An Exhibitionist from Sardis
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To honor the great teacher whose excavations at Sardis in Asia Minor have provided such stimulating contributions to the study and understanding of the past, the publicizing of a remarkable object recovered in the same excavations makes an appropriate offering. The terracotta image described on the following pages is noteworthy for its large size, colorful and well-preserved painted decoration, and unusual subject. May the lively eroticism which seems to have been a dominant feature of the image impute no facetiousity to the birthday greeting herewith respectfully and affectionately offered.

The terracotta image illustrated on Pl. 8-15 was recovered in excavation, in an area which had formed part of the residential and commercial quarter of ancient Sardis. This area lay at the foot of the citadels, near the Pactolus stream; before the time of Alexander the Great it was subject to intermittent flooding and alluvial deposition of sand and gravel. In spite of the precarious situation, however, Sardians were attracted to the area and built thereon simple houses and shops out of field stone, earth, and thatch.

Resting on an ancient ground surface just outside the remains of one of these modest structures, the heaped and scattered remnants of our terracotta image and some thirty other ceramic objects were uncovered in the summer of 1965. The head and foot of the image lay on top of heaped debris (Pl. 8, a); fragments of the body lay scattered within a meter’s distance nearby. The reassembled parts of the image may be described as follows.

1. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the assistance and advice of colleagues and friends. The Director of the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Manisa, K. Z. Polatkan, kindly permitted the image to be transferred temporarily from the Manisa Museum, where it is housed, to the excavation compound at Sardis, so that it might be studied by the writer’s leisure. Colleagues at Berkeley and Sardis, especially D. A. Atteney, J. K. Anderson, S. M. Goldstein, J. Greenfield, L. J. Majewski, A. Ramage, R. S. Stroud, and G. F. Swift, Jr., have given valuable advice on technical and stylistic problems. E. Gombrich kindly assisted with photography.

2. For a description and plan of the immediate area in which the image was recovered, G. F. Swift, Jr. (the excavator) in G. M. A. Hanfman, “The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1965),” RSNO 174 (1965) 8, fig. 5; for an analysis of pre-Hellenistic domestic and commercial architecture at Sardis, A. Ramage, Studies in Lydian Domestic and Commercial Architecture at Sardis,” (PhD diss., Harvard 1969).

3. Information in the descriptive accounts of the two items which appear in the text of this article is presented according to the standard form and sequence adopted for the publication of Sardis material. All indications of right and left are proper to the figure. For an explanation of sector names (e.g., HoB), grids and levels, see Sardis Monograph 2: G. E. Bates, Byzantine Coins (Cambridge, Mass. 1923) 25.
Hollow terra-cotta image portraying male figure with beard, mustache, and long hair, dressed in sleeved jacket with hood-like appendage, shirt-like garment, banded trouser(s) and shoe(s). Inventoryed P63,307: 5414 (head-body) and P63,308: 5428 (leg-foot). Clay light brown-pink, in places (e.g., torso front bottom rim) blending to gray at core; micaceous, friable.

Surviving parts. Two non-joining units. One, head and torso extending to buttocks-groin and including uppermost parts of arms, innermost parts of hood-like appendage, parts of forms attached to torso. The other, l. lower leg and foot.

Missing parts. Most of nose and upper lip; both arms from uppermost parts down; most of forms attached to torso; l. leg from upper part of thigh to knee; r. leg.

Structure. The head-torso unit consists of ten distinct parts:

1. the body: an irregular angularly narrowing surface at the top. Bottom rim broken except for short segment at r. rear, where outer half of rim is evidently a (worn) finished surface (dark zone within brackets illustrated on Pl. 11, f). Top rim (visible only at back) angular with tooling marks. Body top rim scalloped at cervical region with oval cutting; edge of cutting angular with tooling marks. Body perforated at arm juncture regions with holes, where body wall is extended outward in tubular flanges (and enveloped by tubular arm forms, v. infra). Body perforated at torso front with two holes at belly level, one roughly circular, the other smaller and irregular in outline; and one hole at groin level, larger than those at belly level. Larger hole at belly level has inner raised lip with thin and very jagged flange, outer raised lip with flange partly thin and broken, partly broad and smooth; through hole wall at top, angular groove. Smaller hole at belly level has inner lip with flange thin and jagged around upper half; outer lip with flange broad and smooth around lower half. On inside, between holes and just above smaller hole, two iron projectiles lodged in wall (indicated by arrows, Pl. 10, c); these do not penetrate to the outer surface. Hole at groin has inner lip with partial flange, irregular and smooth (Pl. 10, c), outer lip with flange jagged and broken (Pl. 10, d). Body perforated at l. side low down with circular hole; around rim on inside, radiate tooling marks; around rim on outside, irregular rim more or less evenly broken (Pl. 11, e). On inside of body between top rim and bottom of arm holes, narrow wrinkly-like ridges and indentations diagonally disposed. On inside of body between bottom of arm holes and bottom rim, convex corrugations horizontally disposed: parallel over most of surface, bunched and converging/diverging near bottom rim (Pl. 13). On outside of body near bottom rim where leg appliqués are missing, marks of tooling, finger pressing and smoothing (Pl. 10, d).

2. the head: an irregular tumbler-like form. Rim scalloped in back with parabolic cutting; rim of cutting angular with tooling marks. On inside front surface of neck, broad horizontal tooling marks. On inside of head, bisecting form from side to side, undulant vertical crease (of which lower ends are visible in Pl. 4, e, segment indicated in Pl. 11). Rim overlaps body in back, overlapped by body in front.

3. the hood-like appendage: two joining parts, upper and lower. Upper part applied to back of head above, to base of head-nects below. Lower part applied to body. Rim missing except for short segment at top l. of upper part (Pl. 9, c).

4. and l. the arms: two tubular forms enclosing tubular flanges of body holes, and applied to body at shoulders. R. arm poised down and forward (Pl. 10, b); l. arm poised nearly horizontally and slightly back (Pl. 9, e). Both irregularly broken above biceps area. Ringing inside of l. arm are concave corrugations (indicated in Pl. 13).

Painting. The entire outer surface except for the underside of the foot is covered with pains-like or gaine-like substances (hereafter, paints). These have four colors which have been defined by the chart produced by Munsell Color Company, Inc., Baltimore, Md. (hereafter Munsell 1954) as follows: cream-white (Munsell 1954 soil color 10 YR 8/1; hereafter, white), thickly applied; dark purple-gray (Munsell 1954 soil color 10 YR 4/1 and 10 YR 3/1; hereafter, dark), mat finish, thickly applied; gray-brown (Munsell 1954 soil color 10 YR 4/2), which may be dilute dark; orange-red-brown (Munsell 1954 soil color 2.5 YR 4/8; hereafter, red), glossy finish. White colors face, ears, neck, body, lower parts of hood-like appendage, all other body appendages as preserved, lower leg and foot. Dark colors hair, beard, pupils of eyes. Dark defines eyebrows; eye frames; mustache (lateral lips survive); mouth line; inner ear details (?); double border of jacket; lorene-shaped scale pattern of jacket; borders of V-shaped motive covering chest between jacket edges; wavy zig-zag bands (alternating with similar bands in red, v. infra) on trouser leg. Gray-brown colors triangular zone between upper and lower holes on torso front, very narrow and irregular zone to lower l. of breakup area around holes at belly level.
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Pl. 14 (indicated by arrows, Pl. 10, d). Gray-brown defines double border at top and bottom of shirt-like garment. Red colors hood-like appendage, shoe. Red defines dots in row between double border of cloak, dots in row on V-shaped motive on chest, wavy zig-zag bands (alternating with similar bands in dark, v. supra) on trouser leg. Dilute red (translucent; over white making variegated yellow, orange, and brown color tones) colors inner area of shirt-like garment. Dilute red defines "false" or "broken" meander motive within borders of shirt-like garment.

Dimensions. Head-body unit. Max. preserved h. 0.31 m. Max. diam. belly front back 0.176 m. Outside diam. l. arm 0.052 m. Outside diam. r. arm 0.0555-0.062 m. Diam. hole in neck-cervical region ca. 0.04 m. Diam. hole at groin 0.015-0.018 m. Wall body 0.008-0.024 m. Leg-foot unit. Max. preserved h. 0.156 m. Outside diam. leg at top 0.028-0.0503 m. L. foot 0.112 m. Wall leg 0.06-0.07 m.

Provenience. Hob (W 13, S 104 (0.045-95.30).


The clay of the image displays the same visual qualities which distinguish the clays of most Lydian pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. recovered at Sardis, and of pottery made in the Sardis region today; the evidence of this "Sardian" clay indicates that the terra-cotta image was made at Sardis. The white, dark, and red paints are identical in color and texture to the paints which were used to decorate "Sardis Style A" pottery, a distinctive variety of painted pottery also made of "Sardian" clay and decorated in a provincial Wild Goat style. Structure and surface marks reveal the techniques which were used to create the terra-cotta image; these techniques included wheel throwing, free-hand modeling, and perhaps mold casting. The series of corrugations and wrinkle-like ridges and indentations on the interior of the body, leg, and left arm (Pl. 10, c; Pl. 13) indicate that these parts were thrown on a wheel (which rotated in a counterclockwise direction). The presence of ridges and indentations oriented diagonally to the trunk of the body and leg indicate that these two parts were constructed rapidly, their walls drawn up without allowance for adjustment to the spin of the wheel.4 After the walls of the body, leg(s), and arm(s) had been drawn up, they were modeled free-hand. The head probably was made in two front and back parts, as is suggested by the crease on the inside surface of the head (the lower ends visible in the photograph, Pl. 10, a), partly indicated in the drawing, Pl. 13, evidently a seam. The slight modeling and absence of undercutting which characterize the eyes, ears, and nose suggests that the front part of the head was cast from a mold. The back part of the head probably was modeled free-hand. The tresses of hair on either side of the face may have been appliquéd.

The head was attached to the body in such a way that the rim of the head tucked under the top rim of the body in front and fitted over the top rim of the body in back (Pl. 10, a; Pl. 13). After the head had been joined to the body, an oval hole in the nape of the neck and cervical region was cut with a knife-like instrument through the lower wall of the head and the upper wall of the body. To the exterior periphery of this hole the hood-like appendage was attached: the upper part of the appendage to the head, the lower part to the body (Pl. 9, e and f).

At the body-arm junctures, the body wall was perforated and pushed outward to form short tubular segments. Around these segments, the tubular upper arms were fixed and joined to the body (Pl. 10, b; Pl. 13). At the other three places on the body to which forms were attached, the body wall also was perforated and the forms were joined to the exterior surface of the body around the holes.

The thin film of applied clay and the marks of finger pressing and smoothing at the top broken ledge of the leg-foot unit (Pl. 11, g) indicate that the upper left leg was made separately from the lower left leg, and that the two parts were joined together at the knee. The small hole which perforates the left leg (Pl. 9, e, leg) must have been created to permit the release of air from the leg during firing.

The writer is unable to explain the presence of two holes, instead of one, on the torso front at belly level for the attachment of a single form; or the presence of the two small iron protocoles embedded in the body wall near these holes (indicated by arrows, Pl. 10, c). The latter may have performed a structural service, although they cannot have helped to fasten the form covering the holes at belly level to the body, for they do not penetrate through the body to the exterior surface.

The forms which were attached to the body over the holes in the lower half of the torso cannot be identified with certainty. The poise of the shoulders and upper arms suggests, however, that the two holes at belly level together with the scar which surrounds them might mark the juncture of the body with the right hand or wrist, the right arm being poised downward.


5 In the Greek world and in Cyprus during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., the potter's wheel was regularly used for the making of terra-cotta figures; for general remarks on the subject, R. A. Higgins, Greek Terracottas (London 1967) 4, 176; for examples of Eastern Greek wheel-made terra cotta,
and crossing in front of the torso; and that the hole and scar low down on the left side marks the juncture of the body with the left hand, the left arm being poised downward and back, with the hand touching the hip.

Since the lower body, both upper legs, and one lower leg are missing, the original form of the image in its nether regions also must remain uncertain. That our figure occupied a sitting position, however, is evident from the remains and scars of the upper legs, which indicate that the thighs were poised in a horizontal, or nearly horizontal, position (Pl. 9, c); and from the break at the top rear of the leg-foot unit, which indicates that the leg was bent at a sharp right angle (Pl. 9, e and f; Pl. 11, g). The original pose of the torso may have differed somewhat from the pose in which the body unit assumes when resting on a horizontal surface supported by its broken bottom rim (the body evidently was thrown at this position, however, for therewith the parallel convex corrugations around the interior rest horizontally). 7

G. M. A. Hanfmann and others have suggested that our figure might have been a mounted horseman; and in build, coiffure, dress, and in the body pose which may be promoted fortuitously by the broken bottom rim of the body, our figure does resemble the figures of horsemen of sixth-century B.C. architectural terry cottas recovered from Diöer in southwestern Asia Minor. 8

Other features of the image suggest, however, that it did not combine with the figure of a steed. Had our figure, with his leg(s) bent at an angle of 90°, been a rider, the inner sides of his lower leg(s) would have touched or joined the shanks of his mount; the finely painted on the right side of the leg-foot unit (Pl. 9, c), however, indicates that the leg did not touch or join another form. The absence of paint on the underside of the shoe suggests that the foot did not hang free, but made contact with a surface. The flat-finished surface on the bottom rim of the body at the figure's right rear (Pl. 11, f; area generally indicated by brackets) suggests that the form on which our figure was mounted had a flat-topped upper surface, unlike the back of an animal.

Furthermore, there can be little doubt that our figure was phallic; and a phallic figure is unlikely to have been equestrian. The position of the hole at the groin indicates that it and the surrounding scar represent the juncture of the body with a penis; the angle of the hole, oriented upwards towards the outside (Pl. 10, d; Pl. 13) suggests that the penis was poised erect. The white painted zone below the shirt-like garment and between the edges of the jacket, then, should represent flesh, and the gray-brown painted zones between upper and lower holes on the torso front pubic hair (Pl. 10, d).

Part of our figure's penis may be recognized in a terry-cotta phalus which was recovered in excavations two years before the rest of the image.

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7 The slight backward tilt given to the head of our image when the body rests on a horizontal surface is paralleled in other images similar in form and stance to ours; and suggests that the original body pose of our image was not far different from the one which the body now naturally assumes. One of the images similar to ours is a terry-cotta figure from Boeotia in Athens, National Museum no. 16855; another is an anthropomorphic vase from Samos, E. Boudinot, "Spendelaende 2oo Samos," ZMA 46 (1935) 33-41, pl. 8. 8 For the architectural terry cottas from Diöer, A. Almestrom, "A Horseman from Asia Minor," Bulletin of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm 4 (1964) 49-51; N. Thomas, "Recent Acquisitions by Birmingham City Museum," Archæological Reports for 1964-1965, 64-70; H. Åkerström, Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens (Lund 1966) viii, fig. 77.
at the inner end, with no suggestion of widening or joining. Therefore, the outflaring appliqué of clay on the upper and side surface of the shaft at the inner end probably represents the masking of the shaft not with the body but with another form. That this form was the same as the form attached to the torso over the holes at belt level is suggested by the proximity of the (erec) phallus shaft to the belt; the identification of the form attached to the torso at belt level as the right hand or wrist of the figure already has been proposed. Did our figure, then, grasp his *membrum virile* with his right hand? Just such an overhand grip (awkward as it might seem) is attested in Greek plastic art. 9 The form connecting phallus and body probably was intended to serve as a strut which would help to stabilize the position of the stabilization fellahs. 10

The phallic aspect of our figure helps to clarify the general aspect of the image: the image must have portrayed a single figure rendered in a stance similar to the conventional one of Greek ithyphallic satyrs and koomastas; only seated on some kind of chair or stool with a flat upper surface, instead of squatting. (Pl. 14; Pl. 15, a-b); the sicyncylindrical concave impression in the back of the heel suggests that the foot (feet?) rested against some kind of rounded bar. 11

The association of the phallus with our figure indicates that the image was not simply a figurine but a plastic vessel; for the hollow phallus with the 0.01 m. wide orifice in the tip must have been intended for the discharge of liquid: the image was a pitcher, and the phallus was the spout. 12

The elaborate, heavy form of the image and the absence of an adequate lifting or adjusting handle on the upper part suggest that this pitcher was not designed to be moved with any regularity. The similarity between the form and stance of our figure and that of the satyr in the familiar Corinthian triclinus juglet in the Louvre 13 may be a clue to the understanding of our image-pitcher's static role.

9 Boudier (supra, n. 7); D. G. Mitton, S. Doeringer, Masters of Figures from the Classical World (Mains 1967) 83, no. 81.
10 S. M. Goldstein pointed out to the writer the probable function of the form between the body and the phallus of the image.
11 If the length of the phallic in the reconstruction seems excessive in proportion to the size of the image, compare the ithyphallic figurine from Boeotia in Athens, National Museum no. 16435; Archibald fr. 107 (Diels).
12 The seated stance of our figure would have resembled that of the ithyphallic figurine in Athens, National Museum no. 16435. For the squating stance, Higgins, Catalogue (supra, n. 5) 73-74, pl. 31, 184, 185-186 (4047) figurines of a type which began to be produced ca. 500 B.C.; G. M. A. Richter, "An Aryballos by Neorchos," AJA 36 (1932) 274, pl. 112; G. von Vecht, Glasösen Griechenland (Stuttgart 1953) 326, 327 (bronze figurine).
13 As in the case of the anthropomorphic vase from Samos, Boudier (supra, n. 7). One other phallus spout has been recorded in excavations at Sardis. This example (not inventoried) includes the entire shaft and glaze; it is considerably smaller (L 0.047 m. Diam. 0.025 m. Diam. hole 0.004 m.) than the one described in the text above, and less elaborately decorated (the shaft is plain, the glaze colored with paint which has fired a dark metallic gray?); provenence: Holt (W 2-10, S 172-173,* no.10-99-80*).


In the Louvre juglet, the plastic figure of a squatting satyr embraces a (miniature) column crater; both are mounted on a hollow ring base. The hollow crater in the satyr's body is connected with the crater in the ring base and the inside of the crater. The nap of the satyr's neck is pierced by a small hole. When this hole is closed and when the vessel is filled with liquid up to the top of the ring base, the body cavity becomes air-tight. When the juglet is filled with more liquid and the hole is opened, so that the liquid, finding its equilibrium, flows into or out of the satyr's body cavity, the crater automatically empties or fills. Water-pressure gadgey of this sort ammowed not only Greeks, but, to judge from vases of the sixth century recovered at Sardis, also the Lydians. 14

A water-pressure trick similar to the one which the Louvre juglet was designed to perform might have been prepared with our image. The hollow body might have been filled with liquid up to the level of the neck, and the hole in the hood-like appendage closed with a plug (the absence of paint on the interior of this appendage except on the uppermost part near the back of the head (Pl. 9, f) suggests that the original hole was appreciably smaller than the present opening). When such a plug was removed so that the vacuum in the body cavity was broken, the liquid would drain from the body cavity into the phallic passage and spurt from the hole in the tip of the phallic. Was our image, like the Louvre juglet, a "vase à surprise?"

A curious mixture of Greek and Oriental elements appears in the modeling and painting of our image. The head is shaped and painted in pure Greek style. The pale color tone of the flesh parts illustrates the Eastern Greek stylistic fashion of coloring male flesh parts light, rather than brown (and contrastingly to female flesh parts) as in Mainland Greek convention. 15

14 Greek 'gadget' vases include a late Geometric example found in excavations at Tréoux; "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora," Hesperia Suppl. 3 (1935) 67-74, figs. 43-44; a seventh-century example from Tiberius in Tübingen, C. Watzinger, Griechische Vasen in Tübingen (Reutlingen 1914) 18, fig. 13, no. 18 (1457), a sixth-century kantharos in Berlin, "Sammelband der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte des Archäologischen Vereins zu Berlin" (1894), 229, 239, 240. For "gadget" vases in Athens, see Sardis I (Leyden 1921) pl. 226 (left) 130; a large closed vessel with conical foot and tubular perforation which extends from the underside of the foot into the body (lower part of vessel only preserved; inventoried 226-150); For Greek gadgey: in general, Hieron Alcardinthus, "Pneumatiek k Automatiek," Opera, 6, 38; G. Schmidt (Leipzig 1890) I; N. B. Bremnagh, Ancient Greek Gadgets and Machines (New York 1968).

15 Male figures with pale-colored (reserved) flesh parts appear in some Wild Goat-style vase-painting, especially that of the Apollc School and the "Dinos Workshop" (Kardia), A. Kurylo, "The Early Period and the Golden Age of Lysippus," JHS 94 (1974) 103 figs. 30, 32; C. Kardas, Rodosiche Angegrapheia (Athens 1961) 275 fig. 165; in some Chian "Polydorichs" chalice painting, R. W. Price, "Pottery of Nux,atossal," SFS 44 (1951) 226, figs. 26, 50, 70, 90; in fine 13, fig. 65 10, 219, pl. 0-5; pl. 5-5; pl. 0-5, 0-5. For "beauty"right, M. J. Mellor, "Archéology in Asia Minor," AJA 68 (1964) 164; Ibid. 165 (1964) 128; and on architectural terms occurs of Asia Minor, Kekkerinos (supra, n. 8). This Eastern Greek stylistic convention, rather than the traditional Lydian tradition for sun-tanned skin, Cleard- dian, Vase 4-56 (1950) 1930; Athenians (1904) 13-15; 15 clearly explains the white flesh parts of our image. Male figures with flesh parts painted white or cream-yellow appear on some Caeretn Hydriks, M. Robertson, Greek Painting (Geneva 1975) 75, 77; P.E. Artis, M. Sirmer, B.B. Shotton, A History of Greek Vase Painting (London 1950) 274, 275, and in Late Corinthian painting, H. Payne, Neurocortina (Ox- ford 1957) 564, 1377, 1377, 1380.
The same rounded almond-shaped frame and proportionately large pupil which appear on architectural terra cotta fragments from Saris and "Larisa"/Burntunc and Orientalizing pottery of Aeolis. The short beard and short mustache are characteristic of bearded male figures on the same architectural terra cotta. The hair (with the single row of spit curls hanging in a even line now on the brow, and the long locks rendered as a single smooth mass in back and as pairs of beaded trellis at either side of the face in front) closely resembles the hair of Greek kouros and terra-cotta figurines of the Archaic period.

Other physiognomic aspects of our figure are reminiscent of Greek art. The bulky form of the body suggests the poorly male physiques of Eastern Greek sculpture and the komast figures of Mainland Greek art. The phallos is colored according to the Greek convention, with the glans red and the shaft the same color as other flesh parts.

Whether ears were present, on the male figure on an architectural terra cotta from Saris,16 or absent is not clear from the modeling and paint of the ear.

The costume of our figure is almost entirely un-Greek; jacket, trousers, and shirt-like garment have no close parallels in Greek art. The long-sleeved jacket covers the figure from the shoulders to the buttocks; and at the bottom rim of the body and the arm ends there is no suggestion of incipient termination. The jacket opens in front and is equipped with a hooded-like appendage in back. The dark painted lines on the surface make a net-like pattern suggestive of the kind which decorate male ankle-length chitons and Asiatic-barbarian corselets in Greek vase painting.20 On our figure, however, the pattern is created not by two series of parallel lines bisecting one another, but by horizontal registers of interconnecting V's; i.e., the pattern is composed of rectilinear scale motifs. The scale motif might suggest the pattern was intended to represent plaques of scale armor, such as was worn by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and ancient peoples of South Russia; but the open front of the jacket indicates that the garment is not a coat of mail. The pattern motive might represent shingled tufts of hair, as in conceptualizations of Athena's aegis and lion maces in Greek sixth-century art; or perhaps wedges of cloth arranged in overlapping rows (anticipating Regency greatcoats).

The rectilinear scale-motif pattern appears on the linings of at least two male sleeved garments which are represented on the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon (Pl. 16, a, b).22 These sleeved garments are cloaks which are worn by Persians; and they are worn "hussar-fashion,"24 with the sleeves empty and hanging loose from the shoulders. Long sleeved cloaks worn in this manner are depicted in many works of Greek, Persian, and Greco-Persian art; they represent

Plates II and seen by Pausanias in the Erechtheum). For scale armor of the Greeks, J. R. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Ages of Xenophon (Berkley-Los Angeles 1975) 23, 233-239 and.Int. 13, 18, 46; 14: A. M. Staniou, Armei and Armour of the Greeks (London 1967) 99-99, pls. 43-45; Arias et al. et al. (supra, n. 15) 118 (top painted by the Sonias Painter, Berlin F 1198, the earliest representation of scale armor in Greek art). For scale armor of South Russia, E. A. Gardner, "Ornament and Armour from Kertsh in the New Museum at Oxford," JHS 5 (1984) 64-66 (the scale-platelets of bronze attached to a lining of hide by means of leather thongs and bar-bote platelets of bone "riveted together by bronze wire, and fastened upon a lining of tough hide"); E. H. Minton, Scythes and Greeks (Cambridge 1932) 27-28, 154, 156, 150, 156 (bar-bote platelets of bone from Popovka and in Moscow; armor with scales of girt iron, some of bronze) from the Seven Brothers barrow; "iron-scale hauberk with copper scales on shoulders and lower margin" from Kountzevsky (supra, n. 20); Pausanias 2.13.1 and Anaximenes 17.1.21 (Sarmanian armor with scales made of bronze) from Mieth, "Kunst des Altpersischen" (1933) 256, figs. 256-257 (two bronze plaques of armor from Gordien in Phrygia, R. S. Young, "The Campaign of 1535 at Gordien, Preliminary Report," AJA 58 (1954) 20-220 (stamped with Greek inscriptions)).

21 J. K. Anderson pointed out to me that the scale-motif pattern frequently was employed in Greek vase-painting to suggest a hairy surface, notably on Athena's aegis; Anderson (supra, n. 21) 26.30, 24. For unadorned earring figure with painted scale-platelet chain, Baudot, (supra, n. 7), n. 5. For lions with scale-pattern maces, J. F. Cronan, "Löwenbilder des Siebenen Jahrhunderts", in: Mnemosyne Théodore Wieziap (Munich 1933) pl. 7-10 (sculptures in the round from Olympia; proto-Attic amphoras in New York); Akgül (supra, n. 18) 272, fig. 224, (sculpture in the round from Sidon); G. Blümel, Die Archaik Griechischen Skulpturen der Staatsmuseen zu Berlin (Berlin 1954) figs. 171-172 (sculpture in the round from Sidon); P. de la Costo-Mesaulieu, Delphes (Paris 1957) 17 (the sculpture of the Temple of Athena at Delphi).

15 The scale-pattern motif is painted over the caved marble surface. It covers the cloak lining of the figure at the far left end of the short panel illustrating combat, F. Winterni, Der Alexander-Luxemburger Sarcophag von Sidon (Brussel 1934) 67-68 and here at Pl. 16, g. The pattern also appears on the lining of the cloak of the figure at the far left end of the short panel illustrating hunting, but is concealed from view by the figure's right arm and the left foreleg of the nearby horse (ibid. pl. 15); the pattern may appear on the cloak of the figure holding up an axe in the same panel (pattern faintly preserved (?)) near the lower toes and thigh; not indicated on ibid. pl. 16; and on the cloak of the figure dismounting from the siden horse directly before the figure of Alexander on the long panel illustrating a battle (faint traces near the figure's right arm and Apollodorus' left foreleg; not indicated on ibid. pl. 16).

22 A. S. F. Gow, "Notes on the Persian of Abyshulus", JHS 48 (1928) 144.

23 For illustrations of this garment: at Pergopolis (relief sculpture on the stairways of the Apeadis and Council Hall), E. F. Schmidt, "Pergopolis I: Structures, Relief Sculpture, Inscriptions," OIP 26 (1937) 46-53, 57, 77, 79-84; at Qazqan (relief sculpture of tomb facade), E. Paroda, "The Art of Ancient Iran (New York 1976) 236 (fig. 236, a silver box and gold figurines), O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-WorK. 136 ed. (London 1964) xxvii fig. 19, xi fig. 11, pl. 13; from Sidon: (the Sarop Sarcophagus), O. Hazlitt, "The Néropote: Royal 8 Sidon: Fouilles de Hardy Boy (Paris 1914) pl. 251); I. Kleinman, "Der Sarap-Hucho Sarcophag aus Sidon," Frankfurter Jahrbuch für Antike, 8 (1970) 21-170; from Sidon (the Alexander Sarcophagus; ten illustrations from all four side panels and one pediment), O. Hamdy, T. Reindl, pls. 49-51 (Winters, supra, n. 21) 24; from Cappadocia (relief sculpture of altar), K. Bittel, "Kappadokiysls Bulman Bir Anu Soyul", TCD 2 6 (1948) 31-43; B. C. Ackerman (supra, n. 18) 175, fig. 1320; from Daskyllyon (relief sculpture), T. Mason, "Relieves Grieks-Perses van de Region van Dascylion," BCH 37 (1913) 8-9, 8-9. M. J. Mellink,
a garment which was peculiar to Iranian costume and which was called šāvūx by the Greeks (kandymes normally were worn “husar-fashion” except in the presence of royalty, at which time wearmers were required to insert their arms inside the long sleeves, köpös).26

In addition to the rectilinear scale-motif pattern, other features of our figure’s jacket appear in representations of kandymes. The spotted border at the jacket sides appears on kandymes of the Alexander Sarcophagus (e.g., Pl. 16, a) and of gold and silver figures in London and Berlin. On at least one of these figures (which illustrate the backs of kandymes) the spotted border is disposed in an angular loop over the shoulder and forms a continuous band (Pl. 16, b), as on our figure’s jacket. The kandym of the silver figure in Berlin also features a hood-like appendage framed within the dotted border over the shoulder zone, as does our figure’s jacket. On the same figure, strips across the breast which serve to clasp together the two sides of the kandym resemble in form and position the dotted V-shaped motive on the breast of our figure.27

These parallel features suggest that the “jacket” of our figure is a kandym, decorated with bordered, hood-like appendage, and breast cloth; the surface design might represent shaggy fur (such as distinguished an Iranian outer garment which Greeks called sauvōs;28) or overlapping sections of cloth.

The gaily-banded trouser segment on the leg fragment of our figure may be identified with the dvogwras or caftandroi of the Iranian-Scythian type represented in Greek art: close-fitting leggings decorated with horizontal registers of pattern of contrasting colors.29

The short-return garment which our figure wears beneath his jacket must either be a shirt of some kind or a corselet. That it is unlikely to represent a garment of pure Iranian origin30 is suggested by the border decoration of “false” or “broken” meander, a fundamentally Greek pattern motive; the same motive appears on the collar and lower hem of tunics represented on architectural terracotta cots from Sardis and Dieré.31 The brevity of our figure’s shirt-like garment in comparison with Greek chita and chitonikoi suggests it represents a corselet; although the undergarments of kandymes, when clearly rendered in ancient art, always suggest loose textile material (e.g., Pl. 16, b), perhaps one or more of the shirt-like garments of western Asian Minor, known to us only by name (e.g., the nomossokion)32 covered only the upper torso, and is illustrated in our image. The golden color of the garment’s central zone, produced by the special Lydian technique of “marbling” (whereby dilute, translucent glaze is displayed unevenly over a light-colored surface)33 possibly was intended to suggest a special Lydian product, woven gold thread, or cloth-of-gold.34

The footgear which our figure wears is a kind of boot: whether the high šošvōs (which Croesus recommended for Lydians)35 or the low ṣasālī depends on the interpretation of the footgear as covering or covered by the trouser end. The form of our boot is not particularly distinctive, but the absence of any suggestion of laces may be contrasted with the representations of boots in Iranian art, on which laces are indicated,36 and the pointed toe is a distinctive feature of footgear represented in the arts of Lydia and Asia Minor in general: perhaps our boot represents an ḫošnā or ḫošnakī; a kind of winter boot worn in western Asia Minor

31 Soprus, n. 8, 16.
32 On ἵππακος, Hipponos fr. 123 (Mason); on ωμώνως, Alcman fr. 3577f. (Lobel-Pease); Hecker, FORHIST 1, fr. 384; Herodas, Χρυσόπλαθος, Ἀθηναία 133.
34 Johannes Laurenzius Lydas, De Magistratis Persicae dem Ponticae (Turin, 1711). For the Lydian historian, an historian of the sixth century A.D., recorded that “gold-woven chiton” (γώνυμαι γυναῖκα) had been made by the Lydian women “the time that they obtained gold from the Phœbus” (cf. Strabo 13.45 = 652-653), and cited as authority once Piander, who had written of “Lydian gold chiton” (Ἀρχαῖος γυναικῶν). Piander might have been the Rhodian poet of Kameiros who lived in the seventh or sixth centuries B.C. on the poet of Laranda in Lydia ὡς Λαράνδωιν in the third century A.D. see Kaydel, RE 194 (1977) 149-149. The celebrated gold-woven stuffs of Helenistic Pergamon may have represented a survival of the Lydian art: Flagg, Naturhistoria Historia 8:96d. M. Royston, “Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergameae Kings,” Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (Manchester 1923) 250-251. 250-251.
35 Croesus recommended for Lydians, or the low ṣasālī depends on the interpretation of the footgear as covering or covered by the trouser end. The form of our boot is not particularly distinctive, but the absence of any suggestion of laces may be contrasted with the representations of boots in Iranian art, on which laces are indicated, and the pointed toe is a distinctive feature of footgear represented in the arts of Lydia and Asia Minor in general: perhaps our boot represents an ḫošnā or ḫošnakī; a kind of winter boot worn in western Asia Minor
and probably in Lydia (where leatherwork was famous in Homeric times and popular in the seventh and sixth centuries). Since our image almost certainly was created at Sardis, the red color of the boots, trouser stripes, and hood-like appendage may have been inspired by the dye Φωινή Χαλκάνας ("Sardian Crimson"): very possibly some variety of kermes or οὐγοννός derived from a scale insect whose host plant, the Kermes oak (Quercus coccifera L.), thrives today on the hills around Sardis. Might a Greek have termed our figure's red-colored apparel καλωσίμων τε καὶ λαμπάτω φυλοφέροντας καὶ ἀνάφωορος οὐγοννόν;) Although the red color of this apparel and the golden color of the shirt-like garment may allude to Lydian dye and textile specialties, the jacket and trousers appear to be distinctively different from the clothes worn by Lydian men before and after the Persian conquest of 547 B.C. Archaeological and literary evidence indicates that Lydian costume was similar to Greek: representations of draped male and female figures in sculpture of the sixth through the fourth centuries which has been recovered at Sardis and the environs of Sardis illustrate costume of purely Greek type; in the Attic red-figure vase picture by Myson, Croesus wears Greek dress; the οἶκος of the Lydian contingent in Xerxes' army, according to Herodotus (7.47), were ἐνυχτέοντο τῷ Ἑλληνεσίῳ.


According to Herodotus (1.17), Croesus was advised not to wage war with "men who troused of leather." Whether the implied strangeness of this garb derived from the form or the material is not clear from Herodotus' text, but archaeological evidence suggests that Lydians did not wear trousers. Trousers are not indicated in the representations of draped male figures which appear in art from Sardis and environs; or in the representations of Lydians on the earlier Achaemenid royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rustem: the Lydian on the Tomb of Darius I has bare legs, the one on the Tomb of Xerxes wears diagonally-banded puttees (which, unlike the leggings of our figure, terminate below the knee). The leggings alone might suggest that our figure was intended to represent a Cimmerian (one of the nomadic raiders from South Russia who terrorized Lydia in the seventh century B.C.); for trousers of such close-fitting, multi-colored and banded type were associated by Greek artists of the later sixth century B.C. and after with another nomadic people from South Russia, the Scythians. That our figure is no Cimmerian, however, is indicated by the form of the jacket, which does not resemble garments associated with the nomadic peoples of South Russia, and the rendering of hair and beard, which does not accord with the normal Greek conceptualization of barbarian coiffure.

Trousers and jacket suggest that our figure might have been intended to represent a Persian or a Mede. The coiffure of the hair and beard, however, is distinctively Greek, and dissimilar to the coiffure of Iranians represented in Achaemenian art: Achaemenian Iranian hair was worn appreciably shorter and beards longer than the hair and beard of our figure. Had our figure
been conceived as a Persian or a Mede, the cuifaire ought to be no less Iranian than the form of the jacket and trousers.

Compromise offers the most satisfactory solution to the problem of identification: the combination of Sardinian provenience, "Sardinian" fabric, Hellenic or Hellenizing physiognomy, and Iranian and possibly Lydian costume suggests that our figure is a Lydian dressed in Iranian clothing. Of fundamental importance to the interpretation of the figure is the phallic element, which indicates that the image represents a figure not of serious genre but of farce. Farce is created by the contrast between the figure's sartorially ceremonial costume and his unhabashedly exhibitionistic attitude. Might not our image have been designed as a scurrilous castigation of Lydians, or an individual Lydian, with pro-Persian sympathies? The Medizing Lydian is exposed as a pharetyon, a kind of proto-Karakalas who, strutting in formal finery, abandons all decorum to flaunt his prodigious virility.

The Iranian character of the jacket suggests that our image was made no earlier than 547 B.C., when Persians appeared en masse for the first time in western Asia Minor. The evidence of the trousers supports the chronological implications of the jacket, for long trousers of the Iranian-Scythian type are not attested earlier than the middle of the sixth century. The cache of thirty-odd ceramic items with which our image was found, however, includes at least three vases which have seemed to be appreciably older than the Persian Conquest of 547 B.C.: the foot of a Chiot chalice and part of a Rosette-Bird bowl belong to types which have been dated to the late seventh century; a lebes is decorated in the distinctive "Sardes Style," which has been dated ca. 600-570. Nevertheless, the writer believes that the chronology of the palace at Pyrgaias ("nephe, n. 17) 243, pl. 40. The Ankyraean lidstone of Podollanas (figured in "Medes," Athenaeum 14:622, 1905) alludes to a thick bundle of ears clustered around the nose of the neck, depicted in sculpture of the time of Darius I (see BID 119 fig. 85).

45 A few passages in ancient literature suggest that Iranian fashions were adopted in Lydia by Asia Minor.

46 For the Ankyraean and Podollanas, Charac¬ters 11. C. Diemaros in Odes the Mede, PAX 19-210; G. M. A. Hanfmann on an iridescent bronze bowl in New York, Norbert Schmitz Collection: "a marly twinkle in the eye as if amused by its own prouven." The Beauty of Ancient Art, ed. H. Hoff¬mann (Malmö 1954) no. 14. 47 Trouser, of the Syrian-Iranian type, make their appearance in Greek art ca. 540-530 B.C.: Vass (supra, n. 39) 40, 43, 56. According to Hellanides of Lesbos (Ridd 2, 1964, 142) the Polyesteres is a type of the fifth century B.C., with 528 and 531, it is possible that these Lydian trousers were introduced into Persia by Atossa, the consort of Darius I; but trousers appear in Iranian art which has been dated to the seventh and/or first half of the sixth centuries B.C.: see E. G. Ghetman, Proto-Iranians, Medes, Assyr¬ians (Münich 1984) 84, fig. 439 (gold plaques from the Orontes Treasure dated to the seventh-sixth centuries B.C.): R. D. Barnett, "Medid Art," Ironic Artique 1 (1960) 286-293, idem, "The Art of Bactria and the Treasure of the Oxus," Ironic Artique 9 (1968) 36, 38 (the gold scabbard from the Orontes Treasure embossed with a figure representing the Median king Astyages, 581-549 B.C.): cf. M. von Loyn, review of J. A. H. Powell, The Skyphos in Asia Minor (Rome 1976), Desz 19 (1976) 68-71, 77. 48 Chiot chalices have been inventoried P65.7577: 5557. The form resembles that of the two well-known chalices in Würzburg and of chalices of Tocra Type I and Empor¬chos Period IV, all of which have been dated to the later part of the seventh century B.C., see J. Boardman, "An Exhibitor from Sardis" 45
ca. 547 and 515 B.C. May historical testimony be used to narrow this period of time? Herodotus' account (1.89-90, 153-156, 161-170) of the political and military activity in Lydia which followed Croesus' capture by the Persians suggests that the climate of Lydian-Persian social relations was appreciably milder before Mazæus and Harpazus took command in Lydia than after. When the Persians captured Sardis in 547 B.C., Cyrus discouraged or curtailed looting of the town by his troops and installed in high office a Lydian, Pactyes. Pactyes, however, revolted against Persian authority, and, after Cyrus had sent Mazæus to suppress the revolt, the Lydians were obliged to demilitarize, the Greeks who had participated in the revolt were enslaved, Greek towns were attacked and pillaged, and Greek lands despoiled.

Is it reasonable to imagine the brief period between the downfall of Croesus and the commission of Mazæus as a time when the Persian presence in Lydia was sufficiently novel and inoffensive to generate only curiosity and mild resentment among the populace at large; and to suppose that the bold, whimsical derision of ta persiko implicit in our image is most likely to have been inspired during the months when Pactyes was lord at Sardis?5


Some Early Dynastic I Sealing from Nippur

Donald P. Hansen

Early Dynastic sealing impressions of the third millennium B.C. from Sumer may seem to be a somewhat inappropriate subject for a Festschrift honoring a great classical archaeologist on his sixtieth birthday. But these notes are written as a tribute to a scholar whose interests and writings are tremendously broad in scope, and to a teacher who has directed his students into all areas of the ancient world.

The subject of this paper is a group of thirteen sealings excavated at Nippur, in Iraq, by the expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, under the direction of Professor Richard C. Haines, during the eighth campaign in 1965.1 They are very fragmentary and it is often difficult to interpret what the ancient seal engraver intended. Usually, only part of the impression is preserved because of the irregular shape of the lump of clay applied to the jar, or because several impressions were applied to the same jar sealing with one impression obliterating the other. Nevertheless, these few sealings are important for, unlike cylinder seals which are frequently found in contexts postdating their age of manufacture, sealings are usually found in contemporary contexts. These sealings come from well dated occupational levels and confirm stratigraphically the dating of some seals which have been dated primarily by stylistic means.

Twelve of the sealings published here were found in the ninth level of the Inanna temple.2 There is a distinct architectural break between the ninth level and the eighth level which succeeded it. The building remains of the ninth level were filled with crude bricks in order to form a platform for the Level VIII building whose plan was completely different from Level IX. The double sanctuary of Level IX, with its elaborate cellae equipment, is located in the central part of the western precinct area (fig. 1). The cellae were furnished with altars and offering stands (?), which grew in size and changed their shape as they were repeatedly plastered. The level was divided into two phases, A and B, in order to account for minor changes in the plan during the long history of the building. The original temple furniture in phase B changed considerably in the later phase A. A narrow street separated the sanctuary proper from a working, or industrial, area located to the east, where oval and rectangular kilns or ovens were uncovered.

1 The following special abbreviations are used in this paper:

2 For a sketch plan of the sanctuary area of the Level
Terra-cotta Image from Sullia Mina, Archaeological Museum

a. Head and leg-foot unit with other ceramic remains in situ
b. Head-body unit reassembled and reconstituted
c-f. Head-body and leg-foot units reassembled and reconstituted
Terra-cotta image from Sardis:

a. Interior of head-body unit, juncture of head and body with head cavity (dark) in center, hole through hood-like appendage (light) at top

b. Right arm

c. Interior of body, front, with holes at belly level and pelvis zone (arrows point to iron projectiles)

d. Exterior of body, lower front, with holes at belly level and pelvis zone (arrows point to gray-brown paint)

e. Exterior of body, figure's lower left side

f. Figure's right side, bottom rim with finished surface (roughly framed by breadens)

g. Leg-foot unit
Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction

a. Figure's right side

b. Three-quarter view
Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction

- Figure's right side
- Three-quarter view