

## 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 terra-cotta image described on the following pages<sup>1</sup> 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 farcicality to the birthday greeting herewith respectfully and affectionately offered.

The terra-cotta image illustrated on *Pls. 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 citadel, 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.<sup>2</sup>

Resting on an ancient ground surface just outside the remains of one of these modest structures, the heaped and scattered remnants of our terra-cotta image and some thirty other ceramic objects were uncovered in the summer of 1963. 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 at the writer's leisure. Colleagues at Berkeley and Sardis, especially D. A. Amyx, 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. Gombosi kindly assisted with photography.

The profile drawings on *Pl. 13* were made (by the writer) after the fragments of the image had been reconstructed, and for this reason certain features, notably the thickness of the wall of the head, could not be determined and drawn with accuracy. The rendering of interior surface features is intended to be

accurate. Lines of juncture between contiguous fragments and lacunae within reconstructed units are not indicated in the drawings.

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. Hanfmann, "The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1963)," *BASOR* 174 (1964) 8, 9 fig. 2; 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* I: G. E. Bates, *Byzantine Coins* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971) 15.

*Pls. 8, b and 9* 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). Inventoried P63.307: 5424 (head-body) and P63.308: 5425 (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 tube narrowing abruptly 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 wrinkle-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 appliques 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. 10, a*; segment indicated in *Pl. 13*). 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-neck below. Lower part applied to body. Rim missing except for short segment at top l. of upper part (*Pl. 9, e*).

4. and 5. 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 horizontal and slightly back (*Pl. 9, e*). Both irregularly broken above biceps area. Ringing inside of l. arm are concave corrugations (indicated in *Pl. 13*).

*Pl. 9* 6. and 7. the legs: each a layer applied to the lower body on either side (suggesting by a slight swelling the upper thigh). Towards rear at top and back sides, edges preserved; elsewhere, body surface exposed.

*Pl. 10, d* 8. the form applied over the holes on the torso at belly level. Tear-shaped scar tilted diagonally with narrow end down toward figure's l. Around scar border, form's broken edge.

*Pl. 10, d* 9. the form applied over the hole on the torso at groin level: irregular oval scar between and uniting with leg scars. Around scar border and prominent at figure's l., form's broken edge.

*Pl. 11, e* 10. the form applied over the hole on the l. side, low down. Irregularly-shaped scar around hole, extending somewhat around l. side. Around scar border, form's broken edge.

*Pls. 9 and 11, g* The *leg-foot unit* is a single piece. Lower leg an irregular tube with cavity penetrating into heel; front part of foot solid. Behind heel, semi-cylindrical concave impression with fine striations oriented lengthwise. Through leg wall on l. side at top of calf, small hole: outside perimeter of hole smooth; inside jagged and flanged. Inside leg are parallel, horizontally-disposed, concave corrugations bisected by narrow, parallel, diagonally-disposed wrinkle-like ridges and indentations (*Pl. 13*). On inside front top ledge of leg, thin layer with marks of finger smoothing; on inside back top ledge, marks of finger pressing and smoothing (*Pl. 11, g*).

**PLASTICALLY-RENDERED DETAILS.** Eyes, nose, lips, cheek, chin. Ears with large swelling lobes (or round earrings?). Hair: across brow from ear to ear, single row of seven spit curls curving to r.; on either side of face from behind ear to shoulder, two narrow tresses articulated with alternate swellings and semi-cylindrical concavities; at back, smooth, curving surface with broad vertical tooling marks and angular profile at bottom. Hood-like appendage. Forms attached to torso. R. buttock and upper thigh. Knee joint and leg muscles. Foot contours and pointed toe of shoe; sole of shoe (indicated by narrow groove) on outside l.

*Pl. 14* **PAINTING.** The entire outer surface except for the underside of the foot is covered with paint-like or glaze-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 tips survive); mouth line; inner ear details (?); double border of jacket; lozenge-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 breakage area around holes at belly level

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. 0.35 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 0.0115-0.018 m. Wall body 0.0018-0.024 m. Leg-foot unit. Max. preserved h. 0.136 m. Outside diam. leg at top 0.058-0.0605 m. L. foot 0.112 m. Wall leg 0.06-0.07 m.

PROVENIENCE. HoB (W 13, S 104 \*00.45-99.30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1963)," *BASOR* 174 (1964) 11-12, fig. 3 on 10, fig. 4 on 11; A. H. Detweiler and D. G. Mitten, "The Sixth Campaign at Sardis 1963," *TurkArkDerg* 12 (1963) 9-10, fig. 3 on 17; Hanfmann, "Sardis Excavations, Part II," *ILN* 244 (21 Mar. 1964) 434, fig. 11; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 68 (1964) 163, pl. 52 fig. 20; Hanfmann, "Greece and Lydia: the Impact of Hellenic Culture," *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine sur les cultures périphériques* (Paris 1965) 494, pl. 124 fig. 2; Hanfmann and Detweiler, "Sardis through the Ages," *Archaeology* 19 (1966) 92, fig. 3; Hanfmann, *Classical Sculpture* (Greenwich, Conn. 1967) 309, ill. 60; J. G. Pedley, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus* (Norman 1968) 101-102; E. Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst," *Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Antike Kunst Beiheft 7, 1970) 12, pl. 7.7.

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.<sup>4</sup>

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 counter-clockwise direction).<sup>5</sup> The presence of ridges and indentations

<sup>4</sup> For "Sardis Style" pottery, C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: the Wild Goat Style in Lydia," *California Studies in Classical Archaeology* 3 (1970) 55ff.

<sup>5</sup> 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) 1, 27ff; for examples of Eastern Greek wheel-made terra cottas,

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.<sup>6</sup> 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 spit curls suggest 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 enveloped 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 projectiles 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

R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, BM (London 1954) I 149, pl. 72 no. 544; J. Boardman, "Excavations in Chios 1952-1955: Greek Emporio," *BSA Suppl.* 6 (1967) 188ff.; for the use of the wheel in Cyprus, G. Schmidt, "Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem

Heraion von Samos," *Samos* (Bonn 1968) VII 104-105. 6 A. Ramage explained these features to the writer, and pointed out that the stems of Eastern Greek-style "fruit dishes" often display on the interior the same wrinkle-like ridges and indentations indicative of rapid workmanship.

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 legfoot unit, which indicates that the leg was bent at a sharp right angle (*Pl. 9, e and f; Pl. 11, g*). The original poise of the torso may have differed somewhat from the poise 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).<sup>7</sup>

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 poise which may be promoted fortuitously by the broken bottom rim of the body, our figure does resemble the figures of horsemen on sixth-century B. C. architectural terra cottas recovered from Düver in southwestern Asia Minor.<sup>8</sup>

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 finished painting 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 flattish 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 terra-cotta phallus which was recovered in excavations two years before the rest of the image.

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 poise 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 terra-cotta figurine from Boeotia in

Athens, National Museum no. 16455; another is an anthropomorphic vase from Samos, E. Buschor, "Spendekanne aus Samos," *BSA* 46 (1951) 32-41, pl. 8.

8 For the architectural terra cottas from Düver, Å. Åkerström, "A Horseman from Asia Minor," *Bulletin of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhausemuseet, Stockholm* 4

*Pl. 12* Phallus (T 61.21: 3295).

a-c Clay light brown-pink; micaceous; friable.

Cylindrical shaft at one end terminating in glans, at other end broken. Glans rounded at base, tapering towards tip; tip end partly broken. On underside of glans surface, shallow groove towards which outer edge of glans converges from either side. On underside of shaft, straight scored line extending from outer edge of glans to inner broken end of shaft. Around top and r. side at inner end of shaft, overfold of applied clay.

INSIDE. Cylindrical passage penetrating phallus from broken end through glans tip. Passage widens within glans, narrows at glans tip. Wall of passage torded with narrow wrinkle-like ridges and indentations (*Pl. 13*).

OUTSIDE. Over shaft, cream-white slip. Over glans, orange-red-brown paint with glossy surface. Around outer edge of glans, over shallow groove on glans underside, and at one spot on inner end of phallus shaft (phallus' left side), dark purple-gray paint with mat finish, thickly applied.

L. 0.087 m. Diam. shaft inner to outer end 0.035-0.032 m. Max. th. shaft inner end with overfold of clay 0.0372 m. Max. diam. glans 0.035 m. Diam. cylindrical passage at inner end 0.0175 m.; at outer (glans tip) end 0.01 m.

PROVENIENCE: HoB (W 10, S 100 \*99.60-99.30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis (1961)," *BASOR* 166 (1962) 11, fig. 7 on 12.

There are several points of close comparison between the phallus and our image. The provenience of the phallus corresponds to that of the image fragments: the two items were recovered within three meters' horizontal distance of one another and at the same surface level. The phallus displays the same fabric, with respect to the color and texture of clay, slip, and paint, as the image. The torded wrinkle-like ridges and indentations on the phallus interior passage indicate that it was thrown on a wheel, like the body, leg, and left arm of the image; and constructed rapidly, like the body and leg of the image. The phallus almost certainly belonged to a painted terra-cotta figure of some size; and between the diameters of the phallus' interior passage and the groin hole of the image there is a discrepancy of only a millimeter or so. With such close and significant corresponding features there can be little doubt that the phallus belongs to our image.

The phallus does not make a joint with the body of the image. Discrepancies in construction between the inner end of the phallus shaft and the breakage area around the hole at the groin suggest that the inner end of the phallus originally was poised at some distance from the breakage area on the image body; the underside of the phallus shaft, furthermore, terminates abruptly

(1964) 49-53; N. Thomas, "Recent Acquisitions by Birmingham City Museum," *Archaeological Reports for 1964-1965*, 64-70; Å. Åkerström, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (Lund 1966) xiii, fig. 75

on 256; E. Akurgal, *Orient und Okzident* (Baden-Baden 1966) 222, fig. 68 on 220; *Hesperia Art Bulletin* 49 (1970) 40-42.

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 belly level is suggested by the proximity of the (erect) phallus shaft to the belly; the identification of the form attached to the torso at belly 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.<sup>9</sup> The form connecting phallus and body probably was intended to serve as a strut which would help to stabilize the position of the cantilevered phallus.<sup>10</sup>

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 komasts; only seated on some kind of chair or stool with a flat upper surface, instead of squatting (*Pl. 14; Pl. 15, a-b*); the semicylindrical concave impression in the back of the heel suggests that the foot (feet?) rested against some kind of rounded bar.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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 trick juglet in the Louvre<sup>13</sup> may be a clue to the understanding of our image-pitcher's static role.

9 E. Buschor (*supra*, n. 7); D. G. Mitten, S. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Mainz 1967) 85, 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.

If the length of the phallus in the reconstruction seems excessive in proportion to the size of the image, compare the ithyphallic figurine from Boeotia in Athens, National Museum no. 16455; Archilochus fr. 107 (Diehl).

11 The seated stance of our figure would have resembled that of the ithyphallic figurine in Athens, National Museum no. 16455. For the squatting stance, Higgins, *Catalogue* (*supra*, n. 5) 73-74, pl. 31, nos. 159-165 (satyr figurines of a type which began to be produced ca. 500 B.C.); G. M. A. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," *AJA* 36 (1932) 274, pl. 11c; G. Vorberg, *Glossarium Eroticum* (Stuttgart 1932) 328, 330, 343; Athens National Museum nos. 938 (black-figure tripod kothon) and 13253 (bronze figurine).

12 As in the case of the anthropomorphic vase from

Samos, Buschor (*supra*, n. 7). One other phallus spout has been recovered in excavations at Sardis. This example (not inventoried) includes the entire shaft and glans; it is considerably smaller (L. 0.0427 m. Diam. 0.015 m. Diam. hole 0.004 m.) than the one described in the text above, and less elaborately decorated (the shaft is plain, the glans colored with paint which has fired a dark metallic gray); provenience: HoB (W 2-10, S 117-223, \*100.20-99.80).

For terra-cotta phalli of the Archaic period from Eastern Greek sites, J. Boehlau, K. Schefold, "Die Kleinfunde," *Larisa am Hermos* (Berlin 1942) III 28, pl. 5.5; Boardman (*supra*, n. 5). For Chiot phallus cups, R. M. Cook, "The Distribution of Chiot Pottery," *BSA* 44 (1949) 158 and n. 12, pl. 41b.

13 E. Pottier, "Le Satyre Buveur, Vase à Surprise du Musée du Louvre," *BCH* 19 (1895) 225-235. For vessels of similar form, F. Winter, "Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten," *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, R. Kekule von Stradonitz ed. (Berlin-Stuttgart 1903) 214, no. 8; G. Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris 1911) 154, no. 858 (2067);

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 cavity in the satyr's body is connected with the cavity in the ring base and the inside of the crater. The nape 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 gadgetry of this sort amused not only Greeks, but, to judge from vases of the sixth century recovered at Sardis, also the Lydians.<sup>14</sup>

A water-pressure trick similar to the one which the Louvre juglet was designed to perform might have been effected 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 phallus passage and spurt from the hole in the tip of the phallus. 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.<sup>15</sup> The eye has

cf. also the plastic vases in the form of seated apes holding large vessels, Higgins, *Catalogue* (*supra*, n. 5, 1959) 50-52 nos. 1685, 1686, and references.

14 Greek "gadget" vases include a late Geometric oinochoe from Athens, R. S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora," *Hesperia Suppl.* 2 (1939) 68-71, figs. 43-44; a seventh-century round-mouth oinochoe in Tübingen, C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (Reutlingen 1924) 18, fig. 10, no. 28 (1475); a sixth-century kantharos in Berlin, "Sitzungsberichte der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 1892, Januar," *AA* (1892) 24. Two "gadget" vases have been found at Sardis and probably were made in or near Sardis: a jug with plastic mouth in the form of a ram's head, Metropolitan Museum 14.30.21, H. C. Butler, "The Excavations Part I 1910-1914," *Sardis I* (Leyden 1922) 119 fig. 126 (far left) 120; 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 P63.477: 5649). For Greek gadgetry in general, Heron Alexandrinus, "Pneumatica et Automata," *Opera*, ed. G. Schmidt (Leipzig 1899) I; R. S. Brumbaugh, *Ancient Greek Gadgets and Machines* (New York 1966).

15 Male figures with pale-colored (reserved) flesh parts appear in some Wild Goat-style vase painting, especially that of the Aeolic School and the "Dinos Workshop" (Kardara), E. Akurgal, "The Early Period and the Golden Age of Ionia," *AJA* 66 (1962) pl. 103 figs. 30, 32; C. Kardara, *Rodiaké Angeiographia* (Athens 1963) 275 fig. 265; in some Chiot "Polychrome" chalice painting, E. R. Price, "Pottery of Naucratis," *JHS* 44 (1924) 214, figs. 56, 57 on 215, fig. 63 on 219, pl. 5-6.6, pl. 10 bottom right; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 68 (1964) 164; *ibid.* 69 (1965) 148; and on architectural terra cottas of Asia Minor, Åkerström (*supra*, n. 8). This Eastern Greek stylistic convention, rather than the traditional Lydian distaste for sun-tanned skin, Clearchus, *Vitae* 4.6 (*FHG* 2.305; Athenaeus 12.515e) probably explains the white flesh parts of our image. Male figures with flesh parts painted white or cream-yellow appear on some Caeretan Hydriac, M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva 1959) 76, 77; P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) pls. 78, XXVII; and in Late Corinthian painting, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) nos. 941, 1373, 1437, 1480.



the same rounded almond-shaped frame and proportionately large pupil which appear on architectural terra cottas from Saris and "Larisa"/Buruncuk and Orientalizing pottery of Aeolis.<sup>16</sup> The short beard and short mustache are characteristic of bearded male figures on the same architectural terra cottas. The hair (with the single row of spit curls hanging in a even line low on the brow, and the long locks rendered as a single smooth mass in back and as pairs of beaded tresses at either side of the face in front) closely resembles the hair of Greek kouroi and terra-cotta figurines of the Archaic period.<sup>17</sup>

Other physiognomic aspects of our figure are reminiscent of Greek art. The bulky form of the body suggests the portly male physiques of Eastern Greek sculpture<sup>18</sup> and the komast figures of Mainland Greek art. The phallus is colored according to the Greek convention, with the glans red and the shaft the same color as other flesh parts.

Whether earrings were present, as on the male figure on an architectural terra cotta from Sardis,<sup>19</sup> or absent is not clear from the modeling and paint of the ear.

The costume of our figure is almost completely 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 hood-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.<sup>20</sup> 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 motives. The scale motive might suggest that the pattern was intended to represent platelets of scale armor, such as was worn by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and ancient peoples of South Russia;<sup>21</sup> but the open front of the jacket indicates that the gar-

16 For the architectural terra cotta from Sardis, G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Third Campaign at Sardis (1960)," *BASOR* 162 (1961) 26, 28, fig. 15 on 29; M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 66 (1962) pl. 24 fig. 23. For the architectural terra cottas from "Larisa"/Buruncuk, L. Kjellberg, "Die Architektonischen Terrakotten," *Larisa am Hermos* (Stockholm 1940) II pls. 2, 4, 43, 44. For Orientalizing pottery from Aeolis, E. Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst," *Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei (Antike Kunst Beiheft 7, 1970)* pl. 8.

17 G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths* (New York 1960) figs. 395ff.; R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London 1967) pls. 11-14.

18 E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin 1961) 229, figs. 189-191 on 225-227; P. Devambaz, L. Robert, "Une Nouvelle Statue Archaïque au Louvre," *RA* (1966.2) 195-222.

19 For the architectural terra cotta from Sardis, *supra*, n. 16. For earrings as a male ornament in Lydia, Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.31. Cf. Anacreon, fr. 54 (Diehl; Athenaeus 12.533f). For an earring worn (?)

by an Arimaspe, T. B. L. Webster, "A Rediscovered Caeretan Hydria," *JHS* 48 (1928) 198.

20 See J. L. Benson, "The Three Maidens Group," *AJA* 73 (1969) pl. 36, fig. 13; L. V. Borrelli, *CVA Italy* 41, Orvieto Museo Claudio Faina I (Rome 1969) III-C, pls. 1, 5.2, 6; A. Bovon, "La Représentation des Guerriers Perses et la Notion Barbare dans la 1<sup>re</sup> Moitié du V<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *BCH* 87 (1963) fig. 2 on 580, fig. 7 on 584.

21 For scale armor of the Assyrians, A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London 1853) I pls. 18, 19, 20, 28, 29 (relief sculpture illustrating what appear to be scale-armor casques and tunics reaching to the ankles); M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* (New York 1966) II 409, 410 fig. 336, 426 (scale armor of iron and bronze recovered in "Fort Shalmaneser" and dated "not later than the reign of Sargon, 722-705 B.C."). For scale armor of the Persians, Herodotus 7.61 (armor with scales of iron worn by the Persian soldiers in Xerxes' army); Herodotus 9.22 and Pausanias 1.27.1 (the *thorax* of golden scales worn by the Persian commander Masistios at the Battle of

ment is not a coat of mail. The pattern motive might represent shingled tufts of hair, as in conceptualizations of Athena's aegis and lion manes in Greek sixth-century art;<sup>22</sup> or perhaps wedges of cloth arranged in overlapping rows (anticipating Regency greatcoats).

The rectilinear scale-motive pattern appears on the linings of at least two male sleeved garments which are represented on the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon (*Pl. 16, a*).<sup>23</sup> These sleeved garments are cloaks which are worn by Persians; and they are worn "hussar-fashion,"<sup>24</sup> 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 Graeco-Persian art;<sup>25</sup> they represent

Plataea and seen by Pausanias in the Erechtheum). For scale armor of the Greeks, J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1970) 23, 267-269 nn. 38, 46, 54; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London 1967) 90-91, pls. 44-45; Arias, et al. (*supra*, n. 15) pl. 118 (cup painted by the Sosias Painter, Berlin F 2278; the earliest representation of scale armor in Greek art?). For scale armor of South Russia, E. A. Gardner, "Ornaments and Armour from Kertch in the New Museum at Oxford," *JHS* 5 (1884) 65-66 (fish scale-type platelets of bronze attached to a lining of hide by means of leather thongs and bar-type platelets of bronze "riveted together by bronze wire, and fastened upon a lining of tough hide"); E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge 1913) 73-74, 154, 187, 206, 224 (bar-type platelets of bone from Popovka and in Moscow; armor with scales "some of gilt iron, some of bronze" from the Seven Brothers barrow; "iron-scale hauberk with copper scales on shoulders and lower margin" from Kostromskaya barrow); Pausanias 1.21.6 and Ammianus Marcellinus 17.12.1 (Sarmatian armor with scales made of horses' hooves). For scale armor with bar-type platelets of iron from Gordion in Phrygia, R. S. Young, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion, Preliminary Report," *AJA* 60 (1956) 257, pl. 86 fig. 22.

22 J. K. Anderson pointed out to me that the scale-motive pattern frequently was employed in Greek vase-painting to suggest a hairy surface, notably that of Athena's aegis; Anderson (*supra*, n. 21) 269 n. 54. For an anthropomorphic ceramic figure with painted scale-pattern chest hair, Buschor (*supra*, n. 7). For lions with scale-pattern manes, J. F. Crome, "Löwenbilder des Siebenten Jahrhunderts," *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand* (Munich 1938) pls. 7-10 (sculpture in the round from Olympia; proto-Attic amphora in New York); Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 275, fig. 245 (sculpture in the round from Sardis); C. Blümel, *Die Archaisch Griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1964) figs. 179-183 (sculpture in the round from Miletus); P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes* (Paris 1957) pl. 83 (relief sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi).

23 The scale-motive pattern is painted over the carved marble surface. It covers the cloak lining of the figure at the far left end of the short panel illustrating combat, F. Winter, *Der Alexandersarkophag von Sidon* (Strassburg 1912) pl. 7, reproduced here as *Pl. 16, a*. 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 torso and thigh; not indicated on *ibid.* pl. 16); and on the cloak of the figure dismounting from the stricken horse directly in front of Alexander on the long panel illustrating a battle (faint traces near figure's right armpit and Bucephalus' left foreleg; not indicated on *ibid.* pl. 1).

24 A. S. F. Gow, "Notes on the *Persae* of Aeschylus," *JHS* 48 (1928) 144.

25 For illustrations of this garment: at Persepolis (relief sculpture on the stairways of the Apadana and Council Hall), E. F. Schmidt, "Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions," *OIP* 68 (Chicago 1953) pls. 51, 52, 57, 58, 72-74; at Qyzqapan (relief sculpture of tomb facade), E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York 1965) 138, fig. 74; from Central Asia (the lid of a silver box and gold figurines), O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work*, 3rd ed. (London 1964) xxxviii fig. 19, xl fig. 21, pl. 13; from Sidon (the Satrap Sarcophagus), O. Hamdy, T. Reinach, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon: Fouilles de Hamdy Bey* (Paris 1892) pl. 22.1; I. Kleemann, "Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 20 (1958) pls. 9, 10; from Sidon (the Alexander Sarcophagus; ten illustrations from all four side panels and one pediment), O. Hamdy, T. Reinach, pls. 25-25; Winter (*supra*, n. 23) pl. 14; from Cappadocia (relief sculpture of altar), K. Bittel, "Kappadokyada Bulunan Bir Ateş Sunağı," *TAD* 6 (1956) 35-42, pl. 15; E. Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 173, fig. 120; from Daskyleion (relief sculpture), T. Macridy, "Reliefs Gréco-Perses de la Région de Dascylion," *BCH* 37 (1913) pls. 8, 9; M. J. Mellink,

a garment which was peculiar to Iranian costume and which was called κἀνδύς by the Greeks (*kandytes* normally were worn "hussar-fashion" except in the presence of royalty, at which time wearers were required to insert their arms inside the long sleeves, κόραι).<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the rectilinear scale-motive pattern, other features of our figure's jacket appear in representations of *kandytes*. The spotted border at the jacket sides appears on *kandytes* of the Alexander Sarcophagus (e. g., *Pl. 16, a*) and of gold and silver figurines in London and Berlin. On at least one of these figurines (which illustrate the backs of *kandytes*) 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 *kandys* of the silver figurine 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 figurine, straps across the breast which serve to clasp together the two sides of the *kandys* resemble in form and position the dotted V-shaped motive on the breast of our figure.<sup>27</sup>

These parallel features suggest that the "jacket" of our figure is a *kandys*, designed with decorated border, hood-like appendage, and breast clasp; the surface design might represent shaggy fur (such as distinguished an Iranian outer garment which Greeks called καυνάκης<sup>28</sup>) or overlapping sections of cloth.

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

The shirt-like garment which our figure wears beneath his jacket must be either a shirt of some kind or a corselet. That it is unlikely to represent a garment of pure Iranian origin<sup>30</sup> is

"Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 64 (1960) 68; (on bulla), Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 174, fig. 123; from Xanthos (the Tomb of Payava), A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, BM (London 1900) II 51, pl. 11; from Demetrias, Thessaly (an ivory casket), J. M. Dentzer, "Reliefs au 'Banquet' dans l'Asie Mineure du Ve Siècle av. J.-C.," *RA* (1969:2) 216-217, fig. 7 on 217.

26 On the *kandys*, see: Pollux 7.58; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.5.8; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 8.3.10; 8.3.13; Themistius, *Orationes* 2.36c; Lucian, *Dialogi Mortuorum* 14.4; Diodorus Siculus 17.77.5; Justin, 41.2; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1514.19; G. Widengren, "Some Remarks on Riding Costume and Articles of Dress among Iranian Peoples in Antiquity," *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* 11 (1956) 235, 237-238; G. Thompson, "Iranian Dress in the Achaemenian Period," *Iran* 3 (1965) 121-123. On the wearing of the *kandys* before royalty, Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.10; 8.3.13-14; *Hellenica* 2.1.8. For a different kind of Persian cloak, with long, full sleeves, B. Goldman, "Origins of the Persian Robe," *Iranica Antiqua* 4 (1964) 133-152.

27 The gold figurines are part of the Oxus Treasure and now are in the British Museum, nos. 123902 and

123903; Dalton (*supra*, n. 25) pl. 13: 2, 2a. T. C. Mitchell has kindly written that BM 123902 "has a tail (part of the hood) falling down his back; it has more or less parallel sides and a squared-off end"; that BM 123903 "is less clear since it has a triangular design on the back rather like a boy scout's neckerchief, which might not be part of the hood since there is a horizontal line across it at the level of the neck." The silver figurine, from Soli in Cilicia, is in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung (VA) 4852; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin 1920) pl. 15. G. Rudolf Meyer kindly furnished information about the figurine, and the photographs here reproduced as *Pl. 16, b*.

28 On the καυνάκης, Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1131ff.; Widengren (*supra*, n. 26) 239.

29 For trousers of Scythian-Iranian type in Greek art, Bovon (*supra*, n. 20) 579-602; M. F. Vos, "Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting," *Archaeologica Traiectina* 6 (Groningen 1963).

30 For Iranian shirt-like garments, σάραπις and κανδύταρες or καναντάνες (made from the pelts of Babylonian mice!), Pollux, *Onomasticum* 7.61, Hesychius, s.v. σάραπις, Athenaeus 12.525d; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 17.17; Widengren (*supra*, n. 26) 237-238.

suggested by the border decoration of "false" or "broken" maeander, a fundamentally Greek pattern motive; the same motive appears on the collar and lower hem of tunics represented on architectural terra cottas from Sardis and Düver.<sup>31</sup> The brevity of our figure's shirt-like garment in comparison with Greek *chita* and *chitoniskoi* suggests that it represents a corselet; although the undergarments of *kandytes*, 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 Asia Minor, known to us only by name (e. g., the κυπασσίσκος<sup>32</sup>) 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<sup>33</sup>) possibly was intended to suggest a special Lydian product, woven gold thread, or cloth-of-gold.<sup>34</sup>

The footgear which our figure wears is a kind of boot: whether the high κόθορνος (which Croesus recommended for Lydians<sup>35</sup>) or the low ἀρβύλη 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,<sup>36</sup> 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 ἀσκέρα or ἀσκερίσκος a kind of winter boot made in western Asia Minor

31 *Supra*, nn. 8, 16.

32 On *kupassiskos*, Hipponax fr. 32:3 (Masson); on *κύπασις*, Alcaeus fr. 357:7 (Lobel-Page); Hecataeus, *FGH Hist* 1, fr. 284; Herondas 8.30-31; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 333. For both, O. Masson, "Les Fragments du Poète Hipponax: Édition Critique et Commentée," *Études et Commentaires* 43 (Paris 1962) 124-125.

33 For the Lydian "marbling" technique, C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Lydian Vases from Western Asia Minor," *California Studies in Classical Archaeology* (1968) 141-142 and n. 5.

34 Johannes Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 3.64. Johannes Lydus, an historian of the sixth century A.D., recorded that "gold-woven chitons" (χρυσοστήμονας χιτῶνας) had been made by the Lydians during the time that they obtained gold from the Pactolus (cf. Strabo 13.4.5 = 625-626); and cited as authority one Peisander, who had written of "Lydian gold chitons" (Λυδοὶ χρυσοχίτωνες). Peisander might have been the Rhodian poet of Kameiros who lived in the seventh or sixth centuries B.C., or the poet of Laranda in Lycia or Lycaonia who lived in the third century A.D.; see Kaydell, *RE* 19.1 (1937) 144-146. The celebrated gold-woven stuffs of Hellenistic Pergamon may have represented a survival of the Lydian art: Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 8.196; M. Rostovtzeff, "Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings," *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (Manchester 1923) 380-382. For other ancient literary and epigraphical references

to the use of gold thread in classical antiquity, H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* 3:2 (Göttingen 1898) 733 no. 5702:17 (an inscription of the fourth century B.C. from Samos recording χιθωνίσκος χρυσῶι πεποικίλμένος H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen und Römern*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) I 168-170. Cf. *Exodus* 39.3; *Psalms* 45.13. Textiles of the fourth and third centuries B.C. containing thread of precious metal have been recovered in South Russia. For embroidery in gold thread, *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour les Années 1878 et 1879* (St. Petersburg 1881) 135, pl. 5.4; Minns (*supra*, n. 21) 336. For a garment of cloth-of-silver from Maikop, H. E. Fernald, "The Maikop Treasure," *UPMB* 2 (1930) 7. For fragments of cloth-of-gold reportedly found in a chamber within the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos during quarrying operations of 1522, C. T. Newton, R. P. Pullan, *A History of Discoveries at Halikarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (London 1862) 75-78. For further information about early weaving in thread of precious metal, Blümner, *op. cit.*; M. Braun-Ronsdorf, "Gold and Silver Fabrics from Medieval to Modern Times," *Ciba Review* (1961:3) 2-16.

35 Herodotus 1.155.

36 For representations of Iranian footgear (in relief sculpture at Persepolis), Schmidt (*supra*, n. 25) pls. 65c, 87, 95, 121, 149. On Iranian footgear in general, G. Widengren (*supra*, n. 26) 230, 236, 240.

and probably in Lydia (where leatherwork was famous in Homeric times and popular in the seventh and sixth centuries).<sup>37</sup>

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 Φοῖνιξ Σαρδιανικός ("Sardian Crimson"): very possibly some variety of *kermes* or ὕσγινον derived from a scale insect whose host plant, the Kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera* L.) thrives today on the hills around Sardis.<sup>38</sup> Might a Greek have termed our figure's red-colored apparel κάλυμμά τε καὶ ἀρβύλαι ὕσγινοβαφεῖς καὶ ἀναξυρίδες ὕσγινόσημοι;<sup>39</sup>

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 ὅπλα of the Lydian contingent in Xerxes' army, according to Herodotus (7.47), were ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν.<sup>40</sup>

37 For representations of Lydian (?) footgear, E. Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 156, fig. 107 (relief sculpture from Bin Tepe); H. T. Bossert, "Vorläufige Mitteilung einer Neuen Lydischen Inschrift," *FuF* 12 (1936) 430-431; *idem*, *Altanatolien* (Berlin 1942) 27, pl. 33 no. 195 (funerary relief sculpture from Sardis (?) in Manisa); cf. E. F. Schmidt (*supra*, n. 25) pl. 38 ("Lydian") [?] tributaries in relief sculpture at Persepolis). On *askera* and *askeriskos*, Hipponax. frs. 32, 34; Masson (*supra*, n. 32) 124-125. On Lydian leatherwork, *Iliad* 7.221 (quoted by Strabo 13.4.6 = 626); C. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York 1959) 56 (for *κνπασσίσκος* read *ἀσκερίσκος*).

38 "Sardian Crimson" is attested by the comic poet Plato (late 5th-early 4th centuries B.C.), fr. 208 (Kock; = Athenaeus 2.48a-b); cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 7.196 (*inficere lanas Sardibus Lydi*). For ὕσγινον and *kermes* in general, Blümner (*supra*, n. 34) 248-249; W. Born, "Scarlet: Kermes," *Ciba Review* 7 (1938) 206-214; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 4, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1964) 102-106, nn. on 144-145. For ὕσγινον and *kermes* as products of western Asia Minor, *Edictum Diocletiani* XXIV.8; Dioskurides, *De Materia Medica* 4.48 (Wellman), s.v. κόκκος βαφικῆ. In early July of 1970, the writer gathered egg-bearing sacks of the female scale insect (*Kermococcus vermilio* Planch.) from Kermes oaks growing on the citadel of Sardis.

39 For *kalumma* as a man's hood, Anacreon fr. 54 (Diehl; = Athenaeus 12.533F); for *anaxurides* *hysginobaphis* (worn by Cyrus the Elder), Xenophon,

*Cyropaedia* 8.3.13; for the adjective *hysginosemos*, *Edictum Diocletiani* XXIX.9.

40 For draped human figures in sculpture recovered at Sardis and environs, G. M. A. Hanfmann, K. Z. Polatkan, "Three Sculptures from Sardis in the Manisa Museum," *Anatolia* 4 (1959) 55-60 (kouros from Sardis); Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 156 fig. 107 (relief sculpture from Bin Tepe); Hanfmann, (*supra*, n. 2) 39-43, figs. 25, 26 on 42, 43; *idem*, "Greece and Lydia: the Impact of Hellenic Culture," *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine sur les Cultures Périphériques* (Paris 1965) 495, figs. 1-3 (relief sculpture on a naiskos from Sardis); *idem*, (*supra*, n. 2) 39, fig. 24 on 41, 43, fig. 27 on 44 (relief sculpture from Sardis); *idem*, (*supra*, n. 16) 49, fig. 31 on 48 (relief sculpture from the Sardian plain); Bossert (*supra*, n. 37); funerary relief sculpture from Sardis or environs; Izmir, Fuar Museum no. 690 (relief sculpture from Sardis). For the vase picture by Myson, Arias, et al. (*supra*, n. 15) 332, pl. 131; Sir J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963) 238 no. 1 (on the Lydian royal robe, Dionysius of Halikarnassos 3.60). One of the very few certain representations of warriors in art recovered from Sardis appears to illustrate Greek-type armament. On the handle zone of a cup or small bowl (inventoried P63.52: 5026), outline drawing in iron oxide glaze over cream-white slip shows the upper parts of two warriors carrying spears and wearing crested helmets (these figures must have been painted some fifty to one hundred years before Xerxes' expedition); for painted

According to Herodotus (1.71), Croesus was advised not to wage war with "men who wear trousers 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-e Rostem: 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 knees).<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> Had our figure

relief figures of horsemen on a pottery vessel of the seventh century B.C., G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Horsemen from Sardis," *AJA* 49 (1945) 570-579.

The predominance of Greek motives and forms in the pottery, sculpture, and architectural terra cottas of the seventh through fifth centuries B.C. recovered at or near Sardis suggests that Lydian culture before the time of Alexander the Great had become substantially Hellenized, and was influenced by the western Orient to a far less considerable extent than has been supposed in modern times; cf. G. Radet, "La Lydie et le Monde Grec au Temps des Mermnades," *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 63 (1893) 260ff.; D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East* (Oxford 1909) 74-80.

41 The throne-bearing figures carved in relief on the facades of the royal Achaemenian tombs at Naqsh-e Rostem may be identified from the inscriptions carved above each figure on the Tombs of Darius I (Herzfeld's Tomb III) and of Artaxerxes II or III (Herzfeld's Tomb V). The inscription which identifies the Lydian figures survives on the Tomb of Artaxerxes II or III and reads "22 this is the Sardian" (22 imay: Spardiya). For the inscriptions, R. G. Kent, "Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon," *American Oriental Series* 33 (New Haven 1953) 109, 114, 140-141, 155-156. For a line drawing of the Lydian figure on the Tomb of Darius I, F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus*

*Alt- und Mittelpersischer Zeit* (Berlin 1910) 39 (top register, "III"). For photographs of the Lydian figures on the Tombs of Xerxes and Artaxerxes II or III, E. F. Schmidt, "Persepolis III. The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments," *OIP* 70 (Chicago 1970) pl. 41, fig. 47; pl. 66, fig. 47, pl. 67 no. 22. D. Nasgowitz and E. Hauser of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago kindly furnished information about these reliefs and unpublished photographs of them.

For the controversial identification of certain figures on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis as Lydian or Ionian, E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London 1941) 272; G. Walser, "Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis," *Teheraner Forschungen* 2 (1966); Schmidt (*supra*, n. 25) 88, 116-117.

42 For possible representations of Cimmerians, Minns (*supra*, n. 21) 53-55. For a terra cotta doll representing a man of "Scythian physiognomy and type" made perhaps in the early part of the sixth century B.C., found near Carchemish in North Syria, and now in Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum: D. G. Hogarth, "The Hittites of Syria," *CAH* III 147, n. 1; *CAH Plates* I 251a (J. K. Anderson kindly supplied these references).

43 In Greek art, barbarian hair and beards usually are wispy or shaggy and unkempt; Arias, et al. (*supra*, n. 15) 324; Bovon (*supra*, n. 20) 579ff.; Vos (*supra*, n. 29) 56.

44 Iranian hair and beard style of the time of Cyrus the Elder is illustrated by a sculptured figure on a door



been conceived as a Persian or a Mede, the coiffure 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 Sardian provenience, "Sardian" fabric, Hellenic or Hellenizing physiognomy, and Iranian and possibly Lydian costume suggests that our figure is a Lydian dressed in Iranian clothing.<sup>45</sup>

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 unabashedly 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 ὁ βδελυρός, a kind of proto-Karagöz who, strutting in formal finery, abandons all decorum to flaunt his prodigious virility.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup>

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 "Sardis Style," which has been dated ca. 600-570.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the writer believes that the chrono-

jamb of the palace at Pasargadae: Porada (*supra*, n. 25) 143, pl. 40. The Aeschylaeian adjective βαθυχαυής (applied to 'Medes'; Athenaeus 14.627c) perhaps alludes to a thick pomade of curls clustered around the nape of the neck, depicted in sculpture of the time of Darius I (e.g., *ibid.* 159 fig. 85).

45 A few passages in ancient literature suggest that Iranian fashions were adopted in Lydia: Pausanias 5.27.5-6 (*tiaras* worn by priests among the "Lydians surnamed Persians" in Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa); Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1134ff. (reference to the *kaunakes*, a garment whose form and name were Iranian in origin and which evidently was worn at Sardis in the fifth century B.C.; cf. Widengren (*supra*, n. 26) 239).

46 For βδελυρός and βδελυρία, Theophrastus, *Characters* 11. Cf. Aristophanes on Datis the Mede, *Pax* 289-291; G. M. A. Hanfmann on an ithyphallic bronze herm in New York, Norbert Schimmel Collection: "a merry twinkle in his eye as if amused by his own prowess," *The Beauty of Ancient Art*, ed. H. Hoffmann (Mainz 1964) no. 14.

47 Trousers of the Scythian-Iranian type make their

appearance in Greek art ca. 540-530 B.C.; Vos (*supra*, n. 29) 40, 43, 56. According to Hellanikos of Lesbos (flor. last quarter of the fifth century B.C.), fr. 178a, *FGrHist* 1.1 (1957) 148, *anaxurides* were introduced to 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 R. Ghirshman, *Proto-Iranier, Meder, Achae-meniden* (Munich 1964) 84, fig. 109 (gold plaques from the Oxus Treasure dated to the seventh-sixth centuries B.C.); R. D. Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962) 78-79; *idem*, "The Art of Bactria and the Treasure of the Oxus," *Iranica Antiqua* 8 (1968) 36, 38 (the gold scabbard from the Oxus Treasure embossed with a figure representing the Median king Astyages, 585-549 B.C.?); cf. M. van Loon, review of J. A. H. Portratz, *Die Skythen in Südrussland* (Basle 1963), *JNES* 29 (1970) 68 n. 17, 71.

48 Chiot chalice foot inventoried P63.437: 5584. The form resembles that of the two well-known chalices in Würzburg and of chalices of Tocra Type I and Emporio Period IV; all of which have been dated to the latter part of the seventh century B.C.; see J. Boardman,

logical interpretation of jacket and trousers is sufficiently sound to prohibit raising the date of our image above 547 B.C.<sup>49</sup>

The chronological implications of the costume are supported to some extent by the evidence of hair style. The natural curve of the hair at the back and sides of the head, the position of the spit curls low on the brow, and the pair of beaded tresses hanging forward on either side of the face are paralleled more closely in Greek plastic arts of the middle decades of the sixth century B.C. than in those of the earlier decades or late seventh century.<sup>50</sup> The change in male hair style from long to short-cropped or "*krobylos*"-dressed in the arts (both Hellenic and Hellenized) of the later sixth century B.C. indicates that our image is not likely to have been made after ca. 515 B.C. (if that late).<sup>51</sup>

Evidence provided by features of the image itself, then, specifically the rendering of costume and hair, suggests that the image was made in the second half of the sixth century, between

J. Hayes, "Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965: The Archaic Deposits I," *BSA Suppl.* 4 (1966) 58, 61 no. 771; Boardman (*supra*, n. 5) 119-222. Bird-Rosette bowl fragment inventoried P63.433: 5580. The form and decoration evidently were identical to those of two more complete Bird-Rosette bowls which probably were part of the same ceramic cache (inventoried P63.508: 5683, P63.641: 5865). For an illustration of this kind of bowl, K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin 1914) pl. 25 no. 11. Such bowls have been dated to the late seventh century B.C.; J. Boardman, J. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 53, 56, no. 723. Might chalices and bowls of these types have continued to be made or to circulate appreciably later than ca. 600 B.C.? In the case of the chalices, there seems to be no evidence to support such a possibility (although see Boardman [*supra*, n. 5] 244 on no. 251 and cf. 119-121 on no. 251). There is some evidence to suggest that Bird-Rosette bowls may have been made or have circulated well after ca. 600: a Rosette bowl with voided rays and "button-base," like the ones recovered near and/or from our Sardis ceramic cache, was found in a late level at Tocra, J. Boardman, J. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 46; a Rosette bowl less similar to ours was recovered in a grave at Sardis together with an Attic or Ionian Band cup, G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis (1961)," *BASOR* 166 (1962) 24-28 and A. K. Knudsen, "From a Sardis Tomb: A Lydian Pottery Imitation of a Phrygian Metal Bowl?," *Berytus* 15 (1964) 59 n. 1; Fragments of Rosette bowls have been recovered at Myrmekion "avec de la céramique attique à figures noires dans une couche qui peut être datée vers la seconde moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère," S. Dimitriu, M. Coja, "La Céramique Archaïque d'Histria," *Dacia* 2 (1958) 73. For the "Sardis Style" lebes, Greenewalt (*supra*, n. 4) 65-68, 73-75, pls. 1-4.

49 An object from the ceramic cache which might

warrant a date of 547 B.C. or after is a fragmentary terra-cotta figurine preserving animal forelegs which have been identified (by T. Çalışlar, University of Ankara Veterinary Faculty) as those of a camel. The ancient story about the unfavorable impression made by the camels of Cyrus' baggage train on the horses of Croesus' cavalry has been understood to signify that camels were introduced to western Asia Minor in 547. The sources for this story, however, Herodotus (1.80) and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 6.2.18; 7.1.27; 7.1.48-49), recorded only that horses disliked the smell of camels, not that horses were unfamiliar with camels. For the unresolved question of the arrival of the camel in western Asia Minor, K. Schauenburg, "Die Camelden im Altertum," *BonnJbb* 155-156 (1955-1956) 64-65 n. 35; cf. J. M. Cook, "Old Smyrna: Ionic Black Figure and Other Sixth-Century Figured Wares," *BSA* 60 (1965) 123-124, pl. 30. For the figurine from the Sardis cache, Hanfmann (*supra*, n. 2) 12, fig. 5 on 11 (inventoried T63.48: 5500).

50 Richter (*supra*, n. 17) 18, 117; Higgins (*supra*, n. 5) 32ff.; F. G. Lo Porto, "Tombe Archaiche Tarentine con Terrecotte Ioniche," *BdA* 47 (1962) 153ff.

51 Richter (*supra*, n. 17) 18, 117, 133; for the "*krobylos*," A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1950) I 101-102 and references. Ionic Black Figure and Clazomenian pottery, Clazomenian sarcophagi, and wall paintings from Gordion demonstrate that the hair-style change of the later sixth century occurred in western Asia Minor as well as in Mainland Greece; R. M. Cook, *CVA Great Britain* 13, British Museum 8 (London 1954); Cook (*supra*, n. 49) 114ff., esp. 136-137 no. 137; R. S. Young, "Gordion: Preliminary Report, 1953," *AJA* 59 (1955) 8-9, pls. 4-5; *idem*, "The Campaign of 1955 at Gordion: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 60 (1956) 255-256, pls. 85-86.

ca. 547 and 515 B.C. May historical testimonia 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 Lydo-Persian social relations was appreciably milder before Mazares and Harpagus 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 Mazares 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 Mazares 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 persika* implicit in our image is most likely to have been inspired during the months when Pactyes was lord at Sardis?<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For the history of Persian rule in western Asia Minor, A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948). For archaeological evidence attesting the Persian presence in western Asia Minor, Akurgal (*supra*, n. 18) 167-174; G. M. A. Hanfmann, J. C.

Waldbaum, "New Excavations at Sardis and Some Problems of Western Anatolian Archaeology," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, ed. T. A. Sanders (New York 1970) 315-317.

## Some Early Dynastic I Sealings 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 1962.<sup>1</sup> 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 jars, 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.

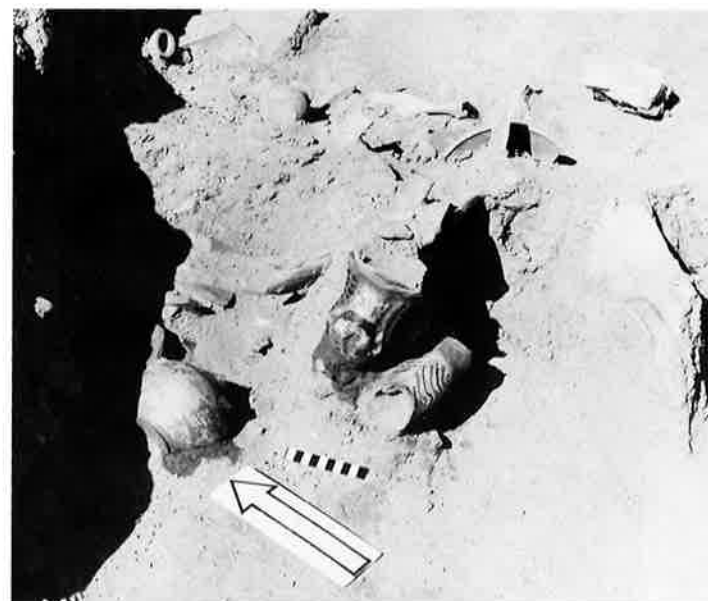
Twelve of the sealings published here were found in the ninth level of the Inanna temple.<sup>2</sup> There is a distinct architectural break between the ninth level and the eighth level which succeeded it. The building remains of the ninth level were filled with crude bricks in order to form a platform 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.

<sup>1</sup> The following special abbreviations are used in this paper:

Delougaz, *Pottery* = P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP 63 (Chicago 1952). Fara = E. Heinrich and W. Andrae, *Fara; Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu-Hatab 1902/03* (Berlin 1931). Frankfort,

SCS = H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region*, OIP 72 (Chicago 1955). Glyptique = P. Amiet, *La Glyptique Mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris 1961). UE III = L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal Impressions, Ur Excavations III* (London 1936). SIS = Seal Impression Strata at Ur. IT = Inanna Temple.

<sup>2</sup> For a sketch plan of the sanctuary area of the Level



a



b

Terra-cotta Image from Sardis  
Manisa, Archaeological Museum

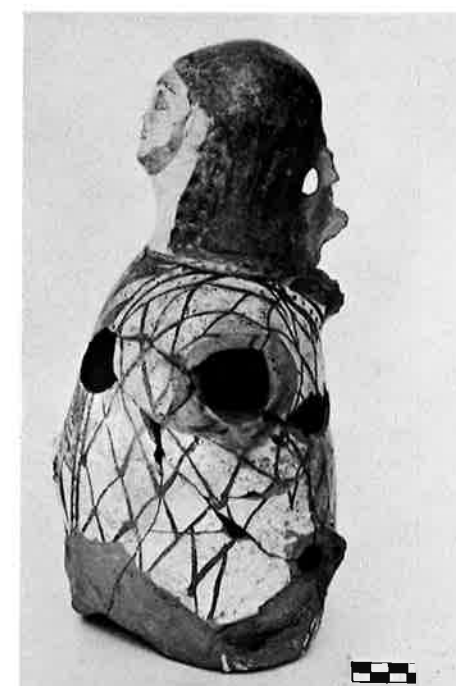
- a. Head and leg-foot unit with  
other ceramic remains *in situ*
- b. Head-body unit reassembled  
and reconstructed
- c-f. Head-body and leg-foot  
units reassembled and  
reconstructed



c



d



e



f







a



b

Terra-cotta Image  
from Sardis:

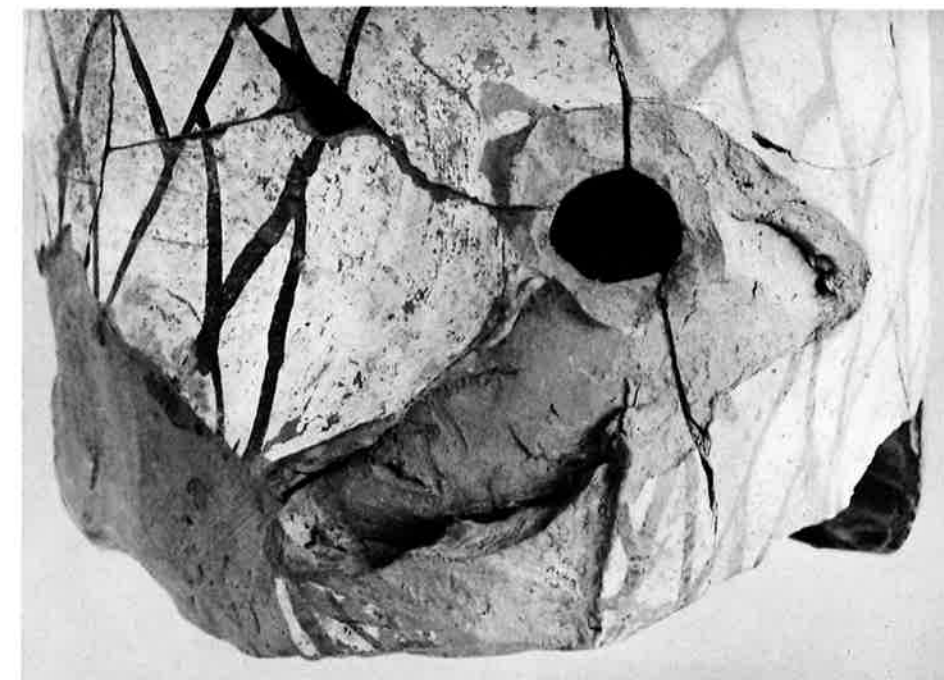
- a. Interior of head-body unit, juncture of head and body with head cavity (dark) in center, hole through hood-like appendage (light) at top
- b. Right arm
- c. Interior of body, front, with holes at belly level and pelvis zone (arrows point to iron projectiles)
- d. Exterior of body, lower front, with holes at belly level and pelvis zone (arrows point to gray-brown paint)



c



d



e

- e. Exterior of body, figure's lower left side
- f. Figure's right side, bottom rim with finished surface (roughly framed by brackets)
- g. Leg-foot unit



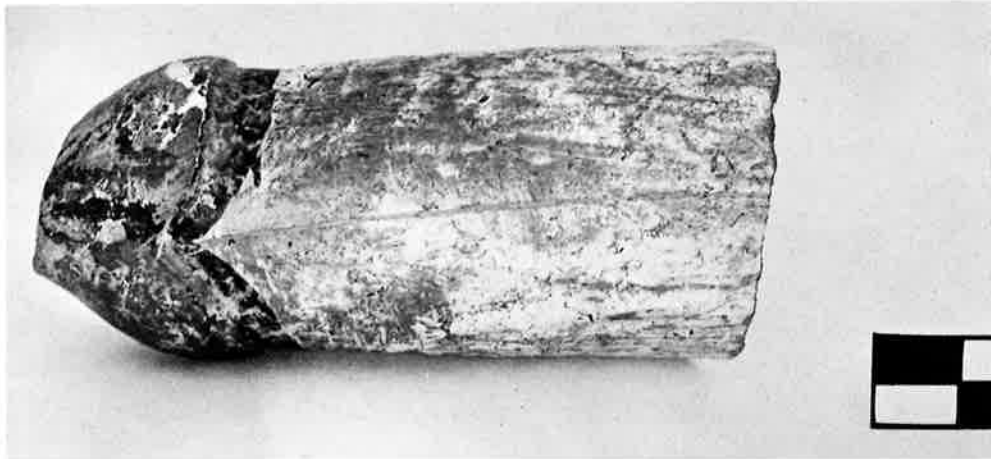
f



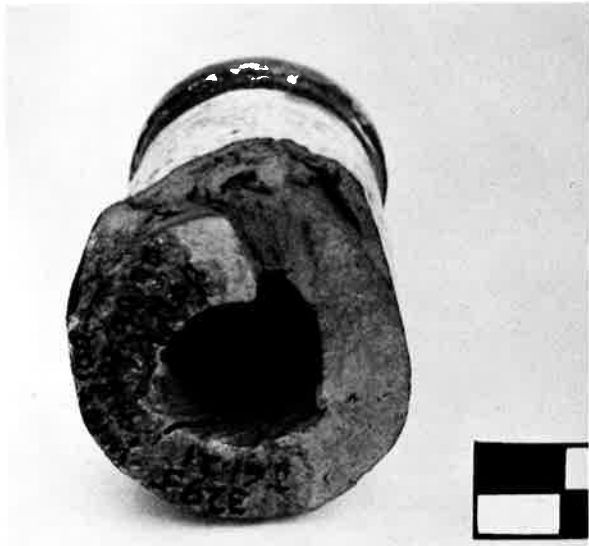
g



a

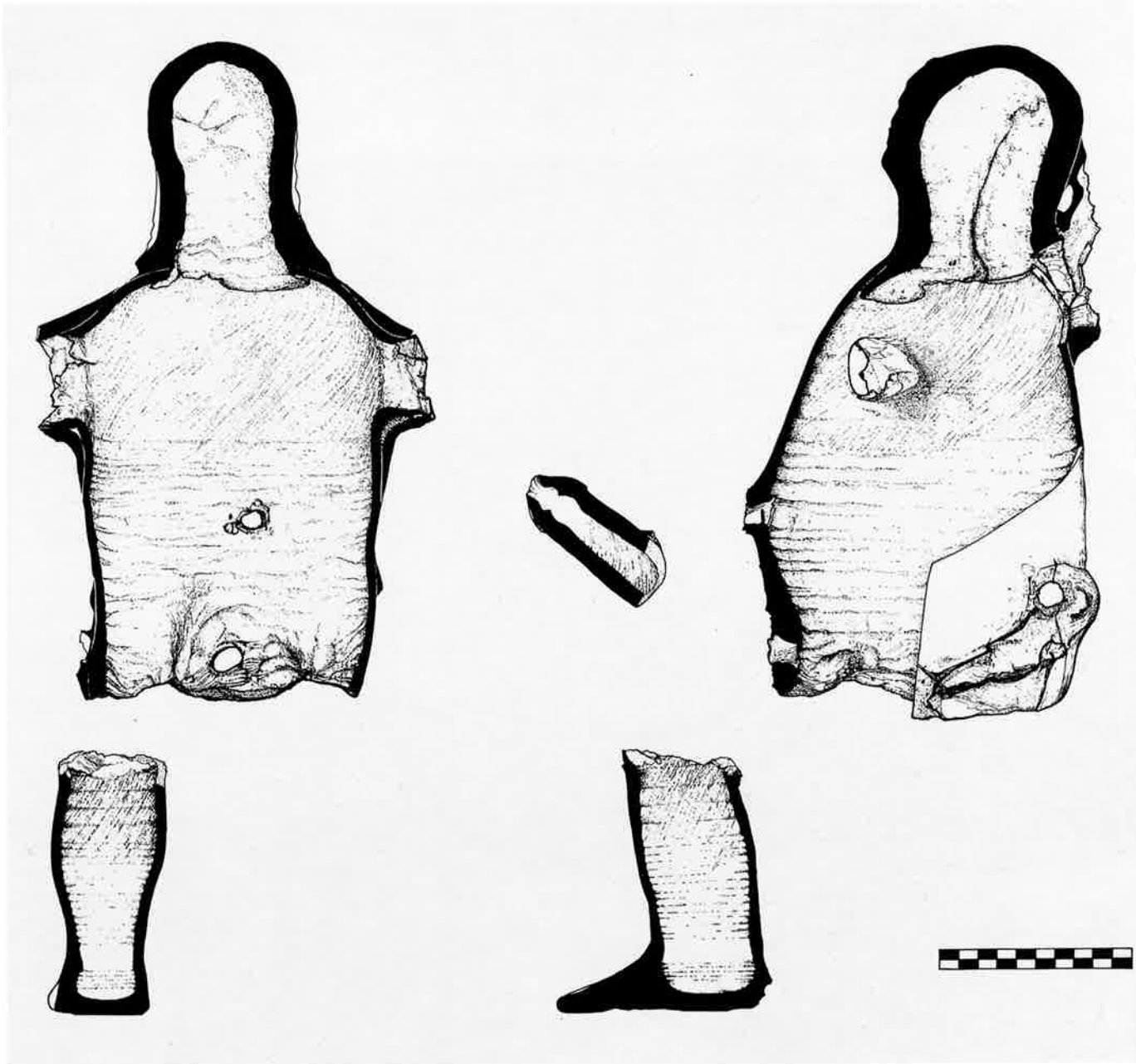


b



c

Terra-cotta Image from Sardis,  
Phallus:  
a. Side  
b. Underside  
c. Inner end



Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction, front and side profiles





Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction

Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction



a. Figure's right side



b. Three-quarter view



Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction

Terra-cotta Image from Sardis: reconstruction



a. Figure's right side



b. Three-quarter view