consists of a lighter self-slip with a bit of sheen. No other painted decoration remains.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. Filled to an almost solid state. Careful plastic modeling of the muscles; good understanding of the moving body. The join seams are visible, but were covered with some care on the leg's outer side. What remains of the foot is flat, so the figure might have very well stood unassisted.

The fabric is hard-fired, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. Different, but see *Louvre IV.1*, 71, no. D 3688, pl. 63, a. A pigmy fighting a cock, dated to the second century B.C.E.

CW6 E 1467-1471 S 145-152 ca. \*10-0.15

Topsoil.

First to second century C.E.

### 297 Dwarf

Pl. 65

T59.027: 1841

P.H.: 0.073

P.W.: 0.035

D. at buttocks: 0.029

Th. of neck: 0.015

Missing the arms, legs below the knees, the head, and phallus. Other than that, a bit pockmarked and accreted.

The torso of a dancing satyr or dwarf, nude, ithyphallic. Protruding steatopygous hips. Fine modeling of the muscles of the abdomen. Short proportions. His pose is odd, as if he were sitting. The arms, now missing, would have been extended outwards. His back is well defined and also muscular, although not as carefully modeled as the front.

Some white ground is extant.

Moldmade and hollow, although very heavy. The back surface does not seem to have been smoothed as carefully as the front.

Medium hard fabric with a roughened surface; should have been smooth in feel originally. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface. Medium, rounded, white inclusions are also rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, pls. 244-245, convulsing torsos from Smyrna. *Louvre III*, 174, no. D1227, pl. 243, e. Could be Late Hellenistic

or Imperial. *British Museum III*, 148, no. 2387, pl. 69. actor or comic dancer, in crouching position.

PC

Small vaulted chamber of a third century C.E. mausoleum complex.

Third century C.E. or earlier. Could be an import from Smyrna.

### 298 Dwarf

Pl. 65

T11.038: 12901

P.H.: 0.051

P.W.: 0.034

Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is extant, and then missing the head, as well as both arms beyond the shoulders. Almost nothing remains below the waist. Chipped and weathered.

The torso of a standing male, nude. Seems like both arms would have been held away from the body. The right arm is held up high, while the left comes forward. Chest musculature seems to have been modeled. A very round and evident piece of clay rests between the pectorals. Similar to **297**.

Some white ground extant, especially on the right flank. Some red pigment is visible below the left shoulder.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean with even walls. Core baked to gray.

Soft fabric with what should have been a smooth feel; now accreted. Breaks are irregular and run the gamut, but mostly granular. Fine varied grog and fine silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, pls. 244-245, convulsing torsos from Smyrna. *Agora VI*, 55, no. 409, pl. 9, dated to the third century C.E.

PA E 40.55-41.55 N 22.70-75 \*95.23

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **299 Leg of performer**

Pl. 65

T97.035: 10771

P.H.: 0.081

L. of foot: 0.020

Th. at ankle: 0.007

Only the right leg is extant, and then missing the right half of the thigh. Parts of the foot have chipped off.

The right leg of a thin standing male, slightly bent at knee, nude. Flat foot. Droopy scrotum preserved to mid thigh.

Traces of white ground extant on the inner thigh and scrotum.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; solid. The joint seam is visible but tidy. Fingerprints extant on the inner thigh.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look granular. Varied grog and fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MD2 E 525-540 N 357-360 \*88.90-88.60

First to second century C.E.

### **300 Posterior of performer**

Pl. 65

T60.022: 2697

P.H.: 0.053

P.W.: 0.037

Th.: 0.004

Only the back half is extant, and then missing everything below the thighs at bottom, and just above the waist at top. Some of the surface has been chipped off.

A male posterior, partly nude. The figure seems to have been draped down to the waist; a protrusion at the right seems to be the back of a draped right elbow. The left leg is extended, with right leg striding forward. An actor exposing himself?

Some white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Multiple fingerprints extant on the interior surface.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth or laminar. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. Perhaps as in *Agora VI*, 59, no. 507, pl. 11, dated to the second century C.E.

HoB E 10 S 90-95 \*surface to 100.50  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to second century C.E.

### 301 Actor's head

Pl. 66

T61.054: 3558

P.H.: 0.036

P.W.: 0.032

P.D.: 0.041

Th.: 0.003

Mended from three fragments. Missing the left front of the face and everything below the neck. Some chips off the neck and right ear.

The head of a male mime. Bald, wrinkled head; heavy, protruding brows above small almond-shaped eyes. Pupils indicated, as well as both upper and lower lids. Big ears in the shape of curly "c"s are the least naturalistic feature other than the extremely elongated profile. Long hooked nose with long nostrils indicated. Just below, a wide mouth with thick lips and drooping corners; open. A short chin meets the neck at an almost perfectly perpendicular angle. The cheeks are wrinkled and slightly hollowed. The wrinkles and frown marks are modeled rather than incised. His expression seems angry, but his features are comical, especially the ears. The unusual length of the profile adds greatly to the comical effect. Perhaps a later generation to **302**.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The join seam runs through the middle of the face; seems to have been smoothed with care where facial features were concerned, but not so much on the back of the head. The walls are thin and even for the most part. Fingerprints extant on the interior surface.

Hard fabric with a smooth to grainy feel. Breaks look laminar to smooth; difficult to see inclusions. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/8, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 20, 57 no. 466, pl. 10. "Infant: The fundamental type consist of a nude male torso, with a bald or shaven head and childish or negroid features. In Athens it was extremely popular in the 3rd and 4th century figurine repertory. In northern Europe, where the type is also common, although as usual earlier in date, it has been interpreted as representing a godling or an infant. Skillful adaptation could suit the type to several subjects, among which we certainly have satyrs, negroes, and quite probably priests of the Egyptian dieties and Gymnosophists from India as well. The type could further serve for shaven-headed entertainers or athletes, even for Harpokrates or children, since the cirrus of the Horus lock could be added in paint."

HoB E 0; W 5 S 110 to \*102.10  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Second century C.E. or later.

### 302 Actor's head

Pl. 66

T12.021: 13276

P.H.: 0.031

P.L.: 0.038

Th.: 0.005

Mended from two fragments. Preserving only one half of the figure, and then only the top/back of the head, the right eye, ear and cheek, and the very top of the neck. Missing the nose, mouth, etc.

The head of a male mime. Large bald head with a slightly irregular texture. Large, highly elongated almond-shaped eye with both lids indicated, but no pupil, under a thick straight eyebrow. Large protruding ear in the shape of a thick, curly "c." High cheekbone seems to indicate that the rest of the face would have been as gaunt and as elongated as the eye. Larger than **301**; perhaps an earlier generation.

Self-slipped.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The join seam runs through the middle of the face; seems to have been smoothed with care where facial features were concerned, but not so much on the head where a slightly raised ridge is still detectable. The walls are thin and even for the most part. The mold was filled by hand; the interior preserves several thumb and fingerprints.

Medium hard fabric, smooth, and micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 20, 57 no. 466, pl. 10.

F49 E 852-854 S 396-401.3 \*186.87-186.34

Second century C.E. or later.

### **303 Actor's head**

Pl. 66  
T11.070: 12943

P.H.: 0.031  
P.W.: 0.027  
Th.: 0.005

Only the back right half of the head is extant.

The head of a male mime, bald, with a large, curly "c" ear.

Some white ground is extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is soft and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 20, 57 no. 466, pl. 10.

LAW

Pottery samples, all levels.

Second century C.E. or later.

### **304 Man's head with Phrygian cap**

Pl. 66  
T86.006: 9230

P.H.: 0.047  
P.W.: 0.026  
P.D.: 0.022  
Th.: 0.006

Only the front half is preserved, and then missing everything below the chin. The right ear is also missing.

The head of a man with grotesque features wearing a Phrygian cap and looking forward. Extremely large, long forehead; no hair. The rim of the cap rests high on the head and goes behind long, high-set ears. Close-set features. The eyes have heavy lids but no other detailing. The nose is short, broad and round; almost a knob. The mouth is straight, slightly open, perhaps in a delicate snarl, with thick lips. The chin is rounded and distinct. A long face with thin cheeks. Very light wrinkles across the forehead. His overall expression is of

contempt and tiredness. The hat seems somewhat floppy. A foreigner or actor.

Some white ground is extant, especially within the creases of the face and forehead. There is a sizable patch of dark reddish pigment on the cap.

Moldmade and hollow. Gray accretions on the interior surface may indicate a plaster mold.

Soft fabric, a bit rough to the touch but smoothed. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 100-103.25 S 85-93 \*105.06-104.50

Roman fill.

Second century C.E. or later.

### **305 Man's head with Phrygian cap**

Pl. 66

T59.041a: 2121

P.H.: 0.039

P.W.: 0.021

Th. at ear: 0.003

Only the front half is extant. Missing everything below the neck with features worn. The tip of the cap has broken off.

The head of a man in three quarter profile, facing left and wearing a Phrygian cap. Facial features are worn, but what remains suggests the presence of big, pointy ears, and a large, broad, bulbous nose. The cheeks are round and the eyes are set together. The mouth seems to have been straight and closed. The chin recedes into an almost non-existent neck.

White ground extant on the face; traces of yellow paint visible on the hat.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Small round hole on the interior, seems to go down to the neck but leads no where. The interior is clean and even; seems like the mold was filled by pressing clay in with a thumb or other finger, but no fingerprints are visible.

Medium hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions apparent on the breaks; very fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

Cf. *Metalwork*, 139, no. 915, pl. 52. Copper alloy, dated to the Late Roman period.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*122.85-122.00

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Second century C.E. or later.

### **306 Man's head with Phrygian cap**

Pl. 66

T10.008: 12547

P.H.: 0.040

P.W.: 0.028

P.D.: 0.029

Th.: 0.008

Only the back of the head and part of the neck are extant.

A head with a Phrygian cap; crudely modeled at best.

Some white ground is extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow with thick walls and a poorly concealed join seam.

The fabric is soft and smooth. Breaks are granular with frequent medium to small grog inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

F49 E 845-841.80 S 402-397.90  
\*185.49-185.42

Dense fill south of walls; Late Roman Phase I.

Second century C.E. or later.

### **307 Mime's head**

Pl. 66  
T02.003: 11276

P.H.: 0.032  
P.W.: 0.020  
P.D.: 0.016  
Th. at neck: 0.005

Only the front half is present; missing everything below the neck. The surface on the right side of the face has been badly chipped off.

The head of a mime, gender uncertain. The shape of the face is animalistic with a very long snout. The hair is arranged in tight curls represented by upraised circles. These curls rise from the head into a high triangle somewhat resembling Flavian or Trajanic hairdos. Low sloping forehead gives way to thick, protruding eyebrows, downturned, and depressed eyes. A large jutting nose, quite wide at the bottom, lies above an open mouth with thick regular lips, slightly downturned. The chin is round and it is the feature that stands out the furthest in profile view. The cheeks look hollowed. A round earring is visible on the extant left ear. Similar to **308**.

A very small patch of white ground is extant within the curls of the hair.

Moldmade and mostly solid, although hollow at the very center. Plaster mold likely.

Soft fabric with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks look granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

CW6

Second century C.E. or later.

### **308 Mime's head**

Pl. 66  
T10.026: 12662

P.H.: 0.041  
P.W.: 0.026  
P.D. (at nose): 0.034  
Th. (at half of neck): 0.006

Only the head is extant; missing everything below the chin. The top of the hair is broken off. Worn; some facial features, if ever modeled, are now gone. Perhaps they were indicated by paint?

The head of a mime, gender uncertain. The hair is arranged quite high on the top of the head and then gathered in a tighter arrangement at the back; likely mocking or imitating the elaborate hairstyles of Flavian and Trajanic ladies. In this example the eyes would have been sunken in, and the primary features would have been the protruding nose and mouth. The nose has a bumpy bridge that juts outwards horizontally, and a very bulbous tip. Just below, the mouth is a very simple straight line, incised. Lips seem to have been delineated as well. The chin is long, with almost no space between it and

the neck. The face in general is long. Similar type to **307**.

Some traces of white ground extant, especially on the area of the neck.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; seems solid. Some facial features, like the mouth, may have been completed by hand. Core burnt gray.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are common on the surface.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, 210-218, female heads with Imperial hairdos from Smyrna, pls. 292-298, Smyrna. "Naturalistes."

MMS E 122-124 S 58-60 \*103.20 +/- 0.10

Mixed fill in front of platform face.

Second century C.E. or later.

### **309 Fierce head**

Pl. 67

T93.006: 10096

P.H.: 0.052

P.W.: 0.031

Th. at hair: 0.009

Only the front half is extant, and then only the central part of the face above the chin. Worn and chipped.

The head of a man with a fierce demeanor. His hair, which seems to be arranged in vertical rows of tight curls, is sketchily modeled above a lightly wrinkled forehead. Heavy, furrowed eyebrows indicated by

both modeling and incision. The eyes are large and wide open, with thin modeled upper and lower lids, and irises and pupils indicated. A broad nose with pierced nostrils protrudes at the bottom along with the mouth, and further than the forehead. The mouth is open with very full lips. His cheeks are full; the chin is round but not too big. Somewhat leering expression. A barbarian?

Some tiny traces of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Some surface detail rendered in intaglio technique. Thick walls. Core fired gray.

Soft fabric with a slightly rough feel. Breaks are hackly. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

MMS E 95.50 S 82.50 \*101.17

Loose layers of a dump.

Second to third century C.E.

### **310 Fierce head**

Pl. 67

T79.004: 8440

P.H.: 0.039

P.W.: 0.025

Th.: 0.005

Only the front half is preserved; missing everything below the neck. The left ear is also missing. Weathered.

The head of a man with a fierce demeanor, facing forward. His hair is arranged in vertical rows of curls. He has a very slight "widow's peak" or otherwise receding hairline over a short wrinkled forehead. High protruding eyebrows are markedly

arched, and possibly connected over the nose. Below are elongated, almond-shaped eyes; their upper and lower lids seem to have been indicated. The nose is straight and broad at the bottom, and has pierced nostrils. The mouth is close to the nose and kept open in a snarl. Its upper lip is bowed and thick; the lower lip is thicker and straight. Several teeth are showing. The chin is pointed and slopes slightly towards a very thin neck. The face in general is long, broader along the cheeks, and then pointed at the chin. The ears are large, long, and although narrow, jut out along the coronal plane of the head. Wrinkled; either old or angry. His overall expression is menacing, almost animalistic. A barbarian?

Some very light traces of white ground extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Clean interior with visible fingerprints.

Medium hard fabric with a slightly rough feel. Small silvery mica inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 55, no. 417, pl. 9 the head of Nubian, dated to the third century C.E. *Priene*, 500, no. 287, pl. 124, a black slave.

MMS/S E 108.70 S 111.65 \*104.65

Second to third century C.E.

### 311 Fierce head

Pl. 67

T59.029a: 1869

P.H.: 0.063

P.W.: 0.045

P.D.: 0.051

Th. at chin: 0.007

A nearly complete face, missing parts above the forehead and off the eyes' corners. Also missing the left nostril, everything below the chin, and the back half of the head. Pockmarked.

A male head with a menacing expression that is nonetheless endearing. Wrinkled forehead and large, furrowed, protruding eyebrows; stylized, like large waves or curls. Below them, two large oval eyes that are fantastically detailed: their upper and lower lids are rendered in relief, but so are the eyeball, iris and pupil. The right pupil is either indented or missing; the left pupil is raised. A gigantic bulbous nose, also with curly waves down its sides and a complementary wavy profile. The nose is off center and pointing to the left. In general, the face is exaggeratedly asymmetrical. A menacing snarling mouth sits just below the nose, and is open and showing teeth; at least one fang-like tooth. Its upper lip is long, thin and bowed, almost like a worm. The lower lip is down turned. The chin is distinct, and the cheeks are neither full nor hollow. The overall theme is lively waves, thus comical rather than threatening.

Light traces of dark to red/brown mottled slip on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Excess clay was removed from the mold with a tool; the interior is clean, if a bit rough. Thick walls. Very crisp modeling.

Medium hard fabric with a roughened surface. Breaks are smooth to granular. Micaceous; varied grog inclusions are also present.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 90 S 210 \*123.00  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Second to third century C.E.

### **312 Phallus**

Pl. 67  
T11.043: 12906

P.L.: 0.049  
Max. Diam.: 0.018

Missing parts of the shaft and tip. Chipped and weathered.

A small, naturalistic phallus; round in section. Probably served as an apotropaic ornament, or as part of an ithyphallic figure.

Some red pigment extant on the surface.

Seems to have been modeled by hand (many fingerprints still visible on the surface), with the detail of the head rendered in intaglio technique. Solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. No inclusions immediately visible.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. Handler 2012, 265, nos. 130 and 131, fig. 10.

HoB  
Dump; brought to the excavator in "high secrecy."

First to third century C.E.

### **313 Phallus**

Pl. 67  
T11.044: 12907

P.L.: 0.050  
Max. Diam.: 0.015

The surface is well preserved. Broken at mid shaft.

A small linear phallus. Its shaft is tubular and round in section; it broadens towards the head and then tapers to a point. Probably served as an apotropaic ornament, or as part of an ithyphallic figure.

Some red pigment remains within crevices. Seems to have been rolled by hand, with the detail of the head rendered in intaglio technique. Solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB W 10 S 115-120 \*103-102.50

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to third century C.E.

### **314 Theatrical mask**

Pl. 68  
T11.067: 12940

P.H.: 0.044  
P.W.: 0.047  
Th.: 0.004

Preserved above the nose; the right eye is gone. Mended from two fragments.

A comic mask, perhaps of a slave. No hair is visible; the short forehead seems mostly unlined. Prominent brows are furrowed above rounded, pierced eyes with lids and irises modeled in relief. The nose is straight and regular with nostrils indicated. The mouth's upper lip is wavy, not too full, and suggests an open mouth. Perhaps an angry old man. Similar to **315**.

Some white ground extant, with a dark pigment also visible, especially on the nose.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. The back is clean but coarse.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. The fabric looks coarse; varied grog and small silvery mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 60, no. 560, pl. 14, a comic mask of a leading slave, dated to the third century C.E. *Tarsus I*, 347, no. 276, fig. 234, a slave of comedy.

HoB W 35-40 S 110-115 \*102.4-102.2  
Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **315 Theatrical mask**

Pl. 68  
T98.001: 11027

P.H.: 0.033  
P.W.: 0.044  
Th.: 0.005

Preserved only above the eyes. Weathered.

A theatrical mask, possibly comical, with only the eyebrows and a bit of the forehead extant. Its facial features are grotesque, with

bulging eyes, pierced, and pronounced, raised furrowed eyebrows. Vertical and horizontal wrinkles across the forehead; no hair. A leading slave?  
Similar to **314**.

Some white ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Clean back.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth or laminar. Micaceous with some very fine grog inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 60, no. 560, pl. 14, a comic mask of a leading slave, dated to the third century C.E. *Tarsus I*, 347, no. 276, fig. 234, a slave of comedy.

MMS/S E 97-103.80 S 117-122 \*108.2-104.57  
Cleanup of trench.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **316 Theatrical mask?**

Pl. 68  
T86.007: 9231

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.059  
Th.: 0.003-0.011

Only the left eye, eyebrow, and part of the forehead and hair are extant. Accreted and chipped.

A large figural plaque of a human face or mask. What remains of the hair seems tousled, with distinct tufts of wavy strands framing the face. Short forehead over high rounded brows. The extant eye is almond-

shaped with upper and lower lids modeled in relief. Its upper lid seems to have been slightly thicker. The eyeball, iris, and pupil were also modeled in relief.

The surface preserves some traces of orange brown paint.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Thick walls.

Hard fabric with a rough feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

MMS E 100-103.25 S 85-93 \*105.06-104.5086  
Roman fill.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **317 Theatrical mask**

Pl. 68  
T90.003: 9738

P.H.: 0.055  
P.W.: 0.031  
Th.: 0.005

Only the right eye and cheek are extant.

The right half of a mask. Deep-set eye, almost complete; almond-shaped, with upper and lower lids modeled in relief and the pupil pierced through. Rounded cheek with dimple under it. Beautiful rather than comical.

Some very light traces of white ground are extant. Also, some red pigment is visible around the cheek, with some other darker color on the lower section of the fragment. Hair?

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Core burnt to a dark gray.

Very hard fabric with a smooth feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

MMS/S E 107.4-111 S 140-142.3  
\*112.03-111.83  
In the hypocaust.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **318 Theatrical mask**

Pl. 68  
T13.010: 13640

P.H.: 0.053  
P.W.: 0.066  
Th.: 0.005

One fragment, preserving part of the top edge, hanging hole, hair, and forehead.

A Bacchic mask, possibly of a smiling faun. Short, wavy hair, with a fillet of ivy berries (one extant) and leaves across the forehead. The forehead wrinkles between the pierced eyes (one partially extant). Pierced for hanging.

Traces of white ground extant at the front.

Moldmade in a single-sided plaster mold. The back was carefully cleaned. The hair was plastically modeled, but the ivy berries are linear, indicated by incised circles.

The fabric is hard, slightly rough, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 61, no. 580, pl. 14, a faun, dated to the third century C.E. *British Museum III*, 200, nos. 2616 and 2617, pl. 97, a Dionysus protome from Halikrnasos, dated to the second or first century B.C.E.

ByzFort E 699-672.5 S 344.4-351.5  
\*193.6-193.4

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 319 Theatrical mask

Pl. 69  
T90.009: 9777

P.H.: 0.062  
P.W.: 0.079  
Th.: 0.008

Only part of the right eyebrow, forehead and wreath are extant. Accreted.

A theatrical mask, identification uncertain. Possibly a female, she wears a wreath or garland of flowers on her head. The extant flower is rendered simplistically in relief, as one circle surrounded by another four. Flanking the flower are several large leaves in slightly lower relief. The brow bone is high and above the usual pierced eye. A Dionysian type?

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a single-sided, plaster mold. Core fired to a dark gray.

Fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 347, no. 288, fig. 235, a Dionysus?

MMS/S E 106-112 S 133-137 \*112.24-112.1

Fill below Roman floor.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 320 Theatrical mask

Pl. 69  
T11.100: 13006

P.H.: 0.020  
P.W.: 0.059  
P.D.: 0.034  
Th.: 0.005

Only part of the hair is extant.

A small theatrical mask, gender uncertain. Fragment with hair showing curls of the “ουλασ” type. Linear style, each lock is a circular spiral rendered in relief. A raised band has five rows of these curls. A recessed area to the side (or back) continues with a different texture of hair rendered in lower relief. This area has a small circular piercing, possibly for hanging the mask.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. The back is particularly tidy.

Hard fabric with a grainy feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 348, no. 311, fig. 235.

HoB E 10 S 60  
Grave area, around grave G, near stuccoed structure.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 321 Theatrical mask

Pl. 69

T62.038: 4745a

P.H.: 0.045

P.W.: 0.055

Th.: 0.007

Only part of the hair and the right edge of the mask are extant.

A theatrical mask of uncertain identification, probably comedic. Short curly hair arranged in at least three rows around the face. Beyond the hair, a plain area comes forward and ends in a rounded edge.

Some white ground extant on the front surface.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Core fired to a light gray.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 347, no. 287, fig. 235, a Dionysus, unstratified.

RT E 80-84 S 4.50-10 ca \*94

Fill under sidewalk in front of Jakob's shop.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 322 Theatrical mask

Pl. 69

T59.039a: 2091

P.H.: 0.096

P.W.: 0.048

Th.: 0.007

Only the left ear and some of the hair are present. Some chips off the surface and heavy accretions.

A partial theatrical mask; an ear with some hair indicated above it. At the auricle, a perfectly round orifice has been pierced through the clay. The hair is impressionistically indicated and would have seemed curly. The ear has some naturalistic detail, but its form is mostly simplified. Comedic type?

White ground extant, along with some pink or reddish pigment over the hair.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 90 S 200 \*124.45-123.45  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Second to third century C.E.

### 323 Theatrical mask

Pl. 69

T80.007: 8565

P.H.: 0.019

P.W.: 0.026

Th.: 0.004

P.D. (of wall beyond pupil): 0.001

A very small fragment is extant, preserving part of an eyebrow and an eye.

A small theatrical mask; linear style. The eyebrow was rendered in high relief, with its hairs indicated by short parallel incisions.

The eye is lower in relief but still grooved, presumably to show the detail of the lid. The pupil is pierced through.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

HoB W 1; E 1 S 63.45-61.45

Third century C.E.?

### **324 Horse**

Pl. 70

T59.028: 1844

P.H.: 0.043

P.W.: 0.077

Th.: 0.005

Only the left half is present, and then only portions of the forequarters. Two joining fragments and one non-joining piece (not pictured).

The left side of a horse's torso with the front leg extant from the shoulder down to just below the knee. The muscles were modeled naturalistically. A small non-joining fragment may be part of one of the hind legs.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The walls are thin and regular. Multiple fingerprints extant on the interior.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks are granular. Some mica inclusions and a little piece of quartz.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

HoB E 10 S 60

Contents of grave G. See *BASOR* 157 (1960), 28.

First to second century C.E.

### **325 Rooster**

Pl. 70

T63.033: 5233

H.: 0.134

L.: 0.115

Max. W.: 0.046

H. of base: 0.027

Th.: 0.004

Almost complete. Part of its base is missing, as well as the very tip of the tail and its proper right wing.

A gallant rooster. Meant to be seen from multiple angles, with left profile providing main the view. Round comb, like a moon; plain, with no modeled texture. A Straight beak forms a smooth line with the comb. Two small spheres make up the wattle. Hyper-elongated almond-shaped eyes span the entire space of head on both sides, with pupils and lids indicated by grooves. Other surface detail (feathers, wings) was modeled in relief, although some incisions were later made to reinforce the appearance of the feathers. The legs seem to have been molded as a single unit, although some separate detail is discernible. The rooster stands a top a round double-tiered base with some scoring at the edges.

Self-slipped. Traces of white ground are

extant on the exterior with visible red pigment on the tail.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The joint seams were well finished although visible.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are granular. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. Boutantin 2014, 374, nos. 258-259, dated to the second or third centuries C.E., from a tomb in Tounah.

PN W 221 S 347 \*89.70

Grave 63.1, northeast of pelvis of skeleton no.1 within sarcophagus. Found with three more figurines, now missing: a woman, enthroned, with animal on her lap; a woman riding side-saddled; a theatrical mask (See Ill. 14). Dated by the excavator to the third or early fourth century C.E. See *BASOR* 174 (1964), 21-23, fig. 12.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **326 Rooster**

Pl. 70  
T59.030: 1870

P.H.: 0.080  
Max. W.: 0.033  
L.: 0.091  
Th.: 0.003

Complete but for the legs. Some holes and chipping along the surface.

A standing rooster with his head slightly cocked to the left. The left side, which was probably the front, has a bit more modeled detail than the right. The feathers along the

body were indicated through long recessed lines. The texture at the legs was rendered with mottling. No separate wing is discernible.

Significant amounts of white ground extant on the exterior. Some small traces of pink pigment are visible on the wing area as well.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The joint seam is visible, but narrow and clean. Especially large “warts” suggest careless use of a plaster mold.

The fabric is medium hard and somewhat rough. Breaks are smooth or laminar. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

HoB E 90 S 210 ca. 123 meters  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **327 Rooster**

Pl. 70  
T86.009: 9264

P.H.: 0.070  
P.L.: 0.075  
Max. W.: 0.036  
Th. of legs: 0.001  
Th. of walls: 0.003

Almost complete; missing the legs, top of the tail, and parts of the coxcomb. Some of the fragments from the broken tail seem to have fallen inside the figurine so that it now rattles like a maraca. Perhaps a rattle originally?

A rooster, standing, with wings held closed at his sides. His coxcomb leans back, rather

than going straight up. The eye seems to have been originally plastically rendered, but is now worn. The beak is long and pointy. Handsome tail. The legs were molded together as a single unit.

Self-slipped. Significant amounts of white ground extant on the exterior. Traces of polychrome paint on the coxcomb, forehead, and back; the body seems to have been red, and the coxcomb and other details, dark maroon.

Moldmade and hollow, yet noticeably heavy. The modeling is relatively smooth, but preserves some stray tool marks. Single short slashes mark the wing tips, beak profile and coxcomb. Plaster mold likely. The join seam is visible below the tail, but was otherwise well concealed.

Hard fabric with smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

Cf. Boutantin 2014, 376, no. 268.

MMS E 104 S 89.2 \*104.8  
Roman deposit I.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **328 Rooster's head**

Pl. 70  
T11.055: 12927

P.H.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.022  
P.L.: 0.048  
Th.: 0.005

Missing everything below the neck. Worn and chipped.

The head of a rooster. He has a short wavy comb with four distinct crests. The beak is downturned, and just above a small wattle. The left side of the rooster would have faced the viewer; the right side was left plain.

White ground extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade with a hollow body and solid head.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks look granular to smooth. Grog and small golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 68, no. 818, pl. 20, with similar wavy comb, dated to the late third or early fourth century C.E.

HoB E 90 S 216 \*123.00  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **329 Rooster's head?**

Pl. 70  
T11.005: 12791

P.H.: 0.079  
P.W.: 0.035  
Th.: 0.007

Only part of the head is extant. If indeed a rooster, the beak and comb are missing.

What seems to be the head of a rooster, its wattle being the most recognizable feature. Part of the comb might also be extant. The feathers of the hackle were modeled naturalistically.

Both exterior and interior are covered in a heavy white ground.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

Hard micaceous fabric.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

MD2 E 530-534 N 357-358.5 \*86.66-85.90

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **330 Rooster**

Pl. 70

T11.058: 12931

P.H.: 0.063

P.L.: 0.054

Th.: 0.005

Only the left half is extant, with the head and feet missing. Chipped, especially over the area of the wing.

A small rooster, standing. Tall neck and a small wattle. A large, substantial wing; a smallish tail by comparison. Linear style.

Significant amounts of white ground extant on the surface, especially within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

LAW E 75-76 S 332-333 \*1.7-1.85 meters below surface

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **331 Lion's leg**

Pl. 71

T61.051: 3536

P.H.: 0.058

L. (of foot): 0.017

Only the left foreleg is extant. Accreted.

The front left leg and paw of a standing lion. The chest preserves traces of a mane rendered as relief ovals with diagonal scoring. The left side of the leg also has faint scoring to show the texture of the fur. The front of the leg was left plain. The top of the paw is raised, and then steps down to five toes that have been separated out through incision. The resting surface of the foot is a flat circle, smaller than the paw itself, and should have served to stand the figurine unaided. Similar to **332**, perhaps an earlier generation.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid. The body above should have been hollow. Modeling in relief, but linear in style.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

HoB E 2 S 137 \*103

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 332 Lion's leg

Pl. 71

T61.071: 3666

P.H.: 0.050

P.L. (torso): 0.039

P.L. (foot): 0.016

W. (foot): 0.020

Th.: 0.006

Only the left foreleg and a bit of the left flank are extant.

The front left leg and paw of a standing lion. His chest and flank preserve traces of a mane and fur rendered as relief ovals with diagonal scoring. The leg is plain and rectangular in section. The paw has no modeled toes. Its bottom is flat so that the figurine may have stood unaided. Similar to **331**, perhaps a later example.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid. The body above should have been hollow. Modeling in relief, but linear in style

Fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 5-10 S 110 to \*100.60

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 333 Quadruped's leg

Pl. 71

T59.025: 1760

P.H.: 0.071

L. (foot): 0.028

Th.: 0.004-0.010

Only one leg is extant.

The right foreleg of a powerful, and maybe menacing, quadruped; it is bent at the knee, as if preparing for attack. Almost circular in section, it tapers down slightly to a large round paw. Its sides are faceted. The flat bottom could have supported the figure unaided. Surface detail was incised. Two narrow grooves on the paw's surface indicate the toes. Wider horizontal grooves around the leg are mysterious. Stripes? Armor?

Covered in thick white ground.

Moldmade and hollow. One side of the figure has much thicker walls than the other. A fingerprint is extant at the bottom of the foot. Fired gray on the exterior.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 80 S 200 ca. \*123.45 meters

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### 334 Bear's leg

Pl. 71

T60.007: 2394

P.H.: 0.062

P.L.: 0.029

Max. W.: 0.027

Only the front half is present, and then only the foot and the bottom of one leg are extant.

The right hind leg of a standing animal, perhaps a bear. Linear style; surface detail is recessed rather than worked in relief. Four

long grooves on the foot indicate the toes. Short oval depressions indicate the fur. The bottom of the foot is slightly concave.

Painted red, even at the bottom. No preparatory ground.

Moldmade; solid leg and hollow body. The interior is tidy.

The fabric is hard and very slightly abrasive. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

HoB E 15 S 115 \*100.60  
Floor level within a large Roman building.

First to second century C.E. An import?

### **335 Bear's leg**

Pl. 71  
T11.063: 12936

P.H. (body): 0.037  
P.L.: (leg): 0.043  
W. (paw): 0.020

Broken off where the paw attaches to the rest of the body.

What seems to be the paw of a bear. Its orientation is uncertain; possibly a performing bear with its foreleg upraised. The bottom of the paw is aligned with the leg so that clearly no weight is being placed upon it. Linear style with the texture of the fur indicated by short grooves.

White ground extant within crevices.

Moldmade, and at least the leg/paw, solid. The join seams were well hidden. Fingerprints extant on the exterior.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 794, pl. 19, dated to the third century C.E.

HoB W 10-15 S 180-185 to \*109.40

Third century C.E. or earlier.

### **336 Crouching quadruped**

Pl. 71  
T11.059: 12932

P.H.: 0.062  
P.L.: 0.068  
Th.: 0.005

Only one half is present, and then only the hind quarters of the animal. The tail has broken off.

A crouching quadruped, perhaps a goat or a hare. Not much detail rendered plastically; only the left hind leg is discernible.

White ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Excess clay was removed from the mold with the aid of tools; still, somewhat messy interior.

Medium hard fabric with a powdery feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 68, no. 808, pl. 20, a goat, dated to the first or second century C.E.

HoB E 60-65 S 148-151 \*108-107.8

First to second century C.E.

### 337 Dolphin's tail

Pl. 71

T61.056: 3579

P.W. (fin): 0.038

P.L.: 0.039

Th. at break: 0.014

Th. at fin tip: 0.004

Missing the body before the tail; the left end of the fin has chipped off.

The tail fin of a dolphin or some other aquatic creature. One side has modeled detail while the other has none.

Some white ground extant on the exterior, along with some yellow pigment.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Tarsus I*, 324, no. 106, fig. 221, Eros on a dolphin.

HoB E 10-5 S 110 \*101.40

Lydian Trench, above Hellenistic levels.

First to third century C.E.

### 338 Wheel

Pl. 72

T91.011: 9877

Diam.: 0.055

Th.: 0.005

Most of the circumference is extant, but missing parts of the rim and disc. Slightly weathered.

A wheel, likely for a horse or cart, with a central piercing for attachment. Round with relief rim and four relief spokes in the shape of leaves. The back is plain and mostly flat.

Some white ground extant on the front surface.

Moldmade in a single-sided, plaster mold; solid. Finger prints visible on the back.

The fabric is medium hard and mostly smooth. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Louvre III*, no. D 3226, pl. 207, g. Unprovenanced.

ByzFort E 709-712 S 410-413 \*186.06-184.50

Soft, dark soil layer within dump.

First to third century C.E.

### 339 Wheel

Pl. 72

T11.086: 12969

Diam.: 0.064

Th.: 0.006

Complete; the surface is weathered but otherwise fine.

A wheel, likely for a horse or cart, with a central piercing for attachment. Round with relief rim and five thick relief spokes. The back is plain and mostly flat.

A significant amount of white ground extant on both sides.

Moldmade in a single-sided, plaster mold; solid. Fingerprints visible on the back. The

surface was allowed to crack and to bubble giving it a slightly unfinished appearance.

Hard fabric with a slightly coarse feel. No breaks. Some small to fine dark gravel visible on the back.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 787, pl. 19, dated to the fourth century C.E.

Syn E 34.60-37 N 7.50-9 \*92.50

First to third century C.E.

### **340 Wheel**

Pl. 72

T11.087: 12970

Diam.: 0.057

Th.: 0.007

Only half of the circumference is extant. Eroded.

A wheel, likely for a horse or cart, with a central piercing for attachment. Round with relief rim and eight relief spokes (five extant). The back is plain and mostly flat. Similar to **341**.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold; solid.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 787, pl. 19, dated to the fourth century C.E. *Louvre III*, no. D 3225, pl. 207, f, unprovenanced.

HoB to \*111

Enormous dump composed of alternate layers of debris and calcined animal bones. Pottery, lamps, and other finds mostly dated Late Hellenistic to Late Roman.

First to third century C.E.

### **341 Wheel**

Pl. 72

T11.096: 12989

Diam.: 0.062

Th.: 0.011

Only half of the circumference is extant. Eroded.

A wheel, likely for a horse or cart, with a central piercing for attachment. Round with relief rim and eight relief spokes (five extant). The back is plain and mostly flat. Similar to **340**.

Small traces of white ground extant around the rim.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold; solid. The center bore was carefully smoothed and finished.

The fabric is medium hard and powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 787, pl. 19, dated to the fourth century C.E. *Louvre III*, no. D 3225, pl. 207, f, unprovenanced.

MMS E 144.8-145.4 S 75.5-77.5

\*103.3-102.75

Room XXII: stone pit.

First to third century C.E.

### 342 Wheel

Pl. 72

T11.088: 12971

Diam.: 0.061

Th.: 0.005-0.007

Slightly more than half of the circumference is preserved. Chipped edges.

A wheel, likely for a horse or cart, with a central piercing for attachment. Linear style. The disc is not entirely flat, but somewhat concave at the front. The spokes and rim were rendered in intaglio technique on both the front and back. The front has a wider rim than the back, and six thin, unevenly spaced spokes. The back has a narrower rim, and seven thin, unevenly spaced spokes; these in particular look as if carelessly scratched onto the surface.

No painted decoration is extant.

Handmade with incised decoration. Solid. Uneven thickness.

Stone hard fabric with a rough feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 7.5 YR 5/N5/, gray.

HoB E 60-65 S 150-153 to \*111

First to third century C.E.

### 343 Bust of military man

Pl. 73

T59.034: 1958

P.H.: 0.160

P.W.: 0.131

Th.: 0.009

Heavily restored. Missing the center of the chest and the left eye. The surface is pitted and scratched. Currently in two separate fragments.

A cuirassed man wearing a paludamentum pinned over his right shoulder. On the left shoulder, what seems to be the leather of the cuirass, and perhaps the sleeve of his short tunic. He also wears a Corinthian helmet with nice metalwork decoration on its edge; part of the crest is still extant. Short, straight hair, rendered by incised lines, parted at the middle of a very short forehead. Almost horizontal eyebrows, slightly furrowed, over long almond-shaped eyes. Both upper and lower lids were modeled. Pierced pupil? Large, straight nose with nostrils indicated. The detail of the philtrum is incised. Thin, open mouth. The upper lip is bowed; the lower lip is slightly downturned. Distinct chin with circular dimple meets long neck at 45-degree angle. The face is somewhat square in shape. He seems to gaze upward, heroically.

Very small traces of white ground extant on the exterior; more at the back and interior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. The join seam is visible on the left shoulder. Retouched after unmolding.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 30 S 60 \*96.50

Area 7; below floor 3. Found near **354**.

Third or fourth century C.E.

### 344 Woman's head

Pl. 73  
T59.006: 1365

P.H.: 0.030  
P.W.: 0.029  
Th.: 0.004

Only half of the figurine is extant, likely the front, and then only a small fragment of the hair.

The head of a woman wearing an elaborate fourth century C.E. coiffure. The hair closest to the face is arranged in at least ten rows of narrow waves rendered in low relief. Beyond the waves, what seems to be a twisted ribbon or other hair ornament, terminating in a knot and tassel (?), and beyond this, a high arrangement of large thick braids rendered in slightly higher relief. The style is linear but careful and delicate. The braids could alternatively be vines and leaves.

White ground and some red pigment extant over the hair and braid.

Moldmade and hollow. Surface detail carefully incised.

The fabric is soft and smooth. Breaks are granular. Small golden mica inclusions are common.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 16, 48, no. 189, pl. 5.

HoB E 20 S 60 ca. \*100.08-99.70  
High fill.

Fourth century C.E.

### 345 Man's head?

Pl. 73  
T59.038: 1995

P.H.: 0.038  
P.W.: 0.031  
Th.: 0.003

Only the front half is present. The lower part of the face is preserved, including the left eye. The tip of the nose and its right side were destroyed. Partially accreted and pockmarked.

A delicately modeled human head, probably male. The extant left eye, which is almond-shaped, has a well-defined pupil and iris, and seems to be staring forward, wide open, yet impassive. Both upper and lower lids are defined in a way that detracts from the naturalistic effect of the remaining features. The nose would have been straight, and yet substantial, with clear indentations to indicate nostrils. Below it, a very short philtrum seems to have been modeled. Opposing bows make for curvy lips that settle into a straight mouth. The cheeks and chin are softly rounded with a dimple on the chin. The chin is a convex curve that slopes down softly to the neck. The facial features in general give the impression of being crowded towards the center of a more ample, yet gracefully oval face.

Seems to have been burnished to a nice dark shine. The surface is definitely darker than the fabric itself. Perhaps painted black?

Moldmade and hollow. The walls are thin and of consistent width. Tool marks on the interior, which is a bit rough.

Hard fabric with a mostly smooth feel. Weathering has made the surface slightly rough. Breaks look smooth.

Munsell: 10R 3/1, dark reddish gray.

HoB E 80 S 210 \*119.68-118.53  
Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Fourth century C.E.?

### **346 Man's head?**

Pl. 73  
T98.008: 11097

P.H.: 0.043  
P.W.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.003

Only the front half is present, and then much of it is missing; particularly missing everything above the cut across the eyes.

The lower part of a human face, staring forward. Seemingly round eyes, wide open; straight nose with large nostrils indicated. The mouth, placed just below the nose, is a straight incised line surrounded by a long oval. A large, round dimple on the chin. The chin descends straight onto the neck, with almost no space between the two.

The surface was covered with a dark to red mottled slip. No preparatory ground.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Fine golden mica inclusions are common on the interior surface.

Munsell: 10R 6/6, light red.

MMS/S E 147.00-143.00 S 116.10-117.60 \*105.76-105.46  
Fill around the drainage system I in Space O2

Fourth century C.E.?

### **347 Human head**

Pl. 73  
T61.010: 3206

P.H.: 0.038  
P.W.: 0.026  
Th.: 0.003

Only part of the face remains: the left eye and cheek, part of the nose and a full mouth and chin. The left cheek is pockmarked towards the back.

A fragment of a human head. What remains of the eye gives the impression that it was closed, or that it was indicated by a straight slit. It is probable, however, that the eye was round, with pupil and iris rendered in relief. The nose seems to have been straight and broad, but is now broken off. The nostrils are clearly indicated. The mouth is wide with a thicker and longer upper lip (cupid's bow type), the result of which is that it appears to be down turned. The chin is round and descends gradually onto the neck.

Traces of dark to red mottled slip extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow. Even-looking interior surface.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel where not pockmarked. Breaks look smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

HoB E 5 S 90 \*100

Fourth century C.E.?

### 348 Wrinkled head

Pl. 74  
T63.007: 4980

P.H.: 0.049  
P.W.: 0.027  
P.L.: 0.018  
Th.: 0.004

Only the front half is present, and then missing everything below the neck and above the eyes. Part of the right eye is still extant. Most of both cheeks still present, but nothing beyond. Mended from two fragments. Some large chips off face, especially from the chin.

The head of an old human, turned slightly to the right. The eyes are mostly missing but they seem to have been round, with lids and irises rendered in relief, and pupils pierced or recessed. The outside corners of the eyes slant downwards. The nose is protuberant and beaked. The profile seems to continue in a straight line below the nose, as both the mouth and chin jut out. The lips appear to be parted, with a tongue showing in between them. Both the nose and mouth are twisted to the right. Wrinkles or skin folds are visible around the nose and mouth, and down the right cheek. Almost no differentiation between the chin and long neck. The overall expression is comical. Perhaps earlier than Late Roman?

A thin wash of white ground extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and hollow.

Hard fabric; a bit rough. Breaks are smooth. Small silvery mica inclusions are rare on the exterior. Varied grog is evident on the interior.

Munsell: 10R 4/1, dark reddish gray.

Syn E 117-118 S 0-2 \*97.50  
From sift.

Fourth century C.E.? An Early Hellenistic date cannot be discounted.

### 349 Human head

Pl. 74  
T02.001: 11235

P.H.: 0.071  
P.W.: 0.056  
Th.: 0.005

Only the front half, if indeed a back existed, is present. Then, most of the right side of the face is missing, as well as the top. Broken off across the eye, with only part of the right eye extant. The left part of the neck is also missing, and the bottom of nose was broken off.

A human face, gender uncertain. Large, wide-open eyes, staring forward, with lids and eyeballs worked in relief and a clearly depressed pupil. The nose is straight and narrow; it is shaped almost like an upside-down "T" rather than as a more naturalistic triangle. The mouth is rendered as a horizontal and narrow oval with no lips indicated; only the opening of the mouth is visible. Its center is very narrow and straight; the corners are circular. Protruding oval chin. Facial features seem to be concentrated in a small area at the center of a very broad face. The cheeks are round. The overall expression is swollen; perhaps concentrating.

Dark to reddish brown mottled slip extant on the surface. No preparatory ground.

Moldmade and hollow.

Hard fabric with a somewhat rough feel. Breaks look laminar to granular. Micaceous. One big piece (0.08 centimeters) of lime or quartz. Small varied grog inclusions are frequent.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

MMS ca. E 114 ca. S 96 surface to \*105.2

Collapse of Roman dump.

Fourth century C.E.?

### **350 Man's head**

Pl. 74

T67.009: 7392

P.H.: 0.074

H. of head: 0.034

W. of head: 0.033

D. of head: 0.038

Diam. of cup: 0.063

Th. of cup at lip: 0.006

The figure is missing below the chin, and most of the cup above the head is missing as well. Facial features are slightly worn. Part of the nose and chin have chipped off.

A human head with a large cup or other vessel on top of it. The hair is short and curly. The curls are rendered as relief donuts. There is one row of curls at the front of the head; at least eight rows at back. Almond-shaped eyes are wide and open, with lids and irises in relief and pupils rendered as recessed circles. The nose would have been a bit flat. The nostrils seem to have been indicated. Full, straight lips form a mouth that is as wide as the bottom of the nose, and that it is curled up into a very slight smile. Almost no space left in between the nose and mouth. The chin is round. The bottom of the face and of the neck are

somewhat broad. Almost no space left in between the chin and neck. Slight depressions on both sides of the head were the ears should have been may indeed be ears. The overall expression is of happy ignorance. The cup has a finished edge. The lip is square and slightly bevelled inward.

The surface was smoothed, perhaps self-slipped before application of a dark to reddish brown mottled slip. The interior of the cup was left unpainted, although it was clearly an open vessel.

Moldmade and hollow. Not much care given to hiding the join seam, which lies behind the ear area. The walls of both the head and cup are thick and slightly irregular.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks look hackly to granular. The interior of the cup is powdery to rough in feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 5/8, yellowish red.

B W 82.50 N 2.10 \*97.54

Fourth century C.E. or later?

### **351 Human head**

Pl. 74

T11.069: 12942

P.H.: 0.030

P.W.: 0.028

P.D.: 0.032

Th.: 0.003

Only the head is extant. Worn.

A human head, possibly female. The hair is kept short and close to the head. It is arranged in two rows of large curls rendered as relief donuts. Short, triangular forehead. Rounded eyebrows meld onto the nose,

which in turn is unusually short. The eyes are round and wide open; also rendered as relief donuts. The mouth is now worn. The chin seems pointed, yet the overall feeling of the face (and head) is round. The overall expression is happy rather than surprised. A round hole was pierced at the very top/center of the head. The piece does not seem to belong to a figural vessel; perhaps the hole was meant for some sort of attachment or headdress.

Very small traces of white ground are extant. Traces of dark gray pigment are abundant, especially on the hair.

Moldmade and hollow. Thin and even walls. Detail of hair modeled on the back.

Hard fabric with rough or coarse feel. Breaks are smooth. Fine golden mica inclusions are rare on the surface.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 106-114 S 94-97 \*104.3-104.2

Fourth century C.E. or later?

### **352 Human head**

Pl. 74

T11.066: 12939

P.H.: 0.036

P.W.: 0.022

P.D.: 0.025

Th. at bottom of neck: 0.005

Only the head is extant. The surface is pitted, the nose has been chipped off, the object on top of the head is broken, and yet, the features are clear.

A human head, possibly male, staring forward. Linear style. The hair is kept close

to the head, except for a raised crest at the top back that continues down the back of the head; this might not be hair at all, but an attachment for hanging or grabbing. Very short rectangular forehead above slightly raised eyebrows that meld into the nose. The eyes are rounded at the inside corners and elongated at the outside; wide and staring. Irises are indicated by raised circles. The upper and lower lids are also raised. The nose is thin and triangular, now flattened. The mouth is very small, straight, and closed. The chin is small and pointed; it goes down to a wide neck almost perpendicularly. The ears, if present, are modeled flat against the head. Even though the chin is pointed, the face is pleasantly round. Its overall expression is happy.

Dark brown red slip or pigment extant all over, but especially within the creases of the face.

Moldmade and hollow. Facial features were done by hand. The back was left plain. The join seam is visible (and slightly raised), but even.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth and slightly powdery feel. Breaks are smooth. Very fine golden mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow.

MMS E 122-124 S 56-60 \*107.2-104.2  
Gravel fill; found with shoveled earth.

Fourth century C.E. or later?

### 353 Eye

Pl. 75

T80.002: 8487

P.H.: 0.048

P.W.: 0.032

Th.: 0.004

Only part of a left eye is extant.

A human face rendered in typical "Late Antique" linear style. Almond-shaped eye below a high brow. The brow and eyelids are worked in high relief; the iris and pupil are incised. The surface is further enhanced by incised lines. Hair? Another sort of texture?

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Could be a plaque. The interior is particularly clean and smooth.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 7.5YR 7/4, pink.

HoB E 2.20-4.20 S 64.48-71.48 \*100.50

Fourth century C.E. or later?

### 354 Theatrical mask

Pl. 75

T59.043a-d: 2141

Largest fragment:

P.H.: 0.135

P.W.: 0.149

Th.: 0.027-0.005

A large theatrical mask in four non-joining fragments. Largest fragment (A) has part of

the right ear, eye, and hair preserved. Other fragments preserve parts of garlands, crowns, or are mysterious in nature. Fragment D seems to preserve a real bottom.

The mask of a woman, perhaps a priestess. She wears her hair in an elaborate fourth century C.E. coiffure. Just above her short rectangular forehead, the hair is kept in separate locks or curls rendered in low relief. Above this, more hair is gathered into distinct vertical braids that come forward a fair distance, and then go up. Two circular scars above the braids may indicate some further ornament; a crown? Horns? Next to the face, what seem to be feathers, also in low relief. The brow bone is high and curves in a gentle wave around her eyes. The eyes seem to have been placed close together, are almond-shaped, and have at least the upper eyelids and the irises modeled in relief. The pupils were pierced through. The ears are large, round, and placed on the same plane as the face. She might also have garlands coming down the left side of her face.

Thick white ground extant on both front and back surfaces.

Moldmade in a single-sided mold. Thick, heavy walls. General shape, especially at sides, seems to have been square.

Hard-fired fabric, with a smooth to powdery feel. Micaceous.

Munsell: 10R 6/8, light red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 16, 48, no. 189, pl. 5.

HoB E 30 S 60 \*96.50

Area 7; below floor 3. Found with **343**.

Fourth century C.E.

### 355 Amor on a camel

Pl. 76

P63.151: 5163

H.: 0.146

L.: 0.164

Max. W.: 0.035

Th.: 0.007

Almost complete figure. Mended from at least six fragments, with some modern fills. The surface is well preserved for the most part, but worn.

Amor riding on a camel. The left side should have faced the viewer, but the right side is better preserved. Meant to be seen from multiple angles. The camel is walking, striding forward with his left foreleg and right hind leg. His tail, which resembles a leaf, is short and pointing out and up. He has a gentle face, with features, including the eyes, rendered in low relief. The right eye is a bit higher than the left, and he seems to smile, affably. His ears are round and small; the left one is missing. The neck is long, soft and drooping. Something, now broken, hangs from the neck, probably a tuft of fur. No plastically modeled detail of fur. The camel is harnessed, or at least roped. The reins seem to be twisted around themselves or knotted. His legs are stumpy, like in the many examples of large quadrupeds from Sardis (367-377).

Amor sits on a kind of platform, throne or saddle, astride. The saddle, or saddle bag, is quite pretty. Two straight lines in high relief frame diagonal lines in lower relief, centrally parted, sloping down (like a fish skeleton); these are then edged with straight falling tassels. Amor's wings, textured in relief, fall back as he looks to the left. His right arm, still well preserved, surrounds the fill hole for the vessel (a lamp?), as if it were

some kind of pot on his lap. The border of the hole has a raised finished edge. (There is an additional, smaller hole on the camel's head, perhaps the wick hole, but it does not have a conspicuous finished rim and was probably not meant to be noticed.) Amor's left arm seems to be kept back, with the elbow bent at a 90-degree angle but not reaching or encircling the fill hole. With his left hand he holds his bow, which then hangs down upon his thigh. Where is his quiver? Where are his arrows? His left leg falls back, while the right leg swings forward (i.e. the left knee is bent creating an acute angle, while the right is almost straight, or open). His facial features are completely worn off, but if the camel had eyes and nostrils, one can only imagine that Amor would have been modeled with the same care. His hair is kept short.

The figure is not only balanced structurally, but compositionally. The camel's head seems to be turned slightly to the right in the opposite direction as Amor, for instance. It is a subtle arrangement, but lends much movement to the piece. The positioning of the legs is natural and sweet; the sides of Amor's body do not reflect each other perfectly. He seems to be riding happily along, maybe flapping his legs as a child would, while the camel slowly tumbles about. His wings are probably the only stiff element of the figure, and yet they fall back gracefully. The overall feeling of the piece is that of a wave: things move up and down, back and forth, as the camel walks slowly, slowly.

The exterior is covered with a thin micaceous wash.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Heavy and well balanced; stands unaided. Join seams are visible all over, and yet they do

not distract from the overall effect of the piece.

The fabric is hard; should have been smooth originally but now is roughened by accretions. Breaks are granular. The core seems to have fired to a lighter color than the surface. Fine golden mica inclusions are present; small grog is common.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6 light red.

Published: *BASOR* 174 (1964), 23, fig. 13.

PN W 216 S 346 \*88.6  
Inside a hearth or oven, about 0.10 meters above floor.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **356 Camel's head**

Pl. 76  
T65.017a-c: 6846

P.H.: 0.040  
P.W.: 0.026  
P.L.: 0.045  
Th.: 0.007

One fragment, preserving just the head and neck.

The head, neck, and part of the back of a smiling camel. Linear style. Rounded head with rounded ears that do not protrude much above it. The ears have a large circular depression at the center. Rounded eyes, similar to the ears, but smaller. Short muzzle with big rounded nostrils. Open mouth, seems to smile, perhaps because of the presence of a bridle. Narrow bridle goes from mouth, over fat rounded cheeks, to just below the ears. Perpendicular to this, and going down along the neck, a much thicker rein or harness, seemingly twisted around

itself. The rein is rendered by simple incised lines; two, long parallel ones crossed diagonally by many short ones. Wrinkles at the neck are suggested by light scoring.

No painted decoration is extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Plastically modeled on both sides.

The fabric is medium hard, smooth and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

PN W 299 S 327 \*986.4

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **357 Camel's head**

Pl. 76  
P11.122: 12929

P.H.: 0.038  
P.L.: 0.041  
Th.: 0.006

Only the right half of the head is extant. Slightly weathered.

The head of a smiling camel. Its ears are round and low. The eye is rounded, but still has pointed corners. Long snout with elongated nostrils. Bridle and harness indicated. Linear style. A round piercing is located at the very top of the head. A lamp? Other figural vessel?

Covered in a mottled dark slip.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Thin and even walls.

The fabric is very hard, with a smooth to powdery feel. Breaks are smooth. There

appear to be some fine varied grog inclusions and a spec or two of mica.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

MMS E 110-111 S 93-94.5 \*104.0

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **358 Zebu's head**

Pl. 77

T64.029: 6356

P.H.: 0.054

P.L.: 0.056

Th.: 0.005

Only the right half is preserved, and then missing the body beyond the neck. The horn has broken off.

The head of a zebu or humped bull. Linear style. Grooves were used to indicate the eye, folds of the cheek and neck, ear, and bridle. A horn, now broken, protrudes above the head. The eye is almond-shaped, with a circular iris in relief, and a small circular pupil recessed. The ear is downturned and placed below the horn. For the body see **361**, made in the same or similar mold.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is hard fired and smooth.

Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. For the treatment of the eye, compare the many Late Roman animals in *Agora VI*, e.g. no. 726, pl. 18, a dog. A less linear example, *Louvre II*, 131, no. CA 1530, pl. 158, dated to the first century C.E., possibly from

Myrina.

HoB W 20-25 S 140-145 \*102.30-102

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **359 Zebu's horn**

Pl. 77

T11.099: 13005

P.H.: 0.056

P.L.: 0.041

Th.: 0.005

Only the right half is present, and then only the horn, ear and some of the neck.

The horn and ear of a zebu or bull. The ear is downturned and positioned right beneath a tall pointy horn. The horn points towards the middle of the head along the coronal plane (towards the other horn if it were extant) rather than forward or back. A narrow raised band near the level of the ear may be the remnant of a bridle or harness. Grooves below the ear may be the wrinkles of a fleshy neck.

Covered in a dark to red mottled slip.

Moldmade and hollow.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 15 S 85 \*100.2-99.7

Fill.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 360 Zebu's neck

Pl. 77

T62.044: 4792

P.H.: 0.041

P.L.: 0.051

Only the right half is present, and then only part of the neck and back.

The neck of a zebu or humped bull. The ear, folds of the neck, harness, and part of the hump are extant. Linear style; surface detail is rendered through narrow, modeled grooves.

Faint traces of mottled dark to red slip on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

RT E 22-28 S 29-37 \*96-97

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 361 Zebu's body

Pl. 77

T61.020: 3294

P.L.: 0.132

P.H.: 0.057

P.W.: 0.046

Th.: 0.004

Mended from two fragments. Most of the left side is missing. All the legs, stomach, and head are also missing, as well as the right side and the bottom of the tail. Some scratching and flaking off the surface.

The top rump and some of the right flank of a zebu or humped bull. A haunch with solid tail fused to the back of the body. Linear style. Grooves were used to indicate the folds of the neck, fur on the hump, the bridle and reins. Either ribs or some sort of saddle at mid torso. Part of the head remains, with right ear downturned below the horn, now broken. (For head, see **358**). There is a perfectly round piercing on the back near the tail; either a vent hole or a pour hole for a lamp. Made in the same or similar mold as **358**. Likely an earlier generation on **362**, which is smaller.

The interior and exterior were covered with a thin micaceous wash; seems to be crackling, as in vitrified glazes. Very sparkly.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Plastically modeled detail, at least on the right side, which seems to have been the front. The walls are thin and regular.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 0 S 90-95 to \*101.30

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 362 Zebu's body

Pl. 77

T85.005: 9041

P.L.: 0.080

P.H.: 0.025

P.W.: 0.035

Th.: 0.005

Most of the left side is missing. All the legs, belly and head are also missing, as well as

the bottom of the tail. Some scratching of the surface; purposeful? Signs of burning near the hole on top.

The top rump and some of the right flank of a zebu or humped bull. A haunch with a solid tail fused to the back of the body. Linear style. Grooves were used to indicate either ribs or some sort of saddle at mid torso. There is a perfectly round piercing on the back near the tail; either a vent hole or a pour hole for a lamp. Likely a second generation to **361**, which is larger. This example has thicker walls, and had some of its surface detail incised.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Plastically modeled detail, at least on the right side, which seems to have been the front; retouched after unmolding with a fine tool.

The fabric is hard and a bit rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 109.2-112 S 91-93 \*105.0-104.1

Dump phase II; most finds Late Roman.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **363 Zebu's leg**

Pl. 77  
T12.016: 13222

P.H.: 0.060  
P.L.: 0.043  
P.W.: 0.039  
Th.: 0.003

One fragment, preserving only one leg, and the bottom front half of the neck. Some lime accretions on the exterior.

The right foreleg of a quadruped, likely a bull or zebu. Droopy chest and neck. The foot has a prominent dewclaw; its resting surface is irregular and concave. On the shoulder, and possibly continuing on the back, a series of vertical parallel ridges. Very rudimentary ribs? Wrinkles? Some sort saddle or mat? Similar to **364**.

Faint remains of a dark slip extant at both front and back.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. Crudely molded; front has crisper detail than back, which seems to have been attached and finished haphazardly. The walls are thin; excess clay was removed from the mold with the aid of tools. The join seam is visible on the exterior.

The fabric is hard, rough, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

F49 E 838-840 S 403.8-405.5 \*180.71  
Mixed Late Roman fill, above lime slaking pit.

Third quarter of the fifth century C.E. or earlier.

### **364 Zebu's leg**

Pl. 77  
T59.007: 1387

P.H.: 0.054  
P.L.: 0.031  
Th. of foot: 0.021

The leg was broken away from its body. Missing much of the back with surface chipped.

The right foreleg of large furry animal, probably a zebu or a lion. A dewclaw has been modeled at the back. No indication of toes at the paw. The bottom of the foot is flat, so that the figurine may have stood unaided. The remnants of long fur are visible at the chest and behind the leg. Similar to **363**.

Self-slipped. Small traces of white ground and of some dark red pigment are extant on the exterior.

Moldmade and solid.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

BS W 22-21 \*97.75-97.00

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **365 Horse**

Pl. 78

T62.006: 4213

P.H.: 0.079

P.W.: 0.036

P.L.: 0.051

Th.: 0.003

Only the bottom half of the head, chest, and the top of the right foreleg are preserved.

The forequarters of a harnessed horse striding forward with the right leg. It seems to wear a bridle, with distinct noseband, bit, cheek band, and reins, and also the collar of a harness around the chest. All are adorned with small concentric circles worked in low

relief; these somewhat resemble donuts. The horse's nostrils are indicated through modeling. Its snout is downturned, with open mouth. What remains of the right leg already looks irregular, almost square in section, and not as nicely modeled as the horse's body. Likely similar to **367-377**.

The entire surface was covered with a mottled brownish red slip; it looks like it was applied directly onto surface with no preparatory white ground.

Moldmade and hollow with thin walls. The joint seam was flattened but not carefully hidden.

Modeling on both sides, although the detail seems a bit fainter on the left.

Hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth, although the fabric is coarser than some with many small inclusions: quartz, lime, grog, and golden mica.

Munsell: 10R6/8, light red.

RT E 84 S 1.5 \*95.00-94.80

Jacob's shop: drain fill.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **366 Horse's back**

Pl. 78

T12.024: 13302

P.H.: 0.037

P.L.: 0.066

Th.: 0.005

Only part of the front half is preserved. Missing the head, part of the neck, legs, and tail.

The back of a horse, with rein dropping from the neck to a high saddle, and a possible crupper, from the saddle to under the tail.

White ground and dark purplish paint extant on much of the surface.

Moldmade and hollow. The clay seems to have been pushed into the mold with fingers and then trimmed back with a tool. The interior is clean; the walls are of a regular thickness.

The fabric is hard and a bit rough to the touch. Finely levigated, with some fine grog and frequent mica inclusions.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 71, no. 897, pl. 22; a horse of doubtful date.

F49 E 830-842 S 348-361 \*183.95-183.62

Fill in tile-paved room.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 367 Quadruped's legs

Pl. 78

T13.023: 13668

P.H.: 0.052

P.L.: 0.081

W. (leg): 0.018

Th: 0.007

One fragment, preserving the front bottom half of the figure.

What seem to be the forelegs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. The right foreleg seems to be ahead of the left, although they are represented as being pretty

much in the same line. A portion of the neck, ahead of the foremost leg, is still extant, and shows the plastic remnants of either neck wrinkles or a rein. On the lower haunch of the animal, ending above the left foreleg, there is what might be a tail (would be very long) or part of some sort of saddle.

Covered in a glittering micaceous wash.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body. The legs are solid and tubular, likely made by hand, and formed separately from the main body. Large flat feet for stability.

The fabric is hard, a bit rough, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 66, light red.

MMS E 157.5-159 S 55.5-62 \*101.75-101.3

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 368 Quadruped's legs

Pl. 78

T91.009: 9870

P.H.: 0.065

P.L.: 0.070

Th.: 0.005-0.006

Only the forelegs, and some of the mid torso of the animal is preserved. The feet are chipped; some of the surface is scratched.

The forelegs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other in the same line. The right leg strides forward of the left. The legs are not entirely round, but have some sharp edges and some concave faces. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the

figurine to stand unaided. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer. The right flank is void of modeled detail.

Some dark reddish brown pigment extant on both flanks, as well as on the bottom of the feet.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

ByzFort E 708-712 S 411-414  
Hard soil with pebble and brick fragments.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **369 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 78  
T91.010: 9871

P.H.: 0.057  
P.L.: 0.051  
Th.: 0.006

Only the forelegs of the animal are preserved. The left foot is chipped, the right leg is broken; some of the surface is scratched.

The forelegs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other, almost in the same line. The right leg strides forward of the left. The legs are not entirely round but have some sharp edges and some concave faces. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. A decorative harness worked in relief is visible across the lower chest and neck of the animal's right

flank. Perhaps the traces of a rider are also visible on this side. Other comparable figurines seem to have had more modeled detail on their left side; unfortunately, the left side is not as well preserved in this example.

Some dark red or brownish pigment extant on both flanks.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth.  
Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

ByzFort E 708-712 S 409-412 \*187.71-186.6  
From a wall, dated late fifth century C.E. to late seventh century C.E.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **370 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 78  
T83.012: 8780

P.H.: 0.052  
P.L.: 0.044  
Th.: 0.006

Only the forelegs of the animal are preserved. The left leg is mostly missing; the right leg is extant with the foot chipped.

The forelegs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other in almost the same line. The right foreleg seems to stride forward of the left. The legs are not entirely round but have some sharp edges and some concave faces. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it

possible for the figurine to stand unaided.

Some very faint traces of dark or red slip remain on both sides.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/2, pale red.

MMS/N E 142.11-145.29 S 4.26-7.21  
\*99.35-98.87

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **371 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 79  
T89.006: 9626

P.H.: 0.047  
P.L.: 0.053  
Th.: 0.005

Only the forelegs of the animal are preserved. The feet are chipped; some of the surface is scratched.

The forelegs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other in the same line. The legs are not entirely round but have some sharp edges and some concave faces. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. A lump of clay above the foremost leg could be a tuft of fur at the neck. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer. The right flank is void of modeled detail.

Some dark pigment extant on both flanks, as well as on the bottom of the feet.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 101.5 S 95

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **372 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 79  
T11.053: 12925

P.H.: 0.058  
P.L.: 0.066  
Th.: 0.004

Only the hind legs of the animal are preserved. The tail has broken off; some of the surface is chipped and scratched.

The hind legs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other in the same line. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. A fused tail seems to have been broken off at the back. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer. The right flank is void of modeled detail. Similar to **373**.

Some dark pigment extant on left flank.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Breaks run the gamut from smooth to conchoidal. The interior looks coarse, with some grog and small golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 5YR 7/4, pink.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 166, no. 2463, pl. 78, very similar, from Ephesus, identified as a lion or panther wearing a saddle. See also *Louvre IV.1*, p. 16, no. E 310, pl. 12, f. From Campania, similar legs, but earlier style, dated to the early first century C.E.

HoB E 50-55 S 140-143 to \*101.70

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **373 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 79

T89.005: 9624

P.H.: 0.054

P.L.: 0.059

Th.: 0.008

Only the hind legs of the animal are preserved. The tail and feet are chipped; some of the surface is scratched.

The hind legs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other in the same line. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. A fused tail hangs along the back of the last leg; it curls up at the end into a large circle. Some oblique hatch marks, modeled, create texture on the left side of the tail. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer. The right flank is void of modeled detail. Similar to **372**.

Some dark pigment extant on both flanks.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. The interior looks coarse, with some grog and small golden mica inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 166, no. 2463, pl. 78, very similar, from Ephesus, identified as a lion or panther wearing a saddle. See also *Louvre IV.1*, p. 16, no. E 310, pl. 12, f. From Campania, similar legs, but earlier style, dated to the early first century C.E.

MMS

Apse area.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **374 Quadruped's legs**

Pl. 79

T11.064: 12937

P.H.: 0.044

P.L.: 0.038

Th.: 0.003

Only the hind legs of the animal are preserved, one of them is broken off. The tail is also broken off.

The hind legs of a large quadruped, possibly a horse. Crudely rendered; they stand one in front of the other in the same line. The extant foot is flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. A fused tail seems to have been broken off at the back. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer. What remains of the right flank seems plainer. Similar to **372** and **373**.

Some dark pigment extant on the left flank.

Moldmade with hollow body and solid legs. Fingerprints extant on the interior. Plaster mold likely.

Fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *British Museum III*, 166, no. 2463, pl. 78, very similar, from Ephesus, identified as a lion or panther wearing a saddle. See also *Louvre IV.1*, p. 16, no. E 310, pl. 12, f. From Campania, similar legs, but earlier style, dated to the early first century C.E.

B E 39 N 15 \*97.80-96.80

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 375 Quadruped's leg

Pl. 79  
T89.008: 9652

P.H.: 0.045  
P.L.: 0.033

Only one leg is extant.

What seems to be the right foreleg of a large quadruped. Crudely rendered; circular to oval in section with some faceting. Flat bottom.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade and solid. The body would have been hollow.

The fabric is medium hard and a bit coarse. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS

General trench fill.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 376 Quadruped's leg

Pl. 79  
T13.012: 13642

P.H.: 0.059  
P.L.: 0.056  
P.W.: 0.029  
Th. (leg): 0.024

Only one leg is preserved with a heavy gash on its front surface.

The short thick leg of a large quadruped. Flat bottom. This seems to be the right foreleg, with the left foreleg striding forward ahead of it. A bit of wrinkled neck remains ahead of the leg, and at least two circular protrusions (fur?) lie just above it. The body continues behind the leg. The figurine would have been stable enough to stand on its own. Perhaps a humped bull.

Covered in a brownish red slip.

Moldmade in a plaster mold. The leg itself is solid, seemingly shaped by hand and trimmed with a scraping tool. The trace of a thin-combed tool is visible inside the body.

The fabric is hard, somewhat coarse, and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MD2 E 459-465.18 N 178-182.10  
Mid to late fifth century C.E. fill with plentiful earlier material.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 377 Spotted animal's legs

Pl. 80

T11.097: 12990

P.H.: 0.069

P.W.: 0.070

Th.: 0.004-0.005

Only part of the forequarters are preserved, mostly the left side. The right leg is broken; the left leg chipped. Weathered.

The forelegs of a large spotted quadruped. Crudely rendered; they are different in thickness and form, and stand one in front of the other almost in the same line. The right leg seems to stride forward of the left. The legs are not entirely round but have some sharp edges and some concave faces. The feet are flat on the bottom, making it possible for the figurine to stand unaided. These are very similar to **367-376**. The present piece differs not in form, but in modeled decoration. The entire surface seems to have been covered in recessed circles, sometimes plain, sometimes with a relief dot at the center. The animal would have had its left flank facing the viewer, as the right flank seems to have been modeled with slightly less detail.

Some dark pigment extant on both flanks. Some light, creamy slip as well, especially on the chest.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow body, solid legs.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS \*104.1-104.0

Dump phase I; multiple fourth century C.E. coins.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 378 Bird's wing?

Pl. 80

T11.006: 12812

P.H.: 0.045

P.L.: 0.051

Th.: 0.003-0.008

If a bird, only a part of the wing and chest are extant.

What seems to be the wing of a bird. Tapering and curving extension from a larger body fragment; circular to square in section. Linear style. Both sides are modeled. The contour of the wing is delineated with grooves. Two parallel grooves dissect the wing lengthwise. The space in between the contour grooves and the dissecting grooves is then filled with depressed circles. Similar to **367-377** in shape and manufacture. This piece, however, seems to work a little differently in orientation and decorative scheme.

The surface was covered in a dark to red mottled slip.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 117-122 S 90-93 \*105.9  
Surface find.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 379 Bird

Pl. 80  
T11.061: 12934

P.H.: 0.075  
P.L.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.004

Only the right half is present. The beak has broken off, as well as the body beneath the breast, the tip of the wing, and the tail. Some signs of burning at the bottom.

A bird, standing. The extant side, its right, seems to have been the front. The bird stares ahead, not at the viewer. Rounded head with plastically modeled eye, now worn. Elegant neck, full breast, and a wing kept close to the body. Some mottling and light incised lines provide texture.

No painted decoration extant.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.  
Regular walls. The interior looks clean.

The fabric is hard and rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 69, no. 846, pl. 21; a dove, more linear than our example, but still similar, dated to the fourth century C.E.

EHT \* -60 ground

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 380 Rooster's head

Pl. 80  
T63.021: 5162

P.H.: 0.039  
P.W.: 0.048  
Th. at crest: 0.004

Only the right half is present and then missing everything below the neck. Some chips off the surface, but otherwise in good condition. Missing the wattle?

The head of a rooster. Linear style. Wavy cockscomb and rounded head with depressed dot texture. Almond-shaped eye with large circular pupil. Pointed beak. Feather detail on the neck indicated by deep vertical grooves.

Traces of dark slip extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth to granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 68, no. 818 and no. 828, pls. 20-21, dated from the late third century to the fourth century.

PN W 215-217 S 340-342 \*89.60-89.20

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 381 Bear's leg

Pl. 81  
T11.093: 12986

P.H.: 0.037  
P.L.: 0.074  
P.W.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.004

Only the front half of the right foreleg up to the shoulder is extant.

The powerful leg of a bear with a rounded paw. Its orientation is uncertain; possibly a performing bear with its foreleg upraised. The bottom of the paw is aligned with the leg so that clearly no weight was being placed upon it. Linear style. The fur was indicated through modeling with short multidirectional grooves all over the surface. At least four fingers indicated on the paw.

The surface has very light traces of dark slip.

Moldmade and hollow. The interior is clean; excess clay was removed from the mold with the aid of tools.

The fabric is hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.  
Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 794, pl. 19, a performing bear, dated to before 267 C.E.

MMS E 106-111 S 95-97 \*103.0-102.6

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 382 Bear's neck

Pl. 81  
T12.017: 13223

P.H.: 0.027  
P.L.: 0.048  
P.W.: 0.036  
Th.: 0.004

One fragment, preserving part of the upper half of the figure. Missing the head, legs, tail, belly, etc. Accreted.

What seem to be the neck and back of a furry animal, possibly a bear or dog. The fur is rendered as short recessed strokes, carefully organized, giving the impression of a well-groomed coat.

Small traces of white ground and much dark brown paint are extant, especially within crevices.

Moldmade and hollow.

Medium hard fabric, a bit rough; micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 67, no. 793, pl. 19, a performing bear, dated to the third century C.E. Also, *Agora VI*, 65-66, nos. 726-769, pl. 18, dogs, most dated to the fourth century C.E.

F49 E 836.7-841 S 402-406 \*180.80  
Topsoil.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 383 Dog's head

Pl. 81

T60.014: 2521

P.H.: 0.052

P.W.: 0.027

P.D.: 0.035

Th. at neck: 0.004

Only the front half of the head is present. Missing the tops of the ears and everything beyond the neck. Surface detail is crisp.

The head of an animal with a long muzzle, probably a dog. Its facial features are crooked as if in an attempt to show that it is cocking its head. The fur all around it is indicated by modeled grooves; longer, horizontal strokes at cheeks, shorter, diagonal ones at the neck. Round upraised ears with circular piercings (about 0.55 centimeters in diameter) for hanging the piece (around the neck?). Furrowed brow with a deep groove at the center gives way to expressive eyebrows. Large almond-shaped eyes with pupils and irises clearly indicated. Long muzzle with shallow nostrils and a big open mouth; not quite menacing. A small circular hole pierces straight through the mouth to the interior of the figure. Perhaps some sort of small vessel, like a rattle.

Traces of a dark slip extant on the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. On the interior, just below the hole for the mouth, one other hole is visible, but does not pierce through the clay entirely.

The fabric is hard, slightly harsh and pockmarked. Breaks are mostly smooth. Mica inclusions are rare.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

HoB E 15 S 105 \*99.90

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### 384 Dog's head

Pl. 81

T59.032: 1874

P.H.: 0.061

Max. W.: 0.044

P.D.: 0.051

Th. at double neck: 0.007

Missing everything below the neck. Weathered but otherwise fine.

The head of a mammal, probably a dog, cocked to the right. Linear style. The ears are long, pointy, and held upright. The eyes are huge, round and bulging, with a small pupil indicated by a round indentation. Beyond the eyes there is a pointed muzzle with a linear mouth curled up into a half smile. The fur is rendered by short vertical strokes on the forehead. Short neck with a thick collar rendered in relief. The overall effect is humorous; its expression is both surprised and pained. A caricature or an illustration of a fable?

White ground is extant all over the exterior.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow. A double layer of clay at the open neck, probably due to separate application of the collar. Fingerprints visible at the neck. The join seam is visible along the coronal plane, unlike most animals. The back of the head was left plain. Surface detailing was done by hand.

Soft fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are granular to laminar. Somewhat coarse, with lime, quartz, grog and mica inclusions.

Munsell: 10R 5/6, red.

Cf. *Agora VI*, 65, no. 726, pl. 18, a dog, dated to the late third century C.E. Also *Agora VI*, 68, no. 814, pl. 20, a rabbit, dated to the second half of the fourth century C.E. Boutantin 2014, 243, no. 96, dated to the first to third centuries C.E., from Hawara.

HoB E 80 S 200 \*121.13

Hellenistic to Late Roman (up to late fourth century C.E.) fill.

Fourth century C.E. or later.

### **385 Horse**

Pl. 82

T13.011: 13641

P.H.: 0.049

P.L.: 0.097

P.W.: 0.043

One large fragment preserving most of the main body. Missing: the head and legs. The surface is rough, scratched, and likely unfinished.

The simple figure of a horse or other large quadruped, standing. Strong tubular body with narrow shoulders, high neck, and a thick rear. Short tail, possibly broken, indicated at the back. An extra clump of clay between the stumps of the hind legs may indicate the sex of the horse. The legs should have resembled tree trunks; likely the figure stood by itself. As rough as it is, the figure still conveys the strength of the animal quite adequately.

No painted decoration is extant.

Handmade and solid.

The fabric is medium hard to soft and a bit powdery. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/8, light red.

MMS E 140.5-144 S 63.2-65.6 \*106.07-104.42

Mid sixth century C.E. or earlier.

### **386 Figural vessel, zebu's head**

Pl. 82

T05.007: 11958

P.H.: 0.038

P.W.: 0.045

P.L.: 0.055

Th.: 0.003

Missing everything below the neck; also missing its horns.

The head of a zebu or other bull. Linear style. Grooves were used to indicate the eye, folds of the cheek and neck, the ears, and bridle. The eyes are almond-shaped. The ears are downturned, below the horns. The mouth is pierced through, as if for a spout. Very thick horns protrude above the head; now broken, but could have met at top to form thick circular handle. Similar to **358**.

The interior and exterior were covered in a glittering micaceous wash; crackling, as in vitrified glazes.

Moldmade in a plaster mold; hollow.

The fabric is very hard and smooth. Breaks are smooth. One piece of lime or quartz;

micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8, red.

Wadi B E 695 S 227 \*136.25  
Late Roman wall.

Mid sixth century C.E. or earlier.

### **387 Horse and rider**

Pl. 82

T58.025: 887

P.H.: 0.098

Max. W.: 0.045

P.L.: 0.093

Th. of back leg: 0.014

A fairly complete figure. The horse is missing its left foreleg and right hind leg entirely, and the other two legs partially. The top part of the horse's head and its tail are also missing, as are the rider's head, right arm, and partial left leg.

The simple figure of a horse and male (?) rider. The horse stands with its four legs apart, and no immediate indication of forward movement. It has a harness made out of a narrow strap of clay. What is preserved of the mouth seems to hang open and down. No mane seems to have been indicated by modeling. The rest of the body is tubular, with what remains of the tail kept close to the body. The rider sits atop a lumpy saddle that almost melds with both his legs and the horse's body. He rides astride, with his legs resting on (and eventually fusing with) the horse's own forelegs, and seems to lean forward. His left arm curves out, perpendicular to his torso, and reaches out to the horse's head just above the harness, where they also meld. Is he caressing the horse's head rather than whipping the reins? The resulting

arrangement is very lively, giving an overall impression of movement despite the horse's seemingly static stance.

No painted decoration is extant.

Handmade and solid. Heavy. Seems to have been formed by several sliced straps of clay arranged and smoothed together into the desired shape. The horse's body consists of two of these straps, each forming the back and front leg of one side, and meeting at the torso. The saddle is also two straps, one each behind and in front of the rider. The horse's head seems to be one strap. The rider has separate straps for his torso, arms, and legs.

Medium hard fabric with a rough feel. Breaks are granular. There are some big fragments of quartz or lime: 0.11-0.18 centimeters in size, white, oval, rare on the surface. Grog, small silvery mica, and fine golden mica, are common inclusions.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red. Local.

Polished: *Survey*, 143, fig. 384.

CG \*98.60

West face of main arch.

Twelfth century C.E. or earlier.

### **388 Zoomorphic whistle, horse**

Pl. 83

T64.005: 5938

H.: 0.111

Max. W.: 0.036

L.: 0.136

Th. of blow hole: 0.013

Almost complete figure. The left hind leg is extant; all other three are missing. The head is almost complete but for the left ear and

right half of the muzzle. Some chips off the surface and edges of the saddle. Still whistles.

Zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a standing horse. The head is very simple, with narrow pinched-out muzzle, pointy ears that are kept back and separate from the head, and eyes represented by relief circles. A small depression at the point of the muzzle could be the beginnings of a smile. A short mane, also pinched up, adorns the thick and wobbly neck. The horse has a high saddle (both front and back ends raised considerably) on his back. At the right front of the saddle, a cylindrical container (a quiver?) has been modeled. The hindquarters house the functioning parts of the whistle. A short strap-like projection off the horse's rump, the tail, is the mouth piece. A round vent lies atop the horse's backside, near the tail. A small sound chamber is located within the rump. The figure is simple but amiable.

A vitreous white glaze decorated with irregular blue stripes covers the horse from its head to the back of the saddle. The right eye is blue, while the left eye is white. There seems to have been no concern for naturalism in the application of the pattern to the painted surface. Most of the stripes are short, thick, and hastily applied; two long thin lines cover the length of the neck at the front. Around the muzzle, a possible circle could have worked as a harness. The quiver and saddle are painted in the same pattern, as if they were part of the horse rather than separate objects. The whistle section was left in reserve.

Handmade and mostly solid. First, a solid tube of clay was rolled up, then the head and limbs were attached. A thinner layer of clay was placed over the formed horse, as a skin would, and modeled with final details. The

back was then partially hollowed to function as a sound chamber. Quite heavy, and now unbalanced. Fingers must be placed over and around saddle in order to get a good grip on the object.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions are readily visible, but for some fine golden mica on the surface and breaks.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/8, light red.

Cf. A very similar example found at *Gordion*, 57, no. 147, pl. 35, dated to the ninth to fourteenth century C.E. by the type of glaze. See also Mas Belen 2011, 171, láms. 10-14, a Late Medieval horse-shaped whistle found in Lorca.

PN W 250-255 S 340-345 \*88.79-88.70  
Lower Islamic level, associated with coin hoard of Suleyman II.

17th century C.E. or earlier.

### **389 Zoomorphic whistle, horse**

Pl. 83  
T63.005: 4968

P.H.: 0.032  
Max. W.: 0.033  
P.L.: 0.070  
Th. of blow hole: 0.015

Missing the head and all four legs. The upper surface of the "skin" is now missing along the neck and shoulders, possibly broken off along with the head. The same break pattern is visible in **391**. Still whistles.

Zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a standing horse. Straight and tubular body. The hindquarters house the functioning parts of the whistle. A short strap-like projection

off the horse's rump, the tail, is the mouth piece. A round vent lies atop the horse's backside, near the tail. Small sound chamber within the rump.

Vitreous green glaze over a matte white ground forming a striped pattern that would have covered the front half of the body. The whistle section was left in reserve.

Handmade and mostly solid, as in **389**. Heavy.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions are readily visible, but for some fine golden mica on the surface and breaks.

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. A very similar example found at *Gordion*, 57, no. 147, pl. 35, dated to the ninth to fourteenth century C.E. by the type of glaze. See also Mas Belen 2011, 171, láms. 10-14, a Late Medieval horse-shaped whistle found in Lorca.

PN W 235 S 345 \*90.00  
Lower Islamic level, associated with coin hoard of Suleyman II.

17th century C.E. or earlier.

### **390 Zoomorphic whistle, horse**

Pl. 83  
T67.001: 7276

P.H.: 0.038  
Max. W.: 0.033  
P.L.: 0.079  
Th. of blow hole: 0.015

Missing the head and all four legs. The upper surface of "skin" now missing along the neck and shoulders, possibly broken off

along with the head. The same break pattern is visible in **390**. Still whistles.

Zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a standing horse. Straight and tubular body. The hindquarters house the functioning parts of the whistle. A short strap-like projection off the horse's rump, the tail, is the mouth piece. A round vent lies atop the horse's backside, near the tail. Small sound chamber within the rump.

Small traces of a matte white ground extant, as well as a dark blue vitreous glaze on the front half of the body. Should have followed a similar striped pattern to **389** and **390**, leaving the whistle portion in reserve.

Handmade and mostly solid, as in **389**. Very heavy.

Medium hard fabric with a smooth feel. Breaks are smooth. No inclusions are readily visible, but for some very small grog and some small silvery mica (quite rare on the surface).

Munsell: 2.5YR 6/6, light red.

Cf. A very similar example found at *Gordion*, 57, no. 147, pl. 35, dated to the ninth to fourteenth century C.E. by the type of glaze. See also Mas Belen 2011, 171, láms. 10-14, a Late Medieval horse-shaped whistle found in Lorca.

PN W 270-275 S 328-331 \*88.9-88.7  
Lower Islamic level, associated with coin hoard of Suleyman II.

17th century C.E. or earlier.

**391 Zoomorphic whistle, hen**

Pl. 83  
T61.009: 3205

P.H.: 0.036  
P.W.: 0.020  
P.L.: 0.033  
Th. of tail: 0.007

Complete but for the top of the head. Still whistles, loudly.

Zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a hen or other bird. Globular body, long pointed neck, and flattened tail formed from one piece of clay. The neck tapers up and is extant to just above the wattle. The mouth piece is across the tail's end, oval and horizontal; a vent under the tail is circular. The entire body, but for the neck and head, comprises the sound chamber. Similar to **393**.

Self-slipped.

Partially moldmade, partially handmade.  
Hollow.

Very hard fabric with a smooth feel. Break is smooth. No inclusions immediately visible. Fine golden mica is very rare on the surface.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

PN W 260 S 360 ca. \*89.00

Lower Islamic level, associated with coin hoard of Suleyman II.

17th century C.E. or earlier.

**392 Zoomorphic whistle, hen**

Pl. 83  
T62.007: 4229

P.H.: 0.029  
P.W.: 0.017  
P.L.: 0.029  
Th. at tail: 0.006

Complete but for the head. Still whistles.

Zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a hen or other bird. Globular body, long flattened neck, and flattened tail formed from one piece of clay. Small circular depression on the right side of the breast/stomach; perhaps a finger rest. The mouth piece is across the tail's end, oval and horizontal; a vent under the tail is circular and much smaller than in **392**. The entire body, but for the neck and head, comprises the sound chamber.

Self-slipped.

Partially moldmade, partially handmade.  
Hollow.

Hard fabric with a very rough feel. Seems to be covered in light accretions. The break at the neck is granular. Small to fine varied grog inclusions are frequent; very fine golden mica is also frequent.

Munsell: 2.5YR 4/6, red.

PN W 245 S 365 \*90.05

Lower Islamic level, associated with coin hoard of Suleyman II.

17th century C.E. or earlier.

### 393 Enthroned woman holding mirror

Pl. 84

No inventory number.

H: 0.123

W: 0.049

D: 0.061

Th: 0.005

Complete. The surface is worn with an even coating of plaster accretions on both exterior and interior surfaces. Repaired from four fragments.

A seated woman, dressed. Her hair is arranged in a typical Knidian coiffure around an oval face that is staring forward. She sits on a chair or throne with a rounded back that goes up to the level of her neck and has low arm rests at knee height. Her right arm rests on the chair, while the left arm is raised in front of the body and holds up a flat circular object; a mirror? She is dressed in a heavy garment that falls diagonally across her torso from left to right; it seems to leave the right breast exposed. The garment then falls over the legs unto the floor in heavy, rounded coils. Stubby proportions and thick limbs. The left arm especially is short and thick; the hand is as thick as the arm, with no indication of a wrist. The fingers were scratched onto the surface, except for the thumb which was separated by hand. No vents but for the large opening is at the bottom, fully round in section.

No surface decoration is extant.

Moldmade and hollow. Liquid clay was cast onto a mold rather than pressed into it.

The fabric is medium hard and smooth. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 7/4, pink.

No record of its origins.

20th century C.E.?

### 394 Young girl

Pl. 84

NoEx68.003

P.H.: 0.104

Max. W.: 0.041

Max. D.: 0.027

In very good condition, although the feet are missing. Facial features are slightly worn. The head has been reattached to the body.

A young girl, draped and standing. Short hair with soft curls over the forehead. The hair is pulled away from the face and gathered in a roll at the back of the head. The face is round with rounded cheeks, and looks down slightly to the right. Short rectangular forehead above deep-set eyes. The nose is a bit broad, and the lips are thin and closed tight into a small frown. A small round chin almost disappears into a short neck. Pleasant countenance. She wears a long tunic with short sleeves. The right sleeve covers the arm down to just above the elbow, while the left goes down past the elbow at the front but not at the back. She seems to be pulling up the fabric at the front, exposing her knees (though both hands seem otherwise engaged), and also seems to wrap a longer swath of fabric around her back, pushing it to the front with her right hand and creating cascading folds over her right hip and leg. Perhaps the tunic is pinned or belted up at the front, with an additional mantle wrapped across and around her body starting at the right shoulder. The bottom of the dress has a straight hem indicated by a groove; the neckline is oval and seems to

hang down some distance from the neck. Her left arm is bent at the elbow and folded over the body. The hand is visible and unnaturally small, and seems to hold a small sickle, pointing right, close to her chest.

White ground extant, mostly within crevices, suspiciously tempered by the superimposition of terracotta-colored pigment.

Moldmade, and at least partly solid (head and legs). Very carefully modeled at front and back with no visible join seams. Fired darker than other Sardinian figurines.

The fabric is hard and very smooth. Breaks are granular. Micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/6, red.

20th century C.E.?

### **395 Human head**

Pl. 84

T11.065: 12938

P.H.: 0.030

P.W.: 0.022

Only a head is extant, and then only its front half.

A lumpy human head, oval in shape. The eyes are rendered as two round depressions. The nose seems to be a semicircular incised line. The mouth is a wide straight line. Weird, comical, and slightly scary.

No painted decoration extant.

Handmade and solid. Facial features incised with a tool. Badly baked if baked at all.

Very soft and powdery fabric; rubs off in one's hands. The back is granular. Varied grog inclusions; micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5YR 5/8, red.

PN W 271.3-276 S 337.4-338 \*84.9-85.3

From a wheelbarrow.

20th century C.E.?

### **396 Mold for lion**

Pl. 85

T12.026: 13333

P.H.: 0.044

P.L.: 0.038

P.D.: 0.019

One fragment, preserving part of the front (?) half of the mold. Signs of burning on the working side.

A terracotta mold for a figurine, figural plaque, or figural decoration for a vessel. The extant fragment shows the front of a lion in profile with its mouth open in a growl. It is furry-chested with foreleg and paw extended forward. Crisp detailing.

The fabric is hard, coarse, and micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 5/6, yellowish red.

F49 E 836.00-837.32 S 311.62-313.94 \*181.522-181.042

Hellenistic foundation trench dug into a Persian pit.

Hellenistic.

### **397 Mold for standing draped figure**

Pl. 85  
T13.019: 13649

P.H.: 0.051  
P.W.: 0.074  
P.D.: 0.032  
Th.: 0.007

One fragment, preserving the bottom of the mold. Extremely friable.

The terracotta mold for a standing draped woman. Produces unclear impressions, but seems to depict long plastic folds of different widths.

The fabric is medium hard, coarse, and micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown.

MMS E 100.40-95 S 88-84.90 \*104.33-103.24  
Roman dump layer.

Hellenistic/Roman.

### **398 Mold for mask**

Pl. 85  
T11.092: 12985

P.H.: 0.057  
P.W.: 0.066  
Th.: 0.016-0.006

A mold for a small theatrical mask. Would have been about twelve centimeters across. Only the upper left portions of the face are extant. Parts of the working surface are flaking, but the mold still produces a mostly clear impression.

An impression of the mold results in a figure with a raised furrow brow over a wide-open, deep-set eye. The upper lid is modeled in high relief. The eyeball and iris are also rendered in relief; the pupil is indented. Very high cheekbone next to a comparatively flat nose. The nose is broad and bulbous with large nostrils. Wavy hair seems to surround the face. The expression is mad.

The fabric is hard and rough. Micaceous.

Munsell: 5YR 5/1, gray.

F55 E 703-705 S 122-123.5 \*127.59-127.01  
Green Roman fill.

First century C.E.

### **399 Plain ware ring base fragment reused as a paint pot**

Pl. 85  
P11.125: 12976

P.H.: 0.027  
Diam. (base): 0.059  
Th.: 0.005

Ring base fragment, mended from three sherds.

Unidentified open shape; utility/plain ware. Traces of blue and green pigment on the floor. Green pigment present on the exterior as well. May have been reused as a paint pot or palette. Blue pigment is Egyptian blue; green is green earth.

Hard-fired, smooth and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6, red.

F55

Earthquake fill.

Earlier than 17 C.E.

**400 Plain ware vessel reused as a paint pot**

Pl. 85

P13.219: 13656

P.H.: 0.029

Diam. (base): 0.060

Th.: 0.004

One fragment, preserving part of the foot, floor, and lower body wall.

Fishplate-like vessel; ring foot with beveled edge, circular depression on the floor, and straight flaring walls. Egyptian blue pigment preserved within the circular depression.

White, possibly a calcareous ground, preserved on broken edges and exterior. Likely reused as a paint pot or palette.

Hard-fired, smooth and micaceous.

Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6, red.

F55 E 701.4-705 S 125-127.7 \*128.8-128.07

Earthquake fill.

Earlier than 17 C.E.

**APPENDIX B: PLATES**

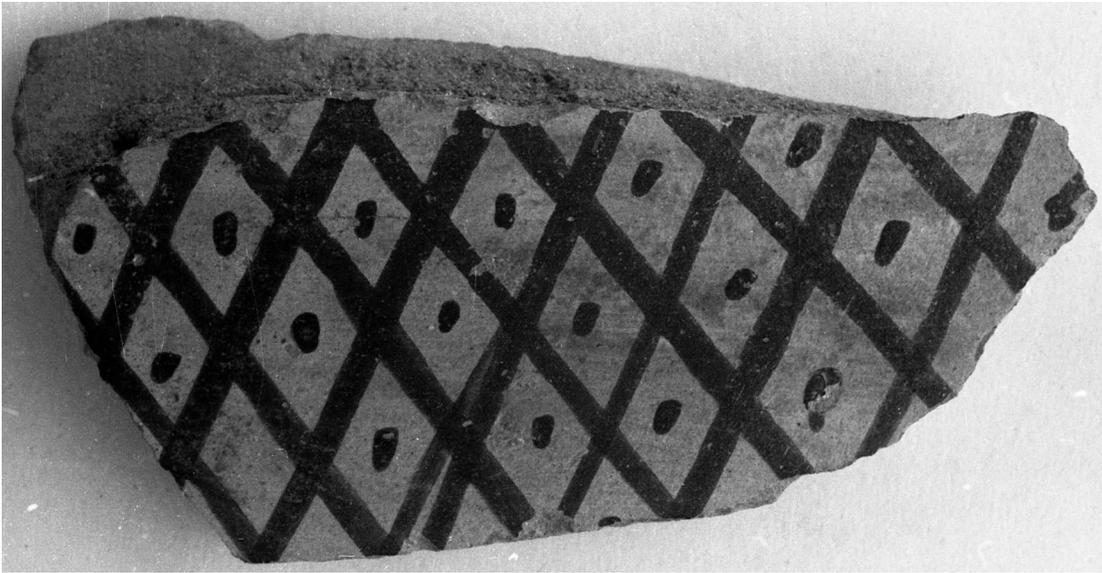


**1 1:1**

Plate 1: Bovine



2 1:2



3 2:1



4 1:1



5 1:1

Plate 3: Women



6 1:2



7 1:1



8 1:1



9 1:2

Plate 4: Wheel, Horses, Griffin



10 1:2



11 1:2



12 1:1



13 1:1

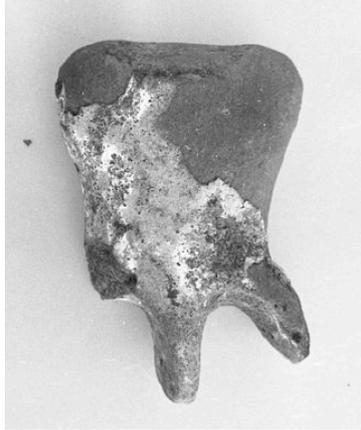
Plate 5: Ungulates



14 1:1



15 1:1



16 1:1



17 1:1



18 2:1



19 1:1

Plate 7: Humans Figures



20 1:1



21 1:1



22 1:1



23 1:1

Plate 8: Turtle and Birds



24 1:1

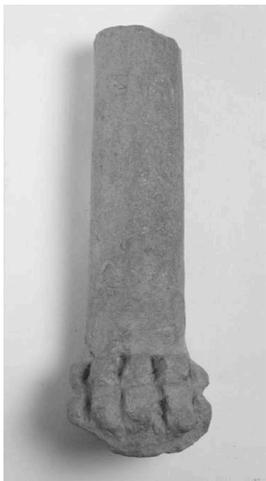


25 1:1

Plate 9: Quadrupeds



26 2:1



27 1:2



28 1:1

Plate 10: Kybele and Lions



29 1:2

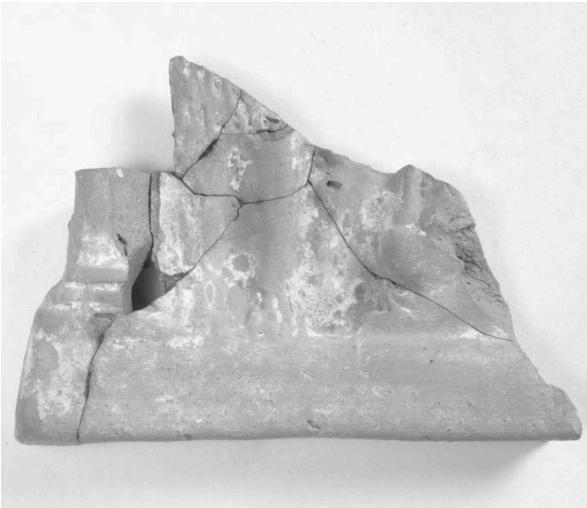


30 1:2



31 1:1

Plate 11: Kybele



32 1:1

Plate 12: Kybele Plaque



33 1:1



34 1:1



35 1:1



36 2:1

Plate 13: Kybele Torsos



37 1:1



38 1:1



39 1:1



40 1:1

Plate 14: Kybele Fragments



41 1:1



42 1:1



43 1:1

Plate 15: Lions



44 1:1



45 1:1

Plate 16: Attis and Others



46 1:1



47 1:1



48 1:1



49 1:1



50 1:1



51 1:1



52 1:1



53 1:1



54 1:1



55 1:1



56 1:1



57 1:1



58 1:1

Plate 18: Human Heads, Mostly Women



**59** 1:1



**60** 1:1



**61** 1:1



**62** 2:1

Plate 19: Draped Women, Foot



**63** 1:1



**64** 1:1



**65** 1:1

Plate 20: Kybele Torsos



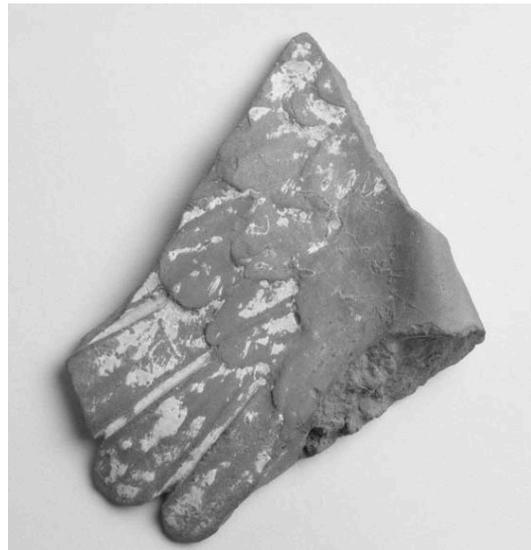
66 1:2



67 1:1



68 1:1



69 1:1

Plate 21: Aphrodite, Flying Creature, Wings



70 1:1



71 1:1



72 1:1



73 1:1



74 1:1



75 1:2



76 1:2

Plate 23: Herm and Zebu, From Burial



77 1:1



78 1:1



79 1:1



80 1:1



81 1:1



82 1:1



83 1:1



84 1:1

Plate 24: Women's Heads



85 1:1



86 1:1



87 1:1



88 1:1



89 1:1



90 1:1



91 1:1



92 1:1

Plate 25: Women's Heads



93 1:1



94 1:1



95 1:1



96 2:1



97 1:1



98 1:1

Plate 26: Worshippers, Alexander, Children



99 1:1



100 1:1



101 1:1



102 1:1



103 1:1



104 1:1

Plate 27: Actors, Foreigners, Theatrical Masks



105 1:1



106 1:1



107 1:1



108 1:1



109 1:1



110 1:1



**111** 1:2



**112** 1:1



**113** 1:1



**114** 1:1

Plate 29: Aphrodite, Artemis, Wing



**115** 1:1



**116** 1:1



**117** 1:1



**118** 1:1

Plate 30: Young Dionysus or Apollo, Eros



119 1:1



120 1:1



121 1:1



122 1:1

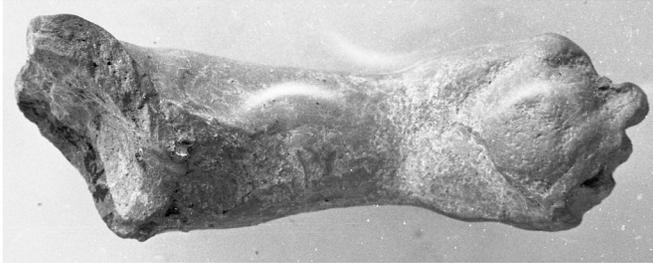


123 1:1



124 1:1

Plate 31: Women's Heads



125 1:2



126 1:2



127 1:1



128 1:2



129 1:2

Plate 32: Women's Limbs



130 1:2



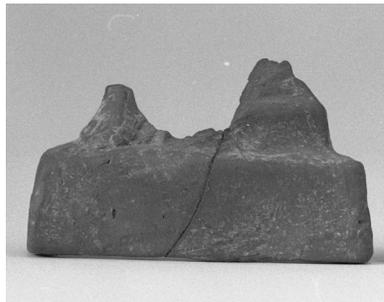
131 1:1



132 1:1



133 2:1



134 1:1



135 1:1

Plate 33: Human Limbs, Drapery



**136** 1:1



**137** 1:1



**138** 1:1



**139** 1:1



**140** 1:1



**141** 1:1

Plate 34: Figures With Articulated Limbs, Actors



142 2:1



143 1:1



144 1:1



145 1:1

Plate 35: Lions



146 1:1



147 1:2



148 1:1



149 1:2



150 1:2



151 1:2



152 1:2



153 1:2

Plate 36: Aphrodite



154 1:2



155 1:1



156 1:1



157 1:1



**158** 1:1



**159** 1:1



**160** 1:1



**161** 1:2



**162** 1:2



**163** 1:2



**164** 1:1

Plate 38: Male Divinities and Miniature



**165** 1:1



**166** 1:1



**167** 1:1



**168** 1:1



**169** 2:1

Plate 39: Women's Heads



**170** 1:2



**171** 1:1



**172** 1:2



**173** 1:2



**174** 1:1



**175** 1:1

Plate 40: Draped Women



**176** 1:1



**177** 1:1



**178** 1:1



**179** 1:1



**180** 1:1

Plate 41: Human Limbs, Drapery



181 1:1



182 1:1



183 1:2



184 1:2



185 1:1



186 1:1



187 1:2

Plate 42: Male Figures



**188** 1:1



**189** 1:1



**190** 1:1



**191** 1:1



**192** 1:1



**193** 1:1

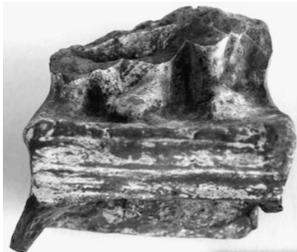


**194** 1:1

Plate 43: Human Lower Bodies



195 1:1



196 1:2



197 1:2



198 1:1



199 1:1

Plate 44: Seated Figure, Feet on Bases



200 2:1



201 2:1



202 2:1



203 2:1



204 2:1

Plate 45: Children's Heads



205 1:1



206 1:1



207 1:1



208 1:1



209 1:1



210 1:1



211 1:1



212 1:1



213 1:1



214 1:1



215 1:1



216 1:1



217 1:1

Plate 47: Articulated Limbs



**218** 1:1



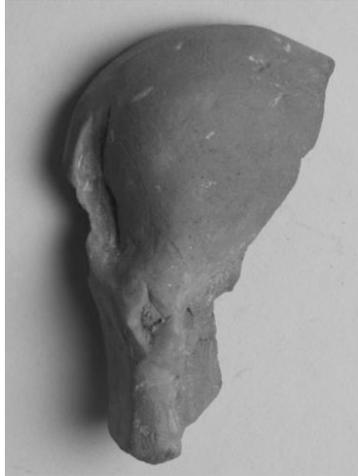
**219** 1:1



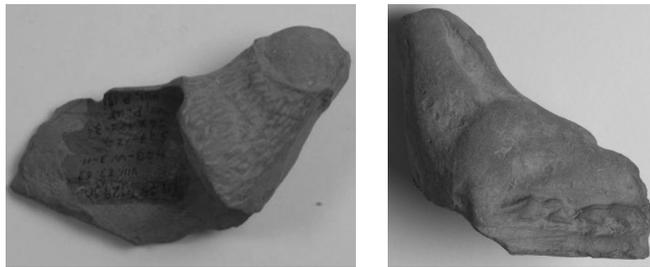
**220** 1:1



**221** 1:2



222 1:1



223 1:2



224 1:1

Plate 49: Animals



225 1:1



226 1:1



227 1:1



228 1:1



229 1:2

Plate 50: Miscellaneous



230 1:2



231 1:2



232 1:1



233 1:2



234 1:1



235 1:1



236 1:1



237 1:1



238 1:1

Plate 52: Figure on Base, Apollo, Dionysus



239 1:1



240 1:1



241 1:1



242 1:1



243 1:1



244 1:1

Plate 53: Bacchus, Serapis, Hermes



245 1:1



246 1:2



247 1:1



248 1:1



249 1:1

Plate 54: Hercules, Zeus, Satyr, Centaur



250 1:1



251 1:1



252 1:1



253 1:1



254 2:1



255 1:1

Plate 55: Women's Heads, Double Portrait



256 1:2



257 1:1



258 1:1

Plate 56: Matrona as Venus, Women With Flavian/Trajanic Coiffures



259 1:1



260 1:1



261 1:1



262 1:1



263 1:1



264 1:1



265 1:1



266 2:1

Plate 57: Women's Heads



267 1:2



268 1:1

Plate 58: Woman's Bust and Child's Head, From Pithos



269 1:1



270 1:1



271 1:1



272 1:2



273 1:2

Plate 59: Figures on Bases, Arms



274 2:1



275 2:1



276 2:1



277 2:1



278 1:1



279 1:1

Plate 60: Boy's Heads, Men's Backs



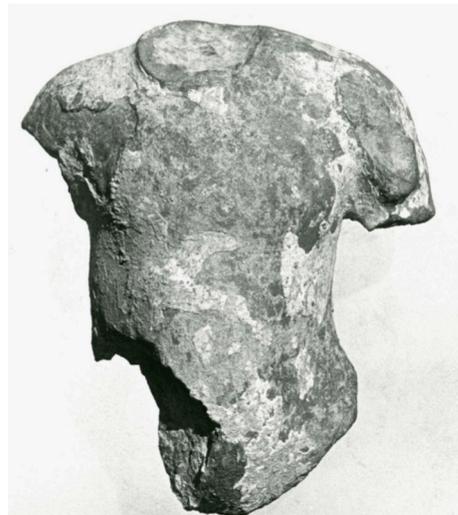
280 1:2



281 1:2



282 1:1



283 1:1



284 1:1



285 1:1



286 1:1



287 1:1



288 1:1



289 1:1



290 1:1



291 1:1



292 1:1

Plate 63: Charioteer and Actor



293 1:1



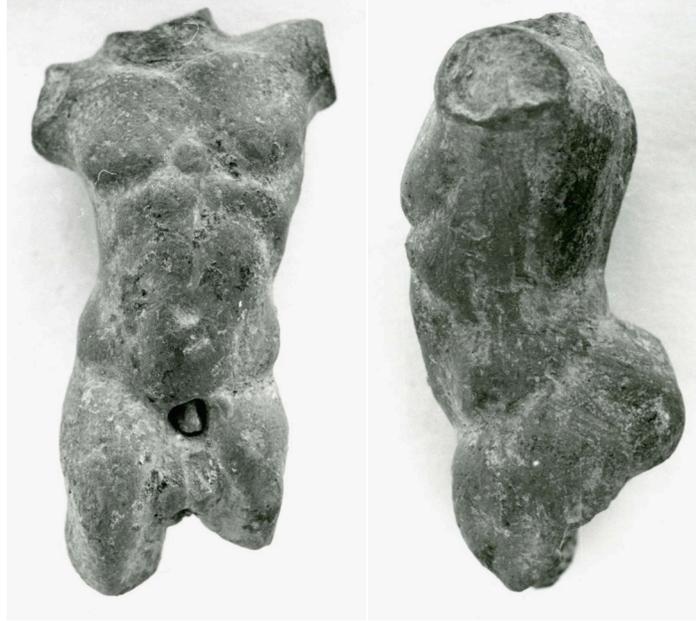
294 1:1



295 1:1



296 1:1



**297** 1:1



**298** 1:1



**299** 1:1



**300** 1:1

Plate 65: Dwarfs and Actors



301 1:1



302 1:1



303 1:1



304 1:1



305 1:1



306 1:1



307 2:1



308 1:1

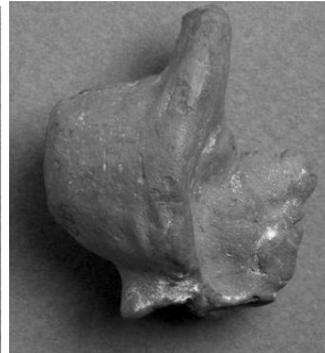


Plate 66: Mimes



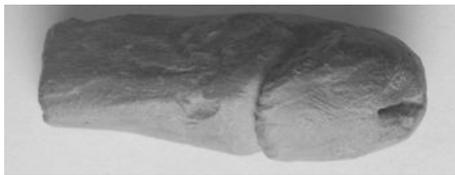
**309** 1:1



**310** 1:1



**311** 1:1



**312** 1:1



**313** 1:1

Plate 67: Fierce Men, Phalloi



314 1:1



315 1:1



316 1:1



317 1:1



318 1:1



319 1:1



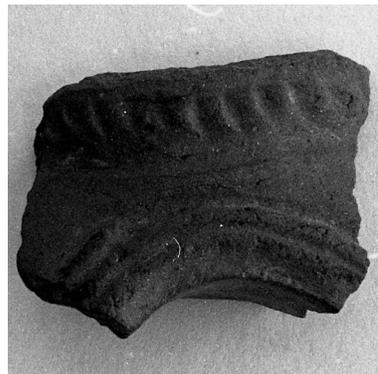
320 1:1



321 1:2



322 1:2



323 2:1

Plate 69: Theatrical Masks



324 1:2



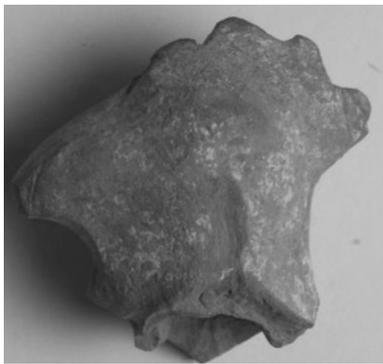
325 1:2



326 1:2



327 1:2



328 1:1



329 1:2



330 1:1

Plate 70: Horse, Roosters



331 1:1



332 1:1



333 1:1



334 1:1



335 1:1



336 1:2



337 1:1

Plate 71: Animals



338 1:1



339 1:1



340 1:1



341 1:1



342 1:1

Plate 72: Wheels



343 1:2



344 1:1



345 1:1



346 1:1



347 1:1

Plate 73: Military Bust, Human Heads



348 1:1



349 1:1



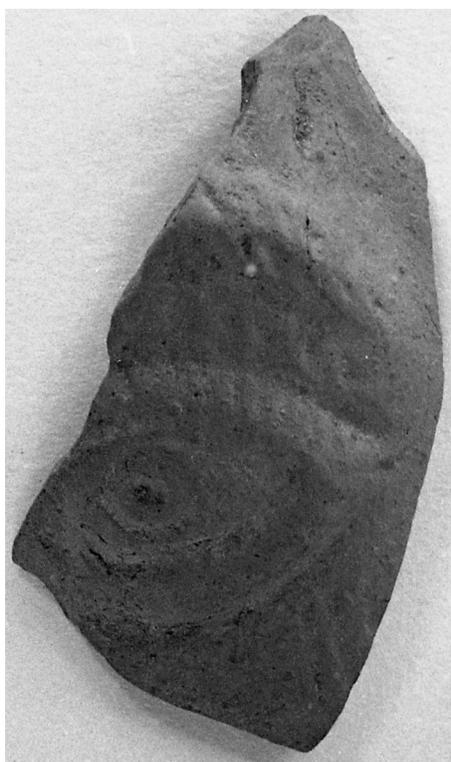
350 1:1



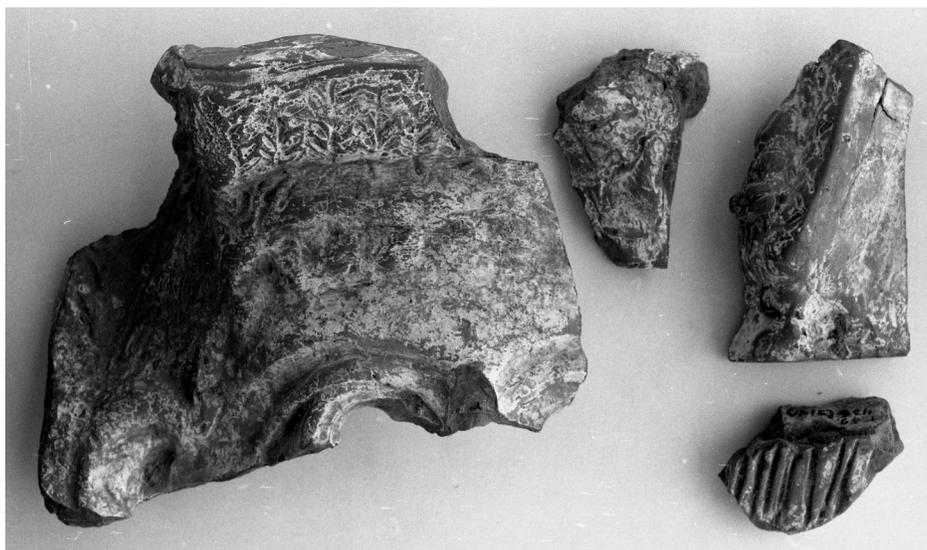
351 1:1



352 1:1



353 2:1



354 1:2



355 1:2



356 1:1



357 1:1

Plate 76: Amor and Camels



358 1:1



359 1:1



360 1:1



361 1:2



362 1:2



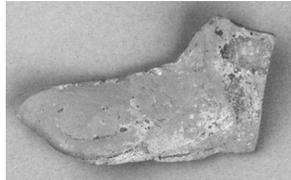
363 1:1



364 1:1



365 1:1



366 1:2



367 1:2



368 1:2



369 1:2



370 1:2

Plate 78: Horses and Other Quadrupeds



371 1:1



372 1:1



373 1:1



374 1:1

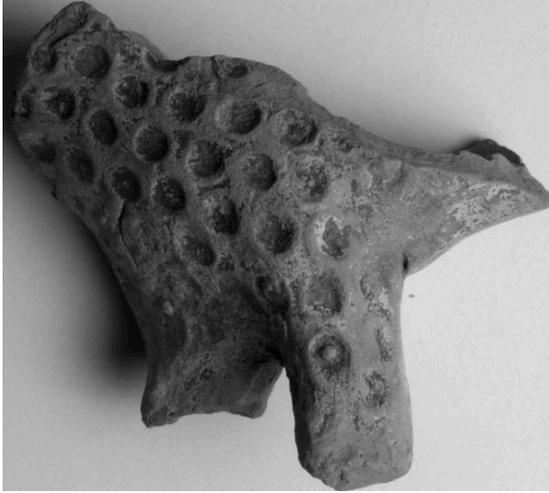


375 1:1



376 1:1

Plate 79: Quadruped Legs



377 1:1



378 1:1



379 1:1



380 1:1

Plate 80: Spotted Animal, Birds



**381** 1:1



**382** 1:1



**383** 1:1



**384** 1:1

Plate 81: Bears, Canines



385 1:2



386 1:1



387 1:1

Plate 82: Horse and Rider, Other Animals



388 1:2



389 1:1



390 1:1



391 1:1



392 1:1

Plate 83: Zoomorphic Whistles



393 1:2



394 1:1



395 2:1

Plate 84: Modern Figurines



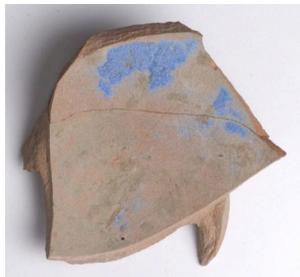
396 1:1



397 1:1



398 1:1



399 1:2



400 1:1

Plate 85: Molds and Paint Pots

## APPENDIX C: CONCORDANCE

### Sardis Inventory Number - Calatogue Number - Plate Number

|            |     |        |            |     |        |
|------------|-----|--------|------------|-----|--------|
| L09.001    | 140 | Pl. 34 | T59.037    | 180 | Pl. 41 |
| NoEx59.059 | 280 | Pl. 61 | T59.037a   | 226 | Pl. 50 |
| NoEx59.102 | 212 | Pl. 47 | T59.038    | 345 | Pl. 73 |
| NoEx59.108 | 214 | Pl. 47 | T59.038a   | 196 | Pl. 44 |
| NoEx68.003 | 394 | Pl. 84 | T59.039a   | 322 | Pl. 69 |
| NoEx68.018 | 229 | Pl. 50 | T59.040    | 209 | Pl. 46 |
| NoEx69.021 | 51  | Pl. 18 | T59.041    | 264 | Pl. 57 |
| NoEx73.018 | 88  | Pl. 25 | T59.041a   | 305 | Pl. 66 |
| NoEx73.019 | 224 | Pl. 49 | T59.042    | 285 | Pl. 62 |
| NoEx73.028 | 166 | Pl. 39 | T59.042a   | 81  | Pl. 24 |
| NoEx73.034 | 169 | Pl. 39 | T59.043    | 179 | Pl. 41 |
| NoEx76.004 | 111 | Pl. 29 | T59.043a-d | 354 | Pl. 75 |
| NoEx78.016 | 82  | Pl. 24 | T59.044    | 253 | Pl. 55 |
| NoEx11.002 | 183 | Pl. 42 | T59.046    | 227 | Pl. 50 |
| P60.110    | 3   | Pl. 2  | T59.047a   | 204 | Pl. 45 |
| P63.151    | 355 | Pl. 76 | T60.005    | 284 | Pl. 61 |
| P11.122    | 357 | Pl. 76 | T60.007    | 334 | Pl. 71 |
| P11.125    | 399 | Pl. 85 | T60.013    | 52  | Pl. 18 |
| P13.219    | 400 | Pl. 85 | T60.014    | 383 | Pl. 81 |
| T58.024    | 99  | Pl. 27 | T60.015    | 248 | Pl. 54 |
| T58.025    | 387 | Pl. 82 | T60.022    | 300 | Pl. 65 |
| T58.027    | 134 | Pl. 33 | T60.025ab  | 231 | Pl. 51 |
| T59.002    | 56  | Pl. 18 | T60.026    | 230 | Pl. 51 |
| T59.006    | 344 | Pl. 73 | T61.001    | 246 | Pl. 54 |
| T59.007    | 364 | Pl. 77 | T61.002    | 120 | Pl. 31 |
| T59.012    | 291 | Pl. 63 | T61.005    | 122 | Pl. 31 |
| T59.015    | 270 | Pl. 59 | T61.007    | 210 | Pl. 47 |
| T59.018    | 154 | Pl. 37 | T61.009    | 391 | Pl. 83 |
| T59.024    | 181 | Pl. 42 | T61.010    | 347 | Pl. 73 |
| T59.025    | 333 | Pl. 71 | T61.014    | 91  | Pl. 25 |
| T59.026    | 128 | Pl. 32 | T61.015a   | 49  | Pl. 17 |
| T59.027    | 297 | Pl. 65 | T61.019    | 240 | Pl. 53 |
| T59.028    | 324 | Pl. 70 | T61.020    | 361 | Pl. 77 |
| T59.029a   | 311 | Pl. 67 | T61.025    | 95  | Pl. 26 |
| T59.030    | 326 | Pl. 70 | T61.026    | 238 | Pl. 52 |
| T59.032    | 384 | Pl. 81 | T61.027    | 114 | Pl. 29 |
| T59.033    | 186 | Pl. 42 | T61.037    | 158 | Pl. 38 |
| T59.033a   | 159 | Pl. 38 | T61.048    | 125 | Pl. 32 |
| T59.034    | 343 | Pl. 73 | T61.051    | 331 | Pl. 71 |
| T59.035    | 90  | Pl. 25 | T61.054    | 301 | Pl. 66 |
| T59.036    | 129 | Pl. 32 | T61.056    | 337 | Pl. 71 |

|         |     |        |            |     |        |
|---------|-----|--------|------------|-----|--------|
| T61.064 | 121 | Pl. 31 | T64.017    | 203 | Pl. 45 |
| T61.070 | 277 | Pl. 60 | T64.020    | 276 | Pl. 60 |
| T61.071 | 332 | Pl. 71 | T64.021    | 25  | Pl. 9  |
| T61.074 | 232 | Pl. 52 | T64.024    | 220 | Pl. 48 |
| T61.075 | 257 | Pl. 56 | T64.027a   | 136 | Pl. 34 |
| T61.079 | 12  | Pl. 5  | T64.029    | 358 | Pl. 77 |
| T61.091 | 24  | Pl. 9  | T64.035    | 138 | Pl. 34 |
| T61.102 | 14  | Pl. 6  | T65.001    | 80  | Pl. 24 |
| T61.108 | 16  | Pl. 7  | T65.004    | 15  | Pl. 6  |
| T62.002 | 119 | Pl. 31 | T65.007    | 61  | Pl. 19 |
| T62.004 | 47  | Pl. 17 | T65.008    | 46  | Pl. 17 |
| T62.006 | 365 | Pl. 78 | T65.012    | 68  | Pl. 21 |
| T62.007 | 392 | Pl. 83 | T65.017a-c | 356 | Pl. 76 |
| T62.008 | 239 | Pl. 53 | T66.006    | 4   | Pl. 3  |
| T62.009 | 216 | Pl. 47 | T66.005    | 218 | Pl. 48 |
| T62.015 | 54  | Pl. 18 | T67.001    | 391 | Pl. 83 |
| T62.026 | 102 | Pl. 27 | T67.003    | 53  | Pl. 18 |
| T62.029 | 23  | Pl. 8  | T67.004    | 63  | Pl. 20 |
| T62.035 | 7   | Pl. 4  | T67.005    | 187 | Pl. 42 |
| T62.036 | 228 | Pl. 50 | T67.006    | 251 | Pl. 55 |
| T62.038 | 321 | Pl. 69 | T67.009    | 350 | Pl. 74 |
| T62.040 | 96  | Pl. 26 | T67.010    | 104 | Pl. 27 |
| T62.044 | 360 | Pl. 77 | T67.011    | 13  | Pl. 5  |
| T62.045 | 86  | Pl. 25 | T67.013    | 283 | Pl. 61 |
| T62.046 | 193 | Pl. 43 | T67.014    | 256 | Pl. 56 |
| T63.004 | 168 | Pl. 39 | T67.016    | 225 | Pl. 50 |
| T63.005 | 389 | Pl. 83 | T67.017    | 21  | Pl. 8  |
| T63.007 | 348 | Pl. 74 | T67.018    | 5   | Pl. 3  |
| T63.017 | 263 | Pl. 57 | T67.022    | 94  | Pl. 26 |
| T63.018 | 259 | Pl. 57 | T67.023    | 150 | Pl. 36 |
| T63.021 | 380 | Pl. 80 | T67.025    | 152 | Pl. 36 |
| T63.025 | 133 | Pl. 33 | T68.001    | 141 | Pl. 34 |
| T63.030 | 18  | Pl. 7  | T68.006    | 77  | Pl. 24 |
| T63.033 | 325 | Pl. 70 | T68.015    | 201 | Pl. 45 |
| T63.038 | 165 | Pl. 39 | T69.003    | 267 | Pl. 58 |
| T63.046 | 8   | Pl. 4  | T69.004    | 268 | Pl. 58 |
| T63.048 | 10  | Pl. 5  | T69.006    | 83  | Pl. 24 |
| T63.063 | 97  | Pl. 26 | T69.007    | 17  | Pl. 7  |
| T64.001 | 58  | Pl. 18 | T70.001    | 19  | Pl. 7  |
| T64.005 | 388 | Pl. 83 | T70.002    | 282 | Pl. 61 |
| T64.006 | 9   | Pl. 4  | T71.002    | 22  | Pl. 8  |
| T64.009 | 4   | Pl. 3  | T72.002    | 115 | Pl. 30 |
| T64.011 | 177 | Pl. 41 | T77.001    | 76  | Pl. 23 |
| T64.012 | 146 | Pl. 36 | T77.002    | 75  | Pl. 23 |
| T64.013 | 211 | Pl. 47 | T78.001    | 249 | Pl. 54 |
| T64.014 | 194 | Pl. 43 | T79.001    | 252 | Pl. 55 |

|         |     |        |         |     |        |
|---------|-----|--------|---------|-----|--------|
| T79.004 | 310 | Pl. 67 | T91.010 | 369 | Pl. 78 |
| T80.001 | 261 | Pl. 57 | T91.011 | 338 | Pl. 72 |
| T80.002 | 353 | Pl. 75 | T91.012 | 278 | Pl. 60 |
| T80.003 | 87  | Pl. 25 | T91.013 | 189 | Pl. 43 |
| T80.005 | 103 | Pl. 27 | T91.015 | 170 | Pl. 40 |
| T80.007 | 323 | Pl. 69 | T91.016 | 70  | Pl. 22 |
| T80.008 | 271 | Pl. 59 | T92.001 | 234 | Pl. 52 |
| T82.003 | 197 | Pl. 44 | T92.002 | 233 | Pl. 52 |
| T83.002 | 1   | Pl. 1  | T92.004 | 79  | Pl. 24 |
| T83.004 | 84  | Pl. 24 | T92.005 | 255 | Pl. 55 |
| T83.009 | 161 | Pl. 38 | T92.006 | 242 | Pl. 53 |
| T83.012 | 370 | Pl. 78 | T93.001 | 202 | Pl. 45 |
| T83.014 | 2   | Pl. 2  | T93.002 | 100 | Pl. 27 |
| T83.016 | 235 | Pl. 52 | T93.006 | 309 | Pl. 67 |
| T85.001 | 107 | Pl. 28 | T93.007 | 113 | Pl. 29 |
| T85.005 | 362 | Pl. 77 | T94.002 | 101 | Pl. 27 |
| T85.008 | 74  | Pl. 22 | T96.001 | 275 | Pl. 60 |
| T86.001 | 149 | Pl. 36 | T96.003 | 148 | Pl. 36 |
| T86.002 | 262 | Pl. 57 | T97.002 | 67  | Pl. 21 |
| T86.004 | 72  | Pl. 22 | T97.003 | 66  | Pl. 21 |
| T86.006 | 304 | Pl. 66 | T97.004 | 130 | Pl. 33 |
| T86.007 | 316 | Pl. 68 | T97.035 | 299 | Pl. 65 |
| T86.009 | 327 | Pl. 70 | T97.036 | 247 | Pl. 54 |
| T86.013 | 123 | Pl. 31 | T97.044 | 241 | Pl. 53 |
| T86.017 | 205 | Pl. 46 | T98.001 | 315 | Pl. 68 |
| T87.007 | 237 | Pl. 52 | T98.003 | 243 | Pl. 53 |
| T89.005 | 373 | Pl. 79 | T98.006 | 55  | Pl. 18 |
| T89.006 | 371 | Pl. 79 | T98.008 | 346 | Pl. 73 |
| T89.007 | 192 | Pl. 43 | T98.009 | 174 | Pl. 40 |
| T89.008 | 375 | Pl. 79 | T98.010 | 60  | Pl. 19 |
| T89.013 | 155 | Pl. 37 | T99.001 | 105 | Pl. 28 |
| T90.001 | 26  | Pl. 10 | T00.001 | 281 | Pl. 61 |
| T90.003 | 317 | Pl. 68 | T02.001 | 349 | Pl. 74 |
| T90.004 | 142 | Pl. 35 | T02.003 | 307 | Pl. 66 |
| T90.006 | 71  | Pl. 22 | T03.030 | 244 | Pl. 53 |
| T90.007 | 64  | Pl. 20 | T04.003 | 163 | Pl. 38 |
| T90.008 | 221 | Pl. 48 | T04.005 | 286 | Pl. 62 |
| T90.009 | 319 | Pl. 69 | T05.001 | 78  | Pl. 24 |
| T90.011 | 132 | Pl. 33 | T05.005 | 171 | Pl. 40 |
| T90.012 | 245 | Pl. 54 | T05.006 | 162 | Pl. 38 |
| T90.013 | 89  | Pl. 25 | T05.007 | 386 | Pl. 82 |
| T90.014 | 164 | Pl. 38 | T06.005 | 30  | Pl. 11 |
| T90.016 | 93  | Pl. 26 | T06.006 | 31  | Pl. 11 |
| T91.001 | 145 | Pl. 35 | T06.007 | 32  | Pl. 12 |
| T91.004 | 126 | Pl. 32 | T06.008 | 41  | Pl. 15 |
| T91.009 | 368 | Pl. 78 | T06.009 | 42  | Pl. 15 |

|         |     |        |         |     |        |
|---------|-----|--------|---------|-----|--------|
| T06.010 | 44  | Pl. 16 | T11.033 | 147 | Pl. 36 |
| T07.001 | 213 | Pl. 47 | T11.034 | 175 | Pl. 40 |
| T07.010 | 274 | Pl. 60 | T11.035 | 288 | Pl. 62 |
| T08.006 | 33  | Pl. 13 | T11.036 | 173 | Pl. 40 |
| T08.010 | 34  | Pl. 13 | T11.037 | 157 | Pl. 37 |
| T09.003 | 37  | Pl. 14 | T11.038 | 298 | Pl. 65 |
| T09.004 | 40  | Pl. 14 | T11.039 | 185 | Pl. 42 |
| T09.005 | 35  | Pl. 13 | T11.040 | 236 | Pl. 52 |
| T09.006 | 32  | Pl. 12 | T11.042 | 137 | Pl. 34 |
| T09.009 | 219 | Pl. 48 | T11.043 | 312 | Pl. 67 |
| T09.010 | 38  | Pl. 14 | T11.044 | 313 | Pl. 67 |
| T09.013 | 50  | Pl. 18 | T11.045 | 184 | Pl. 42 |
| T09.014 | 28  | Pl. 10 | T11.046 | 172 | Pl. 40 |
| T09.016 | 29  | Pl. 11 | T11.047 | 59  | Pl. 19 |
| T09.019 | 39  | Pl. 14 | T11.048 | 108 | Pl. 28 |
| T10.003 | 106 | Pl. 28 | T11.050 | 198 | Pl. 44 |
| T10.005 | 160 | Pl. 38 | T11.051 | 143 | Pl. 35 |
| T10.008 | 306 | Pl. 66 | T11.052 | 208 | Pl. 46 |
| T10.009 | 85  | Pl. 25 | T11.053 | 372 | Pl. 79 |
| T10.017 | 200 | Pl. 45 | T11.054 | 20  | Pl. 8  |
| T10.020 | 6   | Pl. 4  | T11.055 | 328 | Pl. 70 |
| T10.023 | 144 | Pl. 35 | T11.056 | 20  | Pl. 8  |
| T10.025 | 269 | Pl. 59 | T11.057 | 223 | Pl. 49 |
| T10.026 | 308 | Pl. 66 | T11.058 | 330 | Pl. 70 |
| T10.027 | 258 | Pl. 56 | T11.059 | 336 | Pl. 71 |
| T10.028 | 292 | Pl. 63 | T11.060 | 11  | Pl. 5  |
| T10.029 | 156 | Pl. 37 | T11.061 | 379 | Pl. 80 |
| T11.005 | 329 | Pl. 70 | T11.062 | 222 | Pl. 49 |
| T11.006 | 378 | Pl. 80 | T11.063 | 335 | Pl. 71 |
| T11.009 | 92  | Pl. 25 | T11.064 | 374 | Pl. 79 |
| T11.011 | 167 | Pl. 39 | T11.065 | 395 | Pl. 84 |
| T11.012 | 265 | Pl. 57 | T11.066 | 352 | Pl. 74 |
| T11.013 | 57  | Pl. 18 | T11.067 | 314 | Pl. 68 |
| T11.015 | 260 | Pl. 57 | T11.069 | 351 | Pl. 74 |
| T11.017 | 266 | Pl. 57 | T11.070 | 303 | Pl. 66 |
| T11.021 | 124 | Pl. 31 | T11.071 | 182 | Pl. 42 |
| T11.022 | 250 | Pl. 55 | T11.072 | 279 | Pl. 60 |
| T11.024 | 290 | Pl. 62 | T11.073 | 293 | Pl. 64 |
| T11.025 | 254 | Pl. 55 | T11.074 | 116 | Pl. 30 |
| T11.026 | 117 | Pl. 30 | T11.075 | 112 | Pl. 29 |
| T11.027 | 65  | Pl. 20 | T11.076 | 287 | Pl. 62 |
| T11.028 | 289 | Pl. 62 | T11.078 | 191 | Pl. 43 |
| T11.029 | 206 | Pl. 46 | T11.079 | 176 | Pl. 41 |
| T11.030 | 98  | Pl. 26 | T11.080 | 139 | Pl. 34 |
| T11.031 | 48  | Pl. 17 | T11.081 | 62  | Pl. 19 |
| T11.032 | 153 | Pl. 36 | T11.083 | 215 | Pl. 47 |

|           |     |        |
|-----------|-----|--------|
| T11.084   | 217 | Pl. 47 |
| T11.085   | 135 | Pl. 33 |
| T11.086   | 339 | Pl. 72 |
| T11.087   | 340 | Pl. 72 |
| T11.088   | 342 | Pl. 72 |
| T11.089   | 199 | Pl. 44 |
| T11.090   | 178 | Pl. 41 |
| T11.092   | 398 | Pl. 85 |
| T11.093   | 381 | Pl. 81 |
| T11.094   | 109 | Pl. 28 |
| T11.095   | 151 | Pl. 36 |
| T11.096   | 341 | Pl. 72 |
| T11.097   | 377 | Pl. 80 |
| T11.098   | 195 | Pl. 44 |
| T11.099   | 359 | Pl. 77 |
| T11.100   | 320 | Pl. 69 |
| T12.006   | 73  | Pl. 22 |
| T12.016   | 363 | Pl. 77 |
| T12.017   | 382 | Pl. 81 |
| T12.021   | 302 | Pl. 66 |
| T12.023   | 131 | Pl. 33 |
| T12.024   | 366 | Pl. 78 |
| T12.025   | 118 | Pl. 30 |
| T12.026   | 396 | Pl. 85 |
| T13.007   | 36  | Pl. 13 |
| T13.008   | 43  | Pl. 15 |
| T13.009   | 45  | Pl. 16 |
| T13.010   | 318 | Pl. 68 |
| T13.011   | 385 | Pl. 82 |
| T13.012   | 376 | Pl. 79 |
| T13.013   | 188 | Pl. 43 |
| T13.014   | 190 | Pl. 43 |
| T13.015   | 27  | Pl. 10 |
| T13.016   | 296 | Pl. 64 |
| T13.017   | 272 | Pl. 59 |
| T13.018   | 273 | Pl. 59 |
| T13.019   | 397 | Pl. 85 |
| T13.020   | 127 | Pl. 32 |
| T13.021   | 110 | Pl. 28 |
| T13.022   | 207 | Pl. 46 |
| T13.023   | 367 | Pl. 78 |
| T13.026   | 295 | Pl. 64 |
| T13.027   | 294 | Pl. 64 |
| T13.028   | 69  | Pl. 21 |
| No Number | 393 | Pl. 84 |

## APPENDIX D: FIGURINES EXCAVATED BEFORE 1958

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

**Hellenistic Pottery:** Rotroff, S. I. and A. Oliver, Jr. 2003. *The Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis: The Finds Through 1994*. *SardisMon* 12. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

**Louvre III:** Besques, S. M. 1972. *Catalogue Raisonné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. III: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.

**Sardis I:** Butler, H. C. 1922. *Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*. Vol. I: *The Excavations*, pt. I: 1910-1914. Leyden: Brill.

**Shear:** Shear, T. L. 1922. "Sixth Preliminary Report on the American Excavations at Sardes in Asia Minor." *AJA* 26 (4): 389-409.

The excavations led by Howard Crosby Butler from 1910-1914 and 1922 discovered hundreds of tombs at Sardis. Most of the materials removed from these burials were lost or destroyed following the military conflicts that afflicted the area during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; others were presented as gifts to several museums around the world. What follows is a brief account of a few figurines thought to have come from Sardis now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York or in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. The inventory is supplemented by a list of the figurines that were published by the First Sardis Expedition, and by notes on others that were not. George H. Chase, who was working on a volume about the pottery, left behind preliminary records and photographs of some of the tombs and their contents; these documents have since been studied by George M.A. Hanfmann, Andrew Oliver, Jr. and Susan Rotroff, and it is to the publication their findings that most of the following is indebted.<sup>1</sup>

This is not a full list but a work in progress. The reader should also be aware that there might be duplicates in the accounts below, as some of the very brief descriptions sound similar. I have not inspected any of the figurines personally.

---

<sup>1</sup> Please see *Hellenistic Pottery*, 181-208, for a full report of their investigation and findings.

### **Sardian figurines in the Metropolitan Museum of Art:**

- 1) A seated girl (Ter66); from Tomb 621. MMA 26. 164.1. Hellenistic. *Hellenistic Pottery* 199-200; pictured: pl. 135A, second from left.
- 2) A boy with a wreath, nude but with high boots. MMA 26.199.53. Hellenistic. *Sardis I*, 81-82, ill. 77.
- 3) An Aphrodite Anadyomene variant, enshrined. MMA 26.199.52. Hellenistic.
- 4) A Herakles with a club and lion skin. MMA 26.199.51. Hellenistic.
- 5) A group of four figures carrying a chest, fragmentary. MMA 26.199.15. Hellenistic.
- 6) A standing draped woman. MMA 26.199.50. Hellenistic.
- 7) A draped woman reclining on a couch. MMA 26.199.55. Hellenistic.

### **Figurines attributed to Sardis in the Musée du Louvre:**

- 1) An Aphrodite Anadyomene variant. Hellenistic/Roman. *Louvre III*, D 852, pl. 156 c.
- 2) A young Dionysus, standing with legs crossed, leaning on a thyrsus. Signed. Hellenistic/Roman. *Louvre III*, D 853, pl. 156 a, d.
- 3) The head of a boxer. Late Hellenistic. *Louvre III* D 854, pl. 156 e.
- 4) A smiling Pan wearing a mantle, perhaps playing a syrinx. First or second century C.E. *Louvre III* E 22, pl. 156 b.

### **Figurines published in *Sardis I*:**

- 1) An Aphrodite Anadyomene variant (Ter1); from Tomb 55. *Sardis I*, 1, 81, ill. 76. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 187-189.
- 2) An Archaic female head. *Sardis I*, 81-82, ill. 78. Excavated 1911; Nekropolis Hill.
- 3) A fifth century B.C.E. "mask." *Sardis I*, 81-82, ill. 79. Excavated 1911; Nekropolis Hill.
- 4) A dove on a pomegranate. *Sardis I*, 118, ill. 124. Excavated 1912; Stele Tomb.
- 5) A small dove. *Sardis I*, 118, ill. 124. Excavated 1912; Stele Tomb.
- 6) A recumbent deer? *Sardis I*, 118, ill. 124. Excavated 1912; Stele Tomb.
- 7) Two masks? *Sardis I*, 118, ill. 124. Excavated 1912; Stele Tomb.

**Unpublished figurines found within tombs alongside Hellenistic materials:**

- 1) A Nike (Ter82); from Tomb 439. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 197-198.
- 2) A Herakles (Ter83); from Tomb 439. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 197-198.
- 3) Two fragmentary figurines; from Tomb 439. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 197-198.
- 4) A seated girl (Ter63); from Tomb 535. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 198-199.
- 5) A standing woman (Ter86); from Tomb 1007. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 201-202.
- 6) A group of four girls (Ter87); from Tomb 1007. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 201-202.
- 7) An Eros (Ter64); from Tomb C1. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 202.
- 8) Fragments of two or more figurines; from Tomb SW5. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 203-204.
- 9) A Persephone (Θ40-Tc1); from Tomb ΘA of the first century B.C.E. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 204-205. Pictured in *Shear*, fig. 9, upper row, fourth from the left.
- 10) A nude female (Θ41-Tc2); from Tomb ΘA of the first century B.C.E. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 204-205. Pictured in *Shear*, fig. 9, lower row, third from the right.
- 11) A mask (Θ42-Tc3); from Tomb ΘA of the first century B.C.E. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 204-205. Pictured in *Shear*, fig. 9, upper row, second from the right.
- 12) A mask (Ter5); from Tomb 220, apparently from the fifth century B.C.E. with Hellenistic coins but no Hellenistic pottery. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 207.
- 13) A mask (Ter85); from Tomb SW4, with coins dating to the third century B.C.E. *Hellenistic Pottery*, 208.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations for journals, series, or books follow the guidelines set by the American Journal of Archaeology: <http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations>.

Alroth, B. 1989. *Greek Gods and Figurines. Aspects of the Anthropomorphic Dedications. Boreas* 18. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti, E., M. Dionysiou, A. Doulgeri-Intzesioglou, and P. Arachoviti. 2013. "Some New Observations on the Materials used for the Decoration of Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines in the Pherai Workshops, Greece." Paper read at the Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus Conference, 3-5 June, Nicosia.

Bailey, D. W. 2005. *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*. London: Routledge.

———. 2013. "Figurines, Corporeality, and the Origins of The Gendered Body." In *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, edited by D. Bolger, 244-264. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

———. 2014. "Touch and the Cheirotic Apprehension of Prehistoric Figurines." In *Sculpture and Touch*, edited by Peter Dent, 27-44. Surrey: Ashgate.

Barr-Sharrar, B. 1990. "Coroplast, Potter, and Metalsmith." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 31-36. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.

Barrett, C. E. 2011. *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos: A Study in Hellenistic Religion*. Leiden: Brill.

Bartman, E. 2001. "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment." *AJA* 105 (1): 1-25.

Beazly, J. D. 1971. *Paralipomena*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Becq, J. 2010. "El Descubrimiento de las Tanagras." In *Tanagras: Figuras Para la Vida y la Eternidad: Colección del Museo del Louvre*, edited by V. Jeammet and I. Bonora Andujar, 16. Valencia: Fundación Bancaja.

Bell, M., III. 1993. "Tanagras and the Idea of Type." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin, Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World: The Coroplast's Art* 1 (3): 39-53.

Berlin, A. 2012. "2012 Final Report." Unpublished field report. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University.

———. 2013. "2013 Final Report." Unpublished field report. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University.

- . 2014. "Sardis, from the King's Peace to the Peace of Apamea." Paper read at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2–5 January, Chicago.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2006. "The Anatolian Origin of Attis." In *Pluralismus und Wandel in den Religionen im vorhellenistischen Anatolien: Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums in Bonn* (19.-20. Mai 2005), edited by M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar, 9-39. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 337. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Besques, S. M. (Sometimes also Mollard-Besques or Besques-Mollard). 1950. *Tanagra*. Paris: Braun.
- . 1954. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. I: *Époques Préhellénique Géométrique, Archaïque et Classique*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.
- . 1963a. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs et Romains*. II: *Myrina*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.
- . 1963b. *Les Terres Cuites Grecques*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- . 1964. "Un atelier de Coroplastie au Debut du IIe Siècle Avant J.C.," *RLouvre* 14: 299-311.
- . 1972. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. III: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.
- . 1986. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. IV, pt. 1: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Italie Meridionale, Sicile, Sardaigne*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.
- . 1992. *Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-Cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains*. IV, pt. 2: *Époques Hellénistique et Romaine, Cyrénaïque, Egypte Ptolémaïque, et Romaine, Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux.
- Besques, S., and D. Kassab. 1978. "Deux ateliers de coroplastes à Myrina." *RLouvre* 28: 323-329.
- Bieber, M. 1961. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Van Boekel, G. M. E. C. 1987. "Roman Terracotta Figurines and Masks from the Netherlands." Ph.D. diss., Groningen.
- Boldrighini, F. 2003. *Domus Picta. Le Decorazioni de Casa Bellezza Sull'Aventino*. Milan: Electa.

- Bookidis, N., and J. E. Fisher. 1972. "Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Preliminary Report IV: 1969-1970." *Hesperia* 41: 283-331.
- Bourgeois, B. 2010. "Prácticas artesanales del color en las Tanagras del Louvre." In *Tanagras: Figuras Para la Vida y la Eternidad: Colección del Museo del Louvre*, edited by V. Jeammet and I. Bonora Andujar, 238-243. Valencia: Fundación Bancaja.
- Boutantin, C. 2014. *Terres Cuites et Culte Domestique: Bestiaire de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 179. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Breitenstein, N. 1941. *Catalogue of Terracottas: Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italian and Roman: Danish National Museum, Department of Oriental and Classical Antiquities*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Brinke, M. 1991. *Kopienkritische und Typologische Untersuchungen zur Statuarischen Überlieferung der Aphrodite Typus Louvre-Neapel*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.
- Bruce, W. 2014. "Gold Refining and Religious Cult in Lydian and Achaemenid Sardis." Paper read at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2–5 January, Chicago.
- Burn, L., and R. Higgins. 2001. *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*. Vol. III. London: British Museum.
- Burr, D. (See also Thompson, D. B.). 1934. "Terra-Cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- Butler, H. C. 1922. *Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*. Vol. I: *The Excavations*, pt. I: 1910-1914. Leyden: Brill.
- Buttrey, T. V., A. Johnston, K. M. MacKenzie, and M. L. Bates. 1981. *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis. SardisMon* 7. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 2008. "Mapping Sardis." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. SardisRep* 4, edited by N. Cahill, 111-124. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.
- . 2010. "The City of Sardis." In *Lidyalılar ve dünyaları = The Lydians and Their World*, edited by N. Cahill, 75-105. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- Cahill, N. and J. H. Kroll. 2005. "New Archaic Coin Finds at Sardis." *AJA* 109 (4): 589-617.
- Castello, G. L. 1758. *Opuscoli di Autori Siciliani*. Palermo.

- Cerutti, S. and L. Richardson, Jr. 1989. "Vitruvius on Stage Architecture and Some Recently Discovered Scanae Frons Decorations." *JSAH* 48 (2): 172-179.
- Coarelli, F., ed. 2002. *Pompeii*. New York: Riverside Book Company, Inc.
- Connelly, J. B. 1990. "Hellenistic Alexandria." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 89-92. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- Clarke, J. R. 2007. *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Crawford, J. S. 1990. *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis. SardisMon 9*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- D'Ambra, E. 1996. "The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by N. B. Kampen, 219-232. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Desborough, V. R., R. V. Nicholls, and M. Popham. 1970. "A Euboean Centaur." *BSA* 65: 21-30.
- Dolansky, F. 2012. "Playing with Gender: Girls, Dolls, and Adult Ideals." *CLAnt* 31 (2): 256-292.
- Douglas, N. 1928. *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Downey, S. B. 2003. *Terracotta Figurines and Plaques from Dura-Europos*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. 1982. "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments." *AJA* 86 (1): 65-89.
- Dusenbery, E. B. 1998. *Samothrace; Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University*. Vol. XI: *The Nekropoleis*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Easterling, P. 2002. "Actor as Icon." In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, edited by P. Easterling and E. Hall, 327-341. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elderkin, K. McK. 1930. "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity." *AJA* 34: 455-479.
- Epstein, H. and I. L. Mason. 1984. "Cattle." In *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, edited by I. L. Mason, 6-27. London: Longman.
- Ervin, M. 1963. "A Relief Pithos from Mykonos." *Deltion* 18: 37-75.
- Felletti Maj, B. M. 1953. *Museo Nazionale Romano. I Ritratti*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.

- Fjeldhagen, M. 1995. *Graeco-Roman Terracottas from Egypt: Catalogue*. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Flaata, A. A., 2012. "The Early Cult of the Mother in Western Anatolia: An Archaeological Reassessment." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Foss, C. 1976. *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis. Sardis Mon 4*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Foss, C. and J. A. Scott. 2002. "Sardis." In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 2., edited by A. E. Laiou, 615-621. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Gallico, S. 2000. *Guide to the Excavations of Ostia Antica*. Rome: ATS Italia Editrice.
- Goldman, H. 1943. "Two Terracotta Figurines from Tarsus." *AJA* 47: 22-34.
- . 1950. "The Terracotta Figurines." In *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus. Vol. I: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, edited by H. Goldman, 297-383. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- . 1963. "Terracotta Figurines." In *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus. Vol. III: The Iron Age*, edited by H. Goldman, 333-346. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Gosden, C., and Y. Marshall. 1999. "The Cultural Biography of Objects." *WorldArch* 31: 169-178.
- Grandjouan, C. 1961. *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period. Agora VI*. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Green, R., and E. Handley. 1995. *Images of the Greek Theatre*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. 1970. "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: The Wild Goat Style." *CSCA* 3: 55-89.
- . 1971a. "Fikellura and "Early Fikellura" Pottery from Sardis." *CSCA* 4: 153-180.
- . 1971b. "An Exhibitionist from Sardis." In *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann. Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, 2, edited by D G. Mitten, 29-46. Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum.
- . 1978a. "The Sardis Campaign of 1976." *BASOR* 229: 57-73.
- . 1978b. "The Seventeenth Campaign at Sardis (1974)." *AASOR* 43: 61-71.

- . 1990. “The Sardis Campaign of 1987.” *BASOR* Suppl. 27, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1982-89: 1-28.
- . 2010a. “Lydian Pottery.” In *Lidyalılar ve dünyaları = The Lydians and Their World*, edited by N. Cahill, 107-124. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- . 2010b. “Gold and Silver Refining at Sardeis.” In *Lidyalılar ve dünyaları = The Lydians and Their World*, edited by N. Cahill, 135-141. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- . 2010c. “Horsemanship.” In *Lidyalılar ve dünyaları = The Lydians and Their World*, edited by N. Cahill, 217-224. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- . 2010d. “The Gods of Lydia” In *Lidyalılar ve dünyaları = The Lydians and Their World*, edited by N. Cahill, 233-246. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., N. D. Cahill, and M. Rautman. 1985. “The Sardis Campaign of 1984.” *BASOR* Suppl. 25, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1982-1985: 13-54.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., N. Cahill, P. Stinson, and F. Yegül. 2003. *The City of Sardis: Approaches in Graphic Recording*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., H. Dedeoğlu, N. D. Cahill, and P. Herrmann. 1986. “The Sardis Campaign of 1986.” *BASOR* Suppl. 26, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1983-1987: 137-177.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. and E. E. Freedman. 1979. “The Sardis Campaign of 1977.” *BASOR* 233: 1-32.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., A. E. M. Johnston, and T. V. Buttrey. 1973. “The Fifteenth Campaign at Sardis (1972).” *BASOR* 211: 14-36.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. and L. Majewski. 1980. “Lydian Textiles.” In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young, Held at the University Museum, the Third of May, 1975*, edited by K. DeVries, 133-148. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., K. Nayir, H. G. Crane, and S. M. Goldstein. 1977. “The Eighteenth Campaign at Sardis.” *BASOR* 228: 47-59.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., A. Ramage, D. G. Sullivan, K. Nayir, and A. Tulga. 1983. “The Sardis Campaigns of 1979 and 1980.” *BASOR* 249: 1-44.

- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., C. Ratté, and M. L. Rautman. 1993. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1988 and 1989." *AASOR* 51, Preliminary Excavation Reports: Sardis, Paphos, Caesarea Maritima, Shiqmim, Ain Ghazal: 1-44.
- . 1994. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1990 and 1991." *AASOR* 52, Preliminary Excavation Reports: Sardis, Bir Umm Fawakhir, Tell el-Umeiri, The Combined Caesarea Expeditions, and Tell Dothan: 1-37.
- . 1995. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1992 and 1993." *AASOR* 53, Preliminary Excavation Reports: Sardis, Idalion, and Tell el-Handaquq North: 1-36.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., C. Ratté, D. G. Sullivan, and T. N. Howe. 1985. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1981 and 1982." *BASOR* Suppl. 23, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1981-83: 53-92
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. and M. L. Rautman. 1998. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1994 and 1995." *AJA* 102 (3): 469- 505.
- . 2000. "The Sardis Campaigns of 1996, 1997, and 1998." *AJA* 104 (4): 643-681.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., M. L. Rautman, and N. D. Cahill. 1985. "The Sardis Campaign of 1985." *BASOR* Suppl. 25, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1982-1985: 55-92.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., M. L. Rautman, and R. Meriç. 1986. "The Sardis Campaign of 1983." *BASOR* Suppl. 24, Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1980-84: 1-30.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., E. L. Sterud, and D. F. Belknap. 1982. "The Sardis Campaign of 1978." *BASOR* 245: 1-34.
- Groves, C. and P. Grubb. 2011. *Ungulate Taxonomy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Handler, M. D. 2012. "Crafting Matters: A Coroplastic Workshop in Roman Athens." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1945. "Horsemen from Sardis." *AJA* 49 (4): 570-581.
- . 1959. "Excavations at Sardis, 1958." *BASOR* 154: 5-35.
- . 1960. "Excavations at Sardis, 1959." *BASOR* 157: 8-43.
- . 1961. "The Third Campaign at Sardis (1960)." *BASOR* 162: 8-49.
- . 1962. "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis (1961)." *BASOR* 166: 1-57.
- . 1963. "The Fifth Campaign at Sardis (1962)." *BASOR* 170: 1-65.

- . 1964. “The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1963).” *BASOR* 174: 3-58.
- . 1965. “The Seventh Campaign at Sardis (1964).” *BASOR* 177: 2-37.
- . 1967. *Classical Sculpture*. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society.
- . 1972. *Letters From Sardis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1974. “The Sixteenth Campaign at Sardis (1973).” *BASOR* 215: 31-60.
- . 1980. “On Lydian Sardis.” In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young, Held at the University Museum, the Third of May, 1975*, Edited by K. DeVries, 99-107. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- . 1983a. “On the Gods of Lydian Sardis.” In *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, edited by R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, 219-231. Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern.
- . 1983b. “Lydian Society and Culture.” In *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*, edited by G. M. A. Hanfmann, 67-99. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and L. J. Majewski. 1967. “The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966) (Continued).” *BASOR* 187: 9-62.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and W. E. Mierse. 1983. *Sardis From Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., D. Mitten, and A. Ramage. 1968. “The Tenth Campaign at Sardis (1967).” *BASOR* 191: 2-41.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and N. H. Ramage. 1978. *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds Through 1975. SardisRep 2*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., L. Robert, and W. Mierse. 1983. “The Hellenistic Period.” In *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*, edited by G. M. A. Hanfmann, 109-138. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., G. F. Swift, Jr., and J. Whittlesey. 1966. “The Eighth Campaign at Sardis (1965).” *BASOR* 182: 2-54.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., G. F. Swift, Jr., and C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. 1967. “The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966).” *BASOR* 186: 17-52.

- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and R. S. Thomas. 1971. "The Thirteenth Campaign at Sardis (1970)." *BASOR* 203: 5-22.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and J. C. Waldbaum. 1969. "Kybebe and Artemis. Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis." *Archaeology* 22: 264-269.
- . 1975. *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls. SardisRep* 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., J. C. Waldbaum, A. Ramage, S. M. Goldstein, L. J. Majewski, and G. Bates. 1970. "The Eleventh and Twelfth Campaigns at Sardis." *BASOR* 199: 7-58.
- Haskell, F. and N. Penny. 1981. *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Havelock, C. M. 1995. *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hayes, J. W. 1976. *Roman pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue*. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.
- Heilmeyer, W-D. 1972. *Frühe olympische Tonfiguren*. Olympische Forschungen Bd. VII. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- . 2005. "Die Erstaufstellung der Antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum." *JBerlMus* 47: 9-44.
- Herbert, K. 1959. "Terracotta Figurines at Bowdoin College." *CJ* 55 (3): 98-111.
- Heuzey, L. 1923. *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite: figurines orientales et figurines des îles asiatiques*. Paris: Musées Nationaux.
- Higgins, R. A. 1954. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. Vol. I: *Greek, 730 - 330 B.C.* London: British Museum.
- . 1959a. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. Vol. II, Part I: *Plastic vases of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.* London: British Museum.
- . 1959b. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. Vol. II, Part II: *Plastic lekythoi of the fourth century B.C.* London: British Museum.
- . 1963. *Greek Terracotta Figures*. London : Trustees of the British Museum.
- . 1967. *Greek Terracottas*. London: Methuen.

- . 1986. *Tanagra and the Figurines*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Hostetter, E. 1994. *Lydian Architectural Terracottas. Illinois Classical Studies*. Suppl. 5. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Hutton, C.A. 1899. *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Huysecom-Haxi, S. 2013. "Aphrodite, the Coming of Age and Marriage: Contextualisation and Reconsideration of the Nude Young Women Kneeling in a Shell." Paper read at the Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus Conference, 3-5 June, Nicosia.
- Iacopi, I. 1999. *Domus Aurea*. Milan: Electa.
- Inan, J. and E. Rosenbaum. 1970. *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*. London: The British Academy, Oxford University Press.
- Van Ingen, W. 1939. *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*. University of Michigan Humanistic Series XLV. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Jory, J. 2002. "The Masks on the Propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias." In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, edited by P. Easterling and E. Hall, 238-253. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaltsas, N. E. 2002. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Kassab, D. 1988. *Statuettes en Terre Cuite de Myrina: Corpus des Signatures, Monogrammes, Lettres et Signes*. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Kekulé, R. 1878. *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra im Auftrag des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts zu Berlin, Rom und Athen*. Stuttgart.
- Kersauson, K. de. 1996. *Catalogue des Portraits Romains*. Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Kerschner, M. and U. Schlotzhauer. 2005. "A New Classification System for East Greek Pottery." *Ancient West & East* 4 (1): 1-56.
- Killick, D. 2004. "Social Constructionist Approaches to the Study of Technology." *WorldArch* 36 (4), Debates in World Archaeology: 571-578.
- Kousser, R. 2001. "Sensual Power: A Warrior Aphrodite in Greek and Roman Sculpture." Ph.D. diss., New York University.

- . 2005. "Creating the Past: The Vénus de Milo and the Hellenistic Reception of Classical Greece." *AJA* 109 (2): 227-250.
- . 2007. "Mythological Group Portraits in Antonine Rome: The Performance of Myth." *AJA* 11 (4): 673-691.
- Lechtman, H. 1977. "Style in Technology – Some Early Thoughts." In *Material Culture: Styles, Organization, and Dynamics of Technology*, edited by H. Lechtman and R. Merrill, 3-20. St. Paul: West Pub. Co.
- Lesure, R. G. 2011. *Interpreting Ancient Figurines: Context, Comparison, and Prehistoric Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ma, J. 1999. *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mas Belén, B. 2011. "Reflexiones Acerca de Unas Miniaturas Cerámicas Bajomedievales Halladas en Lorca (Murcia)." *Alberca* 9: 163-177.
- Mathieux, N. 2010. "De Tanagra al Salón: Un Sueño Burgués." In *Tanagras: Figuras Para la Vida y la Eternidad: Colección del Museo del Louvre*, edited by V. Jeammet and I. Bonora Andujar, 17-19. Valencia: Fundación Bancaja.
- Meischner, J. 1964. "Das Frauenportrait der Severerzeit." Ph.D. diss., Berlin.
- Merker, G. S. 1990. "Corinthian Figurines of the Hellenistic Period." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 54-62. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- . 2000. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Corinth Vol. XVIII, pt. IV. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- . 2003. "Corinthian Terracotta Figurines: The Development of an Industry." In *Corinth, The Centenary 1896-1996*, edited by C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, 233-245. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Miller, S. G. 1991. "Terracotta Figurines. New Finds at Ilion, 1988-1989." *Studia Troica* 1: 39-68.
- Mitten, D. and A. Scorziello. 2008. "Reappropriating Antiquity: Some Spolia from the Synagogue at Sardis." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. SardisRep* 4, edited by N. Cahill, 135-146. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

- Morgan, C. 1999. *Isthmia, Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies*, Vol. VIII: *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Mrogenda, U. 1996. *Die Terrakottafiguren von Myrina: Eine Untersuchung Ihrer Möglichen Bedeutung und Funktion im Grabzusammenhang*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Muller, A. 1996. *Les Terres Cuites Votives du Thesmophorion: de l'Atelier au Sanctuaire*. Études Thasiennes XVII. Paris: De Boccard édition-diffusion.
- . 2000. "Artisans, Techniques de Production et Diffusion: Le Cas de la Coroplathie," in *L'artisanat en Grèce Ancienne: les Productions, les Diffusions*, edited by F. Blondé and A. Muller, 91-106. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille 3.
- . 2013. "“Visiting Gods’ Revisited: Aphrodite or Bride?” Paper read at the Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus Conference, 3-5 June, Nicosia.
- . 2014. "L’Atelier du Coroplathe: Un Cas Particulier Dans la Production Céramique Grecque." *Perspective* 1: 63-82.
- Munn, M. 2006. *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Muratov, M. B. 2005. "From the Mediterranean to the Bosphoros: Terracotta Figurines with Articulated Limbs." Ph.D. diss., New York University.
- Mylonopoulos, J., ed. 2010. *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 170*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Neumer-Pfau, W. 1982. *Studien zur Ikonographie und Gesellschaftlichen Funktion Hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Nicholls, R. V. 1952. "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of Some Coroplastic Fundamentals." *BSA* 47: 217-226.
- Ohly, D. 1940. "Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos. I." *AM* 65, 57-102.
- Paribeni R. 1932. *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato.
- Pedley, J. G. 1972. *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis. SardisMon 2*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Perry, D. L. 2011. *Handbook of Inorganic Compounds, Second Edition*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

- Pisani, M. 2006. "The Collection of Terracotta Figurines in the British School at Athens." *BSA* 101: 269-368.
- Popham, M. R., P. G. Calligas, and L. H. Sackett, eds. 1993. *Lefkandi II: the Protogeometric Building at Toumba, Part 2. The Excavation, Architecture and Finds*. BSA Suppl. Vol. 23. London: The British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Pottier, E. 1883. "Quam ob Causam Graeci in Sepulcris Figlina Sigilla Deposuerint." Ph.D. diss., University of Paris.
- Pottier, E., S. Reinach, and A. Veyries. 1887. *La nécropole de Myrina: Recherches Archéologiques Exécutées au Nom et aux Frais de l'École Française d'Athènes*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2. Sér, no. 8. Paris: E. Thorin.
- Ramage, A. 1972. "The Fourteenth Campaign at Sardis (1971)." *BASOR* 206: 9-39.
- . 1978. *Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas*. *SardisMon* 5. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 2008. "'Make Do and Mend' in Archaic Sardis." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* *SardisRep* 4, edited by N. Cahill, 79-86. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.
- Ramage, A. and P. Craddock. 2000. *King Croesus' Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*. *SardisMon* 11. London: British Museum Press in association with Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University Art Museums.
- Ramage, A., S. Goldstein, and W. Mierse. 1983. "Lydian Excavation Sectors." In *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*, edited by G.M.A. Hanfmann, 26-52. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ratté, C. 1989. "Five Lydian Felines." *AJA* 93 (3): 379-393.
- . 2008. "Reflections on the Urban Development of Hellenistic Sardis." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* *SardisRep* 4, edited by N. Cahill, 125-134. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.
- Rautman, M. L. 1995. "A Late Roman Townhouse at Sardis." In *Forschungen in Lydien*, edited by E. Schwertheim, 49-66. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- . 2008. "The Aura of Affluence: Domestic Scenery in Late Roman Sardis." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* *SardisRep* 4, edited by N. Cahill, 147-158. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Reeder, E. D. 1990. "Some Hellenistic Terracottas and Sculpture in Asia Minor." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 81-88. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.

- Rein, M. J. 1993. "The Cult and Iconography of Lydian Kybele." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- . 1996. "Phrygian Matar. Emergence of an Iconographic Type." In *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*, edited by E. Lane, 223-237. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 131. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1913. "Grotesques and the Mime." *AJA* 17: 149-156.
- . 1923. *The Craft of Athenian Pottery: an Investigation of the Technique of Black-figured and Red-figured Athenian Vases*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1960. *How Were Likenesses Transmitted in Ancient Times?: Small Portraits and Near-portraits in Terracotta, Greek and Roman*. Berchem-Bruxelles: Latomus.
- . 1968. *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens; A Study of the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture*. London: Phaidon.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Roller, L. E. 1981. "Funeral Games in Greek Art." *AJA* 85 (2): 107-119.
- . 1991. "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult." *JHS* 111: 126-143.
- . 1994. Attis on Greek Votive Monuments: Greek God or Phrygian?" *Hesperia* 63 (2): 245-262.
- . 1999. *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Romano, I. B. 1990. "Hellenistic Terracottas of Gordion." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 102-106. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- . 1995. *The Terracotta Figurines and Related Vessels*. Gordion Special Studies II. Philadelphia: The University Museum.
- Roosevelt, C. H. 2009. *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosselló Bordoy, G. 1996. "Instrumentos Musicales en Barro Cocido: Una Pervivencia Medieval." *Música Oral del Sur* 2: 28-51.

- Rotroff, S. I. 1990. "Building a Hellenistic Chronology." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 22-30. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- Rotroff, S. I. and A. Oliver, Jr. 2003. *The Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis: The Finds Through 1994. SardisMon 12*. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.
- Rousseau, V. and M. L. Rautman. 2014. "The Visual Poetics of Paradise: Ornament and the Synagogue at Sardis." Paper read at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2–5 January, Chicago.
- Rumscheid, F. 2006. *Die Figürlichen Terrakotten von Priene: Fundkontexte, Ikonographie und Funktion in Wohnhäusern und Heiligtümern im Licht antiker Parallelbefunde*. Archäologische Forschungen, Bd. 22, Priene, Bd. 1. Wiesbaden : Reichert.
- . 2008. "Klein, aber Kunst? Berühmte Statuentypen in Koroplastischer Umsetzung: Zum Verhältnis von Koroplastik zu Skulpturen aus Bronze oder Marmor." In *Original und Kopie*, 135-157. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Sams, G. K. 2013. "The New Chronology for Gordion and Phrygian Pottery." In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas. Gordion Special Studies 7*, edited by C. B. Rose, 57-66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sanders, G. D. R., N. Bookidis, C. K. Williams II and A. Rohn. 2008. *Corinth Excavations. Archaeological Site Manual*. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Schaeffer, J. S., N. H. Ramage, and C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. 1997. *The Corinthian, Attic, and Lakonian Pottery from Sardis. SardisMon 10*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schalles, H-J and S. Willer, eds. 2009. *Marcus Caelius. Tod in der Varusschlacht*. Darmstadt: Primus Verlag.
- Schreiber, T. 1999. *Athenian Vase Construction: a Potter's Analysis*. Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Schwarzmaier, A. 2011. *Die Masken aus Der Nekropole von Lipari. Palilia 21*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Seager, A. and A. Kraabel. 1983. "The Synagogue and the Jewish Community." In *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*, edited by G. M. A. Hanfmann, 168-190. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shaw, M. C. 2000. "The Sculpture from the Sanctuary." In *Kommos: An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete*. Vol. IV: *The Greek Sanctuary*, edited by J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, 135-209. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Shear, T. L. 1922. "Sixth Preliminary Report on the American Excavations at Sardes in Asia Minor." *AJA* 26 (4): 389-409.
- . 1930. "Excavations in the North Cemetery at Corinth in 1930," *AJA* 34: 403-431.
- Smith, A. H. 1904. *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. British Museum III. London: Printed by order of the Trustees.
- Stevenson, W. E. 1975. "The Pathological Grotesque Representation in Greek and Roman Art." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Stewart, A. 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Stillwell, A. N. 1952. *The Potter's Quarter: The Terracottas*. Corinth Vol. XV, pt. 2. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Thompson, D. B. (See also Burr, D.). 1952. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, 1A." *Hesperia* 21: 116-164.
- . 1954. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, IB and C." *Hesperia* 23: 72-107.
- . 1955. "A Portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos." *AJA* 59 (3): 199-206.
- . 1957. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, II: The Early Third Century B.C." *Hesperia* 26: 108-128.
- . 1959. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, IIB: The Altar Well." *Hesperia* 28: 127-152.
- . 1962. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, IIC: The Satyr Cistern." *Hesperia* 31: 244-262.
- . 1963a. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, III: The Late Third Century B.C." *Hesperia* 32: 276-292.
- . 1963b. *The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period. Troy Supplementary Monograph 3*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- . 1965. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, V: The Mid-Second Century B.C." *Hesperia* 34: 34-71.
- . 1966a. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, VII: The Early First Century B.C." *Hesperia* 35: 1-19.
- . 1966b. "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, VII: The Early First Century B.C., the Late First Century B.C." *Hesperia* 35: 252-267.

- Tomasini, J. F. 1639. *De Donariis ac Tabellis Votiuus Liber Singularis. Ad Eminentis Principem Franciscum Barberinum*. Udine: ex typographia Nicolai Schiratti.
- Töpperwein, E. 1976. Terrakotten von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen, Bd. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. 1973. *Animals in Roman Life and Art*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Uhlenbrock, J. P. 1988. *The Terracotta Protomai from Gela: A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- . 1990a. "The Coroplast and His Craft." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 15-21. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- . 1990b. "The Hellenistic Terracottas of Athens and the Tanagra Style." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 48-53. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- . 1990c. "East Greek Coroplastic Centers in the Hellenistic Period." In *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J. P. Uhlenbrock, 72-80. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas.
- . 1993. "The Study of Ancient Greek Terracottas: A Historiography of the Discipline." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 1: 7-27.
- . 2013. "Discussion." Paper read at the Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus Conference, 3-5 June, Nicosia.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb, B. 1997. *Die Figürlichen Terrakotten. I. Spätmykenisch bis Späthellenistisch. Kerameikos 15*. Munich: Hirmer.
- Waldbaum, J. C. 1983. *Metalwork from Sardis: The Finds Through 1974. Sardis Mon 8*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Walters, H. B. 1903. *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees.
- Watrous, L. V. 1996. *The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro: a Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete*. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1950. *Greek Terracottas*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Webster, T. B. L., J. R. Green, and A. Seeberg. 1995. *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*. 3rd ed. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

- West, M. L. 1974. *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Wiegand, T. and H. Schrader. 1904. *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898*. Berlin.
- Winckelmann, J. J. 1755. *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*. Rome.
- Winter, F. 1903. *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*. Bd. III. Teil I & II. Berlin and Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann.
- Wrede, H. 1981. *Consecratio in Formam Deorum: Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern.
- Yegül, F. K. 1986. *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis. SardisRep 3*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.
- . 2010. “From the Lofty Halls of Academia to the Dusty Hills of Anatolia. Howard Crosby Butler and the First Sardis Expedition Through Peace and War, 1909-1926.” In *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, edited by S. Redford and N. Ergin, 57-100. Leuven; Walpole, MA: Peeters.
- Young, J. H. and S. H. Young. 1955. *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*. Philadelphia: The University Museum.
- Zimmermann, J-L. 1985. “Les Chevaux de Bronze dans l'Art Géométrique Grec.” Ph.D. diss., Université de Genève.
- Zimmermann, N. and S. Ladstätter. 2011. *Wall Painting in Ephesos: from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari.