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ARCHAEOLOGICAL
EXPLORATION OF SARDIS

Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University
Cornell University
Corning Museum of Glass
Sponsored by the American Schools of Oriental Research

General Editors

George M. A. Hanfmann and
Stephen W. Jacobs

Report 2

SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS: THE FINDS THROUGH 1975

George M. A. Hanfmann
and Nancy H. Ramage

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CONTENTS

PREFACE vii
Technical Abbreviations x
Sector Abbreviations xi
Bibliography and Abbreviations xiii

I THE SCOPE OF THE WORK AND THE CHARACTER OF THE MATERIAL 1
George M. A. Hanfmann and Nancy H. Ramage, with a contribution by Florence E. Whitmore

Criteria for Inclusion 2
Previous Discoveries and Research 3
Materials 4
Preliminary Analysis of Marble Samples 6
Techniques 7

THE SCULPTURE OF THE PREHISTORIC, LYDIAN, AND PERSIAN PERIODS
George M. A. Hanfmann

II AN OVERVIEW AND APPRAISAL 13

The Prehistoric Prelude 13
The Lydian Era (680-547 B.C.) 14
The Persian Era (546-334 B.C.) 18
On Lions 20
On Stelai 23

III LITERARY, EPIGRAPHIC, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE 29

Findspots and Original Positions 32
Manner of Display and Function 34
Evidence for Sardis as a Center for Stone Sculpture 37
Reuse and Restoration in Ancient Times 38

IV CATALOGUE 40

Prehistoric 40
Lydian and Persian 40
Human Figures 40
Animals and Monsters 61
Stelai 73
Architectural Reliefs 76

THE SCULPTURE OF THE HELLENISTIC, ROMAN, AND EARLY BYZANTINE PERIODS

Nancy H. Ramage

V LITERARY, EPIGRAPHIC, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE 81

Findspots, Original Positions, and Manner of Display 81
Dating 82
Famous Types 83
Literary and Epigraphic Evidence 83
Coins 84
Sardis as a Local Center for Sculpture 85
Reuse and Repair in Antiquity 85
Survival 86

VI CATALOGUE 87

with contributions by George M. A. Hanfmann

Draped Women 87
Draped Men 91
Herms, Cuirass Statues, Athletes 93
Portraits 94
Mythological Figures 102
Small Fragments 113
Funerary Reliefs 114
Votive Reliefs 127
Garland Sarcophagi 131
Asiatic Sarcophagi 134
Other Reliefs 137
Capitals 139
Other Architectural Pieces 146
Furnishings 148

SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS

George M. A. Hanfmann, Nancy H. Ramage

VII SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS IN EUROPEAN, TURKISH, AND AMERICAN COLLECTIONS 155

VIII SCULPTURE FROM OTHER SITES IN LYDIA 171

IX INSCRIPTIONS OF LOST STATUES 176

Appendix: The City Goddess of Sardis on the Base from Puteoli 180
Concordance of Finds 185
Concordance of Entry and Text-Page Numbers 189
General Index 193
Index of Inscriptions 203

ILLUSTRATIONS 207
Photographic Acknowledgments 322

PREFACE

The second in the series of final reports of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, this volume is devoted to stone sculpture, most of which comes from the finds of the present Sardis Expedition made in the years 1958 through 1975. In an attempt to make the study as comprehensive as present knowledge allows, the authors have included sculpture found by the first Sardis expedition (1910-1914) and other pieces from Sardis scattered among a number of museums.

The organization, scope, and development of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, a joint effort of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University and Cornell University, are described in the preface of our first report, *Sardis* R1 (1975). An informal account of the development of the expedition is found in *Letters from Sardis* (1972) by George M. A. Hanfmann.

We are deeply grateful to the Government of the Turkish Republic for the privilege of working at Sardis. The Department of Antiquities and Museums, formerly under the Ministry of the Prime Minister and now under the Ministry of Culture, and the Directors General, their officers, and representatives of the Department have been unfailing in their help. We want to thank particularly the present Director General, Hikmet Gürçay, who has been a friend of the Sardis Expedition for many years.

In connection with this volume we owe a special debt to the successive directors of the Archaeological Museum, Manisa, Kemal Ziya Polatkan and Kubilây Nayır, and their staff, who have cooperated at every juncture and have assisted us by making items in storage available for study and photography.

The excavation and study of this material have been made possible by grants and contributions extending over two decades from the Bollingen Foundation (1959-1965), the Old Dominion Foundation (1966-1968), the Loeb Classical Library Foundation (1965-1970), the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Work (1967), the Charles E. Merrill Trust (1973), the Ford Foundation (1968-1972), and the Billy Rose Foundation (1970-1976). Donations were also received through the American Schools of Oriental Research, a longtime sponsor of the Sardis project. The Corning Museum of Glass, a participating institution, made annual grants from 1960 through 1972, and Cornell University contributed university funds from 1957 through 1968. Much of the Harvard contribution came from the group of Supporters of Sardis, established in 1957, which includes both individuals and foundations. We owe the continuity of our work to their enthusiasm and generosity, and particularly to the advice and support of James R. Cherry, Landon T. Clay, John B. Elliott, Mrs. George C. Keiser, Thomas B. Lemann, and Norbert Schimmel.

As part of the general Sardis program, the work on sculpture benefited from a grant in Turkish currency made by the Department of State to the President and Fellows of Harvard College for the years 1962 through 1965.[1] A series of research grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, largely on a matching basis, has played a key role since 1967 in sustaining the Sardis program.[2] The

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2. Grant numbers: H-67-0-56, H-68-0-61, H-69-0-23, RO-111-70-3966, RO-4999-71-171, RO-6435-72-264, RO-8359-73-217, RO-10405-74-319, RO-23511-76-541.

work published in this volume was made possible through the assistance of these grants. In accordance with the wishes of the Endowment, we point out that the findings and conclusions presented here do not necessarily represent the views of the Endowment. We express our gratitude to the Endowment and its Division of Research for their valuable support.

The authors want to thank Florence E. Whitmore, Senior Technical Associate, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for her willingness to contribute a report on the examination of marble samples, undertaken in collaboration with William J. Young, then Head of the Research Laboratory. In this connection we are also indebted to the team from the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, Dario Monna, Luigi Pieruccini, and Maurizio Felici, who communicated to us their observations on the Sardis quarries, and to David A. Young, New York University, who made preliminary examinations of samples. For determination of other stones we are indebted to Erol Izdar, Ege University, Izmir, and to Clifford Frondel, Harvard University. At Sardis, conservators Lawrence J. Majewski, Phillip A. Lins, Richard E. Stone, J. Burriss Young, and their colleagues in the laboratory did much valiant work in examination and restoration, often under less than ideal conditions. Our study and restoration of sculpture were also aided by members of our architectural team, notably Mehmet C. Bolgil, Fikret K. Yegül, and Teoman Yalçinkaya. We are indebted to Elizabeth Gombosi for most of the photographs taken since 1968. Drawings for this volume were made by Mehmet C. Bolgil, Elaine K. Gazda, Rosemary Jones, Elizabeth Wahle, Fikret K. Yegül, Stuart L. Carter, and Nancy H. Ramage.

Curators of many museums have been most cooperative in giving permission to publish, in supplying photographs, and in offering information and advice on pieces from Sardis and comparative material. In addition to our colleagues at the Archaeological Museum, Manisa, we should like to thank Necati Dolunay, Nezih Fıratlı, and Güldem Yüğrüm, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; Hakki Gultekin, Musa Baran, and Muhsin Yenim, Archaeological Museum, Izmir; O. A. Taşyürek, Adana Regional Museum; Huberta Heres, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Dorothy K. Hill, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Frances F. Jones, The Art Museum, Princeton University; Richard Nicholls, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Denys E. L. Haynes and Brian Cook, The British Museum, London; H. J. Case and Michael Vickers, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Dietrich von Bothmer and Joan Mertens, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; François Baratte, Musée du Louvre, Paris; and Estelle Brettman of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston Society.

To the generosity of Richard Stillwell and his predecessors in charge of the Sardis archive at Princeton, we owe photographs and data on pieces found by the first Sardis expedition and permission to use them.

For helpful information and the benefit of their opinions on a great variety of matters, the authors are indebted to Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, J. K. Anderson, Anton Bammer, the late Giovanni Becatti, Paul Bernard, Dericksen M. Brinkerhoff, Hubertus von Gall, Elaine K. Gazda, Virginia R. Grace, Evelyn B. Harrison, Albert Henrichs, Ulrich Hiesinger, Caroline Houser, Mary A. Littauer, Machteld J. Mellink, Hans Möbius, John G. Pedley, Edith Porada, Brunilde S. Ridgway, Georges Roux, Dorothy B. Thompson, Robert W. Thomson, John B. Ward-Perkins, and Fritz Wehrli.

Our epigraphic colleagues Louis and Jeanne Robert, Glen Bowersock, Roberto Gusmani, Christopher Jones, and Clive Foss have advised us on inscriptions and provided epigraphic information. We are grateful for advice in zoology to Charles A. Reed, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, and R. W. Redding, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and in ornithology to Deborah V. Howard, Massachusetts Audubon Society, Lincoln. A particular debt is owed to our Sardis colleagues Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., David G. Mitten, Andrew Ramage, Ilse Hanfmann, Kenneth J. Frazer, A. Thomas Kraabel, Andrew R. Seager, and Ruth S. Thomas, who gave freely of their special knowledge of various facets of the Sardis evidence.

In addition, G. M. A. Hanfmann wishes to record special thanks to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where he spent his sabbatical from 1971 to 1972 writing his part of this book. To Homer A.

Thompson and his colleagues at the School of Historical Studies, he owes many stimulating comments. As assistant at Princeton on a research grant from Harvard University, Jane C. Waldbaum, now of the University of Wisconsin, worked on the catalogue and the first draft of the Lydian and Persian sections.

At the Sardis Research facility in Cambridge, under the supervision of Jane A. Scott, Head of Publications Research, Electra D. Yorsz had the major share in readying the manuscript for publication and compiled the index. Jane Scott also contributed to several catalogue items. Elizabeth Wahle and Elizabeth Gombosi assisted in assembling illustrations; Wendy H. Barensfeld and Charlene A. Morris helped with the manuscript typing.

We are especially grateful to Dr. Franklin D. Murphy and Mary M. Davis of the Kress Foundation and to our colleagues in the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, for their sympathetic interest in the Sardis publications.

The publication of this volume was made possible by subvention grants received from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, and the Sardis Publication Fund of the Fogg Art Museum.

George M. A. Hanfmann
Stephen W. Jacobs
Nancy H. Ramage

Technical Abbreviations

C (preceding numeral)	coin
C.	century
ca.	circa
cm.	centimeters
D.	depth
dia.	diameter
E	east
esp.	especially
est.	estimated
G (preceding numeral)	glass
H.	height
IN (preceding numeral)	inscription
km.	kilometer
L (preceding numeral)	lamp
L.	length
l.	left
M (preceding numeral)	metal
m.	meters (unless noted otherwise all dimensions are in m.)
max.	maximum
mm.	millimeters
N	north
NoEx (preceding numeral)	not from the excavations
P (preceding numeral)	pottery
P. diam.	preserved diameter
P.H.	preserved height
P.L.	preserved length
P.W.	preserved width
r.	right
S	south
S (preceding numeral)	sculpture
S. (preceding numeral)	stone sample slide number
T (preceding numeral)	terracotta
Th.	thickness
W	west
W.	width
Whitmore	report on examination of marble at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
WP (preceding numeral)	wall painting
* (preceding numeral)	level (e.g. *98.00)

Sector Abbreviations

For more complete sector information see *Sardis* R1 (1975) 13-16; for locations of abbreviated items see Figures 1, 4, and 5.

Ac	Acropolis
AcN	N spur of Ac
AcS	S spur of Ac
AcT	Top of Ac
AhT	Ahlatlı Tepecik
AT	Artemis Temple
B	Gymnasium-Bath complex
BCH	Central hall of B
BE	Eastern area of B
BE-A, BE-B, BE-C, BE-D, BE-E	Rooms S of BE-H and BE-S
BE-AA, BE-BB, BE-CC, BE-DD, BE-EE	Rooms N of BE-H and BE-N
BE-H	Hall with pool W of MC
BE-N	Room N of MC
BE-S	Room S of MC
BK	Başlioğluköy
Bldg. A	Roman civic center(?)
Bldg. C	Roman basilica
Bldg. D	Church D
BNH	N apsidal hall of central part of B
BS E 1-19	Byzantine Shops, E shops from E 1, S of BE-A, to E 19, S of porch E of Syn Fc
BS W 1-13	Byzantine Shops, W shops from W 1, at SW corner of BE-A, to W 13, S of latrines
BSH	S apsidal hall of central part of B
BT	Bin Tepe Cemetery
BW	Western area of B
BWH	Central hall of BW
BW N Area	Northern part of BW
BW S Area	Southern part of BW
CG	Roman bath (formerly "City Gate")
CW	City Wall
DU	Duman Tepe
E	Church E at PN
EA	Church EA at PN
EB	Eski Balıkhane
ERd	East Road
HoB	House of Bronzes and Lydian Trench area
KG	Kâgirlik Tepe Cemetery
L	Building complex SW of AT
LA	Altar of Artemis W of AT
LNH 1-3	Long N hall N of Pa at B
LVC	Large vaulted chamber at PC
M	Church M
MC	Marble Court at B
MD	Mağara Deresi
MRd	Main Avenue (Main Road)
MTE	Middle Terrace East, trench S of HoB
MTW	Middle Terrace West, trench S of HoB

NEW	Northeast Wadi
NSB	Stelai bases set up along N side of LA
Pa	Palaestra E of MC at B
Pa-E, Pa-W, Pa-N, Pa-S	E, W, N, S corridors of Pa
PBr	Pactolus Bridge
PC	Pactolus Cliff
PHB	Hypocaust Building
PIA	Pactolus Industrial Area
PN	Pactolus North
PT	Peacock Tomb
R	Building R and Tetrapylon(?)
RT	Road Trench
SSB	Stelai bases set up along S side of LA
SVC	Small vaulted chamber at PC
SWG	Southwest Gate
Syn	Synagogue
Syn Fc	Forecourt of Syn
Syn MH	Main hall of Syn
Trench S	Trench S of AT
TU	Tunnel in N face of Ac
UT	Upper Terrace at HoB
WRd	West Road
* (preceding numeral)	level (e.g. *98.00)

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Abbreviations of periodicals used throughout are those listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1975) 3-8. Abbreviations of classical authors generally follow the scheme set forth in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd rev. ed., ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford 1970) ix-xxii.

The monographs and reports published by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition are cited under *Sardis,* below. The reports of the first Sardis expedition were published under the general series title of Sardis, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis. Seventeen volumes were planned by H. C. Butler, Director of Excavations (*Sardis* I [1922] viii); of these, nine were actually published and are cited here under *Sardis.*

All publications preceding the first Sardis expedition will be found in the prospective *Bibliography of Sardis* (available in mimeographed form from the Sardis Expedition, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University). A preliminary selection appears in Hanfmann, *Letters,* 346-349. Reports of the current expedition have appeared regularly since 1959 in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* and *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* of the Turkish Department of Antiquities.

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SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS: THE FINDS THROUGH 1975

I THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

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From the beginning of the Mermnad kingdom (ca. 680 B.C.) to the fall of Croesus in 547 B.C., Sardis was the capital of the powerful and wealthy kingdom of Lydia.[1] Under the Persians from 547-334 B.C., Sardis was the most important satrapal capital in the western part of the Achaemenid Empire.[2] Throughout this era the native Lydian tongue was spoken. However, whether or not Lydian and Persian Sardis was an important art center with a recognizable Lydian style of its own is a problem that is yet to be solved.[3] As a step toward the solution of this problem, in this report G. M. A. Hanfmann will treat together the relatively few examples of stone sculpture of the Lydian and Persian eras.

After its conquest by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C., Sardis became first a Hellenistic Greek, then a Greco-Roman, and finally a late Roman and early Byzantine city.[4] Culturally and artistically, Sardis was one of the many populous cities in the Greek-speaking eastern part of the Roman Empire, representative of the Hellenistic-Roman koine. Its urban and cultural development was continuous until the destruction of the city, probably by Sassanian Persians, in A.D. 616.[5] N. H. Ramage has undertaken the study of this more extensive material.

Because the two groups have some problems in common and yet present a number of different aspects, some subjects are discussed in this joint introduction, while others are addressed in special introductions to each section of the catalogue (Chapters II, III, and V).

1. See Pedley, passim, and for the ancient sources *Sardis* M2 (1972) nos. 39-139.

2. Ibid., nos. 140-191.

3. Lydian tongue: *Sardis* M3 (1975) 51-55, with chronological chart showing the range from the 7th to the 3rd C. B.C. All inscriptions with royal dates are of the 4th C. B.C.; see Gusmani, *LW,* 17-19. For Sardis as an art center see Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 39. Boardman has proved, on the basis of Lydian inscriptions, that certain groups of seals with Persian and Greek motifs must have been made at Sardis. For attributions of pottery to Sardis workshops see C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. *CSCA* 4 (1971) 165 and n.36, doubtful on "Early Fikellura"; 5 (1972) 128-236, fish skyphoi, bowl, lydions, jewelry; 6 (1973) 119-121, "Ephesian Ware" doubtful; idem in Hanfmann *Studies,* 46-48, terracotta figure vase. Terracotta friezes: Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 67-96; *BASOR* 215, 54-58. Preliminary discussions of sculpture, Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 493-498; idem, "Pediment," 299-301. For Lydian architectural terracottas, see *Sardis* M5.

4. *Sardis* M2 (1972) nos. 192-210 and nos. 211-232; *Sardis* M4 (1976) passim. The chronological terminology in our volume follows approximately that presented in *Sardis* R1 (1975) 6, where "late Roman" is defined as A.D. 280-395, and "early Byzantine" is 395-616. C. Foss advocates calling the period from A.D. 284-616 "late antique," *Sardis* M4 (1976) 2ff. Writers on the history of art, however, tend to use the term "early Byzantine" for the 5th and 6th C. arts within the Byzantine Empire. We should perhaps recall that for numismatists "Byzantine" coinages begin with A.D. 491 (Anastasius I), as in *Sardis* M1 (1971) 1.

5. *Sardis* M1 (1971) 1-3. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 32-33, n.136. *Sardis* M4 (1976) 53ff. Doubts were expressed by P. Charanis, "A Note on Byzantine Coin Finds in Sardis," *Epet* 39-40 (1972-73) 175-180, about attributing the destruction to Sassanian attack; no historical source reports the destruction of Sardis by Chosroes II. The date of the destruction, however, is cogently attested by numismatic evidence.

Criteria for Inclusion

The total of all sculptured pieces catalogued by the Sardis Expedition between 1958 and 1975 numbers 536. In addition, numerous fragments were marked with findspot, date, and fieldbook reference. We have included in this volume 280 pieces. Of these, 138 are from our excavations and 79 are from the category of "NoEx" (not excavated) items. This designation means that the pieces have been found by villagers and acquired by the expedition on behalf of the Archaeological Museum in Manisa or that they were found by the expedition in areas outside the excavations. A few of the NoEx pieces come from other sites in Lydia; they are listed in Chapter VIII.

This catalogue includes some of the sculpture found by H. C. Butler and T. L. Shear during the first Sardis expedition (1910-11, 1914, 1922), most of which is unpublished or only summarily published. We have discussed only those pieces that actually survive; others, of which there are photographs in the archive of the first Sardis expedition at Princeton, have disappeared and are not included.[6] Several unpublished Butler pieces that were still at Sardis in 1971 are described and designated in our inventory as B-1, B-2, and so on. Other pieces found by the first Sardis expedition are in the museums of Istanbul and New York. They appear in Chapter VII, within a listing of sculpture from Sardis in European, Anatolian, and American museums, and carry numbers **232-246, 252,** and **258** (Figs. 402-427, 435, 444-446). The decision to collect the sculpture from Sardis now preserved in various museums resulted from our desire to make this volume a reasonably comprehensive reflection of the output of sculpture at Sardis during the life of the ancient city. Although not complete, this collection includes a number of interesting, well preserved works. When they have been extensively published, we have repeated only the most essential information.[7]

Another group of material integrated into our catalogue is sculpture from Sardis found at various times, particularly between 1922 and 1958, and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Manisa. The pieces are numerous and their findspots are well authenticated. For this reason we have treated them together with our own finds from Sardis and have not included them in our listing of pieces kept in museums.

The catalogue begins with two or three possibly Prehistoric pieces. For the Lydian and Persian periods, we have included all fragments that offered some intelligible aspect. Stone objects without sculptural decoration, such as furnishings and vessels, will be published in other volumes in this series. For Hellenistic and Roman sculpture, our intention was to carry the catalogue through the late Roman (A.D. 280-395) period;[8] but as it is difficult to draw a line between late Roman and early Byzantine sculpture,[9] some pieces from the fourth and the fifth centuries have been catalogued and discussed. Sculpture of the Dark Ages (A.D. 616-800) as well as middle (800-1204) and late (1204-1453) Byzantine[10] pieces will be treated in the context of Byzantine architectural and decorative sculpture.

For the Hellenistic to early Byzantine periods, we have used to some extent artistic quality as well as state of preservation as criteria for selection. In the Roman period especially, state of preservation has sometimes taken precedence over quality. Thus a well preserved, if only moderately skillful, piece has been included over scraps of what might have been masterpieces. On the other hand, even small fragments of good quality have been included if they are intelligible (for example, **133** Figs. 265-266).

In the Hellenistic and Roman section, all head-capitals and other architectural members with figurative work have been included, except a few battered head-capital fragments that were previously published.[11] Apart from the enigmatic classical lion-head spout in Istanbul (**237** Figs. 410-412), lion

6. See "Previous Discoveries and Research," *infra*. We are much indebted to R. Stillwell for permission to recheck (in 1972) the photographic archive at Princeton and for making available a copy of the list of negatives and photographs.

7. For example, the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, *Sardis* V (1924), here **243** (Fig. 422); several portraits by İnan-Rosenbaum and others; and a horse head in Shear, "Horse" and Hill, passim, here **258** (Figs. 444-446).

8. Cf. n.4, *supra*, and for the culture of the period at Sardis, *Sardis* R1 (1975) 29-32 and *Sardis* M4 (1976) ch. 1.

9. See Hanfmann, "Late Portraits," 290-295, on the difficulties of dating, and N. H. Ramage, Ch. V, *infra*.

10. See *Sardis* R1 (1975) 6 for chart of site chronology.

11. Hirschland (i.e., Nancy Hirschland Ramage), nos. 5, 10, 13, 14.

heads on simas and other architectural pieces have been relegated to publications of architecture. A number of less important sarcophagi do not appear in the catalogue. Where historic or iconographic interests were at stake, arbitrary choices were made: thus the foot of an Imperial statue (132 Fig. 264, Lucius Verus?) and the only relief with an official Imperial theme (191 Fig. 341, captive barbarian) are included, whereas fragments that may have illustrated fable or myth (water bird claw on a turtle; fragment of a leg of Pan) were omitted because they were virtually unrecognizable in photographs.

Finally, some fascinating figurative "cut-outs" of marble were among the decorative pieces found in the Synagogue.[12] They will be discussed in the forthcoming volume in this series on the Synagogue.

Previous Discoveries and Research

After his excavation of the royal cemetery at Bin Tepe in 1853, the Prussian Consul in Smyrna, H. Spiegelthal, brought a half dozen pieces of sculpture to Berlin. Among them was the so-called kouros-herm, actually a Roman work (249 Figs. 431-432) and a relief of the Mother of the Gods (256 Fig. 442).[13] The British Consul in Smyrna, George Dennis, famous for his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,* excavated in Bin Tepe as well as in the Temple of Artemis in 1882 and brought to the British Museum two important early Lydian or Persian reliefs from Bin Tepe (230, 231 Figs. 400, 401) and a colossal head of the empress Faustina the Elder that he had found in the Artemis Temple (251 Fig. 434).[14] Picked up by one of Dennis' visitors, a horseman relief went to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (253 Fig. 436).[15] A Severan portrait of a Roman lady came to Trinity College, Cambridge (254 Figs. 437-440).[16] In France, the Louvre obtained a Hellenistic marble statuette of an Eros (247 Fig. 428), a Hekateion (248 Figs. 429-430),[17] and a sarcophagus fragment of Asiatic type (244 Figs. 423-424),[18] and Rodin acquired for his collection a fragmentary lion head, said to be from the sima of the Artemis Temple.[19] In 1893, the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg in Copenhagen purchased a head of Augustus, which had belonged to the Swedish-Norwegian ambassador in Constantinople (250 Fig. 433).[20]

The first Sardis expedition found a number of sculptured pieces, mostly Hellenistic and Roman, many of which were reproduced in the expedition's general report, published as *Sardis* I in 1922; several others were described and reproduced in the volumes on the Lydian and Latin inscriptions.[21] Subsequently, the first substantial discussion of Lydian sculpture was published by T. L. Shear in his article on the monument of Nannas,[22] while C. R. Morey made the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina the starting point for a pioneering monograph on the entire class of Roman Asiatic sarcophagi.[23]

The stone sculpture found by the first Sardis expedition was dispersed, and not all of it was published. Two pieces are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (232, 235 Figs. 402, 405-406); four are in The Art Museum, Princeton University (only 259 Fig. 447 published here); one is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (258 Figs. 444-446); the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422), the recumbent lion, the eagle from the Nannas monument (236, 238 Figs. 407-409, 413-415), and the Menophila stele (245 Fig. 425) came to the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; a few pieces are in Manisa.[24] A number of pieces were left stranded

12. *BASOR* 170, 45; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 169, fig. 130; Seager, *Synagogue,* 7, fig. 22.

13. *Berlin Beschreibung,* nos. 702, 883.

14. Pryce, 99-101, B 269-270, figs. 164-165. Faustina, İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 41.

15. *Sardis* VII (1932) 98, no. 96a, fig. 85.

16. *JHS Archaeological Reports* (1970-71) 81, no. 11, fig. 6 (Fitzwilliam Museum).

17. Eros: Charbonneaux, *SGR,* 81, no. 3307. Hekateion: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 155, n.3.

18. Sarcophagus: E. Michon, *MélRome* (1906) 83, fig. 3; *Sardis* V (1924) 39, ill. 60 ("Sardis A").

19. Musée Rodin, *Rodin Collectionneur* (Paris 1967-68) no. 144, pl. 51 (Inv. 53).

20. Ex-Collection Selim d'Ehrenhoff, Istanbul: V. H. Poulsen, *Portraits,* no. 33, pls. 50-51.

21. *Sardis* I (1922) ills. 2, 47, 49, 57, 58, 61, 86, 96, 98, 99, 122, 137, 138, 151-153, 164, 172-173, 179, 180. *Sardis* II (1925) figs. 91-93. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) no. 1, pl. 1; no. 3, pl. 2; no. 8, pl. 4; no. 17, pl. 7; no. 20, pl. 8; no. 26, pl. 11 (Lydian). *Sardis* VII (1932) figs. 20, 22, 85, 86, 89, 100-101, 141, 153, 204 (Hellenistic and Roman).

22. Shear, "Lion"; cf. 274 (Figs. 465-466).

23. *Sardis* V (1924) esp. 3-17; cf. 243 (Fig. 422).

24. See Ch. VII and the index under the respective museums. An animated discussion was provoked by the horse head in Baltimore, the only piece of those hidden by the expedition in 1914 that has appeared in a

in the ruin of the excavation house of the first Sardis expedition. As far as they had survived, they were rescued in 1961 by W. C. Burriss Young, then conservator of the present expedition. The colossal heads of Antoninus Pius and of Zeus (**79, 102** Figs. 196-197, 223-225) as well as the inscribed base of the Nannas monument (**274** Figs. 465-466) were also brought from the Artemis Precinct to the expedition camp.[25]

Between 1922 and 1958, a number of works were found at Sardis, both in the course of agricultural labors and during the construction of the highway (ca. 1950-1953). Some came to the museum in Izmir; others were brought to the Manisa museum, where they were listed by Vahit Armağan, then director, in a guide published in Turkish in 1946.[26]

The first modern survey of Lydian arts, including six examples of Lydian stone sculpture from Sardis, was H. Th. Bossert's *Altanatolien* in 1942.[27] In 1970, K. Tuchelt devoted two pages to the archaic sculpture of Lydia in an attempt to assess the role of various regions in the development of archaic sculpture in Asia Minor, an attempt impaired by its small sample of stone sculpture.[28] From 1957 on, the authors of this volume and other scholars have published a number of studies of individual pieces and sets of sculpture found at Sardis. Major sculptural finds have been regularly discussed in preliminary reports in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* and *Dergi* of the Department of Antiquities.[29] Still, these efforts largely concerned scattered pieces or small groups. This volume is the first comprehensive attempt to assemble the evidence for sculptural activity at Sardis from Lydian to early Byzantine times.

The diversified but fragmentary Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique finds do not contain enough coherent, continuous, and well-preserved groups to permit an overall narration of stylistic and thematic developments beyond the observations offered in N. H. Ramage's introduction to the later sculpture. For the Lydian and Persian epochs, on the other hand, very little has been known about stone sculpture from Sardis and Lydia; our findings are new, and the pieces extant lend themselves somewhat better to an integrated stylistic overview, especially if their evidence is supplemented by references to sculpture in other media. We have, therefore, included an overview and appraisal in the introductory section on the sculpture of the Lydian and Persian periods but not in that on the Hellenistic, Roman, and early Byzantine periods.

Materials

Sizable ancient marble quarries are located in a gorge known locally as Mağara Deresi, ca. 4 km. south of the Izmir-Ankara (TC 68) highway. These quarries are cut into the eastern and western flanks of the gorge made by a torrent that flows almost exactly south-north into the Pactolus. There are at least three certain quarries and one probable one on the western bank, and at least two quarries on the eastern. The general location of the quarries is shown on L. Emery's survey made in 1913. H. C. Butler suggested that the marble, still lying around in anciently quarried blocks, was used for construction of the Hellenistic-Roman Artemis Temple.[30] A

museum (Shear, "Horse"; Hill, passim). For the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and its transfer to Istanbul, see Mansel, "Erwerbungsbericht," passim. Menophila: *Sardis* VII (1932) 108, figs. 100-101. For Manisa see Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures."

25. *BASOR* 166, 34-35. The Nannas base was moved to the Sardis camp in 1968.

26. Armağan, passim. Cf. also the lioness **34** (Figs. 125-129). For pieces in Izmir, see Ch. VII, **233, 240-242, 260** (Figs. 403, 419-421, 448-449); also A. Dönmez, *Sart Kılavuzu* (Istanbul 1956) and Aziz, fig. 9, for strigil sarcophagus relief. Mansel, *Perge,* 49, fig. 29, sarcophagus lid, inv. 883; same in Rodenwaldt, 201, fig. 13.

27. Bossert, *Altanatolien,* figs. 166-167, British Museum; 192, Izmir; 193, Istanbul; 195, Manisa. Perrot-Chipiez, 9, fig. 535, reproduced the horsemen relief from BT in the British Museum. E. Akurgal's fine account of Lydian arts in *Kunst Anat.* included only the two reliefs in the British Museum.

28. Tuchelt, 185f.; see also 155f. Six pieces of stone sculpture from Sardis are included as nos. L 42 bis, 73 b-c, 105, 111, in his "Liste der Plastik archaischer Zeit aus Kleinasien," 124, 126, 128-129.

29. The regular preliminary reports of the Sardis Expedition to 1971 are listed in Hanfmann, *Letters,* 346; see 347-348 for major publications on specialized subjects. The book also contains a considerable number of illustrations of sculpture found before 1971. Aspects not treated in detail in this volume are dealt with by Gabelmann (lions); İnan-Rosenbaum (portraits); Hirschland (capitals); Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele"; Hanfmann, *Rayonnement;* idem, "Lydian Relations with Ionia and Persia," Xth Congress of Classical Archaeology (forthcoming); idem, *Croesus;* idem, "Late Portraits," 288-295; idem, "Pediment" (Persian period); Ferrari, 39-40 (sarcophagi); H. Wiegartz in Mansel *Mélanges,* 376; idem, *Säulensarkophage,* 48; N. H. Ramage, "Draped Herm from Sardis," *HSCP* 78 (1974) 253ff.

30. *Sardis* I (1922) 19, pl. 1; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 17, 21.

possibly Hellenistic relief (156 Figs. 301-303), is carved on a rock face of the west bank. In 1964, an attempt was made by a contractor from Manisa to reopen the quarries (quarry 2, see *infra*) for commercial exploitation, but the attempt was given up because the marble did not meet modern specifications.[31] In 1971, Hasan Koramaz, an experienced marble worker and chief foreman of the expedition and P. A. Lins took a total of eleven samples from the west quarry and the two major east bank quarries (nos. 1, 2, and 3, respectively, see *infra*). They also secured sixteen samples from various pieces of sculpture. These samples were examined at the Research Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the results of this study appear below.[32]

From August 27 to 29, 1972, a team of Italian geologists (D. Monna, M. Felici, and L. Pieruccini) from the Project for Auxiliary Sciences of Archaeology, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, under the auspices of the Minerals Research Institute, Ankara, systematically sampled three quarries: the southernmost quarry on the western bank (designated by them no. 1); one on the eastern bank (no. 2) 200 m. north (downstream) of no. 1; and a quarry (no. 3) 200 m. south of no. 1. Some thirty samples from the quarries were collected and compared with several samples of architectural marble from the Artemis Temple and the Marble Court and with samples from several pieces of sculpture.[33]

According to Monna the Tmolus massif around the quarries consists of schists, marble, crystalline limestone, and volcanic (lava) stones. The direction of fracturation (quarry 2) is 208° N, similar to the direction of the gorge. Samples from various levels of quarries 1 and 2 displayed the same coarse crystals and homogeneous structure. Samples in low levels of quarry 3 had occasional gray bands.[34]

The marble was described as light white with coarse-grained crystals and generally homogeneous structure, with occasional orientation of crystals occurring perhaps in contact zones of marble and schist. The gray banding, too, is apt to occur at zones of contact. L. Pieruccini pointed out that at least quarry 2 was filled with ancient and modern debris to a height of several meters and noted that finer grained marble might have occurred in strata not presently accessible.

It was the opinion of the geologists, on the basis of low magnification and ocular inspection, that samples of architectural parts from the Artemis Temple[35] and the Lydian bases around Altar LA 2[36] were of local marble. They also suggested that all four sculptured pieces of which samples were compared with the quarry samples were of local marbles. This agrees with the results obtained by F. E. Whitmore and W. J. Young at the Boston Museum Research Laboratory.[37]

It is our impression that the great majority of Sardian sculpture both in the Lydian-Persian era and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was in-

31. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 149.

32. We are indebted to F. E. Whitmore and W. J. Young for their generous cooperation.

33. D. Monna kindly permitted G. M. A. Hanfmann to take notes on his informal, tentative comments, which are published at the latter's responsibility (with Monna's permission). According to a letter from D. Monna (June 13, 1975), work on the samples taken at Sardis was postponed indefinitely because of lack of funds. The rather inconclusive preliminary results of chemical (trace element) and isotopic (carbon and oxygen) analyses obtained by the Italian mission for five other Western Anatolian quarries (Marmara, Afyon, Denizli, Aphrodisias, and Ephesus) are published in Conforto et al., passim, and Manfra-Masi-Turi, passim. We owe the reference to P. A. Lins and J. A. Scott. See also Campbell, 171, 257, 495-500, 506.

34. Dimensions of quarries in m.: no. 1: W. N-S 40; D. E-W 16; H. 35. No. 2: W. N-S 13; D. E-W 22; H. 11. No. 3: W. N-S 40; D. E-W (open face) 3; H. 40.

35. Column drum from Artemis Temple, Ionic shaft, perhaps Hellenistic, fragment excavated by K. J. Frazer in trench 2, *Sardis* R1 (1975) 82. Part of marble tile, same location. All compared well to samples from quarries 1 and 3. According to D. Monna, samples from a plain second-story column, entablature, and base of the screen colonnade of the Marble Court at Building B (Figs. 347-348) might also be of local marble. On the other hand, J. B. Ward-Perkins, with sample in hand, invokes the authority of F. Rakob to classify the large spirally fluted columns of the Marble Court gate and three other columns as coming from the African quarries at Chemtou, *marmor numidicum* (by letter, March 5, 1970). He notes that African marble is known from an inscription to have been imported to Smyrna.

36. NSB and SSB, *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68-73. Concerning the stele with the Timarchos inscription of 155 B.C., *Sardis* I (1922) 128, fig. 140; VII (1932) 10-12, no. 4; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 60, 68, fig. 75, the opinion was that the marble looked less coarse than the quarry samples but might yet come from finer-grained local deposits. The geologist D. A. Young, New York University, noted on preliminary examination that the marble had very few mineral inclusions, that it displayed two or three different directions of twinning, and that there was some distortion and deformation. According to Young the samples displayed reasonably high-grade metamorphosis, and he feels that those from the various pieces of sculpture might well be from the same marble as the quarry samples.

37. 13 (Fig. 65) part of draped (Persian-Oriental?) figure, 79 (Figs. 196-197) head of Antoninus Pius, 102 (Figs. 223-225) head of Zeus, 201 (Fig. 356) satyr capital from screen colonnade of the Marble Court. For the results obtained by Whitmore, see *infra* (she did not examine 201).

deed made of local white to grayish marbles, but because of exposure to air, it has weathered gray. When the sculpture is buried, iron, which is present in considerable quantities in the soil, is incorporated in an accretion forming a red surface layer characteristic of much sculpture found at Sardis (according to P. A. Lins).

Another marble quarry of the Sardis region which was worked in ancient times lies at Mermere, west of the Gygean Lake. Members of the Sardis Expedition visited it and secured samples of red and white marble being worked today at the lower quarries and yellow-streaked samples from the surface of supposedly ancient quarries above the town.[38]

While limestone masonry seems to have preceded marble masonry in Lydian architecture by a half century,[39] we have no clear evidence that a limestone phase preceded the use of marble in sculpture. The huge marker on the mound of Alyattes (580-560 B.C.)[40] is of soft limestone, as is the little relief from Dede Mezari (**9** Figs. 58-60). A crumbly sandstone is the material of the two and one half lions from the altar of Cybele (**27-29** Figs. 105-117).[41] Serpentine is used in the small black Prehistoric head (**229** Figs. 396-399),[42] schist for the Bronze Age idol (**1** Figs. 6-7), and a "green stone" for the Bronze Age(?) bird (**2** Fig. 8). The black stone used in the two-sided archaic relief **16** (Figs. 68-69), ca. 560 B.C., has been determined to be volcanic lava, possibly from Lydia. In the Roman period, a green marble tree (S68.1:7604, not included in this volume) is imported, perhaps from an Asiatic (Aphrodisias?) quarry; and a pair of feet in greenish steatite or serpentine, Egyptian in style, was imported from Egypt as finished work (**131** Fig. 263). Thus very few pieces of sculpture found at Sardis were made of anything other than the local marble so readily available in the vicinity.

Preliminary Analysis of Marble Samples

Thirty-one thin-sections of marbles from Sardis and one thin-section of marble from Miletus were submitted to the Research Laboratory of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for petrographic study. Remains of thirty of the above samples were also submitted in very small fragment form.

The procedures followed were: (1) The thin-sections were studied by petrographic microscope using transmitted and polarized light. (2) Where the remains of the thin-sections were supplied, the small samples were ground with an agate mortar and pestle and a slurry made on a microscope slide with collodion. The slurry was then positioned in the X-ray beam of a goniometer and an X-ray diffraction chart made at 1° per minute indicating the 2 Θ values. (3) The remainder from these ground samples was inserted in boron-free carbon electrodes, burned in a direct current arc, and spectrographic analyses made (see Table 1). (4) Photomicrographs were made by transmitted and polarized light at 10x magnification of seven samples that were analyzed by X-ray diffraction and by emission spectroscopy.

The petrographic analyses, from the study of the thin-sections, indicated that the marbles were calcite marbles with a low percentage of dolomite, except for the sample from **88** (Fig. 201, colossus fragment, slide S.9.1971), which contained a higher percentage of dolomite.

The X-ray diffraction analyses proved all the marbles to be calcite marbles, with a small amount of dolomite present, except for the sample from **88** (slide S.9.1971), which contained a larger amount of dolomite, thus substantiating the thin-section analyses.

38. For location of Mermere, see C. Foss in *Sardis* R1 (1975) 19, 20, 23, 24, fig. 2. The Mermere quarry was studied in 1975 by N. Asgari; see *AJA* 80 (1976) 284. We owe the report on the quarries and the samples to C. Foss and J. A. Scott, who visited the quarries in 1974.

39. Limestone wall in the presumed mound of Gyges, BT63.1, should date before 645 B.C., death of Gyges: *BASOR* 177, 31-35, figs. 30-33; 182, 27-29, figs. 21, 22, 24. Other limestone and sandstone examples: masonry of palace(?) terraces on the Acropolis; the so-called Pyramid Tomb; and the archaic altar of Artemis. *BASOR* 206, 15-20, figs. 5-7; 166, 28-30, fig. 24; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 90, 92, figs. 183-191. The only identified and datable archaic marble masonry is in the chamber of the mound of Alyattes, ca. 580-560 B.C., *BASOR* 170, 55, fig. 41.

40. H. Spiegelthal in J. F. M. Olfers, "Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes . . . ." *AbhBerl* (1858) 539-556, pl. 3:1-2; *BASOR* 170, 52, nn.56-57; Hanfmann, "Prehistoric Sardis," 161. The Alyattes and other phallic markers will be treated in a separate article by G. M. A. Hanfmann.

41. Determination made by P. A. Lins, Sardis 1975.

42. Determination by C. Frondel, Harvard University, 1975.

Table 1. Semi-quantitative spectographic analyses of Sardis quarry samples and object samples.

	Group A Sample 3	Object: 272	Group B Sample 10	Object: 88	Group A Sample 4	Group B Sample 7	Group C Sample 1
Calcium (Ca)	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS
Magnesium (Mg)	W	T/W	W/M	W/M	W	W/M	S
Aluminum (Al)	W	W	W	M	W	W	W/M
Silicon (Si)	W	W	W/M	T	T	W	W
Manganese (Mn)	W	FT	W/M	T	T	W/M	T/W
Iron (Fe)	W	W	M	W	W/M	M	W/M
Silver (Ag)	—	—	FT	—	T/W	T/W	—
Copper (Cu)	M	W/M	M	M	W/M	W/M	W/M

FT: < 0.001%
T: .001%-.01%
W: .01%-0.1%
M: 0.1%-1%
S: > 1%
VS: > 10%
—: not detected

When studied with the aid of a petrographic microscope, using transmitted and polarized light, it was apparent that the thin-sections of quarry samples could be separated into three groups, or as having originated from three strata of the quarry, and the object samples compared with these groups. Comparison of the crystalline structures of the marble samples in thin-section led to the results summarized in Table 2.

From the comparison of the above given analyses, it appears well within the limits of probability that the samples of objects as listed originated from the same quarry as the quarry samples, except for the three object samples which compared in thin-section with the Miletus sample.

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Techniques

The techniques used by stone sculptors of the archaic Lydian and the Persian eras are related on the one hand to the stone cutting techniques used by the Lydian wall masons[43] and on the other hand to the techniques of contemporary Greek sculptors.[44]

As in masonry,[45] Lydian sculptors were strong on flat chisel and drove work. The point and flat chisel work is very clearly seen on the kore 4 (Figs. 11-12). A very instructive example for the different stages of tooling may be observed on the big archaic lion 31 (Figs. 119-122, ca. 550 B.C.). It shows unfinished areas as well as those done with rather large point, with flat chisel, and with claw chisel. The claw-tool, Nylander's "toothed chisel," may have been used on the early kore 5 (Figs. 13-15, 580-570 B.C.). It is also clearly in evidence in the finishing stage of the sides of the Atrastas stele, ca. 520 B.C. (17 Figs. 70-71). Thus, it appears fairly early but not before its appearance in Greek sculpture, where its earliest use has been dated around 570 B.C.[46] At Sardis, it is very widely used on sides of stelai and on sides and tops of stelai and statue bases during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.[47] Occasionally, the toothed or clawed tooling is used intentionally for the background of reliefs (233, 239 Figs. 403, 416-418), but most sculpture is well smoothed with abrasives in the finishing stage. The finest example of smoothing is the archaic relief with a running animal (22 Fig. 86).

43. They will be treated in detail in the forthcoming publications on BT. Cf. *BASOR* 177, 33-34, figs. 31-32; 182, 27-29, figs. 22, 24. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 73, 92-94; and the note on "Lydia," Nylander, 51: "various types of points and flat chisels, perhaps also edged hammers, curved chisels, and droves . . . rasps and abrasives." In this excellent chapter on masonry technique he rightly points out (ibid., 49) that the problems of stoneworking are essentially the same everywhere and it is "the entire set-up" within the different traditions which makes the distinctions. For tools, cf. also ibid., fig. 14.

44. Richter, *Gravestones*^{2}, 4-6, figs. 181-190. Blümel, *Sculptors*, 6-32, esp. fig. 16. Adam, 3-83, part 1 on tools.

45. Nylander, 51 and 54, n.124. Cf. *BASOR* 177, 33-34, fig. 33, for a typical example. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68-73, 78, 92-94, 98, and index s.v. Masonry and Tooling.

46. Nylander, 54, n.123, cites Athens, Acropolis Museum kore 593, as the earliest example, "generally dated 580-570 B.C."

47. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 67-73, figs. 104-114.

Table 2. Comparison of the crystalline structure of marble samples in thin-section.

	Excavation sample number	Slide number		Catalogue or inventory number	Slide number
			GROUP A		
Quarry samples	2	S.23.1971	*Object samples*	13	S.6.1971
	3	S.24.1971		22	S.7.1971
	4	S.25.1971		79	S.14.1971
	5	S.26.1971		87	S.11.1971
	6	S.27.1971		102	S.3.1971
	8	S.29.1971		105	S.2.1971
	9	S.30.1971		123	S.18.1971
				272	S.5.1971
				274	S.1.1971
				no number, 1962 PN S380/W241	S.4.1971
				S64.23:6141	S.8.1971
				S61.27.16: 3489.16	S.13.1971
			GROUP B		
Quarry samples	7	S.28.1971	*Object samples*	33	S.19.1971
	10	S.31.1971		81	S.10.1971
	11	S.32.1971		88	S.9.1971
				118	S.20.1971
				S61.27.11: 3489.11	S.12.1971
			GROUP C		
Quarry sample	1	S.22.1971	*Object samples*	—	—
			COMPARISON TO MILETUS		
Miletus quarry sample	(not numbered)	S.21.1971	*Sardis object samples*	66	S.15.1971
				75	S.16.1971
				PCa 69.14[a]	S.17.1971

[a] Probably from Miletus but differs slightly.

In the Roman period we have a few outstanding examples to illustrate the use of special tools and finishing techniques. Many pieces were smoothed with abrasives; the clearest example is the late Roman hand with a *mappa* (133 Figs. 265-266), where the abrasive marks were left rather than smoothed, apparently on purpose. Particularly fine examples of a high polish finish are 91, 92, and 118 (Figs. 204-207, 244-245).

Some of the unfinished pieces are useful for the study of technique. A satyr (117 Fig. 243) still shows the marks made by the fine claw chisel, flat chisel, and the drill (upper edge of nebris); whereas the back, only minimally worked, shows the initial blocking out of the forms with flat chisel and gouge. As is so common in Roman sculpture, we have many pieces clearly finished on the front but barely worked at the back. Another satyr is a good example of this (118 Fig. 244-245), where the marks of the multiple claw chisel on the front have been carefully worked over with abrasives—the final step that was missing on the other satyr—whereas the back is still

quite roughly worked. Two additional examples of unfinished work are a stele (**144** Fig. 283), where the figure is simply blocked out with large gouge marks, and a Herakles from Gölde (**266** Figs. 456-457).[48]

Color and Gilding

Instances of preserved color[49] among the sculpture of the Lydian-Persian era are red pigment on the maeander ornament and on the hair band of Herakles in the reliefs of the Cybele shrine (**7** Figs. 20-50), and the yellow and black egg and dart on the funerary stele **234** (Fig. 404), where red pigment was also observed in the letters of the inscription. The archaic stele **47** (Figs. 153-154), too, had traces of painted ornamental borders according to Butler.

Although most of the Hellenistic and Roman pieces would undoubtedly have been painted, only a few traces have survived. Some of the more noticeable examples of red are **112** and **188** (Figs. 238, 338) and of red and green, **183** (Fig. 332). Especially interesting is the gilded Tyche head (**128** Figs. 259-260).[50] Gilding of marble was apparently widely practiced in the Sardian workshops: the inscription for the dedication of the Marble Court of the Gymnasium, A.D. 211, states that "the entire work was gilded," including presumably details of the sculptured head capitals (**197-209** Figs. 349-368).[51]

Piecing

Apart from architectural sculpture, where piecing is to be expected (see pediment **18** Figs. 72-74), we have an interesting early (before 550 B.C.) instance in an archaic lioness (**34** Figs. 125-129) whose paw was attached with iron clamps. The clamp and dowel holes in the small Cybele relief of the fourth century B.C. (**21** Figs. 84-85) were intended for attaching the piece to a frame and back wall. A double-sided lion relief, ca. 580-560 B.C., has cuttings for a piece (seat or throne?) to be joined on top (**23** Figs. 87-89). The dowels and clamps were of iron, and as far as observed, clamps were of the bridge (Pi) type.[52] Among the Hellenistic statues, the colossal head of Zeus was an acrolith joined to the body by a separate vertical piece (**102** Figs. 223-225).

Piecing was a common practice in the Roman period. We have numerous examples of bodies without heads, or sometimes arms or feet (**55, 59, 67, 70** Figs. 166-168, 172-173, 182, 185), and of heads without bodies (**76-78, 91-93, 95, 254** Figs. 192-195, 204-211, 213-214, 437-440). The female statue from the House of Bronzes (**59** Figs. 172-173) is also notable for its unusually complicated system of dowelling in the arms so as to hide the breaks. Its missing foot, on the contrary, shows no evidence of dowelling. A simpler arm dowel can be seen on the draped female **57** (Fig. 170) and the cuirassed fragment **72** (Fig. 188). Examples of piecing in the middle of the body are the skirted Amazon (**112** Fig. 238), the Herakles torso (**114** Fig. 240), and the palliatus (**69** Fig. 184).

Additional information on technical matters as well as on the original function, display, reuse, and repair of the sculpture from Sardis is given in the introductory essays on the sculpture of the Lydian and Persian periods and that of the Hellenistic, Roman, and early Byzantine (late antique) periods.

48. See also *Sardis* I (1922) 53, ill. 48, unfinished and "severely weathered." It appears to have been lost.

49. Reuterswärd, 35-45, 65-66, 74-82, discusses the use of red paint in archaic marble sculpture.

50. For the use of gold on marble, see Reuterswärd, 143-168, 184-186, 195-201, 203, 210, 247, and the "Venus in Bikini," *Pompeii Reg.* II:11, 66, found in 1954. *Pompeii* (Exhib. 1973, Haag) no. 99 and color plate.

51. *BASOR* 177, 25. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 52. The inscription will be published by L. Robert.

52. **34** (Figs. 125-129). For the various types of masonry clamps see Nylander, 65-67.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE PREHISTORIC, LYDIAN, AND PERSIAN PERIODS

George M. A. Hanfmann

II AN OVERVIEW AND APPRAISAL

In this chapter we will attempt to draw together some of the results suggested by our study of the sculpture of the Lydian and Persian eras found at Sardis and to integrate the works of stone we have collected into a framework of stylistic development as it is beginning to emerge from the data of the excavations at Sardis, from comparisons with Sardian sculpture in other media, and from a view of the artistic developments in the neighboring regions. The pieces we survey span about three centuries, from the late seventh to the late fourth century B.C. Although not numerous and often fragmentary, they yet permit a delineation of some stylistic, iconographic, and social aspects of sculpture in the times of the Lydian kings and Persian satraps when Sardis served as a clearing house in trade and ideas between the Mediterranean world and the Near East.[1]

Sardis, at least at the time of the Lydian kings Alyattes and Croesus, seems to have harbored an important school of sculptors. Subsequently under the Persians it may have been a focal point in the formulation of the "Greco-Persian" art created for the satrapal courts. We are now in the position to point out interesting stylistic relationships with the "Late Hittite" Anatolian areas, with workshops in Eastern Greece and on the Greek mainland, and later with Iran; and we can at least pose, if not completely answer, the question of what specifically Lydian traits may be discerned in Sardian sculpture.

What sculptural traditions Sardis may have known in the time prior to the late seventh century B.C. is as yet an open question, but some sparse rays of light are cast upon this dark phase by two pre-Lydian works, with which we begin our account.

Prehistoric Prelude

The earliest piece claimed so far for the Sardis region is a powerful small head made of serpentine (229 Figs. 396-399) and dating to the late Neolithic phase of Anatolian culture, possibly to the fifth millennium B.C. Its stylistic parallels are with the masterpieces of late Neolithic sculpture of Central and Western Anatolia found at Hacılar, Can Hasan, and Çatal Hüyük.[2] Serpentine does not seem to occur at Sardis and thus this remarkable work may have been imported from another area. As long as it remains isolated, we cannot consider it a completely safe witness for the existence of a Neolithic school of sculpture at Sardis.

That the early Bronze Age peoples, who lived in

1. *Sardis* I (1922) 1.

2. References to these Neolithic parallels are given in the Catalogue, *infra*. So far, no Neolithic settlement has been found in the Sardis region, but a stray find of a lunate microlith of chalcedony might date as early as 7000 or 6000 B.C. according to Mitten-Yüğrüm. "Ahlatı," 25.

the Sardian plain in the third millennium B.C., practiced sculpture on a small scale is confirmed by a silver figurine of a ram found in a grave[3] in the cemetery of Eski Balıkhane on the Gygean Lake (Fig. 2, map). The same cemetery yielded a fragmentary stone figurine, perhaps the image of a goddess (1 Figs. 6-7). Future finds may yet link these early essays in plastic arts to the continuous tradition of stone sculpture that began in the time of the Lydian kingdom.

The Lydian Era (680-547 B.C.)

The era of the Lydian kings was the time of Lydian power and affluence. Pioneering Greek artists like Glaukos of Chios (*infra,* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 3) made a silver bowl and iron stand decorated with animals and flowers for King Alyattes (610?-561), and Theodoros of Samos made a silver bowl for Croesus (560-547), who in turn gave a golden kore ("baker woman") and lion to Delphi and dedicated golden bulls and marble reliefs for columns at Ephesus (Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," nos. 5-9).

Imports attest relations with Egypt by seals from Naucratis,[4] with Assyria and Babylon by a few seals and bits of glazed pottery. These slight archaeological data back up the substantial literary and epigraphic tradition which reveals the presence of Lydians at the court of Babylon around 600 B.C.[5] A well known ivory head found in a tomb at Sardis is either Phoenician or under immediate Phoenician influence.[6] A rock crystal lion is clearly of a "Late Hittite" type.[7] There are Kimmerian and Scythian chapes and bronze horse trappings[8] and a series of bronze animals probably inspired by either Scythian or Iranian prototypes.[9] The most important aspects of coinage, such as the guarantee by the king, and probably the use of the lion as a royal symbol, as well as the formal traits of the earliest Lydian lions on coins, point to Assyria and Babylon.[10]

From such a great range of political, commercial, and artistic contacts, one might have expected that a special and distinct epoch of Orientalizing influence at Sardis would precede the dominance of Greek models. Yet unlike Phrygia, which in the later eighth and seventh century B.C. had an artistic phase that was directly influenced by the "Late Hittite" principalities Urartu and Assyria — an influence reflected in sculpture and distinguished by magnificent imports[11] — Lydia, as far as stone sculpture is concerned, presents itself from the beginning as a region of archaic Eastern Greek art.

The best Lydian sculptural work was probably done in the precious materials, gold and silver, and, given the Lydian interest in metallurgy, possibly in bronze as well. The few examples of small-scale gold sculpture preserved, the tiny earring with a ram of ca. 600 B.C. and the four little lions in Istanbul and Oxford, seem to be of high quality.[12] The little bronzes of hawks, ibexes, and boars represent types of which we have almost no counterparts in stone. Sculpture in pottery technique such as a wild

3. Eski Balıkhane grave EB69.3, *BASOR* 199, 16, fig. 4; Mitten-Yüğrüm, "Eski Balıkhane," 192-193, figs. 4, 6. The ram is only 0.027 in L.

4. Seal 62.2:4636, ca. 580 B.C., *BASOR* 170, 25, fig. 21. Other possibly Egyptian scarabs: Seal 65.1:6670, *BASOR* 182, 14; *TürkArk-Derg* 14 (1967) 152, fig. 5; Seal 65.2, *BASOR* 182, 13, fig. 7; Seal 63.1: 5165, unpublished, considered a possibly Phoenician imitation. These seals will be treated by R. S. Thomas in a forthcoming Sardis monograph.

5. *Sardis* XIII (1925) no. 120, pls. X:17, XI:8; Neo-Babylonian, according to E. Porada (by letter). Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 19-20. Assyrian glazed pottery: *BASOR* 162, 12; 166, 14, P61.252, *98.8. Lydians in Babylon: E. F. Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda," *Mélanges syriens, offerts à René Dussaud* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique* 30 [1939]) II 923-924, 934, cites four Lydian names in the ration lists of the Royal Palace; cf. *Sardis* M2 (1972) 84, no. 303.

6. *Sardis* I (1922) 141, fig. 146; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 100, pl. VII a-b.

7. *BASOR* 177, 7, fig. 7. Cf. 26 (Figs. 102-104).

8. Chapes: *BASOR* 182, 13, BI65.2:6636, ca. 650 B.C.; 211, 33-34, fig. 11, BI61.27:3934. Schefold, *Die Griechen,* 390, fig. 342a.

9. *BASOR* 170, 16, fig. 9; 182, 14, fig. 9; 199, fig. 11. *Archaeology* 19 (1966) 92, fig. 2. Bronze boar, *BASOR* 168, 27-36. Cf. Hauptmann, 105-106, pl. 69:1-2, with references to Boğazköy, Gordion, Sardis, and Ephesus.

10. M. S. Balmuth in Hanfmann *Studies,* 3-4, pl. 1a. Robinson, 158-163, 166, figs. 1-10, pl. 38:10-16, has demonstrated Assyrian traits in the lion type seen on early Lydian coins. Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 155-156, 278-279, figs. 105, 271, recognizes Mesopotamian and "Late Hittite" traits but denies direct contact with Mesopotamia. Cf. also Weidauer, 94-107, pls. 20-24, 29:1, 3.

11. *Art Treasures of Turkey,* Smithsonian Publication 4663 (Washington 1966) nos. 83, 99. R. S. Young, 1, 21, 46ff.

12. *BASOR* 191, 13, fig. 13; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 226, color pl. IV; *Sardis* XIII (1925) 34, no. 86, pl. 8:7a-c (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1928.323).

bearded man and a Persianizing(?) Lydian[13] was experimental and colorful, and the mould-made architectural terracottas which adorned the buildings constituted a comprehensive vehicle for narrative and decorative functions.[14]

If we consider the half century after the Persian capture of Sardis, in ca. 547 B.C., as still "Lydian" in terms of art and culture, the number of pieces assignable to the Lydian era is between thirty and forty. Unlike the great sanctuaries of Eastern Greece, the Heraion of Samos and the temple of Apollo at Didyma,[15] Sardis has yielded no treasure trove of archaic sculpture in one area, either sacred or public. Finds made by the first Sardis expedition in the precinct of Artemis and dated largely to the Hellenistic and Roman eras were not abundant. With only one set of lions (**27-29** Figs. 105-117) and one stele (**47** Figs. 153-154) found in their original positions, and only one piece found in a probably original stratified context (**16** Figs. 68-69) Sardian sculpture contributes few chronological check points.

Iconographically, the material of the Lydian era is spotty and uneven. Nonetheless, some distinctive features emerge. The prominence of lions, which constitute approximately one third of all the sculpture of the Lydian and Persian eras, and a relatively consistent representation of sepulchral and votive stelai afford enough material to treat these groups as continuous developments within these periods (see "On Lions," "On Stelai" *infra*).

Draped female figures, shown as goddesses or as votaries, far outrank male figures—with some eight representations of very diversified types (**3-11** Figs. 9-62). It is striking that at least three of these are representations which enframe frontal figures in temple-like settings (**6, 7, 9** Figs. 16-19, 20-50, 58-60).

One Lydian claim to iconographic invention must be revoked. In 1905, L. Curtius proposed a double-herm statue of kouros type from Sardis in Berlin as the ancestor of the archaic Greek herms (**249** Figs. 431-432). He dated it around the mid-sixth century B.C. and thus earlier than the earliest stone herms known in Greek sculpture. The piece has since been convincingly identified as part of a Roman fence of herms,[16] but it may reproduce an archaic original. In any case, one can discern a Lydian taste for a mixture of relief and plastic figures in the small priestesses(?) with back pillars (**4, 5** Figs. 11-15).

As to the use of relief proper in friezes of metopal panels, our idea of Lydian capabilities would be very slight were it not for the astonishing display of eighteen reliefs on the Cybele shrine (**7** Figs. 20-50). They represent a procession of priestesses to the image of Cybele, heraldic lions, dancing komasts and maenads, and six mythological scenes, of which Herakles and the Nemaean lion, Peleus in the tree, and Pelops on a chariot may be identified. These seem to have been painted panels in shallow relief, rising three stories high, perhaps in imitation of Babylonian wall-high decoration.[17] Thus, the miserable state of survival of Sardian sculpture may lead to treacherous mistakes: only the discovery of this temple model makes the Lydians known as experimenters and leaders in the formulation of Greek architectural sculpture.

Turning to the historical development of style, we must first ask whether or not there was an Orientalizing phase that drew on Near Eastern and "Late Hittite" rather than Eastern Greek prototypes. Among the Sardian sculpture there are four borderline cases, all of them dating between ca. 620 and 575 B.C. The monotonous frieze of deer (**230** Fig. 400) is clearly not Greek in its repetitiousness. R. D. Barnett cited it as one of the proofs for the existence of a Lydian school of ivory sculptors,[18] presumably in direct dependence on Phoenician ivorists such as were active at Ephesus. The same school may have produced the ivory head found at Sardis.[19] Ephesian ivories again and "Late Hittite" reliefs can provide

13. Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 494, pl. 124:1-2. C. H. Greenewalt in Hanfmann *Studies,* 29-46, pls. 8-15.

14. *Sardis* X (1926); Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 67-96, figs. 20-29, pls. 36-51. *BASOR* 215, 54-60, figs. 23-26. For Lydian architectural terracottas see *Sardis* M5.

15. Buschor, *Altsam.,* passim; Tuchelt, passim.

16. Curtius, 18, figs. 12-14; Wrede, 130-131, nos. 11c, 11g. See **249** (Figs. 431-432) for opinions of other authors.

17. The Ishtar Gate is an example of this type of decoration, which the Lydians dwelling at the Babylonian court under Nebuchadnezzar II saw being constructed. Cf. n.5, *supra;* Koldewey, *Babylon,* 32-49.

18. Barnett, "Ivories," 18, pl. XIc.

19. *Supra,* n.6. Cf. Jacobsthal, 93.

parallels for the "laughing lion" from the Synagogue (**26** Figs. 102-104), but one might also compare him to the "kissing lions" of a Lydian vase painting—both are distinguished by the same kind of folkloric charm and bonhomie. Such vase paintings are dated to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. by C. H. Greenewalt, Jr.,[20] who has been able to distinguish an Orientalizing Sardis style within the general Greek style having Wild Goat decoration.

Matters are somewhat clearer with the Anatolian image of a goddess (Kore?) known through a copy on a Roman column capital (**194** Fig. 344) and the little head with a crown (polos), again of a goddess—perhaps with a monster bird on the crown (**3** Figs. 9-10). In both cases, the attire is clearly Anatolian, but the general style and concept of a small divine image is much the same as that of the beautiful seventh century wooden Hera of Samos.[21]

Since some works of metal sculpture (gold ram, silver and bronze hawks, bronze ibex)[22] do not depend on Greek models, we must keep an open mind toward the possibility of direct stimuli from the Near East. However, at the moment it appears that between ca. 650 and 575 B.C., there was a phase of Lydian stone sculpture which was Orientalizing in style yet essentially dependent on Eastern Greek mediation of Near Eastern models, rather than on direct contacts with the Near East.

Ephesian ivories and Samian marble statues have provided the models for the strange little marble priestesses and the snake goddess datable from ca. 580 to 530 B.C. (**4-6** Figs. 11-19). Henceforth the Eastern Greek schools of sculpture constitute the framework within which Lydian sculpture moves. There is, however, a striking difference between the majestic over-lifesize women by the "Cheramyes Master" of Samos[23] and the Lydian naiskos statuettes measuring one third of lifesize or less. The naiskos reliefs themselves pose a problem: while such enframing shrines with frontal images are known especially in connection with Cybele at Kyme and in Miletus, earlier examples may have occurred in Phrygia—a reminder that artistic forms and religious iconography need not always come from the same direction.[24]

We are still uncertain about the identification and the iconography of early Lydian divinities—a moon goddess(?), a snake goddess, a lion goddess, a hawk divinity, a goddess(?) with necklace are represented in stone and metal. They may be Kore, Cybele (both together with snakes and lions on **7** Figs. 20-50), and the Lydian equivalent of Aphrodite (**9** Figs. 58-60). No male Lydian Zeus (*Levs*) or any other god has been identified in Lydian stone sculpture. One wonders whether he might be represented by the strange bearded head forming the upper part of a clay jug.[25] Though scholars repeatedly identify with Artemis the *potnia theron* shown on Sardian terracottas and stamp seals,[26] in the only certain representation of Artemis at Sardis she appears with a stag (**20** Figs. 78-83). It is Cybele who owns the lions not only on the votive reliefs (**20, 21, 26** Figs. 78-85, 102-104) but above all on her altar (**27-29** Figs. 105-117) in the gold refinery area on the Pactolus. According to Sophocles, too, it was the Mountain Mother, Cybele, seated on lions, who ruled over the gold rich Pactolus.[27] The only argument for a connection of Artemis and lions at Sardis is the monument of Nannas (**235, 236** Figs. 405-409) and it does not really prove anything for the Lydian period.

The same uncertainty—sacred to Artemis or sacred to Cybele—arises with respect to a bird of

20. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 144, color pl. III. Greenewalt, "Wild Goat," 61-71, esp. pls. 1-4.

21. Ohly-Köpcke, 89, figs. 1-3, Beil. 43-47. H. V. Herrmann, "Zum Problem der Entstehung der griechischen Grossplastik," *Wandlungen: Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst* (Waldsassen 1973) 39-40, pl. 5a, no. 24, literature.

22. See *supra,* nn.8, 9, 12. Hawks: see also Greenewalt, "Lydian Graves," 135, pl. 10:3.

23. Buschor, *Altsam.,* 83-84, figs. 86-89, 340-344.

24. Kyme, Miletus: Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 243, fig. 209; Blümel, *Arch. Sk.*[2], 49, nos. 44-45, pls. 126-127. Phrygia: Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 83-100, figs. 52-54, 60-62. Cf. Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 264-269.

25. Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 494, pl. 124:1, ca. 600 B.C. A dedication to *Levs* was found in the same sector *Sardis* M3 (1975) 38, A III 2; cf. also Gusmani, *LW,* 160.

26. Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 70, 84-90, pl. 38:1; Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 27-28, nos. 19-27, figs. 6-7, would identify the goddess of the terracotta relief and the seals as the Persian Artemis Anahita. In a detailed discussion of the relief, Radet, 1-6, 54-104, pl. 1, opted for Cybele but thought that later Cybele was equated with the Persian Artemis Anahita and the Lydian Kore.

27. Cf. Sophocles *Philoctetes* 391-401; see *infra* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 13.

prey. Its stone statue, identified as an eagle, formed part of the unreliable Nannas monument in the Artemis Precinct (238 Figs. 413-415). A similar bird of silver was found in an archaic grave and described as a hawk, and according to Lydian inscriptions, graves were protected by Artemis. An example in bronze, however, was found near the altar of Kuvava (Cybele).[28]

To return to style, the one clear influence from mainland Greece in the first half of the sixth century B.C. is that of Corinth. One may discern it in the goddess with a polos (3 Figs. 9-10). It is also prominent in the Main Avenue lions (31-33 Figs. 119-124, ca. 560 to 550 B.C.) and in the reliefs of the Cybele shrine executed ca. 530 B.C. (but the buildings and the reliefs shown might be earlier, 7 Figs. 20-50). This artistic link to Corinth jibes well with the stories of friendship between King Alyattes and the tyrant Periander of Corinth. And it was the treasury of the Corinthians at Delphi where the presents of the Lydian kings were kept.[29]

In this assessment of Greek regions which influenced Sardian sculpture we may be underestimating the Aeolid. There seem to be various connections in vase painting and terracotta reliefs between Sardis and the cities north of Smyrna. The peculiar "sea lion" head used on the lions of the Kuvava altar (ca. 570-560 B.C., 27-29 Figs. 105-117) seems to be imitated from *phokai,* the seals of Phokaia;[30] and the earliest and most beautiful of Lydian stelai may have been fashioned after stelai from the Aeolid rather than Samos (45 Figs. 148-149).

The kouros, or nude male youth, focal subject of Greek sculpture on the mainland and represented by important examples at the Eastern Greek sanctuaries of Samos and Didyma,[31] is only doubtfully attested at Sardis and perhaps only in the fifth century. A bit of hair (14 Fig. 66) may be archaic, 540 to 520 B.C., but the stele 232 (Fig. 402) and the fragment 15 (Fig. 67) probably date after 500 B.C. The only archaic draped torso in the round (8 Figs. 51-54) is controversial; it may be a maiden or a standing male mantle figure, much favored in the Eastern Greek sculptural repertory (see Figs. 55-57).

The closest parallel to the seated male figure on the late archaic stele of Atrastas (17 Figs. 70-71) comes from Rhodes, which was artistically in the Eastern Greek ambient. A file of horsemen on squat horses (231 Fig. 401), very different from the elongated relief horsemen on a Lydian vase of the seventh century,[32] may belong to the Persian rather than to the Lydian era.

As to monsters and animals other than lions, we may have an archaic female siren (40 Figs. 139-141) and an archaic headless recumbent sphinx (41 Figs. 142-143). A bird of prey holding a hare or rabbit may be a hawk or an eagle (238 Figs. 413-415). An archaic frog (43 Fig. 146) may come from a fountain.

The earliest sphinx sejant is apparently of the fifth century (239 Figs. 416-418). It is a double-sided animal, as is natural for the support of a throne; such double-sided creatures occur also among early archaic lions (23 Figs. 87-89). This double-sidedness is not always easily explained. It may be a Lydian predilection, for it occurs not only on the enigmatic black-lava fragment of a winged monster (?) 16 (Figs. 68-69) but also on a large double-sided relief of a lion (unpublished) found at Hypaepa.[33]

Croesus gave figured columns to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and he confirmed their dedications with inscriptions in Lydian and Greek. Something of this bilingual quality seems to have entered into the school of sculpture which formed at the huge project, a school that one might call Lydo-Ephesian. It seems to be distinguished by a certain heavy fleshiness of form and luxury of costume.[34]

28. Silver hawk: Greenewalt, "Lydian Graves," 135, pl. 10:3. Bronze: *BASOR* 199, 18, fig. 11, which has been thought Scythian; see *supra*. A bronze of three birds of prey from Sardis is in the Ashmolean Museum. For hawk as sacred bird of Artemis of Ephesus, see Jacobsthal, 91-92, pls. 33-34.

29. Herodotus 1.14; 3.48. *Sardis* M2 (1972) 19, 22-23, nos. 41, 55-58.

30. On Aeolic art: E. Walter-Karydi, "Aeolische Kunst," *AntK* 7 (1970) 3-18, pls. 1-10. On *phokai:* Åkerström, *Larisa* II pls. 57-58.

31. Buschor, *Altsam.*, 1-21, figs. 47-71, says kouroi "dominated sanctuaries and cemeteries." Tuchelt, 51-61, 143, 147, 149, 155, 176-177, pls. 9-22. Richter, *Kouroi,* 76, 92, nos. 20, 22-25, 77-80, 122, 132. Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, figs. 214-217.

32. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Horsemen from Sardis," *AJA* 50 (1945) 570-581.

33. Discovered by G. M. A. Hanfmann walled into a barn at Datbey. Subsequently in the collection of M. Başoğlu at Ödemis.

34. Cf. Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 59-60; Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 12-14, figs. 20-34.

Apart from the recumbent Nannas lion (236 Figs. 407-409), its style is best illustrated by the mantle torso in Manisa (8 Figs. 51-54). Having begun in the 550s, the style and the school did not go out of existence with the downfall of Croesus in 547 B.C. but continued as the huge task of decorating the giant temple progressed—with the recognizable Croesan phase lasting perhaps until 525 B.C.[35] At least the image of the Cybele shrine (7 Figs. 20-50) may be counted as a document of that late Croesan phase.

What then was Lydian sculpture? Perhaps we have not as yet enough material to characterize it, and its very closeness to the Eastern Greek schools makes it difficult to discern sustained Lydian traits. We can see, however, that some Lydian pieces tend to be more linear than the Greek models, others seem softer and more massive. Among the stone sculpture preserved, we do not find an evocation of Lydian luxury as vivid and detailed as in the painted terracottas.[36] Some un-Greek traits may be detected in the attire of the little priestesses and of the Manisa "kore" (4, 5, 8 Figs. 11-15, 51-54). These maidens add to the repertoire of Sardian stone sculpture an Anatolian flavor that distinguishes it from the creations of the Samians or Milesians. Sardian stone sculpture cannot be considered merely a provincial offshoot of the Eastern Greek, characterized only negatively by a lack of skill.[37]

In contrast to the rustic linearism and caricature-like misunderstandings of Greek models one finds in Phrygian sculpture farther inland, Sardian work through the sixth century B.C. is of the same general technical competence as Greek. From the Cybele shrine (7 Figs. 20-50) and other fragments we surmise that the leading Lydian sculptors, the colleagues of Glaukos and Theodoros, were among the pioneers in formulating both the Ionic order and Ionic sculptural types—possibly lions, mantle figures, and stelai. They were thus among the leading artists of their time. In a remarkable social cleavage, this "high class" Lydian art is quite distinct from a lower level of sculpture that has a kind of naive and expressive folkloric charm, especially in the representations of animals, a charm that is also encountered in Lydian vase painting. However, even on this folk level Lydian sculpture never becomes wholly un-Greek and barbarous.

The Persian Era (546-334 B.C.)

We have no sculptured monuments that can be linked to either the capture of Sardis in 547 B.C. by the Persians or the burning of Sardis in 499 B.C. by the Ionians and Athenians. Even though the Persians overthrew Croesus in 547 B.C. and both Cyrus and Darius took Lydian masons and probably sculptors as well to Iran to build their palaces,[38] there is no indication that Persian influence became strong immediately.[39] Perhaps it did not become effective until the late sixth century.

Eventually, as Sardis became virtually the capital of the western part of the Persian Empire, the satrapal court of Sardis emerged as a center for the production of seals and jewelry in Iranian Achaemenid court style.[40] They were made not only for satraps and their families but for the many people who took part in the administration of the empire: people with Iranian names like Mitrastas and Atranes but who wrote Lydian not only in their official documents but also on their seals;[41] people with Lydian names like Manes, son of Kumlis (241 Fig. 420) who used both Aramaic and Lydian in their inscriptions and dated them by the regnal years of the Persian kings;[42] and people with Lydian names like Bakivas, Sivams, and Manes who used seals with purely official Persian iconography.[43] Finally there were those with Lydian names like Nannas who wrote Lydian and Greek (274 Fig. 465).

In glyptic art, it is possible to discern the large groupings of essentially Iranian-inspired and essen-

35. Pryce, 35, 67, dates the parapet 525 B.C. and later. G. Gruben in Berve-Gruben, 460, dates construction of sculptural parts between 546-460 B.C.

36. See n.14, *supra* for references.

37. As Tuchelt, 155-156, 185-186, seems to assume.

38. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 14-15, with references, especially Nylander, 93, 97.

39. C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., in Hanfmann *Studies,* 44-45, presents an ingenious conjecture about a possible caricature of a Medizing Lydian, but there is no clear evidence for material datable much before 500 B.C.—the stele 46 (Figs. 150-151) is possibly a case in point.

40. Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 20-21, 28, 37-39. Jewelry: Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 15, n.42, with references; figs. 42-43 (seals).

41. Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 39, no. 1, 38; see also Gusmani, "Iranica," 1-8.

42. Gusmani, *LW,* 18, 250-251, 264, nos. 1, 2, 41. It is certain, however, that no.1 dates from 394 B.C., not 349 B.C. See *Sardis* M3 (1975) 7. Cf. 49, 240, 242 (Figs. 157, 419, 421).

43. Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 21, nos. 2-7, pl. 1.

tially Greek-inspired art.[44] The situation is much less clear in sculpture, where, to be sure, only some twenty pieces can be assigned to the Persian period. Was there a satrapal school of sculpture at Sardis? The resemblance of the anthemion stele 46 (Figs. 150-151) to the Daskylion stele (Fig. 152) and of stele 45 (Figs. 148-149) to Persian ornament suggests that there were connections with the satrapal residence at Daskylion—and figurative scenes, Persian in their iconography, may have been known at Sardis as they were at Daskylion. In subject matter and customs the little pediment from a mausoleum-temple of a high official family (18 Figs. 72-74) may be accounted a satrapal document.[45] To this Persian-influenced aspect may also belong the horsemen file from Bin Tepe (231 Fig. 401). A tantalizing fragment of a figure in Oriental attire (13 Fig. 65) hints that large-scale architectural sculpture did exist.

Epigraphic and literary sources indicate that images of Zeus Baradates (Ahura Mazda) and Artemis Anahita were worshipped at Sardis, but no representations in sculpture have been found that may be identified with certainty; nor have we found any representations of fire priests.[46] A stele in Izmir (233 Fig. 403, ca. 450-425 B.C.) showing a woman is also the only stone relief that seems to reflect direct influence from Persian palace reliefs in the rendering of drapery with the peculiar central fold. The same rendering appears on seals attributed to Sardis.[47]

All of these monuments show some traits responding to Persian taste, but none of the stone monuments is done in Persian court style as clearly as are the Sardian seals, nor have we found in stone sculpture of this period such Persian themes as bearded sphinxes or lion griffins. The overall style of stone sculpture is closer to Greek.

The subject of man and wife at a funerary meal, beloved by the Persians, reappears toward the very end of the period on the stele of Atrastas, son of Timles (234 Fig. 404), dated in the fifth year of the rule of Alexander the Great (330-329 B.C.). It shows the sculptor slipping into a linear, possibly late Achaemenid/Anatolian folkloric style.[48]

To turn now to the sources of the predominant Greek influences, the sculpture of the later sixth century permits a choice between Eastern Greek or Athenian influence, notably in the portrayals of the korai type with the large central fold (7, 9 Figs. 33, 34, 39, 58-60). Historically, it is not implausible to think of Athens as a source. Alcmaeon, head of the art loving Alcmaeonid family, who rebuilt the temple of Apollo in Delphi after 546 B.C., had visited Croesus,[49] and the sons of Peisistratos maintained close relations with the Persian satraps at Sardis. Quite a number of Attic black-figure vases were imported into Sardis between 560 and 480 B.C. And Attic works of art were brought to Sardis as booty in 480 B.C.: for example, the bronze statue of a water carrier originally dedicated by Themistocles in Athens (see Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 11). To the Attic tradition, too, may belong a fragment of an early classical male head (15 Fig. 67).

For the period between ca. 500 and 430 B.C. we may discern two major stylistic sources. One is the non-Attic style of the Greek islands, which encompassed not only the Cyclades but also Rhodes and Knidos. It is difficult to draw a clear line between these Cycladic-Boeotian stelai and the "soft style" of the Eastern Greek, Ionian school whose influence certainly extended into northern Greece (Thasos, Dikaia) as well as into southern Asia Minor (Lycia).[50] At Sardis, the influence of the soft style is attested for ca. 500 B.C. by an animal frieze fragment (22 Fig. 86) and a stele fragment with male head (232 Fig. 402). Even though it is not from Sardis, the early classical "Borgia stele" of ca. 470-

44. Ibid., 26-27, 30-37.

45. On the problem of "satrapal" styles see Borchhardt, 192-199. Hanfmann, *Croesus*, 18-28, with literature on Daskylion stelai; idem, "Pediment," 295-299, pls. 99-104.

46. Baradates: *infra* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 16 and 273 (Figs. 463-464); L. Robert, *CRAI* (Apr.-June 1975) 306-330. Anahita: Berossus in *Clem. Al. Protr.* 5.65.3. "Persian Artemis," Pausanias 7.6.6 = *Sardis* M2 (1972) 73, no. 270. *RE* s.v. "Anaitis," 1:2 (1894) 2050-2051. *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 95. Robert, *NIS*, 24, 27. For fire priests see K. Bittel, *TürkArkDerg* 6:2 (1956) 35-42, pl. 15; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, 173-174, fig. 120; for the fire priests at Hypaepa see Pausanias 5.27.5 = *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 273; Wikander, 79-85.

47. Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 42, no. 115, pl. 5.

48. See Hanfmann, "Pediment," 296-297 and *infra*, "On Stelai."

49. Herodotus 6.125 = *Sardis* M2 (1972) 28, no. 77.

50. It is well-illustrated in Berger, 33-60, figs. 22-59, 140-154. See also Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 62, 68-79. For Lycia see H. Metzger, "La frise de satyres et de fauves de l'Acropole de Xanthos," in Mansel *Mélanges*, 127-137, pls. 64-65; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, figs. 87-94.

460 B.C. (269) is a good illustration of immediate Eastern Greek affiliations. Then comes the satrapal pediment (18 Figs. 72-74) of ca. 430 B.C. Its obvious relation is to the great masterpiece of Eastern Greek soft style in the service of Persian officialdom, the so-called Satrap Sarcophagus from Sidon.[51] Artists working in this Greek soft style but with Persian iconography may have produced the highest level of sculpture among the satrapal courts also at Sardis.[52]

The two pieces dependent on inspiration from the Cycladic-Thessalian-Boeotian circle are the votive stele 19 (Figs. 75-77) and the Persianizing sepulchral stele 233 (Fig. 403) which in overall design is so strangely close to the stele of Polyxenaia from Larissa in Thessaly[53] (see *infra,* "On Stelai"). Both stelai date from ca. 450-425 B.C. One might have expected that the bitter fighting in western Asia Minor during the later years of the Peloponnesian War and prior to the King's Peace (386 B.C.) adversely affected Greek influences in art, but this does not seem to be the case. The bilingual Aramaic-Lydian stele of Manes, son of Kumlis, presumably a Persian official, dated 394 B.C. by regnal years of Artaxerxes, follows closely in the design of its anthemion the Attic decorative vocabulary of the late classical phase (241 Fig. 420). Attic influence is also paramount among other stelai, votive and sepulchral (see *infra,* "On Stelai," **20, 21, 240, 242** Figs. 78-85, 419, 421).

The later, more naturalistic lions from Sardis (**25, 38, 39** Figs. 92-101, 135-138) also seem to depend on Attic models.[54] One example demonstrates the possible influence of the great Mausoleum style[55] created chiefly under the impulse of Skopas in Asia Minor (ca. 360-350 B.C.; cf. **38** Figs. 135-136).

The scattered marble fragments offer little encouragement for iconographic research. The most interesting problem concerns the typology of Cybele. One type of Cybele can be reconstructed as showing the goddess possibly standing and flanked by two pairs of seated lions (25 Figs. 92-101). A second type of standing Cybele, holding a lion to her breast with one arm, and a standing Artemis holding a stag are reflected on a stele (20 Figs. 78-83), both apparently fashioned after statues of the mid-fifth century. Finally, the votive relief 21 (Figs. 84-85) exhibits a third type, a variation on the famous seated Cybele image made by Agorakritos in the late fifth century. It was perhaps this last image that Sophocles hymned as seated on lions, and Timotheos envisioned as wearing a chiton with black leaves.[56] The three types may represent three successive images of the goddess in her famous Metroon burned by the Greeks in 499 B.C. but apparently reconstructed before 465.[57]

Finally, during the later part of the Persian era (ca. 450-330 B.C.) in the admittedly spotty array of sculptured work found at Sardis, we may perceive a decline in artistic quality to the level of reasonable but somewhat provincial competence, with Eastern Greece, the Cyclades, and subsequently Athens providing the principal models.

On Lions

The Lydians suffered from a regular *leontomania.* Out of the small lot of sculpture published here twenty-one are lions. The great goddess Cybele (or whatever native goddess preceded her) has lions as her attributes as early as the famous fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C. relief near Manisa.[58] The story of Meles (Herodotus 1.84) seems to indicate that under the Heraklid dynasty the lion was a protecting symbol of the royal house. It is doubtful that the stories about Herakles, whose lion skin was taken by Queen Omphale, have any real bearing on this choice of the lion as royal coat of arms as T. L. Shear had suggested.[59] Rather the lion was the rep-

51. Kleemann, 1-34, 107-151, pls. 1-19.
52. Cf. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 19; idem, "Pediment," 293, pl. 103b.
53. Friis-Johansen, 134-135, fig. 67.
54. Vermeule, "Funerary Animals," 52.
55. Willemsen, 49-50, pl. 56; B. Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (New York 1972) 157, fig. 177. Recent literature, Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 36, nos. 61-62.
56. Sophocles *Philoctetes* 391-401, ca. 409 B.C.; Timotheos *The Persians,* ca. 400 B.C.; see Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," nos. 12 and 13.
57. The sanctuary was functioning at the time of the visit of Themistocles to Sardis, Plutarch *Themistocles* 31; see Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 11.
58. Bossert, *Altanatolien,* 58, figs. 560-562.
59. Shear, "Lion," 27.

resentative of the great goddess (Cybele) who protected the royal house.

The lion alone appears as a royal symbol on early Lydian coins (late seventh century); from Croesus on, the foreparts of a lion and a bull are used, an abbreviation of a group showing a lion overcoming a bull.[60] As proved by the relief **21** (Figs. 84-85), at Sardis the lion was considered an attribute of Cybele; the association with Artemis is less certain.[61] Croesus dedicated a gold lion to Apollo of Delphi (see Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 6), and Cahn has argued that lions were also sacred to a Lydian Apollo.[62] The appearance of lions on nonroyal seals is evidence for a more general protective or symbolic ("courageous like a lion") function.[63]

As to archaeological evidence for function, the double-sided relief **23** (Figs. 87-89) was probably part of the throne for an image; the two classical lion pairs **25** (Figs. 92-101) were possibly flanking an image. The classical relief **39** (Figs. 137-138) is perhaps from a frame for a small image. In all these cases, Cybele is the most likely divinity.

In architectural context, the two and a half lions **27-29** (Figs. 105-117) belong to an altar of Cybele (Kuvava) dated by the excavator, Andrew Ramage, ca. 580-570 B.C. and are thus to be considered dedications. The most important lion spout, **237** (Figs. 410-412) belonged to a sacred structure—the temple or altar of Artemis is among the possibilities. The little archaic lion **36** (Fig. 133) is an acroterion, possibly from an archaic sarcophagus. The majestic lion found in the Main Avenue and its counterpart (**31-33** Figs. 119-124) might have been guardians of a gate.

It is unfortunate that the Nannas monument (see **235, 236, 238, 274** Figs. 405-409, 413-415, 465-466) can be taken as safe evidence only for late Roman taste. Set up in this form in the second or third century A.D., it proves that the late Romans considered lions and the eagle sacred to Artemis. H. von Gall has shown that such a grouping is attested for Cappadocian funerary monuments of the Persian era.[64] It is plausible to assume that the Romans collected the two lions and a bird of prey from the votives possibly overthrown by the floods in the Artemis Precinct. Given the fact, however, that the Nannas base was itself reused (and had initially carried a human figure), we cannot be sure that the combination of the seated and the recumbent lions with the eagle was original. There is, however, cause to conjecture that both types were originally presents to Artemis.

In Greece both the seated and the recumbent types of lion appeared on funerary monuments of the archaic and classical periods and the walking lion in those of the classical era.[65] Of special interest for Asia Minor is the column with recumbent lion inscribed Mikos Metrodoro in Ankara.[66] Thus far we have no evidence that this type of sepulchral lion monument existed at Sardis during the Lydian and Persian periods.

Most scholars seem to agree that Homer's poetry is sufficient proof that lions (probably the smaller Asiatic species) existed in western Asia Minor in early historical times.[67] The matter is of some interest both to explain the importance of the lion for the royal house—more plausible if based on firsthand experience or at least memory of the prowess of real

60. On the earliest coins, some inscribed, see M. S. Balmuth in Hanfmann *Studies,* 3-4, pl. 1a, with literature and Weidauer, 59-71, 94-107, pls. 20-24, 29:1, 3, who denies that the inscriptions *valel(?)* *kalil(?)* are royal names, and dates some lions as early as 660-650 B.C.

61. Artemis: Nannas monument (274 Figs. 465-466) is not really conclusive.

62. H. A. Cahn, "Die Löwen des Apollon," *Museum Helveticum* (1950) 85-199, reprinted *Kleine Schriften zur Münzkunde und Archäologie* (Mainz 1975) 17-32.

63. Shear, "Lion," 137, fig. 15; *Sardis* XIII (1925) pl. 9:12, no. 99; pl. 11:2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 21, 32; Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 20ff., pl. 1.

64. Gall, 588f., figs. 1-3.

65. Gabelmann, recumbent lions: pls. 7:1, Ioulis Keos; 7:2, Kamiros; 8, Loutraki; 20:3, Pergamon; 21, 25:2, Sardis; 22, Didyma; 26, Miletus; walking lions: pls. 6:1, Corinth; 6:3, Athens. For sepulchral classical lions see Vermeule, "Funerary Animals," 49ff.

66. Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 279f., fig. 249.

67. W. L. Brown, *Lion,* 166-169, after reviewing the evidence in his excellent appendix on "Etruscan Lions and Lions in Nature," states that lions "were widespread in Asia Minor and in Syria and Palestine," but gives no evidence for Asia Minor except for the Euphrates region; Vereshchagin, 270, also cites a lion seen in 1873 near Bilecik on the Upper Euphrates. E. D. Van Buren, *Fauna,* 3, cites many lions seen by Layard in Iraq in the mid-19th C.; the last was killed in 1896. Cf. Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories,* 70, n.12. According to *New York Times* (Jan. 30, 1974) 4, "some Asian lions survived in Iran between the two world wars." We are grateful to R. W. Redding, University of Michigan, for the reference to Vereshchagin's work.

lions—and to assess the renderings of lions in Lydian art.

Royal lion hunts were common in Assyria and possibly Babylon and Persia as well in the time when the Lydians had contact with Assur and Babylon, and the lion was used as the royal sign in these two cities.[68] In 480 B.C., during the Persian era, many Lydians who served in the army of Xerxes could have seen lions in action when they attacked the king's camel train in the southern Balkans (Thrace, Herodotus 7.125-126). Because lions were imported into Greece in the fourth century B.C.,[69] it would not be unthinkable that satraps at Sardis, too, had lions imported for hunting. However, no lion bones were identified among the several thousand animal bones found in the Sardis excavations and examined by S. Doğuer and associates.[70]

Although some correct observations appear, such as the dewclaw (small fifth toe or thumb on forefoot) in **25** (esp. Fig. 98), the Sardis lions seem to have been usually portrayed without benefit of life study.[71] Some "errors" imputed to artists need not be errors. It is certainly an error to show the lioness with a mane as in **34** (Figs. 125-129), but a young male lion until he is three to four years old (and apparently some even after that age) is maneless.[72]

Akurgal has suggested that the type of lion portrayed on Lydian coins is a mixture of Assyrian, "Late Hittite," and Greek elements.[73] It seems plausible to assume a non-Greek, "Late Hittite" model for the earliest complete lion found at Sardis **26** (Figs. 102-104, ca. 600-570 B.C.). Thereafter, the likelihood that Greek models were imitated is considerable. Corinthian inspiration seems probable for the large lion **31** (Figs. 119-122) and certain for the seated lions shown on the Ionic Cybele shrine **7** (Figs. 38, 42, 43).

The Eastern Greek standard recumbent lion type owes perhaps as much to Lydians as to Ionians. It seems to develop from the "Late Hittite" type[74] between 600 and 550 B.C. The lioness **34** (Figs. 125-129) is a delightful early Lydo-Ionian attempt at "scientific" naturalism, around mid-sixth century. The recumbent type was most likely the type of the golden lion of Croesus, as it recurs in golden jewelry of the Croesan era.[75]

A peculiar feature of the altar lions **27-29** (Figs. 105-117, ca. 570-560 B.C.) is the small sea lion or seal-like heads. One wonders whether seals (*phokai*), so popular in Phokaia and Larisa, were taken as models for lion heads either in nature or possibly from terracotta sculpture.[76]

The great lion found near the Synagogue (**31** Figs. 119-122) and the recumbent lion from the Nannas monument (**236** Figs. 407-409) turn their heads frontward. Their faces with rolling eyes suggest renewed contact with Assyrian-Babylonian tradition, presumably in the Croesan era. The recumbent type seems to have continued to the end of the sixth century B.C.

The seated lion from the Nannas monument (**235** Figs. 405-406) and the double lions found in the Synagogue (**25** Figs. 92-101) are valuable for a phase in the development of the seated type as yet little understood. Retaining archaic features, yet betraying knowledge of more naturalistic renderings of the classical age, they illustrate the transition toward classical lions during the fifth century B.C. It is not clear whether they are already inspired by Greek mainland (especially Attic) lion types.[77] There is no such doubt about the walking lions **38-39** (Figs. 135-138) which find close parallels in Attic monuments of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Considering that very typical Achaemenid lion sphinxes have been found in gold jewelry made in Sardis in the fifth century,[78] it is noteworthy that the

68. E. D. Van Buren, *Fauna,* 6, weights, Assur and brick stamps of Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon.

69. W. L. Brown, *Lion,* 167, citing Isocrates 15, *Peri tes antidoseos,* who speaks of lions in annual animal shows.

70. Deniz-Çalışlar-Özgüdun, passim.

71. For anatomical description of lions, see W. Ellenberg et al., *An Atlas of Animal Anatomy for Artists* (New York 1956) 63-87.

72. The famous man-eaters of Tsavo were two maneless young males, J. H. Patterson, *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo* (London 1907) 54f.; Hallett-Pelle, 35.

73. Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 155f., fig. 105.

74. Cf. **26** (Figs. 102-104) with discussion and Gabelmann, 38f.

75. *Sardis* XIII (1925) 34, no. 86, pl. 8:7a-c, three small golden lions. For the golden lion of Croesus, cf. Elderkin, 1-8, and *infra* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 6.

76. Cf. Åkerström, *Larisa* II pls. 57-58.

77. Vermeule, "Funerary Animals," 52.

78. *Sardis* I (1922) ill. 158; *Sardis* XIII (1925) 11, pl. 1:2, no. 2. H. J. Kantor, *JNES* 16 (1957) 4f., 13f., 16, no. 7.

stone sculpture tended to depict Greek, not Persian, lion types. With the decline of the Lydian culture and language, the popularity of lion statuary seems also to have waned in Lydia. At least, we have not found many Hellenistic or Roman examples.

On Stelai

The *Iliad* tells how the Greeks, the Trojans, and the Lycians poured big mounds over their dead and set upon them signs or pillars, *semata* or stelai, as an honor to the dead.[79] Like the Lycians, the Phrygians and Lydians also poured big earthen mounds over the burials of their kings and princes.[80] In Lydia, the stone markers found over the mound burials seem to have been principally of the so-called phallic or bud type, a circular pillar with a global or oval top. So far, we have no certain report of a rectangular, slab-like stele crowning a Lydian mound.[81]

The most popular kind of sepulchral monument in Greece from Geometric times on, the stele or rectangular slab or pillar, is abundantly represented in Lydia, both in decorated and inscribed examples.[82] As far as we know, however, no rude, irregular stelai of a primitive kind have been found at Sardis, as they were at Neandria where a seventh century B.C. date has been suggested.[83]

On the present evidence, Lydian stelai have been found only in association with rock-cut chamber tombs. We do not know when the first rock-cut chamber tombs of Sardis were made; a study of pottery finds indicates that late seventh century might be the earliest possible date.[84] A chamber tomb, which was built of masonry between 600 and 650 B.C., appeared in the mound of King Alyattes, the only royal burial discovered so far.[85]

H. C. Butler, who excavated over a thousand Lydian graves, including several hundred chamber tombs, found only two sepulchers with their stelai in place. One of them, **47**, presented a most impressive appearance in its original state (Figs. 153-154). Two mighty limestone pillars, about 10 feet (ca. 3 m.) high, with beautiful floral finials flanked a stair of limestone blocks leading to the facade of the tomb. This arrangement was late archaic, around 500-480 B.C. It may have had parallels and forerunners in Eastern Greece. Thus two flanking stelai, with figures of the deceased, are said to have adorned the tomb facade to which the famous Borgia stele in Naples belongs (**269**).[86] A symmetrical arrangement of two lions decorated the chamber tomb of a nobleman or ruler at Kazar Tepe,[87] at Miletus.

The second stele found by Butler *in situ* was a small (H. 0.965) inscribed pillar placed at the corner of a chamber tomb "beside and at the end of a long dromos." The date is not before the fifth century B.C., on epigraphic grounds.[88]

Finally, Butler seems to have observed some instances in which marble stelai were found inside tomb chambers: "these had been preserved but the color designs had disappeared."[89]

The early example, **47**, found *in situ* had a very wide and shallow base from which the shaft rose

79. The most explicit passage is *Iliad* 16.670-675, "Sleep and Death shall bring the hero Sarpedon to Lycia . . . there shall his brothers and his kinsfolk give him a burial with mound and pillar" (*tymboi te stelei te*). Friis-Johansen, 66-73.

80. R. S. Young, 35, on wooden poles rather than stelai marking the centers of mounds.

81. The phallic markers at Sardis will be published in a separate article by G. M. A. Hanfmann. See also Paton, 67ff.; G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* 37 (1933) 394ff.

82. For Greece see Richter, *Gravestones*^{2}, 1-2. Friis-Johansen, ch. 3, 65ff. For Lydia, **17, 45-49, 232-234, 240-242** (Figs. 70-71, 148-157, 402-404, 419-421); inscribed stelai, *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) nos. 1-26, pls. 1-11; Hanfmann, "Stelai," 35-44.

83. Friis-Johansen, 66-67, fig. 28 (Neandria).

84. G. M. A. Hanfmann has been preparing a study of what records and pieces of pottery survive from the first Sardis expedition. The earliest imported Greek pieces from chamber tombs seem to be Corinthian and Eastern Greek, not earlier than 600 B.C.

85. Alyattes mound: *BASOR* 170, 52-57, figs. 40-41.

86. See **269**, the Borgia stele, statement by G. Finati, according to which a companion stele showing a man holding a bronze vase was part of the facade of the same tomb as the "Man and Dog" stele, Friis-Johansen, 125, n.2; Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 60, n.2, 71, fig. 3; Berger, 9, 170, figs. 40, 135. There is no reason to assume with E. Pfuhl (*AA* 51 [1936] 65) that this is a Lydian-Greek stele or that it came from Sardis; one of the major Ionian or Aeolic cities is more likely.

87. Kazar Tepe: as G. Kleiner pointed out to me, the so-called Zopyrion Cave is, in fact, an impressive chamber tomb. Kleiner thought it possibly the sepulcher of one of the Milesian tyrants. Gabelmann, 119, nos. 114 a and b. Tuchelt, 129, nos. 117-118. Blümel, *Arch. Sk.*^{2}, nos. 62-63, figs. 179-184.

88. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 13-14, pl. 3, and plan in text. Gusmani, *LW*, 253, no. 7.

89. *Sardis* I (1922) 83.

(Fig. 154), but later examples probably had the type of base known for votive stelai.[90]

The real history of the stele at Sardis begins with two decorated anthemia, **45** and **46** (Figs. 148-151). By that time the marvelous basic shape of a tall shallow pillar crowned by two Ionic volutes and harmoniously terminated by a palmette had been created, very possibly in Eastern Greece, by combining floral architectural acroteria, based in turn on metal ornament, with the tall monument of stone.[91] The question of origins is complicated. On the one hand, majestic, artistically fashioned sepulchral stelai with cavetto floral profile surmounted by a sphinx were used on the Greek mainland since before 600 B.C. On the other hand, the earliest palmette-crowned examples seem to be Eastern Greek, already early archaic.[92] According to Buschor the palmette volute stele was invented in Samos around 570 B.C.[93] Perhaps we should assume that, as with vase painting, the same artistic problem—that of a majestic stone memorial—was taken up in different ways on the mainland and in Eastern Greece, with the mainland creating and developing the stele with human figures and the Eastern Greek artists favoring the use of Orientalizing floral decorative effects. Masterpieces of floral design appear around the middle of the sixth century in the Aeolid and on the island of Samos.

The Lydian examples depend on these Eastern Greek creations. Thus our earliest preserved finial, the masterly stele from the Pactolus Valley (**45** Figs. 148-149), is closely patterned on the beautiful Calvert stele from the Troad.[94] The Lydian stelai show enough divergencies from the Samian examples to indicate that a local Sardian taste and local typology established themselves soon; perhaps Greek masters did the earliest examples, now lost to us, but I do not believe with Friis-Johansen[95] that Ionian sculptors carved such stelai as the late archaic, and possibly *retardataire,* example **47** (Figs. 153-154).

The characteristic features of the Sardian stelai may be elucidated by comparing them with the comprehensive Samian series.[96] The development at Sardis is continuous and leads from mid-archaic to late classical sculpture.

Many Samian stelai express an innate sense of architectural geometry by emphasizing the top palmette as a vertical element and treating the two volutes as a horizontal base with the volutes projecting sideways beyond the palmette in the manner of the volutes of an Ionic capital.[97] The earliest Sardian stele gathers all elements of the anthemion into one all-encompassing oval (**45** Figs. 148-149), and this tendency to treat the finial as a compact unit continues in Lydian stelai of the later fifth and earlier fourth centuries B.C. (**240-242** Figs. 419-421). The effect is softer, heavier than in Samos. Possible exceptions, in which the outside of the stele was carved in various curves that followed the ornament, are the stele from Tomb 813 (**47** Figs. 153-154) of ca. 500-480 B.C. and **48** (Figs. 155-156), ca. 450 B.C.; but even in these the volutes do not seem to have projected sideways beyond the stele shaft as in Samos. Nor do we ever find on Sardian stelai the sharp, geometric termination of volutes against the sides, a rather inorganic solution not uncommon on Samos.[98]

Two features that occurred in Samos briefly are much favored on Sardian stelai: a light convex rise of the "body" of the volute and a rich, rather wide edging (called "pulvinated bands" by H. C. Butler). They are traits of archaic, almost Orientalizing taste for broad decorative effects. And the survival of the broad framing bands and two voluted stems growing antithetically out of the ground gives to the otherwise "modern" stele of 394 B.C. a kind of grandfatherly charm, as a glance at **45** (Figs. 148-149), the archaic prototype, will show.

When it comes to general types of finial design,

90. See especially *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) no. 22, text picture showing the stele as found; and n.113, *infra,* with references.

91. This is Buschor's theory, "Grabstelen," 38-43. He may not allow sufficiently for the possibility of Assyrian, Urartian, and Phrygian metal objects as sources.

92. Greek mainland: Richter, *Gravestones*^{2}, 9-14, dating earliest Attic type 610-575 B.C. Early archaic Eastern Greek: Friis-Johansen, 73, cites a stele from Kertch which in "volute palmette ornaments of Cypro-Phoenician type reveals dependence on Oriental models."

93. Buschor, "Grabstelen," 42.

94. Caskey, 25-26, no. 13; Friis-Johansen 74, fig. 31.

95. Friis-Johansen, 74.

96. Buschor, "Grabstelen," 26-43, discusses 21 anthemion-crowned stelai.

97. Ibid., Beil. X-XII, "Polycratean" group IV, 530-520 B.C.; Beil. XIV-XV, "Post-Polycratean" and early classical.

98. Ibid., Beil. X-XII.

Samos does not seem to have the antithetic volute stem composition; in Sardis, in the fifth century, it was developed into a design in which the lower ends of volutes placed diagonally into the corner acquire a leaf-like shape (49 Fig. 157). This, too, does not seem to have been popular on Samos.[99] On the other hand, the so-called lyre capital, which had appeared on Samos ca. 540-530 B.C. and in Athens ca. 530 B.C.,[100] is known at Sardis only in a fifth century example (48 Figs. 155-156).[101]

Thus, while Sardis stelai carvers clearly represent a Lydian dialect, the beauty of Lydian ornament seems to be due to direct contact with Eastern Greek masters. Unfortunately, neither Miletus[102] nor Ephesus, which on historical grounds is the most likely immediate source for Sardis,[103] has produced any extensive collections of stelai comparable to Samos. At present, the Samian stelai appear to be closest to those from Sardis. We know that Samian artists worked for Lydian kings: Theodoros made a silver crater for Croesus.[104] Therefore, direct influence of Samian designs is entirely possible.

Because marble technique and design of marble monuments go together, we have assumed that the Lydian sculptors depended on the decorative vocabulary of Eastern Greece; yet in gold and jewelry and bronze metal work, the same volutes, palmettes, rosettes, and lotuses were designed and executed by artists working in the Achaemenid Persian court style at Sardis[105] in the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Recently, some stelai have come to light at the satrapal residence of Daskylion which pose the question of a possible existence of a satrapal style in Asia Minor.[106] These stelai have anthemia of Greek type, but they also have figurative representations of funerary meals and processions of carts and horsemen.[107] The very close resemblance of one of the Daskylion finials (Fig. 152) to one from Sardis (46 Figs. 151-152) makes one wonder whether the Sardian stele, too, had similar Persianizing figurative representations. For the moment, we have no proof, but the Persian subject and special style of the pediment 18 (Figs. 72-74) lend probability to this assumption.

Most of the stelai found at Sardis are datable only by stylistic comparisons. The earliest (45 Figs. 148-149) represents the simpler taste of ca. 550-530 B.C. The brilliant, exaggerating, manneristic stage of Eastern Greek ornament is just beginning in 46 (Figs. 150-151, ca. 530-520 B.C.). For the limestone stele of Tomb 813 (47 Figs. 153-154), which displays in its long, thin lotus an advanced, late archaic mannerism,[108] we can marshall new chronological evidence: one of the four burials in the chamber tomb contained a well-datable Attic vase of ca. 500-480 B.C.[109] The stele may thus be a work of the early fifth century, which shows both survival of manneristic ornament in Lydia into the fifth century B.C. and a linear, conservative touch in the actual execution.

Hitherto, the dating of the material from Sardis suggested a break between the series of archaic stelai

99. A more likely prototype is presented by the anthemion of the Borgia stele (269) and *supra* n.86.

100. Samos: Buschor, "Grabstelen," 28. Athens: Richter, *Gravestones*^{2}, ch. 3, p. 28 (drawing), figs. 110f. The lyre motif is very popular on Sardis terracotta friezes, cf. Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 93; *BASOR* 162, 21, fig. 8.

101. The example 48 (Figs. 155-156) is *Sardis* II (1924) 78, ill. 93.

102. Fragment of a stele of the anthemion type from Miletus is preserved at the excavation house in Akköy (1971).

103. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 10-13.

104. Herodotus 1.50. See also *infra,* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 7.

105. *Sardis* XIII (1925) 12, 14, nos. 3 and 12, pls. 1-2. One of these was found in Tomb 813 with stele 47 (Figs. 153-154); there is a clear resemblance between the lotus design of some gold plaques (no. 12, pl. 2:3) and the lotus designs of the anthemion stelai. For the court style on seals of Sardis, see Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 30-37.

106. The problem has been discussed comprehensively by Borchhardt, 161-211. Cf. also Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 18-20, with bibliography of the Daskylion stelai, n.71, figs. 40-41. For the anthemia see N. Dolunay, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 13-14 (1966) 97-117, pls. 1-7; P. Bernard, *RA* 1 (1969) 17-28, figs. 1-9; H. Möbius, "Zu den Stelen von Daskyleion," *AA* (1971) 442-455.

107. Hanfmann, "Pediment," 301, pl. 104b; *supra* n. 25. Although the subject of the cortège is Persian, the artistic prototypes were Eastern Greek as the close resemblance to the stele from Dorylaion, an Eastern Greek work of ca. 520-500 B.C., indicates. Cf. Friis-Johansen, 76-78, fig. 34b, who recalls that Langlotz attributed it to Chios.

108. See the discussion under 46 (Figs. 150-151). The development goes from larger and sturdier to thinner, spikier, attenuated lotuses. It seems to span the years 530-420 B.C. Cf. Buschor, "Grabstelen," 29, fig. 5, Beil. XI-XIII; Caeretan hydriae, Arias-Hirmer, 312, pl. 77, pl. XXVII (color). The Dorylaion stele, Friis-Johansen, fig. 34a, is about mid-way into it.

109. This chamber tomb was designated T 813 in the records of the first Sardis expedition. On the sarcophagi found in the tomb and other finds see *Sardis* I (1922) 116, 160, ill. 177; pottery, ill. 124. Attic oinochoe, "The Class of Vatican G 49," Beazley, *ABV,* 533, no. 10, by a contemporary of the Theseus and Athena Painters. The vase is apparently lost. For the gold foil ornaments see *Sardis* XIII (1925) 14, no. 12, pl. 2:3. For an Achaemenid seal with king, lions, and sphinxes, ibid., 39-40, no. 104, pls. 10:1, 11:20; E. Porada by letter suggests "probably late Darius" as the date.

reaching into the early fifth century B.C. and the emergence of floral decorative stelai in the late fifth, but I now believe that because of its complicated, two-storied, naturalistic central lotus, the lyre stele (48 Figs. 155-156) may descend toward the middle of the century (480-450 B.C.?).[110] One can still recognize the same archaic taste for emphatic spirals in the radiant finial of the famous Aramaic-Lydian bilingual (241 Fig. 420)
stele of a Lydian in Persian service who was named Manes, son of Kumlis. It also has, however, advanced features such as the little bell-flowers exactly parallelled on the stele of the Athenians who fell in 394 B.C. in the Corinthian war.[111] Its master was clearly under the spell of that wondrous creation, the architectural ornament of the Erechtheion (ca. 420-410 B.C.). Growing out of a wide acanthus chalice and inhabited by birds, the involuted design of the stele of Alikres reflects a later taste, that of naturalistic, often overloaded, late classical decoration of which the Greek mainland was the most probable source (242 Fig. 421).[112]

We have only three examples of Lydian anthemion stelai in which the shaft is even approximately preserved: the slender late archaic 47 (Figs. 153-154) was perhaps 2.5 m. high, and the ratio of height to width better than 4:1; the unusual and still slender classical stele of Katovas (240 Fig. 419; H. 1.79, W. 0.39) is about 4.5:1. For the bilingual stele 241 of 394 B.C., which is not quite complete (H. 1.63 +, W. 0.53; Fig. 420), the ratio may be 3.5:1. That the classical stelai were shorter and squatter is confirmed by a number of inscribed stelai.[113] Particularly instructive is the stele, no. 22, found by the first Sardis expedition. Its height is two and two thirds times its width. When it was found, the tongue that would have been inserted into the socket of the base was still preserved.[114]

Unfortunately, the figured stelai of Sardis have not preserved their crowns, if they ever had them.[115] Their history is discontinuous but illumines aspects and influences not represented in the surviving floral anthemia. There is no doubt that the earliest, that of Atrastas (17 Figs. 70-71), belongs to the lively Eastern Greek style of 520-500 B.C. It is unusual in having the small relief scene at the very top of the shaft. Broken at the top, the stele is 0.97 m. high, 0.32 m. wide (a ratio of ca. 3:1). The many examples for the motif of the seated men have been splendidly illustrated by E. Berger,[116] while B. S. Ridgway has attributed to Eastern Greece stelai of the "Man and Dog" group and discussed the meaning of the motif,[117] of which our stele presents an unusual variant with half the dog cut off. The man is envisaged as either reading or writing and this domestic theme with its attributes—the chair, the writing desk(?)—is part of a late archaic trend to depict the milieu, here given with provincial simplification. In addition to the examples cited by Ridgway, one should recall, for the mood of the times, Exekias' charming scene in which the Dioscurus, who has returned home, plays with his dog.[118]

A fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, brought in by the first Sardis expedition, is of great importance (232 Fig. 402). It proves that the type of tall stele with a profiled late archaic or early classical male figure occupying the shaft[119] was represented at Sardis. It also proves, despite poor preservation, that Sardian sculptors came in contact with that soft, nearly sentimental style which is best known through three tall "Man and Dog" stelai and which belongs to the years 490-460 B.C. The matter would be certain if one could substantiate the conjecture made by E. Pfuhl, who argued that the

110. It seems to reflect the same taste as Buschor, "Grabstelen," 36f., Beil. XV, Group VI.1, which Buschor places "around 500 B.C."

111. Möbius[1], 24, pl. 9d. Möbius listings are to the first edition unless specific reference is made to the addenda pages of the new edition. We are grateful to H. Möbius for sending us a copy of the new volume.

112. Möbius[1], 25, n.26, 71, pl. 9b, emphasized the connections with late 5th C. ornament in Athens, but surely the overall complexity relates to later vase ornaments.

113. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) nos. 10, 11, 22, 23 (respective H. 0.865, 1.095, 1.68, 0.79), pls. 4, 5, 10, and fig. on p. 40, showing no. 22 *in situ*.

114. Without the projecting tongue for insertion into base, its H. is 1.59 and its W. at bottom is 0.615. For the location of this base see *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68f., no. 11A. For the type of base see Berger, fig. 36a.

115. It thus remains uncertain whether the figured stelai had anthemia, as did the stelai from Daskylion, see *supra* n.106 and Fig. 152, or the stele from Dorylaion, Friis-Johansen, figs. 34a-b.

116. Berger, figs. 8-21, 49, 121, 124, 142, 145, 150-154; see also Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 73, fig. 7, Sparta.

117. Ibid., 60-71.

118. Beazley, *DABF*, 66, pl. 28.

119. Richter, *Gravestones*[2], figs. 157-171. As to Eastern Greek examples, Berger, fig. 58, from Syme near Rhodes, ca. 510-500 B.C., is earlier; fig. 134, from Dikaia (Ionian "enclave" in northern Greece) is close; fig. 37, from Nisyros, ca. 460 B.C., is clearly later.

famous "Man and Dog" so-called Borgia stele in Naples, ca. 470-460 B.C., came from Sardis; unfortunately, the conjecture is poorly founded.[120] Nevertheless, the figure style seems close to that of the Metropolitan Museum fragment,[121] and the shape of the palmette of the anthemion with leaf-like lower termination of volute is the model of the type from which the volute of our stele **49** (Fig. 157) is derived.

The Greek model for the Metropolitan Museum stele could be either Attic, or Cycladic, or—if Eastern Greece is accepted as the provenance for the Borgia stele—Eastern Greek. With the poorly preserved votive(?) stele (**19** Figs. 75-77) of a veiled frontal woman and the provincial but fascinating stele of a priestess (**233** Fig. 403), we are definitely in the Cycladic-Boeotian ambient[122] and past the mid-fifth century. A characteristic, classical feature of this group is the single figure with empty space around and overhead. The figure type of **19** itself recalls the so-called Aspasia (Europa).[123] The tall profiled rise above the relief suggests a possible pedimental termination. The awkwardly placed figure of the woman in **233** is imitated from Greek models of the Cycladic-Boeotian group, but the rendering of her garment seems to be influenced by Persian palace reliefs, one of the few signs of Persian influence on lower level sculpture, perhaps conveyed by a Lydian who actually worked in Iran.[124]

Although its iconography is very local, the great Artemis-Cybele stele (**20** Figs. 78-83) clearly confirms what the anthemion stelai had suggested: from the late fifth century on, Attic influence comes to the fore. Both in the wide format of the architectural frame with a pediment carried by Ionic piers and in the composition of the large goddesses and smaller votaries, the stimuli came from the Attic votive reliefs. This seems also true of the modest Cybele relief, which repeats the type of the famous Athenian image of Agorakritos (**21** Figs. 84-85). Both works, one perhaps from the beginning, the other from the middle of the fourth century B.C., are executed in a somewhat halting imitation of Attic style.

This is no longer true of the stele of Atrastas, son of Timles, dated by its Lydian inscription after Alexander's conquest to the year 330-329 B.C. The group lacks a tectonic frame. It depicts the old motif of the funerary meal of man and wife, which was beloved by the Persians and Lydians[125] and accepted by Eastern Greeks. The man wears Iranian clothes. The style is curiously linear; perhaps it should be viewed as a reflection of late, degenerate Achaemenid linear style such as is known on Greco-Persian gems.[126] This would be in keeping with the confused conditions of the first years of the rule of Alexander before the full impact of Greek influence had time to assert itself among the allegedly liberated Sardians, who had been permitted to retain their own Lydian institutions and customs. The earliest Hellenistic stele, that of Matis (**134** Figs. 267-268, ca. 250 B.C.), with a Greek inscription, reverts to Greek, indeed to Attic, tradition.

Thus the stelai give glimpses of the development of Sardian sculpture with its high point in the gorgeous archaic ornamental anthemia of an Eastern Greek phase. Then the pendulum swings from Cy-

120. Pfuhl argues that the two stelai observed on the "Borgia tomb" by Finati (cf. **269**) were attached to the rock and placed symmetrically, as in the case of the Sardis stele **47** (Figs. 153-154). Actually, Butler never said that the stelai were attached to the rock-cut facade of the tomb T 813. He implies, on the contrary, that the facade behind the two stelai was robbed because it was of masonry. *Sardis* I (1922) 116: "the opening was originally closed with a wall and doorway, since destroyed . . . the landslide . . . ruined the front wall of the tomb." The plan, ill. 178, makes it appear that the stelai adhered to the rock, but this is not the case in the photograph, ill. 122. E. Pfuhl, *AA* 51 (1936) 65. Borgia stele bibliography, **269** and *supra* n. 86. Berger, 200, fig. 135, recent bibliography; also Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 60, n.2, 71, fig. 3.

121. I see a possible workshop connection between the group of Eastern Greek "Man and Dog" stelai (ca. 470-460 B.C., Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 79, figs. 1-3), the developed soft style of the Satrap Sarcophagus from Sidon (Kleemann, pls. 1-19, ca. 440 B.C.) and the pediment from Sardis, **18** (Figs. 72-74) of ca. 430 B.C. Hanfmann, "Pediment," 292-293, pls. 99, 103, for comparison; idem, *Croesus,* 18-19, fig. 42.

122. Friis-Johansen, 122-135; this also includes the circle of Thessalian stelai, Biesantz, 38-43, 161-165, pls. 17-23.

123. Cf. Ridgway, *Severe Style,* 65-67, figs. 106-108. For the frontal view, cf. ibid., 97, fig. 132, Larissa in Thessaly.

124. The nearest parallel to the size and placing of the figure on the stele is the stele of Polyxenaia from Larissa in Thessaly, and of Amphotto from Boeotia, Friis-Johansen, 133-134, figs. 67-68. I have discussed the transfer of the symmetrical fold motif from the Persian back to the Lydian relief in a forthcoming paper for the Congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology held in 1972. For the motif in question see at Persepolis, Nylander, 135, fig. 46.

125. Discussed in Hanfmann, "Pediment," 296-297, pl. 102b, with literature.

126. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London 1970) 316, 325f., figs. 894, 897, 990-991; he suggests that not many "Greco-Persian" gems descend into the 4th C.; idem, "Pyramidal Seals," 20-45, esp. figs. 18, 23, 108, 110, 115.

cladic in earlier classic to Attic in later classic figurative art work, when the stelai masters, at least, remained on a provincial level. Although the whole picture of Sardian arts allows for some influence of the satrapal courts, Persian forms and motifs seem to occur only sporadically. The major determinant is the art of Greece. The Lydian character seems to be clearest in the floral anthemia where we discern a style that is less precise, softer, and more massive than that of archaic or classical Greek stelai.

III LITERARY, EPIGRAPHIC, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Literary sources for sculpture at Sardis during the Lydian and Persian periods are scanty. In the following are cited the relevant passages after *Sardis* M2 (1972), to which the reader is referred for the original Greek texts and commentary. The evidence from epigraphic sources consists of two dates provided by inscribed Lydian stelai and the dedication in Greek made by satrap Droaphernes.[1]

1. Meles and lion image. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 116 (Herodotus 1.84) and no. 114 (Favorinus *De Fortuna* 22). Capture of Sardis. "This was the only place where Meles, the earlier king of Sardis, did not carry the lion which his mistress bore him . . . the Telmessians [prophets] decreed that Sardis should be impregnable when the lion had been carried around the wall" (Herodotus).

Meles, if historical, lived in the 8th C. B.C. The lion may have been a statue carried around the walls of the citadel in a ritual analogous to that of the Hittites. For lions, cf. **7, 20, 26-36** (Figs. 28, 82, 102-133).

2. Gyges, gifts to Delphi. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 41 (Herodotus 1.14). "Gyges the king sent many gifts to Delphi . . . Most of his offerings there are of silver but he dedicated a great quantity of gold among which six golden mixing-bowl craters are the most worthy of mention. These stand in the treasury of the Corinthians and weigh thirty talents" (ca. 680-645 B.C.).

The gold bowls may have been decorated with figures. The Lydians had no treasure house of their own at Delphi. The close relations to Corinth are reflected in sculpture, cf. **7** panels K and L (Figs. 42-43).

3. Alyattes, gifts to Delphi. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 62 (Herodotus 1.25 and Pausanias 10.16.1-2). "Alyattes . . . died after a reign of fifty-seven years [617?-560 B.C.]. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi . . . of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. This is the work of Glaucus the Chian,[2] the only man of that age who discovered how to weld iron."

According to Hegesandros (in Athenaeus 210 C), the stand was decorated with little animals and plants. The passage proves that already Alyattes employed Greek Ionian artists.[3]

4. Alyattes, temples at Assessus. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 62 (Herodotus 1.22). Alyattes also built twin temples at Assessus in the Milesian territory. It is probable that they had some sculptural decoration. For a structure of the time of Alyattes with unusual sculptural decoration cf. **7** (Figs. 20-50).

5. Croesus (560-547 B.C.), presents to temple of Artemis, Ephesus. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 100 (Herodotus 1.92). "Croesus made many other dedications . . . at Ephesus the golden oxen and many of the columns." The columns had reliefs and inscriptions in Greek and Lydian. "King Croesus gave (these)," "dedicated" in the Greek version. Pryce, nos. B 16, 32, B 50, 91, 103, figs. 32, 69. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 11-14, figs. 21-22, 27-29, suggests that artists of a Sardo-Ephesian (Lydo-Ionian) school worked at both Ephesus and Sardis.

1. Lydian inscriptions contain words which have been translated as "stele," but they do not indicate whether such stelai were decorated; they are not included among the epigraphic sources. As in the section on Hellenistic-Roman sculpture, *infra,* we are not including the ordinary Greek votive or funerary inscriptions, which, in any case, are not numerous for the time from the 6th through the 4th C. B.C.

2. Cf. E. Pernice, "Glaukos von Chios," *JdI* 16 (1901) 107-111.

3. The techniques of Sardian metalwork will be discussed by J. C. Waldbaum in a forthcoming volume in this series.

6. Croesus, presents to the oracle of Apollo in Delphi: lion. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 99 (Herodotus 1.50). The lion of pure (refined, "cooked") gold, which originally weighed ten talents, was on a pedestal of 113 bricks of electrum ("white gold"), each of which was 6 by 3 by 1 (H.) palms and weighed two and a half talents; and four bricks of pure gold, each weighing two and a half talents. The lion, too, was in the treasury of the Corinthians (cf. *supra* no. 2 and *infra* no. 8).

For possible reconstruction of the Delphi lion, see Elderkin, 1-8, fig. 1. The lion and its pedestal were melted down in the 4th C. B.C. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 98 (Diodorus 16.56.6). For lions of the Alyattes and Croesus eras, cf. **23, 24, 26-33, 37** (Figs. 87-91, 102-124, 134) and the small gold lions, *Sardis* XIII (1925) no. 86, pl. 8.

7. Croesus, presents to Delphi: craters of gold and silver. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 99 (Herodotus 1.51). "The silver crater lies at the corner of the pronaos of the temple [of Apollo] and it holds six hundred *amphoreis* [nine gallon measures?][4] for the Delphians use it for the feast of the Divine Appearance [Theophania]. The Delphians say it is a work by Theodorus of Samos."

The existence of huge mixing bowls in archaic Greece has been confirmed by the discovery of the mighty bronze crater of Vix (capacity 1200 liters; ca. 316 gallons). This passage proves that Theodorus of Samos, famous as architect of the huge Heraion of Samos, and as inventor and as bronze-caster of sculpture, was employed by Croesus. Like the crater of Vix, the silver crater of Theodorus may have been decorated with reliefs and figurines; Herodotus says "it seems to me to be of no common workmanship." For the crater of Vix, cf. R. Joffroy, "Le trésor de Vix," *MonPiot* 48 (1954) 1ff.; Schefold, *Die Griechen,* 205-206, figs. 150 a-b; Hanfmann, *Class. Sculpture,* 312, figs. 90-91.

8. Croesus, presents to Delphi: four silver pithoi and two *perirrhanteria* ("sprinkling vessels"), one of gold and one of silver in treasury of the Corinthians. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 99 (Herodotus 1.51). "The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs . . . is a Lacaedemonian gift . . . but not either of the *perirrhanteria.*" This sounds as if figurative work was involved. For the caryatid bowls supported by maidens and thought to be *perirrhanteria,* cf. Richter, *Korai,* 24, 27-30, figs. 35-56.

9. Croesus, statue of the woman who was his baker. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 68 (Plutarch *De Pythiae oraculis* 16 [401 E]) and no. 99 (Herodotus 1.51). Croesus' stepmother "gave poison to his baker and told her to knead it into the bread and give it to him. But the baker secretly told Croesus and gave the bread to the woman's children" (Plutarch). "Croesus sent . . . a golden image of a woman, three cubits [60 inches] high, which, the Delphians say, is the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker" (Herodotus).

Apparently the statue had no identifying inscription or attributes. For Lydian korai of the time see the maidens on the sides of 7 (panels A, B, G-J, Figs. 33-34, 39-41). The statue in Delphi was melted down in the 4th C. B.C. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 98 (Diodorus 16.56.6).

For a gold-silver bull, possibly a Croesan dedication, see P. Amandry, "Statue de taureau en argent," *Études delphiques, BCH* Supplément IV (1977) 273-293, esp. p. 291.

10. Sardians at work in Persian palaces at Susa and Persepolis. *Sardis* M2 (1972) nos. 302-303 (Darius, Persepolis H 3-10; Darius, Susa F 35-55). Building inscription of Darius, 530-485 B.C. "The stone cutters who wrought the stone, those were Sardians and Egyptians . . . The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians." New tablet from Susa, J. Perrot, *CRAI* (1970) 375-377. The Lydians may have learned from the Egyptians: a Lydian graffito was found in a quarry in Egypt, Gusmani, *LW,* no. 49.

Nylander, 14ff. and 138, n.355, 116f., admits the influence of Lydians in masonry but raises the question whether "to work the stone" and "to work the wood" included only masonry and carpentry or extended to relief and sculptural decoration. Tablet "Susa F" in Kent's translation says: "The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought," putting the Ionians into the rank of decorators. For the contacts of Lydia and Iran cf. **16, 18, 231, 233** (Figs. 68-69, 72-74, 401, 403).

11. Bronze statue of a water-carrying girl brought from Athens to Sardis (480-465 B.C.). *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 274 (Plutarch *Themistocles* 31, possibly after Phainias of Eresos, pupil of Aristotle). "When he [Themistocles] had arrived at Sardis and having time for leisure went to see the arrangement of the sanctuaries and the great number of dedications, he saw in the sanctuary of the Mother [of the Gods] the statue called the water-carrier, a girl in bronze and two cubits high [ca. 40 inches]. When he was water commissioner in Athens he himself had this statue made . . . [It was carried off when the Persians captured Athens in 480 B.C.] He spoke to the satrap of Lydia asking him to send the statue back to Athens . . . The barbarian [perhaps Artaphernes II, cf. J. Keil, *RE* 26:2 (1927) 2175] got angry and threatened that he would write to the king," so the statue presumably stayed at Sardis.

The incident occurred after Themistocles was banished (468 B.C.) and before he went to the royal court at Susa

4. On the capacity of the *amphoreus,* see V. R. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade,* American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Princeton 1961), a little under 7 gallons for Rhodian class. In an informative letter (July 12, 1975) Grace suggests that Herodotus "writing for his expected Athenian readers might have used the Attic metretes or *amphoreus* of 38,400 cc or slightly more than 10 gallons." She cites for the problem of determining the capacity measure of *amphoreus* her discussion in Ph. Bruneau, ed., *L'îlot de la maison des comédiens,* Exploration archéologique de Délos XXVII (Paris 1970) 360; *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 85f.; and K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 195-196.

(465 B.C.). The Greeks had burned down the temple of the Mother of the Gods (Cybele) in 499 B.C. The sanctuary was apparently functioning by 468-465 B.C. The notice shows that important early classical Greek originals were available as models for Sardian sculptors. For Themistocles as water commissioner, cf. M. Lang, *Waterworks in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1968) 3-4. For probable posture of the water-carrier, cf. Attic vases, Lysippides Painter, *CVA British Museum* VI pl. 88. For early classical types comparable to a water-carrier, cf. basket-bearer, Paestum, Lamb², 143, pl. 51 b (500-480 B.C.); Richter, *Korai,* 106-109, fig. 618. The style of the hydrophoros would have been Attic, of the time of the Euthydikos kore group, ibid., 98-104, nos. 180-188, figs. 565-599.

12. Image of Cybele, ca. 420 B.C.? In the famous lyric nome, *The Persians,* by the dithyrambic poet and composer Timotheos (performed ca. 419-416 B.C., according to C. M. Bowra, *OCD²,* 1077) the Asia Minor vassals of Xerxes sing of their hope of return from Greece. After mentioning Sardis and Tmolus (verses 116-117; cf. *Sardis* M2 [1972] no. 190), they say that only the Great Goddess can save them, and wish "to fall at the knees of the Mother of the Mountains [*Meter Oureia*], the Mistress [*Despoina*] clad in the chiton with black leaves" (literally —to fall to the lordly knees, *desposyna gonata,* in black-leafed chiton, *melampetalochitona*). The speaker then invokes her as Divine Mother, *Thea Meter,* with the golden locks.

The natural assumption, now proposed by A. Henrichs, to whom we owe the knowledge of the passage ("Despoina Kybele," *HSCP* 80 [1976] 435-503), is that the image of the Mountain Mother is that of Cybele or Kuvava. As a Mountain Mother she is linked with Dionysus (*Baki* in Lydian) in Euripides *Bacchae* 58, 72-81. Although a mountain goddess, Artemis does not qualify as Mother. Unfortunately, the passage does not indicate whether the goddess is envisaged as standing or seated, but we learn that the image had golden (gilded) locks and wore a chiton decorated with black leaves.

13. Image of Cybele, 409 B.C.? *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 253 (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 391-401). "All Nourisher, Earth of the Mountains [*orestera*], Mother of Zeus himself, you who rule over the great Pactolus filled with gold, Lady Mother [*Meter Potnia*], Hail Blessed One, who sits on bull-slaying lions."

In the light of our discovery of an altar of Kuvava on the Pactolus in the area of gold-purifying workshops (*BASOR* 191, 11-12, figs. 9-11; 199, 22; Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "New Excavations," 311-315; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 222-234, figs. 169, 176; idem, *Croesus,* 14, figs. 31-32; *Sardis* M3 [1974] 28-30), it seems permissible to interpret the reference as an allusion to an actual image of Cybele seated either upon or between lions (as would be the case with the "Agorakritos type," cf. 21 Figs. 84-85). It is noteworthy that Sophocles equates Cybele and Mountain Mother with Mother Earth; this may explain the later equation with Demeter in Apollonius of Tyana (see Penella, 308 text, 311 commentary).

14. The altar of Artemis. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 271 (Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.6.6-7). The Younger Cyrus and Orontas swore oaths of friendship, between 407 and 401 B.C. For an ornament possibly from the altar, cf. 51 (Fig. 161). The excavators record an archaic altar of the 6th C. B.C., probably decorated, and a late Achaemenid 4th C. enlargement, cf. *Sardis* R1 (1975) ch. 6, "The Artemis Altars LA 1 and LA 2."

15. Stele with palmette finial, dated 394 B.C., Aramaic-Lydian bilingual. Here 241 (Fig. 420). The date is preserved in the Aramaic text. "On the fifth of Marhesuan of year 10 of Artaxerxes the King. In Sardis the fortress." Both texts threaten: "Whoever damages this stele of this grave chamber of this dromos . . . to him Artemis of Ephesus and Artemis of Koloe . . . shall bring destruction."

Sardis VI.2 (1924) no. 1; Gusmani, *LW,* no. 1; idem, "Lydiaka," 272. Only Artaxerxes II Mnemon (436-358 B.C.) who began to rule in 404 B.C. is possible on the grounds of the style of the finial.

16. Inscribed statue base, 366-365 B.C., dated in the 39th year of the rule of Artaxerxes II Mnemon. Here 273 (Figs. 463-464). Droaphernes, "son of Barakes, satrap of Lydia, erected the statue to Zeus Baradates."

The dedicatory inscription was copied in Roman times, according to L. Robert not earlier than the 2nd C. A.D., and this copy was found built into a late Roman wall on the Pactolus. It is not known whether the statue showed the god in Greek-Lydian style, as Zeus Lydios was shown on coins (cf. for instance, Metraux, 158, pl. 36:8-9) or in the Persian likeness of Ahura Mazda, known from gold plaques and Perso-Lydian seals (cf. *Sardis* XIII [1925] 13, pl. 8, no. 8, Tomb 27-A). The inscription is published by L. Robert, *CRAI* (Apr.-June 1975) 306-330, figs. 1-2. Cf. *AJA* 79 (1975) 216, pl. 42:18-19; *AASOR,* forthcoming.

17. Stele with funerary meal, dated by Lydian inscription. Here 234 (Fig. 404). "In the year 5 under Alexander": 330-329 B.C. counting from the conquest of Asia Minor in 334 B.C. The stele belonged to Atrastas (Adrastos), son of Timles. "Whosoever damages this grave or this stele him *Levs* [Zeus] will destroy." *Sardis* VI.2 (1925) no. 3; Gusmani, *LW,* no. 3.

18. Statue of a Lydian named Adrastos, 323-322 B.C.(?). *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 270 (Pausanias 7.6.6). "A Lydian, Adrastos by name aided the Greeks [in the Lamian War] but privately and not at the instructions of the Lydian state. But the Lydians set up a bronze statue of Adrastos in front of the sanctuary of the Persian Artemis, and they wrote an epigram saying that Adrastos died fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatos."

This was a portrait statue probably of a warrior (cf. the contemporaneous portrait of the warrior Aristonautes, ca. 320 B.C., A. von Salis, *Das Grabmal des Aristonautes,*

Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 84 [1926] pls. 1-2). The name Adrastos (Atrastas) was very popular in Lydia and nothing further is known about this particular Adrastos. The "Persian Artemis" is Artemis Anahita, whose cult was introduced in Lydia by Artaxerxes II. There is no evidence to indicate whether this shrine of Anahita was different from the Artemis sanctuary in the Pactolus Valley, of which the altar and Hellenistic-Roman temple is preserved. The poem may have been bilingual, Lydian and Greek, like the dedication by Nannas Dionysikleos (**274** Figs. 465-466). Evidently the Lydians closely followed the Greek lead in introducing honorary statues. Pausanias makes it sound as if the Lydian state set up the statue. The statue of Demosthenes set up in Athens in 280 B.C. was a similar anti-Macedonian demonstration. After capture of Sardis in 334 B.C., Alexander told the Lydians that they would be free "to use their own laws," i.e. to have nominal independence. They reckoned the date by his reign in 329 B.C. During the time between the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) and the battle of Kyroupedion (281 B.C.) Sardis was within the Macedonian sphere, but during this period of tumultuous changes actual control may have varied considerably. Theoretically the statue, celebrating Adrastos because he fought against the Macedonians, could have been set up only after the Seleucids took over in 281 B.C.

19. Gilded bronze statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Herakles by the sculptors Dipoinos and Skyllis taken from Croesus by Ardashir (Cyrus). E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art,* trans. K. Jex-Blake (London 1896) 184-185, citing Moses of Chorene 2.12.

Sellers' reading of Moses of Chorene implies that the statues were at Sardis, but up-to-date commentary by R. W. Thomson (letter Mar. 7, 1977; see Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians,* trans. and ed. R. W. Thomson [Cambridge, Mass. 1978]) makes it clear that one cannot be sure the pieces in question came from either Sardis or Lydia rather than from some other site in the area of the later province of Asia.

Findspots and Original Positions

The findspots of the Lydian and Persian sculpture from Sardis may be divided into three categories. Those which are uninformative are in the great majority, such as the archaic sculpture reused in walls and foundations as, for instance, the archaic Manisa kore in a Roman wall (**8** Figs. 51-54) or the "laughing lion" (**26** Figs. 102-104) built into the foundation of a Synagogue pier. The classical reliefs **19** and **20** (Figs. 75-83) were used face down in the stylobate of the forecourt colonnade in the Synagogue; **4, 6,** and **7** (Figs. 11-12, 16-19, 20-50) were used as masonry in the piers (**4** perhaps in the wall). The half-pediment of the Persian period (**18** Figs. 72-74) was apparently also reused in a Roman structure. Even most of the Lydian funerary stelai were found in a secondary terrace wall (*Sardis* VI.2 [1924]1, cf. **241** Fig. 420).

In a few cases, something can be deduced from the findspot. The stele **9** (Figs. 58-60) was found near the site of a small sanctuary (Dede Mezarı), the lion spout 237 (Figs. 410-412) at the northeast corner of the Artemis Temple, the palmette-lotus **51** (Fig. 161), though not stratified, within the area of the Artemis altar. The fine stele fragment **46** (Figs. 150-151) was found near the Lydian tombs of Şeytan Dere.[5]

A chronological indication but no information about the original use comes from the stratified black lava piece found at PN (**16** Figs. 68-69). It was associated with a floor at furnace B which, according to A. Ramage, dates to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.[6]

Finally, for the third group, the two and one half lions found immured in the altar of Kuvava at PN (**27-29** Figs. 105-117) constitute the only statues of the Lydian period that were possibly found in their original positions. The stratigraphy of PN and of the gold refinery area has been somewhat revised by A. Ramage, who has kindly made available his preliminary conclusions.[7] The altar, according to Ramage, did not contain any datable sherds in the sacrificial layers that were found in it. The cobbled floor of the sacrificial surface within the altar was above the industrial debris; according to A. Ramage (letter, Feb. 1972) "the sherds [in the debris] are almost certainly connected with industrial activities, perhaps from furnace C, about which hardly anything has been written." At any rate, the sherds did get into the fill in the lower part of the altar, and thus provide a *terminus post quem.*[8]

5. See *Sardis* R1 (1975) 13-16, sector index; see also Fig. 1.

6. *BASOR* 191, 13; 199, 25, plan fig. 9.

7. *BASOR* 191, 11-13, figs. 10-11; 199, 16ff., figs. 8-9, plans of precinct and altar. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 230-234, fig. 176, plan.

8. P68.60:7880, Lydian imitating Wild Goat style (not in Greenewalt, "Wild Goat") *BASOR* 199, 17, "around 600 B.C." Eastern Greek

Pending closer dating by ceramic experts, 570-560 B.C. is a plausible date for construction of the altar. On this basis, the lions would date into the rule of Alyattes (617-560 B.C.). This phase is shown in our reconstruction of the altar, Figure 106.

The altar was then damaged by flood. According to the excavator, "an addition to its western side rests on a heavy deposit at *87.55."[9] The altar was made 0.60 m. higher, and "during the reconstruction, two nearly complete archaic lions and a half lion, intentionally cut, were carefully surrounded by schist and small limestone chips and immured at the southeast, southwest, and northwest corners." There are no finds that would help to date closely this reconstruction of the altar. A. Ramage writes, "I have the feeling that the altar was not used for very long in Phase I—the clay 'floor' around it is not very thick (0.15 m.) and the thin surface between two gravel layers even thinner. Phase II would seem to be even shorter." This would make it possible to retain the suggestion advanced in 1967 that the rebuilding took place after 547 B.C., under the Persians who preferred a noniconic altar. A. Ramage by letter also considers that the altar could have been exposed but not in use into the fifth century, since there was a small structure and a marbled lekythos found within the gravel nearby.

The attribution to the goddess Cybele (Kuvava) has been reinforced by the find of a Lydian graffito in a dump nearby, W266-267/S344-347 *86-85.5, in a level that belongs to the refinery but is earlier than the altar.[10]

For the funerary sculpture, we know the original position of the stele 47 (Figs. 153-154) at the entrance to Tomb 813, but the stele itself is lost and the position of the grave cannot be identified.[11]

The great array of archaic and classical monuments reused in the Synagogue calls for an explanation. The archaic goddesses or korai 4 and 6 (Figs. 11-12, 16-19), the extraordinary Ionic shrine model 7 (Figs. 20-50), as well as a number of fine Ionic architectural fragments,[12] might belong to an archaic sanctuary; the pairs of lions 25 (Figs. 92-101) and the stelai 19 and 20 (Figs. 75-83) would belong to its classical phase. To this classical phase, too, must be assigned the marble blocks from the *parastades* of the Metroon (Temple of Mother, that is, of Cybele) with inscriptions dated in 213 B.C. which were reused in the piers of the Synagogue.[13] Thus, one might speculate that much of the sculpture came from a sanctuary or the sanctuary of Cybele. Against this hypothesis one may argue that sculpture fron non-Cybele contexts has been found in the Synagogue.[14] Also, one would expect the archaic sculpture to show signs of fire damage, since the Greeks burned down the temple of Cybele in 499 B.C. (Herodotus 5.102), but this is not the case. The inscribed blocks from the Metroon show no signs of burning, but they are later than 499 B.C. and belong to a reconstruction of the classical period.[15] Knowing the location of the great temple and precinct of Cybele (Metroon) would be invaluable; unfortunately we have found no evidence to show that they were located near the freestanding archaic altar to Cybele described above (Figs. 105-106).

The monument with the inscription of the satrap Droaphernes, dated 366-365 B.C., may have carried original sculpture of the Persian period, such as the image of Zeus Baradates (*supra,* no. 16) but its inscription was written in Roman times on what appears to be a marble block from a Roman restoration (273 Figs. 463-464). The block was, in turn, reused in a late Roman villa on the Pactolus.

Even more complicated was the fate of the base dedicated in Lydian and Greek to Artemis by Nannas. Dated in the fourth century B.C., the base

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sherd P67.143:7581, *BASOR* 191, 12, fig. 12, "early 6th C. B.C." According to the field report, "other sherds were Lydian Geometric of the 7th to 6th C. B.C."

9. *BASOR* 191, 11.

10. *BASOR* 199, 22, IN68.18 = P68.140:7831. *Sardis* M3 (1975) 28-30, A II 5, figs. 12-13.

11. As explained in the Catalogue *infra,* tomb T 813, so numbered by the first Sardis expedition, may be dated ca. 500-480 B.C. Cf. *Sardis* I (1922) 116, 160, ill. 177; pottery, ill. 124.

12. *BASOR* 174, 38f., figs. 21-22.

13. *BASOR* 174, 34, a letter from Queen Laodike inscribed "on the parastades of the Metroon," in 213 B.C.

14. Example of sculpture not from Cybele context, 188 (Fig. 338). Note also that the base for the image of Hera (275 Figs. 467-468) must have been taken from a sanctuary of Hera, apparently in the 4th C. A.D.; see Seager, "History," 427, pls. 92:8, 94:11, for the date of the wall into which the base was built.

15. See *Sardis* R1 (1975) 29, n.95, 181, n.44; a date in the 4th C. B.C. has been proposed (orally) by G. Roux and A. Bammer.

was found in the Artemis Precinct but not in its original position.[16] It had been reset by the Romans, who also combined it with other bases and installed two archaic lions and a bird of prey on the newly created monument (**235, 236, 238, 274** Figs. 405-409, 413-415, 465-466).

To the same Roman restoration of the Artemis Precinct must be assigned the arrangement of Lydian and Greek stelai in two rows converging upon the western facade of the temple and surrounding the later Artemis altar (LA 2).[17] While these findspots create a presumption that the stelai came from the Artemis Precinct, they convey nothing about the original positions.

Manner of Display and Function

If the sculptured lions of the Kuvava altar (**27-29** Figs. 105-117) were *in situ* when found (*supra*) then they had no special separate bases. From the parallel of the lion-crowned fountain of the Tomba dei Tori one may assume that at Sardis, as at the Etruscan (or Eastern Greek) painter's Troy, the altar was stuccoed and gaily painted.[18] Presumably there were originally four lions; as expressions of the might of the goddess they were roaring eastward, toward the rising sun.

The way the Romans used the great lion **31** (Figs. 119-122) in an architectural-heraldic context, and the fact that it had a counterpart (**32** Fig. 123) suggest that these were originally two flanking lions (flanking a gate?). There are many precedents for flanking lions in "Late Hittite" gates;[19] however, the placement of the Sardis lions, with their heads facing, their bodies seen in profile, recalls Assyrian gate bulls and Mesopotamian and Egyptian lion statues.[20]

Given the large number of lions found at Sardis (22 are catalogued), one may conjecture that they were arrayed along a sacred road or roads like the lions of Apollo along the road from Didyma to Panormus,[21] or placed in file on a terrace like the lions in the Letoon of Delos.[22]

The very existence of two similar pairs of double lions, found in the Synagogue, intimates that they may have originally flanked an image (**25** Figs. 92-101) just as in their later incarnation they flanked the altar-like table in the Synagogue.[23]

The double-sided relief of an archaic lion (**23** Figs. 87-89) and two double-sided sphinx reliefs (**42, 239** Figs. 144-145, 416-418) were parts of marble thrones. The early archaic lion was found in a cistern on the Acropolis; thus there is at least a possibility that he belonged to the royal palace, now thought to have been located on the citadel.[24]

The evidence is less clear for female and male figures. The little standing korai-priestesses (**4, 5** Figs. 11-15) were set into small bases and placed against a backing element, possibly within a shrine. They were votives, as were the shrine-like representations with the snake-goddess and Cybele (**6, 7** Figs. 16-50).

There is a tantalizing possibility that despite her small size (max. H. ca. 0.30, head and crown 0.07), the goddess with polos, possibly the earliest of all the archaic marble sculpture (**3** Figs. 9-10), actually served as an early archaic image in a shrine of Artemis or Cybele (or another goddess). She is, at any rate, a close reflection of such an image.[25]

16. Shear, "Lion," passim; *Sardis* I (1922) 125-126, ills. 136, 138, lions and eagle "set without order upon a broad square pedestal of two steps . . . the two moulded [flanking] pedestals had supported bronze statues . . . The first lion was found, as shown in Ill. 136, at the end of the large base, with his feet projecting over the edge, the other lion lay at the opposite end, the eagle had fallen on one side . . . no fragments of the missing parts of these sculptures were found with them . . . Ill. 138 shows the two pedestals for statues and the base between them exactly as we found them." The inscription on one of the pedestals had been erased intentionally (the other was the Nannas bilingual).

17. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68-73.

18. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 14, fig. 31. The tomb is in Tarquinia.

19. "Late Hittite" lions: Akurgal, *Spätheth.,* 39-79, pls. 27-35. M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart 1955) pls. 63, 64, 81.

20. Frankfort, 77, fig. 31, pls. 77A (bull with head turned), pl. 67B (lion).

21. Pryce, 103, 112-114, figs. 171-173, and n.7 *supra,* Tuchelt, 93-98, 212-213, denies that the lions were lined up along the road, pls. 63-71.

22. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos* XXIV pls. 41-49; Gabelmann, 84-87, pls. 22, 23:3; Hanfmann, *Class. Sculpture,* 307, fig. 44.

23. Hanfmann, "Synagogue," 41, fig. 16. Seager, *Synagogue,* 8, fig. 25.

24. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 306-307, fig. 229; *BASOR* 206, 15-29.

25. For Artemis and Cybele with polos see Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," passim, and G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth in Bossert *Festschrift,* 267-269, pls. 34-35, "Kore."

The Cybele of the shrine-model (7 Fig. 20) is quite certainly a reflection of an actual archaic image seen in a temple; and the same assumptions may be made for the snake-holder (6 Fig. 16), who may be imagined as standing in a smaller shrine and who probably represents a goddess, not a devotee.

If one takes literally the relief with Artemis and Cybele (20 Figs. 78-83), then one might assume that they are envisaged as two classical images standing together on one low base. This, in turn, would lead to the more doubtful assumption that the two at some point were worshipped together in one sanctuary.[26]

Another image type of Cybele, the famous seated one, is seen in the classical relief 21 (Figs. 84-85). The piece is also of interest because it was fastened to some architectural frame, but whether this frame was on the inside or the outside of a stone structure we have no way of telling.

An interesting problem is posed by the rectangular marble pier or base that bears an inscription in an unknown tongue (272 Fig. 462). Perhaps this is the right (from the spectator's point of view) projecting part of a Pi-shaped monument, which might have carried a statuary group with two symmetrical flanking figures (for instance, two horsemen) and one or more figures in the center; but R. Gusmani suggests that the structure was an altar.[27] Examples of late profiled, rather low (H. 0.44; W. 0.79; Th. 0.68) classical statue bases, possibly placed on a lower stone base, survive in the base with the inscription of Nannas (274 Figs. 465-466) and its counterpart, both with nice top and bottom profiles. At least one carried a bronze statue. Again, their original places are unknown.

We have mentioned the many bases for stelai found in the Artemis Precinct. While they were arranged in their present positions during Roman times, the technical and epigraphic evidence suggests that they date from the fifth, fourth, and possibly third centuries B.C. Several of the bases show original cuttings for stelai. The general type of the votive stele monument may be restored as consisting of a larger base, partly set into the ground, and an upper base with an oblong cutting for the stele. Only one inscribed Lydian stele was found fallen next to its probable base.[28] The workmanship of the extant stelai bases is very homogeneous, precise, and advanced, with much use of multiple claw chisel.[29]

The clearest evidence for the original setting concerns the funerary stelai. The invaluable report and photograph by H. C. Butler[30] prove that the stele 47 (Figs. 153-154) and its counterpart flanked the stair going up to the rock-cut tomb chamber of Tomb 813. In several other instances the stelai were fastened nearly flush against the wall of the rock, into which the chamber tombs were cut. None of the fragments collected by our expedition were *in situ,* but one was found near a grave (46 Figs. 150-151), and the beautiful anthemion 45 (Figs. 148-149) was not far from a group of Lydian rock-cut tombs. There is no instance to show how the figured stelai were placed, but the condition of the Atrastas stele (17 Figs. 70-71) indicates that they, too, were fastened at the top to a back wall. Indeed, this type of fastening has been used as an argument to attribute to Sardis the famous Borgia stele in Naples, a very fine early classical work.[31]

Of the architectural sculpture, the small pediment of the Persian era (18 Figs. 72-74) can be shown to belong to a temple-tomb mausoleum best known from the Nereid Monument from Xanthos.[32] The beautifully worked, possibly imported relief fragment 22 (Fig. 86) showing the body of an animal (leopard or dog?) is closely parallelled in another

26. Cf. Keil, 55, fig. 26, for an image of Cybele with flanking lions. Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 264-267. No evidence for a cult of Cybele has been found, either inscriptional or archaeological, in the Artemis Precinct; given the great favor the cult enjoyed, this rules out the idea of a permanent joint shrine. Either they were only worshipped jointly while the shrine of Cybele was being restored, or they were only combined "ideally" as the two goddesses most important to the worshipper. Cf. also the references from Sophocles and Timotheos, cited *supra* nos. 12-13.

27. *Sardis* M3 (1972) 118, with sketch plan.

28. Gusmani, *LW,* no. 22; *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) no. 22. For the base of the stele see *Sardis* R1 (1975) 69, no. 11A, fig. 106; see also the best preserved base, no. 8, fig. 106. Together with the long texts, *LW,* nos. 23 and 24, these documents are datable to the Persian period by the name Mitratastas.

29. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 73; cf. also p. 60, 62, 68-81, figs. 68, 75 (Timarchos), 181 (plan), 102-114, 118.

30. *Sardis* I (1922) 116, fig. 122; cf. *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) 25.

31. Cf. *infra,* 269, the Borgia stele.

32. Hanfmann, "Pediment," 294-295, pl. 103a. Coupel-Demargne, *Xanthos* III pls. 3-6; vol. of pls., XCV, XCVIII.

frieze at Xanthos assigned to complex G and dated ca. 460 B.C.[33] The Sardis frieze would have been over two feet high. It too may have belonged to a temple-like mausoleum or heroon.

Otherwise, the profusion of friezes suggested by the three superposed zones of reliefs on the Cybele shrine (7 Figs. 20-50) is not reflected in the actual finds. The two small archaic friezes from Bin Tepe probably decorated funerary couches (**230, 231** Figs. 400-401); another very small frieze of lions (**39** Figs. 137-138) may have been part of an architectural frame of a small shrine of Cybele. Finally, a relief with bull and lion(?) might also have belonged to a frieze (**44** Fig. 147).

Thus, if we consider the sacral functions of sculpture, we find that an outdoor, freestanding altar was decorated with lions (**27-29** Figs. 105-117); we may have a fragment in the round of a very early archaic marble image (**3** Figs. 9-10) of a goddess; and we probably have the flanking lion groups of a Cybele image of classical date (**25** Figs. 92-101). Reflections of other temple images of archaic and classical times (Cybele, snake goddess?, Artemis, Aphrodite?, Kore?) are also known, but it is not known whether they were of marble.

As to the shrines, we have representations of a more elaborate temple (7 Figs. 20-50) and of a simpler naiskos, with two columns (**6** Figs. 16-19). The Cybele shrine of ca. 560 B.C. shows three superposed friezes of figures; it is probable that the lightly raised figures are envisaged as marble reliefs. Actual decorative parts of archaic Ionic marble buildings of ca. 500 B.C. survive.[34] The earliest extant architectural piece of marble sculpture from a temple-like structure is probably the imported(?) fragment with a leopard (**22** Fig. 86, ca. 500 B.C.) from a frieze. The structure may have been a temple-like mausoleum or heroon. The pediment of the late fifth century B.C. with the funerary meal (**18** Figs. 72-74) also belongs to such a temple-like heroon.

The series of votives begins with early archaic priestesses and goddesses in shrines of unknown locations (**4-6** Figs. 11-19). We can envisage, however, something of the votives in the Artemis Precinct of archaic and classical times. They probably included marble lions and a bird of prey (**235, 236, 238** Figs. 405-409, 413-415) and a considerable number of stelai with floral and probably with figurative (classical) reliefs and inscriptions. As far as the preserved material goes, both bases and sculpture, it looks as if votive stelai were more frequent than statues. Only one statuary base, that of Nannas, has a Lydian inscription.[35]

None of the sculpture can be referred with certainty to the palace or to public buildings. If the big lions served as guardians of the gate (**31, 32** Figs. 119-123), they might have guarded an entrance in the palace—but equally an entrance to a sanctuary. The fragment of an archaic lion throne (**23** Figs. 87-89) found close to the conjectural area of the palace,[36] might have come from a royal marble throne.

In the cemeteries of Sardis funerary stelai with floral anthemia, and very probably figured stelai also, adorned the entrances to the rock-cut chamber tombs. Inside the chambers within the mounds of Bin Tepe and in other suburban burial grounds,[37] limestone and marble couches (and perhaps thrones) were occasionally decorated with small figured friezes (**230, 231** Figs. 400-401). Markers, often thought to be phallic, crowned the mounds.[38]

One might, in the end, point to some uncertainties. The only sizable archaic human figure in the round, the statue in Manisa (**8** Figs. 51-54), was found built into a Roman wall; we do not know whether it was a dedication or a funerary statue; of the latter, we have, so far, no certain example.

Then again, of all the many lions found, none has been clearly associated with a grave, though the lion as guardian of the grave is not unknown in archaic Asia Minor.[39] This may be due to chance, but for

33. Metzger, *Xanthos* II 50, 60, pls. 33, 37:1.

34. Cf. **51** and **52** (Figs. 161-163); Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 493-494, pl. 123; *BASOR* 174, 38-39, figs. 21-22, Ionic capitals and Lesbian cyma.

35. See **274** (Figs. 465-466); *Sardis* I (1922) 127, Butler stated that the second base had its inscription erased.

36. On the palace location see *supra,* n.24.

37. A fine example of an undecorated couch was preserved in the chamber tomb of Başlioğluköy, *BASOR* 206, 12-13, figs. 1-2.

38. These markers will be treated in a separate article by G. M. A. Hanfmann.

39. The funerary lion is well represented in Phrygia. Other examples: lion monument of Xanthos, Pryce, 118f., no. 286, figs. 176-177, pls.

the time being it looks as if stelai of marble were more popular than statuary as sepulchral monuments at Sardis.

Only a few items may be considered as possible domestic furnishings. The relief of a seated Cybele (**21** Figs. 84-85) and the frame with walking lions (**39** Figs. 137-138) might come from small devotional shrines within houses, and the late sphinx relief (**42** Figs. 144-145) may have supported a marble chair of the kind that have been found in Pompeian dwellings.[40]

Evidence for Sardis as a Center for Stone Sculpture

The first argument for the existence at Sardis of local sculptors' workshops in archaic and classical times is the use of local limestone (**9, 47** Figs. 58-60 153-154) and sandstone (**27-29** Figs. 105-117), as well as the widespread use of what is apparently local marble. As far as scientific validation is available, judgments by both geologists and archaeologists who have handled the stones agree in describing material of the great majority of Sardian marble sculpture as local marble.[41] Pieces made of imported stone are rare (serpentine and lava, cf. **229** Figs. 396-399 and **16** Figs. 68-69; marble?, **22** Fig. 86).

The close resemblance of technical traditions in Lydian stone sculpture and Lydian masonry work has been briefly discussed in the general introduction.[42] It is particularly noticeable in the earlier pieces, especially those cut in limestone and sandstone and also in the Manisa torso (**8** Figs. 51-54). From the mid-fifth century B.C. on, the marble technique becomes so generally unified that later reliefs and statues cannot be distinguished on technical grounds from Greek products. But until that time the use of flat chisel and drove and the use of claw-tool for background was also a means to attain a more linear effect (as in **8**), which is distinctive for Lydian craftsmanship.

An entirely objective criterion for local provenance is the occurrence of Lydian inscriptions, which unfortunately is confined to a few stelai (**17, 49, 240-242** Figs. 70-71, 157, 419-421). Still, these provide a standard with which both the technique and style of other Lydian sculpture may be compared.

Lydian mythological subject matter does not manifest itself very clearly. Perhaps the themes most likely to be local are those in the panels of the Cybele shrine—notably the tree with goat and eagles (**7** panel M, Fig. 45) and the assault scene (panel R, Fig. 50), which do not have immediate Greek parallels. In other cases, local myths may be concealed under the guise of Greek iconographic types, such as the lion killer (panel O, Fig. 47) who may be not the Greek Herakles but the Lydian Tylon,[43] and the charioteer who may be the original native figure behind the Greek-Lydian Pelops (panel P, Fig. 48).

Ancient authors give the impression that Lydians were fashion setters in archaic times, but only the jewelry of Aphrodite is distinctly Lydian (**9** Figs. 58-60); other unusual details like the pendent double belt (**4, 5** Figs. 11-15) or upturned shoes are actually known in Greece as well. Similarly one might claim that Lydian variants of Greek motifs may be recognizable in some of the lions, and perhaps in some of the stelai (see *supra* Ch. II).

On the grounds of findspots, style, and technique, we can surmise that all but two of the archaic and classical pieces are of local workmanship, the two exceptions being the pieces of imported materials: the black lava stone relief (**16** Figs. 68-69) and the fine leopard(?) frieze fragment (**22** Fig. 86).

Finally, when we consider the artistic quality of sculpture, some of the floral stelai (**45, 46** Figs. 148-151) are very successful. A few of the other pieces preserved attain the level of the best Eastern Greek artists: the Manisa torso (**8** Figs. 51-54), the Cybele shrine (**7** Figs. 20-50), some of the lions, especially

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18-20; the monument of Artemidoros, Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, 279, fig. 249; and the famous lions from a chamber tomb at Miletus, Gabelmann, 119, no. 114; Blümel, *Arch. Sk.*^{2}, 59f., nos. 62-63.

40. Brilliant, *Roman,* fig. III:34.

41. See *supra,* Ch. I, "Materials" and report on marble samples by Florence E. Whitmore.

42. See *supra,* Ch. I, "Techniques," also *Sardis* R1 (1975) 92-94, on the use of tools at altar LA 1.

43. Hanfmann, "Lydiaka," 69-72. See also Gall, 590, for the lion killer in Cappadocia and P. Amandry, "Statuette d'ivoire d'un dompteur de lion," *Syria* 24:3-4 (1944-1945) 149-174.

the lioness 34 (Figs. 125-129), the large lion 31 (Figs. 119-122), and 24 (Figs. 90-91), and possibly the "Persian" pediment (18 Figs. 72-74). The rest of the stone sculpture is not quite of the same stature. The creators of this material may have been locally trained sculptors who worked closely with the Lydian stone masons in local workshops, concentrating on assignments and functions left aside by the great masters who worked principally in precious metals, in bronze, and in ivory. The attainments of these stone-working craftsmen were closer in quality to those of their competitors in ceramics, who mass-produced the painted terracotta reliefs and sculpture for Lydian buildings.[44]

Restoration and Reuse in Ancient Times

A striking example of conservation or restoration of statues of the Persian era in Roman times is the probable restoration of the image of the Persian Zeus Baradates of 367 B.C. and possibly others in the second century A.D., presumably caused by local patriotism and religious continuity (*supra,* "Literary and Epigraphic Evidence," no. 16; 273 Figs. 463-464). However, we do not have the statues themselves, which may have been of bronze rather than marble.

The strangest examples of intentional reuse of Lydian-Persian sculpture are the two lion pairs found in the Synagogue flanking the "eagle table" (25 Figs. 92-101). Because they were placed on pre-existing mosaics, they could not have been put into the position in which they were found before the second half of the fourth century A.D. A detailed discussion of their meaning for the congregation of the Synagogue must be left to the experts on Jewish religious history and the history of the Synagogue; that they did have some meaning is indisputable. One possible explanation relates them to the symbolism of the lion of Judah (Genesis 49.9), another to the existence of the Synagogue phyle of the Leontioi.[45]

Many other archaic pieces were found to have been used in the walls and floor of the Synagogue as building materials; there are some indications that faces were mutilated prior to reuse (7, 19, 20 Figs. 20-50, 75-83). They were not used with any thought to their significance. The question is, rather, how was it possible that archaic monuments and those of the Persian era, especially those of Cybele, were given to the Jewish congregation to be built into the piers and walls of what was originally a basilica, and only later a synagogue. The answer may be that the pieces came from pagan sanctuaries which were closed or demolished under Constantine. In favor of this conjecture is the evidence of the inscribed blocks from the parastades of the Metroon (that is, the temple of Cybele antedating 213 B.C.).[46] If the blocks came from a sanctuary of Meter-Cybele, why could not the other pieces of sculpture used in the Synagogue represent dedications to Cybele from the same sanctuary (4, 6, 7, 19, 20, 25, 26, 31-33, 39 Figs. 11-12, 16-19, 20-50, 75-83, 92-104, 119-129, 137-138). A possible difficulty with this explanation is that some of the walls in which the sculpture was found might belong to a building phase earlier than the fourth century (for example, 4, 26, Figs. 11-12, 102-104). A second, less cogent objection is that pieces not connected with Cybele were also found built into the Synagogue, for example, an Artemis-Amazon (188 Fig. 338) or a base of an image of Hera from Hera's own shrine (275 Figs. 467-468). Erected originally after the earthquake of A.D. 17, this statue base was reused in the cross wall of the fourth century separating the forecourt from the main hall.

The sequence of architectural repairs of the Main Avenue seems to indicate that the reuse of the monumental Lydian lions (31-33 Figs. 119-124), too, falls into the fourth century. One may view it as an indication that intentional use of older sculpture was part of the *ananeosis* program carried out in the Gymnasium area during the later fourth and fifth centuries.[47]

44. *Sardis* X (1932); *BASOR* 215, 54-59, figs. 23-26; *Sardis* M5.

45. *BASOR* 174, 38. For possible significance of lions for Judaism, A. T. Kraabel cites M. Smith, *JBL* 86 (1967) 59, n.25, and E. R. Bevan, *Holy Images* (London 1940) 62f.

46. Metroon: see nn.13-15, *supra.*

47. As witness the reuse of the snake fountain (278 Fig. 471).

A deliberate and consciously "archaizing" policy prevailed already during the reconstruction of the Artemis Precinct after it was damaged, probably by floods—a reconstruction which certainly still continued in the late third century A.D.[48] The aim was apparently to display surviving monuments in the way thought to be traditional. At the Nannas monument (**274** Figs. 465-466) the Roman restorers took two finely profiled bases of the fourth century B.C., one with an erased inscription, the other with the dedication of Nannas to Artemis, and arranged them symmetrically. They then inserted a long base between them and placed on it an archaic recumbent lion (**236** Figs. 407-408); on one of the two nearly square bases was placed a lion sejant (**235** Figs. 405-406) and on another a bird of prey (**238** Figs. 413-415). This arrangement emerges clearly from T. L. Shear's account and photograph (Fig. 409) of the monument during excavation. The resultant symmetrical-asymmetrical monument with pieces of different ages could not have passed muster either in archaic or Persian times.

The same restorers set the bases around the altar of Artemis and aligned the north and south stele bases.[49] In some cases the lower part of a classical (Lydian) base and the upper part with the hole for the stele socket survived and were used. In other cases an ancient piece of a different kind was adopted; thus an archaic capital placed upside down received the cutting for a stele, and another block was asymmetrically cut for the same purpose in the case of the Timarchos stele.[50]

We have observed no clear example of Christian reuse of Lydian or Persian sculpture, though many architectural parts of all periods were reused in the Acropolis walls and in the late phase of the Byzantine colonnades in the city. One wonders, however, whether the early Hellenistic Zeus (**102** Figs. 223-225) might not have been smashed intentionally and fragments of his head built into the Justinianic apse of Church M with some notion of triumph over the pagan demons. The same question arises with regard to the small archaic kore (**5** Figs. 13-15) used to repair the floor of a Christian chapel presumably in the fifth or sixth century.

After the destruction of A.D. 616, the burning of marble sculpture for lime began on a large scale.[51] Eventually the limekilns swallowed the great majority of Lydian and Persian stone sculpture, leaving for us only a chance scattering of fragments to hint at the scope and variety of vanished riches.

48. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 60, 70, figs. 67, 75, 104.
49. Ibid., 68-81.
50. Ibid., 60, 68, 177 n.22, fig. 75.
51. For references to evidence for limekilns, see N. H. Ramage, *infra*, Ch. V, n.5.

IV CATALOGUE

PREHISTORIC

1 *Figs. 6-7.* S69.7:7959. Lower body and feet of prehistoric idol. Early Bronze Age, ca. 2500-2000 B.C.?

Gray, hard schist, yellow accretion.
Broken at top (waist) and splintered at sides.
H. 0.076; W. 0.075; Th. 0.007.
EB, trench A, E3.5-3.75/N0, 0.80 below surface, ca. 1-1.10 below top of marker A. In rubble fill near cover of a grave but not apparently connected with burial (Mitten-Yüğrüm *infra*).

Preserved are lower body and legs tapering to small pointed feet. The interior of the legs is unfinished. This is an example of a flat idol of obese type. According to D. G. Mitten it is "like a silhouette cut-out of a mother goddess figurine."

Published: Mitten-Yüğrüm, "Eski Balıkhane," 195, fig. 8.

2 *Fig. 8.* S64.36:6260. Bird's head. Third millennium B.C.?

Grayish very large-grained marble, brittle.
Discolored green. R. side of head and beak broken off.
H. 0.039; diam. break at neck 0.013.
MTE upper trench, S and above Lydian Trench area E63-68/S153-158 *107.1-106.6, in mixed fill. For location cf. Fig. 1 No. 5.

The round eye is made with a little chisel, the mouth by sawing and thin file or with abrasive. There were three strokes on the l. of the neck to characterize feathers. This is not a Greek or Roman piece but either early Lydian or more likely Bronze Age.

Unpublished.

LYDIAN AND PERSIAN

Human Figures

3 *Figs. 9-10.* NOEX 62.8. Small, crowned female head. Ca. 600 B.C.

Fine white marble.
Broken at neck and at sides of throne. Face below eyes broken off, also some of crown at back.
H. 0.07, of crown 0.02; W. with throne 0.054, of face 0.022. Est. H. if seated 0.22-0.25.
Findspot unknown.

The hair is stylized in large "Daedalic" beads, with waves over the forehead; they are separated by incised lines on her r. side with eight vertical beads in two tresses. Plain in back, the hair falls over the back of the throne. It curves around the face, which is widest at cheek level. On the front of the crown is

a raised pattern with two small, symmetrical drilled holes near the top, read by several observers as a monster or lion protome. The type was probably that of a goddess seated on a throne; the two broken projections from the back of the throne join the neck and, therefore, could not be wings.

In general the crown belongs to the Hittite-Asiatic "cylindrical type." Straight in front, it seems to rise in the back on a slant like Hittite pointed caps. If read as animal, the pattern on the crown resembles Orientalizing monster and griffin masks (cf. Matz, *GK* I figs. 57b and 60). While decoration of poloi with plants and human figures is known, there seem to be no examples with animal masks (cf. Müller, 32f.; F. R. Grace, figs. 17-19, 33f., 37-39).

The back has a suggestion of a high-backed throne. The seated goddess type, widespread from the late 7th C. on in terracottas, offers many general parallels (*infra*). The piece may come from a small temple image. A wooden statuette of comparable size has been claimed as a possible image of Hera of Samos (Ohly-Köpcke, 91ff., Beil. 45-47, ca. 640 B.C.). The identity of the goddess is not certain; griffin (hawk?) or lion mask would suit Cybele best but Artemis cannot be ruled out, cf. the discussions under 238, 274 (Figs. 413-415, 465-466).

The date of ca. 600 B.C. is given by stylistic resemblance of hair and eyes to statues from Eleutherna and Haghigeorgitika (Matz, *GK* I fig. 126; Jenkins, 51, 76, 79, pls. 8-10, esp. 9:1). The general effect was like that of the goddesses from the temple of Prinias (Matz, *GK* I figs. 84-85). This is an early archaic original rather than archaising Roman copy. For an archaising rendering of a statue of comparable style see 194 (Fig. 344).

Unpublished. For the crown see Akurgal, *Spätheth.*, figs. 4, 10ff., on poloi; Müller, form pl. A, 56-59, 63; B, 86-88, 95. For seated goddess type see e.g. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas,* British Museum (London 1954) I 51, Rhodian type, 66f., 128; 67, no. 132, Cybele; 175ff., nos. 655ff., pls. 85f.; Boeotia, 205, no. 767, pl. 101; Sicily, 312, no. 1151, pl. 157; Tarentum, 337, no. 1235, pl. 170. F. R. Grace, with high-backed throne, 39, fig. 46, ca. 550 B.C.

4 *Figs. 11-12.* S63.30:5313. Lower part of archaic kore, "North kore," 580-570 B.C.

Medium to fine-grained marble, reddish accretion. Some cement from reuse in Syn wall still adheres. Broken below hips. Base rough-picked for insertion into another pedestal up to line of garment. Back is flat and rough-picked, perhaps to be put against the wall of a small shrine (naiskos).

P.H. 0.40. Base: W. of front 0.18; D. 0.13. W. of chiton at upper break 0.20, of belt 0.03. Back pillar 0.17 by 0.14 by 0.20.

Syn MH E49/N19 *97.5, found just inside N wall, wedged under fallen wall stones of a vault with archaic marble stone corner. Traces of cement show that it was reused in a structure. See Fig. 5.

The lower part of the small female archaic statue is made in one piece with the base and has a back pillar. Her chiton falls in vertical folds down to the ground but leaves a niche for two schematized feet set apart. The oblique bit of garment seen above her r. hip is perhaps a kolpos, folded over a belt, rather than the himation commonly found in this type. The folds on her l. side resemble those of the Milesian woman who, according to Richter (*Korai,* no. 57, fig. 191), wears an *epiblema,* a shawl covering the back and lower l. side.

In general, the style is similar to the Samian Cheramyes-Geneleos group (ibid., 44-45, figs. 183-262; 575-555 B.C.). Particularly close are the lower parts of Cheramyes statues in Berlin and in Samos (ibid., nos. 60-61, figs. 202-204), but the best illustration of the immediate monumental prototype is a Milesian "partridge-holder," somewhat more linear in style than the Samians (ibid., 47, no. 57, figs. 190-194). The Sardis piece seems more primitive; I would place it not later than 580-570 B.C. Although, compared to Samian and Milesian korai, the workmanship is simplified, the combination and contrast of roughened, fine-point work on base and back pillar with flat-chiselled geometric folds, moved by slightly swelling life in the curves of the garment, is quite enchanting. The effect of *helkochitones* Samian ladies who let "their snowy chitons sweep the floor of the wide earth" (Asios in Athenaeus 12.525f, cited by Richter, *Korai,* 45) is naively but persuasively conveyed.

Whether the statue had a columnar naiskos like 6 (Figs. 16-19) or a simpler arrangement with overhanging "roof" like the Dermys and Kittylos group

(idem, *Kouroi,* no. 11, figs. 76-77) can no longer be determined.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 39, fig. 24; 215, 41, fig. 11; Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 496, pl. 125:1; Richter, *Korai,* no. 62, fig. 206, dating 575-550 B.C.; Tuchelt, 124, 177, 186, no. L 42 bis, seems to accept the Cheramyes parallel but still puts it around 550 B.C.?

5 *Figs. 13-15.* S73.10:8274. Lower part of small archaic kore, 580-570 B.C.

Large-grained marble, probably local, with red iron accretion.
Upper and lower parts and feet broken off.
P.H. 0.285; W. at feet 0.173, at jacket 0.183; D. 0.09.
PN/EA, N chapel W249/S390 *89.78, found lying front up, used to repair tile floor.

Five near-vertical, straight chiselled folds flank either side of two wide ribbons which fall vertically from the belt. Preserved at the top r. and l. are bits of double-folded overhang from a himation. In addition to the overhang, there are three incised folds of this upper garment visible on the l. side. The chiton arches over the feet, and one of the long skirt folds is engraved in front. The relation of the soft-edged upper himation and the overfold of chiton below is very clear on the proper r. side.

The sides are not quite finished. There are irregular ridges of a big drove near the back. The rest is worked over with small multiple-toothed tool. The back is blocked out in rough tooling with large point in the lower part, small point and chisel in light oblique strokes in the middle part. The upper garment has been worked with large point and flat chisel then smoothed and dressed. On the unfinished back the himation is higher over the proper l. than the r. hip. The chiton swings around towards a back pillar, from which it is separated by a row of deeper point strokes.

This is a close, probably contemporaneous, parallel to 4 (Figs. 11-12), but as C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., noted, that piece is much finer as all garment ridges and belt bands are raised in relief and the folds are carried further around the sides toward the back. The proportions of 5 are dumpier than those of 4. On the other hand, the latter shows no signs of the double overfold. Clearly, the same type of woman, probably a priestess, is rendered but by two different sculptors. The sculptor of 5 incises and carves very flatly with flat chisel as on the sides of the belt; the sculptor of 4 carves simply but roundly. This is especially clear in the upper garment on the l. side. Both pieces are unfinished at the back but in quite different ways: 4 has a clearly described pillar; 5 carries the upper garment around the back and suggests a swing of drapery over the lower part of the pillar.

Published: *BASOR* 215, 41, fig. 11.

6 *Figs. 16-19.* S63.41:5461. Fragment of a goddess holding a snake(?) standing in columnar shrine, "South kore." Ca. 560 B.C.

Marble.
Seven joining fragments of lower body, legs, and r. hand of a woman holding a snake, of base and shaft of column on her r. and column base on her l. Six(?) additional fragments of three columns.
P.H. with column 0.575, of goddess 0.305; H. of pedestal 0.10, of column base 0.028; P.W. 0.415; W. of goddess ca. 0.13, at bottom of dress 0.17, of pedestal 0.046; P.Th. 0.125; D. of column at break 0.06.
Syn MH, in fill just N of S wall E68-70/N1.10-2.70 *97.50-97.30, reused in the wall; see Fig. 5.

The figure of a woman is linked by background with a columnar structure. Standing stiffly, she holds in her huge r. hand a wiggling snake, the tail of which drags on the ground. She wears a chiton with six vertical central folds and a short Ionic himation with folds curving towards the center. There is no sign that the l. arm hung down, hence it was probably bent and held on the chest (cf. **7, 20** Figs. 20, 78).

The upper garment and feet are closely paralleled in the Cheramyes-Geneleos group of Samian korai and the vertical folds of the chiton in the famous Ephesian "priestess" of ivory and on the Croesus columns at Ephesus. The date is ca. 560 B.C., the style somewhat simplified and provincial. The stylistic links are perhaps with pre-Croesan Ephesus rather than Samian-Milesian.

That the figure stands in a shrine makes it more likely a goddess rather than a priestess or votary. Presumably, this is a votive, not a funerary monument. We do not know which Sardian goddess had

snakes as special attributes. If the argument presented below (see 7 Figs. 20-50) is correct, it might be a representation of Cybele; for a Hellenistic(?) image of a goddess with snake and globe cf. 193 (Fig. 343).

Plain pieces of wall adhering to the column at the r. of the woman and to column fragments (Figs. 18-19) prove that the shrine had short, plain side walls and two three-quarter columns at the back as well as in the front. Taken at face value, the columns had tall rectangular pedestals or plinths, soft torus bases sprawling downward, and plain shafts. The capitals were possibly Ionic (see the reconstruction Figs. 17-18).

If the goddess is the same as 7, the shrine may be either a simplified representation of the same building or it might be an earlier stage of the same sanctuary, a smaller building with four corner columns. It is always difficult to know how far a model of a building can be trusted, but the order seems to belong to an experimental phase preceding the formation of the standard Ionic order in the Croesan Artemisium of Ephesus (ca. 560 B.C.).

Published: *BASOR* 174, 43f., fig. 27; Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 496, pl. 125:2; Wesenberg, 112, under no. 3. For himation folds, cf. Richter, *Korai,* nos. 55-58, esp. figs. 184f., 191, 193, 197 (Cheramyes); for feet, ibid., nos. 63f., figs. 208, 210f. (Anaximander kore, Miletus); for chiton folds, ibid., no. 70, fig. 228 (Miletus-Berlin), no. 81, fig. 261 (ivory, Ephesus). Hanfmann, *Class. Sculpture,* fig. 63, bronze, Samos, ca. 570 B.C. Pryce, 58f., B 119, fig. 61, Croesan column, Ephesus. For experimental forms, Wesenberg, 111ff. and I. Kleeman in Matz *Festschrift,* 48, pls. 12-13. A possibly similar form with square plinths occurs in the Croesan temple in Ephesus, ca. 560 B.C., and with unfluted torus and shaft in palaces in Pasargadae, probably built with participation of Lydians and Ionians, ca. 545-530 B.C. See also Nylander, 103ff., figs. 35f. and p. 106, fig. 37c on occurrence of downspreading torus bases at Ephesus.

7 ***Figs. 20-50.*** S63.51:5677. MANISA 4029. **Monument in the form of a shrine decorated with reliefs, with goddess standing in front, henceforth referred to as "Cybele shrine." 540-530 B.C.**

Incompletely crystalized "half marble," coarse-grained, friable.
Heavily weathered. Missing upper part, lower l. corner, bottom of central corner of l. side. The frontal three-quarter columns are lost except for one base. Column and capital of middle column on r. side reattached. Lower r. front corner broken and reattached. Surface worn. Much cement from reuse in wall at lower front and back was subsequently cleaned off. Top part, including head of the goddess was split off forcibly with large pointed chisel (Fig. 23). Apart from a bit of red pigment in a maeander and in the hair band of Herakles (panel O), original painting gone.
H. 0.62; W. at back 0.57; P.W. at front 0.41; P.D. at l. 0.33, at r. 0.442.
Found Aug. 9, 1963, by D. G. Mitten "among the tumbled masonry of a shattered pier" (N4) of Syn MH where it had been reused, E73.5/N17.2-17.7 *97.26-96.75 (Figs. 21-22, *in situ*). The findspot is indicated on the plan, Fig. 5; it should be noted, however, that the system of numbering the Syn piers has changed to count from the W instead of E, so that former pier N5 is now N4.

A frontal female figure wearing a girt chiton stands between two snakes (or plants?) in the entrance of a shrine. The shrine had three-quarter columns at the four corners and engaged half columns at the center of the back and sides, a total of seven columns. As the preserved capital fragment indicates (Figs. 20, 26, 30), the shrine was of Ionic or Proto-Ionic order. Wide bands of incised and painted maeanders separate each side and the back into three horizontal zones, subdivided into six panels by the central column, a total of eighteen reliefs. The representations show maidens in procession, komasts, and dancers on the l. side; maidens in procession, and lions on the r. side; and six mythological scenes on the back.

Anathyrosis on the bottom shows that the monument was intended to be set on a base or pedestal of stone. The smooth outer strip is done with large oblique strokes of a flat chisel or drove, similar to those on the masonry of the Alyattes chamber (*BASOR* 170, 55). The strip is 0.10 in W. at the back, 0.05 on the l., and only 0.025-0.03 at the front.

Architecture

The low platform is envisaged as a stylobate. The shrine had two piers (*antae*) in front, with Ionic three-quarter columns attached. The pier faces and columns are lost except for the lower part of the r. column base. Taken literally, the plan would show

an oblong, more wide than deep (Fig. 25). Our tentative reconstruction (Fig. 24) presents a nearly square small temple with all columns attached or engaged and the image base occupying most of the interior.

The corner columns stand on high plinths, slightly rounded in front and tapering upward (H. 0.10; W. at bottom 0.115, at top 0.10; Figs 20, 24-25, 28-32, 37, 43, 49). A plinth is also indicated for the central column in back. The bases are plain tori, with the largest diam. in the lower half (H. 0.035; lower diam. 0.105, 0.12 for central columns; upper diam. 0.10; max. diam. for corner columns 0.12). The columns have fluted shafts with 9 fillets (ridges) for the half and 13-14 fillets for the three-quarter columns, hence a total of 18 for a column in the round. The flat fillets are 5-6 mm., the grooved flutes 4 mm. in W. Fillets and flutes run straight against the base and do not end in ovals. There is no intervening moulding (*apophyge*) at the foot of the shaft. The column outlines and ridges were drawn with a ruler. (Max. H. of unrestored parts: l. side corner 0.445, center 0.46; back, r. [from front] corner 0.485, back center 0.48. Total shaft H. of restored column on r. side 0.57; lower shaft diam., corner and central 0.10, 0.062 at break. Marked taper on l. side 0.038 over a H. of 0.44.)

Only one incomplete fragment of a capital (Figs. 20, 26, 30) survives (P.H. 0.15; radius ca. 0.037). The echinus at the neck forms a counterpart of the base and looks quite like a Doric capital. It is surmounted by an unmistakable Ionic spiral band with a rather large and steep center framed by raised edges and linking what must have been two volutes. It looks as if there were a small palmette in the reentrant of the junction of the r. volute with the echinus. The volutes were topped by a large, undecorated, swelling abacus.

The division of the external walls is by bands 0.025-0.027 in H. and 0.07-0.08 in L. on the sides, 0.10-0.15 on the back. The H. of the lower and the middle panels is 0.15; none of the top panels is complete.

The shrine presents unusual and experimental traits. The most striking of these is a plan with engaged Ionic columns, of which apparently no actual archaic example has come down to us. An early sarcophagus in Samos seems to imitate a freestanding Ionic colonnade rather than a building with engaged columns (cf. I. Kleeman in Matz *Festschrift,* 48, 52f., pls. 12, 15). The placing of a central column on axis in the back occurred at the colossal temples at Samos (Rhoikos) and Ephesus; the Sardis shrine may reflect a third example of the same era (Samos, 570? B.C.; Ephesus, 560? B.C., cf. Dinsmoor, 125, n.1).

Though simplified, the columns are evidence of an early formative phase of the Ionic style. The tall plinths, the heavy plain cushion bases, with the greatest diam. in the lower half, and the dense flutes which run straight down against the base are all characteristic of the pre-Croesan and Croesan eras (cf. for flutes with straight ends, the Oikos of the Naxians, Delos, ca. 600 B.C.; the Naxian sphinx at Delphi, ca. 580-570 B.C.; and the reconstructed columns of Smyrna, ca. 610-600 B.C.). The very large echinus is unparallelled but is nearest to some column capitals of the Croesan Artemisium at Ephesus. If it was painted with egg and dart, it would look much closer to standard Ionic.

Literature: for plinths and bases, cf. Wesenberg, 111f., 114ff., figs. 169, 176, 233-235; Nylander, 103ff., figs. 35f., Building P; and 6 (Figs. 16-19). Gruben, "Didymaion," fig. 38, comparative chart illustrates major archaic Ionic columns, and text 115ff., with literature, and fig. 19, Didymaion capital; Smyrna, Akurgal, *Civilizations,* 119, fig. 41.

If the capital fragment is correctly joined, the proportion of total H. to lower diam. is ca. 5.5:1, stocky for early Ionic. The most conservative proportioning assumes 8:1 for Ephesus; Gruben calculates 12:1 ("Didymaion," 153ff.). The taper, 0.10-0.062 = 1:0.6 (38%), is probably exaggerated. It exceeds even the ratio of 1:0.7 for the Oikos of the Naxians and 1:0.76 for Croesan Ephesus (ibid., 148, chart). The artist was obviously hard put to reproduce on a small scale what seem to have been slender, tapering columns with densely spaced fillets.

This is the first known example of a Greek building with sculptured decoration distributed over the full height of the wall. The principle is known in near-contemporary Babylon as in the Ishtar Gate (602-562 B.C.), but the Babylonian example has a

tapestry-like arrangement without architectural registers or panels. The Sardis design looks like a bold attempt to combine the Mesopotamian figurative tradition with colonnaded Greek temple architecture. It bespeaks an experimental pioneering spirit; the adaptation of "Late Hittite" or Assyrian figurative orthostates to the column bases of the Croesan *columnae caelatae* in Ephesus was a similar bold invention. Presumably, the sculptor was copying an Alyattan or Croesan building of ca. 570-560 B.C. (For the beginning of frieze-like architectural decoration, cf. R. Demangel, *La frise ionique* [Paris 1933] 15-113, 119-130; Dinsmoor, 64.)

A similar shrine with an image but with Aeolic columns and a flat roof is shown on a black-figured amphora, British Museum B 49, of ca. 530 B.C. (Beazley, *ABV,* 326, 715, without number, "Cybele?"; *CVA British Museum* III pl. 35:2a; K. Schefold, *JdI* 52 [1937] 338, fig. 5. Wesenberg, 84, fig. 175. Ph. Oliver-Smith in Lehmann *Essays,* 235, fig. 4. Nilsson, 91f., fig. 35, detail, intepreted as a Magna Mater).

The Image

Broken are the head, both arms from below the shoulders, the feet, and the front part of the fold on the proper r. (Figs. 20-22, 27, 28). "In front, in high relief is shown the figure of woman standing with feet close together, the right arm along the side to grasp a fold of the paryphe of the chiton [which swings to her r.], the left arm bent, with the forearm brought to the front of the body and the hand holding some offering [hand and arm broken off]. She wears a chiton pulled over a belt to form a pouch (kolpos) on each side. An epiblema [veil worn over the head] descends shawl-like from both shoulders" (Richter, *Korai,* no. 164, 92f.). The upper chiton has fine, linear, wavy folds; the lower part has rope-like folds meeting in the center. The folds of the paryphe (at her l. foot) end in a "swallow-tail" pattern. She wears a thick necklace with some cross-rings indicated.

Two vertical, wavy forms rise on either side of the image, thickening upward. These are probably snakes rather than trees; compare the terracotta plaque from the Agora, Athens (D. Burr, *Hesperia* 2[1933] 604, 608f., figs. 72, 73; Matz, *GK* I 482ff., pl. 283a), restored as a goddess with raised arms, flanked by two snakes and interpreted by Burr as one of the *Semnai* (Erinys).

There has been argument among Sardis excavators about the broken-off attribute on her chest. The general posture is similar to that of the Cheramyes Aphrodite who held a hare (Richter, *Korai,* no. 56, fig. 189). The statement that the lines on her breast represent the tips of a lion's mane (Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 268) is, upon recheck, mistaken. These are chiton folds radiating from the breast. However, the same re-examination in 1975 showed that a rounded piece at the l. edge of the break once belonged to a paw, and that the sharp, horizontal lower break cannot be an indication of drapery. The line of the break suggests that the front paws and belly of a recumbent lion similar in type to 29 and 31 (Figs. 115, 119) may have been broken off. In some photographs the outline of an animal with its head against the goddess' r. breast is clearly seen (Fig. 28). The type, then, would be an archaic forerunner of the standing Cybele type seen in the classical stele 20 (Figs. 78, 82). Closest in dress and general appearance is Richter's no. 153, found at the W end of the Heraion of Samos. She also wears the veil, apparently the same type which is well illustrated by the priestesses of the Didymaion (Richter, *Korai,* 90, no. 153, figs. 491ff.; Didyma, ibid., 92, no. 162, figs. 516ff.) and has the same swinging central fold. She was dated by Buschor to 540-530 B.C. (*Altsam.,* 5, 93, fig. 373).

For the fine crinkly chiton folds, cf. Richter, *Korai,* no. 109, fig. 331, Acropolis no. 669, "530"; Tuchelt, 105-107, K 82, pl. 76, Didyma gorgons dated to 530-525 B.C. For the rope-like folds, Croesus column fragment, Pryce, 59, B 121, fig. 63; Richter, *Korai,* no. 120, figs. 381-384, Acropolis no. 683; Tuchelt, no. K 29, pl. 31. The kore fragment from the Croesus column, Pryce, no. 57, figs. 58 (photo) and 59 (decoration), shows that the broad paryphe strip was an elaborately decorated hem. It may have been painted on the Sardis goddess. Tuchelt, 129, no. L 111; 155f., n.102, 185f., assigned to the last quarter of 6th C.

Reliefs, L. Side: Panels A-F (Figs. 27, 32-37)

A (Fig. 33). Incomplete kore walking to r. W. of

panel 0.069; P.H. 0.125; H. to waist 0.092. The panel is broken on the top and in front. Missing are the head, part of the chest, part of the r. foot, and the ornamental band. The figure is sharply cut, and the surface of the back part of the body is preserved in nearly the original polished state. She wears a chiton and a short cloak over the shoulders which ends at knee level in a pointed tip. The lowered r. arm is bent forward at the elbow then down at the wrist. The fingers are indicated. The r. hand grasps a lightly incised vertical fold which extends to the bottom of the garment. There is a suggestion that, as in the panel B kore, the upper l. arm was brought forward with part of the cloak and a falling vertical fold. The ankles of both feet are indicated.

B (*Fig. 34*). Almost complete kore walking to r. W. of panel 0.078; H. of figure 0.158, of head 0.03 +, neck to waist 0.035, waist to foot 0.093. The top of the head is broken off. Though the panel is very worn, the original work with light chisel strokes and abrasive can be seen in a few places. More can be seen with the naked eye than either the photograph or drawing brings out. The head has a large aquiline profile with a big eye and "stepped wig" hair falling on the shoulder. A diadem (mitre?) decorated with a dot rises high over the forehead. A high soft breast and long lower body, as in the Samian Cheramyes group, are indicated. She wears a long (belted?) chiton and a short cloak (*epiblema*), "Ionic mantle" (Richter), which falls from the shoulder and ends at knee level in a pointed tip. The r. arm comes out from under the cloak to grasp two fine vertical folds of chiton. The lower hem of the chiton dips between the feet in a curve. The l. arm is bent upward, the palm stretched out horizontally, holding some small object (fruit? flower?). Part of the cloak fell in folds on both sides of the l. upper arm.

Published: *BASOR* 174, fig. 26; Richter, *Korai,* 93, no. 164, fig. 524. For "stepped wig" effect, cf. ibid., nos. 29, 31, 42, 54, figs. 108, 110, 144, 176 (Corinth, dated 625-600; Palma Montechiaro, Sicily, late 7th C.; Berlin goddess, 580-570; Palma Montechiaro II, 600-575 B.C.; Tenea kouros, pl. XId-e, 575-550 B.C.). The dipping curved hem of the chiton occurs on the Amphiaros crater (ibid., pl. XIIc, Corinthian, 570 B.C.); proportions and gestures, too, are similar.

C (*Fig. 35*). Komast (rather than silen) running to r. Panel: H. 0.15, W. 0.07. Broken off are the top of the frame, the front of the panel, the face, and part of the hand and l. foot; the relief is very battered. Very long hair with a diadem ribbon extends down the back. A roll of hair and a beard are recognizable (not quite correct in the drawing Fig. 32). The komast holds a cup or kantharos in his raised r. hand; the wineskin (askos) on his back would be held in his l. Part of the penis is visible; the rest may have been painted. His r. foot and part of the wineskin disappear into the ground and behind the column respectively.

D (*Fig. 36*). Similar but smaller komast in typical "Kneelauf" to r. Panel: H. 0.15, W. 0.07; H. of komast 0.115. The surface is very battered. Over his r. shoulder he wears a short cloak which then passes over his r. arm and midriff (incorrect in drawing). With his r. hand he raises to his lips a goblet, a large open cup, the foot of which appears below his hand. On his shoulder is perched a jumping animal which leans its forepaws on top of his head. In the original, one distinguishes a horn; presumably the animal is a goat. The head of the goat and the l. foot of the komast disappear behind the frame and column, respectively.

As the running drinkers have neither animal ears nor animal tails, they cannot be sileni, cf. *OCD*², 956 s.v. "Satyroi." For similar but dressed komasts, cf. Greifenhagen², 11, 45, fig. 24, Ergotimos cup; A. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (London 1971) 66, no. 236, pl. 15, "Late Corinthian," similar in style. Several vases by the Amasis Painter show men or youths with wineskins and small game: Munich 8763, amphora type B, side A: Dionysus with four youths, one carrying wineskin over his shoulder, two youths carry sticks, each with a fox and a hare (Beazley, *Paralipomena*, 65). Geneva I.4, amphora type B, side A: Dionysus with four youths; one brings a hare, the other a wineskin (idem, *ABV,* 150, 8; Karouzou, pls. 4-5). Amphora, Berlin 1690, side B: sacrificial procession where one man holds an oinochoe and wineskin, another carries a piglet (Beazley, *ABV,* 151, 11; Karouzou, pl. 9). Leky-

thos, Kerameikos, shows a man with a wineskin over his shoulder (Beazley, *ABV,* 155, 61; W. Kraiker, *AthMitt* 59 [1934] Beil. II). I owe the above references to Joan Mertens. Big thighs, big heads, and a running jump are akin in vases ca. 550-530 B.C., both by the Amasis Painter and others (e.g. Beazley *DABF,* 60, pls. 24-25).

E (*Fig. 37*). Female dancer running to r. Panel: W. at top 0.064, at bottom 0.055; H. 0.12. Her arms are raised and her head turned to the r. (toward the front of the monument). The top of the strip is broken off; the entire front including her r. leg is missing. The panel is badly worn. Her hands are spread as if to support the top strip. Her hair falls slightly below her neck. She wears a belted chiton (belt omitted in drawing Fig. 32) and a cloak which falls from the shoulders with the lower edge forming an arc. The l. foot disappeared behind the column.

F. Similar female dancer. Panel: W. at top 0.0675, H. 0.125. She is running with her l. knee bent, r. foot well back. The hem of her garment slips above the ankle of the back foot.

For cloaks, cf. Artemis of Olympia, Lamb², 89, pl. 28 d, considered Corinthian, 6th C.; pl. 7, no. 55. One might see in the two dancers a simplification of the maenadic dance. L. B. Lawler, "The Maenad: A Contribution to the Study of the Dance in Ancient Greece," *MAAR* 6 (1927) 17, for cloaks, 28 poses, perhaps most similar to castanet player on (Oltos?) kylix, Orvieto, pl. 17. Cf. also dancer with raised arms, Etruscan from Vulci, Neugebauer, 69, pl. 29.

Reliefs, R. Side: Panels G-L (*Figs. 29, 30, 38-43*)

G. Lower part of kore walking to l. P.H. 0.10; W. (lower) 0.075. Two thirds of the panel is broken off. The finely polished, flatly cut garment has a vertical fold in front; the lower hem descends obliquely from front to back.

H (*Fig. 39*). Incomplete kore walking to l. H. at l. side 0.125, r. side 0.118; W. upper and lower 0.075. Missing is the upper part with the head and some of the hand. The r. arm of the figure is bent with the open palm horizontal and facing upward (as in the kore, panel B). The lowered l. hand grasps the vertical folds of the chiton, two of which are indicated. A small "Ionic" mantle falls from the shoulders down the back, ending apparently just below knee level. On the other side, the cloak is apparently envisaged as falling from the r. arm (not shown in drawing Fig. 38). The body contours of the back show very clearly through the drapery.

I (*Fig. 40*). Complete kore walking to l. W. lower 0.073, upper 0.075; P.H. 0.165. The front of the panel is broken off; it is very battered. The outside arm, presumably the l. (she was holding the skirt of the chiton with the invisible r. arm?), is raised, holding a pine cone. She wears a wide ribbon (diadem?) over her forehead; the hair falls to her waist in a stepped pattern. The mantle descends from the back and passes under the upper arm. Vertical folds of the mantle are flung over her arm, then fall to above knee level, ending in a pointed tip. Its lower edge is indicated as going from the knee to above the back ankle (seen more clearly in panel J).

Published: Richter, *Korai,* 93, no. 164, fig. 527.

J (*Fig. 41*). Complete kore walking to l. H. 0.15; W. lower 0.07, upper 0.0775. This panel is better preserved than panel I. The radiating arrangement of the hair waves over the skull and the way in which the mantle is draped around the body, passing first under the l. arm and then back over it, is clearer.

Hair arrangement: Richter, *Korai,* no. 44, fig. 153, Olive Pediment, 580-570 B.C.; no. 89, fig. 275, Lyons, ca. 550 B.C. The posture and costume intended is clearly that of later korai. Clearest explanation, ibid., pl. XVd, drawing of woman by Andokides Painter, sculpture ca. 520 B.C., figs. 358ff. The foldless mantle and stepped hair, however, are early traits.

K (*Fig. 42*). Lion sejant. H. 0.178; W. at top 0.073. The front part of the panel is broken off, and the lion's haunch is battered. The forelegs rest on a volute growing obliquely from the ground to the column. The head is turned backward, toward the front of the monument. The hindquarters are raised as if the lion is preparing to jump. The large simple mane is rendered in relief with a slight rise over the forehead and reaching just below the lower jaw. The upper jaw is pointed, giving an almost eagle-like appearance. There is a double outline around the r.

foreleg from the shoulder to the foot (not shown in drawing Fig. 38).

L (*Fig. 43*). Lion sejant. H. 0.17; W. at top 0.07. The forelegs are placed on an indistinct object, perhaps a rock. The hindquarters are concealed behind a column. The pointed upper muzzle, open mouth with tongue or teeth, ear, and eye are incised. There is no double outline on the leg.

The lion standing with forelegs on a volute is parallelled on terracottas from Sardis, *Sardis* X (1926) 19-21, inventory number Ter. 36, color. Lions are standard attributes for flanking images of Cybele: cf. Keil, fig. 26; 25 (Figs. 92-101), 256 (Fig. 442); Ch. II, "On Lions." For the type of the lion with head turned back and standing on a volute, cf. Corinthian bronzes and vases datable before the mid-6th C. B.C., G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes,* Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 1915) 7f., no. 13; Neugebauer, 69, pl. 6. For comparable Middle Corinthian lions see D. G. Mitten in *Master Bronzes,* no. 59, 550-500 B.C.; Payne, 69f., fig. 15, and Late Corinthian, pl. 37:6. The related Perachora lion in Boston is dated by Gabelmann as Middle Corinthian, 600-575 B.C. (Gablemann, 50, no. 29, pl. 5). Similar but slightly later, Assos, Charbonneaux, *SGR,* 103, no. 2834, ill.

Reliefs, Back: Panels M-R (*Figs. 31, 44-50*)

The upper part is broken, including parts of two reliefs. The lower r. corner is broken and reattached; there is also damage to the "platform." The surface of all the reliefs is very severely worn. There are traces of an incised maeander preserved on the top and middle bands.

M (*Fig. 45*). Two birds (eagles?) attacking one or two animals climbing a tree. P.H. 0.07; W. 0.17. The l. eagle is not complete in the drawing (Fig. 44); in the original the head with an eye and beak can be made out, striking at the indistinct head of an animal. The bird has a rounded body, a tail with three feathers, and a wide curving wing (tip behind column); the top wing is mostly lost. The head of the r. eagle is striking at the round curving object almost entirely eroded. The downward pointing wing, part of the body, and the tail (tip behind column) of the eagle are still preserved. On the l. of the tree is a figure of an animal, indistinct except for one paw (r.) brought up against the tree (J. K. Anderson, verbal communication Oct. 1976, feels it may be a fox). The round curving object on the upper r. of the tree is possibly an animal with r. paw brought upward. The subject is very enigmatic. Are the eagles protecting the sacred tree (of Cybele?) against animals which attack it?

N (*Fig. 46*). Lion and boar approaching a tree in which Peleus (now lost) has taken refuge. On the l. is a massive boar with long spinal bristles rising without a break to the incised "mane." The tail curls in a circle over the rump. The head is rubbed off. On the r. a heavy-bodied lion jumps against the tree. His hindquarters disappear behind the column, the tip of the tail reappearing above? There are tips of tree branches (palm?) above the boar. This is the best preserved panel, very vigorously drawn and coming close to the original effect of the slightly raised relief. The subject is Peleus, whom the wild animals chased up the tree; subsequently the sage centaur Chiron appeared and threw a knife to Peleus, who was then able to escape. A centaur is seen in panel Q, but he probably does not belong to the Peleus scene.

Oinochoe, *BMMA* (1946-47) 255ff. = Richter, *Handbook,* 62f., fig. 44e; same scene, amphora Villa Giulia, 22247, Willemsen, 36. For other Sardian representations of boars, cf. *BASOR* 162, 39, fig. 24; D. P. Hansen, "Bronze Boar"; Greenewalt, "Wild Goat," 72f., 88, no. 18, pl. 17; also Hanfmann, "Sardis und Lydien," 521, pl. 7, fig. 10. Payne, 70, n.3, remarks that Corinthian boars never show the break in the center of spinal bristles, which is characteristic of the Ionian type. However, such a break does not really happen in the shrine relief on which the bristles seem to be of uniform H. without "mane." For massive type and posture of lion see W. L. Brown, *Lion,* 74f., pl. 26c, though he thinks the animal is a she-bear (Caeretan hydria). Cf. also relief from Syme, Istanbul, Berger, fig. 58, 510-500 B.C.

O (*Fig. 47*). Herakles fighting Nemean lion. H. at r. 0.175, at l. 0.17; W. at top 0.16. The panel is partly worn. The running Herakles swings his

club(?) in his raised r. hand and grasps the lion's throat with his l. He has a large nose, a beard, and long hair falling in a broad wave on the shoulders. The hair is tied with a ribbon which shows traces of red pigment. A V-shape below the neck seems to indicate a garment (short chiton?), but its lower edge is worn away. The roaring lion tears Herakles' l. arm with his r. forepaw, extends the l. foreleg just below the r., and stems the l. hind leg against Herakles' upper r. leg. The tail swings in an arc upward behind the r. hind leg. The rear of the lion disappears behind the column, as does part of Herakles' club. The scale of the figures is larger than in the two top panels.

Herakles and the Nemean lion is a favorite subject of archaic vase painters and bronze workers. Cf. Brommer, *Herakles,* 81f.; Payne, 126, pl. 45:8; Kunze, *AS,* 95ff., esp. 101, pls. 19.IV g; 53.XXVIII y; 66.XLII j. The so-called Attic scheme which appears on "Argivo-Corinthian" bronze reliefs is the one adopted at Sardis. Payne links this scheme with black-figure painter Tleson and dates it 550-500. The Ionian example, *CVA Rodi Italia,* pl. 430, is different. For an Anatolian lion fighter shown with Cybele in Cappadocian reliefs see Gall, 590; in Phoenicia and Syria, Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories,* 66-68.

P (*Fig. 48*). Charioteer (Pelops) in chariot to l. W. of panel at top 0.155, at bottom 0.145; H. 0.16. The very worn panel shows a small horse, with nobly curving neck and mane, trotting(?) with the l. foreleg raised. The contours are doubled to show a second horse (of a biga?). The chariot has an "Oriental" eight-spoked wheel with wide tire. The chariot box is of "Monteleone" shape with the upper edge slanting in front, then becoming horizontal before the round hand grip. The reins are indicated first by a broad strip from the neck of the horse to the hands of the charioteer, then by three lines below his hands. The charioteer stands erect, both forearms extended forward, and his back not quite touching the column. His long hair falls in "steps" down the back, and he has a beard. He wears a chiton incised with thin lines; a cloak is flung around the body in curving folds and then thrown over the l. arm in two long, vertical folds. Other thin folds go from the stitched sleeve down the back. He is riding in parade, not racing.

For the style of the folds, cf. the Croesan columns, Pryce, 59, no. B 121, fig. 63. For horses and charioteer with cloak thrown over arm, see Andokides Painter, Hanfmann, *Ancient Art,* no. 254, pl. 76; François vase, Zeus, Richter, *AGA,* fig. 107. For wheels, tires: Borchhardt, pls. 47:2, 50, but with carts. It is tempting to see in the charioteer the Lydian Pelops, inventor of the Olympic chariot race. The Sardians of Hellenistic times and possibly earlier celebrated Pelops by calling one of the Sardian *phylai* Pelopis. In A.D. 29, they claimed him as their own when petitioning Tiberius for the Imperial cult (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.55 = *Sardis* M2 [1972] 64, no. 221), and he is shown on Sardian coins of Marciana and Plotina, galloping in a chariot (*BMC Lydia,* nos. 132-133); the coins will be discussed in a forthcoming volume in this series by A. E. M. Johnston. Cf. for the traditional myths, *OCD*², 797, with Pindar *Olympia* 1.46, calling him Lydian. The Sardis relief would be the earliest representation: race with Oinomaos, close to Sappho Painter, and others listed by Brommer, *Vasenlisten*², 369ff. are of the 5th C. B.C.

Q (*Fig. 49*). Centaur walking or galloping to r. H. 0.155; W. at top 0.145, at bottom 0.13. Most of the surface is gone. There is a clearly visible outline of the upper hind legs, the l. set back in walking posture; and the tail is very decoratively arranged in an upward spiral. By strengthening the lines that are only visible in special light, one can discern the upper outline of the body with the r. arm raised in back, part of the top of the hair with a roll over the forehead, the beard, and a peculiar curving object, which might be the l. hand, or an object held in it.

Nearest in time and location are the Larisa terracottas and the frieze from Assos, Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 55f., pls. 26-27; Assos, Charbonneaux, *SGR,* 103, ill.

R (*Fig. 50*). Three-figure group, subject uncertain. H. at l. 0.165, at r. 0.155; W. at top 0.142. The panel is broken across the lower r. and very worn. Only the upper parts of the figures are discernible. On the r. is a seated(?) figure, perhaps nude and facing l. Visible are the forehead, nose,

moustache, pursed mouth, beard, and long hair falling down the back to below the shoulders. His l. arm is bent and brought forward. Next to him a female figure facing r. extends her small arm to grasp the chin (or reach just under the chin) of the seated figure. This may be the well-known gesture of supplication, or she might be stabbing him. She wears her hair in a bun; she is probably clothed, as an incised fold appears below the hand of the seated figure. From the l. a young man bends his r. arm and swings a weapon. He wears his hair in a roll (*krobylos*). Biceps seem to be indicated. One has the impression of a nude, athletic youth striding to the r. His weapon looks like a club, but there is a horizontal bar behind the head of the female which may be the tip of a spear.

Possible subjects are the murder of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, or of Aegisthus by Electra and Orestes if the female is stabbing. Less likely is the death of Priam. If the female is supplicating, the subject is harder to guess.

Iconography

The korai (priestesses), komasts, and dancers on the two side walls all come to the front of the building where the goddess receives them. The two lions are thought of as permanent attributes. A procession was also represented in Ephesus (Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 12f., figs. 20, 27-29). Processions coming along two sides to the front and center occur in late archaic Xanthos and early classical Thasos, most strikingly in the relief from the acropolis of Thasos (Getty Collection) where the seated goddess in the center is shown in a shrine (Berger, figs. 51-53; cf. also Picard, *Manuel* I 88, fig. 41; Charbonneaux, *SGR,* 14 ill.; Richter, *Korai,* no. 192, figs. 612f.) and of course on the Parthenon. Like the reliefs of the Athena temple of Assos, the mythological reliefs on the back of the Sardis piece show no clear relation to the owner of the shrine, except possibly a panel at the top (panel M, eagles protecting sacred tree?). However, both Pelops and Herakles have Sardian associations, Herakles because of Omphale, and as the ancestor of a mythical royal dynasty.

A matter of great interest is the presence of Dionysiac komasts and dancers. It confirms the close connection of the orgiastic rituals of the Great Mother Cybele and the Lydian Bacchus (*Baki*) celebrated by the chorus of Lydian women in the ecstatic hymn of Euripides' *Bacchae* 72-82. E. R. Dodds (*Euripides' Bacchae* 2nd ed. [Oxford 1960] 76f.) makes the interesting suggestion that "from very early times a Divine Mother and a divine son were worshipped with dances and mountain rituals" (*oreibasia*) and that in Asia Minor the "Mother was Cybele and the son Bakkos." (On the hymn cf. also R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Euripides and Dionysus* [Cambridge 1948] 32ff., 153ff.; J. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* [London 1890] 49f.)

One may ask—but not answer with any certainty—whether the artist envisaged procession and rituals at one definite festival, or more likely, expressed the various essential aspects of the cult: procession to the temple and dancing and drinking on the mountain Tmolus, where Bacchus was born and where the lions of the goddess roared.

Function and Dating

The shrine with the goddess is certainly the most important piece of sculpture found at Sardis. Most probably this was a votive comparable to the models of buildings dedicated from Geometric times on. One might easily imagine that the patron or architect of a new temple might dedicate such a model; some scholars believe this is what Herodotus (5.60) said the Alcmaeonidae had done at Delphi. A temple so elaborately decorated might have been a royal present. As to architects, Theodoros, famous for developing with Rhoikos the Ionic order, worked for Croesus. It is less likely that the shrine model served as a supporting base for another offering.

Cf. O. Benndorf, "Antike Baumodelle," *JOAI* 5 [1902] 175-195; S. D. Markmann, "Building Models and the Architecture of the Geometric Period," in G. E. Mylonas, ed., *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1951) I 268-271; J. A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles, A Greek Architect at Work* (Gyldendal 1957) 217-218; R. A. Staccioli, *Modelli di edifici etrusco-italia. I modelli votivi* (Florence 1968) 81ff., pls. 7-10, 12-16, 45.

Because of the two lions as attributes on the r.

side, the building may be the temple of Cybele, which was burned by the Ionians in 499 B.C., and the standing figure her archaic image. It is, of course, also possible that there were several shrines of Cybele, and this was intended to represent a smaller one, not the main temple.

The technique is highly unusual and experimental. It combines nearly round sculpture (goddess) and very light and shallow reliefs outlined with engraved lines and polished. As panel O proves, the reliefs were also painted, probably in strong, abundant polychromy like the contemporary poros buildings of the Acropolis in Athens (R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulpture* [Vienna 1919] 46, n. 5) or the marble reliefs of the Artemis temple in Ephesus (Reuterswärd, 35-37, 74-75).

The architecture and architectural sculpture are equally unusual and experimental. The plan, details of columns, and distribution of sculpture the entire height of the wall seem like an experiment on the way to the design of the Artemisium of Ephesus (ca. 560 B.C.?) where only the bottoms of columns and the balustrade above the roof edges were decorated with the sculptured friezes.

Architecture and the parallels for the shrine reliefs, many of which are comparable to Corinthian art and to the Croesan columns at Ephesus, argue for a date in the Croesan era, ca. 550-540 B.C. The kore-like image, however, compares most closely with a Samian maiden dated 540-530 B.C. by Buschor (*Altsam.*, 5, 93; Richter, *Koria,* no. 153). Richter dates our piece "early in the last third" of the 6th C. B.C.; Tuchelt (155f., 185f.) to 525-500 B.C. The style of the image and the shrine reliefs, however, makes a date later than 530 B.C. unlikely. Since not only the arrangement of costume but also the "straight-armed" way of holding an animal with the l. arm are best parallelled among Samian sculpture (Buschor, *Altsam.*, 5, 90, 92, fig. 357, 550-540 B.C.), it is Samian and possibly Ephesian, not Milesian, inspiration that one perceives in the style of the image. One might discern a local Lydian exaggeration in the squatter proportions and in the over stressing of rope stylization of folds; but there is refinement in the rendering of the chiton and a slightly hesitant but evocative power in the outlines of the figures of the shrine reliefs with their unique dainty flatness.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 39-43, figs. 25, 26; Hanfmann-Detweiler, "Ages," 93, fig. 4; Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 494-496, figs. 1-3, pls. 124:3, 125:3; Pedley, 102ff.; Hanfmann, *Class. Sculpture,* 311, fig. 84, dated 550; Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 268, 2 ill.; Schefold, *Die Griechen,* 284, fig. 333; Richter, *Korai,* 66, 92, no. 164, figs. 524-527, "Siphnian Treasury group" sub-group V:5, "Korai from the East, last third of the sixth century." Wesenberg, 111f., no. 3, fig. 232. H. von Gall, "Paphlagonische Felsgraber," *IstMitt* Beiheft 1 (1966) 54, and in a letter to G. M. A. Hanfmann, May 6, 1967, notes an "interesting continuity of this monument with Hellenistic Cybele terracotta Sabouroff." Salviat, 251, on Sardis monument, confirming that the other Cybele stelai show simplified naiskoi. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 12, figs. 23-26. M. J. Vermaseren, "Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque," forthcoming. For new material on Cybele in Phrygia, see H. Güterbock, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7 (1974) 97-99. A special study of the Cybele shrine is being prepared by D. G. Mitten and N. F. Arghyros.

8 *Figs. 51-54.* MANISA 325. "Mantle-Wearer" (kore?). 530-520 B.C.

White-gray "local" marble of reddish discoloration. Head and legs lost. Fingers of r. hand broken off. Recent damage to back, top worn.
P.H. 0.63; L. of upper arm 0.37, of locks on back 0.30.
Sardis, 1954. Built into a Roman wall at the W edge of PN, largely destroyed, just W of room B W268/S367 (*BASOR* 170, plan, fig. 13; cf. 162, 25; for details cf. Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 56f.).

The statue stood with the l. leg slightly forward of the r., both arms down the sides. The figure wears a chiton with delicate wavy folds, half-length sleeves with long seams, and a wide semi-circular border with two edges around the neck. The cloak, of heavier material, is draped from proper l. shoulder down to r. hip and up again. Three folds go under the r. arm but only two come out on the back. The cloak was pleated on the proper l. into vertical folds, four in front, five in back. Simple bracelets are seen on both wrists. Six long tresses of hair fall on arms and chest; a broad rectangle of hair descends below the shoulders in nine horizontal rows of "beads."

Initially the statue was interpreted as that of a draped man; other scholars have argued that it is a maiden. The costume is the same as that of the possibly Milesian statue from Cape Phoneas Buschor,

Altsam. 46f., figs. 160-162), which is even chestier and fleshier than the Manisa torso. Buschor published other Samian cloaked youths of marble and terracotta, one of whom also has frontal tresses (ibid., 3, figs. 163-167); compare also the men's tresses in Richter, *Kouroi,* nos. 43, 51, 157, 175, versus the korai named below. In favor of the identification as a man is the cloak draped from the l. shoulder, a trait not well attested for korai; there is, however, a faint indication of breasts. The great length of tresses and hair on the back, virtually unparallelled among larger sculptures of men, supports the identification as a kore. The bracelets, too, while possibly worn by men in luxurious Lydia (as were earrings), are much more common on female statues. Perhaps one should then consider this statue a girl.

The stylistic descent is from the school of Croesan sculptors at Ephesus. Such early traits as the strong, almost straight, rounded arm and simple folds are as on the fragment in Pryce (63, no. B 139, fig. 70) and the strong, flat carving of the cloak recurs in a kore from Klazomenai (Richter, *Korai,* no. 163), a product of the same school, ca. 540-530 B.C. These simple, nearly metallic forms are combined and contrasted with the delicate rendering of chiton in fine, small wavy lines. In a similar manneristic effect, the simple, beaded hair on the back is contrasted with six flowing tresses flung over chest and arms. The influence comes from a circle of "Ionizing?" sculptors who favored refined mannerism, and the nearest parallels are the two Acropolis korai with similar beaded hair and tresses over the arms, inventory numbers 682 and 675 respectively (ibid., nos. 116, 123, figs. 362, 397, ca. 525-520 B.C.). Since the fine chiton is first encountered in the (Cycladic?) caryatid of the Siphnian treasury before 530 B.C. (ibid., no. 104, fig. 320), a date of 530-520 B.C. for the Manisa statue would account for its stylistic synthesis of early and "late" traits. Its sculptor succeeded in unifying the two aspects to create an image simpler, more geometric, more dignified than the Attic late archaic korai, an image in which luxury of hair and garment is toned down to a subdued component in the quiet radiance of aristocratic life.

Published: Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 55-60, pls. 9-10; Tuchelt, 128, 155-156, 186, n.102, no. L 105, "last quarter of the sixth century B.C." Cf. also the draped men from Myus, Blümel, *Arch. Sk.*^{2}, no. 69, figs. 217-219 (here Figs. 55-57); from Pitane, Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, 229ff., figs. 195-197; and fourteen poorly preserved torsos and fragments from Didyma, Tuchelt, 150, 155, pls. 23-34, nos. K 21-33 bis. Cf. also Louvre, MA 3600, P. Devambez and L. Robert, *RA* (1966) 195-216, pls. 1-4.

9 *Figs. 58-60.* NOEX 60.13. MANISA. Relief of frontal standing draped female figure. 520-500 B.C.

Chalky, dense, soft, white limestone, much stained (quite different from regular hard and friable "Bin Tepe" limestone).
Missing parts of frame, most of face, part of r. hand, part of lock on l. side. Battered on breast. Probably originally painted but no pigment traces survive.
H. 0.495, of figure 0.411, of relief 0.04; W. 0.31, of figure 0.13; Th. 0.215; projection of "roof" beyond pilaster 0.015.
Hillock with Türbe (saint's tomb) known as Dede Mezarı, ca. 1.5 km. W of village of Sart Mahmut, ca. 0.5 km. S of Highway TC 98. For ancient masonry and a Lydian(?) brickstamp cf. *BASOR* 162, 49, fig. 32; for archaic Ionic capital found in 1976 cf. *AASOR,* forthcoming. The finder had built the relief into his house in Sart Mahmut.

The figure is carved into the flat broad surface of a rectangular limestone block which is plain on the sides and back. The background was treated with claw chisel, then smoothed. She stands with her small short feet parallel and slightly apart, arms hanging down the sides with part of the r. hand preserved. A simple lock of hair is partly preserved on the l. side of the head. Two small, drilled holes above each temple probably held a metal wreath or crown. Around her neck she wears a necklace of acorns, presumably imagined to be of gold. (Cf. *Sardis* XIII [1925] nos. 23 and 33, pls. 2f.)

She wears a chiton folded over the belt with a bunch of vertical folds (paryphe) gathered in the center of the skirt. The upper part has flat-carved vertical folds, the lower, nearly horizontal wavy folds radiating symmetrically from a central pleat. The linear folds are sensitively cut. The breasts are indicated under the garment.

There is a large semicircular hollow (W. 0.08) 0.05 below her feet; within it is a round hole (diam.

0.015; D. 0.01) made by a round metal peg. The nearly hemispherical hole may have been for a piece of wood with metal dowel. A shrine-like (naiskos-like) frame, raised 0.04 above the background, goes all around the rectangular block. Its top projects beyond the side "pilasters" (cf. Fig. 60).

The same costume is worn by Acropolis maidens 670 and 683, dated ca. 525-515 B.C. by Richter and 510-500 by E. B. Harrison. Of these, the kore 683 has similar "dumpy" proportions. It is not clear whether the Lydian sculptor misunderstood the nearly horizontal folds seen on the Acropolis maidens or was rendering a different kind of skirt.

As to function, similar frontal figures in a simple frame are interpreted as votaries in Miletus. If a mortal kore is intended, this stele could be votive or funerary. The figure may also be compared with the series of frontal figures of Cyblele standing in a shrine which begins with early examples in Phrygia and may have continued in more Hellenized fashion in Lydia. Lacking crown or lion, the goddess could not be Cybele, but because of the emphatic jewelry might be Aphrodite. The piece is rustic Lydian, provincial but not insensitive.

Published: *BASOR* 162, 49, fig. 31. For overall type and costume see Richter, *Korai,* nos. 119, 120, figs. 377-384 (Acropolis 670, 683); Payne-Young, 36, pl. 59:1-3; Harrison, *Agora* XI 21, no. 75, pl. 7. For frame, votary, Richter, *Korai,* no. 70, fig. 228. For Cybele in naiskos, Temizer, 35-39. Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 267, ill. Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 86ff., figs. 54, 60.

10 *Fig. 61.* S67.37:7593. Kore torso. Ca. 500 B.C.?

Marble.
Head, back, mid to upper arms, and a large chunk of chest below neck broken off. Brown discoloration (from fire) and red blotches from reuse in cement.
H. 0.133, to chest 0.125; W. shoulder to shoulder 0.225; diam. of arms 0.04.
W of B, trench C, in stone pile.

The plain upper garment has a large overfold from the l. shoulder. Almost entirely preserved is the powerful upper l. arm; only the frontal part of the r. arm remains. Small drill plus fine chisel work are used to separate arms from body. A curl is on the r. shoulder. She is holding the tail and part of the body of a bird or animal in the palm of her l. hand, of which the thumb and little finger are visible.

Unpublished. For possible type, cf. Richter, *Korai,* nos. 159-161, figs. 511, 515, Rhodes, Miletus, 525-500 B.C.; Buschor, *Altsam.,* figs. 74, 76-78, 80, 86, holding birds and animals with l. hand.

11 *Fig. 62.* NOEX 63.12 Upper part of under-lifesize female torso. 5th C. B.C.

Marble.
Preserved is r. shoulder, part of V under neck, and part of cloak and chiton. Broken at back.
P.H. 0.12; P.W. 0.22.
Brought to D. G. Mitten by Sabri Sert. Found at Çaltılıköy.

A heavy cloak with large round folds is draped over the r. shoulder, and round clasps button the chiton at the shoulder. There are thin, cleanly chiselled but not as yet transparent folds at the shoulder and V of neck. The piece seems parallel to figures in the Parthenon frieze, though possibly earlier and not under direct Parthenon influence.

Unpublished.

12 *Figs. 63-64.* S59.10:1419. Amazon or Artemis upper torso. 5th-4th C. B.C.?

Powdery marble or near-marble.
Back of upper body and part of l. upper arm preserved but front chiselled off. Head and most of neck broken off; arms and lower body below waist gone. Only traces of folds preserved in front.
P.H. 0.125; W. including stump of r. arm 0.16.
HoB, area 14, E20/S80 *100.68-100, in fill.

The r. arm was raised, l. extended sideways in fighting posture. The head was turned to proper l. The himation with overfold goes diagonally across the back and ties over the upper l. shoulder. Three short locks fall on the back of the r. shoulder with possibly the rim of a helmet(?) over them. One long flat tress on the l. shoulder is seen from the top. Only some traces of folds are preserved on the front.

The work has been called an Amazon, but according to E. B. Harrison (personal communica-

tion Feb. 1972) it is Artemis shooting her bow, and of the 4th C. because of torsion, perhaps with archaistic touches (hair); compare the "Amazonian figure" (shooting Artemis?) from the Syn (188 Fig. 338); or is it a helmetted fighting Athena after all?

The piece is probably 510-460 B.C., late archaic or very early classical. The locks are as in the reliefs of the Athenian treasury in Delphi, hence possibly late 6th to 5th C. B.C.

Unpublished. Cf. for costume also Acropolis Nike, ca. 490 B.C., G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London/New York 1969) fig. 100; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 150, no. 38, pl. 72:2. For locks, see la Coste-Messelière, 325-326, pls. 130, 131, 136 (Theseus).

13 *Fig. 65.* S63.31:5314. Shoulder of colossal draped figure. 5th C. B.C.?

Grayish white marble with large crystals. According to D. Monna (Aug. 1972, sample XXXVI), the marble is local and resembles a sample taken from quarry 2 (see *supra* Ch. I, "Materials"). Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Broken on all sides.
P.H. 0.475; P.W. 0.455; P.Th. 0.09.
Syn E45.3/N17 *97.00.

Possibly the the r. side of a colossal statue or relief. The fragment has a fold falling across the shoulder, another going across the back, and long shallow vertical folds falling down the back. It is at least one and a half times lifesize.

Because of careful, "un-Roman" chisel workmanship, this could be an early, e.g. 5th C. B.C., piece. Possibly a figure in Oriental dress and perhaps going to the r. with an offering, it may be from a relief rather than a statue.

Unpublished. General style and garment recall the Satrap Sarcophagus, Kleeman, 14-24, pls. 4-6, 10 (cloak), 12.

14 *Fig. 66.* S63.22:5228. Fragment of archaic kouros head ? Ca. 540-520 B.C.

White marble with large crystals.
Broken on all sides and on underside.
L. 0.10; W. 0.09; Th. 0.016.
Syn MH E75-80/N5-18.5 *98.0-97.50.

The fragment has a pattern of near-hexagonal rounded "beads" arranged in three continuous lines from l. to r. plus an intrusive line of three beads. It is possibly from the hair of an archaic kouros(?), the back portion either just below the top (Richter, *Kouroi,* no. 148, fig. 418) or just above the diadem (ibid., no. 146, fig. 434). These comparisons from Chalkis and Thebes are kouroi of the Anavysos-Ptoon group, ca. 540-520 B.C.

Despite slight irregularities the piece is archaic rather than Roman archaistic. The latter possibility was suggested by B. S. Ridgway.

Unpublished.

15 *Fig. 67.* NOEX 62.2. Back of male head. 480-460 B.C.?

White Marble.
Face broken off at point behind ears. The even split does not look very old.
H. 0.22; max. W. 0.186; max. D. 0.07.
Findspot unknown.

A regular pattern of tight curls goes down to the nape of the neck which has fine light chisel work and finish. The back of the head is rounded in profile. It is probably a late archaic or early classical original. B. S. Ridgway has suggested (orally) that the piece is a Roman copy as the head is too bulbous and there is too much detail in the curls. However, a date of ca. 480-460 B.C. seems indicated by the resemblance to the hairdo of Harmodios in the Tyrant-Slayer group of 477 B.C., and its reflection in the W, Herakles Selinus temple "E," ca. 460 B.C., as well as the similarity to heads of young athletes of early classical style. E. B. Harrison (personal communication Feb. 1971) noted that the shape of the skull bulges, as that of Harmodios does not, and placed the piece between the Tyrannicides and Myron (480-460 B.C.).

This and the preceding fragment (14 Fig. 66) are important as the only possible evidence for the existence of the male youth type at Sardis.

Unpublished. For Harmodios see Brunnsåker, pls. 3, 14, 21 (details, Terme and Metropolitan); Picard, *Manuel* II.1, 14, fig. 4. For Herakles cf. Langlotz, *Westgriechen,*

81f., pl. 100 = Picard, *Manuel* II.1, 127, fig. 61; Richter, *Catalogue Greek Sculptures,* pl. 24 a, b, no. 25.

16 *Figs. 68-69.* S67.31:7549. Two-sided relief fragment with folds or feathers. Before 570 B.C.?

According to examination by D. Monna, M. Felici, and L. Peruccini (Aug. 27, 1972) the material is lava with very fine micro-crystalline structure. It comes from a recent flow which was in contact with metamorphosed limestone (marble). It may well come from a volcanic region of Asia Minor.
Top, bottom, r. side, and part of l. side broken. The "vertical" surface is original.
H. 0.183; L. 0.164; profile Th. 0.075.
PN W272-276/S324-326 *85.5-85.2. May be associated with the floor at furnace B, *BASOR* 191, 13 and 199, 25, plan, fig. 9. Found with Lydian black-on-white skyphoi and a disk-shaped gold pendant (J67.4:7530).

Curving, finely cut folds border a shallowly moulded muscle of a leg(?). The piece was originally recorded in a horizontal position as possibly a leg and part of a wing of a sphinx. It may, however, be viewed as vertical, either a walking lion or bull with feathered wing or a human leg with swinging drapery. The relief ended on one side, as part of a jamb(?) or screen(?).

Material and style recall the doorjamb reliefs of palaces S and P at Pasargadae (546?-530 B.C.), where Luschey (86, pl. 39:2) sees possible Lydian influence (cf. also Nylander, 123ff., 136ff., figs. 42-44). Made of material unquestionably imported to Sardis, the fragment shows Egyptian technique but not Egyptian style. The material, according to Monna, is not Egyptian; it could have come from the volcanic region of Lydia called the Katakaumene E of Sardis.

Nylander (138, n.355) suggested that in Pasargadae and Susa Egyptian craftsmen who "adorned the wall," according to the Foundation Tablet, may have carved the reliefs. Egyptians or Egyptian-trained specialists might have also come to Sardis in the time of Alyattes. A Lydian graffito has been found in Egypt (Gusmani, *LW,* 266, no. 49), and seals from Naucratis have been found at Sardis (*BASOR* 170, 25, fig. 21). Sardis stratification suggests a date before 570 B.C.

Unpublished.

17 *Figs. 70-71.* MANISA 1. Inscribed stele with seated man (Atrastas, son of Sakardas). 520-500 B.C.

Grayish, large-grained marble, possibly local. Reddish discoloration and much pinkish white earth on surface. Broken at top; a modern clamp holder is set into the break. The relief is much worn and the inscription is slightly damaged by later, arbitrary chiselling.
H. 0.97, of relief 0.30, of man 0.26; W. at top 0.305, at bottom 0.32. Th. at side top 0.09, at bottom including back, up to 0.16.
According to Manisa museum inventory, found at Sardis (Sart) 1935.

The stele was set at the bottom into a base. The back, which was probably not seen, is extremely roughly trimmed. The sides are finished with multiple claw chisel. The lower part of the front preserves the scattered stroke patterns of claw chisel and point. At the top of the stele is a relief standing on a ground line which is cut 0.007 into the stone. Below is an inscription of six lines.

Seated on a stool, a man puts a long object which may be a scroll on the table with his r. hand. He is young, beardless, has a thin, turned-up nose, and wears his hair in a roll on the nape of the neck. His short cloak is thrown over the shoulder in a double fold which then falls down the back. His l. arm is presumably concealed in the cloak. Toward the front the cloak ends in a pointed fold over the legs, only one of which is visible. Several parallel folds descend from the chest to the lower edge of the cloak. His shoe is high and boot-like with turned-up toe. Behind the man appears the forepart of an animal (dog?) whose head, chest, foreleg, and forepart of the body can be made out. The table seems to have legs ending in bull's hoofs.

The stele, which was misdated to the 4th C. B.C. by Bossert, is late archaic Eastern Greek, the widest possible range being 530-460 B.C. The comparisons with various seated figures cited below show that proportions, gesture, composition, and character of folds are closest to, though slightly later than, the painted Etruscan "Campana" plaques from Caere which date ca. 530-520 B.C. In terms of more sophisticated Attic draftsmanship, they relate to the

period between Oltos and Euphronios, ca. 520-500 B.C. L. Bonfante-Warren has noted that the pointed shoes, too, were particularly fashionable between 540-475 B.C. Seated figures by Douris and the Pistoxenos Painter (Pfuhl, *MuZ* III figs. 468, 471) are clearly later. The athlete's base, ca. 510-500 B.C., is also more advanced (Lullies-Hirmer, fig. 61). Among seated men on Eastern Greek late archaic stelai illustrated by Berger (49, 99f.), a relief from Rhodes, dated 530-520 B.C., comes closest in lively pose and slight build (ibid., fig. 120). The Basel physician relief (ibid., fig. 9) is more stationary and monumental. Thus the date 520-500 B.C. is indicated for the Sardis relief.

Transliteration of the Lydian inscription:

(e)s anlola atraśtal
śakardal akad qis fisqānt
bukaś fēdavoλt faktad
kabrdokid nāmλ qig dēt
nākmλ [. . .] *clλ akad*
artimuλ ibśimlλ fēncān

This is the stele of Atrastas (Adrastos), son of Sakardas. And thus whosoever destroys or by misdeed (damages) [the stele], he shall pay (or "make good" or "restore"). (And him?) and whatever possession (he may have?) thus to Artemis of Ephesus I dedicate (vow).

The representation suggests that the dead man Atrastas (Adrastos) was concerned with writing. Bossert considered the inscription to be in verse, but Gusmani (letter Nov. 29, 1976) considers it "probably not a poem" and does not include it among his "poetic texts" (*LW*, 54; cf. idem, "Iscrizioni poetiche," passim). As the fine is to be paid to Artemis of Ephesus, one wonders if he might not have been a special priest serving Artemis of Ephesus at Sardis. That Artemis of Ephesus was the founder of the Artemis cult at Sardis is alleged in the same Greek inscription which reports that a sacred procession went from Artemis in Ephesus to Artemis at Sardis (see *Sardis* R1 [1975] 179 n.12). The classical relief 20 (Figs. 78-83) represents Artemis of Sardis(?) in one of the aspects known at Ephesus.

Published (inscription): Bossert, "Vorläufige Mitteilung," 430f.; idem, *Altanatolien*, 28, fig. 195, "inscription in verse, 4th C. B.C."; Armağan, 15; Gusmani, *LW*, 268, no. 54, wrongly states that the marble stele is "from Manisa, exact findspot unknown"; idem, "Lydiaka," 272. For Campana plaques see Pallotino, 35f., color; Bonfante-Warren, 280f., pl. 66:11, with literature. On Oltos see Pfuhl, *MuZ* III fig. 360; on Euphronios, ibid., fig. 393. For stele with man and (half) dog, cf. Ridgway, "Man and Dog," esp. 73, fig. 7. For the theory that the so-called Borgia stele in Naples might have come from Sardis, cf. 269.

18 *Figs. 72-74.* S69.14:8047. Part of a pediment. 450-430 B.C.

White marble in "sugary" and bruised condition, weathered yellow.
Original overall dimensions of the block preserved except possibly on l. end, but many areas damaged, and all worn down by water. The condition called for consolidation with barium hydroxide and urea treatment. For details of damage see *infra*.
Max. L. 1.30 (at bottom); H. 0.58; W. at top 0.36, at bottom 0.36. H. of ornament at top 0.105-0.128. H. of figures: man 0.44; women 0.36, 0.325, 0.26. H. of relief of figures 0.06-0.10.
Near PC, 2 m. below present bed of Pactolus, toward E bank, W360/S588, with Roman architectural pieces, hence probably already reused.

The block is probably one of the two pieces which constituted the l. side of a small pediment. The slope was ca. 1:4 (58:232) and the size of the missing corner block can be calculated to ca. 1.00. Half of the pediment was ca. 2.30, and the entire pediment ca. 4.60. The bottom surface was pretty well smoothed except for small chisel marks. At the proper r. end is a rectangular cutting (Fig. 74) for a tie piece to tie it to the next block. The dowel hole is 0.08 by 0.09 by 0.05 D. The side does have something like anathyrosis 0.10 in W. toward the back and 0.15 toward the front. The top is 1.20 L. and varies from 0.32-0.36 in W. A rectangular cutting (0.05 by 0.12) appears 0.45 from the l. end; it may have been for a dowel to hold the sima. At the l. end is a cutting and clamp hole for a Pi-clamp (0.10 by 0.04 for leading; 0.015 by 0.15 by 0.04 D. for clamp). The l. end of the pediment is uneven, probably trimmed for secondary use. The r. end is worn smooth by water. It was fitted tightly, but without marked anathyrosis, to the next piece of the pediment. The top l. corner is broken off; at the top, to the r. of the break is a trace of a clamp hole and iron rust.

In front there is a band following the slope and decorated with a fine Lesbian cyma and bead and reel, most of which is lost (Fig. 73). The intervals between beads and reels were drilled with a small drill. In back the piece was hollowed out with very rough trimming hammer chisel strokes. Although this would be an effective device to lighten the weight of the pediment, the rough execution speaks for secondary reuse.

At the r. end of the relief a bearded man reclines on a couch. His l. elbow rests on a folded cushion. In his raised r. hand he holds a vase (for possible type cf. Porada, pl. 49; Ghirshman, pl. 20 a and b) and in his l. an indistinct object. P. Bernard suggested that he may be pouring from the vase into a bowl, but the hands are too far apart, and no clear trace of a bowl survives. His bearded head, more than half lost, was turned to his l. and upward. There is hair falling on his back and possibly traces of a wreath(?). His feet seem to rise under the cloak or cover.

In front of the couch is a low table with a rounded object, perhaps a bowl, standing on it. Most of the table is broken off. A horizontal line below the table top might belong to the couch behind the table. A draped, seated female figure to the l. is probably the wife. She is seated on the l. end of the couch. Her head, slightly overlapping the pedimental band, is almost entirely lost. She is seated diagonally to the background, her r. shoulder and l. leg forward. Her r. arm is bent and rests on her chest. An indistinct extension merging into the couch may be her l. arm and hand holding something over the couch cover. She wears a long cloak and a chiton of which a couple of vertical folds are seen near her feet. A slight trace of a horizontal band from the closed neckline of her garment can be made out.

A vertical hollow indicates the end of the first couch and the beginning of a second couch. A smaller woman is seated in near profile view. The worn, oval head overlaps the pedimental band. Below a rounded hairdo we discern a small face. Her r. arm was bent, the hand placed on the chest. The outline of a rounded sleeve is visible. Her l. arm was extended palm down, the hand on a flat cushion. Three tiny incised folds radiate downward under her r. buttock.

The smallest figure, on the l., is probably seated on the same couch. She is seated diagonally; the upper part of her body turned frontally. Her r. arm is taken back and her r. palm is resting on the couch. Her l. hand rests on her knee. Her head, mostly broken off, was apparently turned to the r. and overlapped only slightly the band of the pediment. At the lower edge of her long garment part of a foot is outlined by incisions. A double line over her l. shoulder may indicate an overhanging (peplos-like?) part of a dress. Quite a large part of the block on the l. is devoid of sculpture.

H. Möbius (by letter Oct. 1969) immediately recalled the E pediment of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (Niemann-Reisch, pl. l; Coupel-Demargne, *Xanthos* III pls. 98, 100). Indeed, the great interest of the Sardis piece is the proof that mausolea similar to the Nereid Monument and the newly excavated mausoleum at Limyra (J. Borchhardt, *AA* 3 [1970] 357, fig. 4) existed at Sardis. The Sardis mausoleum pediment measured ca. 4.60, that of Xanthos, ca. 6.10, that of Limyra, ca. 7.

The Nereid Monument also features the subject of a funerary meal, popularized by the Persians (cf. J. M. Dentzer, *RA* [1969] 195ff.). Its central figures, however, are seated on thrones. The designer of the Sardis pediment created an unusual composition, stepping down a succession of rather widely spaced figures, which could appear in this manner "naturally." He gave them strongly projecting relief, and one suspects that much was added by painting. The diagonal positioning of seated figures implies knowledge of foreshortening. The soft, well-rounded rendering of the figures is closest to the Ionian style of the Satrap Sarcophagus (Kleeman, passim). The owner was probably either a Persian or a highly placed Lydian of the Persian era, shown with his wife and two daughters(?).

Published: *BASOR* 199, 38f., fig. 29; Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Sardis, 1969," 252, ill.; cf. Hanfmann, "Sardis, 1969," 173. For a detailed discussion see Hanfmann, "Pediment," 289-301, pls. 99-102a, with details; idem, *Croesus,* 19, fig. 42. The r. half of the pediment with two servants and serving table was found in Pactolus bed, fall 1977.

19 *Figs 75-77.* S69.11:8032. Stele with veiled frontal female. 5th C. B.C.

Bluish gray marble, large crystals, reddish discoloration. Broken at bottom and restored with cement, 1969-1970. Surface damage. Trimmed off with trimming hammer in reuse; also still partly covered with cement traces. Of the original surface of the woman only two locks of hair (one on each side), the neck, and the edge of her shoulders and r. side remain.
P.H. 1.01; W. 0.49 (with moulding 0.51); D. 0.21; P.H. of panel 0.65; W. of panel 0.34; W. of anathyrosis 0.075; H. of head 0.15 (with chin 0.185); H. of moulding 0.85. From moulding to top of stone 0.205. Back: smooth at bottom to 0.47; rough to 0.425; anathyrosis 0.075 (same as front). Top: clamp holes 0.035 by 0.03 by 0.03 D.; channel W. 0.02, L. 0.11 and 0.13 (at 90° to front).
Syn E77/N19, turned over 1969 (stone found in 1963).

The r. side of the stone had a moulding just above the height at which the front panel ends; otherwise the surface is smoothed. There is an L-shaped cut at the bottom from reuse. The l. side of the stone is smooth, the surface destroyed from moulding height upwards. The back surface is smooth at the bottom, rough-picked above, again in the shape of a panel with smooth vertical anathyrosis at the sides. The top surface has two square clamp holes with channels leading into them from the back. They are unevenly placed, hence probably from reuse of the stone. The top surface is rough-picked but smoothed at the two side edges. The bottom surface is broken away.

In outline and rough surface one can see the shape of a woman's body to about the upper legs, her head, and the edge of her r. elbow. She stood closer to the r. side of the stone than the l., her l. side touching the edge of the panel. There is a narrow, vertical anathyrosis to the r. and l. of the panel above a broken surface.

The figure stands frontally. The strands of hair at the sides of her head are tubular and plain on the surface. They curve slightly outwards at her shoulders. Part of the first curl near her r. ear remains. The neck has incised horizontal wrinkles. At either side of her neck are traces of the neckline of her dress coming forward. There is much small point work in the hollows on both sides of the head and traces of abrasive lines on the background and veil. Very fine claw chisel was used on the r. and l. ends of the stele. The background was smoothly chiselled, but one still sees the tool marks slightly curved towards the middle. The transition from the figure to the background is sharp and clear-cut.

The stele was originally intended to be free-standing as the back is finished. This would favor a votive rather than sepulchral function. There is not enough preserved to decide whether the woman is a votary or a goddess. The piece is possibly early classical, 5th C. B.C.

Unpublished. For veiled frontal woman on stele, cf. stele of Polyxena, Boeotia (Berlin no. 1504), Collignon, 132f., fig. 71; G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 28 (1913) 322, fig. 5, 2nd half 5th C. For draped and veiled woman of "Europa" type see Collignon, 116, fig. 59 (Berlin); Ridgway, *Severe Style*, 66, figs. 106-108 (Baiae Museum) "unfinished Aspasia/Sosandra type," dated 470-460 B.C.

20 *Figs. 78-83.* S68.6:7678. MANISA 3937. Stele with Artemis, Cybele, and two worshippers. Ca. 400 B.C.

Coarse-grained white marble. Most of the surface covered with calcium-carbonate accretion. There were large patches of mortar above the head of Artemis and between the heads of worshipper and lion.
Original triangular pediment top broken when stele was prepared for reuse in the Syn stylobate. Top of r. pilaster damaged. Part of the back broken off on r. (Figs. 79, 80). Lower r. corner broken and reattached in front. L. side of stele smoothly finished but much weathered. Roughened area above, from pilaster capital to the beginning of sloping surface of pediment. A second roughened area, from bottom of stele to 0.13 above base of l. jamb. Similar roughened area on r. side of stele at the top. Heads of goddesses intentionally defaced; all surfaces much worn. Because the surface of the stele was already battered and damaged, no attempt was made to clean off all incrustation.
Stele: H. 0.99; max. Th. at bottom 0.29; W. 0.667. Niche: H. 0.642; W. 0.545. Pilaster plinths: H. 0.06; W. 0.10; D. 0.045. Pilaster shafts: H. 0.64; W. at bottom 0.065, at top 0.057. Capital: H. 0.03; W. at bottom 0.065, at top 0.07. H. of Artemis 0.63, of Cybele 0.61, of male worshipper 0.45, of female 0.38. Hind: L. 0.18; H. 0.105. Lion: L. 0.165; H. 0.09. Tympanum: H. 0.13; W. 0.105.
Reused face down in the stylobate of the peristyle of Syn Fc built "not before the late 3rd C., nor likely after the 5th" (A. Seager, by letter Jan. 30, 1976) E110.68-111.39/N5.91-6.53 *96.51, top.

On both sides there remain parts of the top of the triangular pediment (W. 0.49). Part of the interior of the pediment is preserved on the l. (H. 0.24; D.

0.65). Its corner ends just above the inner edge of the l. pilaster capital. It must have had acroteria. Two pilasters which supported the pediment stand on simple rectangular plinths; one profiled Ionic capital is preserved.

At first glance, the wide form of vertical "naiskos" stele with Ionic pilasters and triangular pediment (reconstruction Fig. 79) seems closest to Attic sepulchral stelai of around 400 B.C. (e.g. Hegeso, cf. Diepolder, 17, 25ff., pls. 10f., 17, 19f., 22, with dates from ca. 420-390 B.C.; Ampharete, Friis-Johansen, 14ff., figs. 1, 4). Later Attic naiskos stelai are more slender (e.g. Diepolder, 37, pl. 31). However, the Sardian form is somewhat simpler, lacking the intermediate band of entablature which appears on the Hegeso stele.

Two frontal goddesses occupy two thirds of the niche space. They are approached from the r. by two worshippers shown in profile. The taller goddess, Artemis, holds a hind, the shorter, Cybele, a lion. Her tympanum is hanging on the "wall" in the background. The worshippers raise their r. hands in adoration.

Artemis wears a low polos over a veil which falls on her shoulders (Fig. 81). Her hair is parted in the middle, as indicated by incisions. She wears a chiton with wide, buttoned, half-length sleeve showing on her r. arm. It descends in thin, vertical folds over her feet with outer folds flaring. Her cloak, wrapped around the lower part of the body, ascends diagonally from the r. hip to under the l. arm. Two long vertical folds with "swallow tail" ends drop from her l. elbow to her ankle. There are traces of folds under her r. forearm. Her battered face is broad, her neck thick. Her feet show no indication of either shoes or toes. Her r. arm supports the deer, which she grasps by the forelegs with her foreshortened l. arm. The tail of the deer is outlined against her r. inner elbow.

Cybele's polos had a rectangular attachment over the center of her forehead (Fig. 82), and her veil falls in triangular folds. Her chiton has pointed sleeves and falls over her feet in the same way as that of Artemis. Her cloak has a diagonal roll of fabric which crosses from her r. hip to and over her l. arm. A long vertical fold with zigzag ends hangs down her l. side. A vertical crease bisects her cloak. She holds a small lion, her r. hand grasping his hindquarters and her l. the r. shoulder. The fingers of both hands are slightly spread. The lion extends his forepaws horizontally in front.

The two worshippers (Fig. 83) have rather awkwardly elongated bodies and upper legs. The man in the back seems to wear a long cloak draped in a roll around the midriff. Curving folds are shown going down to his knee and over his leg. The woman seems to wear a chiton like the goddesses, but it appears only at the bottom since she is completely draped in a cloak which apparently also conceals her l. arm. Long incised folds go from her r. shoulder to l. hip and down to the curving edges above her feet. Both worshippers' r. arms are bent, fingers pointing upward. The man is beardless and has a full head of hair. The woman has a short, round roll, as Krito on the Krito-Timariste stele (Lippold, 206, pl. 64:3, dated 420 B.C.; Dohrn, *Attische Plastik,* 35f., 38, 400-390 B.C., surely too late). In their long, unstable proportions and gestures with slightly awkward, stumpy fingers they might reflect a model similar in style to the Krito-Timariste group.

For a votive relief with worshippers, the relief from Sardis is unusual in having a vertical rather than a horizontal format and in giving over so much space to two large, austerely frontal divinities. The general disposition and the type of a large frontal goddess with a small but frontal worshipper recur on a relief from Eleusis (Lehmann-Hartleben, 88f., fig. 2, dated 460 B.C., too early). The juxtaposition of frontal Demeter and Kore on a relief, dated by inscription to 421-420 B.C., shows a freer arrangement and rhythm (Binneboessel, no. 5; Hausmann, 41, fig. 20; Lippold, 191, 198, pl. 73:3). An incomplete stele from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphne, ca. 415-410 B.C., is a step further toward the mannerism of the Nike balustrade, ca. 415-410 B.C. (Svoronos, no. 1597, pl. 129; A. Linfert, *AM* 82 [1967] 156, n.11, Beil. 84:1). It includes a small worshipper. Nearer in overall composition, and especially in the size and gestures of the worshippers, is a relief in Brocklesby Park (Michaelis, 228, no. 10; B. Ashmole in Amelung *Antike Plastik,* 13-15, pl. 2) with a large god and goddess in profile and father, mother, daughter as worshippers. It is dated

by Ashmole around 415 B.C., by Dohrn around 400 (*Attische Plastik,* 35)

While a dating around 400 B.C. fits the Attic evidence, especially of architecture, it is possible to date the relief to ca. 430-420 on the basis of figure style. In this case it would become a new link in the argument that the architectural form of the naiskos stele was not created by the Hegeso Master (Dohrn) but was developed in Eastern Greece whence it was introduced to Athens around 420 B.C.

The emphatic stiffness and frontality may have been intended to convey an icon-like quality or represent a style earlier than the time of the relief. The gesture with which the animal is held is that of mid-6th C. archaic images, such as the *perikalles agalma,* possibly "Aphrodite" of Cheramyes of Samos (Buschor, *Altsam.,* 83, fig. 344; Richter, *Korai,* figs. 188-189). The poloi and veils, too, are archaic-traditional. What a 4th C. B.C. interpretation of such an image with veil and polos looks like is shown by the relief from Halikarnassos at the American Academy in Rome (A. W. Van Buren in Amelung *Antike Plastik,* 50-53, fig. 1). However, as G. M. A. Richter first observed (by letter), the goddesses wear clothes of the 5th C. One statuary type which seems particularly close is seen in the Kore(?) relief from Corinth. The original of this type should fall between 450 and 430 B.C. It is assigned by Lippold to the Corinthian school, by others to Argive or early Phidias. The Kore's cloak is enriched by large classic radiating folds, and the enlivening element is even more evident in the Phidian "Kore Albani" (Lippold, 154, pl. 56:1). If we translate Artemis and Cybele into statuary, we should envisage their images as more austere than the Kore from Corinth, on the borderline from Severe to High Classical style (450 B.C.?). In costume (especially sleeve) and proportion one may compare an Attic votive relief dated by Friis-Johansen (139, fig. 70) to ca. 470-450 B.C. For the image of Artemis of Ephesus, the type holding the hind in her arm was hitherto not known. Fleischer (112-114) lists only images flanked by two standing stags.

Because Herodotus mentioned "the native goddess Cybebe" as having a shrine at Sardis, which was burned by the Greeks in 499 B.C., and because the huge temple and most inscriptions in Lydian and Greek mentioned Artemis and not Cybebe, many scholars believed that the two goddesses were amalgamated at Sardis. Our relief proves that they were different and that Artemis (presumably Artemis of Ephesus) was the bigger sister, but it also seems to imply that they could be worshipped jointly. This raises the question: was there a temple and/or shrine in which Artemis and Cybele were worshipped jointly, perhaps while the burnt temple of Cybele was being rebuilt? The preserved inscribed parastades from the Metroon may belong to the late 5th or to the 4th C. B.C. Were there, after the burning of Sardis in 499 B.C., two images made in the Severe style (470-450 B.C.), one of Cybele and the other of Artemis? The traditional type for Cybele at Sardis was that of a standing goddess (cf. 7 Figs. 20, 27) and only after Agorakritos' immensely influential image became known, did the representation at Sardis change (21 Figs. 84-85). Finally, why is Cybele smaller? Is it because she was a real *epichorie theos,* descended from old Near Eastern/Anatolian tradition, who was displaced in popular favor by Lydian-Greek Artemis?

Published: *BASOR* 199, 48ff., fig. 39; Hanfmann-Waldbuam, "Kybele," 265f., 4 ill., with discussion of the development of Cybele. On the Corinthian Kore see Lippold, 174, n.8, pl. 63:3, copy in Rome(?); V. H. Poulsen, *Str. Stil,* 132; Homann-Wedeking, 55, 210; detailed discussion, Johnson, *Corinth* IX no. 5.

21 *Figs. 84-85.* NOEX 58.27. Relief of Cybele seated with lion in her lap and at her feet. 4th C. B.C.

Very white marble with large crystals. Strong red accretion.
Upper l. and lower r. corner broken off. Top chipped. Heavily incrusted.
H. 0.345; W. 0.285; D. at bottom 0.075, at top 0.07. Background recessed to 0.03. Clamp cuttings: upper, distance from top 0.025, L. 0.06, W. 0.013; middle, distance from upper cutting 0.07, L. 0.04, W. 0.016; lower, distance from middle cutting 0.055, L. 0.055, W. 0.015. Found during building of camp wall on second terrace, 1.70 below terrace level. Was reused in a wall. Cf. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 57, fig. 61. This is the only Cybele monument found near the Artemis Precinct.

The marble piece is flat on top but cut in front to indicate a very shallowly pitched roof with a round central and two palmette-shaped corner acroteria.

Details may have been indicated by painting. The sides, acting as pilasters, have no carved details. The back is very roughly trimmed with chisel. On top, a clamp which was broken off was at the upper l. corner, and the trace of a dowel extends forward from the back. On the r. side are three cuttings for clamping; the upper and middle ones are vertical and the lower one horizontal. The relief, then, was fastened from top and sides to a stone frame or wall.

Cybele, whose head reaches over the fame, has no polos. She wears a chiton and a cloak draped over her lower body and legs, of which a fold falls over the throne on her r. side. In her l. hand she holds a big tympanum and in her r. a small round bowl. She is seated on a square throne. A small lion lies in her lap, the head to her r. A lion sejant in profile sits at her feet on her r.

The work is interesting in that it combines the earlier type of seated Cybele holding a lion in her lap, which begins in late archaic times, with a type of the Mother of the Gods in Phidian style, created by Agorakritos(?) and distinguished by Cybele's holding the tympanum and having two (rather than one) lions sitting at her sides. An enormous number of Cybele reliefs are known. The Sardian must be later than the image by Agorakritos. Picard (*Manuel* II. 2, 542f.) and Langlotz (*Phidiasprobleme,* 65 ff., pl. 17) followed by Stevens (181f., pls. 47-48, reconstruction) argue that Phidias made the image for the Metroon around 450 B.C.

In any event, the Sardis relief is later than 400 B.C. because of the naiskos with shallow roof and the very precise clamp cutting which may belong to the 4th C. B.C. The provincial or "popular" sketchy execution permits no closer dating.

Published: Hanfmann, *Sardis und Lydien,* 30-31, pl. 11, fig. 15; Hanfmann-Waldbaum, "Kybele," 268, ill. Similar "conflated" types: *Berlin Beschreibung,* nos. 699-701, Ephesus. For the Cybeles of the archaic seated type with lions in lap cf. Salis, 19ff., figs. 8f.; S. Reinach, *BCH* 13 (1889) 542ff.; Will, "Grande Mère," 98, 101f., 111; Salviat, 251. For the so-called Agorakritos type see Salis, 1ff., figs. 1-5; he remarks that the number and position of lions was not quite certain. The basic distinction between Asiatic lap lion and Agorakritan sitting lion types was drawn by Svoronos (2, 622ff., pls. 116-120, 239-240), who published 52 reliefs mostly from Athens and Piraeus. Athens, Agora: Stevens, pls. 40a, b; T. L. Shear, *AJA* 41 (1937) 183, fig. 9 (seated lion). O. Walter, 75ff., nos. 126-170. Piraeus and Ephesus: *Berlin Beschreibung,* 257ff., nos. 691-705. Thasos: Salviat, 244, figs. 8-10. For later Sardian representation of Cybele-Meter-Theon, cf. **256, 259** (Figs. 442, 447). For possible difference between the local Cybele of Sardis and the regional Meter Theon Lydias, cf. inscription in *BASOR* 177, 36, fig. 34, IN64.45.

Animals and Monsters

22 *Fig. 86.* NOEX 64.3. Fragment of archaic relief with part of running animal. Ca. 500 B.C.

Large crystalline marble, with blue vertical striations which suggest tiger(?) or leopard spotting on the animal. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A. Fragment is broken on all sides. Preserved is the body from lower shoulders, part of hind legs below knees, and outline of tail (surface broken off). Empty background above body.
H. 0.52; L. 0.47; Th. with animal 0.13, without 0.065. L. of body 0.30; P.H. of belly 0.22. Est. H. of frieze not less than 0.70, half to third lifesize. The Xanthos frieze, *infra,* is 0.77 in H. Relief may have thickened downward from 0.06 at top to ca. 0.07 below animal.
Findspot unknown.

This architectural relief is beautifully chiselled and perfectly smoothed. The forms are simple but highly refined and rounded. The back of the relief is smoothed but has a few scattered dots. It was clearly to be set against a smooth surface, hence it was not a stele. It is the finest and technically most finished of all the Sardian reliefs.

The most plausible parallel for posture and proportions is the panther on a frieze of animals and satyrs from Xanthos. H. Metzger assigns this frieze to the decoration of the terrace for the temple-heroon G, which he dates ca. 460 B.C. He calls the animal a leopard. The posture might also suit a hunting dog or a war dog (cf. the terracotta friezes from Larisa and Sardis, Åkerström, *Larisa* II pls. 19-25, 39), but the ample body suits a feline better, and a hunting scene would call for a very tall frieze. A low frieze as in Xanthos is more plausible. Although the marble compares with local samples, the style suggests a Cycladic work of ca. 500 B.C., and thus possibly imported.

Unpublished. For Xanthos frieze see Richter, *Animals,* 52, fig. 32; Pryce, 134-137, no. B 296, pl. 28, dated 500-450 B.C.; Metzger, *Xanthos* II 50, 60, pls. 33, 37.

23 *Figs. 87-89.* S60.31:3024. Double-sided relief with archaic lion sejant. Ca. 580-560 B.C.

Large-grained, grayish white marble, reddish incrustation (leaching); possibly "local."
Most of the body, parts of upper legs and back haunches, and background between them preserved. Proper l.: surface broken off over chest and upper r. leg. Surface preserved on belly, l. rear haunch, and on part of back, with bit of head mane. Proper r.: surface of rear haunch broken away except for edge accompanied by upward curling tail. Surface preserved from piece of back including bit of head mane downward to belly and part of upper r. foreleg.
H. 0.42; L. 0.565; W. 0.22. On top of lion's back, causing initial break, are two cuttings: cutting nearer neck W. 0.075-0.065, L. 0.06, D. 0.065; the other, W. 0.04, L. 0.27, D. 0.015-0.02. N. H. Ramage considers them possibly secondary, from reuse; G. M. A. Hanfmann considers them original, made skillfully with medium point chisel.
AcT, trench C, Byzantine cistern, ca. W10/N32 *399.08; see *Sardis* R1 (1975) 33, fig. 4.

The lion is conceived as one, not two beasts; he has only one tail. Frontally viewed, the two legs are separated by "background," ca. 0.06 W., thicker (0.075) below the belly. The lion has a broad mane of plastically rendered, overlapping curls which spread down toward the front of the shoulders. The mane then narrows and continues down the spine to the tail as a dorsal mane (*Rückenmähne*). On each side, seven pointed curls appear on the belly, adjacent to the shoulder. Contrasting with these plastic renderings, two half circles and three deeply graven arcs describe the muscles on the l. haunch; and while the fetlock, elbow, and muscle of the upper r. foreleg are done plastically, a double outline is used again to describe the muscle of the lower r. leg. The tooling is archaic: there is point and flat chisel work, and the surface is abraded, but not to a gloss.

The rectangular cuttings on the back probably served to seat marble parts for possible use in a throne or other piece of furniture. Their size and direction do not indicate whether the lions were facing frontwards, as the lions on later Cybele thrones and Phoenician sphinx thrones, or backwards, as those on Attic black-figure vases. A lion throne rather than live lions may be envisaged in the votive of Eleutherion to the Mother of the Gods (Cybele) from Sardis (256 Fig. 442).

The double relief indicates that this was part of a furniture piece; the original position, somewhat steeper than in the photographs, permits either a throne or a table.

Derived from Near Eastern ("Late Hittite," Urartian, Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, figs. 13, 15) models, the double outlining of muscles was still popular in Greece in the first half of the 6th C. B.C. (Matz, *GK* I pl. 137 b). A good example appears on an Eastern Greek Corinthianizing sherd found in the Cybele altar at PN and datable to ca. 575 B.C. (*BASOR* 191, 14, fig. 12, P67.143). As to "advanced" features, the rendering of upper shoulder muscle (Fig. 88) resembles that of the lion from Perachora in Boston, dated variously between 580 and 550 B.C. The plastic pointed locks are seen on the Lydian-provincial lion from Kula (Gabelmann, no. 108, pl. 21) mistakenly said to be from Sardis. They were certainly earlier in Sardis. The basic inspiration may have been Corinthian, but such details as the soft locks may be a "progressive" Eastern Greek contribution.

Published: *ILN* (Apr. 1, 1961) 538, fig. 15; *BASOR* 162, 36, fig. 20; Hanfmann-Detweiler, "Heights," 7, fig. 5. Mentioned by Gabelmann, 83, n.345, 119, no. 110 (no specific date). For Cybele thrones see relief of Azzanathkona, M. I. Rostovtzeff, ed., *Excavations at Dura-Europas, Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season 1931-1932* (New Haven 1934) 171ff., pl. 14. For Phoenician thrones, Kyrieleis, 45, 65; E. Kukahn in Schefold, *Die Griechen,* 304, fig. 361, Ibiza, 7th C. B.C.? For lions on Attic vases, see Boston Museum of Fine Arts, amphora 00.330, Richter, *Furniture*[1], 14, fig. 28; idem, *Furniture*[2], 24, fig. 94, where, however, the lions are only protomes. For other late examples, cf. P. C. Baur, ed., *The Excavations at Dura-Europas, Preliminary Report of the Third Season 1929-1930* (New Haven 1932) 105ff., 115, 124ff., pl. XIV, Atargatis, and Great Mother, discussion of iconography. For thrones with animal figures, Richter, *Furniture*[2], 13ff., figs. 53, 73, 129-135, 156-159. For Perachora lion see Caskey, 15ff. and ills.; Gabelmann, 50, no. 29, pl. 5.

24 *Figs. 90-91.* NOEX 59.7. Head and neck of lion sejant. 6th-5th C. B.C.

Fairly large-grained, white, possibly "local" marble. Reddish accretion.
Heavily weathered. Broken off at neck. Most of face and muzzle broken; circular hollow on top probably secon-

dary but might have held a top ornament. Face also worn off.
P.H. 0.42.
Found in the region of Sardis.

From preserved neck and shoulder it is clear that the lion sat with legs vertical, like the Perachora lion (Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 97.289, Caskey 15ff.) or the Metropolitan Sardis lion (235 Figs. 405-406), roaring away. The head, which is mounted too far back, was turned somewhat towards his l. and downward in curious asymmetry. One can still recognize the huge roar. A bit of his r. eyebrow, an oblique stroke, survives, as well as the hollow of his r. ear and the back of his roaring throat. The locks on his r. side are much farther in than those on his l. Rather coarse, they are pointed and flamelike. In the collar around his neck, especially on the l. side, they are separated by chiselled channels; below that they are flat curls. Their interweaving is best preserved on the back of the head and the nape of the neck. There is no back mane. It is good work, still in the archaic style, later 6th or early 5th C. B.C.

Unpublished. Cf. for the type, Perachora, Gabelmann, pl. 5; Agora, Harrison, *Agora* XI 27f., no. 90, pl. 12, 550-525 B.C.

25 *Figs. 92-101.* S63.37 A, B:5394; S62.31:4548. MANISA 4031, 4030. Two pairs of addorsed lions sejant. 450-350 B.C.

In the following description, the pair which now bears Manisa museum no. 4031 will be designated as lions A and B, that with no. 4030, as C and D. In the view of 4031 which shows the lions' tails (Fig. 92) lion A is on the l., B on the r.; in the view of 4030 without tails (Fig. 98), C is on the l. and D on the r.
Imperfectly crystallized, possibly "local" marble with large crystals. The marble tends to split in horizontal layers. Heavy reddish accretion on lions A (mane) and D (tail) and some other areas.
Starting from a major piece for each pair, both pairs have been restored under supervision of L. J. Majewski with many pieces found over a number of years. Areas repaired in plaster are tinted yellow-gray. For condition of individual lions, see *infra*.
Manisa 4031, pair A-B: L. of entire group with base 1.04; W. 0.29. A: H. with base 0.79, without 0.695; L. 0.52. B H. with base 0.78, without 0.68; L. 0.49. Manisa 4030, pair C-D: L. of entire group with base 1.03; W. 0.29. C: H. with base 0.77, without 0.68; L. 0.51. D: H. with base 0.785, without 0.685; L. 0.52.
Syn MH E50.1/N16.4 fragment of base with large part of D and rear of C at *96.67; head of C, E45/N21 *98.00; see Fig. 5. As Fig. 95 shows, the base was found *in situ* at E50.1/N16.4 (cf. *BASOR* 174, 38, fig. 23) only somewhat twisted out of E-W alignment and damaged by the fall. They may have been damaged before the final collapse but the scattering of smaller fragments is to be attributed to dismantling of Syn remains and moving around of debris both in ancient and modern (excavation) times. Apparently the two groups were placed on both sides of a table with relief supports showing eagles (217 Figs. 379-382) during the 4th C. refurnishing. They were smashed by the fall of the piers and walls. A. R. Seager (letter of July 7, 1975) confirms that the lions were apparently set on the mosaic which dates from the mid-4th C. A.D.

The two pairs were practically identical, each perhaps cut originally from one block. The massive lions sit erect, their hindquarters touching, tails slung elegantly over haunches. Rendered in lancet-like linear curls, the manes descend far down the chests in a narrowing triangle to go between the forelegs; on the backs, the manes reach down to between the shoulders. Standing radially away from the face, the mane forms a kind of round "collar" (Gabelmann, pl. 29, no. 148) or halo, best preserved on lion C. The faces were curiously small, best preserved on lion B, with emphatic bolsters over small eyes and wrinkled noses. The mouths are opened on the sides to bare the fangs, while nearly closed in the middle, which results in a leering rather than a roaring expression (Figs. 93-94). They are in the tradition of the "sea lion" heads favored by archaic Lydian sculptors (cf. 27-29 Figs. 105-117). Quite correctly, the lions have four real claws and an atrophied fifth, a short curving dewclaw (Hallet-Pelle, 45). The softly rendered fleshy folds on the heel are best preserved in B and D. They recur on the Miletus lion (Blümel, *Arch. Sk.*², figs. 179-183).

A (*Fig. 92 l.*). Original are r. forepaw, upper r. shoulder, l. hind leg and haunch, genitals, and four near-joining pieces including l. shoulder and body, back, l. haunch, back part of head. Almost the entire face is lost. The piece has fine flat chisel work with no drill mark of any kind left and perfect abrasive smoothing of the body.

B (*Figs. 92 r., 93, 94*). Restored are almost the entire l. foreleg, part of the r. foreleg, almost the

entire l. part of the body, and parts of the base. Preserved are the entire r. side, almost all of the head and face, claws and a bit of the r. foot, and l. foot; the r. hind leg with the end of the tail joins. Five joining and near-joining fragments compose the body and head. The face resembles an angry bulldog with small blobby eyes, "palmette" muzzle, and false grin showing four upper and four lower fangs.

C (*Figs. 95 r.-97 r., 98 l., 99, 100*). Preserved are the l. lower foreleg, foot, and part of the base, most of the r. foreleg (two toes, mid-leg, upper leg, and shoulder), l. hind leg (two toes only), and part of the l. haunch adjoining the rear of lion D. The r. haunch and hind leg are in two pieces with part of the plinth. There are four near-joining fragments of the body and back. The face is split down the middle and much battered. Missing is a vertical fragment with part of the l. eye, muzzle, and mouth. The figure-eight-shaped, rather human looking ear is well preserved (Fig. 100).

D (*Figs. 95 l.-97 l., 98 r., 101*). Preserved is a fragment with two-thirds of the lion's body and the adjacent rear end of lion C. Missing entirely are the l. part of the body, neck, face, and leg, except for the lower l. forefoot. There is considerable red accretion and some surface lost. On the r. upper shoulder there are very fine, thin multiple claw chisel traces.

The lions were certainly reused. Their original context may have been a symmetrical group in which they flanked an image of Cybele. Such arrangements go back to the Near East of the 3rd and 2nd millenia B.C. as in the image of Ishtar at Nuzi (Starr, *Nuzi* I 97-98, 430, pls. 110-111). Lions flanking Cybele are standard in many later images (also for Atargatis and similar goddesses). These are usually single lions facing the spectator. As the two Sardis groups are worked in the round, they might equally well have been set up in full profile since otherwise the addition of the second lion was wasted as far as the spectators were concerned. In Ephesus there seems to have existed since the 5th C. a standing image of Cybele flanked by two lions in profile (Keil, 55, fig. 26; *Berlin Beschreibung,* 260, no. 698, drawing, from Ephesus). Frontal lions flank the seated Hellenistic(?) image of the Mother of the Gods shown in a relief of Eleutherion from Sardis also in Berlin (256 Fig. 442; *Berlin Beschreibung,* 261, no. 702; *Sardis* VII [1932] 101, no. 101, fig. 89, 2nd-3rd C. A.D.).

The motif of two addorsed lions sejant came to Lydia probably from Corinth in archaic times (see D. G. Mitten in *Master Bronzes,* no. 59, and other references under 7 panel L). We know, however, that similar addorsed groups were still used in classical times, as for instance on an Attic grave stele of the 4th C. (Picard, *Manuel* IV.2, fig. 554, addorsed sphinxes).

In style, the lions seem to be a transitional phenomenon. As D. G. Mitten observed, the "curling leaf-like locks, the elegant curve of the tails, and the dressing of the haunches and other parts of the body" are in the archaic tradition (*BASOR* 174, 38), but the realistic rendering of paws and rib cage may bespeak a later date. He proposed the 5th C. B.C.

An attempt to gain greater precision from the rich material on classical lions assembled by F. Willemsen (Willemsen, passim) and C. C. Vermeule ("Funerary Animals," 48-59, pls. 11-14) does not carry far. The specific stylization of the mane with leaf-like, S-curving, linear locks is seen already in the time of the Zeus temple at Olympia, 460-456 B.C. (Willemsen, 60ff., pls. 30-34). Those of an Attic lion dated ca. 400 B.C. seem similar but more naturalistic (ibid., pls. 47f.). A somewhat naturalistic, similar mane and a similar "open-at-the-corner-of-the-mouth" effect is seen on the stele of Leon of Sinope, ca. 340 B.C. (Vermeule, "Funerary Animals," 55, pl. 13, fig. 11). A lion from Marathon, formerly in the Brantaghem Collection, dated by Willemsen (69,130, pl. 66) to the 3rd C. B.C. and by Vermeule ("Funerary Animals," 51, n.7, pl. 12, fig. 4) to ca. 340 B.C., has similar posture, chest mane, and S-curled locks but is more slender, springy, and full of natural tension.

We have insufficient comparisons for the 5th C., hence it is best to assign a date of 450-350 B.C. Personally, I believe that the heraldic arrangement and the archaic small-faced, wrinkle-nosed heads favor the earlier part of this span.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 38, fig. 23; Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* pl. 125, fig. 4, p. 496f.; idem, *Letters,* 138, fig. 98, A-B. Comparisons may be made with the lion sejant from the Nannas monument (235 Figs. 405-406, ca. 500 B.C.; Richter, *Catalogue Greek Sculptures,* 7, no. 6, pl. 7) and the monumental lions of a series which may have begun at Thermopylae and continued from Thespiae (454 B.C.?) through Hamadan (Luschey, 115-122, pls. 45-50), Chaironea (338 B.C.) to Amphipolis (Broneer, 44ff.). For a tentative reconstruction of the position of the lions see Hanfmann, "Synagogue," 41, figs. 15-16. For the history of the Syn in the 4th C. see Seager, "History," 426, 434.

26 *Figs. 102-104.* S65.12:6904. Lion couchant. 600-570 B.C.

Originally yellowish white marble, now reddish. Cracked across spine to top of l. haunch. Pieces of l. and r. sides of head and mane; piece of r. haunch, corner of plinth under l. front paw broken away. Surface battered. H. 0.37; L. 0.57; W. 0.19; H. of head 0.17, of plinth 0.03.
Syn MH, in E face of pier S1, used as building block E87/N1.5 *95.7-95.4.

The recumbent lion lies on a plinth which projects slightly beyond the sides of the animal and is square in front and oval behind. Both pairs of the lion's feet point forward, and its large flat-topped head is held level. The mouth is open in a roar displaying dense small fangs. Circumscribed by two grooves, "flesh" or "lips" are shown all around the mouth. The eyes are made by square cuttings; no ears are shown. The muzzle is square, the nose is a flat projection. There are curving incisions on both sides of the nose as if a "palmette muzzle" was started but never carried out. Beginning below the lion's eye level is a collar-like mane (W. 0.02) with light cross strokes on the proper l. side. The underside of the chin is roughly picked and only partly finished.

The front paws, which are flat on top, have four slightly radiating claws. The legs are as long as they are wide. The l. forepaw is slanted slightly inward, making a slight asymmetry with the rigidly frontal r. leg. On the outside of all four legs is a petal-shaped incision; it ends in a small spur which serves for the outside toe. The underbelly is deeply and sharply cut, with flat chisel strokes still visible (Fig. 102). The rear paws have two claws showing, the inner one projecting beyond the outer. There is a "spur" at the back of the joint on the hind leg (foot?). The well-rounded tail is slung diagonally over the rear of the body and comes down over the l. flank onto the l. leg where it terminates in an oval tuft.

The head and legs are disproportionally large, the body very short. Horizontal emphasis is given by the lines of the tops of the cheeks, jaws, chin, top and bottom of forelegs, and the plinth. The form is cubic retaining the planes of the stone from which it was hewn.

The lion is very close to the "Late Hittite" Anatolian square-headed crouching type (cf. Gabelmann, 11ff.). Even closer to the Hittite lions is a rock-crystal lion from PN (*BASOR* 177, 7, fig. 7, J64.2:6339) which our lion otherwise resembles. It is not well stratified (fill W246/S354). Imported pieces of this kind may have provided the immediate models, compare the imported "Late Hittite" ivory lion from Samos (Herrmann, 34, fig. 48). A Urartian bronze lion from Patnos shows similar posture, expression, and the prototypes of the "petal convention" (Akurgal, *Orient,* pl. 40). The early date is supported by clear relation to the early Eastern Greek lion from Pergamon, dated by Gabelmann (81f., no. 100, pl. 20:1) to the late 7th C.

The "laughing" expression occurs in the imported(?) ivory lion from Ephesus (ibid., 36, no. 20 = Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 194, fig. 191) and the 7th C. Cretan lion from Arkades (Gabelmann, 35, no. 18, pl. 3:2).

A. Ramage (recording entry) has pointed to the resemblance of the "petal convention" to conventions on the "panthers" of the pediment at Kerkyra, ca. 580 B.C. (Lullies-Hirmer, 38, pl. 14), but these may be due to Sardian and Corinthian sculptors' parallel imitation of similar Near Eastern prototypes, not to dependence of Sardis on Corinth. Tuchelt tries to date the piece not before 550 B.C. However, a date of 600-570 B.C. is more likely.

Published: *BASOR* 182, 82f., fig. 33; G. M. A. Hanfmann in Schefold, *Die Griechen,* 283f., fig. 332 b; Tuchelt, 185, n.87. Cf. also Weidauer, 97-107, pl. 21, nos. 184-185, bulging eye, emphatic small distinct teeth,

dated 660 B.C.; K. T. Erim, "Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria," *TürkArkDerg* 23:1 (1976) 26, fig. 10.

The two and one half recumbent lions which follow (**27-29** Figs. 105-117) are from the altar of Kuvava (H. 1.73; L. 3.10; W. 2.05) in the sector PN. They are of very crumbly sandstone. A sample of **28** (taken Aug. 14, 1975) was determined at the Sardis Laboratory to be sandstone with some calcareous material. The fragility of the stone appears to be the result of fire damage.

The development and dating of the altar are discussed *supra* Ch. II, "The Lydian Era." The lions belong to the original phase of construction; during the reconstruction, they were "carefully surrounded with schist and small limestone chips and immured at the SE and SW and NW corners" (*BASOR* 191, 12). It is probable that there were originally four lions. In this first phase the altar was made of smaller, more regularly laid stones, faced with white clay and probably painted. It had an inside area for the burning of offerings, with a cobbled floor at *87; pieces of calcined bone were found on it, covered by eleven alternating levels of ashes and earth (ibid., 11). All lions faced E, as did the sacrificant, who stood on a low step attached to the W side of the altar (ibid., 199, 17; and Fig. 106, reconstruction).

The general appearance of such an altar with four corner lions and possibly its varied colors, imitating brick or stone, are illustrated by the Etruscan painting of a fountain, Tomba dei Tori, Tarquinia, perhaps painted by an Eastern Greek painter around 540 B.C. Imitation of brick pattern was also likely to be promoted by memories of gold bricks used in the pedestal of a lion given by Croesus to Delphi (Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 14, figs. 33-34). The H. of the altar in its original stage was ca. 1.20.

In 1973 casts made from the preserved lions were given additional restorations and were installed on the altar from which part of the upper, later construction had been removed during excavation. The position of the lions was changed for the sake of visibility so that the SE lion (**28**) was moved to the NE corner (Fig. 105; cf. *BASOR* 215, 44, n.25, fig. 17).

The three pieces show slight differences, yet they could all come from the same hand. They certainly come from one workshop. Compared to the stony massivity of the "laughing lion" (**26** Figs. 102-104), the enlargement of the chest and shoulders, slimming of the lower legs, indication of a "waistline," and the rounded outlines moving up and down (esp. Figs. 113, 114) represent a considerable advance.

The altar lions belong to the type which Gabelmann, 91ff., has described as "Late Archaic Standard Type" (*Einheitstypus*). Seen in identical posture, his earliest Ionian example, a lion in Izmir (ibid., no. 126, pl. 25:1; Akurgal, *Kunst. Anat.,* 279, fig. 246f., Izmir no. 328), is already more developed in clearer differentiation of mane and a more leonine head. The rear of another lion in Izmir is very similar to those of the altar lions (Gabelmann, no. 126a, pl. 18:4, Izmir no. 118). Clearly, they belong to the same general regional Eastern Greek-Lydian style as do our pieces **34** and **35** (Figs. 125-132).

On very general grounds, Gabelmann dates the Izmir lion about mid-6th C. The misshapen heads, small eyes, sickle-shaped ears of the altar lions seem similar to such lions as those of the Artemisium in Delos (ibid., 74f., pls. 16f.) for which the traditional date of 600 B.C. is too high and Gabelmann's 550-540 too low; 580-560 should be right. The altar lions have their own dating evidence of pottery from under the altar. This leads to a date of 570, at the latest 560 B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 11ff., fig. 11. For position and reconstruction of the altar see *TürkArkDerg* 22:1 (1975) 19, figs. 18 and 27:20. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 221, 234, figs. 169, 176, 177; idem, *Croesus,* 14, fig. 32.

27 *Figs. 107-109.* S67.16:7354. Rear half of recumbent lion on plinth, NW corner of altar.

Intentionally sawed in half; only rear part is preserved. Hind paws also missing. Heavy burning traces on most of r. and part of l. sides (previously interpreted as blackening by sacrificial fire on the altar, Hanfmann, *Letters,* 221). Proper l. rear corner of plinth worn.
H. 0.225, of plinth 0.05; W. 0.22; L. 0.19.
W268.5/S337.1 *87.6-86.8 (Fig. 109, *in situ*).

The slightly raised spine goes over into the tail which is slung around the haunch on the ground. It disappears behind the r. leg then reappears to curl

upward around the haunch to the top of the back. The rounding of the r. haunch and elaboration of the lower leg come closer to "reality" than the angular forms of the "laughing lion" (**26** Figs. 102-104). The haunches on this lion are somewhat wider than on the other two preserved: 0.21, against 0.185 for the SE lion (**28** Fig. 110), and 0.20, restored W. for the SW lion (**29** Fig. 114).

Published: *BASOR* 191, 12, fig. 11, group picture.

28 *Figs. 110-113.* S67.32:7550. Recumbent lion on plinth, SE corner of altar.

Very fragile, partly burned, crumbling. Piece of plinth with part of l. foreleg, fragments of r. foreleg, corner of r. haunch broken off. Front of head, parts of tail, corners of plinth at back broken off. Surface destroyed on head, front, most of proper r. side.
H. 0.34, of lion 0.29. Plinth: H. 0.05; L. 0.485; W. 0.22.
W266/S339 *87.25-87 (Fig. 113, *in situ*).

The lion lies on a low plinth with legs extended forward. The sharply cut ridge of the spine and the position of the tail are as in the preceding piece. The small, burned, seal-like head with roaring mouth has a trace of the tongue on the proper l. and teeth showing. They are not clearly visible in any photograph. No eyes are discernible. On the underside and the l. side of the neck a shallow ridge shows the beginning of a mane (esp. Fig. 111). Nothing in the anatomy warrants describing this lion as a lioness as was originally assumed in excavation records.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 12, figs. 10-11; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 221, fig. 170; idem, *Croesus,* 14, fig. 31, mistakenly "lioness."

29 *Figs. 114-117.* S67.33:7559. Recumbent lion on plinth, SW corner of altar.

Very crumbly, broken in two parts, about two thirds of forepart of head broken off, particularly on l. side, all the way across to l. ear but r. eye preserved. Mouth preserved only at the sides. Base of tongue seen at back and parts of two teeth visible in upper jaw. Pointing toward the back of the head, both ears are preserved, except for surface. Also broken, part over r. shoulder and part of l. hindquarter.
H. 0.405; L. 0.54; W. of plinth 0.21
W267.2-267.6/S339 *87.5 (Fig. 117, *in situ*).

This is the best preserved of the altar lions. It has a full chest, set off from the neck, narrowing body, then ample, rounded haunches. The "spinal ridge" starts on top of the head and goes all the way to the tail. The l. shoulder is clearly set off from the neck and head. The rounded, small eye, encircled by a deep cutting, bestows a malevolent air upon the beast. The ears are plastic, oval shapes. The nose was possibly wrinkled. A step at the upper neck in front and back suggests that a mane might have been intended. Four toes with sharp claws are shown on the forefeet, three on the hind feet (esp. Fig. 116).

N. H. Ramage comments that this SW lion was "more angularly articulated than the SE lion (**28** Figs. 110-113). Note the ridge down the back, the tail, and edge of the mane on the back; also articulation of shoulders and haunches." Notable, however, is the extraodinary dynamic, alive, moving quality of legs and shoulders in the view across the back from above.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 12, fig. 11, group picture.

30 *Fig. 118.* NOEX 60.20. Hindquarters of small archaic recumbent lion. 560-550 B.C.

Marble, heavily discolored brownish red.
Only rear end preserved, from middle of back and in front of feet.
P.H. 0.098; H. of plinth 0.012-0.18; W. across body 0.07, with hind legs 0.095; P.L. of lion 0.13.
Findspot not indicated by finder.

The lion lies on a shallow plinth which follows his shape. The tail comes up over the rump and curls in, tucked between the r. knee and body, then blends into the rump at back. The feet are carefully worked, showing the claws. The back and legs are worked in simple planes in typical archaic manner. Traces of abrasive scratches appear on the l. side of the body in front of the l. leg.

Comparison, particularly with **27** (Figs. 107-109), shows that the small lion, only half the size of the altar lions, belongs to the same stylistic group. The soft, frog-like folded legs might look more developed but the emphasis on sharp, large claws is often an early trait (cf. Gabelmann, 73, pl. 5, Perachora, pl. 15). The piece is mid-6th C. B.C. (or earlier?).

Unpublished.

31 *Figs. 119-122.* S73.1:8125. Large recumbent lion. Ca. 560-550 B.C.

Translucent white marble with large crystals, layered structure, some darker veining. Fissure visible at center of head and neck from both back and front. Local marble with typical reddish accretion.
Muzzle (upper jaw) and large area of l. leg broken off. Front of plinth and all indication of l. foreleg missing. R. foreleg bend indicated, must have protruded well ahead of chest. Top of back is cut and flattened with surface picked. The l. haunch and surface of r. flank(?) lopped off with big chisel strokes and big point. Muzzle and forelegs may have broken off by own weight but damage to l. haunch intentional. At start of tail is a secondary, rectangular cutting, 0.03 by 0.03 by 0.025 D., perhaps to hold whatever was placed on top of the flattened back. Two large secondary clamp holes in the back, r. shoulder, and rib cage served to hold the lion fast to a wall. Cutting nearer neck, 0.04 by 0.04 by 0.06 D. (widens inside piece). The other hole, slightly curving, measures 0.03 in W. and 0.07 up to the metal still left inside.
The way in which the back is evenly recut to serve as support suggests that something was placed on it; either a piece of masonry or a figure base is possible. The placing of clamps shows that the lion was set up with the front visible and attached to a back wall.
H. to top of head 1.01; H. to back 0.69; L. 1.58; D. flattened area of back 0.32. Plinth (preserved only at back): H. 0.11, P.L. 1.40.
MRd E112.8/S10.60-12.15, fallen upside down and diagonally to the corner of a late Roman monument (structure) at the edge of N colonnade of the avenue (Fig. 4). According to excavator, the piece probably fell from the E side. Traces of trimming and clamping show that it was displayed broadside to the E, and the possible fragments from a counterpart lion (**32, 33** Figs. 123-124) lead one to wonder whether a second lion was placed symmetrically on the S side of the avenue. It is interesting that the closely comparable Loutraki lions were also a counterpart pair (see *infra*).

The recumbent archaic lion on a plinth has a tail starting as a faint "fat sheep" rise with dividing pattern. It is slung up over the l. hind leg. The head faces forward with mouth open and tongue lying flat. Deeply grooved whiskers are delineated by sharp, ridged, flat chisel strokes. The eyes are almost round circles with upper and lower lids indicated. The monumental mane, inspired by Corinthian "stepped-wig" coiffures, shows large rounded beads in front, but these turn into long locks of mane in the side view and on the back. The r. hind leg is bent in a boldly indicated curve and has a three-toed paw.

Apparently unfinished areas show rough tooling with pointed chisel (chest, back, inside of mouth). The mane is roughly shaped by horizontal and slanting strokes of flat chisel. Below the chiselled mane in front and back are areas treated with multiple tooth chisel (Fig. 122). Just below the front mane on the proper l. is an area where smoothing with flat chisel was begun. It was carried out to make the smoother surface on the flank, as far as the flank is perserved.

The combination of flat planes and right angles, as in the nearly square head, with rounded almost fat areas, as in the contracting back, shoulders, and widening belly and chest, makes this a transitional work between the early archaic geometric lions such as the Kerkyra "panthers," and the later, rounded ones. The sculptor was clearly imitating the Corinthian "collar type" (cf. Gabelmann, 66ff., pls. 8-14), but he mixed in Lydian-Eastern Greek traits—the soft, swelling forms and a button-eyed Lydian "seal" or "sea lion" face added to the square Corinthian head (cf. **29** Figs. 114-117). His model was somewhat earlier than the symmetrical pair of Corinthian lions from Loutraki, dated by Gabelmann to 560-550 B.C. (ibid., 8). The stepped wig recalls another famous Corinthian work, the kouros from Tenea (Richter, *Kouroi,* 84f., no. 71, figs. 251-252, ca. 560 B.C.). A date around 560 would also fit the Sardian sequence — later than the Kuvava altar lions, earlier than the lion from the Nannas monument (**236** Figs. 407-408). This is easily the most impressive and monumental of all Sardian lions. One would most readily envisage this work at the time when Alyattes of Sardis and Periander of Corinth were close friends.

Published: *AJA* 78 (1974) 124, pl. 29:18; *BASOR* 215, 52, figs. 18, 22; *Archaeology* 27:3 (1974) 139, ill. The findspot is shown in Seager, *Synagogue,* 3, fig. 35.

32 *Fig. 123.* S70.10:8112. Fragment of colossal lion's foot. Ca. 560-550 B.C.

Large-grained "local" marble, weathered yellow, friable. Surface discolored yellowish-red by cement from reuse. Fragmentary. Old breaks except for bit at top l.

L. 0.42; W. 0.295-0.155; Th. 0.06. Small front claw: H. 0.07; L. 0.121. Entire claw: H. 0.09; L. 0.20.
Syn E112-115/S9-12 *97.7-97.0, reused as building material.

The leg and paw from a reclining lion are extended flat on the worked surface of a base. There are large flat chisel strokes on the leg, which is finished with multiple chisel cross strokes. The exterior of the base shows large point and gouge. According to A. R. Seager, the piece would fit into the lost area of 31 (Figs. 119-122), which has similar workmanship, but does not make a join. It is probably from 31 or a counterpart piece.

Unpublished.

33 *Fig. 124.* S70.7:8108. Lion's right foot on plinth. Ca. 550 B.C.?

White marble, weathered gray with reddish discoloration. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group B.
Leg and paw on part of a plinth preserved. Only two claws remain on paw and beginning of a third. Plinth is broken at sides and back.
P.H. of plinth in front 0.12, in back 0.21. P.H. of relief, ca. 0.09; P.L. 0.36; W. at back 0.23.
Syn E114-116/S6-13 *97.5-96.6

The front of the plinth is flat. The surface is covered with claw chisel marks. The leg and paw appear to be lying flat on the surface of the plinth and are, therefore, from a reclining lion. The workmanship is all flat chisel on the claws and base. Very careful large multiple claw chisel strokes were used on the top of the paw. The forms are strong and angular. The base slants on the inside from a H. of nearly 0.20 where the leg is broken, to ca. 0.11 at the front. According to A. R. Seager, who noted the resemblance, the plinth is too tall for 31 (Figs. 119-122) but might come from a counterpart.

Unpublished.

34 *Figs. 125-129.* MANISA 303. Lioness. 550-530 B.C.

White marble with regular gray seams, produces an effect suggestive of feline stripes.
L. lower leg missing, was dowelled to r. leg. R. lower leg also worked separately and dowelled(?). Upper and lower jaws broken off. Surface somewhat washed out (especially on top and sides). Cracked on top of hindquarters.
H. 0.61; L. 0.95; W. 0.33.
Came to Manisa museum June 20, 1951. According to M. Tağtekin, formerly curatorial assistant, it was found during building of new concrete highway bridge, 7 m. below level of highway. This may be either from Roman foundations or (given lack of indications of reuse) from the Lydian level. PBr W285-295/S10-20 *73, ca. 7 m. below top of modern bridge and ca. 2 m. below riverbed (see *Sardis* R1 [1975] 47, n.52, fig. 54).

The recumbent lioness is roaring. A collar mane frames her face below the ears. The very linear, triangular, incised locks are lancet-like on the mane, leaf-like on the chest. The tail is slung over the r. hindquarter. Large hind paws with toes are indicated. Three dugs and soft belly show on each side, better executed and preserved on her l. The sculptor is in error in giving the lioness a mane and six dugs under her chest; she should have only four, abdominally placed. She lies on a low plinth which she seems to grasp with the r. fore and l. hind paws. There are traces of cuttings for iron clamps. Two clamp halves are preserved in the plinth with the r. paw to tie in the missing plinth fragment with the l. paw. Both were swallow-tail clamps (clamp A: P.L. 0.06, W. 0.04; clamp B: P.L. 0.05, W. 0.045). Parts of iron bridge clamps are also preserved. A third clamp cutting, C, and part of a clamp are visible on the side of the plinth under the l. paw where the missing part of the plinth was clamped (Fig. 129).

A glance at the lioness of the famous Acropolis pediment brings out very clearly that the Sardis lioness is relatively abstract and primitive. Thus the dugs and part of the belly are simply added to the outline of a standard "Ionian" recumbent lion type. Major forms approximate geometric volumes, but there is a hint of rounded softness in the hindquarters, and a fine curve describes the underpart of the body. The r. side is slightly different from the l. because of the tail and slight raising of the r. haunch. Otherwise, all life and power are concentrated in the squarish, roaring head.

The closest parallel to the swinging curve of the belly is on a Milesian lion ca. 550-530 B.C., and this

date will also apply to the Sardian lioness. Despite anatomical errors, the piece is charming and carefully sculpted.

Published: mentioned in Gabelmann, 91, no. 130 a, without number, description, or date. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 47, n.52. General type: Gabelmann 91ff., "Late Archaic Ionian Standard Type," cf. Izmir, pl. 25:1, 550 B.C.; Miletus, pl. 27:1, 500 B.C. Tuchelt, 96, no. K 70, pls. 64:3, 69, 550-525 B.C. Lionesses: Acropolis, Matz, *GK* I 370, fig. 141; W. H. Schuchardt, *AthMitt* 60 (1935) 96ff.; Lydian, with 4 dugs, Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 27, 28, no. 3, 45, no. 194, pl. 1; Lycian lion monument, Xanthos, Pryce, 120-121, no. B 286:3, fig. 177, ca. 550 B.C. (4 dugs); Caeretan hydria, W. L. Brown, *Lion,* 74f., pl. 26 c ("she-bear"); Etruscan, Tomba delle Lionesse, ca. 520 B.C., Giglioli, pl. 112:1 (8 dugs); Greek, Richter, *Animals,* pl. 7, fig. 23, 5th C. B.C.

35 *Figs. 130-132.* MANISA 318. Recumbent lion. Ca. 540 B.C.

Gray marble.
Head lost; forelegs broken off; much worn and washed out.
H. 0.45; L. 0.80.
"Salihli." As Salihli has no Lydian antiquities of its own, this provenance usually indicates Sardis or vicinity.

The outline of the lion's foreleg is linear as is the rendering of the hair, with incised laurel-leaf-shaped locks for the chest mane. The tail goes under and around the l. haunch, as in **31** (Fig. 119). There is a fold of flesh at the hock of the r. hind leg. Because of the rather fluid curves in outlining the lower body and the greater sense of flesh in the forelegs, the piece is more developed than the altar lions (**27-29** Figs. 105-117). It is Lydo-Ionian, possibly from the same Sardian workshop as the altar lions. Gabelmann dates it to 540 B.C. by comparison with Corinthian lions.

Published: Gabelmann, 84, 93, no. 131.

36 *Fig. 133.* B-10. Acroterion(?), small recumbent lion from corner of archaic sarcophagus lid? Ca. 500 B.C.?

"Local" marble with very coarse crystals; weathered gray.
L. side of "base" broken; r. side surface partly gone; "base" also split off in front and back; head, forelegs, and rear end of lion lost; surface of l. hind leg split off; heavily incrusted with moss and fungus.
Max. H. 0.195; max. L. 0.165. H. of lion: r. side 0.125; l. side 0.111. H. of base 0.09; W. of r. slanting surface 0.115; W. of worked bottom 0.035.
Found among fragments left by first Sardis expedition.

In the break on the r. side of the lion there is seen an oblique surface which rises markedly to the proper r. The lion lies on a "base." It has a fat, massive chest and shoulders, short hind legs, with incised claws on the l. hind leg. The l. shoulder and belly are also outlined by incision. A small round elevation and break on the top of the back suggest that the tail came curving up over the r. haunch. The r. side is carefully worked but less high (H. body to ground, r. side 0.075, l. side 0.10). A bit of the r. hind leg (top of haunch or tail?) and the r. shoulder survive.

The piece cannot come from a pediment as the inner side, which would not exist or be neglected in a pedimental figure, is very well worked. The most plausible position would be as acroterion at a roof corner, as on the Cypriot sarcophagus in New York from Golgoi, ca. 500-450 B.C. (Metropolitan Museum no. 1364, Cesnola Collection). Comparable also are the Etruscan lions used on top of sarcophagus roofs. The fragment is close in style and type to a small lion in Manisa with part of the head preserved.

The general type is well known in Ionia (Gabelmann, 81ff., 91, pls. 20:1-2, 21:1-2, 25, 27:1). The squat proportions and steep rise of the neck would make this piece early, unless they are due to simplification for small scale and decorative purposes. The known sarcophagi with lions dating from the late 6th and early 5th C. tend to make a date of ca. 500 B.C. more likely.

Unpublished. For Cypriote sarcophagus, see J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York 1914) 226ff. and pl. facing p. 228. For Etruscan sarcophagus lions, Giglioli, pl. 135:2, Chiusi, p. 22ff., ca. 500-450 B.C.; pl. 147:1-2, Berlin E 24.

37 *Fig. 134.* NOEX 63.1. Lion's paw. Late 6th or 5th C. B.C.

Large-grained "local" marble, reddish discoloration.
Fragment of larger sculpture, broken off at top. A circular hole in back, probably secondary, for a dowel; original dowel hole in bottom.

H. 0.15; L. 0.17; W. 0.14. Hole in back: diam. 0.015; D. 0.055.
Field of Halil Keskin, S of UT; no other objects found with it.

The piece has an interesting stylization of the upper parts of the lion's claws as a flat band and a similarly ornamental flat band at the back of the leg. The paw is well modelled with high rounded forms of toes. No rough drill was used. It is not a table leg of the usual kind but perhaps from a marble footstool for an image, as on the relief of Assurbanipal II (Kyrieleis, pl. 1). The piece is late archaic or 5th C. B.C.

Unpublished. Comparisons for footstools: Kyrieleis, 13f., pl. 1 (other Assyrian furniture with lion feet also discussed), pl. 9:1, Achaemenian, p. 181ff., "Möbel mit Tierfüssen." Cf. also feet of throne, theater of Dionysus, Athens, Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, fig. 139-140, first half 3rd C. B.C.

38 *Figs. 135-136.* MANISA 306. Walking lion. Ca. 350-330 B.C.

Marble.
Face lost; legs below shoulder lost; surface battered and overgrown with lichen.
H. 0.66; L. 0.98.
Salihli. See note under **35.**

The large rounded muscles of the shoulders, body, and hind legs are shown in motion. The mane had a halo-like arrangement radiating around the face, then descending in a triangle over the chest. Upright head and entire chest were turned to his r. A back mane reaches halfway down the spine. The "curving lancet" locks have three to four grooves and are deeply drilled on the neck and chest. The powerful motion and "excited" style are characteristic of a number of lions of the "Mausoleum Phase" and the following decades. The piece dates to ca. 350-330 B.C. Despite the drill work it does not seem Roman.

Unpublished. Cf. Willemsen, 4, 51ff., 58, pls. 55:2, 57:2, 62f. For the chest locks, see ibid., pl. 56, British Museum 1080, Mausoleum.

39 *Figs. 137-138.* S63.35:5356. Part of frame with walking lion. Ca. 400 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble.
Head and back lost, split off at sides. Surface battered.
L. 0.16; P.W. 0.06; H. 0.0775.
Syn E71-74/N6-6.50 *96.50.

The fragment has a thin, fine low relief of a lion walking to r. on a thin, straight ground line. The relief comes from a horizontal band-like part which was the top section of a rather small frame. A bit of projection on the smooth underside indicates that a side piece joined at a right angle. There is just enough preserved to indicate a downward 90° turn in a break at the l.; the piece is therefore an upper l. corner. On the upper r. end is a trace of a pin hole(?). The carefully drawn profile at the lower edge of the relief (H. 0.014) was probably intended as an architectural frame rather than a base for the lion.

Very similar in style and placement is the painted lioness on a lintel found in the Agora of Athens (Stevens, passim) pointed out to us by H. A. Thompson. Stevens has tried to reconstruct his fragment as either a window or as a lintel of a public shrine with the image of Meter, Mother of the Gods (Cybele). The Sardis fragment might well come from a small private (domestic) shrine for Cybele.

The Agora fragment has been dated to the later 5th C. B.C. by Rhys Carpenter; a date of around 400 B.C. would fit the Sardis piece. It is very Greek in style; Babylonian and Achaemenid walking lions are much more massive.

Unpublished. For Babylonian lions, see Koldewey, *Babylon,* 28, with color pl. E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I (Chicago 1953) 226, pl. 142 A-B, palace of Darius, design on hem of King's cloak; Krischen, pl. 14, palace of Nebuchadnezzer, Babylon.

40 *Figs. 139-141.* B-7. Lower part of archaic siren. 530-500 B.C.

Coarse-grained "local" marble. Unexposed part reddish, exposed part weathered gray with black dots.
Preserved are the feathery upper legs, sex, end of tail.
Broken in uneven horizontal at top, slanting back at bottom. Lowest parts of tail partly broken.
P.H. of back 0.26, of front 0.18. W. at top 0.30. L. of tail 0.17; W. 0.19 at top, ca. 0.15 at bottom.
Discovered in 1971 among fragments found by first Sardis expedition and recognized as archaic by I. Hanfmann.

Going all around from sex to tail are rows of downward-pointed feathers stylized in leaf-like shapes. Each leaf is oval with a median rib. Two vertical rows fill out the triangle between the side feathers and tail on the proper l. They are somewhat better preserved on the r. leg but the transition to the tail is managed somewhat differently. The sex is soft and well rounded. The tail feathers increase in W. from 0.02 at the sides to 0.03 at the central feathers. The visible L. of feathers is consistently 0.10. On the l. side the join with the tail makes a triangle; under it the lightly incised smaller feathers continue vertically downward. The same occurs on the r., but a piece is broken out. The contour of the tail comes out of the back in a neat concave curve. The tail is quite short and wide, like a hen's, rounded at the lower edge. There is not enough left to ascertain the posture; she might have held a musical instrument like the marble siren in Copenhagen or the lyre-playing "royal" siren on a seal found in Tomb 24 (excavated by the first Sardis expedition) at Sardis.

An ivory plaque from Ephesus is ancestral to our siren; its siren has a dense patterning of feathers on the legs and chest. The date is not before the late 7th C. (Kunze, "Sirenen," 128, fig. 2; Buschor, *Musen,* 16, fig. 9). The Eastern Greek marble siren in Copenhagen, ca. 550-540 B.C. (ibid., 42, figs. 31-32) lacks the dense surface detailing. Closest perhaps are the sirens of the red-figure Odysseus vase in the British Museum (ibid., 51f., fig. 39). As Buschor observed, they are "from father's times," intentionally archaic, and our siren cannot be dated by the date of the vase. The style of the Sardis siren is, in fact, late archaic. The linear stylization of tail feathers would permit an earlier date, ca. 580 B.C. (P. Amandry, *Fouilles de Delphes* II, *Topographie et Architecture: La colonne des Naxiens* [Paris 1959] 28-32), but the sense of softness and rounded flesh is more likely to occur around 500 B.C. (cf. the limestone owl in Berlin, A 10, C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulptur* II.1 [Berlin 1940] 10, pl. 21). Nearest in Lydia is a bird at the museum at Tire.

Unpublished. For "royal" siren see *Sardis* XIII (1925) 41, no. 107, "bearded male harpy," pl. 11; Boardman, "Pyramidal Seals," 40, nos. 28-30, pl. 3, also cites flower-sniffing and bow-drawing sirens on seals attributed to Sardis. For sirens on vases see Weicker, 122, fig. 47. Payne, 177; Maximowa, 145ff., pl. 29:110; Kunze, "Sirenen," 127f., who cite Ionian and Corinthian plastic vases. For a good description of the meaning of sirens see J. Pollard, *Seers, Shrines, and Sirens* (London 1965) 137-145.

41 *Figs. 142-143.* MANISA 311. Headless recumbent sphinx. Late 6th or 5th C. B.C.?

Marble. Surface worn and partly blackened by weathering.
Head missing, was fastened by round dowel. Wings broken.
P.H. 0.44; L. 0.90; H. of base 0.10.
Salihli, Apr. 14, 1946. See note under **35.**

A straight rectangular cut was made to seat the neck, head, and part of the wing (rectangle: W. 0.19, L. 0.15; dowel hole: diam. 0.035, D. 0.035). Judging from the cutting, the head may have been slightly turned to the proper r. The tail is slung up on the back and disappears at the l. haunch. The horizontal wings are broken across the back. Semicircular breast feathers are joined at the sides by long (up to 0.25), straight wing feathers which slant upward slightly. There are large claws on the l. rear paw, which is folded under the haunch.

Unpublished. For this type, which is of Near Eastern derivation, see Herrmann, 97-99, n.69, figs. 19-20. The archaic Greek sphinxes of the Assos frieze, Caskey, 12, no. 8, are fairly close in proportions. For earlier Lydian example cf. **239** (Figs. 416-418).

42 *Figs. 144-145.* MANISA 21. Sphinx, probably from a throne. 4th or 3rd C. B.C.?

Grayish, not completely crystallized "half-marble."
Head and forelegs of sphinx broken off.
P.H. 0.47; L. 0.73. Sphinx: W. at chest 0.21; L. 0.57; P.H. 0.35.
Sart.

Unlike **41** (Figs. 142-143), this sphinx is made in one piece with the lower back part of the throne. The body is partly in the round (at the front and on top) and partly in relief and, unlike **41**, the relief background extends under the body to the forelegs. The sphinx sits on its haunches. The thin sickle-shaped l. wing sweeps up to the flat surface where

the seat was lodged. Slightly incised, fan- (or scale) shaped feathers on the back move into the upswing of long feathers. The chest is rounded. A ribbon(?) is tied around the neck as a necklace; the two ends of the ribbon (not visible in side view) appear below a circular pendant. The top is a flat oval surface (0.42 by 0.20) with anathyrosis (W. 0.13) at the back.

On the sides, the lower back part of the throne is indicated by a raised area which meets the relief background in a flat chiselled edge (0.03 on slant) forming an obtuse angle. The tail of the sphinx, with its thickened tuft resembling the head of a bird or snake, ends at the apex of this angle after rising in an S-curve. The relief background is 0.025 deeper than the raised part.

As there are no technical signs of late work, the piece may be late classical or early Hellenistic, but such pieces are found as late as the early Roman Imperial period.

Unpublished. The division of the front and back is shown on the sides of Greek and Roman thrones, cf. Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, 100f., figs. 134, 501f. For the placing of animals on thrones with solid sides and oval plan, cf. ibid., 30, 100, figs. 129, 135, 495 (the last is a seated sphinx on a votive relief from Thyrea, National Museum, Athens, no. 1390, 4th C. B.C.?). A number of these parallels are late classical and early Hellenistic. For earlier Lydian example cf. 239 (Figs. 416-418).

43 *Fig. 146.* NOEX 71.3. Relief fragment of frog and support. Archaic?

Grayish coarse-grained "local" marble.
Body and legs on r. side of frog or toad. Tip of head, l. legs, rear tip of body missing. The piece was placed on a half-base, with a channel-like hollow. This hollow was to house a metal piece for support and attachment.
P.L. 0.13; max. W. 0.09; max. H. 0.057-0.06.
Brought on July 5, 1971, by Muammer Aksoy.

The soft and simple treatment of the frog's body is very effective. This simplicity (from above the frog looks like an archaic lion) and the very straight line down the spine suggest an archaic monument. The channel might indicate that the piece was an attachment for a fountain, as in the bronze frog-lion group from Samos. C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. suggests, however, a statuary group from an allegorical representation of the Batrachomyomachy; see the stele of Archelaos of Priene, portraying Homer, where two mice represent the Batrachomyomachy (D. Pinkwart, "Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene," *Antike Plastik* 4 (1965) 57, 59, pl. 29 and idem., *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos"* [Kallmünz 1965] 15, pl. 1).

Unpublished. On frogs, cf. Samos bronze frog: Buschor, *Altsam.*, 15, figs. 212-216; Richter, *Animals*, 87, fig. 232, coin of Seriphos(?), 500 B.C. R. Nicholls, *JHS Archaeological Reports* (1966) fig. 10; Keller, 298; M. Wellman, *RE* 4:1 (1924) 1327.

44 *Fig. 147.* S66.1:6951. Relief fragment with rearing animal. 5th-4th C. B.C.?

White marble.
Broken on all sides. Torso, upper part of legs, and genitals survive. Unpolished.
P.H. 0.16; L. 0.26; Th. 0.13; D. of relief 0.065. Bull: P.H. 0.13; P.L. 0.235.
B E28.70/N84.20 *97.50.

The thick relief block shows an animal charging or rearing to l. Only the body remains; most of the neck, legs, and tail are broken off. Perhaps the tail curved over the back since there is a trace of the end in the appropriate position. According to J. K. Anderson, the genitals are like those of an equid. The big folds on the very thick neck (dewlap), however, fit a bull rather than a rearing stallion. Over the buttock on the background is a faint trace of a broken-off bit of another figure, perhaps a paw (of a lion?). The rearing animal may have been attacked by a lion from behind.

The piece has very fine chisel work; it is smoothed over except at the front and rear. This might be a fragment of architectural sculpture; the thickness of the relief would fit a frieze. The date is probably 5th C. B.C.

Unpublished. For bulls, cf. *Sardis* X (1926) 15ff., pl. IV, fragment of tile with rear end of bull. Richter, *Animals*, 20-22, pls. 33-34; 19, pl. 27:81, similar genitals of donkey.

Stelai

45 *Figs. 148-149.* NOEX 73.1. Anthemion (finial). 540-530 B.C.

Marble with very large crystals and heavy bluish black banding visible on broken top. The smoothed face is yellowish white.
Broken at top, lower l., lower r., and in three areas around the sides. A rectangular cutting across upper back seems intentional, perhaps to adjust stele to a projecting peg holding it from behind. The rough-trimmed back is slightly concave; for better join with background rock?
P.H. 0.69; max. W. 0.642; D. at top 0.17, at sides 0.16, at bottom 0.17. Base band: H. 0.105; P.W. 0.40; projects 0.015.
Found in a field, farm of Mehmet Kilinç, ca. 3 km. SW of AT, not far from some rock-cut Lydian tombs.

The nearly semicircular finial consists of two symmetrical volute stems surmounted by a large palmette and standing on a projecting base strip. The Ionian volutes have a slightly convex interior, raised borders, and slightly concave eyes with raised "button" centers. The height of the upper and lower part of the volute is approximately equal (0.205), and the distance between eye centers is 0.35. The top palmette consists of five large, oval, and four thin, lancet-shaped leaves. It radiates from a central vertical element, which in its upper part looks like an upside-down heart on a lozenge, while the lower is a downward-pointed lotus with incised bud stem and leaf edges. Two three-leaf palmettes are attached to the sides of the volutes. Two half-palmettes, of four leaves each, were growing out of spirals at the bottom of each volute stem. Only the r. palmette and spiral is preserved.

In the low rounded form of main palmette with intermediate leaves, in the palmettes with broad edges, in the placing of side palmettes, and in the character of the central vertical element, the Sardis anthemion derives from the type represented by the so-called Calvert stele from the Troad which dates ca. 550 B.C. (cf. Caskey, 25-26, no. 13; Friis-Johansen, fig. 31). It shares other features with early Samian stelai: palmette shape (Buschor, "Grabstelen," 27-39, fig. 3) and "button" eye, Diagores stele (ibid., 31, Beil. XI:1) ca. 530-520 B.C. The Calvert stele is of metallic precision; the Sardian stele is softer, with more developed, ridged lancet leaves and lotus. It is, however, earlier than the stelai with tall palmettes and thin, manneristic lotus (46 Figs. 150-151) common in Eastern Greek ornament from 530-500 B.C.

The earliest of the Sardian stelai, this is a masterpiece in its combination of simplicity and luxuriant life. Note, for instance, the relaxed softness as the lowest palmette leaves lie down upon the tops of the volutes.

Published: *AJA* 78 (1974) 124, pl. 32:28; *Archaeology* 27:3 (1974) 139, ill.; *BASOR* 215, 52; Hanfmann, "Stelai," 37-38, 41-44, fig. 1 (H-46).

46 *Figs. 150-151.* NOEX 66.14. Fragment of anthemion. 530-520 B.C.

Marble, possibly "local"; white, slightly crumbly, reddish discoloration.
Broken on all sides.
P.H. 0.41; P.W. 0.36; D. of relief 0.01.
Ploughed up by a bulldozer near Lydian graves E of road to AT and S of Şeytan Dere (*BASOR* 186, 37f.).

Fragment of a stele with lotus-volute finial (anthemion). The general type is made clear by the stele 45 (Figs. 148-149; and a closely comparable fragment from Daskylion (Fig. 152). Preserved is the central part of the finial and the broad raised band which separates the finial from the shaft. In the center there is a downward-pointed tripartite lotus with fine outlining incisions on the chalice and leaves, flanked by two volutes with raised borders ending in broad leaf-like shapes. Most of the l. volute is lost, but the r. has its eye with a six-rayed star or rosette. In the corner between the "leaf" end of the volute and the inner volute is a small leaf.

The general arrangement is very similar to the fragment of a stele from Daskylion which has, however, two bands, one as the base for the anthemion, the other as the top profile for its figurative frieze. Borchhardt (173ff., 192, pl. 44:1) dates it before 500 B.C. Only a bit of empty shaft appears below the border on the Sardis fragment. There is no indication whether it did or did not have figurative reliefs. With its sharper, larger lotus, multiple involutions of spirals, and leaf-like lower volutes, 46 is more developed than 45. It is simpler than the Daskylion fragment, on which the volutes are even more complicated and the lotus very attenuated. Such thin, "manneristic" lotuses occur in Buschor's Polycratean group of Samian stelai ("Grabstelen," 29, fig. 5, Beil. XI-XIII, 530-520 B.C.) and in vase painting on

Caeretan hydriae, ca. 530-520 B.C. (e.g. Arias-Hirmer, 312f., pl. 77 and XXVII, color). The Sardian fragment should date no later than 530-520 B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 186, 37-38, fig. 16; Hanfmann, "Pediment," 300, pl. 103 a (both illustrations upside down); idem, "Stelai," 37, 41, 44, fig. 2 (H-47).

47 *Figs. 153-154.* Chamber tomb stele, now lost. 520?-480 B.C.

Limestone.
The drawing of the "actual state" (*Sardis* I [1922] 161, ill. 178, here Fig. 153) indicates that the stele was broken across the top; a palmette fragment lying next to the stele (ibid., ill. 122, here Fig. 154) seems to belong. The second stele was also broken at the top. "The stelae retained traces of painted ornamental borders and probably bore painted inscriptions which have disappeared" (ibid., 116).
Scaled off from Butler's plan (Fig. 153) and elevation drawing, P.H. would be ca. 3; shaft H. ca. 2.20; W. ca. 0.65; W. of shallow base ca. 1.00; H. of base ca. 0.15(?). The stele was found *in situ* at Tomb 813 on the W bank of the Pactolus "on a very steep slope of the north side of the first hill" (ibid.). In front of the tomb entrance was a flight of steps composed of limestone blocks flanked at either end by one stele of the same material. "The entrance was probably faced with a wall and doorway, which were carried away . . . after the steps and stelae had become buried in earth" (ibid., 160). One of the stelai "preserved a part of its ornamental acroterion" (ibid., 116). As Butler's photograph shows, the stele was set into the lowest step and had a low base of its own attached in front.

The plain shaft rises from a simple low rectangular base. The proportion of shaft H. to W. is 4:1. Unlike **45** and **46** (Figs. 148-151) the convex volutes rose from two central stems; the eye was an elaborate plastic rosette. A thin, "manneristic" downward-pointed lotus separated the rosettes; only the central leaf is preserved. The central design and elaborate eye appear on a limestone stele of Buschor's "Post-Polycratean" group, 520-500 B.C.; the palmette leaves, on his Polycratean group, 530-520 B.C. ("Grabstelen," 34-35, no. V:2, Beil. XIV.1; 32-33, Beil. XI-XII). The stylistic date is ca. 520-500 B.C., as Friis-Johansen (74, n.3) had suggested.

There is, however, hitherto neglected dating evidence from the objects found in the chamber tomb. "The chamber . . . contained four sarcophagi of limestone . . . I believe the tomb was entered at an early date . . . Some pottery was found intact and a few gold objects hidden under deep layers of earth" (*Sardis* I [1922] 160, ills. 177-178; pottery ill. 124). "The sarcophagus sunk into the floor . . . contained the bones of a large man, his gold ring and his seal . . . " (ibid., 116).

Among the vases was a black-figure oinochoe (Butler no. P 1373), now lost (Beazley, *ABV,* 533, no. 10, "The Class of Vatican G 49," ca. 500-480 B.C. The gold objects (*Sardis* XIII [1925] 14, no. 12, pl. 2:3; 39-40, no. 104, inv. no. 4581, pls. 10:1, 11:20) include lotus-palmette rosettes, rather similar to stelai **45** and **46** and an Achaemenid "court style" cylinder seal with king (or "hero") with two winged lions and two bearded sphinxes—less closely datable (late 6th through 5th C. B.C.?) than the Attic oinochoe. E. Porada (by letter) suggests "probably late Darius."

While it is possible to argue that the tomb was cut and stelai erected before the latest burial, it may be safer to put the stele into the early 5th C. B.C.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 116, 159-160, ills. 122, 177, 178; Buschor, "Grabstelen," 23; Friis-Johansen, 74, n.3; E. Pfuhl, *AA* 51 (1936) 65; Borchhardt, 174f.; Hanfmann, "Stelai," 36, 42, 44, figs. 3-4 (H-45).

48 *Figs. 155-156.* Fragment of anthemion, now lost. First half of 5th C. B.C.

Marble.
Fragment of anthemion consisting of two "lyre-design" volutes. Broken diagonally across from mid-eye of l. volute to top of lower spiral of r. volute, and across lower face.
P.H., scaled from Butler's photo, ca. 0.35.
Exact findspot unknown; from first Sardis expedition excavations.

The finial consisted of two spirals symmetrically placed in lyre-like design. H. C. Butler writes, "The two double reversed scrolls carried some crowning feature like a palmette. The scrolls were described by pulvinated bands with raised flat edges. The larger were filled by triple leaves (palmettes) of convex surface, the smaller ones by slender buds." The spirals are slightly convex in section between bands. A horizontal half-palmette lies at the lower, outer l. volute. The volute eyes are rather large, undeco-

rated, convex disks. The central feature is a two-storied, downward-pointed lotus with five leaves.

The fragment is known only from a photograph published by Butler (*Sardis* II [1925] ill. 93, here Fig. 155). The formation and proportions of the volutes with large, simple eye begin to recall Ionic capitals of ca. 500 B.C. (cf. Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 494, pl. 123:3). The elaborate formation of the central lotus is also of the 5th C. B.C., a time when the lyre-design was popular on terracottas (cf. Åkerström, *Terrakotten Kleinasiens,* 93). In conservative Sardis, such a design might occur even in the mid-5th C. B.C.

Published: *Sardis* II (1925) 80, ill. 93; Buschor, "Grabstelen," 28; Borchhardt, 175; Hanfmann, "Stelai," 42, 44, fig. 5 (H-44).

49 *Fig. 157.* IN67.1. Fragment with Lydian inscription. Later 5th or 4th C. B.C.?

"Local" marble; reddish accretion.
Preserved are center and lower r. parts of anthemion (finial) and top of shaft with first two lines of inscription. Split diagonally and at lower edge; part of l. side missing. Back very roughly dressed if at all.
W. 0.38; P.H. (r. end) 0.26; Th. 0.125.
Reused by Roman builders in N wall of BE-H. Found in core of W end of wall while removing loose material prior to restoration E18.05/N81.95 *98.35.

The carefully cut ornament includes part of a downward-pointed lotus with five thin leaves, a concave leaf-like ending to the lower part of a volute, and a rounded part above. The finial projected sideways from the shaft. The leaf-like volute end continues an archaic tradition (cf. **46** Figs. 150-151), but the thin irregular lotus leaves are post-archaic. The overall composition was probably like **45** (Figs. 148-149) and the stele from Daskylion (Borchhardt, pl. 44:1, here Fig. 152).

The transliteration of the Lydian inscription reads:

eś ṣadmēś osk anloḷa [~ *6*]
a?ṛ[*tim*]*ul akit esλ ṣa*[*dmēλ - 3*]

This inscription and this grave stele are of [name lost] the son of Artimus. Now who to this inscription [or this grave stele does damage . . .]

Terming the inscription "one of the most representative and careful examples of Lydian epigraphy," Gusmani concurs in dating the fragment to the later 5th or 4th C. B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 14f., fig. 15; Gusmani in Brandenstein *SSK,* 52f., no. 70; *Sardis* M3 (1975) 3-6, fig. 3, no. A I 2; Hanfmann, "Stelai," 44, fig. 6 (H-48). For the general type see also Richter, *Gravestones*[2], 40 reconstruction of painted ornament with downward-pointed leaves.

Architectural Reliefs

50 *Figs. 158-160.* NOEX 64.5 Decorated marble slab. 6th C. B.C.?

Marble.
One long edge original and smooth; short edges worn; upper(?) r. corner broken. Four dowel holes on back side.
L. ca. 0.90; W. 0.31-0.32; D. 0.12-0.13. D. of holes ca. 0.03-0.045. W. of raised borders on one long side ca. 0.01-0.02.
On the E side of the Gygean Lake, about 2 km. SE of the village of Kılcanlar, a mound on the E side of the road to Akhisar had been partially bulldozed and opened (1964). A phallic marker, left by us on the site and the marble slab with incised spirals were lying by the road (*BASOR* 177, 35). For location, see Fig. 2.

The slab, probably a door lintel rather than a doorjamb, must come from a chamber tomb in the mound. It is decorated on one side with two connected spirals incised within a panel with raised edges. K. J. Frazer observed that the rougher areas outside the panel may indicate where the piece rested on supports. On the back are four dowel holes, three of them circular (diam. 0.02-0.03). They still contain lead for anchoring the bronze dowels. Interpreted as a lintel, the piece would leave a clear door W. of 0.71; this is compatible with door widths known from chamber tombs at Duman Tepe (BT66.1, 0.65; BT66.2, 0.77; BT66.4, 0.53). The D. of 0.13 is insufficient compared with 0.34 for chamber tomb BT66.1, but adding a backing stone would provide the proper Th. The side with dowels must have been fastened to a stone. The H. of 0.90 would be somewhat low for a jamb; the jambs in Duman Tepe chamber tombs range from 1.01-1.11.

The double spiral does not resemble any of the usual Lydian architectural ornaments. Perhaps it was intended as a magic symbol. No other finds are

known from the mound, but the neat dowel holes are not likely before the 6th C. B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 177, 35, mentioned.

51 *Fig. 161.* S69.12:8034. Fragment of sima frieze? 520-500 B.C.

Large-grained grayish white "local" marble.
Central and l. side lotus leaves completely preserved, only a bit of the leaf on r. Top l., only the top of palmette leaf preserved. Broken on all sides, hence exact function uncertain.
P.L. 0.11; W. 0.135; Th. ca. 0.03; H. of lotus 0.005.
LA W201/S1231.4 *98.41, in the top layer of later altar, not stratified.

The tall relief is crisply cut and smoothed. Part of the lotus and the tip of a palmette are at the top l. The central leaf rises to a sharp median ridge, the l leaf to a less marked one. Found in the top layer of LA 2, the late archaic piece may be a fragment of the decoration of the archaic altar. So far, no close parallel has been found, but the thin leaves and raised median ridges occur in the late 6th and early 5th C. B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 199, 32, fig. 20; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 94, fig. 209. Cf. Buschor, "Grabstelen," 34f., Beil. XIV (V:3), dated by Buschor 520-500 B.C.

52 *Figs. 162-163.* S68.26:7801. Fragment with lotus and volute palmette. 520-500 B.C.

"Local" large-grained marble, reddish weathering.
Top ancient; l. side sawed off anciently; r. side, bottom, and back broken.
P.H. 0.185; H. of anthemion (upper part) 0.125, of egg and dart 0.065, of recess 0.01. Th. at top 0.05.
B LNH 1 E52.50-57/N106.16-108.16 *96.7-96.3.

The fragment has part of a double lotus with five(?) leaves arching over a large seven-petalled palmette between two Ionic volutes (only the l. preserved). A smaller downward-pointed palmette has five petals. The floral decoration is on a straight face, ending in a smoothed inward cut. Below it, there survives a bit of dart on the l., then a large full egg, possibly as wide and high as the anthemion part. The piece is either from a small building or from an unusual stele and is archaic Lydian.

Pieces 51 (Fig. 161) and 52 are fragments of delightful architectural Ionic anthemia and evoke the same range of comparisons. With its antithetic palmettes, concave volutes, added leaves within the lotus, and large, simple egg and dart, 52 seems somewhat more developed than the Rhoikos altar ornaments (E. Buschor, *AthMitt* 58 [1933] 185ff., figs. 11f., 17f., Beil 55:4) and the Didymaion anthemion (Gruben, "Didymaion," 134f., fig. 26) though closer to the latter. The sima of the Siphnian treasury, too, may be earlier (la Coste-Messelière, pls. 92f.). Its spirit of late archaic delicacy, though not the exact form, appears in the stele of Diagores (Buschor, "Grabstelen," 33f., Beil. 11 [IV:1]) and other Samian stelai (Beil. 12 [IV:4]) of Buschor's Polycratean anthemia group (530-520? B.C.); and the Attic manifestations are on such terracotta simae as Buschor, *Tondächer,* 20ff., pls. 1-3, nos. X-XXIII, 510-500 B.C.

Unpublished.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE HELLENISTIC, ROMAN, AND EARLY BYZANTINE PERIODS

Nancy H. Ramage

V LITERARY, EPIGRAPHIC, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A large proportion of our Hellenistic and Roman sculptural finds is sadly fragmentary. Some undoubtedly have been mutilated by falls in natural disasters, especially earthquakes—the destruction of A.D. 17 being the most serious.[1] Earthquake is almost certainly the explanation for the fallen architectural fragments discussed in this catalogue, of which the head-capitals form the most cohesive group (**197-209** Figs. 349-368).

Other sculptural finds have been reused as building blocks, and were often smashed on purpose to a desired shape—usually in antiquity, but sometimes also in modern times. The mine of sculpture found in the piers and walls of the Synagogue is the most outstanding example of this practice. The Zeus head **107** (Figs. 231-232) is one of many pieces used as rubble or building blocks in the long north hall of the Gymnasium. Damage to the Hellenistic relief from PN (**135** Figs. 269-270) is due to reuse as paving in the fifth or sixth century A.D., when its center was cut out to form a well head.[2]

The most important reason for the loss of much of the sculpture of Sardis is undoubtedly the value of the stone which, when burned, is used as lime. Poignant testimony for this was the discovery in 1972[3] of a limekiln in one of the rooms of the Gymnasium and, nearby, a number of partly burned statuary fragments (**95, 101, 139, 157, 222,** and **216** Figs. 213-214, 222, 274-275, 304, 387, and 378, the last not burned but smashed and apparently also destined for the limekiln).[4] Other partly burned fragments were also found elsewhere in the excavations (for example, **221** Fig. 386).[5]

Only a small proportion of the sculpture survived in good condition. A few examples were found in or near their original positions (such as **225** Fig. 390); others were apparently put down on the ground and covered with earth for some unknown reason (**59, 67** Figs. 172-173, 182, woman and man from HoB) and were thus well preserved; and occasionally, though mutilated, a section of a head or body may be in good condition, as **92** (Figs. 206-207), a sage.

Findspots, Original Positions, and Manner of Display

Relatively few of our pieces came from a context that suggests their original manner of display, but

1. Tacitus *Ann.* 2.47 = *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 220; cf. **275** (Figs. 467-468). See also Appendix, base from Puteoli (Fig. 472).
2. *BASOR* 166, 18.
3. *BASOR* 211, 27-28, fig. 9. Located in BE-C on Fig. 4.
4. *BASOR* 187, 20-21; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 182.
5. Other kilns recorded at Sardis: limekilns starting at least by the middle Byzantine era in the Gymnasium, *BASOR* 154, 16, and at Roman Bath CG, *Sardis* R1 (1975) 142, 163; lime-slaking pit at PN, *BASOR* 177, 3; limekilns near AT, *Sardis* I (1922) 67; II (1925) 12; kilns operating as late as the 19th C., M. Schmidt, *AM* 6 (1881) 151. On the destruction of AT see *Sardis* XI (1916) viii and ix, where the dismantling of the temple in the early 7th C. A.D. is discussed; and *Sardis* I (1922) on the destruction since the 17th C.

something can be made of the evidence. Least puzzling are the architectural fragments when found fallen from the buildings they decorated. Here we have an especially rich series of capitals from the screen colonnade of the Marble Court, the designation for the Imperial cult hall of the Gymnasium (MC on Fig. 4), all fallen within a few feet of that colonnade (**198-206** Figs. 351-363). I made efforts to ascertain some logical order from the findspots,[6] which might have placed Dionysus, the central figure of the theme, in the center of the group, or to place all heads turned in one direction on one side of the colonnade. However, the findspots did not bear out these assumptions, and it seems as if the heads were placed at random. The reconstruction gives a fine impression of the original effect (Figs. 347-348).[7] The capital with an Anatolian goddess (**194** Fig. 344), found near floor level on the interior of the south hall (BSH) of the Gymnasium, should belong to that room.[8] For other architectural pieces, we do not know the findspots (for example, the pier showing the birth of Zeus, **213** Figs. 373-375, which was found in the plain near Yılmaz Köy, **214** and **215** Figs. 376-377), and we may know their function but not their place.

The positions of a few pieces of statuary are known. The famous sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (**243** Fig. 422) was set up near the ancient east-west highway in her mausoleum, of which a fair reconstruction can be made.[9] The fragments of colossal statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (**79** and **251** Figs. 196-197, 434) were found in or near the Temple of Artemis and were clearly set up as cult statues there—as may have been their predecessor, the colossal statue of Zeus (**102** Figs. 223-225), of which we also have fragments. It is possible that Zeus and Antoninus, and Artemis (**252** Fig. 435) and Faustina, sat side by side.[10]

Inscriptions also present tantalizing evidence for statues of which little or nothing remains. Of the standing portrait of Lucius Verus in the Gymnasium, recorded in a long inscription (**276** Fig. 469), we have only the foot preserved.[11] Another example is the base of the statues of the "children of Kore" (**277** Fig. 470), found *in situ* in BE-C of the Gymnasium but with no traces of the figures preserved.

Occasionally a statue found on or near floor level clearly had been set up in the room where it was found. In one instance, a table leg with a male figure (**225** Fig. 390) was found in its original position, standing in the corner of a room in the House of Bronzes (Fig. 1 No. 4). Two large statues found in the same area, a draped female and male (**59, 67** Figs. 172-173, 182), were apparently purposely placed lying foot to foot for some unknown reason late in the Roman period. It seems likely that the two originally stood near each other.[12]

We also have evidence of earlier pieces being set up at a later date in secondary positions. The Lydian and Greek stelai set up by the Romans near the Temple of Artemis are examples of this.[13] Another is **278** (Fig. 471), a fountain base with snakes that was, according to its inscription, moved from its original position "in the middle of the road" to a secondary place. There is also the third century head of a bearded sage (**92** Figs. 206-207), found in the bedding for the Byzantine Road, which was perhaps set along the Main Avenue late in the Imperial period.

Dating

The vast majority of our pieces could not be dated by their archaeological context because so many were found reused as building materials, in piles doomed for the limekiln, or in other inconclusive positions. In a few instances there is external evidence for dating, as in the case of architectural pieces where the date of the building is known. For example, the inscription on the Marble Court places the dedication in A.D. 211-212,[14] and thus dates the

6. Hirschland, 21.
7. *BASOR* 203, figs. 13-14; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 232, fig. 210.
8. G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth, "The Image of an Anatolian Goddess," in Bossert *Festschrift,* 267-268, discuss the relevance of placing such a figure in the Gymnasium.
9. *Sardis* V (1924) ill. 2.
10. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 79-81, 87. "Artemis" is a portrait of Lucilla; cf. 252 Fig. 435.
11. *BASOR* 154, 14, fig. 4; Yegül, "Bath-Gymnasium," 102f.
12. Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 38.
13. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68-73.
14. *BASOR* 162, 42.

series of head-capitals which decorated the screen colonnade of this structure. Also, portraits of known persons (**78** Figs. 194-195, Sabina) or types close in style to known portraits (as **93** Figs. 208-211, a Diocletianic priest) can be dated fairly closely. In most cases however, the dating has been based on criteria such as style of drapery or technique of carving. Comparisons have been cited where possible. Dates cited here are meant to serve only as a starting point for further analysis, since stylistic dating is subject to personal interpretation.

Famous Types

Among our finds are a number of copies of well-known sculptured types, both Greek and Roman. A Roman copy of a bearded Zeus (**107** Figs. 231-232) must ultimately derive from the Phidian Zeus at Olympia and has been related to a number of well-known types.[15] An Amazonian relief (**188** Fig. 338) may also derive from a Phidian model, the famous shield of the Athena Parthenos.[16] Our gilded Tyche, by the crown and the turn of the head, may be closely related to the Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides.[17] A fragmentary Herakles is a copy of the Farnese Herakles type, which may reflect a Herakles made by Lysippus (**116** Fig. 242).[18] We also have a number of fragments of the Venus *pudica,* too fragmentary or poor, however, to have been included in the catalogue, and a Venus *Anadyomene* (**111** Fig. 237). In addition to the standing figure of Asklepios in Manisa (**125** Figs. 254-256), a number of poorly preserved small bases with two feet and a snake and sometimes the end of a staff are evidence of his cult; most were probably small votive statuettes, dedicated as wishes or thanks for good health. Of Roman iconographical types we have examples of Aeneas carrying Anchises (**73** Fig. 189), Cybele or Tyche and a tree (**159** Fig. 306), and a bound captive, well known in Imperial reliefs (**191** Fig. 341). None are outstanding examples of their types, but all bear witness to the fact that sculptors at Sardis were well aware of the mainstream of Roman art.

A unique case of archaeological and epigraphic evidence combined is the portrayal of the City Goddess of Sardis on the inscribed base found at Puteoli, which was erected by the cities that had suffered in the earthquake of A.D. 17 (see Appendix and Fig. 472). The goddess, accompanied by a child, certainly reflects a famous Greek type, the so-called Prokne and Itys by Alkamenes.

Literary and Epigraphic Evidence

Very little light is shed on the sculpture from literary sources. The only direct references are Pausanias' mention of a statue of Adrastos of ca. 323-322 B.C.,[19] and a statement in pseudo-Codinus, *Patria* 2.73, about images that stood in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, some of which were carried off from Sardis.[20] The epigraphic evidence sheds more light.[21] Several of these inscriptions, summarized below, are included in the Catalogue (**275-278** Figs. 467-471), but I have omitted the ordinary honorary statue bases. An important reference to the earthquake of A.D. 17 occurs on the base of a statue of Hera, restored by Julia Lydia after the earthquake (**275**). Only the foot of Lucius Verus (**132** Fig. 264) remains of the statue which stood on the inscribed base of the Gymnasium (**276**).[22] A beautiful inscription honoring Caracalla fills the front of a base broad enough to support a statue; however, the inscription does not itself mention the statue, and there is no evidence of attachments on its top face.[23] Another dedication base (**277**), this one to Caracalla and Geta, specifically mentions the images of the children of Kore which it supported.[24] Finally, a late inscription (**278**) refers to a group of gilded bronze snakes from

15. Metraux, 156ff., and see "Coins," *infra.*
16. Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos, A Reconstruction* (Toronto 1971) 41-50, figs. 23-29, 81-83.
17. Dohrn, *Tyche,* passim; Richter, *Sculpture,* figs. 753ff.
18. Bieber, 37.
19. *Sardis* M2 (1972) no. 270.
20. Th. Praeger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* II (Leipzig 1907) 189 = *Sardis* M4 (1976) 107, no. 6.
21. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 69, 170.
22. *BASOR* 154, 14, fig. 4; 158, 7-10; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 33, figs. 17-18.
23. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* fig. 165.
24. *BASOR* 211, 27, fig. 8; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 32.

a fountain, set up by a governor of Lydia in the fourth century A.D.[25]

Coins

Some of our statue types can be parallelled, and sometimes elucidated by numismatic evidence from Asia Minor.[26] For instance, the Anatolian moon-god, Mên, who appears as a horseman on the Ashmolean relief **253** (Fig. 436), is shown on the reverse of a medallion of Marcus Aurelius in the same guise and in similar costume.[27] He is also shown with the crescent moon behind his head on a Sardian coin.[28] The relief of the Mother of the Gods in Berlin (**256** Fig. 442) our only definitely Roman representation of the famous indigenous goddess, is similar in dress and concept to a Severan coin of Smyrna, where, however, she is seen in side view.[29] (As with sculpture, there are surprisingly few coins of Cybele from Sardis.[30]) The head of Tyche on Sardian coins[31] is not in the same position as our frontal statue head **128** (Figs. 259-260), but is additional testimony to the existence of the turreted city goddess. In the conventional position of river gods, just like our reliefs of the same (**189, 190** Figs. 339-340), is a Sardian coin of the Hermus,[32] and even our reclining Tmolus (**211** Fig. 371) has a numismatic parallel—a coin showing only his bearded head is clearly attested.[33] The openwork relief statuette of Helios as charioteer (**167** Fig. 315) is a frontal figure derived from the same source, probably a painting, as that which inspired a bronze coin of about A.D. 200.[34] That rendition of the rayed Helios, carrying a whip (or torch?) and drawn in a chariot by four horses, is an early example of the kind of composition that becomes standard for late antique and medieval art, and of which our statuette of the fifth or sixth century A.D. is a crude example.

Numismatic evidence is also important for statues which are now lost. A cult statue of Kore is shown on the reverse of Sardian coins, with the inscription Chrysanthia—a reference to the corn maiden and the golden flowers she brings forth.[35] An image of her (**194** Fig. 344) also appears on the figured capital from the south hall of the Gymnasium (BSH),[36] an important instance of a cult statue of an archaic date remembered or revived in Roman times. A statuary type may also be reflected in a coin of Sardis showing Herakles dragging a humped bull by the horns.[37]

Zeus Lydios appears frequently on Sardian coins, both as a standing figure holding a scepter, with an eagle in his left hand, and as a bearded and filletted head.[38] We may have a copy of this figure, originally either a cult statue or a decorative image in the Gymnasium, in a head found during our excavations (**107** Figs. 231-232).[39] He appears on a coin which shows also a monumental flaming altar with three caryatid figures—surely a copy of an actual altar to Zeus Lydios.[40] The features of Zeus Karios and Zeus Polieus are not known, unless the colossal fragment **102** (Figs. 223-225), found near the Artemis Temple is from the cult statue of the latter.[41]

25. *BASOR* 211, 22, fig. 4; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 173, n.75; *Sardis* M4 (1976) 21, 114-115.

26. The Greek and Roman coins found during the Harvard-Cornell excavations will be published in a forthcoming Sardis volume by A. E. M. Johnston and T. V. Buttrey respectively. For the coins found by the first Sardis expedition, see *Sardis* XI (1916).

27. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 167, fig. 103.

28. *BMC Lydia,* pl. 26:3.

29. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 159, fig. 90.

30. *BASOR* 211, 35.

31. *BMC Lydia,* pls. 24:15, 26:1-2; cf. also Appendix (Fig. 472), personification of Sardis with crown on base from Puteoli.

32. Ibid., pls. 26:9, 27:13.

33. Ibid., 249, no. 94, pl. 25:10.

34. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 164, fig. 98. Cf. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*^{2}, 242, 327, pl. XIV, with references to the mosaics in Rome and Hammath-Tiberias.

35. *BMC Lydia,* cix f. and pls. 26:2, 27:2; G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth in Bossert *Festschrift,* 268; Fleischer, 197; *BASOR* 211. 35. A. E. M. Johnston will treat in detail the role of Kore at Sardis in a forthcoming volume on coins in this series.

36. Hanfmann-Balmuth, ibid.; Fleischer, 187, 193ff., pl. 77.

37. *BMC Lydia,* pl. 27:7. Herakles dragging a bull is also on Hellenistic relief ware fragements found at Sardis (P63.177:5204 and P65.283:6945) which will be published by I. Hanfmann in a forthcoming volume in this series.

38. *BMC Lydia,* cix f., pls. 25:1, 3, 9; 26:6.

39. Metraux, 155ff.; he gives a full discussion of the evidence and cites the bibliography.

40. Price-Trell, fig. 244. We regret that this volume appeared too late to be fully utilized.

41. On Zeus Karios and Zeus Polieus at Sardis, see Metraux, 157ff. Price-Trell still object to a temple to Zeus Polieus and Artemis, but an inscription (*Sardis* VII [1932] no. 8, XII, lines 133-134) explicitly proves the existence of a joint sanctuary. On Zeus Polieus, see also L. Robert, *CRAI* (Apr.-June 1975) 321.

Sardis as a Local Center for Sculpture

There must have been a large sculptors' workshop, or workshops, at Sardis. We have found not only great numbers of statues but also some unfinished pieces (**106, 117, 144** Figs. 229-230, 243, 283)[42] which would never have been brought to Sardis from elsewhere; they can only be explained by the presence of a local workshop. The unfinished pieces are of local marble and probably Roman, except a head of Zeus (**106** Figs. 229-230) that seems to be early Hellenistic. Architectural sculpture is also testimony to a group of artists on hand to work together with the builders. In the head-capitals associated with the screen colonnade of the Marble Court and palaestra (**197-209** Figs. 349-368), two schools can be distinguished: one trained in the Hellenistic tradition and one rooted in a typically Roman style.[43] Also interesting here is the fact that we have fragments of two head-capitals almost certainly carved by the same hand (**202, 203** Figs. 357, 358).

The large number of garland sarcophagus fragments is further evidence of local manufacture; in addition we have many pieces of an Asiatic sarcophagus whose architectural fragments (**182** Fig. 331) have patterns identical to those on the celebrated sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (**243** Fig. 422), and must have been made in the same workshop. Morey has presented his case for a Lydian workshop in full detail,[44] but of late it has been much questioned.[45]

Even in the later years of the Roman Empire, there is evidence for a local Sardian school in the outstanding head **95** (Figs. 213-214) of the fifth or sixth century.[46] There is also other fine late Roman and early Byzantine sculpture, such as the decorative frieze with birds in the Synagogue forecourt, which is not, however, included in this study.[47]

Reuse and Repair in Antiquity

The Romans were not above helping themselves to a ready-made statue or inscription and reusing it for their own purposes. The most striking example of this is the Hellenistic stele with a moth (**137** Fig. 272), twice reused in Roman times. The subsequent owner did not trouble to alter the sculptural decoration, but simply added his own inscription; the third person inscribed yet another inscription and merely added a wreath. Another example of this reuse is the gorgon stele **150** (Fig. 295), where the date of the original inscription cannot be ascertained, but the present inscription is clearly superimposed on an earlier one, and the second user also added the gorgoneion.

In the luxurious late Roman House of Bronzes, a griffin pillar of much earlier date (**219** Fig. 384) and an inscription to the god Mên were used to support a table, while the fountain relief of a river god (**190** Fig. 340) was reused as part of a basin.[48] A double reuse is attested for a stele which started out as an honorary inscription, was reused as a tombstone, and ended up as the front of a fountain in one of the Byzantine Shops, with a huge cross engraved upon it.[49]

In statuary we have a late antique portrait head, recut to be used as a fountain piece (**94** Fig. 212). An inscribed base (**275** Figs. 467-468) mentions a statue of Hera restored (that is, replaced) after the earthquake of A.D. 17. Another inscribed base (**278** Fig. 471) tells of a governor of Lydia, Basiliskos, who took gilded bronze serpents from a fountain which "stood in the middle of the road," and used them in another fountain. Apparently this second one, dated to the fourth century by the lettering, stood on top of the inscribed base, which was found in the aleipterion of the Gymnasium.[50]

42. See *supra,* Ch. I, "Technique."
43. Hirschland, 20f.
44. *Sardis* V (1924) 71ff.
45. Most recently by H. Wiegartz in Mansel *Mélanges,* 376ff.
46. *Contra* the theory of a late Sardian school, see Inan-Rosenbaum, 44.
47. *BASOR* 187, 49f., fig. 60. To be published in a forthcoming volume in this series on the Syn.
48. *BASOR* 175, 24; Robert, *NIS,* 33-34; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 56, figs. 34, 35 (inscription to Mên), 63 (river god). Cf. *Sardis* M4 (1976) 43f.
49. *BASOR* 157, 32-33, fig. 18; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 55-56, fig. 19. The suggestion made by Hanfmann that the shop served as a baptistry is weakened by the occurrence of similar crosses on the front of a street fountain at Ephesus.
50. *BASOR* 211, 21-22, fig. 4 from hall BE-W, now designated BE-H on Gymnasium plan Fig. 4.

There are a few examples of statues repaired in antiquity, although most of the evidence of dowelling seems to have been for the original attachment of head or limbs. The male figure **67** (Fig. 182) from the House of Bronzes has a large section of the back right leg added on. The archaizing herm **110** (Fig. 236) has a smooth edge and a central dowel hole at the break on the shaft, suggesting an ancient repair. The tip of a leaf on the Zeus head-capital **197** (Figs. 349-350) was broken off when found, but showed an ancient dowel hole, clearly for a repair. The fragment has been reattached by the expedition conservators.

Survival

Despite the ravages of earthquake and weather, the vicissitudes of taste, and the value of the material itself, we know that in the sixth or even seventh century A.D. pagan statuary was still on view at Sardis. The draped female and male from HoB (**59, 67** Figs. 172-173, 182) were apparently buried by "post-Heraclian agency,"[51] that is, after the devastation of 616 which destroyed much of what remained of Roman Sardis. This implies that the statues, which we have dated to the first half of the first century A.D., were still standing until that time. These statues, whose heads were inserted, were very likely given new portraits in later antiquity.[52] Also in HoB was found a Dionysus (**225** Fig. 390) of the second or third century, which was *in situ* in a late Roman-early Byzantine context; it seems to have decorated a room used for domestic industry.[53] A statue group of Dionysus, a panther, and satyr (**122** Figs. 250-251), a third or fourth century work, was found in the fill of a latrine by the Byzantine Shops along the south side of the Gymnasium together with Byzantine coins.[54] It is ironic to think of a largely Christian populace enjoying the decoration of such a clearly pagan subject in their latrines.[55] Statues such as these are testimony to what was undoubtedly a much larger group of classical statuary still on view in Byzantine times—a group which was gradually destroyed by the ravages of the limekilns.

These general conclusions made from the sum of the material we have found are only a beginning in the interpretation of the evidence for the sculptural taste and practice of the artisans of ancient Sardis. It is hoped, however, that the catalogue presented below will be useful in comparative studies, and that scholars will benefit from seeing the whole spectrum of sculpture from one of the most important cities of Asia Minor.

51. *BASOR* 157, 27; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 59, fig. 38.
52. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 7.
53. *BASOR* 154, 27.
54. *BASOR* 157, 34-35. The coins are listed in *Sardis* M1 (1971) nos. 120, 342, 370, 378, 463, 467, 482, 506, 507, 713, 719, 720, 824, 927, 1006, 1010. The Shops will be published by J. S. Crawford in a forthcoming volume in this series.
55. See Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* 56ff.

VI CATALOGUE

with contributions by
George M. A. Hanfmann

Draped Women

53 *Fig. 164.* NOEX 62.10. **Torso fragment with high-girt chiton. Hellenistic.**

White marble.
The r. side of a draped female torso is preserved from the neck to about the hip. There is a break with traces of the r. arm against her side to the elbow. The l. side is broken off smoothly just l. of center, thus preserving the peak of the V at her neckline, and the knot of the ribbon tying the garment below her breasts. A deep gouge has been removed at the back.
H. 0.645; W. center of chest to side 0.18; D. 0.10.
Findspot unknown.

The lady wears a high-girt chiton, tied beneath the breasts with a ribbon belt ending in a double knot. The diagonal folds of the bound-up cloth of the himation are slung across her hips. The banded border at the neckline of the chiton comes to a slightly off-center V. The neck has been modelled to show the inner end of the collarbone and a horizontal wrinkle.

The style of dress has roots in the maiden from Antium and the Themis from Rhamnus. The carving of our piece is somewhat flatter than the examples cited below, but the full-bodied figure and delicate chiselling of the folds suggest that it, too, is Hellenistic.

Unpublished. For the Antium and Rhamnus figures see Richter, *Sculpture,* figs. 336 and 331. A late Hellenistic parallel that looks still flatter and more regular than the Sardis example is in New York: Horn, *Gewandstatuen,* pl. 43. For the same arrangement of drapery and folds, see Hekler, fig. 23, dated Antonine (p. 196). Cf. **60** (Fig. 174).

54 *Fig. 165.* S59.81:2093. MANISA 4089. **Lower portion of peplos figure. Late Hellenistic.**

White marble with dark blue streaks.
Figure is preserved from about waist height to her feet which, however, are missing. Plinth partially preserved, although edges are broken. Underside of plinth has hollow cutting and a slanting cut on the lower rear. Small modern break on r. edge of the plinth.
H. 0.60; W. 0.29; Th. 0.18.
B W53/N12.5 *98.25-98, fill above latrine floor.

The figure stands with the r. knee bent and the leg drawn back. This leg is clearly revealed by the clinging drapery, while the other leg is totally obscured. The peplos is carefully carved on all sides, although the folds are deeper on the front than the back. The upper garment of the peplos has a long fold which hangs down to the feet on the r. side. Two rough bosses project from this fold; one is also on the l. side, and another on the rear. A small iron pin remains in one of these, perhaps for the attachment of the r. arm.

The woman is an elongated and elegant peplos figure, and the carving is competent. The proportions and the carving suggest a date in the late Hellenistic period.

Unpublished.

55 *Figs. 166-168.* MANISA 385. Woman with archaistic drapery. Late Hellenistic.

Local marble.
Missing are head and neck, r. and l. arms and l. foot, all of which were originally dowelled to the body of the statue. Horizontal breaks across the chest and lower legs were caused by later damage.
H. 1.96; max. W. ca. 0.55. Base: H. 0.065; P.L. 0.62; P.W. ca. 0.42.
Found in 1955 N of the Theater.

The woman stands with l. foot forward slightly, her weight on the r. leg. The overfold of the himation is attached at her r. shoulder, and hangs in diagonal folds to her upper thighs. The pattern is elaborated by two nearly symmetrical falls of drapery: one from her l. breast, and the other made by a clump of the drapery tucked under a diagonal overfold under her r. breast. The long piece of the himation falls to shin height in relatively few loops, which are played against the otherwise smooth surface in a lively pattern. The material of the chiton, seen at the legs and at the r. breast, is portrayed by numerous wavy lines chiselled into the surface. Four columnar folds of the chiton fall between the feet, and seem to come out of the central fold of the himation. There is also a heavy fold at each side. The lady wore sandals with high platform soles.

The style seems to support a dating in the late 2nd or early 1st C. B.C., and in any case the style is late Hellenistic. It certainly must be placed before the middle of the 1st C. A.D., when a strongly Roman character appears.

Published: Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 60-63, pl. 11. Harrison, *Agora* XI 57, 90 shows how the archaistic qualities are rooted in the Hellenistic tradition. G. M. A. Hanfmann, however, has suggested a date after the earthquake of A.D. 17.

56 *Fig. 169.* NOEX 68.4. Attenuated figure, perhaps Athena. Late Hellenistic?

Small-crystalled grayish white marble.
Arms, neck, head missing. Much chipping, some recent. In the back are a dowel hole (L. 0.035) and an iron dowel (L. 0.015) for attaching the head, and dowel hole and iron fragment are on r. side for attaching r. arm.
H. 0.47; W. at base 0.185, at breasts 0.085; D. at base 0.165.
Found 400-500 E of Pactolus Valley road, in village of Sart Mustafa (S of Izmir-Ankara highway).

The greatly attenuated figure wears a peplos girt just beneath her breasts. Two long broad folds fall from r. arm to feet, with zigzag folds on the surface. The lower garment has deep, swallow-tail folds. The r. leg, drawn back, is revealed; the l. leg, on which figure is poised, is barely seen beneath the drapery. In back the peplos hangs low, and is largely unarticulated.

The figure is a Hellenistic (Pergamene) variation of the Phidian Athena Parthenos, but has no attributes to identify her. Traces of drilling are in the deep folds but the piece is largely worked with chisels and abrasives. The technique appears to be Hellenistic, 2nd C. B.C., but a Roman copyist is possible.

Unpublished.

57 *Fig. 170.* S60.28:3006. MANISA 3790. Fragment of "Grosse Herculanerin" type. Late Hellenistic.

Marble.
Preserved from above the waist to below the knees. A dowel hole is at the break of the l. arm, just where it would have projected from the drapery. Minor chipping of drapery.
H. 0.82; W. 0.46; D. 0.28.
B MC E26.60/N50.50 ca. *98.25.

The l. leg is slightly advanced, the knee pulling the drapery forward. The himation stops just below the knees. The drapery is gathered over the l. arm and falls in rich folds at her l. side, and there is also a long vertical fold at her r. side. Across the front, arched folds delineate her stomach. The back is only summarily carved with two or three shallow, looped folds.

Typical of the "Grosse Herculanerin" type, there is a strong diagonal fold from r. hip to l. knee; another diagonal fold, the end of which can be seen

on our statue, fell from the r. arm, which lay on her chest, to the l. wrist.

Some drilling is used, but not extensively. The carving is fine, and allows us to see the curvature of the body. This is probably a late Hellenistic example, although the style is closely copied in Roman times, and this piece might be as late as the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. On the type see Bieber, 22. Cf. also Rosenbaum, pl. LXXIV and Hekler, 126ff., 226. A close parallel, if slightly harsher in execution, is a statue of Sabina, İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 36, pl. 19:3; cf. also their no. 214, pl. 115:2 and Faustina, no. 47, pl. 30.

58 *Fig. 171.* S62.4:4137. Archaistic torso. 1st C. B.C. or A.D.

White marble.
Neck to hips preserved, r. arm missing from above elbow.
H. 0.20; W. at elbows 0.18; D. 0.09.
HoB E28/S82. Surface.

She wears a thin chiton with vertical wavy folds over r. shoulder and breast; an incised line for the seam runs from the neckline down r. arm. Heavier drapery of himation sweeps diagonally across the front, r. armpit to l. shoulder, with the loose end falling down the back. The back side is little worked except for heavy diagonal folds of the himation, continuing from front. Lower r. arm was attached by an iron clamp, still preserved.

The workmanship is entirely by chisel. The front, especially the neck, is very smoothly finished. Style of dress and folds is archaistic, of 1st C. B.C. or A.D.

Unpublished.

59 *Figs. 172-173.* S59.76:1966. MANISA 3943. Woman with himation. 1st half of 1st C. A.D.

Marble.
Head, lower arms, r. foot, and back r. corner of base missing.
H. with base 1.74, without base 1.61; Th. 0.335.
HoB E30/S90 *99.44 (found ca. 0.30 m. underground with 67 Fig. 182).

The heavily draped woman stands with weight on her l. leg, r. knee forward, r. foot drawn back. The l. hip is thrown out sideways, the shoulders back. Her chiton has five buttons on the r. sleeve. A himation is flung over her l. shoulder, where the edge hangs like a cape; the other end is held under her l. elbow. The heavy cloth, with strong diagonal folds, does not reveal the chiton underneath, but the shape of the breasts is clearly defined. At bottom, the chiton falls in an arch over r. foot, but in deeply carved vertical folds over l. foot. The back, done in simple large folds with flat chisel, is much more simplified than the front.

The head was worked separately and inserted. L. arm was dowelled at elbow by two dowels and was carefully worked to insert into the upper arm. R. arm was set in and held by three dowels above the elbow. There is no dowel hole for fastening the r. foot.

All traces of chisel are carefully removed. Well-smoothed work of the early Empire, probably after the earthquake of A.D. 17.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 28, fig. 14; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 59, fig. 38. For parallels, cf. Paribeni, 46, no. 75, pl. 61; Rizzo, 102, pl. 154a; also his pl. 131 (l. hand Muse on Mantinea base) and pl. 134a. Original date for this type was 4th C. B.C. (Rizzo, 90). For Hellenistic intermediary, Horn, *Gewandstatuen,* 24-26, pl. 8:1-2. Lower portion similar also to Artemisia of Halikarnassos (cf. Bieber, fig. 249), a favorite model in the early Empire. Cf. Hekler, 132, 227, 235 fig. 3, 246 fig. 25. Also F. Poulsen, *Country Houses,* 53, no. 28.

60 *Fig. 174.* S60.11:2601 AND S60.29:3007. Torso fragment with high-girt chiton. lst or 2nd C. a.d.

Marble.
Two joining pieces extend from the neck to waist. One piece, much smaller than the other, preserves only the draped right breast. Both arms are missing.
H. 0.44; W. 0.32; Th. 0.23.
B MC N60/E20.60 above floor *97.25.

The figure wears a chiton, tied beneath the breasts by a belt, in a double knot. A second, heavier garment, the himation, was slung across her hips, and the end of it can be seen hanging over her l. shoulder.

The same arrangement of dress is seen here as in 53 (Fig. 164). The present example is less competent in the carving; the harder style may be lst or 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

61 *Fig. 175.* S64.50:6531. **Lower half of peplos figure. Late 1st-early 2nd C. A.D.**

Possibly local, large-grained marble with reddish leaching or incrustation.
The statue is preserved from the upper thighs downwards, including the plinth. Traces of red cement in clamp hole in base, from reuse in Synagogue where it had been used as a horizontal building block. L. (upper) part of base splintered off.
H. 0.65; W. 0.32; Th. 0.18; plinth H. 0.13; W. 0.32; Th. 0.19.
Syn E128.97-129.32/N4.20-4.45 *97.78-97.13.

The woman, draped in a peplos, stands with her weight on her straight l. leg; her r. one is bent at the knee and drawn back slightly. The drapery clings to both legs, clearly revealing their forms, but falls in heavy contrasting folds between the legs and on both sides. The back is much more summarily worked with ten regular, shallow, vertical folds which stop at a straight horizontal line between drapery and plinth. The back of the overfold of the peplos hangs with a longer fold at the l., a shorter on the r., and is finished in two roughly carved tassels; a third tassel can be seen at her r. side, as well as the end of the belt which must have tied the upper garment. Both feet are only roughed out, with no details of toes or shoes. The drapery falls over the r. foot in a drilled arched fold.

The plinth is carefully finished at the front proper r. corner, but in the center, 0.06 from the edge, is a projection of 0.03. It is only roughly claw chiselled. The clamp hole, 0.03 by 0.02 by 0.04 D., is from reuse of the stone.

Though summary, the workmanship is appealing, but the drill "runs" at bottom of folds show this to be a Roman work of the late 1st or early 2nd C. A.D. after an early classical type.

Unpublished.

62 *Fig. 176.* MANISA 388. **Artemis priestess(?) torso. 1st half of 2nd C. A.D.**

Marble.
The l. side of the draped statue is preserved from the shoulder to about knee height. The l. arm and hand are preserved, but all fingers are missing or damaged. A fragment with a trace of the r. hand is also preserved. "Traces of very fine painted pattern are seen descending from below the left arm nearly all the way to the floor" (Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 63). The figure is sliced off at the back.
H. 1.56; max. W. ca. 0.57; max. Th. ca. 0.26.
Taken to Manisa museum in 1946. Originally found in AT, "just below the pteroma level, in the space between the antae" of the W cella in 1910 (*Sardis* I [1922] 53).

The figure wears an ungirt peplos with short sleeves; Hanfmann and Polatkan suggest (p. 65) that this may be a priestess of Artemis, although the dress is quite different from Moschine (**246** Figs. 426-427), the only known priestess from Sardis. The l. arm is brought forward, against the body, and the hand seems to have clasped a vertical fold of drapery.

Despite the present-day impression from the photo, this is not a relief but a figure in the round (note preservation of trace of r. hand and discussion by Hanfmann and Polatkan) which would presumably have stood in the pronaos of the Artemis Temple. "Close inspection reveals that many folds are worked with mechanical, deeply gouged 'runs' typical of the first half of the 2nd century A.D." (Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 64).

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 53, fig. 47; Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," 63-65, pl. 12.

63 *Fig. 177.* NOEX 58.17. MANISA 374. **Lower portion of standing woman. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.**

Marble.
There is a horizontal break at the hips, below which the statue is preserved in entirety, including the base, which is, however, chipped on all sides.
H. 0.66; W. at base 0.41; D. 0.24.
Findspot unknown.

Heavy diagonal folds of the himation are contrasted with deep-cut vertical folds of the chiton. The l. leg is drawn back, and is totally revealed beneath the drapery, which is practically non-existent at this point. The largely regular folds of the chiton are interrupted by a few diagonal ones over the r. foot.

The most characteristic feature of the style is the long, deep drill runs seen in the chiton. Although the stance and type date to the late Hellenistic period, perhaps 100 B.C., the technique points to the Roman period, probably 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the type, cf. Horn, *Gewandstatuen,* pls 25:1-2, 30:3, 31:3; also p. 85; cf. also Hekler, figs. 1, 19.

64 *Fig. 178.* S62.61:4870. Fragment of draped female. 2nd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Preserved from just above the knees to the ankles.
H. 0.60; W. 0.33; D. 0.25.
BE-S E32/N33 *98.00-99.00.

The l. leg is forward, the knee projecting and pulling the chiton with it. The folds of the chiton, mostly vertical, but curving over the l. foot, range from deeply cut to quite shallow. Heavy, sweeping diagonal folds of the himation can be seen on the figure's r. side. They do not reveal the chiton underneath.

Although the type is Hellenistic, the hard linear style indicates a Roman date, probably of the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the type cf. Horn, *Gewandstatuen,* pl. 25.

65 *Figs. 179-180.* MANISA 5. Lower part of standing woman. 2nd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Preserved from chest height to the bottom of the folds of her chiton. The l. upper arm can be seen beneath the himation, but otherwise both arms are missing. A large part of the cloak and body is broken off on her r.
H. ca. 1.43, W. ca. 0.52, D. ca. 0.31.
Findspot unknown; came to Manisa in 1937.

The lower part of a heavy woolen cloak goes in a curving diagonal across the chiton, sweeping over the feet. The r. leg was drawn back, pulling the chiton with it. There are deep vertical drill runs in the chiton, whereas the himation has broad smooth folds. On the back, the general fold system is only slightly blocked out, the lower part only rough pointed. Three more folds wind around the l. shoulder, as other folds descend to the lower body.

The deep drilling and careless workmanship on the back point to a Roman date, probably 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the pose, see two terracotta figurines, Horn, *Gewandstatuen,* pls. 12:3, 24:2.

Draped Men

66 *Fig. 181.* S64.6:5943. Half-cloaked man, "citizen type." Late Hellenistic or 1st C. A.D.

Large-grained (crystallized) marble. Whitmore: compares with Miletus marble.
Base of neck to above knees preserved; r. arm broken off below shoulder.
H. 0.205; W. 0.155; D. 0.085.
MTE upper trench, N edge, *113.1.

Chest and r. shoulder are left bare. The musculature on upper arm and chest is ample. His cloak falls in vertical folds over l. shoulder, and in soft asymmetrical arc across front; it is held under the r. armpit and then falls in a vertical fold by the r. arm. In back is a thick fold from l. shoulder to r. armpit. The workmanship is careful and gives a precise, if somewhat hardened and mechanical effect. Chisel and abrasive marks are evident; drill marks are obliterated. In the neck is a drill hole for a dowel (diam. 0.007) to fasten the head.

The type is like Asklepios and also Hellenistic citizens, but the lower part of the body is peculiarly slender. The small size and delicate proportions suggest that this may have been a house statuette in a domestic shrine.

Unpublished. For Asklepios, see Neugebauer, 78, pls. 1-2. Cf. also J. Marcadé, *BCH* 81 (1957) 418, fig. 6; Paribeni, no. 214, pl. 113; Rosenbaum, 85, nos. 135-138, pl. 69. Cf. also 125 (Figs. 254-256).

67 *Fig. 182.* S59.66:1782. MANISA 3942. Palliatus. 1st half of 1st C. A.D.

Local marble.
Minor chipping of fingers and drapery. Front of plinth broken off with damage to some toes of both feet. Toes of r. foot preserved as separate fragment. Large piece at back of r. leg, from ankle to knee, pieced on in antiquity.
H. ca. 1.69; max. W. ca. 0.61. Base: H. 0.14; W. 0.50; L. ca. 0.61.
HoB E30/S90 *99.44 (only ca. 0.30 below ground level).

In the neck is a hollow for insertion of the head, which was worked separately. As is typical of palliatus statues, the himation falls from l. to r. around the back in swallow-tail folds and across the front on a diagonal from l. shoulder. The r. arm is covered but the hand exposed. One end is thrown

over l. shoulder and hangs down the back with a round tassel at end, the other loose end is wound around l. arm. Folds in front are narrow and well made. At r. hip the vertical folds of the undergarment show through diagonal ones of the himation. Sandals have a thong, two cross straps, and a solid piece of leather over the outer heels. Feet are placed wide apart on a thick plinth which is left rough-picked. View from r. side shows the folds revealing curved shape of back, buttock, and thigh. From the back there is a large simplified appearance: a few flat folds are made by chisel and entire back surface retains marks from large claw chisel. Separation of r. arm from body is summarily indicated on back by incised groove. At lower right of the back is an ancient repair. Between the lower part of the garment and plinth at back is a support piece of marble, rough-picked, which conceals hem and heels.

The statue was found together with a female counterpart (**59** Figs. 172-173). The two would have made an impressive group when set up, perhaps in HoB where they were found. Both seem to belong to 1st half of 1st C. A.D. The medium-long overfold of the man's himation, and style of carving, point to this date at latest.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 27-28; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 11; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 59, fig. 38. Genealogy of palliatus, dating back to 4th C. B.C., summarized by Harrison, *Agora* I 76, n.6. Cf. also ibid., nos. 57-62, pls. 38-40; Rosenbaum, 80ff.

68 *Fig. 183.* B-1. Fragment of togate statue. 2nd half of 1st C. A.D.

Coarse-grained local marble. Like other sculpture excavated by Butler, weatherworn to black-gray with black blotches.
Preserved waist to knee on r. side and thigh to top of shoe on l.
H. 1.44; W. 0.80; D. 0.50. About one and a half times lifesize.
Found by Butler; brought to Sardis camp in 1971.

His weight was on the l. leg, the r. leg bent and drawn back slightly. The toga swings in a mighty fold to r. foot with a deeply drilled central hollow down the middle of the body. Cloth, drawn over r. leg, reveals its shape. L. leg has an independent curve system, a kind of parallel swing. At l. of figure are remains of a vertical fold of toga and below it, the upper part of a tied shoe, a *calceus*. Apparently part of l. leg was pieced on, for there are five vertical hollows at the break, and at back is a small circular hole, diam. 0.01, for pin to hold an additional piece of fold. The back is worked in larger, simpler folds. There are traces of a support (pillar) at back l. with rectangular dowel hole (0.03 by 0.04; D. 0.06) at l. buttock.

Workmanship is highly competent. Large and deep drill runs are carefully planned and drill traces are often obliterated. The piece originally had a good finish. Style suggests a date in the 1st C. A.D., perhaps Flavian.

Unpublished.

69 *Fig. 184.* B-4. Fragment of palliatus. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

White-gray local marble; reddish discoloration where unexposed, weathered gray-black.
L. upper thigh to below knees preserved; one fold broken off.
P.H. 0.22; W. 0.48; D. 0.34. About lifesize.
Found by Butler and brought to Sardis camp from AT in 1971.

The l. leg is brought forward and framed by vertical folds. Simple long curving diagonal folds cover r. leg and move around to back side, where they are shallower. At back, coming from under bent l. arm, is a triangular end piece of cloak with tassel. Part of l. side and adjacent cloak are point-trimmed; back is almost entirely flat chisel work. Entire front has been smoothed. Lower part of statue was pieced on, as can be seen by the carefully trimmed and deep cutting which goes across the fragment as preserved.

Large simple folds are plastically modelled, especially on r. side.

Unpublished. On the palliatus, see references under **67** (Fig. 182).

70 *Fig. 185.* S71.9:8168. Palliatus torso. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Coarse-grained white marble, probably local, with reddish discoloration.

Head, legs below thighs, and all fingers and r. hand are missing.
H. 0.70; diam. of neck 0.10.
Syn E117.63-117.94/N6.65-7.25 *96.45-96.20; built into late E-W partition wall on S side of central entrance to Syn.

The palliatus has his r. arm bent across his chest, veiled in the cloak, and holds a rectangular object (*volumen*). His l. arm is draped to the wrist, the l. hand grasping the vertical folds of his cloak. A large vertical fold, thrown over his l. shoulder, falls all the way down his back. Schematic curving folds radiate from the l. shoulder over the entire body. Treatment of the back is much simplified and finished only with a large claw chisel. The head was dowelled into the clean slanting plane of neck; the iron dowel is still in place, diam. 0.02.

This is a variation of the main type of palliatus with the weight on the l. leg and triangular folds across the stomach. Schematic drill runs are carefully finished. This is competent Antonine or early Severan work.

Unpublished. On the type, see Rosenbaum, 80-81; cf. her no. 128, p. 83, pl. 67:5. Cf. also Antonine examples, Harrison, *Agora* I nos. 57-62 and p. 76, no. 6.

Herms, Cuirassed Statues, Athletes

71 *Figs. 186-187.* S64.13:6018. MANISA 3789. Herm. Hellenistic?

Large-grained gray marble, possibly local.
Lower part of herm support broken. One side incrusted with reddish earth.
H. 0.65; W. 0.20; plinth: 0.23 by 0.125 by 0.08.
MTW W20/S172.3-172 *106.7.

Youthful head of herm looks slightly r., with slight smile. Hair is in tight curls all over head and straight across forehead. Incised eyes are slanting. Chin small but firm, neck very short. Cloak, drawn around shoulders in horizontal folds, completely covers l. arm and hand. R. hand, exposed, grasps vertical fold of cloak. Genitals are on pillar, which flares at bottom. The front surface of the statuette is very smooth, the back done with rough claw hammer. Not much drilling; the work is mostly superficial.

Probably a portrait of a Hellenistic ruler as a herm, or else an early Roman copy of one. Perhaps shown as Herakles.

Published: *ILN* (Mar. 27, 1965) 23, fig. 6. For similar portrait, of Hellenistic ruler (Ptolemy IV), see Bonacasa, 370, fig. 6; for Hellenistic Herakles herms on reliefs, Pfuhl, "Beiwerke," 78ff., esp. 83-84; for Herakles herms, see Wrede, 82, 138f., pls. 43, 69:4; see also Roux, 32.

72 *Fig. 188.* S61.24:3486. Colossal cuirassed torso. Hellenistic.

Marble, weathered gray.
Two fragments (A and B) of colossal torso; split apart after discovery by Butler. The front of the statue is broken away.
A: H. 0.66; W. 0.46; D. 0.27. B: H. 0.74; W. 0.33; D. 0.32. Th. of A and B at shoulder 0.67.
Found by Butler and transported to Sardis camp, 1961. Was lying in AT for many years, 3.85 m. W of and 2.00 m. S of pier no. 78, *101.55.

The cuirassed torso, about one and a half times lifesize, is in two pieces. Piece A has the r. side of the back and side of the cuirass, and extends from the neck to below the pteryges of the cuirass. Each flap has four simple engraved vertical lines. The upper part of a pointed fold may be part of a paludamentum. The upper part of the r. arm remains, and shows a cutting for piecing. There is a wide cingulum wrapped twice around his waist. Piece B, which joins A along a vertical break, has a heavy cloak slung over the l. shoulder and falling down the back. Seven folds are preserved, four folded flat on the back and three falling from behind the armpit. The cloth has a wide fringe (0.10 m.), indicated by curving chiselled lines and separated from the body of the cloak by an incised band. The stump of the l. arm and the l. side of the cuirass are preserved.

This is a Hellenistic type with a plain breastplate. Vermeule suggests that this might be Antiochus III or Eumenes II or one of their "captains."

Published: *BASOR* 166, 34; Vermeule, "Cuirass"[2], no. 1a, p. 97, pl. XVII:1; *Sardis* R1 (1976) 81.

73 *Fig. 189.* S58.7:604. Cuirass fragment with relief of Aeneas carrying Anchises. Roman Imperial.

White marble.
Battered r. shoulder of cuirassed statue preserved.

P.H. 0.35; W. 0.23; D. 0.28; larger than life.
Findspot unknown.

The shoulder strap of the cuirass is decorated in relief with the figure of Aeneas carrying Anchises on his shoulder. Their heads are missing, and the lower part of Aeneas' body, as well as his r. arm. His l. hand can be seen around the far side of Anchises, supporting him. Both men are wearing short tunics and are nude above the waist. There are incised folds in the tunic of Anchises. At the borders of the strap there are three vertical bands on each side.

A large clamp hole (H. 0.06; W. 0.094; D. 0.09) below the r. shoulder was cut for attaching the r. arm.

There is little modelling of the figures; drilling is used in a rather coarse manner to separate Anchises' legs. Although the subject points to a post-Augustan date, it is impossible to pinpoint the period due to the poor state of preservation.

Unpublished. For the same arrangement of figures, cf. arch of Beneventum, the congiarium relief: Pieranges, pls. XXIV and XXVII. Also a sarcophagus: Lawrence, 153, fig. 41. Also the altar of the Gens Augusta from Carthage: Raymond Lantier, "Les grandes champs de fouilles de l'Afrique du Nord (1915-1930)," *AA* (1931) III/IV, 491, fig. 12. Also Ryberg, pl. XXVII, fig. 41c. Galinsky, 4-10, 51-61, figs. 1-7, 27, 29, 39-41, 90-94.

74 *Fig. 190.* MANISA 326. Torso of athlete. Hadrianic.

Marble. Sugary surface.
Head, legs, arms below shoulders missing.
H. 0.49; W. 0.20.
Found at Sardis in 1951.

The nude male had r. arm raised, holding a wide ribbon, the tasselled end of which is preserved on l. shoulder; hence an anadoumenos. The position of the neck shows the head was turned slightly to proper r. and forward. A trace of a rectangular strut for attaching lowered l. arm is on the hip. R. arm was pieced; raised edge for attaching the seated piece is preserved.

The forms are very soft and the abdomen looks unusually feminine. Fine Hadrianic modelling and surface. The type dates to the 4th C. B.C.; the pose i related to the Hermes of Olympia.

Unpublished.

75 *Fig. 191.* S66.16:7158. Fragment of male athletic torso. Later Flavian or early 2nd C. A.D.

Large-grained marble. Whitmore: compares with Miletus marble.
Surface split off at crotch. Discolored from fire on r. side and a bit on l.
H. 0.28; W. 0.355; D. 0.15.
B E117/N78.8 *97.58.

Movement of figure was to proper l. Only abdomen, r. hip, and pubic hair are preserved. Seating for a short pinhole to attach penis is within pubic hair. Navel, which does not come on center axis, has a very naturalistic skinfold over it. The fat fold at pubic triangle and modelling of muscle at linea alba also show refined anatomical knowledge.

Whether athlete or emperor, this is outstanding workmanship of the later Flavian period or possibly early 2nd C.

Unpublished.

Portraits

76 *Fig. 192.* NOEX 60.12. Over-lifesize Imperial head. Julio-Claudian period.

Large-grained white marble.
Head broken off vertically at back. R. side broken away just beyond eye. L. side preserves cheek and hair to about beginning of ear. Most of chin, but only a trace of the neck (l. side) are preserved. Hair damaged on top. Nose largely missing, also center of mouth. Surface of eyes, cheeks, chin, and forehead damaged.
H. 0.34; W. 0.23; D. 0.15.
Said to be from near the Theater.

Despite the damaged surface, many details of the features can still be seen. The eyes are deeply inset, especially at the corners. The brows are heavy. Although the nose is missing, the base of the nostrils can still be seen and also the folds from the sides of the nose to the corners of the mouth. The strong character of the mouth is still to be seen in the nearly horizontal groove, turned slightly downwards at the corners. The chin is heavy, with a very fleshy area below it. The forehead has incised furroughs,

and a protruding bony upper region. The hair is brushed away from the high forehead, making a broad, shallow clump in the center. On his l. side it bulges out in the fashion typical for Julio-Claudians. The hair also lay low on the neck. A curl comes forward onto the l. cheek, and there seems to be a trace of one on the r. as well.

Although the identification of this head is uncertain, the bulging hair near the temples and the minimal use of the drill suggest a dating in the Julio-Claudian period. Augustus is ruled out because of the high forehead and the hair brushed away from it, and by the tight straight mouth which could not be his. However, the fact that the head is over-lifesize does suggest some Imperial personnage. There are a number of features which would link it to portraits of Tiberius, such as the wide jawbone, the heavy double chin, the straight thin mouth, slightly fleshy at the corners, the crease from outer nostrils toward the mouth, and the hairstyle emphasizing the bulbous shape. On the other hand, the hairline is too high, and the eyebrows not dominating enough, for this to be a portrait of Tiberius himself. One might compare a "Claudio-Neronian" portrait for general similarity of type. The Sardis head, then, may be a prince from the later Julio-Claudian period.

Unpublished. For these features in Tiberius, see Polacco, pls. XIIIff. The writer is grateful to U. Hiesinger for giving his opinion on this piece, which he feels is Julio-Claudian. For the "Claudio-Neronian" portrait, İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 261, p. 191, pl. 142:3-4.

77 *Fig. 193.* S65.7:6718. Lifesize head. Late 1st C. A.D.

White marble, small crystals.
Forehead to beginning of neck preserved. Lower r. ear preserved, most of l. eye, corners of r. eye and mouth. Thin lime incrustation covers much of surface.
H. 0.22; W. 0.145; D. 0.11.
Syn N colonnade, next to N-S wall E114.9/N26.6 *97.36.

The l. eye has a smooth surface, with no pupil or iris marked, and a carefully worked lid. The inner corner, with tear duct, is especially fine. The eyebrow is gently angled. Outer corners of the mouth were made with a small drill; a narrow groove separated the lips. The cheeks are flat and lack modelling except immediately below the eyes. Heavy rounded chin. The whole is nicely smoothed. Fragment of hair at l. in very low relief; trace at r. is incised. The sex is uncertain.

Comparison with certain heads of late 1st C. A.D., which show a revival of some aspects of late Republican portraiture, shows similarities to ours.

Published: *BASOR* 182, 39, fig. 31. From late 1st C. A.D., cf. Giuliano, nos. 40-41, pls. 26-27; García y Bellido, 56-57, no. 44, pl. 39. Cf. also a Trajanic portrait with same heaviness under chin and heavy upper lid, Felletti-Maj, *Ritratti,* 95-96, no. 178.

78 *Figs. 194-195.* MANISA 3. Portrait of Sabina(?). Hadrianic (ca. A.D. 120?).

Yellowish white marble.
Head split into five adjoining parts. A diagonal break runs from the diadem to the back of the head. Neck also broken on a diagonal. Poorly mended at her l. temple, where veil meets diadem along a piece of iron, apparently ancient. The tip of the nose is missing.
H. 0.31; W. ca. 0.2; D. 0.235.
Findspot unknown.

The portrait shows a lady wearing a diadem and a veil which hangs down on both sides of the head in several folds. The back of the veil is only very roughly worked, suggesting that the piece was intended for display against a wall.

The piece is mounted incorrectly, tilting the head too far backwards. The face is rounded, especially at the cheeks and chin. The mouth is small but full. The nose was straight and sharp. The eyes have small, sharply delineated lids and a slightly incised large arc for the iris. The brow is soft. The forehead is made triangular by the hair, which is parted in the middle and flows to both sides in soft waves which are tucked in beneath the veil. The ear lobes are just visible under the hairline. The neck has distinct bulges of flesh, one small, one broad, below the chin.

A striking similarity between the Sardis head and a portrait of Sabina from Perge (dated by İnan and Rosenbaum A.D. 120-121) indicates that this too must be Sabina. The shape of the face is the same, the features similar: the small, full mouth, the shape

of the eyes. The Perge eyes do not have the incised iris, but there is an example in the Terme Museum in Rome where a Sabina portrait has the same kind of incisions, and she is very similar in the other features as well. The Perge Sabina and the Sardis head both have a drilled gully to separate the hairdo from the diadem, and the veil is also handled similarly. Even the double folds on the neck are the same. The date, on analogy with the Perge head, would be early in the reign of Hadrian.

Unpublished. For Perge piece, İnan-Rosenbaum, 72-73, no. 36, pls. 19:3, 22; İnan, 18ff., 65ff., pls. 7:2, 9:1, 9:2. For the Terme piece, cf. Wegner, *Hadrian,* pls. 45b, 47b, 48b. Hanfmann thinks the head Claudian.

79 *Figs. 196-197.* S61.27.15:3489.15. Lower face and neck of Antoninus Pius. Ca. A.D. 140.

Large-crystalled marble, weathering gray below eye, mouth, chin and neck. Probably local, according to D. Monna. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Preserved is r. cheek to below neck in front, split vertically at half neck in back. Most of the upper lip is missing.
H. 1.05, chin to neck 0.53, point of chin to lower edge of lip 0.20; neck, Adam's apple to below ear lobe ca. 0.55; W. top 0.66, cheek to beard 0.48, bottom of neck 0.51, of mouth 0.20.
Found in concrete bottom of Byzantine cistern in AT in 1911. Lay for many years in E cella, near cross wall; brought to Sardis camp July, 1961.

In the top of the head is a lozenge-shaped cutting ca. 0.20 by 0.12, ca. 0.04 deep, done with oblique strokes of large point. The "dowel" hole may be for insertion of rough stone peg, irregularly tapering downward from 0.065 at top to 0.025 at bottom, D. 0.06. Hollowing in the back and lower worked edge shows the head was inserted into a statue. Ca. 0.23 below dowel hole the head is hollowed out for a H. of 0.66 and W. of 0.08 at top, 0.25 at bottom. The support of the back of the head went in here spreading toward base and leaving neck "walls" of l. 0.25 - r. 0.20.

The l. side of his neck was trimmed high so that the supporting piece would have come up much higher on l. than r. The muscles of the tall neck are strained and the neck and head turned to his r. The treatment of nude parts is simple in large plastic forms, carefully polished, but not to the "velvet" surface of Zeus (**102** Figs. 223-225). No wrinkles, no characterization of skin are delineated. The beard covered both sides of the jaw and chin; only a small triangle of thin locks appears below the full, beautiful lower lip. The beard locks tend to be long and thin except for the curls below the chin. The beard reaches high up across the cheek. The moustache was long and drooping, covering the corners of the full mouth. The mouth was slightly opened (W. 0.03; D. 0.015) but no teeth were shown. From above the r. corner of his mouth ran a large fold worked as a large smooth hollow.

Despite repeated experiments, no other pieces fitted; **80** (Fig. 198) came closest; **82-85** (Fig. 200, others not ill.) and **87** (not ill.) may belong. However, the large nose and eye fragment **88** (Fig. 201) seems to come from another colossal female statue. The marble of the head fragment **81** (Fig. 199) is thought by Whitmore to relate to a marble sample (Sardis MD group B) different from that of Antoninus (**79**). This is a fine, restrained portrayal of the emperor. The erection of images of Antoninus and Faustina (**251** Fig. 434) must be connected with the second neocorate bestowed upon Sardis. If Faustina was still alive, the images would date before A.D. 141.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 63f., ill. 57; *Sardis* II (1925) 29, 108f., pl. A and Atlas, pl. I; *TürkArkDerg* 11 (1961) 44, fig. 18; *BASOR* 166, 34; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 80, 81, figs. 146, 147. İnan-Rosenbaum, 74f., no. 40, pl. 26:1, with bibliography. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 73, fig. 157. Cf. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 275, and for inscriptions of Antoninus, 293-294. İnan-Rosenbaum, 24, 142, rightly compare for beard and moustache a somewhat older Antoninus in Museo delle Terme (from Villa Hadriana, Tivoli). See Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse,* pl. 6; for Zeus-like turn of head, ibid., 92, 125, from the Agora, pl. 9, National Museum, Athens 3563. For a discussion and literature on Hellenistic and Roman colossi, see Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 72-74, esp. n.54. A special study of all colossal fragments from Sardis will be published by G. M. A. Hanfmann.

GMAH

Fragments **80** through **87** (Figs. 198-200) may belong to the colossal statue of Antoninus Pius (**79** Figs. 196-197) and date to ca. A.D. 140.

80 *Fig. 198.* NOEX 59.52. Locks, possibly from right side of head of Antoninus Pius.

Slightly yellowish marble.
Broken at the back of fragment; freshly broken at top.
P.H. 0.46; W. 0.25; D. 0.22.
Findspot unknown, brought by farmer in 1959.

Inside chiselled in curve and rough-pointed to fit a core or another piece. The plastic mass of locks rises ca. 0.12-0.15 above original skin line. Abundant use of whirling drill pattern, deeply drilled and gouged holes, circular and triangular.

F. Prascsaits of the Ephesus Expedition, a sculptor, agrees that these are locks from the r. side of the head of Antoninus Pius, somewhat higher up than the part preserved.

Unpublished.

GMAH

81 *Fig. 199.* S61.27.1:3489.1. Crown of head with part of diadem and locks.

Marble with large white crystals; originally reddish surface but weathered gray between 1961 and 1971. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group B.
Broken around edges. Traces of cement from reuse on top.
Max. P.H. 0.33; P.W. 0.46; D. 0.26; W. of diadem 0.035.
Built into NW corner of outer apse of Church M, ca. 0.60 E of inner apse, *101.55.

As E. Gombosi pointed out, this is the l. back part of the head, as indicated by the direction of the locks. Zone of locks above diadem is worked only with chisel; diadem shows claw chisel in some places. Below diadem strongly raised locks with much stop-and-go drill work. The drill patterns resemble those in the head of Antoninus (**79** Figs. 196-197). The head is hollowed inside to reduce weight, and traces of edges indicate possible join.

Unpublished.

GMAH

82 *Fig. 200.* S61.27.3:3489.3. Part of left hand.

White polished marble.
Surface damage on one side. Back roughly chiselled, perhaps from reuse. Splendid polish on preserved surfaces.
P.H. 0.335; Th. entire fragment 0.16, of little finger 0.095, of fourth finger 0.10.
Original findspot unknown; perhaps near Zeus head (**102** Figs. 223-225). Found in ruins of first Sardis expedition house, July 1961.

Part of l. hand with stumps of the little, the fourth, and the third fingers, bent as if grasping an attribute. Fine veins are indicated by angular rises under the skin. Position of the hand will fit a scepter or lance; cf. the hand of the colossus of Titus (previously considered Domitian, Keil, 125, fig. 68). We cannot, however, rule out the colossal statue of Faustina (**251** Fig. 434).

Possibly mentioned in *Sardis* I (1922) 67, but the reference may equally well refer to the Hellenistic hand (**104** Fig. 227).

GMAH

83 *not ill.* S61.27.4:3489.4. Fragment of colossal leg.

White marble.
Broken and battered at sides and back; also surface break on lower part. Preserved parts are finely polished.
P.H. 0.77; max. W. 0.32; W. at knee 0.25; L. of leg part 0.37, of knee part 0.26.
Original findspot unknown; found in ruins of first Sardis expedition house, July 1961.

According to E. H. Kohler, anthropologist for the expedition in 1961, the piece comprises the lower portion of the knee to part way down the calf.

Unpublished.

GMAH

84 *not ill.* S61.27.5:3489.5. Fragment of leg(?).

White marble.
Only one rounded polished surface perserved.
P.H. 0.15; W. 0.30.
Original findspot unknown; found in ruined house of first Sardis expedition.

The piece is possibly part of an arm or thigh.

Unpublished.

GMAH

85 *not ill.* S61.27.6:3489.6. Part of leg(?).

White, gray-weathered marble.
Broken on top and bottom, preserved to uneven H.
P.H. 0.16; W. 0.042; H. at back 0.06.
Original findspot unknown; found in ruins of first Sardis expedition house, July 1961.

The preserved surfaces of the rounded segment are highly polished. The finish resembles that of Antoninus Pius.

Unpublished.

GMAH

86 *not ill.* S61.27.7:3489.7. Part of chest or shoulder(?).

White, gray-weathered marble.
Only small part of original surface preserved in front.
P.H. 0.31; P.W. 0.38. P. surface: H. 0.34; W. 0.30.
Original findspot unknown; found in ruined house of the first Sardis expedition, July 1961.

The preserved surface shows a hollow between two parts of the chest or shoulder blades or spine. The finish resembles that of the Antoninus Pius statue.

Unpublished.

GMAH

87 *not ill.* S61.27.10:3489.10. Fragment of abdomen and upper left thigh(?).

White, gray-weathered marble. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Round part broken across horizontally joining another curved vertical part, which is broken vertically.
P.H. 0.485; W. 0.57; D. 0.33.
Original findspot unknown; found in ruins of first Sardis expedition house, July 1961.

The fragment shows the join at a right angle of two nude rounded large parts. According to F. Prascsaits of the Ephesus Expedition, this is part of abdomen and part of upper l. thigh which is at right angle to body. This would be conclusive proof that the statue was seated. The finish resembles that of the statue of Antoninus.

Two additional fragments, one with a small band of preserved surface (S61.27.8:3489.8: P.H. 0.22; P.W. 0.38), the other with a small strip of surface (S61.27.16:3489.16: P.H. 0.48; P.W. 0.41), show too little to be described or reproduced.

Unpublished.

GMAH

88 *Fig. 201.* S61.27.2:3489.2. Part of face of a colossal female(?) statue. 2nd C. A.D.

Marble; Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group B.
Part of l. eye, nose, and cheek preserved. Broken on all sides. Due to surface break only inner part of l. nostril is preserved.
P.H. 0.51; P.W. 0.45; D. 0.20; P.L. of nose 0.20, est. total L. 0.24-0.25; W. of nostril 0.07; H. of eye, without lids 0.075, L. one-half eye 0.08.
Original findspot unknown; found in the ruins of first Sardis expedition house, July 1961.

The slightly aquiline, wide nose has a deeply cut nostril. The eye corner is separated from eyeball by drill run. The eye slants in an arc from upper to lower lid and is separated from lower lid by chiselled ledge. Lower lid goes without interruption into the cheek.

If the fragment belonged to the head of Antoninus, the wrinkle leading down from the nostril and some of the moustache might be expected to show, hence this fragment is probably from a female face. If the identification of Artemis with the head in Istanbul is correct (252 Fig. 435), then the present piece comes from a third female colossus, in addition to Artemis and Faustina. Otherwise, it might be Artemis. The style seems of the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

GMAH

89 *Fig. 202.* S65.8:6719 Upper portion of a female head. Antonine.

Fine white marble, small crystals.
Preserved are most of both eyes, forehead, and fragments of hair.
H. 0.13; W. 0.14; D. 0.09.
Syn N colonnade E106/N29.30 *97-96.75.

This fragmentary head was a portrait of a young woman. The brow is made by a sharp angle, yet

implies the bone structure beneath, particularly near the temples. The eyes are well modelled, with a flesh-like upper lid and a fold between lid and brow. The pupils are drilled into a bean shape, and the drill was used also at the inner corner. The forehead is extremely smooth. The hair flows from the center part (now missing) in small waves which were deeply drilled.

The use of a bean-shaped pupil, but with no indication of the iris, is found on numerous heads of the Antonine period (e.g. Crispina, İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 57, pl. 36:1) and the heavy fleshy fold between lid and brow also dates to this period (ibid., no. 309, pl. 174:2). The hairdo seems to be the type found on Faustina the Younger and other Antonine ladies (ibid., no. 287, pl. 163), so that the dating of the Sardis piece should fall within this period.

Published: *BASOR* 182, 39, fig. 32. For other Antonine ladies with similar eyes, İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 265, pl. 144:3; and no. 287, pl. 163:1.

90 *Fig. 203.* NOEX 62.22. Lower portion of a male head. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Fine white marble (Greek Island?).
Broken across eyes, upper ears, and neck. Nose missing, also most of lips and eyes. Heavy surface damage to moustache, beard, l. cheek.
H. 0.175; W. 0.16; D. 0.15.
Found in village of Sart Mahmut.

The portrait shows an elderly man. Although the head is severely damaged, fine workmanship can still be observed: e.g. the inner corner of the r. eye, with carefully chiselled tear duct and lower lid; smooth surface of the r. cheek and modelling to show sagging flesh beneath the eye; careful treatment of sideburns, beard, moustache, and hair. The beard has plastically chiselled tufts near the cheek and then swells into bold curls made by short drill runs and the chisel. The hair behind the area on the r. side remains rough and uncarved. Beneath the full moustache, the corners of the mouth were deeply drilled. The lower halves of both ears are carefully carved.

A similar handling of the beard, both in the thick clumps emphasized by drill runs, and the more delicately carved hairs nearer the cheek, can be seen in an Antonine head from Side (İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 264, pl. 143:3-4). A similar, though not identical, use of the drill can also be found in heads of Commodus (esp. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse,* pl. 55). A date in the 2nd half of the 2nd C. is proposed for the Sardis head.

Unpublished.

91 *Figs. 204-205.* S71.6:8159. Face and neck fragments of female head. 3rd C. A.D.

Fine marble, medium-grained, slightly yellowish. Decomposition has set in near surface. Cement and brick adhere to breaks. Two fragments preserved. A: hair to cheek, l. side of head; B: fragment of l. side of neck, lock of hair. Broken in two in front of lock. Underside of neck and back are burned. Marble of B more decomposed than A.
A: H.0.198; L. of eye 0.052. Hair: D. of drill runs 0.005-0.007; distance between "bridges" 0.025. B: H.0.16; W. 0.22. Slightly over lifesize.
A: Syn bay 6, E82/N3.30 *96.24 (near floor?); B: Syn bay 7, E90.56-91.52/N16.59-17.21 *96.16. Found near a limekiln (*BASOR* 211, 27-28, fig. 9).

A. The hair lies in three wavy rows separated by deep drill runs, crossed by little bridges in regular intervals, thus making an independent pattern. The locks are done with a chisel and then incised with a very fine point to make parallel wavy strands following the general curve of the lock. The eyebrow is cleanly cut in a shallow arc. The eye is most carefully executed: the tear duct is a small rectangle made with small drill and then chiselled out. The upper lid bends over it, then makes a beautiful arc over the eye, projecting 0.004 beyond the eye surface. The lower edge of the lid is sharply set off from the eye, the surface of which is skillfully carved. The inner edge of the cornea is outlined with slight incision, the pupil incised as a circle, partly hidden by the upper lid. Iris is hollowed crescent. Forehead and cheek have been brought to a brilliant high polish.

B. A tall cylindrical neck marked with two creases which stop short of the center of the neck, as is typical of portraits of Julia Domna. A lock at l. of the neck is done in the same way as hair on fragment A. The nape is treated with fine claw chisel, but is not polished. Rounded bottom of neck, rough

trimmed, shows typical curvature and treatment for insertion into body. In top break of neck, a triangular cutting or dowel hole near back must have held insert of stone from head.

Style and technique of hair have parallels from early 3rd to early 4th C. A.D. Classicizing type and smooth polish suggest a Gallienic date. An unusually fine and original piece among the Sardis finds, if lamentably fragmentary.

Published: *BASOR* 206, 23, fig. 11. 3rd C. A.D. comparisons: Severan hair and beards: İnan-Rosenbaum, nos. 150, 151, pl. 87; no. 58, pl. 37; cf. no. 159, pl. 92, dated 235-240; cf. also a Constantinian head, no. 187, pl. 176. The pupils and irises of this latter piece are also similar, although not the lids or inner corners. Cf. also a Severan or Gallienic nymph from Antioch, Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* 39-40, fig. 59. Our own bearded sage (92 Figs. 206-207), dated late 3rd C., also has distinct similarities.

92 *Figs. 206-207.* S61.18:3398. MANISA 1674. Head of a bearded man. Late 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Broken at lower neck. End of nose missing, also a few fragments of hair and small piece of l. ear. A few minor nicks elsewhere on surface.
H. 0.30; D. (nose to hair on nape) 0.205; W. of eye 0.035. Slightly over lifesize.
RT E11/S17.3, 5.6 S of stylobate of colonnade, face down in rubble fall of colonnade, *96.46 (0.10 above "Late Roman Road").

The face is framed by the beard and the hair, which falls in short curls high on the man's forehead. There are three separate masses of hair here, one in the center made up of two separate tiers, and two at the sides. All are articulated with running drill grooves and the chisel. The forehead is plastically modelled with two horizontal bony masses, as can be seen in profile view. Upon the surface are incised horizontal furrows, both in the center of the forehead, and just over the eyebrows. Two short diagonal cuts at the inner ends of the brows add to the thoughtful and intense expression. The bushy hair of the eyebrows, cut in short curves, actually overhangs the eye in the center, where it is undercut. At the outer ends the fleshy folds beneath seem to hang over the edge of the eye. The pupil is a drilled pendent arc, the iris incised. Upper lid and tear ducts are clearly defined, as are the bags under the eyes. A chiselled channel cut above the upper lid creates an emphatic shadow. Two crow's-feet are incised at each corner. The nose, although heavily damaged, was clearly aquiline. The nostrils were large and deeply drilled. The mouth is all but engulfed by the heavy, curved moustache, neatly trimmed to follow the edge of the overhanging upper lip. Above the center of the lip the moustache is parted, leaving a small triangular bare spot. The mouth is small and seems tight. There is a short growth of beard under the lower lip, and then a bare area, before the voluminous thick curls of the chin. Here the beard falls in two tiers, one on the forward chin and one from underneath the jaw. Most of the curls are short. Deep drill runs make curving waves, but very sensitive chiselling is also used, especially to indicate the hair growing out from the cheeks. The ears have a large opening and are deeply drilled.

The back of the head is only roughly finished with a flat chisel to give the shape of the skull, and the two rows of curls on the nape. Below is a short stretch of neck before the diagonal break, which suggests that the head was part of a full statue rather than just a bust.

This magnificent head has been variously dated in the late 3rd and the late 4th to 5th C. A.D. It is here reaffirmed that the author and Hanfmann believe this to be a late 3rd C. head, perhaps 270-300.

Published: G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Son Çağ* 5 (July 1961) 7; *ILN* (Apr. 7, 1962) 544, fig. 18; *BASOR* 166, 45, fig. 37; *TürkArkDerg* 11 (1961) 41, fig. 10; İnan-Rosenbaum, 166, no. 220, pl. 180; Hanfmann, "Late Portraits," 288-290, pl. 113:1-2; idem, *Roman Art*[1], 100, no. 90, 183, fig. 90; idem, *Letters,* 88f., fig. 65; *Art Treasures of Turkey,* Smithsonian Publication 4663 (Washington, D.C. 1966) no. 149, p. 94, fig. 149; Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 71, fig. 151.

For additional comparisons: L'Orange, *Studien,* 40-42, no. 58, figs. 108-109. Dated 270-300, this head has the same combed moustache, deep-set eyes with heavy, curving eyebrows which seem to overhang the eyes in the center, and lines in forehead. The head is also framed by a hair role, as ours. Again the moustache has a triangular separation, leaving bare skin, above the center of the upper lip. Cf. also ibid., no. 11, figs. 26-27.

93 *Figs. 208-211.* S59.71:1892. MANISA 2238. Head of a priest. Tetrarchic.

Marble.
Entire head preserved. Some surface damage.
H. 0.17; W. 0.14.
PC, Roman mausoleum (pit 1, LVC).

A man with beard and moustache, and a heavy crown of hair, wears a diadem with twelve heads on it, indicating that he is a priest. The heads are attached to a fillet bound around the man's head. The hair is brushed forward onto the forehead. On his l. side and on the top these bangs are clearly carved in two layers. On the r. side they are more crudely indicated in one layer. In fact the entire r. side is less carefully sculpted, as can be seen for instance in the ear, which is in the wrong position and only roughly indicated. The back of the head is shaped, but no details have been carved. The forehead is lined by furrows. The brows are high, the lids heavy. The nose is largely missing. Moustache and beard have been made with short chiselled lines. The cheeks have been well modelled, with a strong cheekbone and a heavy fold above the nostrils.

The carving of the beard and hair indicates that the piece belongs in the Tetrarchic period. Similarities to the head of Diocletian, particularly in the hair, beard, and overall shape of the head, point to a Diocletianic priest, or possibly even the Emperor himself.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 16, fig. 4; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 9; Hanfmann, "Late Portraits," 290; idem, *Letters,* 65, fig. 43. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 54 (1930) 262ff. and 351 for crowns of priests and priestesses. Some of these crowns are decorated with heads of the divinities being worshipped. On crowned priests of the Imperial cults, cf. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien* (1904) 111; also Mendel II no. 582. I am grateful to H. Jucker for these references. He wonders if there was a cult of the 12 gods at Sardis (letter to Hanfmann, Oct. 24, 1959). Cf. also an early 4th C. A.D. head of a priest with heads on the crown, Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* pl. 31. For an earlier head of a priestess, a fragment with tiny heads on the crown, see İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 169, pl. 98:4. Also G. F. Hill, *JOAI* 2 (1891) 245ff. He suggests the crowns were of gold.

For a wreathed head of Diocletian from Nicomedia, similar to our head, see Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* pl. 33 and also İnan-Rosenbaum, pl. 39:3-4. Two further parallels: Berkeley, Museum of Anthropology, inv. no. 8/4266, a priest with 6(?) ornaments on his crown which could have been human protomes (thanks to C. C. Vermeule for this information); and The University Museum, Philadelphia, inv. no. MS/215, a 4th C. A.D. head from Kayseri. head of a priest with 11 little heads on his crown.

94 *Fig. 212.* S64.21:6061. Fragmentary male head. Early 6th C.

Fine-grained yellow marble (Pentelic?).
Missing are the l. side of head, all of the face except r. eye, cheek, and upper part of beard. Back of head is cut off straight; the surface is pick-marked and worn. Hair preserved on front r. of head. Drill holes for reuse, perhaps as a fountain piece, are in top and back of head and on r. side at ear level.
H. 0.23; W. 0.175; Th. 0.135; W. of eye 0.04.
BE-E E11-14/N32-36 *97.00-96.50. G. M. A. Hanfmann notes (letter Nov. 15, 1976) that the fragment was found in fill over the marble floor of the BE-E, a room which remained in use for some time after the destruction of 616. The room did have a furnace and various water conduits but he doubts that one can argue anything convincing about the function of the piece from the findspot.

The head shows a man with long, wavy locks which end in spiral curls; individual strands are indicated by incisions. The hair is badly weathered, but near the top of the beard two rows of these curls can be discerned. The cheeks are extremely smooth, except where small triangular strokes indicate the beard. The eye is portrayed by two pendent arcs, a heavy one for the pupil, a thinner one for the iris. The upper lid is heavy. The preserved end of the outer r. eyebrow is decorated with light incisions.

Hanfmann believes that there is evidence of two stages of reuse for the piece, a recutting in the 5th or 6th C. of an early Imperial original, and a reuse in waterworks any time between the destruction of 616 and the 13th C. He bases his argument for the former on the locks and on the stippling of the beard, which looks as if it does not belong to the face. I would add that the modelling around the eyes is remarkably soft for a late antique portrait. He also notes that the latest coin in the immediate vicinity was of Constans II (*Sardis* M1 [1971] no. 1050, struck 647-648), a possible indication that the head was being used or moved during the road-building and installation of waterworks which took place at that time nearby.

S. Sande has argued, however, that this is an original head of the early 6th C., later reworked into a waterspout.

Published: *BASOR* 177, 25, fig. 24; Hanfmann, "Late Portraits," 290-291; S. Sande, "Zur Porträtplastik des sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts, *Acta* Institutum Romanum Norvegiae 6 (1975) 92-93, figs. 43-45.

95 *Figs. 213-214.* S66.24:7426. Over-lifesize portrait of a man. Early 6th C.

Half-marble.
Back portion of crown and hair wreath are broken away. Back r. part of neck missing. Chin and nose battered. Some other surface damage, including l. eyeball, and recent chipping of r. lip and one lock. Cleaned since 1966, but large discolored area still remains all over face. Salt appears on surface. Upper surface partly cleaved, as if from fire.
Total H. 0.39, of head 0.28, of face 0.175; W. of hair wreath 0.28, of cheeks 0.165.
BE-C E22.25/N12.4 *97.49, just inside and W of door in Gymnasium.

The head is worked in one piece with the neck for insertion into the statue. The underside of the neck and collar is carved on a curving slant, and with very rough chiselling. The back of the head and neck have been summarily cut with a flat chisel, suggesting that the piece was trimmed down for insertion into a preexisting statue. A dowel hole (diam. 0.025; D. 0.062) is cut in the underside of the neck.

This portrait of a man is wreathed by hair which radiates from the crown in long locks. These locks end in two rows of spiraling curls which frame the face. The forehead is low, the chin large. Ear lobes are barely indicated. The rather flat, elongated eyes, cut with a chisel but not drilled, are asymmetrical. The r. eye curves more and has a very steep, flat lower lid, but no real upper lid. The inner corner is more deeply sunk than the outer corner. The l. eye (damaged) is much fatter, as seen by the incised top line of the lower lid. The eyes are outlined, and the lips divided by a thin chisel line. The mouth is arched, with corners pulled down. The upper lip projects over the lower. There is a wrinkle on each side from the nostrils to the mouth; these wrinkles are not straight, but have a slight inward curve. Only the r. wrinkle is well preserved. From both ears to the center of the chin is a series of light strokes which indicate a linear beard. The median line parting the beard is visible on the underside of the chin, where the direction of strokes reverses itself.

A full discussion of this head has already appeared in an article by Hanfmann ("Late Portraits," 291-295) in which he compares it to early Byzantine heads from Ephesus and Aphrodisias. The portrait stands as testimony to the outstanding individuality and character of a still-thriving school of Sardian sculptors in the early 6th C.

Published: *BASOR* 187, 20, fig. 44; Hanfmann, "Late Portraits," 291-295; idem, *Letters,* 195, fig. 143; *Sardis* M4 (1976) fig. 3; S. Sande, "Zur Porträtplastik des sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts," *Acta* Institutum Romanum Norvegiae 6 (1975) 81ff., figs. 19-21 (cites a number of good parallels).

Mythological Figures

96 *Fig. 215.* S58.68:1867. Head of Persian or Amazon. Hellenistic.

White marble.
Broken off at neck. R. side of head and chin missing. Broken off flat at bottom as if intentionally.
H. 0.10; W. 0.06; D. 0.08.
BS W47.5/N1.0 *97.50-97.25.

The head is turned and tilted slightly upwards and to its r. It is unclear whether this was originally part of a relief; the r. side is in part broken away and in part left unfinished, suggesting that it was. The cap is shown as soft material with crested flap down the center of the back, a type worn by both Persians and Amazons. Waves and curls of hair project from under the cap. The elongated eyes have no internal detail but smooth prominent rims and heavy upper lids. The nose is broad, the mouth small and full.

Worked with chisel only, especially well cut around the eyes. Hellenistic work of 3rd or 2nd C. B.C. which shows Pergamene inspiration in the tilt of head and heavy eye lids.

Unpublished. Cf. Bieber, figs. 250-252 for this kind of cap.

97 *Fig. 216.* S64.20:6048. Wreathed female head. Hellenistic.

Fine white marble, almost translucent.
Broken off at lower neck. Tip of nose missing. Heavily incrusted with lime at upper r. and back.
H. 0.087: W. 0.06; D. 0.07.
MTW lower trench, W10-15/S170-175 *107-106.

The head, tilted slightly upward and to her l., is crowned by a wreath of leaves tied at the back with a bow. The hair has a central part which continues all

the way to the back. Waves at both sides reveal ear lobes. Pupils and irises are not indicated but ridges for lids surround the eyes. The upper lids are heavier than the lower, thus the eyes appear to be looking upwards. Well-defined mouth turns down at corners. Cheeks and forehead are highly smoothed. The neck has a horizontal wrinkle.

In the classical tradition are the small chin, aquiline nose, and rounded cheeks. Lack of drill work and careful use of chisel indicate a Hellenistic date, while upward-tilted head and eyes suggest Pergamene influence.

Unpublished.

98 *Fig. 217.* S62.17:4368. Head of a woman. Hellenistic?

Fine white marble (island?).
Lower l. side of face sliced away. Back flat (perhaps original). Nose partly chipped away, other surface damage.
H. 0.095; W. 0.10; D. 0.057.
RT E84.50/S14.25 *95.40.

The small head is framed by heavy hair, parted in the middle and pulled in gentle waves to back of head. Two round flowers at top (r. one is missing) were bound together, perhaps by a braid of hair. Two leaves also are carved with each flower. Rims around eyes are raised; no internal details are shown in eyes.

Small, full mouth and other features have a classical look. Incised hair and flowers are somewhat crude but the technique suggests a Hellenistic date.

Unpublished.

99 *Figs. 218-219.* NOEX 63.11. Head of a woman. Hellenistic?

Crumbly gray marble.
Broken at chin and neck. Heavily worn and pitted, especially on r. side of face.
H. 0.48.
Allegedly found NE of city, near old Izmir road at crossing of mill road.

A miniature female head with diadem worn in hair, which has a central part continuing to back of head. Waves are chiselled in rather linear fashion. The l. ear projects from under hair. Face is classical with long narrow eyes, soft and Praxitelean, which however may be due to worn surface. The cheeks are flat yet modelled.

Perhaps an Aphrodite, classically inspired but Hellenistic or possibly Roman in date.

Unpublished.

100 *Figs. 220-221.* S63.9:5081. Female head with crown. Late Hellenistic.

White marble.
Most of r. side of face missing, also entire lower portion of head. Top of diadem broken away. Cement traces from reuse.
H. 0.19; W. 0.20; Th. 0.22; L. of eye 0.033.
Syn E42.5/N9.5 *97.25-97 (apse, among fallen marble blocks).

Thick heavy hair, parted in middle, flows out to the sides in waves which push r. ear forward and partly cover l. ear. Of the loose tresses only a small portion of one is preserved behind r. ear. Waves at back of head, incised with less care, were wound into a bun, now missing. From this bun rose a diadem, plain and rounded, with a narrow differentiated band at lower front section. The hair is skillfully shown to bunch out around it. Preserved l. eye, carved with raised rims, is long and narrow; inner corner, with tear duct, is deeper. Iris shown as shallow half-moon above the center. L. cheek smooth, ears well formed.

Chisel work is excellent with no trace of drill. The type shows an Argive goddess, perhaps Hera, from the early classical period. Our head is a good copy of the late Hellenistic period.

Unpublished.

101 *Fig. 222.* S72.9:8191. Female head fragment. 2nd half of 3rd C. A.D.

Large-grained marble with large, shiny crystals.
Slightly discolored. Broken on all sides.
H. 0.13; W. 0.13; Th. 0.075.
BE-C E20.92/N15.92 *97.66, near limekiln.

The oblique position of the face suggests a relief. Possibly she is a personification or goddess looking

toward a central scene. The eyes are asymmetrical, the pupils circumscribed by incision, irises drilled as near-lozenges. In the corners of the eye are round drill holes. Short but frequent drill runs are in the hair, which rises in back into a superposed double top knot and falls elsewhere in short wavy curls. L. ear entirely visible and sharply described by drill. Well-smoothed nape. Horizontal incisions in forehead.

Profile with strong projection above the eyebrows is very much in Hellenistic tradition. Details, such as eyelids, are delicately captured, and much plastic sense is felt in the face. Excellent late Roman work, perhaps A.D. 250-300.

Published: *BASOR* 211, 28, fig. 10.

102 *Figs. 223-225.* S61.27.14:3489.14. Part of head and neck of colossal statue of Zeus.

Large-grained white marble, originally golden yellow on buried side but subsequently weathered gray. Possibly local, according to D. Monna, and similar to that of the head of Antoninus Pius (79 Figs. 196-197). Whitmore: compares to Sardis MD quarry group A.
Preserved from mid-nose to base of neck. Hollowed on the back for attachment. In front, the original surface survives only in two areas of cheeks near the nose, curls between mouth and beard on chin, and on both sides of neck.
At back of head (Fig. 225) the foot-shaped depression, D (L. 0.21; W. 0.10), has a central cutting (W. 0.5; H. 0.02; D. 0.04) for clamp. The clamp hole is cut on a slant. On his l. are two dowel holes, A and B (A: W. 0.035; L. 0.03 top, 0.04 bottom; D. 0.04. B: W. 0.035; L. 0.03-0.04; D. 0.04). A hole, C, for a circular pin from above is ca. 0.035 by 0.02; D. 0.03. At the bottom of back, part of a rough-chiselled (picked) back pillar, roughened for cohesion by large point strokes, is for attachment of another vertical piece: W. 0.36-0.40; H. 0.45.
P.H. 1.05-1.10; P.W. 0.85. Mouth, inner corners, W. 0.105. H. chin beard to nostril 0.20, tip of beard to mouth 0.43. Max. W. of moustache 0.385, of neck 0.67, of beard 0.70 plus. These dimensions are very close to those of colossal head of Antoninus Pius (79), about four times lifesize.
Originally found "on a much higher level [than the Lydian stelai] and a little to the south of the flank of the temple . . . Near by was discovered part of a hand on the same giant scale . . . and the upper joint of a huge thumb . . ." (*Sardis* I [1922] 66f.). Rediscovered in August 1961 lying 3.5 S of AT S colonnade and taken to Sardis camp.

It is possible to reconstruct the Zeus-like appearance. Position of nostrils, nose, and inner corners of the mouth suggests that the mouth was open, breathing. A wide moustache descended toward the sides to join the wide, fluffy beard. Three locks come down in a triangle from lower lip. Below it, the beard is largely battered away, the tip broken. Nostrils (inner) and part of outline of nose are visible. L. ear partly chiselled off. Moustache was parted in the middle of lower lip, not quite symmetrically. The mouth was a thin straight line, inner corners preserved. A plain mass of hair swells toward the back behind the ear on l. side. The head was turned to l., the neck muscle being tensed, well-rounded for the entire preserved height.

The technique is in classical Greek tradition. Raised, sculpted locks of hair and beard are subdivided by shallow chisel strokes. The moustache is outlined by deep chisel work, not drill. The beautiful, opaque effect of skin (due to smashed crystals?) and the sculptural building up of hair and beard as large rounded masses show that this is early Hellenistic work. One or two short passages done with drill are quite subsidiary.

This may be part of the colossal image of Zeus, which stood in the E cella of the Artemis Temple. The image may have been conceived as a mythological portrait of Achaeus, the only bearded Seleucid of that time, who held Sardis from 220-214 B.C. The image was an acrolith, built of several pieces, possibly seated like Zeus Olympios, protector of kings. It may have been begun under Achaeus and finished after his death (213-200 B.C.?). Such an assumption would be in keeping with the data from the coin hoard found within the base on which the statue would have stood. The quality of workmanship is superb.

That the head survived in part may indicate that the statue was broken up by Christians (a possible fragment, **103** Fig. 226, was built into Church M at the AT) and had stood until the 4th C. A.D. either in the cella, or, as Butler had suggested, outside the temple. Cf. *supra,* under Antoninus Pius (**79**).

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 66, fig. 61; *BASOR* 166, 34-35, fig. 27. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 127, fig. 92; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 80, 81, fig. 148, discussion of E cella and base. Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 72, fig. 155. Coins of Achaeus: E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of Western Seleucid Mints* (New York 1941) 265, pl. 60:1-2. For a discussion and literature on Hellenistic and Roman colossi, see Hanfmann, *Croe-*

sus, 72-74, esp. n.54. A special study of all colossal fragments from Sardis will be published by G. M. A. Hanfmann.

GMAH

Fragments **103** through **105** (Figs. 226-228) may belong with **102** (Figs. 223-225) statue of Zeus.

103 *Fig. 226.* S61.27.13:3489.13. Fragment of hair and neck.

Yellowish weathering of marble and large crystals resemble marble of Zeus head (**102**).
Visible L. 0.29; P.H. 0.18; W. first row of locks 0.07, of second row 0.08.
Built into foundation of outer (E) apse of Church M, 0.40 E of inner jamb of N door, under earlier of two floors *100.75. For the location, see Fig. 1 No. 18. Fig. 226 shows the fragment *in situ*.

The thin strip of polished neck has two rows of locks, the inner row of six separated by a chiselled channel from the outer row. Four locks curl inward, like the inner row; then reverse direction to pointed locks curling outward and upward. Perhaps head hair on proper r. side of neck.

Workmanship and weathering suggest Zeus; the bravura drill work of Antoninus Pius (**79** Figs. 196-197) is not present.

Unpublished.

GMAH

104 *Fig. 227.* S61.27.12:3489.12. Fragment of left hand.

Yellowish weathered marble with large crystals.
Broken off at thumb and wrist. Parts of the little and the fourth fingers preserved only at base. Two circular projections broken off in center of hand.
H. 0.39; P.W. 0.32; W. little finger 0.09 by 0.07, fourth finger 0.08 by 0.06; puntelli 0.045 and 0.04.
Findspot unknown.

The bent, hollowed hand suggests that a vertical attribute (scepter?) was loosely held. The upper projection may be the tip of the little finger, the lower of the fourth finger; they would have curved around tip of attribute. Very fine file work in lower hollow of hand, rougher strokes where the attribute would have joined hand.

A comparison with **82** (Fig. 200) which is almost certainly the hand of Antoninus Pius, white, highly polished, and sophisticated, shows **104** as a massive, simpler work, consistent with attribution to Hellenistic Zeus.

Unpublished, but possibly mentioned in *Sardis* I (1922) 66, "a hand of the same giant scale" was found near head of Zeus; the thumb referred to in the same passage as having been found with the Zeus head, may belong to this hand but has not been located.

GMAH

105 *Fig. 228.* S61.27.9:3489.9. Fragment of face and hair.

Yellowish weathering of marble. In several places the finely polished surface has pulled away. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
R. eyebrow and curl preserved.
P.H. 0.34; W. 0.30; D. 0.36.
Original findspot unknown.

Three large incurling locks, standing ca. 0.13 from the face, overlie an inner row of six curls sketched with the chisel. The feathered r. eyebrow, damaged by a recent break, is only sketched with the chisel. Long drill runs separate inner and outer locks. It does not join the head of Antoninus (**79** Figs. 196-197) and the workmanship is finer. F. Prascsaits, the experienced sculptor of the Ephesus Expedition, thought an attribution to the Hellenistic Zeus possible (Aug. 29, 1971). Otherwise, the fragment may come from a third, different colossal head earlier than Antoninus Pius.

Unpublished.

GMAH

106 *Figs.229-230.* S70.1:8063. Unfinished head of Zeus. Early Hellenistic?

White marble with brick-red incrustation spots.
Nose, hair, and beard damaged.
H. 0.154; W. 0.112; D. 0.113; W. of eye 0.13 internal, 0.21 external.
HoB E70/S105, rock pile, surface.

The head is tilted slightly upward and to l. At lower l. may be traces of a garment. The hair falls in curls in front of the ears and on the forehead and

in long locks at back of the head. At l. and back curls are roughed out but not finished. Lower halves of ears project beneath curls. The beard is full but short; its r. side has both fully carved curls and lightly incised hairs just beside ear. L. side is only roughed out, like the hair. A long moustache curves down around the closed mouth, which is small but full. Nostrils were broad and distended. The eyes are carefully modelled showing good understanding of upper lid and folds. No delineation of pupils. The heavy brows are slightly furrowed and there is one deep wrinkle in the forehead. The beautiful modelling of the cheeks shows bone structure. The thick, heavy, and bulging neck is typically Hellenistic. Edge at neck is nearly flat, with dowel hole in center.

Facial features are very fine and precise. There is no evidence of a drill, and the chisel work on the face is very sensitive. Hair and beard may have been left rough with intention to paint the details, but more likely the piece is from an unfinished statue. Workmanship and style point to pre-Pergamon period of 3rd C. B.C.

Published: *BASOR* 203, 9, fig. 5; Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 220. For beard left rough for painted details, cf. e.g. Olympia seer, Ashmole-Yalouris, fig. 33. For Pergamene adaptation of similar type, cf. Akurgal, *Civilizations,* pl. 38.

107 *Figs. 231-232.* S67.30:7522. Head of Zeus. Antonine.

Coarse-grained yellowish marble.
Broken off at neck. Tip of beard, lower part of hair in back are missing. Heavy surface damage over much of head. Cement adheres at back.
H. 0.36; total W. at eyes 0.185; D. 0.23.
Pa-W E88.65-89.05/N101-101.20 *97.05. Found under collapsed rubble of cross wall, in which it had perhaps been used as building material.

The head was turned slightly to r. The face is framed by long hair, which is brushed up from the forehead and falls in long continuous curls to the neck, and by full beard. Stop-and-go drill marks are profuse in both hair and beard. Where preserved, cheeks, forehead, and neck show some modelling (particularly in heavy bone structure of forehead), but somewhat hard treatment of surface. The heavy fold of flesh over the eyes is sensitively modelled. The pupils are crescents, irises incised. Of the nose only drill holes of nostrils remain. Lips are also missing but mouth was clearly open and traces of heavy moustaches drooped at sides. Hair on crown of head is chiselled quite flat with central parting and waves to heavier carving of loose hair at sides and over back of neck.

The piece belongs to a venerable type of bearded Zeus related to the Boston head from Mylasa and Zeus at Olympia by Phidias. This is important testimony to a cult of Zeus Lydios at Sardis. Stop-and-go drill work and treatment of eyes point to Antonine date.

Published: Metraux, 155f.; *BASOR* 191, 33, fig. 30; *ILN* (Apr. 13, 1968) 31, fig. 7.

108 *Fig. 233.* MANISA 10. Head of Zeus. Antonine?

Yellowish local marble.
Broken at neck. Face lost except for traces of eyes and r. corner of mouth.
H. 0.155; W. 0.115; D. 0.10.
Findspot unknown, came to Manisa in 1934.

The hair is piled up in wreath-like coiffure above the forehead. The crown of the head is carved in flatter waves, encircled by a rounded and twisted fillet. Lower half of ears shows beneath hair, as on the Boston head from Mylasa. Loose strands fall on neck, as on a Sardian coin of Zeus Lydios.

Stop-and-go drill in ear and locks suggests Antonine date, as **107** (Figs. 231-232). The chief difference from the preceding piece is the presence of the fillet, and the hair leaving the lower ear exposed. It is still very likely that this is an example of Zeus Lydios.

Unpublished. For Boston head from Mylasa, coin of Zeus Lydios, and general discussion, Metraux, 156ff., pl. 36, figs. 5, 6, 9.

109 *Figs. 234-235.* NOEX 60.4. MANISA. Fragment of child seated in female hand. Hellenistic.

Fine white marble.
Child is missing head, both arms, both feet, and l. knee. Adult hand broken across back, and fingers damaged. Surface highly smoothed (with abrasives).
H. of child 0.125; W. of child at waist 0.045; P.L. of hand 0.08.
Findspot unknown.

The child wears an overgarment belted beneath the chest and falling in gentle folds about the top of the legs. The belt continues around to the back, which is slightly less carefully worked. A drooping neckline shows the upper chest. An undergarment extends to the knees. The chubby legs are joined at the ankles by a strut. The r. arm was raised, as can be seen by the position of the shoulder. The child sits in a much larger female l. hand.

The workmanship is very fine. Possible evidence of a drill can be seen between the larger fingers and in the drapery folds, but these are carefully worked over. The hand surfaces and the front of the child are highly smoothed.

The group may be compared with figures from Cyrene, a kourotrophos, and fragments thereof, which are dated to the Hellenistic period. The workmanship of the Sardis piece also suggests a Hellenistic date.

Unpublished. Cf. Paribeni, no. 419, pl. 182, for the child; nos. 418-420, p. 144-145, pl. 182, for Cyrene figures.

110 *Fig. 236.* NOEX 70.15. Draped herm. 1st. C. A.D.

Marble.
Preserved are head of herm, upper part of shaft, and drapery, somewhat damaged.
H. 0.22; W. 0.115; D. 0.125; H. of head 0.065; W. of head 0.055.
Village of Sart Mustafa (Sardis), 400 N of Izmir-Ankara highway.

The archaising head has three rows of corkscrew curls, elongated eyes, a drooping moustache, and heavy beard, with bottom corners broken off. One lock of hair is at each side of head. The rectangular shaft had a horizontal strut on both sides. A hole in bottom center may be for an ancient repair. On top is heavy drapery falling mainly to the r. side.

The head is a Hermes after the Propylaios of Alkamenes. It is perhaps a copy of a group by Kephisodotus with youthful Hermes leaning on such a herm and carrying the infant Dionysus. There seems to be room for such a child on, and beside, drapery.

Stop-and-go drill work suggests 1st C. A.D. but possibly late Hellenistic.

Published: Ramage, passim (with further discussion and parallels); Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 221. A male figure (Hermes?) carrying Baby Dionysus appears on coins of the Ionic League minted by M. Cl. Fronto, First Strategе of Sardis (cf. H. Engelmann, "Eine Prägung des ionischen Bundes," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 9 [1972] 190f.). For a child sitting in adult hand, see **109** (Figs. 234-235).

111 *Fig. 237.* NOEX 64.2. MANISA. Venus torso. Late Hellenistic?

White marble, stained.
Base of neck to below knees preserved. Arms missing. Broken and rejoined below waist and at thighs.
H. 0.65; W. of neck 0.08; D. at buttocks 0.15.
Findspot unknown.

The nude female had her weight on r. leg, l. leg forward. On outside of r. leg is a trace of an attribute or support. Workmanship is simple but effective. The modelling is somewhat hard, and therefore perhaps Roman but no technical points prove it.

Unpublished. For close Hellenistic parallel, a Venus *Anadyomene,* cf. Lullies, *Aphrodite,* figs. 43-44.

112 *Fig. 238.* NOEX 68.19. MANISA. Amazon (?) legs. Late Hellenistic or early Roman, or possibly Hadrianic.

Grayish white marble, medium crystals.
Lower part of skirt and knees only are preserved. Back of figure cut away. Legs broken off just below the knees. Back of r. leg, and front of l. leg missing. Crusty deposit on back of l. leg and part of r. one. Top surface worked to a fine plane, with remains of square dowel hole (now filled with cement), used to piece the statue to missing upper part. Traces of red paint, especially in crevice of fold along figure's l. leg.

H. 0.38; H. of drapery 0.18; W. 0.495; D. 0.26; dowel hole 0.075 by 0.075, D. unascertained.
Said to come from region of Bldg. A.

The skirt consists of three central vertical folds (two wide, one narrow), vertical folds also at each side, and gracefully falling shallow arched folds over the fronts of the thighs. This arrangment of the skirt suggests that our figure is an Amazon. The r. knee, which is very accurately modelled, seems to be that of a female.

The horizontal break on the top surface is original, as it has been carefully and smoothly finished with a small chisel. A drill may have been used in the hollows, but characteristic markings have been carefully chiselled away. Evidence of a fine rasp remains over most of the surface.

The modelling and surface treatment preserve the sense of weight of the garment and have a distinctly Eastern flavor. The figure represented might be an Amazon or huntress, or possibly even a general, though the evidence of folds suggests an Amazon.

The workmanship seems to be late Hellenistic or an early Roman copyist's work; or possibly even a Hadrianic rather than an Augustan copy.

Unpublished. For an Amazon with the same arrangement cf. García y Bellido, no. 183, p. 168, pl. 138.

113 *Fig. 239.* S59.25:1439. MANISA. Athena torso. Hellenistic or 1st C. A.D.

Marble.
Neck to below waist preserved. R. side discolored as if from burning.
H. 0.21.
BS W32-36/S3.80 *97.50.

She wears a girt "Phidian" peplos arranged with a vertical fold from l. shoulder to the belt. The aegis has a gorgoneion and snakes on the upper and lower rims. Position of neck and hair on r. shoulder shows that the head was turned diagonally to proper l. (and upwards?). R. arm was raised, l. lowered and bent. Head and r. arm were dowelled in, also l. arm below shoulder. Another dowel hole is on back of r. shoulder.

Careful chisel work and moderate use of drill (only on the aegis corner on her r. shoulder) suggest a good copy, not later than 1st C. A.D., of a 5th C. B.C. original.

Unpublished.

114 *Fig. 240.* S73.2:8218. Torso of Herakles. Late Hellenistic or early Roman.

Bluish gray, densely (medium) grained marble with white, yellow, and bluish gray alternating.
Neck to hips preserved. Both arms missing.
H. 0.146; W. at waist 0.08, at shoulders 0.123.
BE-A E10/N7.5 *96.5 floor level.

The lion skin tied on the chest is summarily rendered on the back like a cloak. Crude abrasive is used. R. arm was raised, l. lowered. Surface at hips very smooth, with round drilled hole (W. 0.009; D. 0.007; narrower hole within, D. 0.007), showing that lower part was pieced on.

Remarkably exaggerated "Pergamene-Rhodian" Laokoon-type muscles. Possibly advancing with club raised in r. hand and r. leg forward. If a Roman copy, the workmanship is excellent; a late Hellenistic (120-50 B.C.) original is not impossible.

Unpublished. Cf. 115 (Fig. 241).

115 *Fig. 241.* NOEX 59.60. MANISA. Torso of Herakles. 2nd C. A.D.

Marble.
Neck to thighs preserved. Both arms missing.
H. 0.42; W. 0.30.
Area of Bldg. A.

Lion skin is tied on chest and falls diagonally in back towards proper l. hip, where it was held by l. hand resting on hip. R. arm was stretched forward.

Body and stance are Polykleitan, and the torso and stomach are well modelled. Drill work, especially in the lion skin, indicates 2nd C. A.D. workmanship.

Unpublished. Cf. 114 (Fig. 240).

116 *Fig. 242.* NOEX 64.1. Herakles, Farnese type. 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Preserved neck to crotch.
H. 0.40; W. at shoulders 0.36.
Findspot unknown.

The exaggerated musculature of the chest and abdomen of this nude figure is emphasized by the shift of weight onto the proper r. leg, the r. hip thrown out. The fisted r. hand rests on the back of the hip. These features, combined with the fold of drapery under the l. armpit, indicate that our statue is a small version of the Farnese Herakles type, who stands in this very position, and leans with his l. arm on a club covered with drapery showing the same fold arrangement as is preserved here. Even the break at the neck suggests that there may have been a full beard, as the prototype has. The crude but effective carving and the hard modelling of the torso suggest a date in the 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For Herakles Farnese type, see Bieber, fig. 84.

117 *Fig. 243.* S60.7:2503. Unfinished dancing satyr. 1st or early 2nd C. A.D.

Yellowish large-grained "local" marble.
Body preserved from lower neck to above knees.
H. 0.275; W. 0.09; D. 0.07.
B MC E20/N57 ca. *99.50.

Nebris of satyr is tied over r. shoulder. He was dancing, with l. leg forward and crossing the r., and r. arm raised above his head, as is clear from the stump of shoulder. Upper part of torso does not show marked twist, however. Entire back is unfinished. Blocking out of nebris and buttocks was done with flat chisel and gouge. The front of the body still shows fine claw chisel work incompletely abraded but already smooth; there is no drill work.

Highly competent Roman technique in different stages of completion. 1st or early 2nd C. A.D., up to Trajanic.

Unpublished. For famous type of dancing satyr see Bieber, 39, figs. 95-96.

118 *Figs. 244-245.* S66.3:6960 AND S71.5:8133. Torso and legs of young satyr. Hadrianic.

Gray fine-grained dense marble (Proconnesian?).
Three fragments: A, upper torso; B, lower torso and r. thigh; C, part of r. leg and knee. Fragments A and B fit, but poorly. Found five years apart, their join was recognized by Ilse Hanfmann.
A and B: total H. 0.415; W. at hips 0.145; Th. at chest 0.115. H. of C: 0.125.
B MC E31-32/N52-52.70, slightly above marble floor.

Satyr wears a nebris with goat head and foot hanging in front over his l. shoulder, where it is bound with a clasp. R. foot is slung over his shoulder in back. Upper edge of goatskin, doubled over and hanging loosely, is plastically modelled. The back is only roughly finished, showing little more than outlines of the nebris. Multiple claw chisel marks have been worked over the abrasives.

The stance is Praxitelean, with r. hip thrown out and r. arm raised. Body is intentionally soft, with a tactile nebris and delicately worked surface. No drilling used, but only fine chisel work, even under the armpits. Somewhat cold but highly competent smoothness is typically Hadrianic.

Unpublished. For stance, cf. Rizzo, pls. 48ff., with weight and thrust reversed; or Jones, pl. 87; also Cumont, *Catalogue,* 27-29, no. 19 and Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* 31, no. 37.

119 *Fig. 246.* S72.5:8182. Head of satyr. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble.
Head and part of neck preserved. Surface mostly damaged.
H. 0.093; W. 0.065.
BE-B E25.0/N3.0 *96.40.

The head is turned to its r. The open mouth is gracefully curved. Inner corners of eyes are set deeply under the heavy brow. It has pointed satyr ears. The hair is in locks brushed loosely away from face, separated by wide, deep channels. A fillet is shown by a broad groove. Hair from crown is arranged in regular swirls to fillet; continues down over back of neck.

The face is modelled with sensitivity but the treatment of hair is somewhat coarse. Perhaps a 2nd or 3rd C. A.D. copy of a Hellenistic satyr, possibly from the "Invitation to the Dance" group.

Published: *BASOR* 211, 27, fig. 7. For satyr of "Invitation to Dance," see Bieber, 139; Brinkerhoff, "New Examples," 25ff.; idem, *Antioch,* 39-40, figs. 58-62.

120 *Figs. 247-248.* S72.13:8213. Fragments of

lifesize Apollo or Dionysus. Hadrianic or early Antonine.

White marble, large crystals. Slightly yellowish with reddish iron discoloration.
Ten fragments from lower neck to upper thighs. Both arms missing. Purposeful vertical cut on r. shoulder.
Torso: H. ca. 0.80; W. at hips 0.524.
BE-H, pool. Torso E10/N52 *96.4 (floor); shoulder E6.00/N49.5 *95.7; back E9.10/N50 *95.8.

The nude god with weight on r. leg, l. shoulder slightly drawn back is modelled on a 4th C. Praxitelean type. Long wavy locks fall on both shoulders.

Very competent well-modelled, well-polished work. Systematic but restrained use of stop-and-go running drill in locks, as well as polished style, indicate a Hadrianic or early Antonine date.

Unpublished. Perhaps related to Dionysus leaning on a herm, Rizzo, pl. 115.

121 *Fig. 249.* MANISA 372. Fragmentary statue group of Dionysus, panther, and satyr. 2nd C. A.D.

Gray marble.
Head of Dionysus lost; also his r. arm below shoulder, and l. arm below elbow; also head and part of body of panther. Satyr gone except for feet.
H. 0.78; H. of Dionysus 0.59.
Findspot unknown; came to Manisa museum in 1952.

Dionysus, standing frontally, is accompanied at his r. by a recumbent panther and a satyr, whose feet only are preserved. A round broken stump in front of the l. foot of Dionysus suggests that he carried a thyrsus in his l. hand. His long hair falls to his shoulders. He wears a nebris with a panther head slung over the r. shoulder. There is a broad border at the upper edge of the nebris, and a curious, nearly horiziontal edge at the bottom. His sandals have tied thongs and come to above the ankles. There are the stumps of struts on the side of his leg, which one assumes joined him to the satyr at his side. A pillar at the back helped to support the group, which stands on a high, simply profiled, well-preserved base.

The modelling is limited, but the overall effect not unsuccessful. This is average work of the 2nd C. A.D.

For a similar Dionysus, see García y Bellido, 100, no. 88, pl. 75. Cf. also our 122 (Figs. 250-251). For similar nebris, Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries,* 71, no. 21.

122 *Figs. 250-251.* S59.82:2094. Fragmentary statue group of Dionysus, panther, and satyr. 3rd or 4th C. A.D.

Worn, porous pinkish white marble.
Entire surface covered with lime incrustation. Head of Dionysus sliced off at both sides, and both arms missing below shoulders; a dowel hole is visible at break in r. arm. Large portion of lower r. torso and upper r. leg missing. Head of panther lost and all of satyr except lower r. leg, l. foot, and r. hand holding grapes at l. side of Dionysus. Entire base preserved in two pieces.
Total H. of Dionysus 0.555. Base: H. in front 0.085, in back 0.11; W. 0.50; D. 0.445. H. of panther 0.14; support behind Dionysus D. 0.225.
B-W S Area, W alignment trench, scattered in fill above latrine floor, W51-53.5/N4-10 *98.00-97.00.

Dionysus stands with his feet planted firmly on the ground, his weight distributed evenly. At his r. is a seated panther, his front l. paw raised and resting on an outcrop of the stone base. His head is missing. At the l. of Dionysus stood a satyr. From the preserved lower legs he can be seen to have had his weight on the l. foot, the r. one drawn back. He held a bunch of grapes at the side of Dionysus; only the hand and grapes are preserved here.

Dionysus himself wears a nebris with goat's head slung over his r. shoulder. His hair fell from his head to the lower neck, a trace of which is preserved on the l. side only. Details of his eyes are not depicted, but a ridge running all the way around forms the upper and lower lids. He has a small but full classical mouth and a dimple between the lower lip and small chin. His hair is made by parallel ridges; a ribbon diadem hangs between two grape bunches.

A relief background existed between Dionysus and the satyr at his l. A thick support column projects behind Dionysus. The original back supports were hacked off, as seen by the rough traces on the base. The base had a border with flat vertical edge, 0.025 high. The top surface is smooth in front of the statues, but rough chiselled behind them.

The Sardis Dionysus has stocky proportions, which may be compared to those of a Dionysus from

Cyrene (Paribeni, 116, no. 327, pl. 154) and another from Madrid (García y Bellido, no. 82, pl. 71). Workmanship on the Sardis piece is summary, of a style which could be dated as early as the lst C. A.D., but the dumpy proportions suggest a late date, perhaps 3rd or 4th C.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 35. Remarks on dating are from Hanfmann. Cf. also another example from Cyrene, Paribeni, 116, no. 326, pl. 153.

123 *Fig. 252.* S70.4:8083. Fragment of right leg of Dionysus and adjacent tree trunk support. 3rd C. A.D.

White marble, heavily incrusted. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Back part of leg preserved from thigh to shin. Front part split off.
D. of tree trunk 0.20; W. 0.15; H. of leg 0.41.
Syn E78.8/N16 *96.5.

The leg, large and well-modelled, is worked in one piece with a hefty tree trunk. The front of the tree trunk is covered with winding grape vine, the back is smoothed by a flat chisel plus abrasive. The leg, too, though smoother, shows similar rough abrasion.

The style is still plastic organic but the technique is getting rougher. The treatment of the vine ornament is already flattened. All work has been done with a flat chisel, implying the late antique. Probably 3rd C., A.D. 200-250.

Unpublished. For more complete examples, see Paribeni, 116, no. 326, pl. 153, and also his no. 322.

124 *Fig. 253.* NOEX 68.20. Fragment of triton. lst C. A.D.

Grayish white marble, medium crystals.
Lower portion of monster, sliced off at both ends of curved body. Base, carved in one piece with monster, broken on two sides.
H. 0.55; W. of monster at base 0.20; L. at base 0.38; plinth: L. 0.45, W. 0.37, Th. 0.12-0.095.
Found S of Izmir-Salihli highway in a vineyard near Bldg. A.

Lower part of a triton has a twisting tail set at an angle to the plinth. It curves in two directions and turns in on itself. Front of upper tail is covered with four rows of large overlapping leaf-like scales with slightly ridged surfaces. Inner side of back-lashing tail has two large creases representing folds created by the sharp bend of his back. Lower end of tail, just before the break, has four more scales, more rounded than the upper ones. Base is circular and plain.

This might be a copy of a Hellenistic triton, part of a group from a nereid monument. Except for a channel at juncture of tail and plinth, surface shows little evidence of drill work. Extensive use of the chisel and abrasives. The model was Greek, but simplification of surface is undoubtedly due to copyist's treatment. Probably early Imperial.

Unpublished. Cf. several tritons from a large group of sea creatures found in the nymphaeum of Laecanius Bassus at Ephesus, Bammer-Fleischer-Knibbe, 47ff., inv. nos. 1576, 1578, 1579; R. Fleischer, "Skulpturen aus dem Nymphaeum des Laecanius Bassus," *JOAIBeibl* 50 (1972-73) 422ff., esp. fig. 2. For nereids and sea monsters on a sarcophagus, Cumont, *Recherches,* pl. 21:1. Cf. also E. Bielefeld, "Zu den Nereiden aus Formia," *RömMitt* 76 (1969) 93-100, esp. pl. 41. For Hellenistic giants, see Bieber, figs. 459ff. Cf. also S. Lattimore, *The Marine Thiasos in Greek Sculpture,* Monumenta Archaeologica 3/Archaeological Institute of America Monograph 9 (Los Angeles 1976) esp. figs. 20, 24, 25.

125 *Figs. 254-256.* MANISA 393. Asklepios. Hadrianic.

Very white marble, Parian(?), with even, fairly large grains, the same as 74 (Fig. 190).
Head and r. arm below shoulder missing.
H. 0.59; W. 0.36; H. of plinth 0.04.
Findspot unknown.

Asklepios stands with weight on l. leg, r. leg bent, l. hand on hip. His head was turned slightly to proper r. He wears sandals with closed heels; a cloak falls over his l. shoulder, is drawn across both hips and held by l. hand, leaving most of torso bare. The cloak also falls over and conceals a support at back. On cloak at r. hip is the break from a strut to support arm and staff, the end of which is preserved with snake, near r. foot. Plinth is straight at front, oval at back.

Traces of stop-and-go drill almost entirely

obliterated, except one visible under armpit, but very straight drill-type folds. The back is summarily worked with shallow diagonal folds.

The figure is a paraphrase on the early classical Dresden Zeus. This example is a very smooth Hadrianic copy.

Unpublished. Two fragmentary bases of Asklepios were also found by the excavation (NoEx 59.2 and NoEx 69.25). For the Dresden Zeus see P. Herrmann, *Verzeichnis der antiken Originalbildwerke der Staatlichen Skulpturensammlung zu Dresden* (Dresden 1925) 25, no. 68.

126 *Fig. 257.* S59.60:1768. Torso of half-draped male. 1st C. A.D.

Marble.
Naval to base of neck preserved. Incrustation from cement (reuse) on front.
H. 0.107; W. 0.107.
UT E80/S210 ca. *124.00.

R. arm is against his side; l. arm is covered by the cloak which falls vertically in front and crosses diagonally to r. armpit in back. Musculature of chest and stomach is indicated in broad planes. R. hip is higher, thus weight is on r. leg.

The workmanship appears to be of the 1st C. A.D., but the type dates to the 4th C. B.C. The prototype for this piece would be a god such as Zeus, Poseidon, or Asklepios.

Unpublished. For prototype, cf. Furtwängler, 368ff. and fig. 50. Cf. also Paribeni, no. 214, pl. 113. Also 125 (Figs. 254-256).

127 *Fig. 258.* S59.66A:1865. Torso of Ganymede. A.D. 180-250.

Fine-grained marble, weathered gray.
Neck to l. thigh of Ganymede and the claws of eagle preserved.
H. 0.165; W. at claws 0.11; D. at belly 0.065.
BWH W32/N60 *98.25-98.00.

Ganymede is grasped on r. hip and at l. side of waist by claws of the eagle. He wears a chlamys fastened with large round brooch in the center of his chest. Folds of chlamys and separations of claws are made by deep drill runs.

Drill work suggests a date in the late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. Statue of Ganymede by Leochares mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 34.79). Cf. Richter, *Sculpture,* 285f. and fig. 737; Arndt-Amelung-Lippold, no. 239. For recently discovered Ganymede and eagle, Marcadé-Raftopoulou, fig. 96. For Ganymede from Sperlonga see Iacopi, 114-117, figs. 109-111; H. Sichtermann in Kraus, 246, pl. 263.

128 *Figs. 259-260.* S59.67:1866. Head of Tyche. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

White marble.
Only l. half of face remains.
H. 0.17; W. 0.07; D. 0.10.
B E34/S50 *98 (in fill).

The head of Tyche is preserved from the crown to base of neck. She wears a crescent diadem with a crown of turrets. A mantel flows down the side of the crown behind her hair. The neck is slanted forward to her r. and the head turned back slightly to the l. This was not a relief, but a free-standing statue much like the Tyche of Antioch. The eye, which has an incised pupil and a drilled iris and inner corner, has a heavy eyelid. The nose is missing. The mouth, only partially preserved, was the open, "breathing" type, like Pergamene sculpture. The ear lobe projects beneath the horizontal waves of hair. There are traces of gilding between the two lowest waves of hair. A large drill line is behind the neck and at the edge of the veil on both sides. The head is unworked at the back. A dowel hole, diam. 0.009, remains in the base of the neck.

The drilling of the mouth, corner of the eye, and pupil is typical of the 2nd half of the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the Tyche of Antioch, Bieber, fig. 102; on Tyche in general, Dohrn, *Tyche,* passim. For other parallels, Toynbee, pls. 28:3-4, 29:1-4, 30:1-2. A late 4th or early 3rd C. B.C. female head (of a goddess?) from the NW foot of the Areopagus was gilded. The entire head was covered with gold, as shown by the fragments of gold leaf still adhering to the face and hair. The gilding was applied with a brush (H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 17 [1948] 177, pl. 53:1-2; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* 23 [1954] 172ff.). A gilded statue of Tyche was carried from the curia to the hippodrome during the foundation rites for Constantinople in A.D. 330 (R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* [Paris 1964] 23). On gilding: Reuterswärd, passim. On Cybele as Tyche: J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 37 (1947) 136.

129 *Fig. 261.* S69.10:8031. Statuette of muse with kithara. 1st half of 3rd C. A.D.

Large-grained grayish marble, perhaps not local.
Head and most of both arms missing, also top of kithara.
H. 0.372; H. of fig. 0.345; H. of altar 0.148.
B MC E32.5/N54.2 *96.24.

Her weight is on l. leg, r. leg bent and drawn back. Her r. arm was probably held out, holding plektron, and l. holding kithara. She leans with l. leg against a simply profiled altar which supports the kithara on top. Muse wears high-girt chiton with breasts clearly indicated and a diagonal band over r. shoulder to kithara. The lower garment reveals both legs, which are separated by deeply drilled folds. Square-ended shoes project from drapery. On her r. hip is the trace of a rectangular strut (0.03 by 0.025) for support of r. arm. Bottom is worked for insertion in base, but back so summarily done that display against wall is a certainty.

Breasts confirm identification as a muse rather than Apollo. Typical deep drill runs and "stop" dots (drill holes) at bottom of garment support the date of A.D. 200-250.

Unpublished. For Alexandrian muse with kithara, Beiber, fig. 406. Cf. Apollo on Apotheosis of Homer, ibid., fig. 497; for Apollo kitharoidos by Timarchides(?), ibid., 160, figs. 679ff. For muse like ours on sarcophagus, Cumont, *Recherches,* pls. 27:2, 32, and 35:1. For coin type, Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 160, fig. 94.

Small Fragments

130 *Fig. 262.* NOEX 69.24. Foot with Medusa on sandal. Hellenistic or early Roman.

White marble, weathered pink.
Forepart of foot. Big toe broken off.
H. 0.09; W. 0.14; L. 0.13.
Found in field 0.5 km. from B area.

The slightly larger than lifesize foot is crossed by a sandal strap below base of toes. A heart-shaped attachment joins it to a second perpendicular strap which crosses between big and second toes. The attachment is decorated by Medusa head, with snakes under chin, in shallow relief. Toes are well modelled, and nails indicated. Medusa head is somewhat summarily carved with incised details. Break of foot is smooth edge, with dowel hole (diam. 0.01; D. 0.035) for joining.

The workmanship of the foot is fine; there is no evidence of drilling. Possibly Hellenistic, or early Roman.

Unpublished.

131 *Fig. 263.* S59.73:1903. Feet of Egyptian statuette. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.?

Steatite or serpentine, a fairly soft greenish volcanic stone, which takes very high polish.
Smooth above ankles. Apparently an original edge. Also cut off smoothly at back of r. foot.
H. 0.047; W. 0.048; D. 0.072; base H. 0.007-0.013; foot L. 0.06.
UT E90/S200 *123.25-123.00.

R. foot rests on the base and is freestanding except for an attachment at the inner side of the back. L. foot is advanced in relief. The stylized feet and toes are elongated. The slanted break above the ankles is smoothed and left with a ridge used, apparently, for attaching it to the next piece above. The diagonal break at front of l. foot also appears to be original. Feet and relief background are highly polished; base and flat back of statuette show rougher abrasive marks.

Unpublished. Stone identified by S. M. Goldstein.

132 *Fig. 264.* S58.46:895. MANISA. Right foot (of Lucius Verus?) on plinth. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Fine white marble, small crystals.
Preserved from toes to middle of foot.
Foot L. 0.19, W. 0.13; big toe H. 0.025, W. 0.035, L. 0.05; plinth H. 0.088.
B, inside along E wall, near fourth arch from S *97.00.

The foot is about one and a half times lifesize. The drill was used only sparingly, at the outer ends of the divisions between the toes and to separate the big toe. Carefully chiselled channels divide the other toes. The bone structure and musculature are very clearly defined. Traces of the original top surface of the plinth show near the toes.

The details, carefully finished with a pointed chisel, and the surface, finely polished by abrasives,

could well belong to the 2nd C. A.D. Since the Gymnasium was built under the reign of L. Verus, and since we know from the inscribed base **276** (Fig. 469) that a statue of him stood in the S apse of the S apsidal hall (BSH), it is quite possible that this fragment belonged to the statue of the Emperor.

Unpublished.

133 *Figs. 265-266.* S61.5:3201. Right hand and wrist. 5th C. A.D.?

Marble, calcined.
Heavily incrusted with dark red deposit, partly from fire. Fingers partly dematerialized.
L. 0.265; W. at knuckles 0.12, at broken end of wrist 0.08, at band 0.02. One and a third lifesize.
RT in fill directly above level of marble floor, E3.60/S 10.00 *96.74.

Around the wrist is a large band, a bracelet, which ends or peters out on the underside of the arm. The fingers were separated first by sharp drilled rows of holes which were then cut away with sharp chisel strokes. The hand holds an object which was fastened by one vertical hole from top and by large horizontal peg below; the latter perhaps also supported the hand. The object is curving in the hand, hence it was not rigid like a sword or scepter, but must have been something flexible, possibly a *mappa*. There are three pin holes visible to fasten a missing piece of the object and perhaps part of the index finger.

Preliminary work on the hand was done with short sharp strokes of the claw chisel visible on the underside of the wrist. Large flat chisel strokes were then used to smooth out the claw chisel marks. The lean angular power of the bony hand is masterly. It may be the hand of a high official opening games. This is possibly related to **92** (Figs. 206-207) as the findspots and size are close. However, the technique and style seem quite different.

Unpublished.

Funerary Reliefs

134 *Figs. 267-268.* NOEX 58. MANISA. Stele of Matis. Mid-3rd C. B.C.

Local marble.
Preserved almost in entirety, although with some minor chipping. Acroterion at r. partly broken, one at l. broken and repaired. Some damage to top of central acroterion. Heavy incrustation on much of stele.
H. 1.56; W. at bottom 0.51, at top 0.49; H. of shaft 1.20; Th. at bottom 0.19, at top 0.17; H. of letters of inscription 0.008-0.015. Recessed relief panel: H. 0.45; W. 0.37; D of recession 0.02.
Found in spring of 1958 by a farmer, ca. one km. W of the modern bridge over the Pactolus River, ca. 20 S of the Izmir-Salihli highway.

The stele is tall and rectangular, tapering slightly toward the top. It is crowned by a pediment with three acroteria, the center one of which bears traces of a palmette; the two at the sides were not carved. On the face of the shaft is a recessed relief panel and a four-line inscription:

Ματὶς μέμ μοι τοὔνομ' ἔφυ, πατρὶς δε Κελαιναί.
Ἀνδρομένης δὲ πόσις τεῦξ' ἔπι σῆμα τόδε,
ὧι καὶ φιτύσασα λίπον τρεῖσ παῖδας ἐν οἴκωι
θυγατέρην τε μίαν τοὺς ἔλιπον φθιμένα.

Matis was my name, Kelainai my country.
Andromenes my husband prepared for me this monument.
I have borne to him and left in my house three sons and one daughter whom I, dying, have left behind.

At the foot of the shaft is a roughly chiselled piece which would have been inserted into a stone base.

The relief panel shows a seated woman, Matis, at the r., taking something from a box which is held by a small standing girl at the l. Matis is seated on a chair with bull-hoof feet; a pillow-cushion is pressed to the back by her weight. Her feet rest on a footstool with folded lion legs for feet. She wears a cloak which, draped over her head, falls down her l. shoulder and arm. It does not cover the r. shoulder, but falls across her lap, where she clutches it with her l. hand. Underneath she wears a high-belted peplos. Her body is in three-quarter view, the head in profile. The small girl holding the open box at the l. stands up against the l. edge of the relief panel, which is indicated as a pillar with a simple capital. (The corresponding one at the r. was not completed.) Her hair is bound up, and she wears a long, transparent garment.

Although somewhat provincial in execution, and showing a certain awkwardness (such as the way in which Matis and her chair seem to recede in different directions), the stele is rooted in the Attic tradition. Both the style of carving and the inscription point to a date in the mid-3rd C. B.C.

Published: Hanfmann-Polatkan-Robert, 49ff., pls. 9-10, on which I have drawn for description and stylistic analysis; for the inscription, see ibid., 53ff., pl. 9, fig. 2. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 48, fig. 29; idem, *Croesus,* 59, fig. 121. For later and cruder examples, cf. Fıratlı, *Stèles,* nos. 169, 170, p. 25, 107, pls. XLII, XLIII.

135 *Figs. 269-270.* S 61.11:3280. Monumental relief. Hellenistic, perhaps 150-125 B.C.

Marble.
In four pieces, A-D, and A (the bottom r. fragment) is broken in two pieces, A-1 (l.) and A-2 (r.). The lower edge of the relief is preserved, and the lower r. (A) and l. (B) edges. After a gap, the l. edge is also preserved in part (D) and a portion of the center of the relief (C); the whole upper part is missing. It has been demonstrated that fragments C and D do not join. The relief was reused as paving around a well; hence the large circular hole in the center. The front surface was also chiselled away to flatten the stones for the pavement.
A and B (lower pieces) together: H. 0.69; W. 1.04; Th. 0.12 at thickest point, 0.02 at background. C: (upper r. piece) H. 0.45; W. 0.59. D (upper l.): H. 0.67; H. at l. edge 0.54; W. 0.33. Est. H. 1.80 or more.
PN W250/S360 *89.65.

A-1 and A-2. These fragments make up the lower r. portion of the relief. They show the legs and lower hem of the himation, of thick wool cloth, of a standing man, the central figure of the relief. Both feet came nearly straight out of the background: the r. foot and ankle are beautifully worked; the surface of the l. foot is lost. The hemmed garment and the large simple straight fold falling at l. speak for a man, rather than a lady.

At the r. side of the relief, and at the proper l. of the large cloaked male, stands a slender, elongated youth, ca. 0.60-0.61 high. His long proportions suggest the late Hellenistic period. The outline of his head is preserved, although all of his face is split off; the ear and short locks of hair, preserved on the l. side, show that he is a boy. The head was turned to his r., the neck is tensed. Folds on his l. shoulder indicate that he wore a chlamys, clasped on his chest. The short wide l. sleeve, all of the l. arm except the hand, and the outlines of his girt tunic survive. The r. arm was bent and placed on his chest; the l. was lowered and may have grasped the tunic or an attribute. The youth stands in front of a pillar 0.13 wide, which frames this side of the stele; his r. shoulder is in front of the heavy cloak fold of the large central figure.

B. This piece preserves the lower l. corner of the relief, including the l. edge of the stele (Th. 0.55). It joins A-1 on both front and back surfaces; the background of the stele at the joint is only 0.02 Th. The r. side of a figure in a short girt chiton is preserved on this fragment. The belt and two folds of the overhang are indicated, but the lower skirt is smooth. Otherwise, the surface is split off except the proper r. shin and lower leg and the surface of the pillar in front of which the figure stands. The pillar is placed obliquely to the background. The leg is separated from the background by widely spaced stop-and-go drill runs.

C. All edges of this piece have been broken, and the lower side shows the curvature of the secondary working for the curved well mouth. At the l. side of the fragment can be seen the r. arm of the large central figure, coming out of an undergarment. A cloak clearly comes from the shoulder and swings around his r. hip in three large folds. On his l. side is a piece of background with a straight edge to it, probably the l. side of his body.

D. The fragment preserves part of the l. edge of the stele. A pillar shown in oblique foreshortening, with a simple profile on top, bears a crowning pier or anta capital. The lower r. arm of the central figure rests on top of the capital, but the damage is too severe to ascertain how the hand lay. Behind the arm is a small altar-like rectangular object with a projection on top which might be "horns of consecration." Two elongated, round-ended shapes appear in relief on the front of the "altar," but their explanation remains unclear.

Other Hellenistic reliefs show a male figure, usually in cloak or toga, between two very similar small boys in girt chitons. The central figure of the Sardis relief cannot have had a toga, as the garment is flung around his lower body in Hellenistic Zeus fashion. The figure was, however, fully draped, as

the sleeve of the undergarment shows. He must have been a standing, not a seated figure since the space occupied by the well head leaves just enough area for standing legs and torso between the preserved r. arm and the lower legs.

As to style, the very elongated proportions of the boy at the lower r. (A-2) show that this is past the crest of Pergamene Baroque, and in the phase of the Aemilius Paullus frieze at Delphi (168 B.C.), possibly around 150-125 B.C. In contrast to most Eastern Greek Hellenistic reliefs, this one seems to have been over lifesize, 1.80 or more. If so, it may be only an exceptionally large "heroic" funerary relief.

Published: *BASOR* 166, 18, fig. 12. Dating is by Hanfmann. Hellenistic parallels encourage identification of the central figure as a man. These Greek reliefs frequently show two smaller male figures at the sides, and a larger male in the center. Cf. Pfuhl, "Beiwerk," 77, no. 11, pl. 6.2, and 54, no. 28, fig. 10 on p. 55; Pleket, no. 41, pl. VII; Izmir, Fuarı Museum no. 164, Paramon Menekleous, man between two pillars and two small, girt boys, H. 0.96; W. 0.47.

136 *Fig. 271.* NOEX 65.2. Grave stele showing woman and child. 2nd C. B.C.

White marble.
There are two fragments: A, the badly battered upper portion of a child, and B, a standing woman, with feet missing and face badly battered. A portion of the r. side of the border preserved.
H. 0.37; W. 0.27; Th. 0.95. Figures stand out 0.065 from background. Clamp cut to bottom 0.145.
In a well, about 20 m. N of Sardis compound.

Fragment A shows the outline of the head, the l. shoulder, and elbow of a child standing beside the woman in B. Although the woman's face is gone, the head cloth can be seen coming down on both shoulders. Her himation is drawn across her body and supported by her bent l. arm. Just above it can be seen the belt of her high-girt chiton. The himation, which extends to below her knee, is transparent enough to reveal the heavier deep folds of the chiton. Her weight is on her l. leg, her r. is bent slightly to the side. Her r. arm is extended so that her hand rests on the child's head. The smoothed background of the stele can be seen between the two figures, and also behind the woman's l. shoulder. The framing border at the r. side has a smoothed surface on the front and side, but the back of the stele is quite rough. At the back there is a recess in the marble to bed a metal clamp and a piece of badly corroded iron is still showing. Below the metal there are deposits of mortar.

The border is so wide that one must assume a third person, the husband, standing on the other side of the child. The piece should be dated in the second half of the 2nd C. B.C. The piece is analagous to similar ones from Smyrna.

Published: *BASOR* 182, 45, fig. 36. The third person was suggested by letter from H. Möbius (Apr. 26, 1971); the dating is also his. For Smyrna examples, see Aziz, 46, ill. inv. no. 572.

137 *Fig. 272.* B-3. Stele with moth and figures. Hellenistic to 4th C. A.D.

Marble.
Top and side acroteria of stele broken and most of l. side of pediment. Diagonal break through relief panel. Lower l. and especially lower r. corners broken away; also most of r. edge of stele and entire r. side of relief panel. Figured surface heavily worn.
H. 1.26; W. 0.52; Th. at top 0.20, at bottom 0.23.
Originally found in 1912 "in the south portico of the Artemis Temple near the southeast corner" (*Sardis* VII [1932] 137).

At the top, in the pediment, is a moth with outstretched wings. The main recessed panel shows two large standing figures and part of a third to the r.; at the far l. are two smaller figures, one medium-sized, possibly seated, and the other a very small attendant or child, in profile. It is also possible that there were medium-sized figures in front of the central large figure (a girl?) and of the figure on the r. Above the heads is a shelf with, at the l., a barrel-vaulted box with a column at the corner. There are other unidentifiable objects, and, at the r., a recumbent animal, now headless, but probably a dog.

Above this shelf of objects, and below the pediment, is text (a) with a wreath to the l.:

ἀετὶς διαφέ–
ρων Εἰουλια
νῶ βρακαρίω

Gabled stele belonging to Iulianus, breeches-maker (after ibid., no. 167).

Below the recessed panel is text (b):

Αὐρ.Ἐπά[γ]αθος [ἡρῶον]
κατεσκεύασεν [ἑαυτῷ]
καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ [τέκνοις]
καὶ ἐγγόνο[ις.]

Aurelius Epagathos built the tomb for himself and for his wife and children and descendents.

As Buckler and Robinson state, the stele was originally carved in the Hellenistic period (the 2nd or 1st C. B.C.). It was reused by Epagathos in the late 3rd C. A.D., and again by Iulianus in the late 4th C. A.D. The entire stele and details of the moth, as well as the outlines of the figures, show strong late Pergamene Hellenistic influence.

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 167, p.137-138, fig. 153.

138 *Fig. 273.* NOEX 72.22. Relief stele with standing male. 1st C. B.C.?

Large-grained grayish white local marble. Resistant reddish sintering.
Broken on l. side and on top. Upper l. break and breaks on figure seem recent. The break runs across lower part of figure. The head, most of r. arm and abdomen, entire r. side below elbow, parts of upper l. leg, bits of l. shoulder, and l. hand are missing.
Total P.H. 0.76. Treated portion: H. 0.70; W. 0.70; max. Th. 0.18; H. of figure 0.50; W. of pilaster top 0.06; H. of pilaster shaft 0.46. Figure D. from background 0.045.
E bank of Pactolus River.

A rectangular stele—whether horizontal or vertical is not certain—is framed at the r. side by a Doric pilaster with a wide, flat base and a shaft which tapers markedly upward. There are two fasciae of an epistyle. A man dressed in a himation stands with his r. arm enclosed by the cloth against his chest, in the conventional manner of palliati. The l. arm, also wrapped in folds, hangs down the side, the cloak falling in "Phidian" swallow-tail folds below the broken hand. Although his face and hair have been entirely lost, the outline of the head indicates that he was looking off to his r. side. The preserved, heavily incrusted l. boot has an indication of toes.

R. side, original, is done summarily with a large chisel and large multiple toothed tool. The capital and entablature were roughly blocked out on the r. side. The back was done with a trimming hammer and large clawed tool.

The thickness of the piece and the peculiar condition of the l. side leave open the possibility that this is a fragment of a large horizontal, rather than a small vertical, stele. A woman may have stood to the man's l. The folds are rather summarily cut, in straight lines. The dating is most likely still in the 1st C. B.C.

Unpublished. Cf. Fıratlı, *Stèles,* nos. 162, pl. XL, 163, pl. XXXIX. Date suggested by H. Möbius, letter of Sept. 10, 1972.

139 *Figs. 274-275.* S72.6:8186. Relief fragment with adult and child. Late Hellenistic?

Coarse grayish white local marble.
Broken on all sides. Only small portion of two figures preserved.
H. 0.095; W. 0.165; Th. 0.030.
BE-C E13.18-13.35/N8.80-8.98 *96.94.

At the l. are the neck, shoulders, and part of the chest of an adult—whether man or woman is difficult to tell. The head was possibly veiled. The r. hand clutches the cloth coming over the l. shoulder; the arm must have been covered by the himation, a small portion of which is preserved. At the r. is the head of a child, probably a girl, as indicated by the rounded hair at the r. ear. The piece was probably broken up into fragments for burning in the limekiln found nearby (*BASOR* 211, 28, fig. 9).

The fragment is probably part of a larger three-figured funerary relief, with a large figure in the center, and a child at each side. Probably late Hellenistic.

Unpublished.

140 *Fig. 276.* NOEX 71.1. East Greek stele with mother, daughter, son. 1st C. B.C. or 1st C. A.D.

Marble.
Frame broken at top and bottom. Faces broken off; hands rubbed off. Lower part missing from knees of figures down.
H. 0.58; W. 0.48; D. 0.10-0.11; H. of l. figure 0.36, of central figure 0.42, of r. figure 0.33.
Said to have been built into a wall, ca. 20 m. N of the

HoB colonnaded street (W105/S205), together with Hellenistic through Roman sherds.

The stele has a simple panel frame, the top of which is straight, not pedimental. There are two ladies in Pudicitia posture, the one on the l. smaller, the other in the center taller (cf. 245 Fig. 425); a young man at the r. has his r. arm in a cloak, the l. holding a garment (palliatus type). All faces are worn. The girl's face was turned markedly to her l., as was her mother's. The boy looked somewhat more straight ahead. On both women, the garment, thrown over the l. wrist, descends in a straight central vertical fold. The other fold systems are indicated by somewhat schematic, shallow, but careful chisel work. The boy's tunic is visible at his neck. The half-length, elbow sleeve visible on his l. arm is shown as belonging to his cloak of which he grasps a fold, and which then falls accompanying his l. leg. There is asymmetry in the figures: the girl stands free of the frame but the boy pushes against it. All three figures are envisaged as looking at a spectator coming from their l. The background is smooth and simple, non-receding. It has been further refined for 0.03 below the frame. Otherwise, there is fine claw chisel work. The back has been flat chiselled and then smoothed. No attachments by dowels or the like are visible.

H. Möbius writes (letter Aug. 1971) that the stele is either 1st C. B.C. or 1st C. A.D., but is still entirely within the Hellenistic tradition. The strong throwing out of hips is late Hellenistic. The basic spirit is static and careful.

Published: *BASOR* 206, 32, fig. 22.

141 *Figs. 277-279.* NOEX 75.4. Stele with horseman relief, cut from a Doric column. Hellenistic, 2nd-1st C. B.C.

Marble, reddish accretion.
Piece broken off at top where stele was fastened from above, perhaps set within wall. Entire surface of the human figures and horse chiselled off, apparently intentionally.
Total H. 1.18. Relief on front consists of lightly sketched pediment with simple acroteria and wreath in center H. 0.18; a recessed relief panel over a plain band H. 0.51; a simple concave profile H. 0.07; a plain base H. 0.30; a counter profile H. 0.08; and footing.
Found near Mersindere, 3 km. from Sardis, March 1975. Brought by guard Ali Riza Atsan; the finder had thrown the piece into a riverbed.

The stele is made from nearly half of a large Doric column with four arrises preserved. The interridge distance is ca. 0.08. Between two trees is a horseman galloping to r. Holding the reins in his l. hand, he turns his head slightly back. It is not clear what he held in the raised r. hand. The cloak thrown over his shoulder waves behind his r. arm. Against the tree on the l. appears a small chubby figure, very poorly preserved, in near frontal pose and moving to l. It was cloaked and may be the usual small groom seen on such stelai. On the top of the column at the edge is a mason's mark (H. 0.025).

The stele belongs to a well-known class of late Hellenistic funerary monuments. The lively rhythm and the workmanship, competent though sketchy, would be consistent with late Hellenistic "Pergamene" rather than Roman Imperial style.

Published: *AJA* 80:3 (1976) 281, pl. 51:23. Cf. Bieber, figs. 646, 647, stelai from Pergamon and Smyrna with horseman and with pediment; fig. 539, Smyrna. Cf. also Fıratlı, *Stèles,* 26, 112, no. 185, pl. 45.

GMAH

142 *Figs. 280-281.* NOEX 60.3. Nude male. Hellenistic?

White marble.
Lower neck to upper r. leg. Background preserved by his l. arm and beside body at r. Surface chipped, particularly r. chest, hand, and drapery. Some new scratches (from pick?).
H. 0.55; H. of figure 0.47; W. 0.40. Total Th. 0.24; Th. of background 0.09, of relief 0.15.
Findspot unknown.

The nude male figure carries a cloth draped over his l. shoulder. His l. arm is bent at the elbow, comes forward, and grasps the heavy drapery which falls in broad folds from his shoulder. A trace of the drapery, or possibly of the r. arm, survives at his r. side. The weight was on his r. leg, and he has a slight Polykleitan curve to his body. The figure is in very high relief.

The general workmanship and especially the modelling of the torso are very fine. There is deep

drilling of the drapery on his l. side, but any evidence of drilling on the front of the drapery or the body has been eliminated. The type shows a heroic nude, a casual pose known from the Hellenistic period.

Unpublished. Cf. Fıratlı, *Stèles,* 90, no. 117, pl. XXXIII.

143 *Fig. 282.* NOEX 69.17; IN69.12. MANISA 3938. Stele of Nympheros. 2nd C. A.D.

Crystalline white marble, flakes away easily.
Stele complete. Surface damage heavy, particularly on face of Nympheros, and chest and arms. Lower part of his staff missing. Also genitals. Facial details on small boy also missing, and surface of his legs. Background surface flaked away in part.
H. 0.95; W. at bottom 0.52; Th. 0.105; W. of raised band around edge 0.03; H. of man 0.775, of child 0.32, of letters 0.035.
PC, but not in excavations.

A heroic nude male figure in high relief stands frontally with his arms away from his body. He looks off to his l. The weight is on his l. leg, the r. is bent and drawn back slightly. In his r. hand he holds a thick round object, probably a weight (?), with an incised circle and a central dot. His l. holds a javelin. A small nude boy at his r. side looks in the same direction as the man, or more likely, looks up at him. He holds an object in his bent l. arm. The r. arm is also bent, the hand at his paunchy child's stomach. Two other athletic objects are indicated: a hoe, standing upright in the lower r. corner, would be to even out the sandpit for jumping; and a pair of concave-sided cylinders, hanging in the upper l. corner of the stele, are encircled and held suspended by a strap. Background surface recedes sharply from the man's knees downward. Letters ΝΥΜΦΕΡΩΣ carved on flat surface just below relief. Back side is rough picked.

Type and pose are modelled on heroic athletic stelai and specifically follow the style of gladiatorial reliefs. Nympheros was a common name for gladiators. Better work of 2nd C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 199, 40, fig. 6. Date is according to H. Möbius (letter Apr. 26, 1971). For spiritual antecedents of the relief cf. Friis-Johansen, 22, fig. 8 and Hatt, no. 17. For related gladiatorial reliefs, Robert, *Gladiateurs,* no. 302, pl. 19; no. 119, pl. 23; no. 241, pl. 21. For the name, cf. ibid., 301, no. 191a; no. 300, pl. 5; no. 302, pl. 19. For similar pair of cylinders, see Arndt-Amelung-Lippold, no. 222.

144 *Fig. 283.* S66.9:7017. Unfinished stele(?) fragment.

White marble.
Lower l. corner of a stele, showing a youth. His head and l. side missing.
H. 0.233; W. at base 0.117; D. 0.065; H. of base 0.035.
Syn marble piles.

A male figure, apparently a child, is only roughly blocked out. The youth stands with both feet firmly planted on the base. A curving shape on his r. side suggests that he was intended to carry a cornucopia, and a slight protruberance across his body might have been carved into a chlamys. The blocking out is done by large gouging strokes which are diagonal to the sculptural forms. Between the lower legs are two clear outlining channels made with a drill.

The figure was not carried far enough to be identifiable but the cornucopia and chlamys, if that is what they are, suggest a seasonal putto or a child similar to the one, also in the lower l. corner, shown with Nympheros (143 Fig. 282). This is an interesting example of unfinished Roman workmanship, but the date is not determinable.

Unpublished.

145 *Fig. 284.* NOEX 70.13; IN70.11. Relief fragment with reclining and standing figures. Inscription on reverse. 2nd C. A.D.?

Large-grained marble.
Broken on all sides.
H. 0.47; W. 0.40; Th. 0.145 without relief, 0.18 with relief.
Found in field ca. 200-250 S of Izmir-Salihli highway, ca. E400/S220.

The two fragmentary figures are separated by a vertical band, W.0.03. Figure at l. is a youthful male with chlamys over both shoulders and a sleeved tunic. Three horizontal swinging folds are on his chest. His head is broken off at the neck. He reclines on a couch with l. arm bent and resting on two cushions. His hand rests on l. cushion; an indistinct round object is on r. cushion. Upper r.

edge of couch is preserved in outline but the surface is broken off. Figure at r. is a draped male(?) in three-quarter profile, head and front broken off. A sleeved undergarment falls over his bent r. arm. Chiton behind r. shoulder to belt height, where two horizontal bunched folds intersect it. R. knee turned toward viewer, thus indicating three-quarter view of figure.

Inscription of five lines on reverse (H. of letters 0.04-0.05):

ο . . . ο
Ϗ·ξ του δε
ναρτον·
υημιμη
ηχωση

Letters, with serifs and broken alpha, indicate 2nd C. A.D. L. Robert (letter Jan. 5, 1976) writes that the rather enigmatic inscription seems to pertain to settlements or accounts. In the second line he identifies the symbol for δηνάρια and the number seven; in the third line the word ἄρτον in the accusative.

Unpublished.

146 *Figs. 285-289.* NOEX 60.17. MANSIA 3791. Two blocks showing venatio scenes. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Grayish large-grained marble, possibly different from Sart "local."
Two slabs preserved, A and B. A is broken off at l. end; B has three fragments on l. side reattached. Top roughly trimmed. Ends of block at r. seem original. Red cement, from reuse, still partly disfigures surface.
A: L. 0.52; W. 0.40; Th. 0.095; H. upper frieze 0.19; H. lower frieze 0.19. B: L. 0.60; W. 0.40; Th. 0.08; H. upper frieze 0.19; H. lower frieze 0.20.
Said to have come from a tomb. Çakallar (valley in Tmolus) ca. 2 km. W of Salihli.

A belongs to the l. of B. Both blocks are in two registers depicting scenes of venatio and wild beast fights.

A. Upper Register: bull, destroyed behind front legs, facing man (nude or wearing trunks). Also a bear, standing on hind legs, fighting a bull. Lower Register: bull walking l., head partly missing; also bull walking r., being speared by man walking l. wearing boots and short tunic and carrying a heavy rectangular shield.

B. Upper Register: man riding bull to l. An attacking lion with curly tail has jumped on bull's neck. Also man riding bull to r. is being hailed (stopped?) by standing man with raised r. hand. The man riding bull, r., has the most detailed face, with small pudgy features. Lower Register: bull, facing r., is being speared by a man with heavy rectangular shield. Bull, walking l., being ridden by man with short tunic. A bear, facing r., is jumping on bull's neck.

One of the "themes" of A is repeated in B: the man with a spear and rectangular shield, confronting a bull, is seen in the lower r. of A and the lower l. of B. Both friezes are carved within projecting ground lines (which protrude ca. 0.025 and 0.03 respectively). The background is treated with rather large-size claw chisel strokes (H. each stroke ca. 0.02).

The workmanship is lively but summary. A close, but better-done parallel from Apri in Thrace (Robert, *Gladiateurs,* no. 27) has a very similar arrangement in friezes, with bears in combat, and also shows men both riding and attacking bulls. On our example, the men *attacking* the bull are upper l. and lower r. on A, lower l. on B; while the men *riding* bulls are upper l. and lower r. on B. Apparently the beasts are being captured for riding in an amphitheater. Furthermore, the man in B, upper r., with raised hand, seems to be signalling, as if in games. The relief is probably from the tomb of a Roman magistrate who gave games; but it might also come from a theater, as did a similar relief from Hierapolis, which came from a theater pilaster. Here too we see men riding bulls, and bears in combat, again portrayed in two tiers.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 95, fig. 96; *BASOR* 162, 49; *ILN* (Apr. 1, 1961) 536, fig. 2. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs,* no. 27, p. 90-92, 324-326, pl. 24. Cf. also another venatio relief from Sardis: *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 82, p. 88-89, fig. 69, pl. XII. For a man hunting bulls and its relation to amphitheaters, see Aymard, 311, pl. XVII. Cf. also Robert, *Gladiateurs,* 309ff. for a discussion of hunting and animal contests in the amphitheater—and especially p.

324. For the Hierapolis relief, *JdI* Ergänzungsheft 4 (1898) 64, figs. 12 and 13. A hunting sarcophagus in Adalia shows men on foot in combat with animals, including a "Carian" humped ox, Rodenwaldt, 195, fig. 9.

The three reliefs which follow, two venatio compositions and an enigmatic cult scene, were found together, by chance, in a vegetable garden, ca. 145 m. W of PBr and ca. 130 m. E of the mausoleum of Claudia Antonia Sabina (No. 32.1 on Fig. 1; the findspot is ca. W430/S25) in the spring of 1975. Similarity of size, material, and style suggest that they came from the same monument. The surface accretions are the same, indicating that they were buried at the same time and place. According to the owner of the land they were lying side by side when found. Fallen debris was observed but no walls, thus there is no known evidence for the monument which they adorned. The subject is appropriate to the decoration of an amphitheater, but the small scale (W. 1 m. ±) accords more with that of an honorary or funerary monument, and the immediate area along the highway was occupied by tombs. The late style and crudeness of execution preclude association with the mausoleum of Claudia Antonia Sabina; they must have come from some later tomb or honorary monument. The figures resemble those on the arch of Constantine and the compositional organization in registers, with no background or ground lines, suggests a date of mid-3rd or early 4th C. A.D. The discussion of these three reliefs has been greatly helped by a special study by J. A. Scott. A detailed publication will be produced by the staff of the Archaeological Museum, Manisa. We wish to thank the Director, Kubilay Nayır, for his cooperation in making the reliefs available for study for this volume.

For monuments with venatio reliefs commemorating the services of Asiarchs and other persons who had paid for the games see *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 162; for use on funerary vs. honorary monuments, cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs,* 42-43. For a funerary altar with animals in registers on either side, idem, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 126ff., no. 321, pl. XVI:2-4. For the mausoleum of Claudia Antonia Sabina, cf. *Sardis* V (1924) 4-5, figs. 1-2 and 243 (Fig. 422).

GMAH

147 *Fig. 290.* NOEX 75.1. Marble frieze slab with venatio scene (bulls and boar). 3rd-4th C. A.D. (or later?).

Grayish white marble with large crystals, covered by iron-containing siliceous accretion, not yielding to dilute acids (according to P. A. Lins). Probably local.
Part of face cleaved away at upper r. corner. The oblong rectangular slab is rough-trimmed on the back; some small recent chipping at edges.
H. 0.62; L. 1.02; Th. at bottom 0.12.

The top has a pinhole on the l. and a somewhat obliquely placed large rectangular clamp cutting in the center. The underside shows no cuttings or hole and is rough-chiselled. The r. side is carefully finished with a fine claw tool. The l. side is more roughly cut but with anathyrosis and probably joined stone parts on both sides and was held in place only from above.

The front has a band at the top projecting 0.02 m. (H. ca. 0.09; L. 0.79). It has a clamp cutting (L. 0.04; D. 0.02) 0.15 m. from the l. edge. The figure scene consists of three hunters on foot coming from the r. and four animal groups. The composition is arranged in two registers which are not defined by ground lines, and the two overlap each other giving the effect of random placement. In the upper r. corner remain the legs of a figure in a short tunic. Part of his l. hand is visible; he may have been holding an object with both hands. Below are two men. The one on the l. lunges toward a fallen boar; on the basis of other scenes, one would expect him to finish off the boar with a spear, but none is visible. He is seen from the back; his spine and shoulder blade are indicated. He wears the *subligaculum* and a thick belt. A *parma* protects his l. arm. His head is bare and his hair full and rather long. His r. leg overlaps that of a second man on the extreme r. He carries a net over his l. shoulder and appears to wear the bowl-shaped cap of the *venator.*

The animals encounter each other in three groups. Upper r.: a bull galloping to l., head facing front, is attacked by a jumping doubled-up animal, probably a dog rather than a bear. Upper l.: a humped bull, galloping to r., head facing front, is attacked by a squat animal on its hind legs, probably a bear. His teeth and three claws are

visible. Lower r.: a rampant, facing bull (stance is like the "Farnese bull") gallops over an animal fallen on its back, which seems to have the bristly head and spine of a boar. Lower l.: a large animal (bear?) with a triangular head, seen in quarter view, jumps on top of an animal, which may be a hound with a collar and pointed ears, or a boar. The latter has his back hidden, but he has a definite snout, ruff-like hair around his neck, and appears to have hoofs rather than claws. Next, to the r., a short animal, with neck and head turned angularly down, might be intended as a lion or a boar(?). The "collar" or hair around his neck is very clearly rendered.

As Aymard has pointed out, amphitheater scenes are hard to distinguish from those of real hunts. The upper r. figure, who may be the keeper that has released the beasts and is spurring them to fight each other, speaks for a staged hunt in an amphitheater. That the animals are attacking each other also indicates a venatio scene.

Unpublished. On staged arena hunts Aymard, 82-83, 189ff. For the clothing and weapons, ibid., 203ff. and the descriptions with drawings in E. Ghislanzoni, "Il Rilievo gladiatorio di Chieti," *MonAnt* 19 (1908-10) 35ff. The animal groups may be compared to those on a mosaic from Rades in Tunisia, dated 4th C. A.D. (*Inventoire des mosaics de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* II.1, *Tunisie* [Paris 1913] no. 511) which is apparently a group of bears trained to stage combats with bulls and other animals (there is also a bear climbing a pole). For humped bulls or zebu see Keller, 166ff.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London/Ithaca 1973) 148, 285-286, fig. 143; Pliny *NH* 8.70.179-180.

GMAH

148 *Figs. 291-292.* NOEX 75.2. Marble frieze slab with venatio scene (hunters, hounds, bulls, and bear). 3rd-4th C. A.D.

Same marble and surface accretion as **147** (Fig. 290). Damaged at l. top and along bottom; lower r. corner broken off. Rough trimmed at back and sides. On top, traces of fastened clamp (P.L. 0.05; W. 0.02); a broken area in center might come from another fastening device. P.H. 0.56; L. 0.96; W. at top 0.10, at bottom 0.14.

Roughly sketched indications of arcades(?) in the background suggest the representation of an amphitheater event. The three-register composition is more rigid than that of **147**. At the upper r. is a man striding into the arena and signalling with his r. arm raised. He wears a sleeved tunic and has cap-like hair. Below him is a second figure in similar pose but apparently wearing the *subligaculum*. His head is too abraded to say if he wears a cap. Both figures are the same size and may be *bestiarii* who have released and are spurring the animals to fight; compare the similar figure in **146** (Fig. 288) and an earlier relief of bull games and animal fights from Apri. Just to the l. in the lowest register a third man bends to his r. and grasps the horns of a bull which is simultaneously attacked from the rear by a bear. The man wears a belted garment with some cross folds indicated. He seems to wear a cap. On the l. a hound is jumping toward the bear.

Above, a bull in full career is attacked by four hounds. Two jump at him symmetrically from the sides. Below, one hound has fastened to his r. rear leg and is jumping to r. Another is flying to the l. below the bull, perhaps admonished by the *venatores*. The arrangement of four dogs makes a nearly symmetrical composition. The scene may show bull grappling, *taurokathapsia*.

Unpublished. For bull games with horsemen, *taurokathapsia*, Pliny *NH* 8.70.182; Suetonius *Claudius* 21; a relief from Smyrna inscribed "the second day of the *taurokathapsia*," is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A. Evans, *JHS* 41 [1921] 247-259; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 206, 319, no. 234). A very fragmentary relief found by the first Sardis expedition has an inscription tentatively restored to read "three days of bull grappling and hunts"; the legs of two men and a leaping bull are preserved in the upper register (*Sardis* VII [1932] no. 82, pl. 12; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 161-162, no. 138). For the Apri relief, ibid., no. 27, pl. 24 = Mendel III no. 1066. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, passim, esp. 90-92, 313ff., documents the evidence for the hunts and amphitheater events in Asia Minor.

GMAH

149 *Figs. 293-294.* NOEX 75.3. Marble frieze slab with cult scene at a tree. 3rd-4th C. A.D.

Same marble and accretion as **147** and **148** (Figs. 290-292).
Several light spots partially cleaned. Old break at lower r. New chips at upper l.
H. 0.59; L. 0.81; W. at top 0.12, at bottom 0.10. Altar: H. 0.10; L. 0.17.

The rough-trimmed back is cut back on both sides as if it was fitted against a pier with projecting sides. A large rectangular dowel hole with small pouring channel is at each side and an even larger rectangular cutting in the center just below the top (L. 0.075; D. 0.03; H. 0.04 and L. 0.012; D. 0.03; H. 0.07 respectively). Two rough, shallow cuttings appear on the plain band on the top front, also to hold the piece in place from above. There is a top and bottom band (H. ca. 0.06-0.07).

Standing within a rectangular base or altar is a tree with four nearly symmetrical branches and a spreading top. The tree is quite flat and has no other details. It projects ca. 0.025 m. Attached to the four branches, as it seems in three cases at the neck and in one case at mid-spine (lower r.), are four small nude figures with round heads. They differ slightly. The one at top r. has hair set off clearly. His legs are free of the tree and his hands seem to touch the r. arm of a standing figure. The legs are stretched out as if swimming. The figure suspended below has no distinct hair and is attached to the branch at a point just above the small of his back. His hands touch the knee of the same standing figure; his legs are bent. The upper l. suspended figure resembles that on the upper r., but both feet are stemmed against the branch, and his arms are stretched out with hands forward. The figure below, suspended from the shoulder blades, corresponds in posture with bent legs to that on the lower r. His hands seem to touch the object carried by two figures below, but this may be unintentional. Eyes seem indicated in the two l. figures; sex is not defined. The small figures do not look like strawmen or puppets.

The figure on the upper r. wears the gladiatorial tunic and apparently a rounded cap. His pose resembles that of the signalling *bestiarii* on the two previous reliefs and **146** (Figs. 285-289), but his head is turned away from the cult scene to his l. His feet are overlapped by the head of the r. figure below who has ample hair and a straight long dress and is clearly a woman. Her head and body are seen full front. She holds in both hands a tray which the male figure on her l. is ready to receive with both hands. Her hairdo resembles Severan coiffure. A *mappa* hangs down from the end of the tray. The man on her l. has hair clearly set off and resembles the *venatores* on the two previous reliefs, but his apron-like cloth also resembles the *limus* of a *victimarius* (cf. Ryberg, 20, pl. 6).

Approaching the tree from the lower l. with an indistinct rectangular tray-like offering is a figure clad in the same long dress as the woman on the r. It is not clear from the hair whether it is a male or female. One leg is in profile, the other in front view.

Next on the l. are two figures who carry an indistinct object. The one on the r. has an indication of hair; he wears a short tunic. He supports the object with a raised, bent l. arm. The one on the l. is taller and supports with his r. hand, his back toward the viewer. He seems to wear a helmet-like cap and a short belted tunic. His back and part of one leg are cut off by the edge of the slab. They seem to carry an animal with horns (stag?) or bristles (boar?) with its head turned back (to r.) on its body. The group resembles that of two hunters on the Piazza Armerina mosaics (Hanfmann, *Roman Art*[1], 262, color pl. 24) carrying an animal slain during the hunt as an offering to Artemis.

In the upper l. corner are two musicians playing for the ceremony. They are very primitively sketched, but the l. one is playing Pan pipes and the r. the double flute. They wear knee-length, sack-like garments.

The trays, animal sacrifice, and musicians are usual traits of Roman sacrifices, but the children remain enigmatic. The chief cult observance clearly pertains to the tree. One recalls that on the Cybele shrine (7 Fig. 45) there is one scene in which a tree seems to be protected by eagles. The scene must show a peculiar local ritual (for an example, cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth in Bossert *Festschrift,* 268-269).

Unpublished. The "tree babies" may be compared to amorini in the mosaics of the Villa Romana des Casale in the Piazza Armerina (G. V. Gentili, *Mosaics di Piazza Armerina* [Rome 1962] pl. III). L. Robert has suggested (orally) that they are *dendrobates = arbarii,* those who climb trees in amphitheaters; in his *Gladiateurs,* 327-328, he presents texts where *dendrobates,* unlike acrobats, are mentioned in connection with *venatores* and gladiators, but nothing suggests that they were children. F. K. Yegül has pointed out, however, a similar childlike figure, apparently suspended in horizontal pose, on a venatio relief

fragment in the Selcuk Museum (no. 145). For trees and natural terrain in amphitheaters, ibid. and Aymard, 82-83, 189. On tree worship: Nilsson I 209ff.

GMAH

150 *Figs. 295.* NOEX 71.7; IN71.7. Stele of Menandros Apoloniou with gorgoneion in pediment and inscription. 3rd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Very much damaged surface. Reused. More of l. side chiselled off in reuse than of the r. (on top near moulding). Surface pitted. An original inscription erased to make room for the preserved inscription.
H. 1.01; W. at base 0.435; Th. 0.12-0.14; H. of letters ca. 0.02-0.025.
S of HoB area, W0/S270, ca. 20 S of CW section 30, at a place with at least two Roman-built chamber tombs.

The stele tapers markedly upward. It had a simple profile projecting over the l. and r. sides. A steep pediment (int. H. 0.20; int. W. 0.31) has a crude gorgon's head. The bottom of the pediment is constituted by six horizontal flower calyxes, and indistinct plants, possibly vines, go up the sides of the pediment. In the corners of the pediment are heart-shaped objects (two palmette leaves?). The flat-faced, long-jawed gorgoneion has most of the surface of her face split off. On top, the hair is parted in the middle and surmounted by an oval ornament(?). She has a glowering, contracted brow and rather large, popping eyes. Two individual locks (snakes) swing from the temple and cheek on each side. A third pair is tied under the jaw.

Below the pediment there is an inscription of eleven lines which was carved over an area where an earlier inscription had been erased.

Μένανδρος Α/πολωνίου ξ[ων]/
κατεσκεύα[σε]/ μνήμειαν καὶ
α/ὐτῷ καὶ Κλ[. . .]νη τῇ συμβίῳ
κ/αὶ τέκοις καὶ/ ἐκγόνοις καὶ
γ/νησίνῳ ἀπελευ/θέρῳ καὶ Σ[. .]τη/
θυγάτρι αὐτοῦ.

In his lifetime, Menandros son of Apol(l)onios set up a memorial to himself and to Kl . . . ne his wife, and his children and descendents and lawful freedman and S . . . te his daughter.

The sides of the stele are worked with a large claw chisel; the back is very roughly trimmed with a trimming hammer. Rustic work, 3rd C. A.D.? The gorgoneion seems to be contemporary with the second inscription.

Published: *BASOR* 206, 32. Cf. a stele from Aquincum, now in the Musée de Budapest, with a crude gorgon in the pediment, Cumont, *Recherches,* pl. X. He suggests (p. 155 n.4) that perhaps Medusa on some stelai represents the face of the moon, the end of the voyage of the souls, carried there by the winds.

151 *Fig. 296.* NOEX 74.3. Stele with standing draped woman. Probably 3rd C. A.D.

Very large-grained local marble.
Broken on all sides. Of the head, only r. cheek preserved. Traces of cement on front and back from reuse.
P.H. 0.25; W. 0.15; Th. 0.03.
Found in the garden of Himmet Aydın between the Pactolus and Sart Mustafa, W80-200/S680-700.

The relief is probably from a funerary stele. There is no indication whether there were more figures. The woman is standing, head turned to her r. with slightly bent r. arm across chest. Based on a Hellenistic type with short upper, long lower body, she wears a chiton (three primitive vertical folds are visible below cloak) and a cloak draped around the body and l. arm. A fold of her cloak falls from her l. wrist and her r. leg comes forward under the edge of the cloak. The background comes forward in lower part. Crude linear work done in large, flat chisel strokes, left unfinished on neck, then abraded for polish.

Unpublished.

GMAH

152 *Fig. 297.* S68.3:7655. Top fragment of stele with standing woman. 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble, much incrusted.
Only pediment preserved.
H. 0.235; W. 0.28; D. 0.05; H. of relief 0.008-0.012; H. of figure 0.142.
Syn Fc E105.70/N5.70 *96.05, reused in N-S drain wall.

Steep triangular pediment has an incised line following edge of stele; base of triangle is a broken entablature. Within the triangle is an arch supported by impost blocks, which in turn rest on the base of the triangle, all with bevelled sides. Within

the arch is a standing frontal woman with tiny curls (circles in relief) around her head and a small veil(?) over her hair, but not hanging below the ears. Three incision marks on her r. side into background may indicate loose strands of hair. Eyes and nose are visible, mouth is chipped away. Her neck is short. A cape with converging parallel lines makes a V-neckline and a heavy garment marked by vertical parallel incisions falls to the feet, which project below it. Plain sleeves are worn to wrists. The hands are large for the body and the r. arm is longer than the l. Below her r. hand is an unidentifiable small object. The fingers are incised on l. hand.

The figure is simplified and stocky, the folds shown by incision. The work is highly provincial and therefore hard to date, but probably 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

153 *Fig. 298.* NOEX 60.16; IN 60.47. Stele fragment with gladiator relief. 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble.
Surface heavily incrusted by brown calcium carbonate coating. L. side missing, cutting off border; also the man's r. elbow and lower r. leg, and most of the inscription below.
H. 0.625; W. 0.293; Th. 0.09; H. figure 0.43; H. relief 0.02-0.04.
Findspot unknown.

The gladiator, clutching a short sword in his r. hand, strides toward the r. He is enclosed by a rectangular cutting. Below his feet was an inscription, giving the man's name; all that remains is -ΚΟΣ. The gladiator wears a heavy helmet with squared top and encircling protective visor, thick arm and body padding, greaves, and boots. His shield, held in front of his body by the (hidden) l. hand, is a curved rectangular type covering him to the knees; a small elongated knob decorates the front center.

The relief is simple and bold, showing broad surfaces without detail. The style is somewhat stiff and flat, but not ineffective. A 3rd C. date seems likely.

Unpublished. Compare similar stele types, showing single gladiator and inscription, Robert, *Gladiateurs,* nos. 187, 226, 256 (all pl. VIII) and plates following. Cf. similar relief from Ephesus: Bammer-Fleischer-Knibbe, 145f., inv. no. 1290, with references. There are also six similar gladiator stelai lined up along the road E of the Ephesus agora (just S of the theater). Cf. also similar shield and armor on relief, García y Bellido, 424, no. 428, pl. 306. Cf. also 154 (Fig. 299).

154 *Fig. 299.* NOEX 63.3. Gladiator. 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble.
Slab broken away immediately around the figure. His l. leg and lower r. leg are missing.
H. 0.325; W. 0.18; Th. background 0.023; Th. relief ca. 0.02.
In the Pactolus bed, just S of the bridge over the Izmir-Salihli highway.

The gladiator's helmet has a protective flap covering his neck; the face is exposed. His round shield, covering the front and l. side of his body, has a small elongated knob in the front center, cf. 153 (Fig. 298). His body does not seem to be padded, except on the legs. He carries a sword in his r. hand.

The pose and size are exactly the same as 153, and the workmanship is similar. The two may well have been done by the same hand, on similar types of stelai.

Unpublished.

155 *Fig. 300.* NOEX 61.4. MANISA. Five gladiators. 3rd or 4th C. A.D.

Marble.
Top and side edges broken away, also lower r. corner. Heavy surface damage and earth incrustation.
H. 0.37; W. 0.54; Th. 0.12-0.14.
Near village of Mersindere, W of Sardis.

A horizontal frieze shows five gladiators, fighting in pairs. Just above their heads is a projecting ledge, above which are traces of a second frieze. Each man wears a helmet with projections to protect the neck, and each has padded legs. The second and third from the l. have their faces exposed; on the others this cannot be seen. The same two figures carry large round shields and seem to be attacking each other with daggers held in the r. hands. The man at the far l. also carries a dagger. The two figures at the far r. seem to carry large rectangular shields.

The style is crude and provincial. A date in the 3rd or 4th C. is likely.

Unpublished. For another example of pairs of gladiators fighting, and two registers, compare a relief from

Ephesus, Robert, *Gladiateurs,* 200-201, no. 218, pl. XVI. Here the other register, below instead of above the gladiators, shows laden ox-drawn carts and men walking along with them. There is a similar thick band between the two registers. The carving here too is fairly crude.

156 *Figs. 301-303.* Rock-cut relief, aedicula with two frontal figures. Hellenistic, 3rd-2nd C. B.C.?

Cut into native white marble wall at Mağara Deresi quarry. The relief was first reported by R. H. Whallon in 1960. It was photographed in color by C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. in 1974. It was damaged sometime before July 1975, when it was seen by Nuşin Asgari. The present description was made by C. H. Greenewalt and G. M. A. Hanfmann on Aug. 27, 1975.
Original surface weathered gray and yellow and quite indistinct. Recent (1975) breaks are white. Recent damage: l. corner of pediment, more than half of relief panel broken off. Of the figure on the l. only the outline of head, neck, and shoulders remains.
Total max. H. 1.05; H. of panel with figures 0.65, of pediment 0.285; P.W. of aedicula 0.60.
S of AT on the W bank of the Mağara Deresi gorge ca. 100 m. S of quarry 1 in the designations (*supra* Ch. I), ca. 60 m. S of a bend in the torrent, ca. 3 m. above torrent bed. The relief is located at the juncture of the E quarry face, which runs parallel to the torrent, and the rising quarried E-W wall which faces S. The relief faces SE. Slightly above and to the r. of the relief is a deeply graven small swastica (0.50 E from top of pediment and 0.13 above it).

The architectural frame consists of a rather steeply pitched pediment outlined on the rock with rows of points. Underneath the pediment is a row of (originally 16?) rectangles alternately projecting and recessed; 8 raised and 4 recessed rectangles survive, intended either as oversized dentils or as small Doric metopes. Even before 1975, the l. side of the vertical support was gone. The r. side consists of a thin Ionic pilaster, which has one volute on the l. side. A nice caduceus (Hermes' wand) is incised half way up on the face.

There are two rectangular dowel holes (ca. 0.03 by 0.025; D. 0.04), one in the center of the pediment and one to the r. at the same H., as if something had been fastened horizontally. Two round holes (diam. 0.01; D. 0.04) appear on both sides of the center below the dentils, ca. 0.30 apart.

The relief panel is markedly recessed. The l. figure is now indecipherable; from earlier sketches and a color slide it appears to be a frontal male, possibly with a cloak or skin thrown from the l. shoulder to the r. hip and holding a stick(?) or club with his l. hand. Herakles, whose club appears prominently on Sardian Hellenistic coins and whose adventures were linked with Sardis at an early date, would fit the indistinct outline best; but the caduceus on the pier of the aedicula suggests Hermes as a possible alternative.

The r. figure is a goddess in a long dress. What is extant at the bottom of the dress shows that two little feet emerged from the drapery. She wears a crown; the outline of the crown and the termination of the hair can be discerned on her r. shoulder. Her r. arm was bent and held something: an animal is possible but the surface permits no certainty. Her l. arm hung down below the body, the forearm coming forward at an angle to touch the pillar standing next to her. This pillar recedes obliquely; the turn from front to diagonal plane is not sharp, as in good Hellenistic reliefs (cf. 135 Figs. 269-270), but rounded. At shoulder level to the goddess a line of deep dots, done with the point, goes across the pillar, probably to designate its top. Above the line is a vague spreading form, perhaps intended as a basket; and above that is an indistinct mass with some point-dots, possibly intended for an acanthus-like floral growth.

The goddess is apparently designed to represent an archaic image. If she held a lion, she would be Kuvava (Cybele); if the object on the pillar is a blooming plant, she might be the Kore of Sardis. Too much of the surface is lost to permit identification.

The relief was never elaborate. If the rectangles are intended as Doric metopes, the relief cannot be earlier than Hellenistic. A certain nicety and precision in the drawing of the architecture weigh in favor of a Hellenistic rather than Roman date. Like the small Madonnas and crucifixes in Catholic countries, it probably served as a small shrine receiving the devotions of marble workers in the quarry. Conceivably, it might have been made at the time when marble was being quarried for the Hellenistic Temple of Artemis (ca. 250 B.C. on?).

Unpublished. For the type of archaic goddess with polos cf. 3 and 194 (Figs. 9-10, 344). Coins with club of Herakles (Apollo-club, Herakles-Apollo) and myths of

Herakles will be discussed in the catalogue of Greek coins by A. E. M. Johnston in a forthcoming volume in this series. She will also treat the representations of Kore.

GMAH

157 *Fig. 304.* S72.7:8187. Fragment with charioteer. 3rd or 4th C. A.D.

Grayish marble, large crystals. Decomposing at l. edge from a fire, crumbling with clear carbon streaks. Broken on all sides except the r., where the broad frame is preserved.
H. 0.14; W. 0.175; Th. 0.04, W. of frame: top 0.075, bottom 0.085.
BE-C E10.18-10.34/N12.77-12.93 *97.24; near the lime-kiln, *BASOR* 211, 27-28, fig. 9.

A standing male figure is partially preserved: his l. arm, l. part of his body, midriff, skirt, and part of the l. leg to just below the knee. This is a charioteer standing frontally, his l. arm lowered. He wears the typical chiton with multiple girding around his waist. The frame at the r. tapers upwards. The figure is carefully smoothed, as is the r. edge and the back of the frame.

The straight and rather linear folds indicate workmanship of a date not earlier than the 3rd, or possibly the 4th C. A.D. He may be from a funerary or a votive stele.

Unpublished.

Votive Reliefs

158 *Fig. 305.* NOEX 70.7. Patera and two snakes. Early Hellenistic?

Grayish white marble, large grains.
Fragment is broken on all four sides.
H. 0.305; W. 0.43; D. 0.19, of slab without relief 0.15, of patera 0.21.
W bank of Pactolus, ca. W445/S1120.

Two snakes face each other, with a patera between them. The patera, whch is in much higher relief (0.04) than the snakes (0.004), is flat on the surface, then bevelled out to the sides. There is a small hole in the center, depressed ca. 0.002 and 0.002-0.004 in diam. The l. snake is preserved for one and a half bends, while only the head of the r. one remains. They are bearded and horned, and a long narrow tongue projects from the mouth. The horns, beards, and tongues are flush with the background, their edges chiselled into the surface; whereas the mouth and eye of the snakes are chiselled into the raised heads. Along the body of the l. snake is visible a row of slanted short lines on his belly.

The flat surface of the patera and the background of the relief are covered with claw chisel marks; also the edge of the patera has been carefully chiselled. Along both sides of the body of the l. snake, a border of 0.01-0.02 has been worked with a flat chisel (169 Fig. 317 has a similar border). There is no evidence of drill work anywhere.

The bearded snake is an old theme which is repeated commonly, particularly as the snake is related to religion and death. The presence of the patera implies that there is a ritual significance to our piece, and indeed it might be an altar. The extensive and fine chisel work, and the absence of drill work, suggest a date early in the Hellenistic period.

Published: *BASOR* 203, 9; Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 206. For an early example, see the belt and hair of the gorgon from the temple at Kerkyra, Lullies-Hirmer, pl. 17. Also 5th C. B.C. bronze Kerykeion, Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries,* 166f., no. 78; idem in *Schimmel Collection,* no. 28. Cf. also idem, *Armorers,* 2f., 34, pls. 1ff. For the meaning: Kuster, esp. p. 62-70; also Lehmann-Hartleben-Olsen, 28-29. For a complete altar with a top such as ours, cf. Conze, pl. IV: 5; on altars in general see Hoffmann, "Altars," passim. Cf. also Will, *Le relief cultuel,* fig. 62. A similar juxtaposition of snakes and patera can be seen on a Roman altar at the Asklepeion at Pergamon.

159 *Fig. 306.* NOEX 63.15. Cybele in mural crown in front of tree. 150-50 B.C.?

Dense bluish gray marble, medium-large crystals.
R. hand edge finished and polished. Top original and roughened for fitting. Proper r. side carefully sawed off, apparently in ancient times. Perhaps another relief did join. Reddish earth adheres.
H. 0.24; L. on top 0.35; Th. with profile 0.55, without 0.45; H. of head, chin to top 0.085; H. of projecting profile 0.035.
Village of Matdere? Brought by peasant of that village to BT camp, Aug. 5, 1963.

At the top of the relief is a projecting simple profile. Below it are preserved the head of Cybele (or Tyche?) with a tall mural crown and the upper part of a tree. The head of the goddess is seen in profile, facing l. Her turreted crown sits on top of the head. The hair on top of her head is in simple curves and bound by a ribbon; below, the hair puffs out and is drawn into a bun at the back of the head. Half of the l. ear is visible, with a drill hole in the center (for an earring?). There is a small curl in front of it. She has a deep-set "Pergamene" eye and a somewhat bulbous nose with a strongly curved nostril. The projecting upper lip and chin and a small "breathing" mouth are characteristically Hellenistic. The tree is in two major trunks, with smaller, upward-rising branches on each. It is somewhat sketchy in execution, but was probably painted. The background is plain, with some tooth-chisel marks still visible.

If this is Cybele, then the tree might be the Pine of Attis. The scene might have been the r. end of a votive relief to the goddess. The style of the face and the tree seem to be Hellenistic, of perhaps 150-50 B.C.

Unpublished. An argument for Tyche is a comparison with a relief on the arch of Trajan at Benevento, D. Strong, *Imperial,* fig. 77 or Pieranges, pls. 24, 28. On Tyche, Hinks, 76ff. and Dohrn, *Tyche,* passim. On the other hand, Cybele with the Pine of Attis seems the more likely interpretation, cf. altar of Cybele and Attis, Vermaseren, 27, pl. 16, and Willemsen, pl. 116. On Cybele as Tyche, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 37 (1947) 136.

160 *Fig. 307.* MANISA 244. Altar with bucrania and garlands. 2nd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Top broken; some pieces of foot profile missing.
P.H. 0.64.
From Sardis, Nov. 24, 1956.

The three bucrania of the cylindrical altar are tied to garlands with beaded ribbons (*vittae*). Above the garlands are a moon, crescent, and star.

The dedicatory inscription mentions
. . . OEMON, priest of the Mother of the Gods.

The work is reasonably careful, for instance in the pendent *vittae*. The lettering of the inscription suggests that the piece is of the early Roman Empire, possbily 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

GMAH

161 *Figs. 308-309.* NOEX 74.1; IN74.2. Cylindrical marble altar with eagle and inscriptions. Late 1st or 2nd C. A.D.?

Made of one piece of local reddish-worn marble. Workmanship very fine and delicate, well finished background with multiple chisel. Broken diagonally across top on the l. side, with smaller breaks around foot. Head of eagle also broken off.
H. 0.54. Shaft: H. 0.39; top outer diam. 0.33, inner diam. 0.255. Diam. of base 0.34; H. and W. of letters 0.014. Top cutting: W. 0.035; D. 0.02.
Found at W180-200/S680-700 on Himmet Aydın's plot, between Pactolus and Sart Mustafa at foundation floor of new house.

The altar consists of a cylindrical shaft with apophyge (top and bottom), a crown moulding and foot moulding. The top consists of a convex ovolo surmounted by the beginning of a cyma. The raised central area of the top has a dowel hole, showing that another circular piece fitted on. The foot has a cyma recta profile over a torus. The shaft is decorated with an eagle that clutches a thunderbolt in its talons. A thin garland of leaves loops around the shaft in three steep swags, supported by filleted bucrania. Three paterae decorated with incised pointed leaves and central rosettes are placed above the garland, which, along with beaded sacred ribbons, is suspended from the horns of the bucrania. The major inscription begins above the l. bucranion on the upper shaft. A second, possibly secondary, inscription on the top moulding records the dedication to an emperor, whose name ended in *anos*. Hadrian, who visited Sardis in ca. A.D. 123-124 and 129-131, is the best candidate, but Vespasian, Domitian, or Trajan are also possible.

The major inscription on the shaft, which will be published by L. Robert, states that Demetrios, son of Hermogenes (dedicated the altar on behalf of himself?) and of the Servants (of Zeus?). Robert suggests that these *therapeutai* (servants) may be the same pious association which was mentioned in 367

B.C. as serving Zeus Baradates (273 Figs. 463-464):

α]νωΚαίσαρ(ι)
Δ]ημήτριος Ἑρμογένου[ς
τουκαιτωνθηραπεύ[των

For Samos, R. Horn dates a similar eagle altar to the late Hellenistic period. Stylistically, the Sardian altar, too, seems late Hellenistic. Perhaps the dedication to the emperor *-anos,* which is peculiarly placed, was added later. However, the style of Hadrianic classicism cannot be ruled out.

Published: *AJA* 79 (1975) 216, pl. 43:22; *Archaeology* 28:4 (1975) 131 ill.; *TürkArkDerg* 23:1 (1976) 58, fig. 11. Cf. Horn, *Samos* XII 48-49, 215-216, no. 179, pl. 94. For possible connection with Hadrian, who was equated with Zeus Olympios in Athens after A. D. 124-125, cf. *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 14, and on his visits. Magie, 612ff. For 273 of 367 B.C., see L. Robert *CRAI* (Apr.-June 1975) 306-330, esp. 320-321, on *therapeutai.*

GMAH

162 *Fig. 310.* S63.38:5456. Bringing goat to sacrifice. 1st C. B.C.

Local Anatolian white marble, large-grained. Yellowish weathering.
The lower l. corner of a relief, and bottom edges are original, r. and top edges broken off.
H. 0.16; W. 0.135; Th. 0.075; H. of border at bottom of relief 0.025.
Syn E113/N35 surface ca. *99.00. High rubble N of Syn Fc.

At the l. is a goat standing on his hind legs toward the r., but with his head turned back over his shoulder; his forelegs are bent upwards and lean against the leg of a nude man or satyr walking or dancing toward the r. The male figure is preserved as high as his chest, which is turned slightly toward the viewer. His belly is paunchy, his back arched slightly. With his r. arm he holds the horns of the goat behind him. Traces of the goat's beard and eye can be seen. At the broken r. edge is the lower part of a tree trunk or altar, which the satyr is approaching. At the l. and bottom is a raised border of the relief.

The workmanship is summary but lively. This is probably an example of the late phase of neo-Attic workmanship of the Hellenistic period, or 1st C. B.C.

Unpublished. For a goat in this position, see Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques* (Paris 1966) pl. 1b; for Dionysiac figures on sarcophagi in the same position, see ibid., pl. 3b. For Dionysiac figures dancing and holding such animals, see Fuchs, pls. 15-19.

163 *Fig. 311.* S64.46:6411. Horseman riding towards altar. Late Hellenistic or early Empire.

Large-grained, possibly local marble. Originally covered with dense red layer.
R. side and bottom original; sides are slightly slanted and carefully smoothed. L. side broken. Top trimmed obliquely. Back smooth but with some large point marks left.
H. 0.28; W. 0.395; D. 0.055; L. of horse 0.225.
HoB E48/S128 *101.10.

A horseman with a flying cloak rides an elongated horse towards the r. The horse wears a saddle blanket, a belt which goes over his rump, a bridle, and two reins shown against his neck on one side. He has short incised curls for a mane. The man is shown in profile except for his chest, which is nearly frontal. He rides on a high ground line towards an altar, which rests on a three-stepped base on a lower ground line. Upon the altar is an indistinct object, either a "Phrygian" helmet, or a cake. Only faintly visible behind the altar is a tree with a snake wound around it.

The relief was probably not a predella, but an independent votive to a horseman hero. The elongated horse may be late Hellenistic or early Imperial, as suggested by H. Möbius (letter of May 25, 1971).

Unpublished. Similar horsemen with flying capes also appear on stelai. Cf. the pediment of one from Thessaloniki: Robert, *Gladiateurs,* no. 12, p. 79, pl. XXII. For a horseman in chlamys and tunic, approaching an altar, see Fıratlı, *Stèles,* no. 206, pl. LIV. Cf. also 253 (Fig. 436). On altars themselves, cf. Hoffmann, "Altars," 189ff. H. Möbius, letter May 25, 1971, first identified the snake and tree. For a close parallel, see Will, *Le relief cultuel,* 74ff. and fig. 6. Also Fıratlı, *Stèles,* no. 185, p. 112, pl. XLV. Also Vermeule, "Equestrian Zeus," 74, fig. 3. On the horseman hero cult, Thompson, 56f., 108ff., pls. 27-28. Cf. Bammer-Fleischer-Knibbe, 154f., inv. no. 702; p. 148f., inv. no. 246, and reference therein to Pfuhl, "Beiwerk," 91f.

164 *Fig. 312.* NOEX 73.10A, B; IN73.7A, B. Dedicatory relief and inscription. 3rd C. A.D. or later.

Marble.
Two rectangular blocks (A and B) cut from one stele, but not joining.
A: H. 0.577; W. 0.187; D. 0.059. B: H. 0.63; W. 0.185; D. 0.059. Approx. 0.16 missing in W. between the two fragments.
Findspot unknown.

Three registers preserved on both fragments, each separated by a horizontal band. Top register: A, Attis holding a pine tree(?), and a frontal lion (fragment of mane preserved); B, Cybele seated on a throne (lower portion of drapery and r. side of throne preserved) with frontal lion by her side. Middle register: A, male dedicant with r. hand raised, and r. hand of a second dedicant; B, a similar male dedicant. Bottom register: dedicatory inscription, partially preserved:

A. Ψαμ B [εὐ]ξάμενο[ς]
[εὐ]χην στηλ[ην ἀνέθηκεν]
υ τοῦ ἐπίζ
[ο]υ ἀρχεονο
οἱ αὐτου ο
ἢ ἐγγον[οις]

The figure style is flat and linear. Thus, all folds on drapery are shown by parallel lines, either straight or curved. The inscription is neatly done, but relief could not be dated earlier than 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. Cf. **264** and **265** (Figs. 454, 455) for similar gestures and linear style of relief.

165 *Fig. 313.* S64.49:6530. Orans figure. 3rd or 4th C. A.D.?

Marble.
Relief badly worn and surface abraded with no details. L. edge is original; break at r. cuts through figure.
H. 0.26; W. 0.18; Th. 0.055; H. of figure 0.165.
Syn E129.47-129.67/N6.50-6.70 *96.47.

The relief is tapered slightly toward the top. A raised ridge ran along the top, arching gently out from the background. In the center is a figure in a long simple cloak with three vertical folds and elbow-length sleeves. His r. hand is raised, fingers extended, in prayer. It is not clear whether this was a male or female.

This common type of figure and gesture is difficult to date on such a damaged piece, but a date in the 3rd or 4th C. A.D. seems likely.

Published: *BASOR* 177, 19. Cf. 264 (Fig. 454); also Pleket, pls. 14 and 15.

166 *Fig. 314.* NOEX 61.8. Herakles(?) incised on block.

Marble.
L. side and back of block broken off.
H. 0.12; W. 0.45; Th. 0.275; H. of figure 0.055.
Purchased in village of Sart Mahmut (Sardis).

In the center front of the block, 0.02 under the upper edge, is a shallow incised and chiselled figure of a standing nude male with a club(?) held in his r. hand and one end of it resting on the ground. He may have a lion skin over his l. arm, thus possibly Herakles. The top and bottom of the stone are cut with a rough, large chisel; the front and r. side are claw chiselled. The figure is utterly crude and seems to be a casual doodle. The date is impossible to ascertain.

Unpublished.

167 *Fig. 315.* S71.3:8130. Fragment of Helios as charioteer. 5th or 6th C. A.D.

Marble, alabaster-like, and yellowish.
Broken at waist of figure and on l. side; part of r. arm broken, and l. arm below the elbow. There are traces of black pigment (water soluble) on locks, nose, and whip.
H. 0.135; W. 0.103; Th. 0.058; H. of back pillar 0.13.
B MC E21.40/N50. 20 *0.08 above the marble floor.

Helios is shown as a charioteer, swinging his whip over his head with his r. hand. The whip has a short handle and a long corded or braided strap which comes down to the charioteer's l. ear, then falls on his shoulder. He stands with his back partly against a pillar topped by acanthus leaves, and partly free of it. Almost all of the back of the skull and a little more than half of the back can be seen. The two arms and the whip are also free of the background, resulting in characteristic open work. The body is

fat and massive, and the neck is broad and short. The head is squarish, with a small pouting or smiling mouth. The button lips have a small central drilled hole. His forehead is crowned by a series of broad, triangular rays. The body was probably intended to be athletic. To the l. of the figure are cuttings: a horizontal one is at head height; the other, after a dotted drill row, is perhaps the upper rim of a chariot. The back pillar, which is somewhat rounded, spreads at the top to end in three preserved acanthus leaves. It looks as if originally there could not have been more than five.

The tooling is largely with a small stop drill and light chisel. The surface is smoothed. Fingers are indicated by incision.

The strict r. and l. profile views make Helios look like a Byzantine emperor of the 5th or 6th C. He belongs to a well-known group of open-work alabaster sculpture.

Published: *BASOR* 206, 29, fig. 18. G. Kleiner thought that not only the head rays but also the floral (acanthus) rays refer to the Sun God, of whom there are many representations in Byzantine manuscripts. Comparison may be made with a rayed and garlanded round-faced Helios, together with Zeus, on a provincial work from Lykaonia, Budde-Nicholls, no. 124, p. 76-77, pl. 41. Cf. also a late Helios recently discovered at Aphrodisias, announced at AIA meetings, Chicago 1974, by Kenan Erim. Cf. L'Orange, *Likeness,* 28, fig. 9, bronze of Sol-Constantine, similar to Sardis; and 333-343, figs. 5-6, Sol Invictus—Emperor as charioteer. For representations of Sol and Christ as charioteers see Hanfmann, *Roman Art*², 242, 327, pl. XIV with references to the mosaics in Rome and Hammath-Tiberias. On Helios, see Hoffmann, "Helios," 117ff. Helios with whip appears on Sardian coins under Elagabalus, A.D. 220-222; these will be published in a forthcoming volume in this series by A. E. M. Johnston.

Garland Sarcophagi

168 *Fig. 316.* B-8. Fragment of garland frieze. Hellenistic or early Roman.

Grayish coarse-grained marble, reddish discoloration. Smooth cut on l., an original join. Broken at bottom and r. side and chipped at top r. Top seems to have traces from sealing of lid. Bull's face split off.
H. 0.295; W. 0.43; Th. at top 0.09, at bottom 0.125.
Findspot unknown; originally found by Butler.

On the moulding is a neat egg and dart; under it, a bull's head carrying a garland of leaves and fruit. A four-petalled rosette hangs over the garland. This is sketchy work, but the egg and dart, particularly, is done with a certain skill. If this is not part of a sarcophagus, but rather a frieze, it might be Hellenistic, but if indeed a sarcophagus, then the date should be considered early Roman.

Unpublished.

169 *Fig. 317.* S60.32:3028. Ram's head fragment. Hadrianic?

Pinkish white marble, small grains.
The fragment is broken at the bottom and r. side. A portion of the l. side of sarcophagus remains. A raised ledge is preserved at top, over which the cover would have fit.
H. 0.175; W. 0.030, of wall 0.102, of raised ledge 0.042, of ram (with horn) 0.115.
AcN, not in excavation.

A ram's head projects from the corner, but is worked only on the front side. The side of the sarcophagus is flat. The head has a lock of hair on the forehead, a long ear, and tightly curving horn, which covers the beginning of the garland. This part of the garland was bound by a ribbon, but the beginning of the fruit can just be seen before the break.

Claw chisel marks are visible on the flat background surface and on the top; the flat chisel was used for a border (0.01 W.) around the ram and garland area. There is no evidence of drilling. The inner wall of the sarcophagus is rough picked. The simple classicizing style and the evidence of technique suggest a date in the Hadrianic period.

Unpublished. For other rams' heads at corners, see Ward-Perkins, "Sarcophagi," 98-101, at Bryn Mawr and Beirut. On Asiatic garland sarcophagi, see Lehmann-Hartleben-Olsen, 67-70 and Toynbee, 202ff.

170 *Fig. 318.* NOEX 74.7. Fragment of monument(?) with ram's head and garland. 2nd-3rd C. A.D.

Large-grained, grayish white local marble. Broken at top and bottom of r. side.

Max. P.L. 0.45; H. 0.32; W. 0.275.
Field near B, ca. E200-400/S300-500.

The large, heavy corner block is probably not from a sarcophagus but part of a marble monument or tomb. Two clamp holes show that the piece was clamped from the back and side. There are cleavage lines along the right bottom part, smoothed in a way befitting a frieze or capital. Treatment of the back is with large to medium trimming hammer strokes; top is rough-pointed.

A four-petalled rosette with indented leaves which have heart-shaped interiors is over a garland of acanthus and fruit tied by a wide ribbon just below the rosette. A pomegranate facing upwards and grapes descending out of the acanthus form the top of the garland. An egg and dart pattern, on top profile preserved on l. side, broken off, except for parts of two eggs and the corner on r. side. Another garland of upward pine cones and palm leaves exists above a four large- and four small-petalled rosette with long, subdivided leaves in interior. The background is done with multiple point.

Unpublished.

GMAH

171 *Fig. 319.* NOEX 60.1 and B 140. Bucranion fragment. 1st half of 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble.
Two fragments, joining. Top and bottom surfaces are flat. Break on l. side is modern.
H. 0.62; W. 0.375; Th. at top 0.115, at bottom 0.085; H. of moulding 0.065.
Findspot unknown.

The two fragments show a bucranion supporting two garlands made up of a variety of fruits, leaves, and flowers. A six-petalled rosette hangs within one of the garland crescents. A profiled moulding is at the top border. Although the style of carving is harsh, the sculptor went to some trouble to differentiate the many textures in the garland, and he has not been unsuccessful. The hard, flat treatment suggests a date in the first half of the 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

172 *Fig. 320.* NOEX 67.3. Bull's head fragment. Mid-2nd to mid-3rd C. A.D.

Coarse white large-grained local marble, weathered brownish gray.
Nose of bull broken. All edges broken except r. edge. On the r., the inner wall of sarcophagus just begins to turn, making transition to the r. end. An oblong dowel hole to fasten the lid is preserved below the break at top center, P. dimens. 0.05 by 0.02, 0.03 D.
H. 0.64; W. 0.93; Th. 0.15 with relief, 0.125 without. Diam. rosette 0.185.
Found by government guard during construction of houses on the road to Sardis camp.

The bull's head has bulging eyes and triple linear eyebrows. His short horns have a ribbon entwined between them. His well-shaped ears (only his r. one preserved) were pushed forward by the garland. The garlands, in high relief, show fruit, acorns, and leaves, separated from each other by deep cuts. At the edges of the garland the leaves are in shallow relief and are worked nicely into the background. A ribbon is loosely slung in the r.-hand garland. The rosette has six petals, each one deeply incised down the center. The background is treated with a large multiple claw chisel.

Although the deeply arched garland is suggestive of an altar, our piece is proven to be a sarcophagus by the curving interior. The linearism and slight awkwardness of style do not mean that the piece is late. There are niceties of design, such as the ribbon slung over and under the acorns and leaves. On the whole the style is nevertheless somewhat rough and provincial. The range of dates would be mid-2nd to mid-3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. Cf. Ward-Perkins, "Sarcophagi," 98-104.

173 *Fig. 321.* NOEX 67.6. Victory fragment. 2nd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Only the corner of the sarcophagus is preserved; the Victory from neck to knees; and the beginnings of a garland on each side of her.
H. 0.29; W. 0.29; D. 0.15. Victory: H. 0.27; W. 0.15.
Findspot unknown.

The Victory has been carved with care; her transparent chiton, belted beneath the breasts, reveals

her navel. The drapery also blows over her legs, revealing their shape. Her wings are still visible behind her l. shoulder and (damaged) at her r. The thick garlands were made up entirely of leaves. The leaves are thickly undercut, the Victory is full-bodied, and the drapery is fine. This is one of the better sarcophagus fragments, probably to be dated in the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

174 *Fig. 322.* NOEX 60.18. Victory fragment. 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Broken at bottom, on l. and on r. Head of Victory broken off. The break at r. end may be actually a rounded working off for piecing. On l. front, irregular cutting with clamp hole for holding lid (cutting 0.09 by 0.05; clamp 0.03 by 0.015; 0.02 D.). The top is worked off to seat the sarcophagus lid.
H. 0.49; L. 0.48 on front, 0.15 on r. end; Th. int. 0.14; raised inner top part 0.07, lower 0.06.
Village of Sart Mustafa (Sardis).

The corner of the sarcophagus is decorated with a winged Victory, arms outstretched and holding two fruit and leaf garlands. Her large horizontal wings curve backwards and give a real feeling of depth and space. A pointed leaf rosette to the Victory's l. has superposed leaves. The center perhaps had a stone insert. The Victory is nicely done after a tall, slender Hellenistic type: high horizontal wings, high-girt waist, and one breast exposed. The interior is worked with a large point. The piece is strongly drilled and undercut.

Unpublished. For examples of corner Victories on sarcophagi, see Lehmann-Hartleben-Olsen, 43f. and 48f., figs. 19-23, 26; or Ward-Perkins, "Sarcophagi," 98-104.

175 *Fig. 323.* NOEX 60.11. Fragment with winged figure. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

White marble.
Top of slab cut straight, presumably for top of sarcophagus. Figure broken off at both elbows and below waist. Traces of mortar on surface.
H. 0.31; W. 0.24; D. 0.20; max. H. of relief 0.04.
Field E of UT.

Relief shows a nude winged male figure, "floating," with head turned to his r. His arms are outstretched, the r. one presumably held a wreath or inscribed panel. A feathery wing rises above his l. shoulder, and larger striations behind his head also seem to indicate a wing. The subject, and the thick wall of stone, suggest that this is a sarcophagus fragment. The modelling of facial features and hair is carefully done and the torso and arms show a good sense of anatomy, but the striated wing is more crude. A date in the 2nd or 3rd C. A.D. seems possible.

Published: *BASOR* 162, 49, fig. 30.

176 *Fig. 324.* NOEX 74.2. Corner figure. Probably A.D. 250 or later.

Marble.
Much battered and worn.
P.H. ca. 0.50; D. 0.225.
Found near the Claudia Antonia Sabina tomb (243 Fig. 422) ca. W560/S60.

The linear and elongated figure is a rough version of a "Kallimachos" maened. Dancing or running, she carries a poorly made garland of fruits and leaves which runs all the way from her broken upper l. arm to her lower l. leg. Her l. arm may have been flung back across the garland, and her raised r. hand holds the loop on which it is suspended. Her garment leaves her r. breast exposed; there is a short sleeve over her l. arm. The belt seems to consist of two tied snakes. The holes on the garment over the l. breast may be intended as dots of a nebris. The garment is open over her r. leg from the thigh down. Her l. leg is set back. She was presumably intended as Victory, but is a very maenad-like type. She has no wings. Her head is thrown back. The background clearly shows very rough horizontal stroke finish of interior of sarcophagus.

Unpublished. For the type, cf. Matz, *Dion. Sark.*, 22, type 8, "Krotalistria"; and type 32, "Kymbalistria D," with references; for placing maenad near or at corner, ibid. pl. 73, no. 61, late Severan; 3, nos. 223, 234, pls. 232, 234.

GMAH

177 *Fig. 325.* NOEX 61.3. MANISA. Putto fragment. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Putto preserved from knees to neck. Upper part of garland preserved. R. end of stone a straight edge, and the end of the block. Cement adhering to back, probably from reuse.
H. 0.275; W. 0.61; Th. without figure 0.16, with figure 0.20.
Village of Sart Mahmut (Sardis).

A putto, walking l., supports a garland of fruit and leaves and a roughly carved taenia. His outer (l.) arm crosses his body to hold up the garland. Within the garland crescent is a raised bump, too severely damaged to identify for certain, but it may have been a lion's head. The front has claw chisel marks; only the putto was polished.

Deep drilling in the fruit and taenia suggests a date in the late 2nd or early 3rd C. The fruit is rather crudely carved but on the other hand the putto is nicely modelled, with careful attention to fleshy folds and muscles.

Unpublished. For putto in similar pose (reversed), Toynbee, pl. XLIII:2. For Asiatic garland sarcophagi in general, ibid., 202ff.; Lehmann-Hartleben-Olsen, 67-70; Ward-Perkins, "Sarcophagi," 98-104.

178 *Fig. 326.* S67.24:7441. Lid with lion head. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Four fragments, mended. The lower part of the nose and upper lip of lion broken off.
H. 0.095; H. with ridge 0.115; W. 0.52; L. 0.62; W. of ridge 0.137; W. of lion's head 0.20; H. of revetment 0.12.
PN W272/S326 *87.00.

The sarcophagus lid fragment has a tile, triangular in section, which ends in a lion's head. The mane of the lion is indicated by shallow grooves and incisions. His forehead has folds of skin incised on the diagonal. The protruding tongue and lower lip are preserved. The moulding at the border of the lid is plain except for two horizontal bands near the top.

Unpublished. For the general type, cf. J. D. Young, 138-159. Cf. also Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* pl. 29a. For another lid, said to be from Sardis, see 260 (Figs. 448-449).

179 *Fig. 327.* NOEX 63.10. Lid with lion head. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Lid is broken at both sides and back; a projecting section of the moulding is preserved. On the top is a lion's head at the end of an imitation cover tile. Eyes, muzzle, and forehead of lion are worn.
H. 0.40; L. 0.50; D. 0.44.
Findspot not recorded.

The imitation cover tile is triangular in section and tapers toward the top. The lion's head has round, deeply hollowed ears, and a long-haired mane with individually drilled hairs. The eyes, deeply inset near the center, had separately indicated lids, irises, and pupils. The mouth, gouged out by a single drill line, is intended to be open. Claw chisel marks are visible on the upper and under surfaces of the lid. The coarse style of carving seems to be late 2nd or early 3rd C., although this type of sarcophagus lid was used over a long period.

Unpublished. For the general type, cf. Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* 45, 147, pl. 29a, an early example dated A.D. 150-155.

Asiatic Sarcophagi

"PC sarcophagus" fragments. A large number of fragments (about 100) of an Asiatic sarcophagus were found in the Pactolus bed near the sector PC, in the summers of 1959 and 1960. The architectural fragments are identical with those on the celebrated sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422) and must have been made in the same workshop. Numerous fragments of hands, legs, and drapery were found, as well as a few head fragments. Of special note are two beautiful pieces, the portrait head of a young woman and the head of a horse from the couch on the lid. These, as well as some architectural fragments, are described below (180-183 Figs. 328-332).

180 *Fig. 328.* NOEX 59.13. MANISA 1672. Female portrait head. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Head broken off diagonally at back of mantle and at base of neck. Plaster has been filled in at the break for mounting purposes. The tip of the nose missing, and the rest of the nose battered.
H. without base 0.155.
Found at Sardis, but not in excavations.

The portrait shows a young lady whose head is covered with a mantle. The cloth hangs down loosely on both sides until the break: it is a few cms. longer on her l. side than her r. The mantle is only roughly carved at the back, so that the chisel marks still remain. Three puntellae are visible at the back. There is a single deep fold on either side, near the front of the cloth.

The lady's face is idealized, with smooth rounded chin, small but full mouth, and soft eyes looking into the distance. The pupils are drilled, the irises incised; the gaze is slightly upward. There is a heavy upper lid and a sharply defined brow. The entire surface of the face has been carefully smoothed. Her hair, parted in the middle, flows out toward the sides in long loose waves. One curl has escaped and lies against her r. cheek. The fullness of the hair helps to accentuate the soft rounded forms of the face. The head is turned to her l., but the lower portion of the neck indicates that the body was facing frontwards.

Although the precise findspot is uncertain, the head was brought to the excavation camp together with numerous fragments of an Asiatic sarcophagus. All evidence points to the fact that we have here the portrait of a lady who stood on one of the sides of the sarcophagus, under one of the arches, or between two of them. A lady in similar garb, and in a similar pose, stands on the side of the Sardian sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422). Another lady in similar dress, but less idealized and with a hairdo later in style, can be found on a sarcophagus dated about 200 (Lawrence, 125ff., fig. 11). The hairstyle is Antonine; this, together with the fragments of the sarcophagus, points to a date in the latter half of the 2nd C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 12, fig. 2; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 7; Hanfmann, "Sardis und Lydien," 532-533, n.1; idem, *TürkTarDerg* 10 (1960) 23, pl. 23, fig. 7; idem, *Letters,* fig. 32; Ferrari, 39-40. For a similar head on the Melfi sarcophagus, *Sardis* V (1924) fig. 39; and on a sarcophagus from Ankara, Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* pl. 20:1. Cf. also Y. Boysal in Bossert *Festschrift,* 101ff., esp. pl. 19:5; and head from Izmir, Akurgal, *Civilizations,* pls. 47, 48b.

181 *Figs. 329-330.* NOEX 59.34. MANISA M67.4.
Head of a horse from fulcrum. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Fine-grained, slightly yellowish marble. Parian?
Broken part way down neck. Most of ears broken away. Small fragment of moulding from the sarcophagus kline still attached at neck. Imperfectly cleaned, with much incrustation still attached at neck.
H. 0.10; W. 0.18.
Brought in by villagers in July 1959, and said to have been found in the Pactolus near the area later designated PC.

The head of a horse is turned at a strong angle to its r., with the neck thus bent sharply. His protruding eyes look upwards. The l. eye has only a slightly hollowed pupil; the r. one is somewhat more emphatic. Drilling was used in ears, nostrils, and muzzle. All show a very full, fleshy treatment, particularly the flaring nostrils and corners of the mouth. Bone structure and musculature are emphasized. The locks are done in linear flat chisel work, intentionally leaving a texture somewhat rougher than the excellent effect of the superlatively abraded finish of the neck and face. J. K. Anderson and M. A. Littauer, who have kindly considered the matter, favor the identification as a horse rather than a mule.

The head is from the fulcrum of the couch on the lid of an Asiatic sarcophagus. Brilliantly worked, it seems to be a close copy of a Hellenistic prototype, perhaps in bronze. It was found near the many fragments of the PC sarcophagus, and there is good reason to think by the type and style that the horse head is part of the same. On analogy with the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422) this piece can be dated to the late years of the 2nd C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 12; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 8; *TürkArkDerg* 10:1 (1960) 5, fig. 8. For bronze couch fulcra, see Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, figs. 537ff.; also J. A. Scott in *Master Bronzes,* 142, no. 147; Havelock, 227, no.

176. Cf. also Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* 158. For fulcra on Claudia Antonia Sabina sarcophagus, see *Sardis* V (1924) frontispiece and fig. 3. For other fulcra, see ibid. figs. 39, 41 (Melfi sarcophagus) and fig. 83 (sarcophagus in Palazzo Torlonia, Rome); H. Hoffmann, *AJA* 61 (1957) 167ff.; idem in *Schimmel Collection,* no. 37.

182 *Fig. 331, fragment A, others not ill.* NOEX 59.11. Architectural fragments. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
A: r. side of pediment from an Asiatic sarcophagus, preserving a small fragment of shell niche and part of the moulding from the recessed entablature. B: l. side of an arched pediment from the same sarcophagus, together with moulding fragment and part of shell decoration within niche. C: fragment of capital. D: fragment of fluted column and capital. E: fragment of column base.
A: max. H. 0.28; max. W. 0.17; L. ca. 0.55. B: L. ca. 0.25.
Found in river bank near PC.

The five fragments described here, from the sides of the sarcophagus, are typical and representative of the many additional fragments which have been found. On fragment A, above the preserved corner of the central pointed pediment, is a row of flat palmettes on the surface, rolled alternately inward and outward. A small elongated leaf lies above at the corner, separated from the palmettes by a plain band. The entablature below the pediment consists of, from top to bottom, a row of dentils, an ovolo carved with egg and dart, a very flat cyma reversa decorated with the Lesbian cymation. The shadows of the palmettes are made by the drill. B is the same entablature although less is preserved; the pediment corner topped an arched niche. More of the conch is preserved. C shows a leafy capital topped by projecting volutes at the two corners. On D the upper portion of a spirally-fluted column and the leafy section of its capital are preserved. E is a fragment of an Ionic column base.

The mouldings of this sarcophagus, as well as the leafy capitals with volutes, are identical to those on the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422). On analogy with that sarcophagus, dated ca. 190, the PC sarcophagus belongs also in the late 2nd C.

Unpublished. Cf. description of entablature in *Sardis* V (1924) 10. For the mouldings, ibid., figs. 10-14 (they are also close to, but not identical with, the mouldings of Morey's Denizli A and B, figs. 26-27) and Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* 158, pl. 6b. Cf. also ibid., 169, pl. 2, dated ca. A.D. 160.

183 *Fig. 332.* NOEX 62.25. Corner of couch from lid. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble, slightly yellowish on surface, grayish white in break, harder than the usual local variety.
L. rear corner of couch-shaped sarcophagus lid. Found with traces of red and green paint, and one side covered with red cement from reuse.
H. 0.44; W. 0.16; D. 0.27.
Found in Pactolus bed, W of PC.

The side portion has a panel in a profiled rectangular frame with an animal: two legs, chest, part of body, and curving splayed tail of a marine monster, having traces of red paint on the tail, green on the body. The rear portion shows only the corner of the rectangular frame. At the corner a break had something attached to it, perhaps a leg from a figure on top of the lid. Architectural profile, from bottom: dentils, Lesbian cyma, straight vertical entablature, projecting rectangular profile, convex profile of couch frame with decoration in relief. The underside is hollowed to fit over the sarcophagus corner. Finishing was by abrasives, but traces of multiple claw chisel remain.

The fragment is so similar to the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422) that it was thought to join. It does not, however, and is probably part of PC sarcophagus.

Unpublished. Cf. *Sardis* V (1924) figs. 3-5.

184 *Fig. 333.* NOEX 61.2. Fragment with mouldings. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Grayish fine-grained marble.
Fragment broken on all sides. Portion of column base, and mouldings beneath, preserved.
H. 0.40; W. 0.58; Th. at top 0.18, at bottom 0.25; column D. 0.14; back wall 0.06 Th.
Ca. 4.5 km. W of the Pactolus, and ca. 3 km. N of the Izmir-Salihi highway, at a D. of 1.5. Roman vaulted tombs are said to be under the small N-S road near which this piece was found.

This fragment of a sarcophagus has, from l. to r., an Ionic column base, and then a statue base with

apparently a panther paw and the r. foot of Dionysus (cf. 122 Figs. 250-251). There is the trace of another Ionic column base. The mouldings are: Lesbian cyma; a double guilloche torus; "wild" Lesbian cyma, up-pointing. This moulding steps back at the l. for the corner of the sarcophagus.

This type of double guilloche torus began quite early, but close parallels to the Lesbian cyma and the guilloche indicate a date in the 2nd half of the 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the torus see, Matz, *Dion. Sark.*, fig. 3, pls. 10-11, dated 1st or early 2nd C. A.D. For the cyma and guilloche pattern, Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage,* 168, pl. 42e (dated A.D. 155-160).

185 *Figs. 334-335.* S73.3:8219. Lid corner with sorrowing triton. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

White, translucent, large-grained marble. Heavily incrusted.
Split off from lid corner on two sides. Proper r. half of face split off.
H. 0.225; W. at shoulder 0.151.
S of BS W6.90/S8.80 *96.90.

A bearded male figure holding a fish in his r. hand clasped to his chest is in high relief. The hair flows back in vertical strands, interrupted by horizontal bands in back which are intended to be either folds of the garment or waves of water. Waves are distinctly seen below r. arm. Hair and waves are done with wide flat chisel strokes. Beard and one or two runs in the hair are done with stop-and-go drill. Eye corners are deepened with chisel and small drill, thus heightening pathos. The mouth is open, with small drill hole within each side, accentuating the agonized expression. Deep lines are on either cheek, under eyes, at bridge of nose, on forehead. The muscles of the upper arm are large and rounded. The disproportionately large hand grasps a fish, tail downward, with the head held to the end of the beard.

The inside of the lid is typically rough-pointed. Inspiration for the expressive pathos is Hellenistic. The fine late Roman technique indicates a date in the late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

186 *Fig. 336.* S58.10:607. MANISA. Capital. Later 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Top of spirally fluted sarcophagus column, Corinthian capital, and the springing of two arches preserved.
H. 0.31; W. 0.25; Th. 0.15.
CG MAE, ca. E5-6/N16-17, ca. *99.70.

The deeply carved decoration of capital and arches is similar to, but not identical with, the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (243 Fig. 422). The springing of the arches is also considerably steeper than on that sarcophagus. The type and details would fit the later 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

187 *Fig. 337.* S61.25:3487. Reclining figure on lid. Late 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Front and r. leg of recumbent figure, preserved chest to mid-calf. Small area of flat lid remains behind the figure
L. 0.64; W. 0.46; Th. 0.25.
Originally found by Butler; housed in intervening years in inner Church M.

The r. arm, mostly missing, lies across the body. The r. knee is slightly bent. Many small curves of drapery fall over the legs, while a long fold lies parallel to the body but behind it, on the lid. The type of reclining figure is like those of the Claudia Antonia Sabina sarcophagus (243 Fig. 422) but a date in the late 2nd or 3rd C. is possible.

Unpublished. For a discussion of the type and bibliography, see Cumont, *Recherches,* 388ff.

Other Reliefs

188 *Fig. 338.* S63.34:5355. Amazonian figure. 1st C. B.C.

White marble, small crystals; thin dark veining.
L. edge preserved, others broken. Traces of paint on ledge on which figure walks.
H. 0.14; W. 0.15; Th. at l. 0.02, at r. 0.05.
Syn E72.5/N6.7 *96.52.

A small figure running to the r. wears a short tunic (to the knees) and a loose overgarment to the

hips. Both tiers blow out behind. The skirt has vertical folds, the upper tier, rippled folds. The figure also wears boots with borders at the tops, and stands on a narrow painted ledge. The bent l. elbow is preserved just below the break. The figure is in a twisted position, with the r. leg almost frontal, the l. in profile.

The clothing of this figure suggests that it is an Amazon, or possibly a booted Persian or even Artemis. The twisted pose and bent elbow belong to a type of running figure which can perhaps be traced to the shield of the Athena Parthenos. The relief may belong in the late Hellenistic tradition of the 1st C. B.C.

Unpublished. For the shield, see Neda Leipen, *Athena Parthenos, A Reconstruction* (Toronto 1971) 41-50, figs. 23-29, 81-83; Fuchs, pls. 34-35, 38; Richter, *Sculpture,* fig. 605.

189 *Fig. 339.* NOEX 61.1. River god. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Coarse white marble.
Lower r. corner of rectangular slab broken away. Top and r. edges preserve raised ledge near front surface, carefully chiselled for fitting into architectural frame. Figure's l. arm missing below shoulder. Surface damage to face and limbs.
H. 0.53; W. at top 0.558, at center 0.58; Th. at top 0.09, at bottom 0.15; W. of projecting ledge at top 0.28, at r. 0.10.
Pactolus River bed, between PN and the Izmir-Salihi highway.

The reclining river god has long hair, and is nude. His l. leg is tucked under the bent r. one. In his r. hand he holds a reed, and two other vertical reeds are incised into the background at the upper l. At the r. is a plane tree in shallow relief. The river god leans on his l. arm, and rests on a ledge (H. 0.12).

The pose and attributes are standard for a river god; modelling has been attempted, but is not highly refined. The carving of the tree shows Hellenistic influence.

Unpublished.

190 *Fig. 340.* S61.3:3149. MANISA 324. River god. 3rd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Frame of the slab somewhat damaged; and two pour-hollows cut on lower side, presumably as later additions. Surface heavily worn, particularly on the face and torso.
H. 0.822; W. 0.96; D. 0.145; W. of moulded frame 0.12; L. figure 0.705.
HoB, basin between units 7 and 15, ca. E25/S56-58 *97.44-97.12.

A youthful, unbearded river god holds a single reed in his r. hand and reclines on a rock in which a male head is carved. The lower part of his body is covered by a cloth, making a series of parallel folds over the legs; a roll of the material at the top of the garment sweeps up over his l. arm. In the upper l. corner of the field is incised a hammer and chisel. Surrounding the panel is a moulded frame. Perhaps the piece was used as a fountain.

Although simple in design, the style is fairly crude; the r. arm is too large for the body, and there is little modelling of arms or torso. Claw chisel marks are still evident on both figure and background. Even the insertion of large sculptor's tools by incision is crude. A date in the 3rd C. A.D. seems likely.

Published: Hanfmann, *Letters,* 87, fig. 63. For this type of draped river god, cf. Hommel, figs. 2 and 14; Brilliant, *Gesture,* 102, fig. 2:120; and Franke, no. 210 (a coin, Gallienic).

191 *Fig. 341.* NOEX 62.14. Captive. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.?

White marble.
Only bottom edge surface preserved intact. Relief surface badly damaged.
H. 0.355; W. 0.49; Th. 0.21.
Findspot unknown.

A male figure is seated with his legs out before him, r. leg bent at the knee, and his hands behind his back. To the r., a short distance from the man, are traces of a cuirassed Roman; and to the l. is a shallow relief of a ribbon-like object with three points. The man seems to have had long hair in the barbarian manner; pose and type show him to be a captive.

This is the only Sardis fragment to show official Roman Imperial iconography. Its battered state precludes precise dating, but treatment seems

crude: note especially the clearly visible claw chisel marks on the background surface and the roughly carved "ribbon."

Unpublished. Cf. e.g. Gemma Augustea and numerous other Imperial reliefs, as well as coins, for which see Franke, nos. 42, 46; also A. Levi, esp. pp. 27ff. and 41ff., pl. III:3. For a local Sardian coin of Trajan with two bound kneeling captives at trophy see *Sardis* XI (1916) 30, nos. 282-284, pl. I, proconsul L. Balbius Tullus; an additional example will be published by A. E. M. Johnston in a forthcoming Sardis monograph.

Capitals

192 *Fig. 342.* NOEX 63.5. Fragment with eagle and oak spray. Hellenistic.

Hard gray marble.
L. side of capital broken away, also top r. corner and back. Head of eagle missing.
H. 0.31; W. 0.18; P.H. of eagle 0.20.
Findspot unknown.

The eagle projects forward almost in the round, covering nearly the entire height of the pilaster capital. The profile at the top has a torus with a projecting animal head. Behind the l. shoulder of the eagle starts an oak spray which continues from the front to the side of the capital; it is tied at the corner by a round object, then goes down the side in a fine sweeping natural curve. This is delicate Hellenistic workmanship.

Unpublished. For Roman eagle capitals, see Mercklin, 221ff.

193 *Fig. 343.* NOEX 68.9. Cybele or snake goddess. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Grayish white marble, large crystals.
Upper l. corner missing, r. corner chipped, as are leaf tips. Surface slightly worn.
H. 0.323; W. at top 0.403, at bottom 0.30; Th. at top 0.087, at bottom 0.04.
Found S of HoB, E of PN at Keklik Suyu.

The pilaster capital consists of two flat volutes springing from a base and supported by acanthus leaves. Standing on a small projecting base is a draped woman in hieratic pose with a pomegranate(?) in her l. hand and a snake, which wriggles across her body, in her r. hand. Fingers are incised. She has a fleshy round face with hair parted in the middle and drawn over her ears. Her tall headdress (polos?) is covered by a long veil falling over the shoulders and becoming a kind of shawl. It is slung from r. shoulder to l. forearm, its curved folds incised. Beneath it is worn a long-sleeved, high-girt peplos with V-neckline and regular diagonal folds across the torso. A triangular fold is shown at her l. side. The skirt falls in heavy folds to her feet, which are indicated as projecting, like those of archaic korai.

The workmanship is coarse; hollows in acanthus leaves are deeply drilled and gouged, surface details chiselled. The proportions are stocky. Hair style looks Antonine and full-featured face is reminiscent of sarcophagi of that period. Drill work also points to a date in the 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D. (194 Fig. 344 is the same type and period).

Unpublished.

194 *Fig. 344.* S58.50. MANISA. Anatolian goddess. 2nd half of 2nd C. A.D.

Grayish white marble, large crystals.
Top r. corner of capital preserved, to just l. of center. Back of this portion also intact. Bottom broken off. Battered at front and edges, tips of acanthus leaves missing. Traces of red paint in the background along the volutes.
W. at top 0.32; H. 0.235; Th. at corner 0.105; est. W. ca. 0.56.
BSH 1.5 m. N of N jamb of arch "e4" and 2.5 m. W of the E wall, near floor level (*96.00).

The capital is Corinthian, with volutes and acanthus leaves on a basically concave profile. At the center top is an image of a female goddess, a representation of an archaic statue. She wears a polos and a veil with an incised border, a necklace of large beads, and a shawl across her chest. Below are four or five vertical folds of a garment which then falls over the lower part of her body and legs in a series of triangular and U-shaped folds. Her feet can be seen projecting from under this skirt and resting on what appears to be a floral bud, part of the floral design of the capital. Her arms are held flat at the sides, covered by two heavy vertical folds which fall at the

sides of the skirt. Behind her head is a crescent moon. On the face of the goddess, heavily damaged, can be seen traces of the mouth and one eye.

The image is based on a 7th C. B.C. type, with elements of both Greek and Hittite styles (especially the posture of the arms indicates the latter). Her identification is uncertain, but an Anatolian goddess of vegetation, possibly Kore, is almost assured. Discovery in B BSH indicates a *terminus ante quem* in the period of Lucius Verus (see **276** Fig. 469). The stop-and-go drill work on the acanthus leaves is typical of 2nd C. A.D. workmanship.

Published: *BASOR* 154, 33; *ILN* (May 30, 1959) 926, fig. 15; Mercklin, 191, no. 464, pl. 893; G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth in Bossert *Festschrift,* 261ff., pls. 34-35, figs. 1-5 (full discussion and identification); Fleischer, 187, 193ff., pl. 77. A figured capital from Laodicea of Lycus shows a draped woman in hieratic pose and frontal position, arms at her side. She wears a Dorian chiton and a veil. A crescent moon rises behind her head just as the one on our capital. She has been interpreted as Artemis-Hekate, and dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D., Kahil, 210-212, pls. 84-85, esp. pl. 84:2.

195 *Fig. 345.* MANISA 541. Gorgon head. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Complete, except for minor chipping at the corners.
H. 0.295; W. 0.47.
Said to come from Sardis.

A stylized Corinthian pilaster capital, this has unusually vertical and straight tendrils, one stem on each side breaking into two curved tendrils under the simple top profile. An acanthus leaf frames each side. In the center, between the tendrils, is a large frontal female head, apparently a gorgon. The large and classical features include deep-set eyes, a somewhat crooked nose, and thick lips, set within a huge jawbone. The neck is very wide. The hair frames the face with horizontal waves at the sides, vertical ones at the top. A thick braid seems to fall at each side of the neck.

The large head on a pilaster capital of this sort is unusual. The extensive use of long drill runs, in acanthus, tendrils, and hair, indicates a date in the 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. This is the same size and format as **196** (Fig. 346). Although the two are not identical, they are clearly from the same building. For generally similar type, though more sparsely decorated, cf. Mercklin, 118-119, no. 334 a and b, figs. 599-602.

196 *Fig. 346.* S64.53:6579. Gorgon head. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

White marble.
Top moulding badly chipped. Some damage to tendrils.
H. 0.293; W. at top 0.47, at bottom 0.295; Th. 0.05.
HoB W24/S147 *104.

The head of Medusa is in the center, flanked by scrolled tendrils and acanthus leaves. The gorgon has wild disheveled hair, which waves to both sides from the center of the head. Curls are effectively shown by several layers of hair, coupled with modelling and incision. Snake ends follow the curve of her chin and cross each other, but are not knotted. The facial features are shallow. Eyes are open but have no incised details. Brows are furrowed. The nose is broad, the mouth open with small, full, sensuous lips. There is a dimple below the lower lip.

By careful modelling and drilling (especially of the mouth and corners of the nose), much expression and character has been obtained. The leaves are heavily drilled with long runs. A date in the 2nd or 3rd C. seems likely on stylistic grounds.

Unpublished. This is the same size and format as **195** (Fig. 345). Although the two are not identical, they clearly come from the same set of pilasters. The findspot is not far from the late Roman colonnaded street, portions of which have been found in HoB and PN (*BASOR* 182, 15-17, fig. 17; 170, 18, fig. 13). I would like to suggest that these two pilaster capitals may have decorated one of the buildings lining the street. The Medusa with snakes under the chin may be compared with **202** (Fig. 357) dated early 3rd C. A.D.

Of the following series of head capitals, **198-206** (Figs. 351-363) belong to the "screen colonnade" of ten double-engaged columns between the Imperial cult hall or "Marble Court," MC, and the palaestra, Pa, at the E side of the Roman Gymnasium, B (see Fig. 4; Yegül, "Bath Gymnasium," 99). The colonnade is an integral part of the Court, and therefore must be dated to the same period. A monumental inscription on the architrave of the building is dedicated to Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta (name erased), and therefore must be dated to A.D. 211-

212, the joint regnal year of Caracalla and Geta (*BASOR* 162, 42; Hirschland, 12ff.). The other capitals in this series come from closely related colonnades—the screen in front of the hall to the N of MC, designated BE-N (**197, 209** Fig. 349-350, 367-368) and the Pa colonnade (**207, 208** Figs. 364-366). Some of the capitals, and casts of others, have been erected in the monumental reconstruction of this complex (Figs. 347-348; see also Hanfmann, *Letters,* 278, figs. 208-210).

There seems to be a major Dionysiac theme in the group of heads which survives: this includes Dionysus, maenads, and satyrs; in addition there are several heads of other divinities from the Olympian pantheon. Another thread which runs through this group is a series of references to Caracalla. Two of the heads may show an actual resemblance to him (**198** Figs. 351-352, Dionysus; **205** Fig. 362, Hermes) and a third (**204** Figs. 359-361) is reminiscent of Alexander the Great, for whom Caracalla had great admiration and whom he tried to emulate (M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* [Chicago 1964] 76; L'Orange, *Apotheosis,* 39).

197 *Figs. 349-350.* S67.14:7352. Zeus. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble, friable.
The corners of the capital have been struck off, and all tips of the acanthus leaves broken. Tip of Zeus' head abraded, and parts of beard, hair, and other surfaces wearing away.
H. 0.71; W. at base 0.60; Th. at base 0.40. Head: H. 0.215; W. 0.19.
Pa-W E36.40-37.20/N91.30-91.90 *97.52.

The head of Zeus(?) looks slightly downward. The expression, with wide-open, yet heavy-lidded eyes, strong brow, and slightly open mouth, is dignified. The brows are slightly knit, and there are lines in the forehead. His hair is long and wavy, the beard made up of shorter clumps of thick curly hair. A moustache covers the upper lip; the lower one is thick and sensuous.

The pilaster capital is of the same type as the oval ones of the screen colonnade and the round ones of the palaestra colonnade except for its shape, which is square in the front. It came from the colonnade of BE-N, where a cast of it has been set up in the reconstruction. The leaves are of the sharply bent variety. In the top center of the l. side is a well preserved flower over the abacus mouldings, which consist of oblique lines on the upper level and vertical fluting on the lower.

The drill has been used extensively, both in the leafy portion of the capital and the head; for instance, a round drill hole marks the center of the moustache, the pupils, and numerous parts of the beard and hair. The head is carved in the Roman Asia Minor manner, as opposed to the Hellenistic technique of some of the head capitals. Yet, the venerable type of Zeus figure probably relates as far back as the 4th C. B.C. The capital itself, as the others of the MC and Pa series at Sardis, was carved in ca. A.D. 212.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 33, figs. 28 and 29; *ILN* (Apr. 13, 1968) 31, fig. 6; Hirschland, 22, pl. 36a; Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 208. Cf. Mercklin, 144, no. 378, fig. 723, from Leptis Magna. For the Asia Minor technique, Hirschland, 20-21. For a version more in the Hellenistic tradition, see Mercklin, 122, no. 337a, figs. 620-21, from Didyma.

198 *Figs. 351-352.* S66.10:7069. Dionysus. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Cheeks, lips, chin, nose damaged. Small portion of capital with head preserved.
H. 0.52, of head 0.25; W. 0.31; Th. 0.14.
B E42.5/N71-72, ca. *96.70.

Dionysus wears a diadem which sits low on his forehead, making a slightly curved and prominent horizontal band which contrasts sharply with the deeply rounded curve of his chin. Entwined in the diadem are small bunches of grapes near the center and vine leaves toward the sides. Larger bunches of grapes hang down the sides of his head, together with long wavy strands of hair. His fine features are firm and sharply cut: eyebrows, which reflect the curve of the diadem; heavy lidded eyes with circular eyeballs placed high; flaring nostrils; and a slightly open straight mouth. He seems to be staring out into space with a dreamy, ethereal gaze.

This is a particularly attractive fragment, despite the damage. Remains of the capital are slight, including only fragments of leaves at his neck and a

piece of the moulding by the top of the head, but are enough to prove this was from the screen colonnade.

Published: *BASOR* 187, 52, fig. 61; *ILN* (Apr. 13, 1968) 31, fig. 8; Hirschland, 18, no. 8, pl. 8b. Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 148. For similarity to head of Caracalla, cf. Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* pl. 163.

199 *Figs. 353-354.* S 59.78:2068. MANISA 3945. Head of laughing faun. Early 3rd C. A.D.

White marble.
Complete head preserved, and the l. front corner of capital. Rest of capital missing.
Head: H. 0.24; W. ear to ear 0.19. P.H. of capital 0.38; W. 0.715.
B E32/N57.50 *97.30.

The satyr has long ears which point forward. The short hair, brushed away from the face, makes a round clump above the middle of his forehead. To r. and l., just at the juncture of hair and skin, are the small knobs of two horns. He wears a wreath of leaves, with horizontal striations, and pine cones, of which there are four. The face has a twinkling expression which is made by his laughing eyes and gaily grinning mouth, and the wrinkles made at eyes and cheeks from the all-pervading smile. The eyebrows project along the bony ridge and have incised hair. There is no pupil or iris, but the inner corners are drilled to show tear ducts. The nose has a bump below the bridge and flaring nostrils. The open mouth is carved to only a shallow depth, so that teeth are implied, though not shown distinctly. The chin has a dimple in the center. The whole head is turned to the satyr's l., and this twist is shown also in the neck.

This most expressive and well-modelled head is the finest from the screen colonnade series. Its artistic origins, based on Hellenistic prototypes, do not imply an earlier date than the other heads, since there is no evidence of repairs or restoration to the screen colonnade. Rather, this head is founded in an earlier tradition than some of the others.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 38, fig. 21; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 12; Hanfmann, "Sardis und Lydien," 36, no. 6, fig. 20; C.C. Vermeule in Lehmann *Essays,* 366, no. 3, fig. 10; Hirschland, 15, pl. 5a; Hanfmann, *Letters,* 65, 278, figs. 44, 210.

200 *Fig. 355.* S 61.61:4123. Head of satyr. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
The head is preserved but lower part of face heavily battered. Most of upper part of capital preserved, including a small fragment of the head at opposite end of capital.
Capital: P.H. 0.425; W. 0.97. Head: H. 0.23; W. 0.18.
B E57/N66 *97.5. Incorporated in screen colonnade reconstruction.

This round-faced satyr turns his head to the r., as it projects from the capital. The tendons in the neck on the l. side are shown taut. His hair, brushed back from the forehead, is deeply gouged into curls. His ears are pointed, his cheekbones high. The pupils are not indicated, but upper and lower lids are prominent. There are drilled dots in the inner and outer corners of the eyes, but otherwise they are chiselled. Incisions on the brows indicate hair. Nose, lips, and chin are damaged, but the mouth clearly was open and turned downwards at the corners. Sharply cut wrinkles separate cheeks from mouth.

The capital was Corinthian, as are all in the series from the screen colonnade, and has mouldings of egg and dart and short vertical fluting.

Published: Hirschland, 16, 21, fig. 3 and pl. 6b.

201 *Fig. 356.* S 61.44:3854. Head of satyr. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Most of capital preserved, but large break at back l. side, and much of r. side missing. Damage also to leaves and corners. Head preserved but battered.
Capital: H. 0.73; W. across front top 0.90, across front bottom 0.62; L. at bottom 0.90. Head: H. 0.22; W. 0.21.
B E38/N71 *97.7.

The head of the satyr has high cheekbones and protruding chin. His ears are pointed, his hair brushed back from the forehead in coarsely carved strands. Wrinkles in the forehead are incised. The brows are sharp and have incised hair. The eyes are looking down, although no pupil or iris is indicated. Nose and upper lip are largely missing but the mouth was clearly open and smiling. The capital is a Corinthian one, typical of the 3rd C. Asia Minor style (Hirschland, 14 and 20) with three rows of acanthus leaves, all having deeply drilled channels next to the stems and sharply bent leaves.

The workmanship in the head is only summary, but the sharply incised details would have been sufficient for the viewer, observing from far below, to get a strong impression. The original placement of this capital has not been ascertained, because its base, round at one end and square at the other, does not fit the surviving shafts or bases. However, its findspot, near the screen colonnade, and the similarity of type to the other heads and capitals support the conclusion that this is from the same series.

Published: *BASOR* 166, 48, fig. 38; Hirschland, 17f., no. 7, pls. 6a and 7a.

202 *Fig. 357.* S61.60:4122. Head of a gorgon. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Entire front end of capital preserved except for surface damage. Back of capital sliced off vertically at middle of lifting hole in top surface. Medusa head damaged on most of face and top of head.
Capital: H. 0.72. Head: H. 0.23; W. 0.25.
B N62/E27 *97.5. Incorporated in screen colonnade reconstruction.

The head of a gorgon projects straight out from the capital. A pair of snakes emerges from under the hair, encircles the jaw, and is tied in a double knot under the chin. The hair, in wavy strands, is longer on her r. side than her l. The drill is used extensively: in the hair; to separate snakes from cheek; for the pupils (pendent arc); the inner corners of the eyes; the horizontal opening of the mouth; and also for the deep channels in the leaves of the capital. The two mouldings at the top of the capital are egg and dart and a wavy leaf pattern.

What remains of the face shows very little modelling. The head and hair are similar to another head from this series (203 Fig. 358), but on 202 drilling is used more extensively and on 203 the snakes are not shown.

Published: Hirschland, 16f., no. 4, pl. 6c; Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 209. For additional comparison, see Ashmole, "Cyriac," 190, pl. 39a.

203 *Fig. 358.* S61.56:4011. Head of a gorgon(?). Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Head, with damage all the way down center of face, and small amount of capital attached to it are preserved.
H. 0.52, of head 0.25; W. 0.31; D. 0.14.
B N66/E37 *97.5.

The head faces slightly to the l. as it projects from the capital. Asymmetry appears in her hair, which is slightly longer on her l. side. The hair, in wavy strands made partly by drilling, may be intended to imitate snakes. The identification as Medusa rests on the similarity of the head to 202 (Fig. 357) which has snakes tied under the chin. The brow is slightly modelled and has a crease; the forehead projects noticeably over the eyes. The cheeks have almost no modelling. The eyes have heavy upper and lower lids; pupils are incised; irises are made by drilled pendent arcs. The inner corners are drilled also. The damaged mouth was clearly open. The ends of tendrils and the tip of an acanthus leaf remain under her chin.

Published: Hirschland, 18, no. 8, pl. 8b. For additional comparison, see Ashmole, "Cyriac," 190, pl. 39a.

204 *Figs. 359-361.* S59.79:2069. Capital with head of Ares(?). Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
The head, the leaves and volutes immediately below it, and a fragment of the moulding are preserved. The head is damaged at nose, mouth, and chin. At r. side of the capital, 90° from the front, is preserved a small fragment of hair from a second head.
H. 0.55, of head 0.19 (without helmet 0.15); W. 0.20.
B E34/N45 *97.30.

The head, turned sharply to its l., is capped by an Attic helmet, which comes to a peak at the front and has a spiral at each side. It is a light helmet which sits upon long wavy hair with bold curls, emphasized by drill holes and short drill runs. The locks rise up from the forehead and fall at both sides onto the neck. The forehead is low but prominent with a heavy bone structure over the eyes and two projecting bumps over the nose. The brow not only protrudes but is also exceptionally long, with a clearly defined arc flaring toward the temple. Peering intensely from beneath this ridge are the upward-looking eyes which appear small despite the deeply drilled pupil and incised iris. They are imbedded in

the heavy folds of flesh of the upper lids and brow and the equally fleshy lower lids. The nose projects noticeably at the bridge, thus making the eyes seem even more deep-set. Drilling was used for the nostrils and the corners of the mouth.

The upward gaze of the eyes, the folds, and bone structure are in the tradition of Skopas and, subsequently, the Pergamene school. The bone structure of the lower part of the face is quite delicate, but the protruding forehead and nose and the thick twisted muscular neck could belong only to a male figure. This combination of delicacy and vigor, and the turned head framed by long curls, are features of Alexander the Great, who is almost certainly evoked in this head. Such an allusion to Alexander is not surprising since Caracalla admired him greatly, and we see Alexander references in several of the head-capital series. The helmetted male, however, could also be understood as an Alexander-like Ares, shown as a vigorous young god, with an air of violence in the twisted neck and piercing eyes.

This head, like the laughing faun (**199** Figs. 353-354) is carved in the Hellenistic tradition, and shows a fine sense of bone structure and modelling, as well as a keen interest in emotional effect. It is one of the finest examples in our series.

The fragment of hair (perhaps from Medusa or another long-haired god or goddess) at right angles to the head of Ares is important as the only evidence we have for a head at the *side* of a screen colonnade capital (cf. **200** Fig. 355 with a fragment of hair at the back of the capital). In fact we have positive evidence from a few others (**197, 200, 201, 207, 208** Figs. 349f., 355, 356, 364, 365f.) that there was no head on the side of some of the capitals. It might be that the Ares capital was placed on the column closest to the central entrance way, the head twisting toward that entrance, and a head at the side projecting towards the spectator as he entered.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 38 (here referred to as Athena); *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 62, fig. 10; Hirschland, 15, pl. Vb. For helmetted head from Tegea and characteristics of Skopas, cf. Bieber, 24, fig. 55; on Attic helmets, A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1967) 69; for similarity to Alexander, cf. M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago 1964) 32ff., figs. 53ff. For a figured capital showing Ares, cf. Mercklin, 159, no. 385b, fig. 755, from the baths of Caracalla in Rome.

205 *Fig. 362.* S60.25:2975. Fragment of male head with wings. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Entire head preserved, as well as neck and small part of foliage from capital.
H. 0.32, of head 0.23; W. 0.203.
B N54.50/E30 *99.75-98.50.

The head has been sliced off from its capital, so that it is roughly flat at the back. The top of the head is flat, an extension of the top of the capital, The tips of acanthus leaves still envelop the neck. The head had a squarish chin. Hair is carved with two noticeable drill marks in the center and also a third one to the side. Two small wings are also visible to r. and l. of the center of the hair. The forehead has incised wrinkles. The eyes have heavy upper and lower lids and strongly marked pupils made by drilling. The irises are incised. Nose and lips are missing, but it is clear that the mouth was open. A chiselled line separates jaw from neck.

Workmanship is summary, but the important features (hair, eyes, mouth) were strongly indicated so as to be effective to the observer far below. The piece represents possibly Hermes or Perseus; the features are reminiscent of Caracalla.

Published: *BASOR* 162, 45, fig. 28; Hirschland, 19, no. 12, pl. 8c. For similarity to Caracalla, see Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* fig. 163.

206 *Fig. 363.* S60.21:2708. Fragment of female head. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
R. side of face missing; also head is sliced off at back.
H. 0.23; W. 0.19; Th. at top 0.075.
B E30/N55 *97.60.

The head was turned to the r. and seen at a strong angle. Although the break cuts off most of the r. side of the face, it can still be seen that the head was slightly flattened, as if in high relief. The forehead is made triangular by the hair, which is parted in the middle and swept to the sides. Short running drill channels indicate the waves in the hair. The nose is

broken at the tip, but the impression of wide flaring nostrils remains. The lips are parted. The chin is round and classical.

Despite the flattened effect of the turned head, the findspot and the size of the head, comparable to the others, point to the likelihood that this head of perhaps a maenad or Hera belongs to the series from the MC screen colonnade. Also the slightly rough finish of the stone is typical of most of these capitals.

Published: *BASOR* 162, 44, fig. 27; *Archaeology* 14 (1961) 10-11, fig. 14; Hirschland, 19, no. 11, pl. 7b; Beat Brenk, "Datierung der Reliefs am Hadrianstempel in Ephesos," *IstMitt* 18 (1968) 242, fig. 1. Brinkerhoff, *Antioch,* 39, n.165, compares it to heads from Antioch and Smyrna.

207 *Fig. 364.* S67.36:7589. Bust. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
The head is broken off, perhaps intentionally. Many of the acanthus leaves and part of moulding also missing. L. side crudely chiselled off. Lewis hole in top center (W. 0.05; L. 0.105; D. 0.11; distance center to front 0.45, to r. side 0.445).
H. 0.77; W. 0.72; Th. 1.00. Break of head: H. 0.14; W. at top 0.155. Entire bust: H. 0.25; W. 0.33.
Pa-S E60.50/N21.40 *97.19-96.47.

One of the round head capitals from the palaestra colonnade, this is the only one of either the palaestra or screen colonnade to have a bust and not just a head. The figure is shown from mid-chest upwards. His r. shoulder is bare; the l. one has the end of a chlamys pinned by a large round brooch. The well-formed r. arm disappears into the acanthus just below the shoulder. The head is missing entirely, but it is clear from the break that the hair style was short and basically rounded.

The moulding consisted of egg and dart (H. 0.065) over vertical fluting (H. 0.035). At the center of the side of the capital is a downward-facing flower, and the same is at the back; there was no bust at the back.

Published: *BASOR* 191, 28, fig. 21; Hirschland 22, pl. 36b. Cf. also 208 (Figs. 365-366). The similarity of shape to a bust capital showing Caracalla is striking, see Mercklin, no. 211, figs. 399-400. Cf. also architectural tondo of Apollo with chlamys, Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 88ff., fig. 32.

208 *Figs. 365-366.* SYN 138. Female head. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Upper part of head battered. Most of front of capital preserved.
H. of capital 0.725; bottom diam. 0.59-0.62. H. of head 0.145; W. 0.21.
Pa-E E112-113/N21-22.

The head turns slightly to the l. The face has an elegant small chin, open "breathing" mouth, and distended nostrils. Short hair flows out to the sides. She is probably a maenad or a goddess. The piece belongs to the palaestra colonnade, as can be deduced from the findspot and by the round shape of the bottom of the capital, which fits the columns found there.

Published: *BASOR* 182, 37, fig. 29; Hirschland, 17, pl. 7c.

209 *Figs. 367-368.* S66.4:6962. Head, perhaps from capital. Early 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Face broken off on all sides except top of head. Heavily weathered.
H. 0.195; W. 0.152; Th. 0.075.
BE-N E27.80/N96.10 *96.90.

The hair consists of two rows of tight curls above the forehead, which bulges markedly. The eyes have heavy upper and lower lids; the iris is incised, the pupil drilled. The gaze is upwards and slightly to the r. Eyebrows are shown by a shallow groove which sweeps out to the hairline.

Evidence for thinking this is a head-capital fragment is: the findspot, in BE-N, near Zeus capital (197 Figs. 349-350); the height which, when complete, would be only 0.01 or 0.02 smaller than the other heads; the flatness at top; the projection at upper l. side which looks like beginning of moulding, but could be part of a crown or diadem; style of carving. The author believes this is a capital fragment for the above reasons; the date, by carving and especially the eyes, would be 3rd C. A.D., probably early. However, G. M. A. Hanfmann thinks it is an Imperial portrait, perhaps Constantinian. He points out that the head is slightly smaller than the

other capital heads, and prefers to think of the projection as a diadem. He compares it to heads of Constantine in the medallions of the arch of Constantine.

Published: *BASOR* 187, 58, fig. 65.

210 *Figs. 369-370.* NOEX 69.1. Corinthian capital with three heads. Constantinian?

Marble.
Complete except l. head broken off, damage to corners and leaf tips, and surface worn.
H. 0.28; W. at top 0.33, at bottom 0.24; H. of heads 0.09, of mouldings 0.05.
Findspot unknown.

All three heads are female. The central one, quite worn, is Medusa with two snakes, summarily carved and tied in a knot under her chin. Parallel incisions in her hair indicate ringlets. The eyes are large, carved deeply all around, with a drilled center for the iris. The two side heads lack snakes but otherwise are apparently similar. The fourth side is flatter and had no head. Leaves of the capital are deeply undercut; there is evidence of running drill. There are regular drilled holes beneath each head. The moulding had two fasciae. The side heads are placed higher than the central one.

This is the only Sardis capital with three heads. The eye treatment and regularity of drilled holes suggest a Constantinian date.

Unpublished. Mercklin, no. 224, figs. 431-432, 434; no. 231, figs. 439-440; no. 236, figs. 442-443, and others, but none are very close to ours.

Other Architectural Pieces

211 *Fig. 371.* IN60.19. Mountain god, Tmolus, on drum. Hellenistic?

Marble.
Head and l. arm of Tmolus missing, also r. arm below elbow. The tree against which he leans also missing except part of trunk and a few leaves. Anathyrosis on bottom of drum partly chipped. Top surface has dowel hole 0.06 W. and a channel.
H. of drum 0.88; diam. 0.615; H. of letters 0.03; total H. of relief 0.54; W. of relief 0.41.
PN N-S wall between rooms B and C, from early 5th C. A.D. villa.

Near top of drum, in two lines, are the words ΦΥΛΗΣ ΤΜΩΛΙΔΟΣ. Below the inscription is a sculptured relief of the river god, Tmolus, reclining on a rocky projection representing the mountain. He is naked except for a corner of drapery falling over his r. thigh; three other folds of the cloth are draped over the rock. He reclines on his l. arm, his r. leg is bent up at the knee, and the l. foot is tucked under the r. one. The proportions of the god are stocky; his legs seem too small for the broad torso.

Modelling is careful, although not excellent. The fine letters of the inscription indicate a Hellenistic date.

Unpublished

212 *Fig. 372.* MANISA 315. Block with woman in relief. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.?

Limestone-like marble.
Block preserved in entirety. Upper r. corner is worn.
H. 0.54; W. 0.43; D. 1.08. Large dowel hole: L. 0.10; W. 0.45; D. 0.04. Smaller dowel hole: 0.03 by 0.02 by 0.035 D.
Sardis, 1947.

A priestess, praying with raised arms, stands on the end of a block. She wears a peplos, belted beneath the breasts, and an extra piece of cloth hangs diagonally across her chest. The drapery clings to both legs and falls in three heavy folds, one at each side, and one between the legs. She has bare feet. The head seems to have had the hair piled up on it, but all details are worn away.

There is a single raised frame and a receding background. The finished face of the r. side was exposed and worn. The l. side is rough with anathyrosis. Two dowel holes are on top at the l. side; the smaller is a regular bridge clamp.

The peculiarity of the piece's depth suggests that it may have been used in a temple or heroon wall; perhaps, since it has anathyrosis on only one side, it may have been placed at the corner of such a wall. The figures from the temple of Hadrian in the Campus Martius and on the attic of the wall of the Forum Transitorium in Rome, although stylistically not the same, are similar in the relationship of the figure to the block.

Unpublished. For temple of Hadrian, see D. Strong, *Imperial,* fig. 83. For Minerva on Forum Transitorium wall, see Kähler, 114.

213 *Figs. 373-375.* NOEX 59.65. MANISA 4098. Birth of Zeus and armor on right gatepost. 2nd-3rd C. A.D.

Coarse-grained gray-white "local" marble, weathered yellowish.
Top is original. A clamp hole (0.03 by 0.04 by 0.05 D.) and dowel hole were for piecing to other blocks. On front face, the top has been split off, and surface of relief figures is lost in part and worn elsewhere. At the bottom is a tenon for insertion into a base or jamb. On the r. side face, the r. edge is heavily and irregularly damaged. A clamp hole is located 0.20 from the top, for a deep ordinary bridge clamp (0.04 by 0.03 by 0.03 D.; cutting is 0.08 from r. edge break). Only on the l. face has the edge of the recessed panel been preserved; the panel itself was trimmed away in reuse. The line preceding the reused area looks as if it had been burned. There is a dowel hole in the rough-trimmed area. The back side is entirely broken off. Fragments splinter off easily.
Total H. 0.90; max. Th. without relief 0.28. Front face without tenon H. 0.65, W. 0.26; panel H. 0.64, W. 0.22. R. side: panel H. 0.64, W. 0.22. L. side: panel H. 0.65, P.W. only 0.06 at top, 0.04 at bottom.
Yilmaz Köy, NW of Salihli. It had been housed in the school.

On the front face there are four figures, three of which overlap the edges of the rectangular recessed panel. At the bottom is a thick-bodied Atlas sitting on a rock in a frontal position, with his r. leg bent (following the curve of the rock). Upon his outstretched arms stand two somewhat smaller figures who may represent two giant Kuretes in short-girt tunics and much damaged helmets. The l. one swings a sword in his r. hand and carries a shield in his l. The r. figure may also have a shield (or cymbal?) in his l. hand. Behind the two Kuretes and in the center of the relief can be seen two dangling legs of Zeus with military boots. The upper part of this figure is almost entirely broken away, but he may have had his arms extended to lean on the shoulders of the Kuretes.

On the r. face is a recessed panel with armor displayed. On the l. is a pointed wand or lance (H. 0.40) ending at the lower side in a knob. There was another vertical object at the r. surmounted by a crested Corinthian helmet(?). Below are two shields, or a figure-8 shield. At the very bottom is a sacrificial patera or possibly a larger shield.

Published: Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 57-58, fig. 120.

214 *Fig. 376.* NOEX 62.11. Fragment of figured bolster. Hadrianic.

White marble.
A small piece of the original top surface preserved. Most of the capering figure preserved. Some surface chipping.
H. 0.38; W. 0.27; D. 0.58.
Findspot unknown.

An angular monkey-like male figure has bent and extended arms and legs; he looks off to his l. He is surrounded by vines and a bunch of grapes. His body is covered by a wavy pattern, marked by parallel grooves, signifying hair. The relief slab is curved and turns inward sharply towards the bottom, suggesting the shape of a bolster.

There is drilling in the vine pattern. Carving of the relief is high, but not as deep or concentrated as Severan figured reliefs. Comparisons with some Hadrianic reliefs suggest that our piece dates from that period.

Unpublished. For similar vines, see H. Walter, pl. XIV, no. 84. For Hadrianic comparisons see the recently excavated Hadrianic forum colonnade at Iasos with figured, curved entablature, D. Levi, 489, fig. 42 and Akurgal, *Civilizations,* pl. 29, showing column fragment from temple of Hadrian, Cyzikus. For Severan carving, Toynbee-Ward-Perkins, 1-43, pls. 1-26 but cf. Wegner, *Ornamente,* 91ff., fig. 31a and b, Flavian to Severan.

215 *Fig. 377.* NOEX 59.3. MANISA. Captive against pillar. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

White local marble with gray veins. Shoulders to above knees preserved. Iron dowel on top of pillar.
H. 0.235; W. 0.185; D. 0.195.
Findspot unknown.

A captive barbarian is tied with his back against a pillar. His arms are bent at the elbows and bound behind his back. He wears a tunic girt below his chest with a broad belt. His cloak, fastened at the r. shoulder, falls in an arc across the front of his chest and passes over the shoulders to fall down the back. Traces remain of the long flap from a "Phrygian" cap which identifies him as a Parthian. Workman-

ship is rough; straight channels indicate drapery folds.

Unpublished. Similarly dressed captives can be seen on numerous Imperial monuments from the time of Augustus onwards. For a captive tied to an architectural pillar, see Brilliant, *Severus Arch,* pl. 58b.

216 *Fig. 378.* S66.25:7247. Satyr head spout. 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Top of head to mouth, preserving upper half of spout hole. Surface damage to face.
H. 0.19; W. 0.19; Th. of head 0.06, of background block 0.053; diam. of spout 0.018.
BE-C E23.85/N19.7 *97.74.

The open smiling mouth is pierced by a round hole for the spout. His teeth are shown as a single horizontal band. The nose was broad. Wide open eyes have arched upper lids and single large drilled holes for the pupils. Furrows between eyebrows and on forehead and crow's feet are grooved. Above the pointed ears are the round stumps of horns. The hair, parted r. of center, waves up from his forehead in three clumps, each roughly grooved. Three holes (diam. 0.008) are in the top of the head for attachment to a fountain. The square background block is only barely wider than the head. The water channel widens at back of the block.

Eyes, and style in general, look later than the series of head capitals (**197-210** Figs. 349-370) but the tradition is the same.

Unpublished.

Furnishings

217 *Figs. 379-382.* Table legs with eagles in relief. Manisa; casts supporting original top are installed in the restored Syn at Sardis. Late Hellenistic or early Imperial.

Large-grained grayish white local marble.
Stone cracking from exposure. Piece A: cracked across top, and on eagle's chest; face and beak broken away. Piece B: cracked through entire H., just r. of eagle; lower l. corner cracked off; face of eagle broken away.
A: H. 0.95; W. with lion claws 1.63, without, at top 1.17; L. of thunderbolts 1.07. Th. below claws 0.35, at strigils 0.40. B: H. 0.98, of eagle 0.87; W. with lion claws 1.62, without, at top 1.17; Th. below claws 0.39, at strigils 0.41.
Syn E48/N10-12 on mosaic pavement; see Fig. 5.

A (at S end of table). An eagle, looking to proper r. and with wings outstretched, clutches thunderbolts with both claws. His large rounded chest (projecting 0.11 from background) and legs are covered with overlapping feathers. Upper wings have a similar pattern; lower wings have six long feathers each. Head, projecting into space from background, has narrow curling feathers. Tail, visible behind l. leg, is flattened out along background as if turned at r. angle. Each foot has three large talons. Thunderbolts are tied twice in center, where they yield to the pressure of the rope. Diagonal strokes in opposite directions on each thunderbolt band make a rope-like impression.

L. side has a simple moulding at top, then six strigils; at bottom, four lion claws roughly blocked out. R. side is even more roughly blocked out with no strigil decoration. Back is only rough-trimmed; the top is claw-trimmed, showing no dowel or clamp holes.

B (at N end of table). The eagle's head again is turned to r., but it is an antithetic piece in that tail appears behind r. leg. The strigil decoration is at opposite (r.) end, which means it is at the same side of the table as on piece A. Top has a smoothed band at r. edge, 0.05 W., and a small dowel hole (0.02 by 0.03 by 0.01 D.).

A massive stone table top, decorated with egg and dart motif, rested upon the two legs, which stood 2.13 m. apart (total span). The table was found on the central axis of the Syn and in that position belongs to the latest major building phase of the main hall (1st half of the 4th C. A.D.); however, the style of carving, with almost no drilling (only two short runs, one at the neck and one on the head), belongs to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. Also, the style of egg and dart is no later than Augustan, according to the late A. Henry Detweiler. Apparently the eagle table legs, which are very roughly trimmed on the inside, were cut off from a much earlier Roman monument and reused in their Syn context—as were the lions which were

found nearby (25 Figs. 92-101; see restoration Fig. 382).

Could these eagles, symbols of Roman power, have stood at the ends of the tribunal of earlier Roman magistrates? It is not impossible that the reliefs may have decorated the ends of the apse in earlier days when it is quite likely that the Syn was used as a civil basilica. Later, when it was transformed into a house of worship, the eagles would have been readily available for reuse when the table was being set up.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 34ff., fig. 19; Goodenough XII 195, fig. 4; Mitten, "New Look," 43; idem, *Synagogue,* figs. 3, 5; Hanfmann, "Synagogue," 41; the table has been interpreted as a lectern, A. T. Kraabel, "Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Empire" (Diss. Harvard 1968) 202, 227, to be published in *Studia-Post-Biblica;* Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 196. On building phases of Syn, cf. Seager, "History," 425ff. The mosaics are dated by L. J. Majewski who will publish them in a forthcoming Sardis report on the Syn. For eagles on coins, perhaps the inspiration for our design, cf. Gardner, pl. XIV:12 (from Elis) and others on same plate. Also Mattingly, pl. I:5 and L:1-2. For eagle in the round, A. H. Smith III 219, no. 2134, fig. 24.

218 *Fig. 383.* S59.22:1431. MANISA. Griffin pillar. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Marble. Yellowish surface, possibly local.
Part of top flat table support missing; l. toe broken off. Heavily covered by brown discoloration.
H. 0.785; W. at chest 0.14; D. at chest 0.265, at foot 0.255.
HoB E20/S60 *99.63, standing on floor.

The griffin pillar consists of a head and winged neck growing out of an acanthus plant. This in turn curves into a lion's foot below. The griffin head has pointed ears and an open roaring mouth with tongue hanging out. His great curving chest and neck issue forth at the sides into short wings curving back towards the pillar. The leg is vividly and plastically modelled.

There is a circular shallow cutting (D. 0.01) in the top of the pillar. The pillar is flat on the back. There is no striking use of the drill, but rather careful chisel work and smoothing.

Unpublished. For more heavily maned lions, see Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, fig. 577, dated to the later Imperial age (p. 112); Budde-Nicholls, no. 181, pl. 61. For the Greek prototype, see Richter, ibid., figs. 374-376.

219 *Fig. 384.* S59.64:1778. MANISA. Griffin pillar. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Marble.
Corners of top of pillar missing; also the ears and some of the teeth.
H. 0.78; max. W. 0.20; W. at foot 0.15; D. 0.26.
HoB E30/S70, standing on floor. The pillar was set upon an unfinished column base, 0.39 by 0.39 by 0.16.

The griffin pillar is nearly identical to its twin 218 (Fig. 383) found nearby. The four-clawed foot is better preserved here and shows the same powerful curves typical of the whole piece.

Unpublished. Mentioned *BASOR* 157, 24, fig. 10, showing area of find.

220 *Fig. 385.* S63.59:5766. MANISA 3792. Lion pillar. Mid-2nd to early 3rd C. A.D.

Large-grained grayish marble.
Slight damage to lower mouth; otherwise complete, except for break at top of back support.
H. 0.87; W. at chest 0.23; D. 0.16.
BS corner of E 19, E111.5-112.5/S0.5 *97.75.

A roaring lion's head, heavily maned and with tongue hanging out, is atop a great curving chest which in turn grows from a lion's foot. Behind the chest, on each side, is a flat inward-curving spiral and a rough, unfinished blank area. At the back is a roughly carved vertical support, with multiple claw chisel marks and anathyrosis. This area would have been attached to the table above.

The drilling in the mane is deep; bridges were left periodically, making a broken pattern; and the drill was also used for separating the front claws. The technique suggests a date under the Antonines or Severans.

Unpublished. Cf. Richter, *Furniture* , fig. 575. For lion table legs in use, see Cumont, *Recherches,* pl. XXV:2; Fıratlı, *Stèles,* pls. IXff.

221 *Fig. 386.* S63.66:5881. Lion leg from couch or throne. 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Poorly crystallized marble, perhaps damaged in a fire. Broken at upper back r. side and at lower l. of foot.
H. 0.365; W. 0.15; D. 0.28.
Syn E115/N3.10-4.0 (SE corner) *97.0-97.25.

A lion's leg and paw, sweeping forward at the top into a great bulge, rests on a plinth, and is capped at the top by a flat surface to support a throne or couch. The plinth has a hole in the underside. The claws are powerfully carved, with deep grooves and drill holes. The sides of the leg are in flat relief, with only outlined details. Rounded bands decorate the upper part of the leg. The summary workmanship suggests a date in the 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished. For the general type, see Richter, *Furniture*², figs. 503-504.

222 *Fig. 387.* S66.23:7420. Fragment of pier with lion's head. 3rd C. A.D.

Marble, decomposing to limestone.
L. side of lion head broken away. Part of the back of the pillar is preserved. R. side broken, shows decomposing back to limestone. There are traces of burning.
H. 0.20; W. 0.17; D. 0.13. Face: H. 0.13; W. 0.09; D. 0.03.
BE-C E28.1/N8.8 *96.85 (limekiln area).

A lion head is carved on a pillar under a projecting squared capital. The lion has small beady eyes and a simple mane done in parallel locks. A channel runs through his mouth, but because of the pillar behind, this was apparently not originally a fountain; it is possible that the head was at some time used as a fountain but the square hollow within the head might also come from piecing. The piece belongs to the very popular table support series and is Roman, but the forms of the face have a curiously archaic look.

Unpublished.

223 *Fig. 338.* S63.58:5765. MANISA 3793. Table leg, Dionysus leaning on pillar. 2nd C. A.D.

White marble.
Head and top of back pillar broken off horizontally, now mended. R. arm missing from above elbow. Face and genitals damaged.
H. 1.04. Base: 0.242 by 0.275 by 0.07. Small pillar: H. 0.40; W. 0.07; D. 0.08.
BS E 19 next to N wall, E113.4-114.1/S0.5 *97.75.

Young Dionysus leans on a pillar with l. arm, his hand cupped over the top of the pillar moulding. Weight is on his r. leg, the l. one crosses it in front and rests on the ball of the foot. His back is against a second, taller pillar with stepped-out base and simple capital. The face is smashed away but the long hair, parted in middle and falling to shoulders, bound with ivy or grape vine, confirms the identification. The leaves stem from a twisted cord-like vine. Drill holes at leaves suggest grapes, or are possibly for metal attachment. Hair behind the vine is not carved. His body is plump but the surface treatment is hard. The r. arm was attached by dowelling; there is a trace of iron strut on the r. thigh. Anathyrosis is on top of the tall pillar where the table leg was attached; rough chisel marks remain on its back.

The proportions are stocky; the treatment of anatomy and surface is adequate but lacking in real understanding. The hard technique suggests a date in the 2nd C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 46; 177, 20, fig. 20; Hanfmann, *Letters,* fig. 115; also found in Shop E 19, cf. 220 (Fig. 385). The Byzantine Shops will be published by J. S. Crawford in a forthcoming Sardis monograph.

224 *Fig. 389.* S58.8:605. Table leg, male figure standing against pillar. 2nd C. A.D.

White marble.
Six fragments found. Head missing, and both arms below elbow. Torso preserved to lower abdomen. R. leg broken at thigh and lower calf. Half of base preserved, with r. foot and bottom of an object (staff or tree) held at r. Pillar preserved from top to level of lower abdomen of the figure.
Pillar: H. 0.52, W. 0.10, D. 0.12; top moulding H. 0.042, W. 0.166, D. 0.152; flaring part of moulding H. 0.05; diam. indentation in top 0.063, D. 0.012. Youth: torso H. 0.24, W. 0.12; leg H. 0.21. Base H. 0.055; P.W. 0.17; D. 0.19.
B W7-8/S0 *95.50.

Although the entire head is missing, a strand of hair is preserved on each shoulder. A piece of

drapery is wrapped around the left arm at the elbow. The r. hand probably held a staff, since the bottom of some such object is preserved on the base, and a rough spot on the r. calf may indicate the break where the leg was joined to staff or strut. On the other hand, the object at the r. might have been a tree. The pillar has a rectangular shaft and a simple, flaring moulding with plain slanting sides. There is a shallow, round indentation in the top of the pillar.

The nude male figure leaning against a pillar and holding a shepherd's(?) staff in his hand could be Attis. The large simple chiselled folds are crude, but the body seems to have had quite good, if limited, modelling. A date anywhere from the 1st to 3rd C. A.D. seems possible, but the 2nd C. is most likely.

Published: *BASOR* 154, 32. For Attis cf. Laurenzi, 134f., esp. no. 171. Also table legs from Argos, Marcadé-Raftopoulou, 165-172, nos. 166-167, fig. 92.

225 *Fig. 390.* S58.49:1104. MANISA 2235. Table leg, male figure standing against pillar. 1st half of 3rd C. A.D.?

Local marble, incompletely crystallized, whitish yellow with gray veins.
Lower r. arm missing, face and upper head battered. Some damage to drapery and pillar. Feet and front of base broken away in one piece, but repaired.
Max. H. 0.895; H. of statue 0.75; H. of base at back 0.12, at front 0.09. Pillar: H. 0.77; W. at top 0.155, at bottom 0.19; D. at top 0.09, at bottom 0.05 (i.e. pillar spreads toward bottom in W., but tapers in D.). Dowel in top of pillar 0.03 by 0.025, 0.033 D.
HoB, found standing on floor in SE corner of room 7 (basement).

A nude standing male figure, leaning against a pillar, has a piece of drapery slung across his l. shoulder, around back, and across his r. thigh. Weight is on the l. leg, his r. leg forward. His l. hand clasps the drapery near his chest, the r. hand holds onto it lightly at the thigh. The lower arm was worked fully in the round. Although the face is almost completely smashed away, the hair, parted and drawn back into a knot, remains largely intact. At each side a long lock falls on his shoulder, although that on his l. is obscured by the drapery, and by the turn of the head to that side. In his hair on the r. is a sketchy flower or bunch of grapes.

Modelling is summary, with hard, angular chiselled outlines. The *linea alba* is a sharply chiselled line. Pillar, base, and statue are all of one piece of stone. The dowel hole in the top of the pillar was for attaching the table top. The back of the pillar was evenly rough-picked; the underside of the base has rough anathyrosis.

Although the type is that of a classical Apollo, the bunch of grapes or flowers suggests that this is Bacchus. Since the pagan figure was found in the Christian "House of Bronzes," the face may have been smashed on purpose. The sketchy, superficial workmanship, meant for architectural decoration, is probably from the 1st half of the 3rd C., but the date could range from late 2nd C. to ca. A.D. 300. The absence of drilling favors an earlier date.

Published: *BASOR* 154, 27; *Archaeology* 12 (1959) fig. 13; *ILN* (May 30, 1959) 925, fig. 6; M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 64 (1960) 67 and pl. 13, fig. 12.

226 *Figs. 391-393.* S63.50:5645. Socrates menorah. 1st half of 4th C. A.D.?

Large-grained white marble, reddish discoloration.
Outer two branches of candlestick on one side with part of horizontal inscribed cross bar; small fragments of two other branches, and piece of central stem preserved. Cement adheres to fragment of central stem.
H. 0.565; radius of outer branch 0.47; second branch 0.34; section of branch 0.057; distance between branches 0.085. Inscription L. 0.17; H. of letters 0.032.
Syn MH, S side E58.6/N4.2 *96.40; see Fig. 5.

This was originally a seven-branched candlestick with a central vertical stem. Each branch, oval in section, has an incised lozenge pattern (L. 0.05, W. 0.022), carefully but monotonously cut. This pattern is to suggest stylized leaves of a rhomboid shape. Between the branches is acanthus scroll open-work. This rinceau design starts and ends with flowers, arranged so that the long wave or stem rolls on to the next flower while a short arm curls inward to touch one of the two petals of the flower. The tops of the branches protruded through a cross bar, with a four-petalled rosette within the border on the end.

The inscription in the tabula: on one side, ΣWKPATHΣ . . . YOIKOY, on the other ΛΥΦΟΥ.

The work is highly competent, and the virtuosity of the open-work, done principally with the chisel, is outstanding. The surface is carefully smoothed but not glossy. Both epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggest the 4th C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 174, 36-38, fig. 20; *ILN* (Mar. 21, 1964) 432, fig. 4; Mitten, "New Look," 65. Mitten, *Synagogue,* fig. 11. The inscription and the archaeological evidence will be treated by J. H. Kroll and A. R. Seager in a forthcoming volume in this series on the Syn.

227 *Fig. 394.* S59.36:1741. MANISA 4085. Funerary chest. 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Marble.
Parts of raised inner rim of chest broken off. Some chipping of projecting profile of lid, and also of feet.
H. without lid 0.325; W. 0.49; D. 0.46; H. of foot 0.095; H. of lid ca. 0.08; underside hollowed to a depth of 0.025; int. hollow: 0.36 by 0.335; D. 0.165-0.20.
HoB grave area, tomb 1 E10/S60 *99.80, near the E bench of tomb.

The chest is profiled at the top and bottom of the wall and stands on four squat legs. The front imitates a wooden chest with metal trimmings. A rectangular lock plate is flanked by two spreading palmettes growing out of an acanthus calyx, all in low relief. These in turn are flanked by rings in very shallow incision, imitating metal rings. The lock plate is fastened by two nails on the l. and four on the r., and has an inverted L-shaped hole for a key. The ends of the chest are plain but the interior dips in a triangle below the lower border which is visible from the outside. The interior is roughly chiselled. The back is plain.

Since the piece was found in a Roman grave it can be dated, along with the cemetery, to the 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 157, 28; *ILN* (July 9, 1960) 61, fig. 2. For the general type, see Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, fig. 581.

228 *Fig. 395.* S59.74:1962. MANISA 4084. Chest. Date uncertain.

Marble.
Some chipping of projecting profiles.
H. 0.33; W. 0.48; D. 0.335.
PC, in or above Tomb of the Lintel, *1.90.

A chest of solid stone has at its top a slightly raised platform, in which a round hollow has been cut, and also a channel to the back of the stone. This may have been for the insertion of a statue in the top. The front of the chest has in the center a lock plate with imitations of four nails at the corners and a smaller and larger horizontal cutting for keys. The plate and nails are in shallow relief. At the sides and bottom, chiselled lines make a border. There is a projecting profile at top and bottom. The back of the chest is only roughly chiselled. There are no feet.

Unpublished. For another footless chest, see Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, fig. 582.

SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS

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VII SCULPTURE FROM SARDIS IN EUROPEAN, TURKISH, AND AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

229 *Figs. 396-399.* PRIVATE COLLECTION. Small head of a woman? Neolithic, 5th or 4th millennium B.C.

Black serpentine, with inclusions of antigorite, very soft stone (Mohs scale 2.5) according to C. Frondel, Harvard University.
Broken off unevenly across neck; break goes up to chin at proper l.
H. 0.04; W. at neck, front to back 0.02.
Found before 1957, allegedly in a dry torrent bed at Sardis.

The head is broken from a figurine; enough of the neck remains to show that the head was turned to the proper r. and upward. There is a triangular crease in the center of the forehead. The eyes are asymmetrical, the r. one oval, the l. longer and slightly arched. A raised rectangle stands for the l. ear; none is visible on the r. The abraded cheeks and chin are nearly rectangular. The short cushion-like hair is divided in front by a line of dots linked together and made with a needle-like tool. The outlines of the eyes, mouth, hair, and chin are made with a rather thin tool. The traces of tooling are compatible with the use of implements of hard stone but not with those of copper or abrasives. No traces of abrasion are visible. The surface polish could have been produced by rubbing the piece with leather or textile. Projecting features are worn down by handling which might indicate a ritual function for the piece, perhaps as a talisman. The condition of the head precludes modern origin (C. Frondel). The powerful neck combined with the hooked nose, slashed mouth, "blind" eyes, and short haircap above the tilted face add up to a masterpiece of brutish power.

As M. J. Mellink was the first to see, this is the head and facial type of Neolithic and earlier Chalcolithic sculptures. Parallels occur in Anatolia, Greece, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus. Although geographically close, the late Neolithic sculptures from Hacilar (Mellink-Filip, figs. 18-20) do not seem to be in quite the same style. At Hacilar and Can Hasan the cap-like hair is worn by women. Despite its "Renaissance condottiere" profile, this piece may represent a goddess and possibly be from a hitherto unknown early West Anatolian school of the 5th or 4th millenium B.C. As serpentine does not appear to be a local material, the piece may have been imported.

Published: Hanfmann, "Sardis und Lydien," 511, fig. 4, "related to Hittite." For parallels see Mellink-Filip, figs. 30, 52, 81, Can Hasan, Samarra, Tell Brak, Khirokitia; Mellaart, *Civilizations,* fig. 77, Çatal Hüyük; Theocharis, 18-22, 40, 46, 204, and esp. 223, Greece. A recent geological map shows serpentinites in the region of Akhisar and to the N, E. İzdar in Campbell, 506, map.

GMAH

230 *Fig. 400.* LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM B270. Frieze with grazing deer. 600-550 B.C.

White marble.
Slab broken off below; bed above preserved.
H. 0.17; L. 0.405.
Found in 1882 by G. Dennis in one of the tumuli at BT; came to British Museum 1889.

The square joints at the sides are preserved. The flat moulding is similar to but thinner than that above the relief on 231 (Fig. 401). In 230, it runs horizontally below the frieze as a ground line. The relief shows a row of three grazing deer walking to r. with their heads lowered. The animals have large ears but no horns, fairly long full tails, and plump bodies. The large eyes are circumscribed by incised double lines. Pryce does not see the relief as belonging to the same piece as 231; he suggests a possibly "pre-Croesan" date, which Tuchelt wrongly denies.

Published: Pryce, 101, fig. 165, A. H. Smith I 24, no. 23; Barnett, "Ivories," 18, fig. 20; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, 156, fig. 107; *Sardis* I (1922) 9, 12. Tuchelt, 126, no. L 73b-c; 185, nn. 90, 91. Cf. also the coins of Phanes, Weidauer, 62-63, pl. 5:39, 40.

GMAH

231 *Fig. 401.* LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM B269. Frieze of horsemen. 550-450 B.C.

White marble.
Slab broken off below; top surface preserved, as is the joint on either side.
H. 0.19, of relief 0.085; L. 0.43.
Found in 1882 by G. Dennis in one of the tumuli at BT.

The joint on the r. is square, that on the l. is bevelled, with a plain vertical band in front indicating the end of the relief. There are two flat mouldings along the top and bottom; the space above, below, and between is recessed; and the relief is in the space between the mouldings. The frieze shows three horsemen moving to r. Each carries a spear pointing forward and wears a chiton with a flap on either side of the shoulder. They seem to wear cuirasses; the crest of a helmet falls down their backs. The features are not modelled. Horses are squat and swaybacked with long pointed tails and elaborate harnesses, the bridles ornamented with discs. The first and third horses have all four feet on the ground; the middle one raises a foreleg. The figures are well rounded.

Pryce believed the piece to be possibly the arm of a throne or side of a couch, citing *RA* 32 (1876) 79, fig. 13 as a comparison. He dated it to the second half of the 6th C.; Akurgal (*Kunst Anat.*, 156) to the 6th C. The horsemen on stocky horses seem earlier than those of the Daskylion stele of ca. 500 B.C. (Fig. 152).

Published: Pryce, 99-101, fig. 164; A. H. Smith I 24, no. 22; *Sardis* I (1922) 9, 12; Perrot-Chipiez, 903, fig. 535; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.*, 156, fig. 107. For horsemen of the Persian period see Borchhardt, 166-173, pls. 44-46. Tuchelt, 126, no. L 73b-c; 185, nn. 90, 91.

GMAH

232 *Fig. 402.* NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART 26.199.278. Relief with head of bearded man. 500-480 B.C.

Large-grained, probably local, grayish white marble with reddish incrustation.
Broken along bottom of relief. Entire head re-attached. Broken across lower lip and chin. Top is near original H. but unfinished at upper r. corner. Surface heavily weathered.
H. 0.23; Th. 0.085, of background slab 0.046.
From Sardis, exact findspot unknown. Presented by the American Society for the Exploration of Sardis, 1921-1922.

The relief, which is probably from a funerary stele, was described by Richter, but renewed examination shows that the face is bearded and the nose big and elongated (cf. the bearded boxer, Richter, *Gravestones*², no. 31, fig. 92). The hairdo and short beard are in relief, and the outline of the ear and a large nostril may be discerned. The nose continues the slant of the forehead. The eye is large and convex. The hair-bolster (*krobylos*) is divided into five sections (cf. divisions in "Kritios boy," Richter, *Kouroi,* no. 190, figs. 564-565). The *krobylos* hairdo and profiled eye point to a date between 500-480 B.C. The piece has rather fine modelling. There seem to be back and forth strokes of a large claw chisel and a large point on the back.

Published: Richter, *Catalogue Greek Sculptures,* 43, no. 41, pl. 40. Cf. for style the relief from Kythnos, Berger, fig. 142.

GMAH

233 *Fig. 403.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 690. Stele with praying woman. 450-425 B.C.

Marble with reddish discoloration, perhaps "local." Top element missing. Top of present stele shaft broken at rear l. Bottom l. corner and much of lower r. side restored. The original condition is shown in *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) pl. 7. Face and upper part of figure chiselled off, possibly intentionally. Except for lost l. heel, lower part well preserved.
H. 0.91; W. at top 0.385, at bottom 0.41; Th. at top 0.09, with relief 0.12. Sides of stele taper from 0.385 at front to 0.355 at back. H. of figure 0.67, of inscription band 0.08. Foot-ledge projection: D. 0.035; P.L. 0.21; Th. 0.12.
Found in the same low wall of the Necropolis as the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual (ibid., no. 1; 241 Fig. 420) and other Lydian inscriptions, hence from the cemetery.

Although there is no sign of dowelling on top, the stele probably had a covering element, possibly a palmette. A female figure facing to l. is placed freely and somewhat asymmetrically on a claw-chiselled background. The sides of the stele are also claw chiselled. The back is rough trimmed.

Despite the damage, one can discern the profile with imprints of an eye and earring. She has her hair in a bun and wears a veil or hood. She is dressed in a pleated chiton with long sleeves and a cloak. The cloak falls down her r. side; it is visible as a thin strip down to her r. wrist. On the other side it fell down the back to be held by the (lost) l. arm, which was probably wrapped in the cloak. With her l. hand she may have held the long central fold and the short double fold which is flying back. Her arm is bent and her short, pudgy hand is held open toward the spectator, the thumb laid over the index finger. The (advanced?) r. foot is carved closer to the background than the l.

The stele belongs to the "Cyclado-Ionic" type, popular during the first half of the 5th C. B.C., in which one single figure is placed on the shaft of the stele (Friis-Johansen, ch. 4). Rodenwaldt rightly recognized Eastern Greek influence in the Thessalian and Boeotian pieces of "Cyclado-Ionian" type. An Eastern Greek stele of this kind was the model for the Izmir stele. The strange and illogical central fold and the folds which radiate from it are the standard formula for guards and tribute bearers, beginning with the reliefs from Pasargadae. As G. M. A. Richter (*AJA* 50 [1946] 17ff., fig. 4), modified by Nylander (134ff., fig. 46), had surmised, the motif was brought in by Ionians with Cyrus but then adapted and perpetuated in typical Achaemenian style. One might think that the Lydian sculptor had perhaps come back from work at Susa or Persepolis and applied the formula he had carved a hundred times to the now unfamiliar Greek drapery in a genuine mixing of classical Greek and Achaemenian elements. The date is still within the third quarter of the 5th C.

Under the feet of the woman there is an inscription of three incomplete lines; possibly one more is lost (see *Sardis* VI.2 [1924] no. 17; Gusmani, *LW,* 258, no. 17 for complete text). The following is a tentative translation:

> of the *sivams* (this recurs—hence not name of owner) and thus (*akit*) whosoever (*qis*)/*esnan*—this stele (*antola/anlola*) damages (*fenslibid*)/ he shall be cursed (*katsarlokis*)

Gusmani translates *ena-k* "and the Mother will to him. . ." He comments that as in Lycian, the curse formula might invoke the Mother of the Gods or a similar divinity (by letter Feb. 1972).

Published: *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) no. 17, pl. 7; Bossert, *Altanatolien,* 27, fig. 192, 4th C. B.C.; Gusmani, *LW,* 254, no. 17; idem, "Lydiaka," 266, 272; Pfuhl-Möbius, no. 53, pl. 13. Nearest in placing a figure on a wide shaft are the stelai of Polyxenaia from Thessaly, Friis-Johansen, 134, fig. 67, before 450 B.C.; Biesantz, 17, K 27, pl. 8, 450-425 B.C.; and Amphotto from Boeotia, fig. 4; Friis-Johansen, 135, fig. 68, "hardly before 450 B.C.," which also displays "swinging" folds.

GMAH

234 *Fig. 404.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4030. Funerary stele of Atrastas, son of Timles. 330-329 B.C.

"Local" marble.
Broken at bottom, below top of couch, front of top profile. Upper part of man's figure, face, l. hand, lower legs of woman, front of couch lost. Top element and finial probably missing.
H. 0.61, of relief 0.34; W. at top 0.56, at bottom 0.57; Th. of moulding without relief 0.13; H. of moulding 0.10; projection 0.04, previously more.
"Found on May 26, 1913, in a roughly built wall closing the doorway of a single-chamber tomb . . . about 20 m. above the ravine on which faced the 'Stele tomb' " (*Sardis* VI.2 [1924] 7). At Istanbul since Sept. 1924.

C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. noted that at the top, the relief moulding has painted egg and dart motif, yellow with black background. There are five lines of text in Lydian, with red preserved in some letters. Below the text is a sculptured scene showing a man reclining on a couch, at the left end of which sits a woman turned toward him. His left elbow is propped on a cushion, while his right hand resting upon his right knee holds some small object, perhaps a flower. His head is turned, facing outward. He wears a garment which comes behind the back over the l. arm and across the body in linear folds, reminiscent of Persian-Palmyrene garments. A cloak is draped in sharp-ridged folds across his legs. The incised strands of hair fall on the woman's shoulders. She is wrapped in a cloak which also goes around her r. arm. Apparently she, too, held some object. Her breasts are indicated.

Compared to the elaborate family scene in the pediment 18 (Figs. 72-74), the funerary meal is reduced to the two-figure formula and is close to some Hellenistic representations of which great numbers are known (Fıratlı, *Stèles,* 18ff., pls. 8ff.; E. Pfuhl, *JdI* 50 [1935] 35ff., figs. 18-23, esp. 21). Unlike Hellenistic stelai, however, the group is not framed by architecture. The style is provincial and awkward, but it may reflect Near Eastern-Iranian connections in the linear fold renderings.

The following is from the German translation by R. Gusmani (letter Feb. 1972):

> In the year 5 (under) Alexandros given (*dān*) (. . . .). This grave chamber and this stele/ (belong to) Atrastas (the son) of Timles; from his expense (. . . .) the heir himself dedicated(?)/ Now whosoever (this stele) protects and not damages/ to him/ Zeus is well disposed; but whoever damages this grave chamber or this stele, him Zeus will destroy.

The Lydian, *brvān* III II *aliksantrul dān*. . . is the dating formula which yields the date 334, conquest of Asia Minor, less 5, equals 330-329 B.C. The god translated "Zeus" is *Levs,* equated by H. Th. Bossert and others with *Deus, Zeus. Dān* may be "datum," *"data res."*

Published: *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) 54-55, L. 26: *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 7f., no. 3, pl. II; Hanfmann, "Pediment," 296f., pl. 102b; Bossert, *Altanatolien,* 27, fig. 193; Pfuhl-Möbius, no. 76, pl. 19. See Gusmani, *LW,* 251, no. 3, for complete inscription. Mentioned in E. Pfuhl, *JdI* 50 (1935) 27f.; Gusmani, "Lydiaka," 272.

GMAH

234 *bis not ill.* STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM SK 936. Relief with funerary meal, 300 B.C.

Marble.
H. 0.35.
Allegedly from Sardis, bought in Smyrna.

The bearded man lies on a couch with a drinking cup in his l. hand. A snake coils over his l. shoulder and his veiled wife sits at his feet. Before him stands a three-legged table, beside it a wine jar and a small boy who is serving the wine. On the wall above the man's head are a shield and helmet.

Published: A. Andrén, *Konst från den Grekisk-Romerska Kulturvärlden ur Svenska Samlingar,* Medelhavsmuseet/ Nationalmuseum, Sept.-Nov. 1967 (Stockholm 1967) no. 156; Pfuhl-Möbius, no. 1553, pl. 224. We are indebted to H. Möbius for this addendum.

GMAH

235 *Figs. 405-406, 409.* NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART 26.59.9. Lion sejant from Nannas monument. Ca. 500 B.C., reused by Romans.

Marble.
Missing almost all of forelegs, parts of hind legs, l. side of head, most of plinth. Surface chipped and battered, covered with hard incrustation.
H. 0.413; L. 1.04.
Sardis, 1913. Part of Nannas monument, Artemis Precinct. The piece was probably not reused by Nannas in the 4th C. B.C. but only in the Roman restoration of the precinct. Cf. 274 (Figs. 465-466); *Sardis* RI (1975) 62, 64, 68.

The lion is seated in a frontal position. The tail loops under the hindquarters and over the l. haunch. The mane has long wavy locks ending slightly down the back, less deeply cut than Syn lions (25 Figs. 92-101). The style is archaic. Richter (*Catalogue Greek Sculptures,* 7) suggests a date of ca. 500 B.C. or a little earlier on the basis of style of modelling and the stylization of the mane.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 125f., ill. 137; Richter, *Catalogue Greek Sculptures,* no. 6, pl. 9; H. C. Butler, *AJA*

17 (1913) 474; Richter, *Handbook,* 69, pl. 50 e; Shear, "Lion," 128ff., figs. 3, *in situ,* 4, 9, with comparisons; mentioned in Hanfmann, *Rayonnement,* 497; Gall, 589, fig. 4.

GMAH

236 *Figs. 407-409.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4028. Recumbent lion from Nannas monument. 550-540 B.C., reused by the Romans.

Marble.
Muzzle and l. forepaw damaged.
L. 1.22; H. 0.65.
Artemis Precinct, found lying at end of largest pedestal and against smaller one of Nannas monument. It was lying across the short end with feet projecting over the edge (*Sardis* I [1922] 126 and Shear, "Lion," 127, figs. 2, 4, where the lion is restored lying lengthwise on the rectangular, larger, base; cf. Fig. 407, looking E). For Nannas base and reuse by Romans cf. 274 (Figs. 465-466) and *Sardis* Rl (1975) 62, 64, 68.

On a plinth with forepaws extended in front, the lion has its head turned to the l. with the mouth wide open and tongue protruding. The eyes are hollow for inlay, the ears fairly close to the head. The mane is arranged in leaf-like locks, many ending in a small knob; from the back it resembles a kerchief with fringe. The massive forms of the body are smooth and not highly articulated. The tail is looped up and over the proper l. haunch. The piece is apparently by a different hand than 235 (Figs. 405-406).

Shear drew the persuasive comparison with the Corinthian lions from Loutraki (Gabelmann, pl. 8, no. 58). Gabelmann has pointed out the differences —the short "back mane" and the Assyrianizing arrangement of the mane and locks. He thought that the golden lion of Croesus in Delphi (Herodotus 1.50) might be envisaged in this posture and pointed out that the inlaid eyes of the Sardis lion are unusual and perhaps conditioned by the imitation of metal technique (cf. also the gold lions, *Sardis* XIII [1925] no. 86, pl. 8). In the reconstruction proposed by Elderkin (1ff., fig. 1) the Delphi lion does not turn his head. A date around mid-6th C. is confirmed by the Loutraki lions. Gabelmann dated the Nannas lion ca. 540 B.C.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 127, fig. 138; H. C. Butler, *AJA* 17 (1913) 474f., fig. 4; Shear, "Lion," 127ff., figs. 1, 5, 11, 16; Akurgal, *Kunst Anat.,* 279, fig. 245; Gall, 588f., fig. 4; Gabelmann, 82f., 84, 89, 119, no. 109.

GMAH

237 *Figs. 410-412.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4047. Lion spout attached to rectangular member. Roman?

Marble.
Unfinished. Block broken off at back.
L. 1.40; H. of head 0.60; W. of head 0.60; D. with head 1.00; D. to sima 0.35. For detailed dimensions see Fig. 412.
Found "near the northeast angle of the peristyle [of the AT] at a height of about four meters above the base of the angle column" (*Sardis* I [1922] 96, ill. 99).

"This [colossal lion's head] in all probability belonged to the cornice of the temple and when in place, stood in a position almost directly above the spot where it was found, being the water-spout nearest the corner of the temple. The scale of the head is sufficiently large to have matched the scale of the building. The face of the lion was not executed on the cornice itself, but upon a separate block, provided with a sort of collar by means of which it was held in the face of the cornice. The block extends well back from the head, and its upper surface bears the cutting for the gutter which opens into the orifice in the lion's mouth . . . It seems probable that this head which bears on its upper surface the marks of long exposure to the weather, was in place for a long time after the temple was abandoned; and until four or five meters of debris had accummulated . . . when it finally fell uninjured upon soft earth" (*Sardis* I [1922] 96).

"This lion spout was apparently set in the sima and protruding through it. The drawings (ill. 46) show how this was done. The face of the lion . . . projects from a surface partly smooth, partly picked, and not from the middle of the block but from near the right end. All about the face is a kind of collar, the surface of which is lightly picked and was not intended to be seen. This . . . shows that the head was either set in a hole cut in the sima to fit it, or was placed between two sections of the sima, each carved with a roughly semicircular cavity at the end . . . The block was broken off at the back, but originally extended well behind the face of the sima,

where its weight served to balance the ponderous head. The orifice of the mouth grows wider, as it extends through the head, and formerly connected with a gutter at the back" (*Sardis* II [1925] 51f., ill. 46).

The crucial questions are: whether the piece is finished and whether it came at an inner corner. If it did, it cannot come from the temple. Renewed examination by F. K. Yegül in 1975 showed that the piece "does not indicate a 'typical' inner corner detail: the sides are cut straight. Both sides display anathyrosis, hence they were certainly joined to other stones. It is possible, however, to form an inner corner by placing the piece on the left of the spout at right angles. I believe this kind of straight jointing was quite common. The rough and chiselled area to the left of the spout on the face of the stone should not be taken necessarily as an indication of a joint and an interior corner since the *side* of the piece is clearly prepared to receive another one by the application of anathyrosis" (by letter June 1975).

Careful multiple tooth work in the rectangle around the head and flat chisel-drove work on top of the lion's "collar" are both consistent with a 5th or 4th C. date. The characteristics of cavernous mouth and deep nostrils and eye corners, however, which Butler explains as calculated for view at a great distance from the ground, seem more Hellenistic or even Roman. According to Yegül, it could perfectly well be Roman work.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 96, ill. 99; *Sardis* II (1925) 51f., 73f., figs. 46, 84f.

GMAH

238 *Figs. 413-415.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4032. Bird of prey (eagle?) holding a hare, from the Nannas monument. Late archaic? Reused by the Romans.

Marble, worn and weathered gray.
Head of bird and l. foot missing, also parts around base, chipped on back and along wings.
H. 0.60; W. 0.40; D. (breast to back) 0.25.
Monument of Nannas (274 Figs. 465-466) with lions 235 and 236 (Figs. 405-409) "set up without order upon a square pedestal of two steps . . . the eagle had fallen on one side" (*Sardis* I [1922] 125f.).

A sitting bird of prey is holding with slightly bent talons a long-eared creature—hare or rabbit. The wings are folded on the back; they have three tiers of long feathers, while the front part is stylized in small vertical ovals. The chest feathers are rendered as a large scale pattern. The thick feet and talons come out of a bare tarsus. Part of the plain lower body is seen under the wings. The hare has its neck arched, forelegs bent down, and traces of staring eyes.

One may ask whether this is a hawk, sacred to Artemis in Ephesus and Cybele in Lydia, or an eagle. According to D. Howard, Director of Environmental Affairs, Massachusetts Audubon Society, the size and massiveness of the legs and the big feet indicate that the bird is an eagle. She adds that the sea eagle, which has a bare tarsus, still migrates through Western Anatolia to the western Mediterranean, but that the absence of the head and beak makes definite identification impossible (verbal communication).

Since the two lions and the bird need not have been part of one monument, and may, in fact, have been brought together during Roman times, rather than by Nannas in the 4th C. B.C., we cannot automatically assume an archaic date for the bird. Butler recalled Hittite eagles and curiously misread the hare as a "hooded snake." There may be a background of local Anatolian belief but eagle and hare are not uncommon in Greek and Roman art.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 125-127, figs. 136-138; Shear, "Lion," figs. 3, 4, 7; Gall, fig. 4. For Artemis, Cybele, and hawk (*mermnos*) see R. D. Barnett, "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (New York 1956). For inscription of Nannas, and reconstruction of the monument by the Romans, cf. 274 and *Sardis* RI (1975) 62, 64, 68.

GMAH

239 *Figs. 416-418.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4031. Sphinx, presumably part of a throne or seat. 480-450 B.C.

Marble, reddish discoloration.
Head, forelegs, back part of slab, bits from l. wing and l. haunch missing. Part of plinth with forepaws and large parts of proper r. wing, body, haunch, and background broken off.
H. 0.64; L. 0.52; Th. 0.18.

Sardis, came to the museum in Sept. 1924, at the same time as sculpture from the first Sardis expedition.

The seated sphinx is partly in the round, partly in relief. A rectangular slab has been worked so that the forelegs and frontal lower part of the body stand free. Behind the head (now lost) and upper part of the body the background was retained and worked carefully with claw chisel. The forepart is rounded and heavy, with two shallow but rounded female breasts. The concave wing issues without break from the body; presumably its feathers were painted. Rather short locks or thin tresses (best seen on proper l.) fall down the neck, longer, twisted ones down on the chest. Strongly marked ribs appear on the lower body. The tail passes below and around the l. haunch, then rises snake-like in a forward curve ending in a large oval tuft. Paws are carefully characterized with knuckles on top, small sharp claws coming out below. Like the forepart and wing, the haunches are large, soft, and well-smoothed.

The Sardis sphinx is clearly later than the archaic Attic sphinxes or the Eastern Greek. She retains, however, the archaic decorative incurving wing. Her leonine anatomy is less developed than that of the mid-5th C. sphinx from Aegina and her human breasts much less marked than those of the sphinxes on the "Lycian" sarcophagus from Sidon of ca. 420 B.C. (Picard, *Manuel* II.1, 82, fig. 37; II.2, 892, fig. 362; *Istanbul Guide,* 43, pl. 9). As the top of our sphinx slab was flat (and had dowels?), the piece may have supported the seat of the throne and possibly the arms (cf. 41, 42 Figs. 142-145).

Unpublished. For archaic Attic sphinxes see Richter, *Gravestones*², figs. 34-65, 110-122; Eastern Greek, H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933) 185, fig. 10, Beil. 55:2 (Rhoikos altar, Samos) and Aziz, nos. 110-111, p. 36, photo no. 7 ("vicinity of Didyma"). For the contrast of lean ribs and opulent flesh, cf. the lion by the Syriskos Painter, Willemsen, 4, 39, pl. 5. Nearest among sphinx thrones are Richter, *Furniture*², 86, thrones with solid sides, fig. 145 (Cyprus), fig. 433 (Etruscan).

GMAH

240 *Fig. 419.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 695. Part of sepulchral stele with palmette anthemion. Ca. 420-400 B.C.

Large-crystalline grayish marble, "local."
Found by Butler in two joining parts; only top part seen in Izmir in 1971; for original condition cf. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 15, ill.
Entire stele (first Sardis expedition): H. 1.79; W. of decorated part 0.39, of straight shaft 0.32; Th. of upper part 0.185, of shaft 0.175. Present condition: P.H. of upper part 0.73, of anthemion 0.51.
Found in a late wall on N slope of Necropolis hill with 12 other inscriptions including Lydian-Aramaic bilingual (241 Fig. 420) therefore reused, cf. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 1, for location (May 24-25, 1912).

The stele has an oval finial, seven-petalled palmette on antithetic horizontal spirals, and downward-pointed small lotus. The anthemion projects slightly to the spectator's r. "The lateral projection . . . was probably next to the dromos, whereas the straight side and the back of the stele lay against the hard earth in which the dromos had been cut. The stele would have stood . . . on the left" of anyone approaching the dromos (ibid., 15).

Möbius justly places the stele under the "rich Erechtheion style," but it seems to me earlier than the crowning anthemion of the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual of 394 B.C. because of the more conservative form of the palmette and lack of acanthus. The palmette of 240 resembles those of the Satrap Sarcophagus of ca. 430 B.C. (Möbius¹, 11, n.28, pl. 1c; cf. pl. 5a, Apollo temple, Delos, 425-417 B.C., and pl. 6; Möbius², addenda p. 103) and would be dated ca. 420-400 B.C.

The inscription begins 0.05 below the anthemion and covers a H. of 0.50 in twelve lines. The fourth line is lost in the break between the upper and lower pieces of the stele. The following is from the German translation by R. Gusmani (by letter):

> This grave chamber and this stele and this/ dromos(?) and whatever to this/ (grave) chamber may belong, now this is (of . . . .) (the son) of Artabānaś and of Katovaś/ (the son) of Atraśaś; now whosoever damages this grave chamber/ or this stele or this/ dromos(?) and whatever/ belongs to this grave chamber/ now him Pious(?) . . . . ./ will punish.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 161, ill. 179; *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) L. 9, ill.; *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 15f., ill, no. 8, pl. 4;

Möbius 24, n.26, pl. 9a; Gusmani, *LW*, no. 8, with full inscription; idem, "Lydiaka," 272.

GMAH

241 *Fig. 420.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 691. Anthemion with Lydian-Aramaic bilingual, stele of Manes, son of Kumlis. 394 B.C.

Marble.
Condition as found, from *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 1: In two pieces. Upper piece: broken only at bottom (H. 0.80; W. 0.53; Th. 0.165), the sculptured anthemion being 0.63 in H., while the shaft below is 0.17 H. The lower piece: broken across top, in l. upper corner, and at bottom (H. 0.83; W. 0.46, at top; Th. 0.15). It consists of a chipped portion 0.028 H. Below this is a smooth surface (H. 0.375) bearing the Lydian text (above) and Aramaic (below), and at the bottom an uninscribed surface (H. 0.42). The Lydian letters are 0.018 to 0.006; Aramaic 0.021 to 0.008. According to R. Gusmani (1970) inscription has become nearly unreadable. Preservation of finial: damaged on r. side; l. side complete but part of background broken off.
Found May 20, 24, 1912, in thick low wall "on the northern slope of the Nekropolis hill west of the Paktolos, about 40 m. above the ravine which faced the 'Stele tomb' [see *Sardis* I (1922) 116] and about 15 m. above that tomb. In the same wall were embedded our nos. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, and 19" (*Sardis* VI.2 [1924] 1, with sketch plan of the terrace—Roman? Byzantine?—which was removed by excavators in 1912). Original location unknown.

Two vertical half-volutes grow out of small acanthus chalices to support a seven-leaf simple palmette. Two small flowers (or ears of corn?) flank the central petal. Three large downward-pointed chalices are in the center below the palmette. Below the volutes on each side are three flaming palmette type leaves. Rising up to that height on each side was a vertical flower with bell-like blossom. The general shape is a tall oval. On a simple projecting profile at the top of the shaft is a base band. The finial itself had a raised frame.

Conservative features (wide spirals, simple palmette) and advanced ones (flaming palmette, acanthus, added bell-flowers) are mixed, but the striking resemblance to the bell-flowers of the frieze from the monument to the Corinthian war of 394 B.C. (Möbius[1], 24, n.25, pl. 9d) would suffice to determine a date of ca. 400 B.C. for the stele, which is confirmed by the other features (e.g. palmette rather like Erechtheion).

The following translation is taken from Gusmani's German:

> (. . . . .) in the ending(?) Month of Bakkhos. This stele and this (grave chamber)/ and the dromos(?) and the area and whatever to this grave chamber/ belongs, now that (is) of Maneś (the son of) Kumliś, (the grandson?) of Silukas; now whosoever/ this stele or this grave chamber of this/ dromos or whatever belongs to this grave chamber/ now whoever something damages, to him Artemis/ of Ephesus and Artemis of Koloe to (his) court and house, to earth and water, to his possession and whatever it may be, shall bring destruction.

The meaning is assured by the Aramaic version. It is the Aramaic text which gives the date, "on the fifth of Marhesuan, of year 10 of Artaxerxes the King, in Sardis, the fortress." Only the month survives in the Lydian text.

The stele is dated to the tenth year of an Artaxerxes. There are three possible Artaxerxes with tenth years to their reigns, 455 B.C., 394 B.C., and 349 B.C.; only 394 B.C., Artaxerxes II, is possible on the grounds of style. Aramaic scholars tend to accept this date; Lydian scholars, according to Gusmani, *LW*, 18, favor 349 B.C.; Gusmani, "Lydiaka," 272, now opts for 394. Neither epigraphy permits closer dating than the Greek ornament, for which datable evidence is particularly good in the later 5th and 4th C. B.C.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 117f., figs. 123, 179 (finial complete); *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) 23ff., L. 17, pl. 1, inscription. *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 1ff., no. 1, location sketch and p. 2 fig., both parts of stele; pl. 1, inscription. Möbius[1], 24, n.16, pl. 9c. Gusmani, *LW*, 250, no. 1; idem, "Lydiaka," 272. Aramaic inscription: *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) 3ff.; P. Kahle and F. Sommer, "Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue," *KIF* 1:1 (1927) 18-86, with previous bibliography; Donner-Röllig, 305-309, no. 260. R. S. Hanson, "Aramaic Funerary Inscriptions," *BASOR* 192, 7-9, on borrowings from Persian.

GMAH

242 *Fig. 421.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 694. Funerary stele with Lydian inscription and rounded palmette anthemion, stele of Alikres, son of Karos. Early 4th C. B.C.

Grayish "local" marble. Much reddish incrustation on face.
Piece of marble broken off at top. According to Buckler (*Sardis* VI.2 [1924] 49) bottom is original (not broken) and inscription complete. This part may have sat on an additional shaft.
H. 0.54; P.W. 0.55; Th. 0.135. H. of straight part of sides 0.30. Clamp hole: wide part of cutting is 0.035 in L., 0.015 W., 0.015 D.; the cutting toward it widens from 0.02 at clamp to 0.04 outside.
Found by first Sardis expedition in a field at Mersindere, 3 km. W of Sardis.

The wide stele is rounded at the top. At the top of the back is a clamp hole, somewhat swallow-tail in shape. The back was originally smooth. Together with the clamp hole this proves that the stele was set flush against a wall. The top portion is decorated in relief. A complicated volute system rises out of an acanthus chalice with a central bell-shaped flower. It is not completely symmetrical; there is a bird on the upper r. but a flower on the upper l. The volutes end in chalice-like flowers.

Below the relief there is a plain area with the Lydian inscription (translation is taken from the German of R. Gusmani):

> This inscription and this stele (are) of Alikres, (the son) of Karos and of Anla(?) Atrastas (. . .)/ priest of Demeter, who . . . l. his of (Ti)vdas . . . n(ow)/ (. . . . this in)scription or this stele/ or this letter (. . . .) whoever damages (. . . .)/ (. . . .) Demeter (. . . .) the inscription and Artemis . . . . . (. . . .).

It is interesting that a stele mentioning Demeter should have an exceptionally florid ornament.

The elaborate, acroterion-like acanthus volute tree points to the late 5th and early 4th C. B.C. H. Möbius dated it to the last years of the 5th C., G. W. Elderkin to the 4th, "late rather than early." The style of the anthemion as influenced by Erechtheion ornamentation yet showing Eastern Greek variants is discussed by Möbius. The soft, imprecise execution is probably Lydian.

Published: *Sardis* II (1925) 78, fig. 92; G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* 37 (1933) 387-396; Möbius[1], 24, n.16, 71, pl. 9b. For text of inscription see *Sardis* VI.2 (1924) 49-51, no. 26, pl. 11; Gusmani, *LW*, 261f., no. 26.

GMAH

243 *Fig. 422.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4027. Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina. Late 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

Local marble.
Sarcophagus and lid largely preserved. Missing are four figures from the front and sides; the heads of the two putti bearing fruit baskets on the lid; and several faces, both of aedicula figures and of one of the chief ladies on the lid. Other small areas chipped or missing.
H. 2.11; W. 2.32; D. 1.116.
Found in fragments near its mausoleum just W of Pactolus and S of Izmir-Salihli highway (Fig. 1 No. 32.1).

Although the sarcophagus might have been made slightly earlier, the portrait heads must be dated after A.D. 211-212 since Claudia Antonia Sabina is mentioned as a donor in the dedicatory inscription of the Marble Court in the Gymnasium, which must be dated to that year.

For full description and discussion, see *Sardis* V (1924) 3ff.; Mansel, "Erwerbungsbericht," 176, fig. 6; Ferrari, 39; Lawrence, 116ff.; Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage*, 158 (Istanbul G) and further bibliography therein. For the Marble Court inscription: *BASOR* 162, 42.

NHR

244 *Figs. 423-424.* PARIS, LOUVRE MA 3198. Sarcophagus fragment. Ca. A.D. 170-180.

Crystalline marble.
Corner fragment broken on both sides and bottom; both acroteria damaged.
L. 0.515; W. 0.27; P.H. 0.27.
Allegedly from Sardis; given to the museum by P. Gaudin, 1901.

The corner fragment comprises "the cornice of the left intercolumniation of a lateral face, and the left extremity of the adjacent raking cornice" (*Sardis* V [1924] 39). The interior border is raised to hold the lid. The acroteria consist of a headless animal couchant, "extended in return upon the long side; putto playing with panther(?)" (ibid.). A break resembling a human head to l. is in the corner niche of the short side.

Published: Charbonneaux, *SGR*, 252f.; Wiegartz, *Säulensarkophage*, 166, "Louvre C" (wrongly numbered 3199). See *Sardis* V (1924) 39, fig. 60, with earlier references. Data courtesy of F. Baratte.

GMAH

245 *Fig. 425.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4033. Stele of Menophila. 2nd or 1st C. B.C.

Bluish marble.
One large diagonal crack. Edges are cracked. Face of Menophila broken away.
H. including tenon 1.07, excluding tenon 0.96; W. 0.45; Th. 0.11.
Found in 1914 about 60 m. NE of AT.

The pediment has three acroteria: the central one has two snakes pointing downwards; the other two each have one snake pointing upwards. The recessed niche has tapering sides parallel to the stele sides. The relief shows a woman standing in a Pudicitia pose, wearing a veil, a chiton, and a himation which is thrown over her l. shoulder and wrapped to make a prominent diagonal fold from the l. wrist to the l. side. The weight is on her r. leg. At each side a tiny female attendant is looking up at her. On the shelf behind the central figure's head are, from l. to r., a basket, a bundle of papyrus rolls, a lily, and an alpha. There is a wreath above the niche and an inscription:

ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου

The People (honored) Menophila, daughter of Hermagenes.

Below the niche a longer inscription reads:

κομψὰν καὶ χαρίεσσα πέτρος δείκνυσι· τίς ἐντι
μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα, Μηνοφίλαν.
τεῦ δ' ἕνεκ' ἐν στάλα γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλφα
βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος τοῖς δ' ἓ(π)ι
καὶ στέφανος; —
ἡ σοφία μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ' αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθεὶς
ἀρχὰν μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἕν,
εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος
τὰν ἀκμὰν δαίμων ἄντιν' ἐληΐσατο. —
κού[φ]α τοι κόνις εἰμί· πολλοὶ τοιῆδε θανούσῃ,
ἃ γά[μ]οι οὐδὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα.

That she is fair the very beauty of the stone declares; who she is the verses indicate: Menophila. —"Why are there carved on the stele a lily and an A, a Book, a Basket and besides these a Wreath?" —"Wisdom is the Book, the Wreath worn about the head signifies public office and the number One an only child; well ordered virtue doth the Basket betoken and the Flower that bloom which fate filched away." — Lightly lying earth am I; for the death of such an one *as thou,* without husband or parents, many there are to whom thou hast left tears.

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) 108-109, fig. 100-101, from which the translation is taken; D. M. Robinson in Ramsay *Studies,* 345ff., pl. 11; Cumont, *Recherches,* 26-27, 302, 306-307, fig. 69.

NHR

246 *Figs. 426-427.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 582. Statue of Moschine, priestess of Artemis. 3rd quarter of 1st C. B.C.

Marble.
The head is missing, also the l. forearm below the elbow and r. arm from above the elbow. Some breaks have occurred on the surface, particularly at the breasts and lower chiton. Both ends of the base are also chipped.
H. including plinth 1.42; Th. at waist 0.28, at feet 0.43; Th. of sandal soles 0.03.
Found in 1929 "in a house situated near the north side of the temple area" (*Sardis* VII [1932] 65).

The priestess stands twisted slightly to her l., her r. foot drawn back and resting on the toes. She wears a chiton, himation, and platformed sandals, and stands on a square inscribed base.

The himation is drawn from her r. to her l. side across her body in such a way as to be pulled smooth over her r. knee and her l. thigh, where the folds of the chiton are revealed beneath. Graceful U-shaped folds fall over her l. thigh and are contrasted with the vertical folds of the chiton underneath, and with the diagonal folds of the himation elsewhere. One end of the himation was wrapped around her l. arm, which extended forward; the other end was flung over her l. shoulder. The chiton has narrow vertical folds over the chest and deeper ones near the feet, especially between the legs. There is a double-bordered round neckline.

The inscription on the base reads:

Ἄρτεμι, Σάρδεις σῶζε διηνε[κ]ὲ[ς] εἰς ὁμόν[οιαν]
Μοσχίνης εὐχαῖς Διφίλεω θυγατρό[ς].

O Artemis, do thou ever preserve Sardis in concord through the prayers of Moschine, daughter of Diphilos.

The stance, and the drapery to some extent, are reminiscent of the Anzio maiden. A date of 41-31 B.C., a period of civil strife which would explain the inscription, has been suggested by Buckler and Robinson, and of 35-25 B.C. by Hanfmann and Polatkan.

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) 65-66, no. 50, fig. 41, pl. 10 from which the translation is taken; A. D. Nock, *HThR* 23 (1930) 256 on the inscription; Aziz, 46, ill.; Hanfmann-Polatkan, "Sculptures," where it is compared to statues of the family of L. Valerius Flaccus (Humann-Kohte-Watzinger, 198ff., figs. 198-200). Cf. also Magie, 373ff., 1242, 1579. For the Anzio maiden see Richter, *Sculpture,* fig. 336.

NHR

247 *Fig. 428.* PARIS, LOUVRE MA 3307. Winged Eros. Late 3rd C. B.C.

Marble.
L. arm below shoulder and l. leg above knee broken off.
H. 0.62.
Sardis.

The nude, winged Eros, just older than a baby, stands with the weight on his r. leg, his head turned slightly to proper l. His r. arm is bent at the elbow and across the body. A small fragment of an arrow is held in his r. hand. The l. hand probably held a bow. A fragment of a quiver is preserved on the l. thigh. The locks of his hair are parted in the middle and flow to each side. There is a braided topknot over the central parting, and a single lock or dangling jewel falls on his forehead. His eyes look downward, and his mouth smiles slightly. There is a hard treatment of the surface, which is carefully smoothed. The piece is a Hellenistic type of the later 3rd C. B.C.

Published: Charbonneaux, *SGR,* 81.

NHR

248 *Figs. 429-430.* PARIS, LOUVRE MA 3249. Triple head of Hekate. Roman?

Marble.
Broken at bottom; back rough-chiselled; faces damaged.
P.H. 0.18; W. 0.175; H. of l. face 0.117.
Allegedly from Sardis; given to the museum by P. Gaudin, 1901.

The central head of the Hekateion has circular locks and a floral crown. The two lateral heads have ribbons in their hair which is parted in the center and falls in long locks on their shoulders. They wear turreted crowns. There are incised lines on each neck (for a necklace?). A crescent and rosette are on the slanting top of the central pillar. The style is rude and linear, probably of the 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.?

Published: *AA* (1902) 124, no. 50; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 155, n.3. For Hekateia cf. Harrison, *Agora* XI 86ff. and Th. Kraus, *Hekate, Studien zum Wesen und Bild der Gottin in Kleinasien und Griechenland* (Heidelberg 1960). Cf. also a Hekateion from Alaşehir (263 Fig. 453).

GMAH

249 *Figs. 431-432.* BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN 883. Double-sided herm with kouros figure on one side and herm on the other., Roman 1st or 2nd C. A.D.

Coarse-grained bluish marble.
Both heads are broken off. Kouros side: parts of arms and toes of l. foot damaged. Herm side: penis and pubic hair and feet broken off. The arm stumps were fastened by dowels at shoulder level; circular dowel holes with traces of leading survive at sides of shoulders. The rectangular pillar was slotted on both sides, from bottom to elbow H., for attachment to a "herm fence." The arrangement is shown in the drawing (Fig. 432).
P.H. 1.23; W. at top 0.31, at bottom 0.22; Th. 0.19.
Extracted from a wall where it was reused as a spoil, in the "village of Sardis." Given to Berlin museum by H. Spiegelthal, 1873.

The kouros, treated as a frontal relief, stands with both feet together and both arms down the sides. A strand of hair remains on his r. shoulder. The neck, chest, and abdomen are outlined in a sharp, linear fashion. The pubic hair is somewhat stylized. The herm side is quite flat except at the base of the neck; only the outlines of a projecting penis and arching feet remain.

W. Deonna interpreted the piece as transitional between the aniconic funerary stele and the archaic funerary statue; L. Curtius and M. Collignon saw it as a forerunner of the archaic herms datable ca. 530-500 B.C. Only recently H. Wrede rightly recognized that the piéce is not archaic but archaistic and that it formed part of a "herm fence," a decorative

device popular in the Roman Imperial period. This piece has a relative in a herm from Philadelphia in Manisa. Wrede gives a precise description with literature and discusses the known examples of "herm fences." As to the meaning of the piece, it is still possible that the herm reflects local images of an archaic Apollo and a (local?) Hermes.

Published: *Berlin Beschreibung,* no. 883; Curtius, 18, figs. 12-14; W. Deonna, *Les "Apollons archaiques"* (Geneva 1909) 18; Collignon, 47, fig. 20. Picard, *Manuel* I 229, 234; R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (Königsberg 1931) 38; Wrede, 130, no. 11c.

GMAH

250 *Fig. 433.* COPENHAGEN, NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK 746. Head of Augustus. 1st half of 1st C. A.D.

White marble.
Minor chipping on ears and l. eye and eyebrow.
H. 0.31.
Bought on London market, 1873, as coming from Sardis.

The idealized head of Augustus is turned slightly to his l. The sharp lines for eyebrows are prominent; the large eyes have no markings for pupil or iris. The nose is sharp and pointed, the mouth small. The face is attractive, but remarkably lacking in character. The hair is arranged in the typical manner with flat locks at sides and back, deeper ones in front.

Poulsen places this later than the Prima Porta Augustus (p. 65).

Published: V. H. Poulsen, *Portraits,* 64f., no. 33, pl. 50-51, with bibliography there cited.

NHR

251 *Fig. 434.* LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM 1936-3-10-1. Head of the Elder Faustina. Ca. A.D. 140?

Fine-grained white marble.
P.H. 1.45; chin to crown 0.91; W. between outer corners of eyes 0.51.
"Parts of nose, lips, and neck restored in plaster. Rim of l. ear knocked off, of r. chipped. Chips on hair, eyebrows, eyelids, parts of face" (İnan-Rosenbaum, 75f.).
Found in 1882 by G. Dennis, then British consul in Smyrna, "just beyond the centre of the naos [of the AT] lying on about a metre of debris," according to R. H. Bacon's letter in *Sardis* I (1922) 7, ill. 2.

The following description is after İnan-Rosenbaum: The back of the head is hollow and has a large dowel hole in the center flanked by two oblong dowel holes. Two other dowel holes at ear lobe level are broken away. There are drill channels in the hair. The hair and locks on the l. side are carved in less detail than those on the r.

The piece was part of an acrolith statue, about three to three and a half times lifesize. Together with the statue of her husband, Antoninus Pius (**79** Figs. 196-197), the portrait of Faustina the Elder was erected to celebrate the neocorate bestowed upon Sardis by Antoninus. The exact date is not known (ca. A.D. 140, if before Faustina's death?). It is probable that the statue stood in the W cella of the Artemis Temple with a colossal Artemis.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 7-8, 64, ill. 2; F. Poulsen, *JdI* 47 (1932) 87, figs. 15-17; Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse,* 27f., 90, 116, 157f., 278, 292, pl. 13b; L'Orange, *Apotheosis,* 111, fig. 81; İnan-Rosenbaum, 75f., no. 41, pl. 26:2-3; Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 73, fig. 158. Wegner (p. 158) followed by İnan-Rosenbaum (p. 75) considers it a replica of the Museo Capitolino "Imperatori 36" type. Cf. colossal head in Istanbul (**252** Fig. 435) and the discussion of other colossal fragments under **79-88** and **102-105** (Figs. 196-201, 223-228). On the date, A. E. M. Johnston notes that *Sardis* VII (1932) 72, no. 58, attributes to Antoninus the titles he had in A.D. 139.

GMAH

252 *Fig. 435.* ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 4038. Colossal female head, Artemis? Ca. A.D. 140? (Antonine).

Marble.
Nose broken off, otherwise very well preserved.
H. 0.80.
Found by the first Sardis expedition at N side of AT.

The following description is taken from *Sardis* I (1922) 147: "A colossal sculptured face, very well preserved . . . differs entirely from the similar heads found here; for, though in high relief, it was almost certainly never part of an entire head, but was attached to some kind of background. This raises an interesting question as to whether it may not have belonged to a gigantic frieze, like that of the Didymaion near Miletos, which is ornamented . . . with colossal Medusa heads. This face—not that of a Medusa, but of a youthful, rather plump woman—

was executed to stand at a level much above the eye of the beholder, as the high arched eye-brows and rounded eyes plainly show. The nose is broken away, the small mouth open, the hair carved in soft waves."

G. M. A. Hanfmann thinks it is possibly an Artemis, and not a relief but an acrolith. The carving of the locks seems similar to that of Faustina (251 Fig. 434). Buckler and Robinson (*Sardis* VII [1932] 72, no. 58) tentatively considered the piece to be Faustina Minor. An identification as Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, has also been suggested. The portrait dates to the Antonine period, ca. 140.

Published: *Sardis* I (1922) 147, ill. 164. Butler also noted that "not far away fragments of a third colossal head, also female, were discovered; they represent part of the nose and mouth and part of the brow with a bit of wavy hair," cf. the discussion of colossal images under 79 and 102 (Figs. 196-197, 223-225).

GMAH

253 *Fig. 436.* OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM G1140
Horseman riding toward altar. Hellenistic.

Marble.
Fragmentary stele, preserving central part of horse with its rider and altar. Broken on all sides except perhaps base.
H. 0.225; W. 0.21; Th. 0.05.
"Dr. Magrath, Provost of Queen's, picked it up in a field at Sardis one day about 1880 when he was visiting the ruins under the guidance of G. Dennis, then H. B. M. Consul at Smyrna" (*Sardis* VII [1932] 98).

The horseman, according to Buckler and Robinson, has a crescent behind his shoulders and therefore represents Mên (ibid.). He wears a short belted tunic with a few minimal diagonal folds. In his r. hand he may hold a short stick. The beginning of the horse's rein can be seen on the neck before the diagonal break. His l. front foot was raised. The altar has a simple moulding at top and bottom, and perhaps a small object on top (cf. 163 Fig. 311).

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) 98, no. 96a, fig. 85. Mentioned in Robert, *NIS,* 32. On Mên, see J. Keil, "Die Kulte Lydiens" in Ramsay *Studies,* 255-256. Also Hiesinger, esp. p. 307f.; Robert, *NIS,* 32ff.; Vermeule, "Equestrian Zeus," 71ff., figs. 1, 3; Mendel, 594f., no. 1383.

NHR

254 *Figs. 437-440.* CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE COLLECTION, ON PERMANENT LOAN TO THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM. Head of a woman, A.D. 218-235.

Proconnesian marble.
R. forehead, l. cheek, and the tip of the nose are chipped. Also some breaks at the base of hair and neck.
H. 0.38.
Found 1842 "near a Temple of Cybele on the Pactolus" (*Archaeological Reports* [*infra*] 81).

The portrait was worked for insertion into a statue body. The head is turned slightly to the l., and the woman looks upwards, as indicated by the drilled bean-shaped pupils which are placed high within the incised irises. The surfaces of the eyes are rounded; the upper lids are heavy, with a distinct fold line indicated. Tear ducts are delicately carved. Eyebrows are both carved in relief and incised to show individual hairs. Although the tip of the nose is broken, one can still see the soft-looking and slightly flared nostrils. The mouth has a sharply curved upper lip, which dips noticeably in the center and at the corners. The mouth is not smiling, but relaxed. A strong but slightly recessed chin leads to heavy fleshy folds of a double chin, and a prominent Adam's apple. The ears, which protrude to the sides under the pressure of the heavy hair, are beautifully carved to imply even the soft texture of an ear lobe. The hair, waving to the sides from a central part, is pushed behind the ears, leaving them entirely exposed. It is then gathered into a horizontal, oblong coil at the back of the neck. The hair at the back of the head is, however, only roughly finished; no incisions to indicate individual strands are visible, as they are at the front; only a rough pattern can be seen on the coil. On the temple at each side a few short strands have escaped and lie against the cheek. The surfaces of the face have been finely smoothed. The underside of the neck, not to be seen, has been only roughly finished; claw chisel marks are still visible.

The head has certain characteristics in common with several heads from Ephesus, all of which date to the period of Elagabalus or Alexander Severus, i.e. A.D. 218-235. In one (İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 163), the full curved mouth is very similar except for the drilled corners in the Ephesus head, and the hair style is similar too except for the short locks on the latter's forehead. The back of the Sardis lady's hair-

do, which shows not only a narrow oblong coil but also, at the very bottom, a plait of hair at l. center, which overlaps a similar one at the r., is very close to that shown in another Ephesus head (ibid., no. 166). The type is consistent also with portraits of Julia Mamaea and Orbiana, which would date from the same period as those already mentioned. However, the very sensitive feeling for the sitter's personality and the close observation to individual detail suggest that this is not an imitation of an official Imperial portrait, but rather one of a local lady of high birth from the period of Elagabalus or Alexander Severus.

Published: *JHS Archaeological Reports* (1970-71) 81, no. 11, fig. 6 (contains basic documentation). Cf. İnan-Rosenbaum, no. 163, pp. 134-135, pl. 95 and no. 166, pl. 98:3; cf. also nos. 164, 166, 167, pls. 96 and 97. For the origin of the coil style at the back of the head, see H. Weber, *JdI* 68 (1953) 127 and fig. 5. For Julia Mamaea see Felletti-Maj, *Iconografia,* 106-110, pl. VII:21-24; for Orbiana, ibid. 104, pl. VI:16-18.

NHR

255 *Fig. 441.* BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN 793. Bust of Elpidike. 3rd C. A.D.

White marble.
Complete except for chipping around edges. Face is worn.
H. 0.48; W. 0.32-0.385; Th. 0.115; letters 0.014-0.02.
Found in Sardis. Acquired in Smyrna in 1854.

The bust of a woman is framed by an arched niche with a pilaster on each side, with simple capital and base. The head is turned slightly to the l. Her hair is parted in the middle and drawn behind her ears, where it falls in heavy locks. The drapery, executed in linear fashion, consists of a V-necked upper garment and a shawl drawn around the shoulders and tied between the breasts.

Below the niche is an inscription:

'Ελπιδηφόρος καὶ 'Ονήσιμος 'Ελπιδί-
[κη]ν γλυκυτάτην μνείας χάριν.

Elpidephoros and Onesimos (set up this effigy of) the sweetest Elpidike as a memorial.

According to G. M. A. Hanfmann the size of the bust and the coiffure suggest the 3rd C.

Published: *Berlin Beschreibung,* no. 793, p. 303; *Sardis* VII (1932) 131, fig. 141, from which the translation has been taken; H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Lausanne/Freiburg 1961) I 27, G 16, II pl. 5; Pfuhl-Möbius, no. 2134, pl. 306.

NHR

256 *Fig. 442.* BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN 702. Enthroned Mother of the Gods (Cybele). 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Complete, except for minor chipping at corners.
H. 0.42; W. 0.215; Th. 0.058; letters 0.008-0.012.
"Brought from Sardis in 1854 by Herr Spiegelthal" (*Sardis* VII [1932] 100); according to *Berlin Beschreibung,* no. 101, it is from Sardis but was acquired by Spiegelthal in Smyrna.

Cybele is enthroned and seated between two lions. The arched recess in which she sits suggests a shrine. She wears a high-girt chiton with a V-neck. The transparent cloth reveals her navel and the shape of her breasts. A heavier cloth himation is draped over her l. shoulder and arm and comes around her back to fall in a thick fold across her lap and knees. The feet and lower part of the chiton show beneath it. A heavy fold or strap also falls over her r. shoulder. On her head the goddess wears a polos. Her hair is parted in the center and goes toward the back in a thick bunch. All facial features are worn away. The arms are both brought forward; her r. one rests on the head of a lion, the l. hand is broken off, but may have held an attribute. The lion on this side is smaller. Both lions are sitting, and frontal. The feet of the goddess rest on a footstool. Above the arched panel, the chisel marks are still evident. The stone is topped by a simple moulding.

Below the recessed panel is an inscription:

['Ελ]ευθέριον εὔξετο
περὶ 'Αττάλου τοῦ υἱοῦ
καὶ Φίλητος περὶ τοῦ ἀ-
δελφοῦ Μητρὶ θεῶν.

Eleutherion for her son Attalos and Philetos for his brother made a vow to the Mother of the Gods.

Buckler and Robinson (*Sardis* VII [1932] 101) say that the form of the letters suggests a date in the 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) 100-101, no. 101, fig. 89 and earlier references; *Berlin Beschreibung,* 261, no. 702 (suggests that the l. hand rests on a tympanum). A Cybele from Cyrene is seated similarly between two lions and wears a similar chiton, Paribeni, no. 232, pl. 120. On the development of this type of Cybele, cf. Thompson, 77ff. A fine example comes from a private house, Priene: Gerda Bruns, *Antike Terrakotten,* Berliner Museen (Berlin 1946) 42, fig. 26. Cf. also a number of Cybele reliefs from Ephesus, Bammer-Fleischer-Knibbe, 163ff., and further references p. 166.

NHR

257 *Fig. 443.* BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN 1077. Lion-headed table leg. 2nd or early 3rd C. A.D.

White marble.
Lower end of claw foot missing.
H. 0.67; W. 0.24; Th. 0.22; H. of letters 0.02.
From Sardis, presented to Berlin museum by H. Spiegelthal.

Roaring lion supports a moulded plinth with inscription:

κὲ τὸ κελ/λάριν, ἀπῆ/
ραν δὲ ἀμφότερα ./ . . . αϱ'

. . . and the provisions, and carried away both.
. . . 101 denarii.

The inscription may refer to erotes or satyrs who carry off jars and food. The piece may have stood against a wall, supporting a shelf.

Published: *Berlin Beschreibung,* 426, no. 1077. *Sardis* VII (1932) 150f., no. 192, fig. 179, from which the translation is taken.

NHR

258 *Figs. 444-446.* BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY 23.173. Head of a horse. Hellenistic.

White marble, coarse grained.
Ears broken off, mane damaged, lower edge chipped.
Iron bit remains at l. of mouth.
H. 0.353 (half lifesize).
Found by Butler in 1914. Lost between 1914 and 1919. Bought by Walters in 1922 as coming from Egypt; arrived in Baltimore 1929. Collection became public (City of Baltimore) 1931.

The head, which is turned slightly to the r., has a close-cropped mane which swings to the l. at the top. The horse's ears were erect. His lively face has small eyes beneath heavy bones, large and distended nostrils, and an open mouth with teeth showing. There are fleshy folds on his neck at the jaw. Bridle straps with a disc are on the forehead. There is evidence of the running drill, and drill holes were used to separate the two rows of teeth. The piece was finished with a file.

There is a rectangular hole on the underside near the front. The conical shape of the neck and the little-worked r. side suggest to D. K. Hill that the head sat directly on a base as an attribute of Castor and Pollux. The interest in anatomical detail and the bridle, which is prominently decorative, lead her to date the horse in the Hellenistic period.

Published: H. C. Butler, *AJA* 18 (1914) 430, fig. 3; T. L. Shear, *AJA* 26 (1922) 391, fig. 1; *Sardis* I (1922) 153f., figs. 172-173; *N. Y. Times* (Mar. 11, 1923) section II, p. 7; Shear, "Horse" and Hill, passim. To D. K. Hill's list of horse statues associated with the Dioscuri, add those from the Fountain of Juturna, Rome, in E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* II (New York 1962) 12, fig. 682, and most recently in I. Iacopi, *L'Antiquarium Forense* Itinerari dei Musei, Gallerie e Monumenti d'Italia (Rome 1974) 85, fig. 83. I am grateful to G. M. A. Hanfmann for this reference.

NHR

259 *Fig. 447.* PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, THE ART MUSEUM 29-64. Seated Cybele. Late Hellenistic.

Marble, grayish blue.
Face and front part of head entirely split off, also r. hand which was dowelled on. Relatively low polos seems original on top. Splintered, broken: at proper l. shoulder; r. elbow; r. foot, which was also dowelled on; front part of tympanum, and l. arm and hand. Most of back surviving in original condition. Treated with claw chisel. Looks as if entire back of head split off, perhaps in antiquity, and was also very rough picked.
H. 0.65; max. W. 0.28; D. 0.235, of throne 0.165.
Findspot unknown.

In plan the statue is a not quite regular rectangle with a projection for the feet. Seen from the back, the lines of the base slant to the l. The goddess sits on the high-backed throne with her legs slightly to proper l. She wears a low polos without decoration, and her hair seems to be arranged in a 5th C. style. There are large waves on the sides, like those of Amazons, with two short braids falling down on the shoulders. This corresponds to the coiffure of the relief 19 (Figs. 75-77) and helps to prove the figure's identity as Cybele.

The figure seems to have been turning her head slightly to proper r. and down. She wears a high-girt peplos. A cloak appears below the crown on her r. side, goes down her back, and is thrown across her lap from below her l. lower arm. It then descends in a fold on the outside of her l. leg and ends in a three-pointed tip. The cloak covers her legs, lap to shins. A smaller simple fold descends on the outside of her r. leg. The preserved part of her foot seems to indicate a sandal with a strap. Her r. arm held an attribute which is now lost; her l., not shown, held a very large tympanum.

At her r., carved in relief against the throne, is a lion (H. 0.25). Only the front of his body and forelegs are seen, his head turned back—a kind of foreshortened pose. His face and neck are battered.

That the throne's back was curving backward is evident on the goddess' l. side. The outline of the tympanum is also preserved and what might be intended as the l. arm, carved with a chisel. The entire upper part of the figure bends back; it recalls the Boston type of Cybele (Caskey, 106, no. 50). The piece is summarily worked. The original l. side and remaining parts of the r. side and back are smoothed by abrasion but not too carefully. Iron dowels with round holes (ca. 6 mm. in diam.) were used to attach the r. hand and foot. The details of the figure are done in straight flat chisel work (folds). A stop drill was used under the belt, but there was no use of the "running" drill for artistic effect. The piece is late Hellenistic, a possible time span being 50 B.C. to A.D. 50.

Unpublished. Cf. **256** (Fig. 442).

GMAH

260 *Figs. 448-449.* IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 833. Lid of sarcophagus of "Pamphylian" type. Late 2nd C. A.D.

Very fine-grained white marble. Does not seem to be local Sardian marble.
Broken across top, pieces glued together in center of both sides. One side acroterion broken off, one damaged. Lion heads worn by weather, some lack details. Pediment of one side discolored as if from modern oil. Corner damaged.
W. at bottom of pediment 1.04; H. with acroterion 0.50, to top of pediment without acroterion 0.40; L. 2.21; W. of one half of roof slope 0.58. Lion heads: H. ca. 0.12; W. ca. 0.20.
Exact findspot unknown, "from Sardis."

There are very carefully trimmed rectangular bosses (H. 0.10; W. 0.14) at the centers of both ends of the sarcophagus and two on each side. The pediment has a plain epistyle, fine dentils, a Lesbian cyma, and plain band. A gutter decorated with double spirals is set back from the roof edge. In the center of the pediment is a circular object, definitely not a crown. It resembles a bowl with a very large round handle (diam. of bowl 0.105; H. of handle 0.045; diam. of handle 0.04). There is a small hole in the top of the "handle" for attachment. The simple, central acroterion consists of a pyramidal central stem and two "flaming" leaves (H. 0.10). The side acroteria have two similar leaves, one of which turns into a central leaf that grows out of a simplified acanthus chalice (H. 0.17). All acroteria are spherical at back.

The lion-head antefixes, six on each side, display an impressive, realistic type. They have flat noses, deep-set eyes, short ears lying back, and a full mane which frames the face. The mouths are open with the tongue sticking out. Large side fangs, upper and lower, and smaller teeth are preserved in some of the heads. They betray first-hand observation of lions. The workmanship is very fine, with plain parts chiselled with fine multiple tool, then very well smoothed. The piece is definitely an import to Sardis of the late 2nd C. A.D.

Published: Rodenwaldt, 201, fig. 13. Note: the lid is still placed on sarcophagus 835, to which it does not belong. Cf. **178, 179** (Figs. 326, 327).

GMAH

VIII SCULPTURE FROM OTHER SITES IN LYDIA

Of the following pieces, **261** through **268** (Figs. 450-459) were collected by the Sardis Expedition on exploratory trips or brought to the expedition camp by local residents. They were acquired on behalf of the Archaeological Museum in Manisa. We also include three pieces (**269-271** Figs. 460-461) for which a Sardian origin has been alleged but seems unlikely.

261 *Fig. 450.* NOEX 73.2. Small recumbent lion. Archaic, early 6th C. B.C.

Strikingly large-crystalled, grayish, "Tmolus" white marble. Very heavily incrusted with embedded bits of reddish brown brick; suggests it was reused in a brick wall. A bluish vein runs above r. haunch.
Recently broken into 4 pieces. A: body from shoulders to tail; B: r. upper shoulder, head, l. leg to elbow; C: lower leg; D: lower r. leg and part of shoulder; also broken are parts of plinth. Part of lower r. paw missing (old break). Recent chipping at l. leg. Part of lower jaw broken off. Surface much eroded.
Before joining: H. at head 0.30, at rump 0.165; L. 0.535; Th. 0.115; H. of plinth at l. front 0.025-0.04.
Fields of Datbey (Hypaepa), brought to Sardis camp by Ismail Ugurlu.

The archaic, smooth-maned, recumbent lion is facing straight ahead. The head is large and round. The flanks and lower legs are nearly straight and vertical. The ruff and low mane are barely rising over the forehead; there is no trace of a back mane. The face has a large, open, "laughing" mouth and slanting eyes. There seems to be an outline around the side of the muzzle and possibly some strokes around the mane. Faintly indicated, pointed ears seem to be triangular but no incised detail is ascertainable due to the disintegration of the surface. The ruff is set off in a bolster, which begins below the ears and goes around the chin. The tail rises inorganically out of the l. leg.

Clearly the lion is an example of the early archaic or "Late Hittite" type, with low mane and roaring mouth. It is very close to the little Syn lion (**26** Figs. 102-104). The most remarkable individual trait is the sharp angularity in outlining the haunch and r. hind leg with three sharp claws. The head and angular legs may be indicative of the more provincial style of Hypaepa.

Unpublished.

GMAH

262 *Figs. 451-452.* NOEX 63.6; IN63.5. MANISA. Funerary stele. 1st C. B.C.

Marble.
Only top portion of stele is missing, i.e. the border above the figures. The l. border is heavily damaged. The faces of all figures broken away.
H. with tenon 0.68; W. at bottom 0.55, at top 0.525; max. Th. 0.115. Relief panel: H. 0.45; W. 0.44; recessed D. 0.05.
Vicinity of Alaşehir.

The stele is rectangular with a tenon at the bottom for insertion into another block. Represented on the relief panel are a standing man and woman, three children, and a servant, and in the center background a flat pillar which probably carried an epithema, now broken off, as suggested by H. Möbius (letter of May 25, 1971). In the lower l. corner is a tiny servant boy, standing with legs crossed, his cloak thrown over his shoulder. He is looking up at his master, the next figure. This man, clothed in a tunic and himation, stands with his r. arm bent across his chest, his l. arm, also covered by the himation, held behind him, hand on his buttock. His weight is on his r. leg, the l. one brought forward. Between the man and woman is a pillar, and in front of it, two children. A boy, draped in himation, stands in the same position as his father. Behind him stands a taller girl in a high-girt chiton. Only the head and upper body of this figure are shown. The woman, next on the r., is wearing a chiton and a himation drawn over her head; her r. hand, enveloped by the drapery, falls at her r. side; her l. is brought forward slightly and folds fall below it. Her weight is on her l. leg; the r. is drawn back. At the far r. is another girl, the smallest of the three children. She wears a high-girt chiton and carries a rectangular object. Her body is twisted with the weight on the l. leg, and the r. leg bent and brought forward.

The inscription reads:

MANLIA AF SALVE MAΛIA AYΛOY XAIPE

Manlia Auli filia salve, Malia [sic] *Aulou xaire*

The slender man and heavier woman are typical of late Hellenistic stelai; and the general type of stele is well known in Asia Minor (Fıratlı, *Stèles,* esp. pl. 39, nos. 159-160). The date of this piece is lst C. B.C., according to H. Möbius, letter of April 26, 1971.

Unpublished. To appear in Pfuhl-Möbius, forthcoming. On the difference in size between children and servants, see Pfuhl, *Beiwerk,* 66.

NHR

263 *Fig. 453.* MANISA 373. Hekate. 2nd C. A.D.?

Marble.
Broken and repaired at neck. All three lower arms broken off. Broken below knees. Top of polos missing.
H. ca. 0.325.
From Alaşehir.

The three-headed Hekate has a common trunk and polos, and three arms. The faces are badly worn, but are flat, with prominent rounded chins. The hair, parted in the middle, falls in undifferentiated tresses to the shoulders. Breasts are clearly delineated beneath her high-girt peplos which has V-shaped folds between breasts, and, below the high belt, some V- and some U-shaped folds. The bottom of the overfall is rounded. The undergarment has softened U-shaped folds at the corners, and a central vertical fold between the legs on each side.

The arms are stump-like and lack modelling; the figure is stocky. Drapery is linear in concept, typically archaistic, even though some depth is achieved in the folds. There is no evidence of the drill. A Hellenistic date is possible but the stocky proportions and treatment of anatomy look Roman, probably 2nd C. A.D.

Unpublished. On Hekateia, see Harrison, *Agora* XI 86ff. and Th. Kraus, *Hekate, Studien zum Wesen und Bild der Gottin in Kleinasien und Griechenland* (Heidelberg 1960). Cf. esp. with Harrison, ibid., 101, no. 140, pl. 34 and 104-105, no. 151, pl. 37. Cf. also Hekateion from Sardis (248 Fig. 429-430).

NHR

264 *Fig. 454.* NOEX 62.26. Stele with orans. A.D. 228.

White marble.
Cut off at top and bottom. Tapering sides preserved. Relief somewhat worn away, but probably there never was much detail.
H. 0.32; W. at bottom 0.31, at top 0.23; Th. 0.044. H. of fig. 0.18, of letters 0.015.
From Gölde, near Kula. Found 4 km. N of Gölde in a field.

Set within a slight rectangular depression and standing on a narrow ledge is a standing woman, identified as Trophime in the inscription. In a frontal position, she raises her r. hand in prayer; the l. is at her side. She wears a chiton and a himation. Below her is a five-line inscription which reads:

Ἔτους τιγ', μη(νὸς) Γορπιαίου
ηι'. Μηνὶ Μοτελλείτῃ
Τροφίμῃ ὑπὲρ Ἰουλιανοῦ

τοῦ ὑρεπτοῦ εὐχὴν
ἀνέστησεν.

Thus, this is a dedication to Mên Motelleites by Trophime upon having been granted her prayer for her *threptos* Julianus.

The proportions are stocky. No effort is made to show perspective and the modelling is elementary. The drapery folds are indicated by incised grooves. The year, given as 313 in the Sullan era, is A.D. 228.

Published: Robert, *NIS,* 35-36, pl. 3:1; Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 57, fig. 119. Cf. several very similar reliefs in Leyden: Pleket, pls. 14-15. And see also 165 (Fig. 313). S63.33 from Sardis, also similar, is not included here. Cf. an inscription to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu, dated A.D. 196-197 and with figures very similar to ours, from Kula: Vermeule, "Equestrian Zeus," 71, fig. 2 and Caskey, 187f., no. 107. On Gölde cf. Robert, *Villes*², 95; Ramsay, *Asianic,* 212-214.

NHR

265 *Fig. 455.* NOEX 62.27. Relief with two soldiers and dedication. 4th C. A.D.?

Marble.
Broken on all sides except the l., where the edge of the relief and a narrow border are preserved. Both heads are missing, and also the r. hand of the l. figure. The r. figure is broken diagonally from the r. shoulder to the scabbard hanging at his l. side.
H. 0.41; W. 0.35; Th. 0.09; H. of figure 0.22, of letters 0.02.
From Gölde, near Kula. From a fountain house.

In a narrowly recessed rectangular panel stand two soldiers in military dress, their r. hands raised in identical poses. Their military tunics have vertical folds, and they wear a triangular-shaped over-fold with incised parallel V-folds. They also wear boots. The two figures are frontal; there is no effort at perspective, and the modelling is crude.

Below the narrow ledge on which they stand is an inscription which reads:

κατὰ ἐπειταγ[ὴν--]
[Ὁ]σείῳ καὶ Δεικ[αίῳ-]

This is a dedication to *Hosion* and *Dikaion* (Pious and Just).

Robert's restored reading (letter Aug. 31, 1962) is:

κατὰ ἐπιταγ . . .
Ὁσίῳ καὶ Δικ[αίῳ]

Published: L. Robert, *L'Annuaire du Collège de France* 63 (1963) 351; idem, *NIS,* 35. On Gölde, see idem, *Villes*², 95.

NHR

266 *Figs. 456-457.* NOEX 62.28. Unfinished Herakles. Date unascertainable.

Yellow-streaked white marble, with thick incrustation.
Block broken off below r. thigh, l. knee.
H. 0.80, of head 0.15; overall W. 0.39, of waist 0.15; Th. at belly 0.175, at head 0.13.
From house foundation in village of Gölde near Kula.

The unfinished standing frontal male holds his r. arm, bent upwards at the elbow, away from his body. The l. arm is not clear, but the vertical, undulating band along the l. side may be a club (therefore, figure thought to be Herakles). The head and hair, in broad ringlets at the sides, are roughly shaped. The male genitals are roughly outlined.

On the back side are two central, vertical projections which extend from neck to back of thighs (L. 0.42). The whole piece is rough picked with deep chisel marks going more or less in the same direction, especially over his r. arm. R. side of waist, buttocks, and l. side of head are cut out in the round; the stone block is not yet cut away between legs, at l. edge, or beside r. upper arm and head. Pointed chisel marks are ca. 0.015-0.02 m. apart. There is no evidence of drilling.

The piece was clearly made locally. The date is unknown but unlikely to be later than 3rd C. A.D.

Published: Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 58f. and n.7.

NHR

267 *Fig. 458.* NOEX 59.64. MANISA 4096. Head of Dionysus. 3rd C. A.D.

Hard, yellow-brown local stone, limestone?
Broken at neck; lower l. part of face split off, upper l. sawed off.
H. 0.125.
Said to come from Ödemiş.

A horizontal diadem is worn across the top of the forehead. The hair is long and wavy, with ivy and grape bunches, crudely modelled, and with occasional drill holes. At the back the hair is flat. The inner corners of the eyes and pupils are drilled. The eyelids are heavy.

The linear style of carving, especially of diadem and hair, and drill holes suggest a date in the 3rd C. A.D., perhaps late in the century.

Unpublished.

NHR

268 *Fig. 459.* NOEX 59.63. MANISA. Draped female torso. 2nd-3rd C. A.D.

Grayish large-crystalled marble with yellow discoloration.
Preserved neck to thighs.
H. 0.32.
Allegedly from Ödemiş.

The figure appears to have been moving toward r. with r. arm raised, l. lowered and probably held against her stomach, where there is a prominent break. A lock of hair lies on her l. shoulder, falling over the graceful wide neckline of the high-girt peplos; at r. is a trace of hair. Pronounced folds accentuate the breasts. At the bottom of the overhang the folds effectively imitate cloth. The back has only shallow folds, summarily carved.

Deep drilling and linear effect suggest a date in the later 2nd or more likely 3rd C. A.D.

Unpublished.

NHR

The following three pieces from other sites in Lydia have in the past been mistakenly attributed to Sardis.

269 *not ill.* NAPLES, NATIONAL MUSEUM 98. The "Borgia stele."

The controversy over the "Borgia stele" is reviewed with bibliography by Friis-Johansen (125, n.2) who notes that the provenance is not known with certainty. Finati (3f., text, pl. 10) states that according to a "reliable source" it was found in Asia Minor, so placed as to correspond to a second, exactly similar, stele before the facade of a tomb with Greek inscriptions. It is now impossible to check the reliability of Finati's information. Whether it is correct to conclude with Pfuhl (*AA* 51 [1936] 65) that the stele is a Lydian-Greek work is a matter of opinion. That Greek inscriptions (rather than Lydian) are mentioned weighs against the provenance from Sardis. I reject with Friis-Johansen Rumpf's idea of Attic or Cycladic workmanship. It seems to me to be conceivably an earlier, Eastern Greek work of the same school as the Satrap Sarcophagus of Sidon (cf. Hanfmann, "Pediment," 293). Given the very uncertain provenance and lack of close parallels from Sardis, the Borgia stele should not be cited as a Sardian work or as coming from Sardis.

Later bibliography: Berger, 41, 113, 200 (literature) fig. 135, and 40 (detail), quotes H. Hiller who says that the stele had a clamp hole which shows the stele may have been attached to a wall or rock. Ridgway, "Man and Dog," 60, n.2, 63, 69-71, fig. 3. Because of the recurring uncertainty about Finati's statement, we give it here verbatim:

> E questa nostra supposizione si è molto avvicinata al vero, essendosi saputo da buona fonte che nell'Asia Minore fu ritrovato un diruto monumento sepolcrale con avanzi di greche iscrizioni, al quale apparteneva un bassorilievo compagno in tutto al nostro, exprimendo voltata a diritta una bellissima figura dello stesso antico stile e nello stesso atteggiamento, tenendo al dippiù nella mano un vaso di bronzo, la cui metà era nel masso incastrata. E siamo stati pure informati che il nostro bassorilievo apparteneva allo stesso monumento asiatico, ed ambedue facevan parte del frontone di quella tomba, nel quale era sculto un sepolcro posto fra la nostra figura e la compagna, e che ambedue sono nello atteggiamento di eseguire una libazione su quel sepolcro per placare gli Dei infernali.

GMAH

270 *Fig. 460.* PARIS, LOUVRE MND 438. Honorary stele with horseman. Late Hellenistic or very early Roman Imperial.

Marble.
Lower inscribed part and most of relief preserved.
H. 0.43; W. 0.40; Th. 0.10; H. of letters 0.02.
As observed by L. Robert (letter May 3, 1976), the inscription and stele were seen by Radet at Bakir in the upper Cayster Valley in 1886, and the inscription subsequently published in *BCH* (1887) 478, no. 56.

A horseman is shown riding to r. and approaching a round altar and tree. He wears a short tunic and a cloak attached with a brooch. His face is too damaged to determine whether or not he was bearded. A snake drinks from a patera(?) on the altar. A woman in peplos stands at the r. Her proper r. arm is bent to bring her hand (now lost) to her chin; the l. arm is held across her body, the l. hand

under her r. elbow. At her feet a swaddled infant is lying on a bed that has short legs. The child's head is on a raised rectangular pillow(?); his face is eroded.

Below, the inscription reads:

⟨Ο⟩ Ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησ-
εν Ἄτταλον Θεο-
δότου ἥρωα
ἥρωα

The people honored the hero Attalos, son of Theodotos.

L. Robert (letter Apr. 13, 1976) states that the work is "not a dedication to a hero [but] a posthumous honor rendered by the people to the deceased; this is the ordinary sense of ἥρως in texts of this kind. It is very frequent that at the death of a notable the people rendered an honorific decree and associated themselves with the funerary ceremonies . . . The scene at the right represents the family left behind by the dead man, a wife and a child in a cradle." The type of the woman goes back to the late 5th C. B.C., as in the Medea-Peliades reliefs. The style and the use of the frontal figure point to the late Hellenistic or very early Imperial age.

Unpublished. Data courtesy of F. Baratte. For Medea-Peliades reliefs see *Berlin Beschreibung,* no. 925; Helbig-Speier⁴, I 761-762, no. 1060 (1154); R. Carpenter, "Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome," *MAAR* 18 (1941) 62, pl. 21.

GMAH

271 *Fig. 461.* ADANA REGIONAL MUSEUM. Hermes-like statuette dedicated to *Hosion kai Dikaion.* 2nd or 3rd C. A.D.

Marble.
Head missing. Lower r. arm lost (was dowelled on).
H. 0.59. Base: H. 0.12; W. 0.245.
According to O. A. Taşyürek, Director, Adana Regional Museum, alleged by the dealer to have come from Sardis.

The figure wears a girt tunic with a chlamys fastened over the r. shoulder and falling down to his feet in back. There is a circular pillar at the l. leg. He holds a caduceus with the lowered l. hand. On the front of the base there is a Greek inscription of four lines:

Θείῳ Ὁσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ
Γ.Ι. Ἀνείκητος εὐχήν
Προνοναίαντος Ἀμ-
φιλόχου β ἱερέως

I do not know of any dedications to *Hosion kai Dikaion* found at Sardis, but they are very common in the region farther S around Kula (cf. 265 Fig. 455; also Robert, *NIS,* 35, and his treatment of the cult). The provenance from Sardis, therefore, seems doubtful. The rustic style, too, is more like that of eastern Lydia.

Unpublished. The statuette and its inscription are being published by G. Petzl in the forthcoming Festschrift for K. F. Dörner. I am indebted to C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. for showing me a photograph and to O. A. Taşyürek for kindly sending photographs and a dimensioned drawing.

GMAH

IX INSCRIPTIONS OF LOST STATUES

The following pieces represent only a selection of the most interesting among the inscribed bases. For some uninscribed Lydian bases cf. *Sardis* R1 (1975) 68-82. For other inscribed bases of the Greek and Roman periods, *Sardis* VII (1932) passim; *BASOR* 177, 25, fig. 23; and an inscribed athlete statue base, IN74.7 (*TürkArkDerg* 23:1 [1976] 58). See also the discussions on the display of statuary, *supra* Chs. III and V. The comprehensive publication of the inscribed bases will be made by L. Robert in a forthcoming volume in this series on Greek and Latin inscriptions and by J. H. Kroll on the inscriptions of the Synagogue.

272 *Fig. 462.* IN63.141. Marble block with inscription in unknown language. 5th-4th C. B.C.?

Marble. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Rough-trimmed for secondary use and damaged on l. side, top, and back. R. side and r. side of face also damaged.
P.H. 0.885; W. at top 0.28, at bottom 0.375; D. 1.12.
Found toppled from NW corner of pier S3, E61-62/N4 *97-97.5 in Syn MH; see Fig. 5. It was part of the pier. "There is no evidence for any covering of the inscription; no remnants of stucco nor mortar revetment backing nor revetment pin holes were observed anywhere on the piers. On the evidence, the inscription was visible when reused" (A. R. Seager, by letter, July 7, 1975).

The rectangular marble block has drafted edges on the r. and l. sides of the face (P. on l. 0.01; P. at lowest part on r. 0.04). The block flares outward to form a simple profile of footing (vertical, then convex half torus). An inscription of 12 (or 13) lines is on the face. The finish on the r. side shows that the block is from the r. end of the original monument; a similar block may have been at the l. end.

Gusmani (*Sardis* M3 [1975] 118) proposes that the monument was not a statue base but an altar (for possible statuary arrangement, see *supra* Ch. III). The fine workmanship is not likely to be earlier than the late 6th C. B.C. Gusmani says that "the writing recalls the finest examples of Lydian marble inscriptions of the 'classical' period," though the lack of vertical alignment of the letters may favor the earlier part (5th C. B.C.). He states that nothing can be surmised about the possible content.

Published: *Sardis* M3 (1975) 116-132, figs. 67-76, with detailed discussion of inscription. For circumstances of the find see *BASOR* 174, 34, figs. 18, 31.

GMAH

273 *Figs. 463-464.* IN74.1. Dedication of an image of Zeus Baradates. Original date 367-366 B.C., 39th year of Artaxerxes II Mnemon.

Local marble.
L-shaped block damaged and reused in a late Roman structure.
L. 1.05; W. 0.585; H. 0.45. L-shaped extension at back: D. 0.32-0.40; W. 0.64. W. of anathyrosis borders: top 0.12-0.13; l. side 0.07-0.08; back 0.12-0.17; bottom

0.08-0.12. Dowel hole 0.08 by 0.08. L. of clamp holes 0.10-0.11. Letters: H. 0.025; W. 0.025.
Found in "Hypocaust Building" on the E bank of the Pactolus, ca. 200 m. N of expedition camp, ca. W230/N850 *119.33 (top). Cf. Fig. 1 No. 42.

The original base of the statue is lost. Its inscription, a dedication by the satrap Droaphernes, was copied in Roman times together with other texts. The inscription is published with commentary by L. Robert. I believe with C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. (*AASOR, infra*) that the Roman marble block may have come from a platform or statue base inscribed with copies of texts of the Persian period relating to Persian gods, and possibly carrying a group of statues, either originals or copies of statues referred to in the text(s). Reconstructions of this type may have been made necessary by the earthquake of A.D. 17 (see **275** Figs. 467-468, restoration of an image of Hera).

The inscription reads:

Ἐτέων τριήκοντα ἐννέα Ἀρτα-
ξέρξεω βασιλεύοντος, τὸν ἀν-
δριάντα Δροαφέρνης vac.
Βαρ(ά)κεω Λυδίης ὕπαρχος Βαρα-
δατεω Διί. (*leaf*). Προστάσσει τοῖς
εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸ ἄδυ-
τον νεωκόροις θεραπευ-vac.
ταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ στεφανοῦσι τὸν θε-
òν μὴ μετέχειν μυστηρίων Σαβα-
ζίου τῶν τὰ ἔνπυρα βασταζόν-
των καὶ Ἀνγδίστεως καὶ Μᾶς. Προσ-
τάσσουσι δὲ Δορατῃ τῷ νεωκόρῳ τού-
των τῶν μυστηρίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Published: *Archaeology* 27:3 (1974) 138f.; *TürkArkDerg* 23:1 (1976) 56f.; *AASOR* 43, forthcoming; L. Robert *CRAI* (Apr.-June 1975) 306-330. Cf. also *supra* Ch. III, "Literary and Epigraphic Sources," no. 16.

GMAH

274 *Figs. 465-466.* B-5. Bilingual dedication of Nannas Bakivalis to Artemis.

Very coarse-grained, local, gray-white marble; gray "temple" weathering. Whitmore: compares with Sardis MD quarry group A.
Front has cracked. Frontal and side top profile damaged; r. back corner surface gone (old break). Weathered gray-black.
H. 0.44; W. 0.79; Th. 0.68; H. of plinth 0.44.
In May 1913, H. C. Butler found a peculiar "monument" consisting of three bases, two fallen lions, and a toppled bird (**235, 236, 238** Figs. 405-409, 413-415) "about 50 m. north of the centre of the temple and about 3 m. above the level of its platform, the inscribed front [of the central base] facing the north side of the temple" (*Sardis* VII [1932] 91). As reset by Butler the monument faced E and W and was at W153/S1180. The Nannas base was found upside down and moved to the Sardis camp in 1968. As the statue base has profiles on all sides, the original dedication was free standing.

The top is very roughly trimmed with large point and is clearly not the original surface which probably was smooth. The rather deeply cut holes for two feet seem to be for a human statue (l. cutting: L. 0.155; D. 0.045; r. cutting: L. 0.14; D. up to 0.055). However, the feet seem to be facing away from the inscription side, being wider at the opposite end (W. at inscription end: l. cutting 0.035, r. cutting 0.03; W. opposite: l. 0.04, r. 0.04). This would produce a very pigeon-toed stance. The l. cutting is rough picked at the bottom, the end smoothed on the sides for insertion of the stone; the r. is rectangular on the inscription end.

The inscription reads:

Nannas Bakivalis Artimul

Ναννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι

It belongs to the original stage of the base. Because of recutting we do not know what was on the base at the time, but it was possibly a human figure. In the second stage, the base definitely supported a human statue, probably with the original inscription at the back. In the third, Roman, stage when the monument was "recomposed," or perhaps composed anew on a 2nd or 3rd C. level, it probably carried the seated lion (**235**) as in Shear's reconstruction ("Lion," fig. 4).

This matter is of some importance: lions and eagle would normally be sacred to Cybele, not Artemis, at Sardis. Hanfmann and Waldbaum ("Kybele," 268f.) wrongly accepted the Nannas monument as an apparent exception. It was not Nannas but the Romans who, trying to reconstitute the sanctuary after the great floods, set up the Nannas monument just as they reset the Lydian stelai, with extraneous parts. Among the stelai, too, we have clear examples of non-fitting shafts. We do not know what Nannas dedicated to Artemis.

Buckler and Robinson date the inscription ca.

350 B.C., noting that the "lion associated by T. L. Shear is much more ancient than our text."

Published: *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 85, fig. 72, inscription only; *Sardis* VI.1 (1916) 38f.; VI.2 (1924) 38. Shear, "Lion," 129, fig. 8; Gusmani, *LW,* 259, no. 29; Gall, 588; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 62, 64, 68; Gusmani, "Lydiaka," 268.

GMAH

275 *Figs. 467-468.* IN63.123. Base for statue of Hera, set up by Socrates Pardalas and restored by Julia Lydia. A.D. 20-30.

White large-grained marble.
Has cutting for plinth of a statue. Back neglected, hence originally stood against a wall.
H. 0.0435; W. 0.70; D. 0.63. Cutting for statue 0.57 by 0.42.
Syn E63/N9, ca. *97.00, built into the cross wall, see Fig. 5.

The preserved top of the plinth has fine pointed chisel work; the interior of the cutting for the statue base is rough chiselled. The profile shows a simple moulding at top and bottom, with a drafted band below the top moulding.

The inscription reads:

Σωκράτης Πολεμαίου
Πάρδαλας τὸν ναὸν κατε-
σκεύασεν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἀνέ
θηκεν . . . Ἰουλία Λυδία ὑωνὴ
αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν
ἐπεσκεύασεν

Socrates son of Polemaios Pardalas constructed the shrine and dedicated the Hera. His granddaughter Julia Lydia restored it after the earthquake.

Socrates son of Polemaios Pardalas is also known from other Sardis inscriptions (*Sardis* VII [1932] nos. 22, 91, 122, 127). The earthquake refers to the devastation of A.D. 17.

Published: Hanfmann, *Croesus,* 43-44; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 174 n.114, mention.

NHR

276 *Fig. 469.* IN58.4. *In situ.* Base for statue of Lucius Verus. A.D. 166?

Marble.
Slightly chipped at upper r. corner; and other small chips.
H. 0.86; W. 1.95; D. 1.12. H. of letters 0.06.
Found *in situ* on bench in the S apse of BSH.

The top of the plinth has a cutting, off center, for a statue. The inscription face is slightly concave.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Αὐρ. Ἀντωνι-
νον Οὐῆρον σεβαστὸν ἡ β′ νεωκό-
ρος Σαρδιανῶν πόλις. Κλ. Ἀντω.
Λέπιδος ἀνέθηκεν ἀρχιερεὺς
Ἀσιὰς ἀργυροταμίας πρῶτος ὁ τῆς
περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον πολιτείας
ἐξ ἀρχῆς προνοησάμενος.

The city of the Sardians, twice temple warden (of Imperial cult) (honored) the Emperor Caesar Aurelius Antoninus Verus Augustus. Claudius Antonius Lepidus, Arch Priest of Asia, First Treasurer, who from the beginning took care of the arrangements for the gymnasium dedicated (the statue).

The inscription and statue probably were set up to honor the Emperor on his visit to Sardis in A.D. 166.

Published: *BASOR* 154, 14, fig. 4; 158, 7-10. Hanfmann, *Letters,* 33, fig. 17-18; Yegül, "Bath-Gymnasium," 102f.

NHR

277 *Fig. 470.* IN72.1. *In situ.* Base for images of the children of Kore. A.D. 211-212.

Marble.
In two large fragments. Top and r. side damaged. Top surface where preserved is flat.
L. block: W. 1.62; D. 0.54. R. block: W. 1.00; D. 0.54.
Max. H. with base 1.475.
B at N wall of BE-C.

The two blocks have a simple flaring moulding at the bottom and rest upon a larger profiled base, which is also made of two blocks.

Α]ὐτοκ[ράτορι Καίσαρι Μ] Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Ἀντωνεί[νῳ
Καί[σαρι Πο. Σεπτιμίῳ Γέτᾳ Σεβασ]τῷ σὺν παντὶ
ὀ[ίκῳ τῶν σεβαστῶν]
ἀσερ . . . . νης βασιλείας καὶ τῆς διην[ε]κοῦς καὶ
ἀνεικήτ[ου]

νης καὶ κράτους ἀδιαλείπτου· Κόρης παῖδας (*leaf*)
Κόρον (*leaf*) Εὐπο[σίαν]
ὑπὲρ εὐετηρίας καὶ εὐθαλείας πόλεως καὶ περιχώρου
Σαρδέ[ων]
ἀνέθηκεν Γλύκων Γλύκωνος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ καὶ κυρι[ωτάτῃ]
πρωτόχθονι καὶ β′ νεωκόρῳ (*leaf*).

To the Emperor (Caesar Marcus) Aurelius Antoninus (i.e. Caracalla) . . . (and) Caesar Publius Septimius Geta (name erased) Augustus with the whole (house of Emperors?) . . . of the empire and of the eternal and invincible . . . and of the unremitting power . . . Glycon, son of Glycon, from his own resources, dedicated (the images of) the children of Kore—Koros and Eupo(sia)—for the prosperity and flourishing of the city and territory of Sardis . . . to the dearest and most powerful (homeland?), most ancient and twice awarded an Imperial temple.

Published: *BASOR* 211, 27, fig. 8; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 32. The translation is by C. Foss.

NHR

278 *Fig. 471.* IN72.26. *In situ.* Base for fountain with gilded bronze serpents. 4th-6th C. A.D.

Marble.
Upper l. and r. corners broken away, and chipping at other edges.
Max. P.H. 0.74-0.75; H. inscribed face 0.392; max. W. at bottom 0.91; D. at top ca. 0.84, at base ca. 0.94. H. letters 0.025-0.027, of spaces between lines 0.02-0.025.
In situ in BE-H N48/E3 *96.5.

The base has a moulded profile at top and bottom. A vertical channel is cut in one side for a water pipe.

Text:

οἱ κρήνης ποτ' ὕπερθε μέσην κατ' ἄγυιαν ὁδοῖο
πᾶσι παρερχομένοισιν ὁρώμενοι εἰσὶ δράκοντες
οὗτοι χαλκείῃσιν ἑλισσόμενοι φολίδεσσιν
οὓς Βασιλίσκος ἔθηκε δικασπόλος ἔνθα κομίσσας
χρυσῷ ἐρευθομένους ὑπὸ δε ⟨ι⟩ ῥάδα
μέχρι καρήνων
νέρθεν ἄνω πεμπόντας ἐπὶ στόμα χεύματα πηγῆς

These are the snakes which were once seen by everyone passing by, above the fountain in the middle of the public road. Basiliskos, who held the office of judge there, set them up, wound round with brazen scales, reddened with gold from their necks to their heads, sending up the streams of the fountain from below to their mouths.

Letter forms suggest a late date, 4th - 6th C. A.D.

Published: *BASOR* 211, 22, fig. 4; *Sardis* R1 (1975) 173 n.75; *Sardis* M4 (1976) 21, 114-115, from which the above translation by Clive Foss is quoted. Forthcoming publication by L. Robert.

NHR

Appendix: The City Goddess of Sardis on the Base from Puteoli

A monument outside Sardis which is connected with the earthquake of A.D. 17 deserves to be discussed here because it may reproduce a statuary type that existed at Sardis. This monument is the base found at Puteoli[1] and decorated with reliefs of fourteen cities which benefitted from the aid given by Tiberius after the disaster. The cities were identified by now much-worn inscriptions. Sardis is represented on the front, to the left of the dedicatory inscription of A.D. 30, by a battered, standing female figure, clad in a girt peplos and wearing a mural crown and veil (Fig. 472). She extends her right hand toward a nude boy, whose upraised right hand she grasps. In her left, she holds either a cornucopia (according to V. Spinazzola), or a rhyton (according to J. Sieveking). The city of Sardis is often shown on coins as a head or bust with mural crown and veil but apparently not with cornucopia.

Below the group is a very damaged inscription of three words. The major readings to 1903 are listed by Spinazzola.[2] Recent historical scholarship, kindly checked for me by M. Hammond, has tended to follow Th. Mommsen's reading: . . . *HENIA SARDES ULLORUM,*[3] which makes no sense of the first and third words. Spinazzola tried (*Tyrr*) *HENIA .SARDES.PELOPONNESOS.* He cited Tacitus *Ann.* 4.55, where Sardians seeking the honor of Imperial cult temple from Tiberius make Lydus the brother of Tyrrhenus, and speak of Pelops colonizing Greece. It is possible that the youth shown is Pelops, whom the Sardians did indeed claim (cf. 7 panel P Fig. 48).

A different trend of thought was opened by W. M. Ramsay's suggestion, cited by Rushforth.[4] Ramsay proposed *EUTHENIA* ("Abundance") for the first word. This line of interpretation is strengthened by our discovery in 1972 of an inscription which is a dedication to the children of Kore, Eposia and Koros, in the sense of "Happiness" and "Surfeit," or "Surplus."[5] One might consider that the female figure is Euthenia, and the last word which some have read *EIORON* may hide *KORON*

1. The base was found in 1693. A detailed history and list of publications is given by Spinazzola, 121-123. First-hand descriptions: A. Bulifon, *Ragionamento intorno d'un antico marmor discoverto nella citta di Pozzuolu* (1694); Spinazzola, 147-153, pl. 4; J. Sieveking in BrBr, text for pl. 575; L. Mariani in Ruesch, 22-24, no. 82 (6780), literature, fig. 4, coin of Tiberius. Additional literature: E. Strong, *Scultura,* 93-94, pl. 18; Toynbee, 12; H. Dessau in *ILS,* no. 156; M. Hammond, "A Statue of Trajan Represented on the Anaglypha Traiani," *MAAR* 21 (1953) 162-163, on the statue of Puteoli being a standing, not seated image; Ehrenberg-Jones, 63, no. 50; Sutherland, 95, on coins of Tiberius; Vermeule, *Imp. Art,* 414; and N. N. Ambraseys, "Value of Historical Records of Earthquakes," *Nature* 232 (Aug. 6, 1971) 377-378, on Puteoli inscription.

We are grateful to Estelle Brettman, who secured the photograph of the base in Naples.

2. Spinazzola, 147-151.

3. *CIL* X 1624.

4. Cf. W. M. Ramsay *JP* 11 (1882) 144, pointed out by M. Hammond; also Rushforth, 125, no. 95.

5. *BASOR* 211. 26-27. fig. 8, IN72.1; here 277 (Fig. 470).

or some other designation for the boy as the symbol of wealth or riches. The middle word would be "Sardes" or some other form for the name of the city; all other cities on the base are designated by the names in nominative.

Jahn had very tentatively sought to identify the boy as the Lydian hero Tylos and to make him into a Lydian Triptolemos, missionary of agriculture. This interpretation was based on a coin legend which allegedly showed an inscription, *-GE-TYLOS,* with Triptolemos on the dragon chariot and a river god below.[6]

In essence, there are two possibilities of interpretation. In the historical, championed by Spinazzola, the female goddess might be the City Goddess or Tyche of Sardis[7] and the child a mythical hero, possibly Pelops (less probably Tylos—should one read Tyllorum?). In the allegorical, discussed at length by Jahn, the female is a goddess of fertility, whether Earth (*Ge Karpophoros*) as in Sophocles *Philoctetes* 391, or Demeter as in Apollonios of Tyana,[8] or Euthenia; and the boy is a personification of prosperity and riches similar to Koros or Ploutos, again proposed by Jahn.[9] Because Apollonios of Tyana called Sardis "the city of Demeter" in the first century, Demeter, equated with Magna Mater (Da-Mater), who in turn is equated with Cybele, might have the best claim. The enigmatic Kore of Sardis is possible, as Euposia (Euthenia?) and Koros are her children, but her usual attribute is a sheaf or stalk of grain or wheat.

Stylistically, the group of woman and boy is a typical example of Tiberian classicism, fashioned after a fifth century work in Phidian style. Jahn first pointed out the resemblance to the group, usually considered to be Prokne and Itys, by Alkamenes, ca. 410-400 B.C.[10]

The Sardis relief on the Puteoli base probably reflects the group placed in A.D. 20 at the temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome, which showed the statues of the twelve cities flanking a colossal seated statue of Tiberius. A special "Committee of the Twelve Cities" deliberated on the dedication.[11] Following the grammarian Apollonios, Phlegon, an author of the time of Hadrian (*De mirabilibus* 13), wrote, "They dedicated a colossus to Tiberius near the sanctuary of Aphrodite, which is in the Forum of the Romans, and placed at its side the images of each of the cities." Already Th. L. Gronovius, cited by Jahn, saw that the temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium was intended.[12] Unfortunately we do not know whether the work was entrusted to sculptors from Asia Minor. But the group remains of interest as the type by which Sardis wished to be represented in Rome.

A different type of city goddess is seen on coins struck by Sardis after the earthquake; here Sardis is shown kneeling before Tiberius and holding ears of grain.[13] But we cannot be sure that this design reflects an actual group of statues erected at Sardis.

GMAH

6. Jahn, 133-134; cf. K. Preisendanz, *Myth.Lex.* s.v. Tylos, 5 (1916-24)1403-1405; and for Tylos equated with Herakles, Hanfmann, "Lydiaka," 68-72.

7. Cf. e.g. *BASOR* 203, 14, *Auxei Tyche Sardianon,* IN65.15.

8. See Penella, 308.

9. Jahn, 132-133; cf. also H. Steuding, *Myth.Lex.* 2:2 (1894-97) 2095, figs. 2a, b, citing Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.466f., "Sardeis, nurses of Ploutos (wealth)," thought the boy might be Ploutos.

10. Jahn, 120, pl. 1A; cf. Picard *Manuel* II.2, 560-562, fig. 228, with literature.

11. A. Boeckh argued that an inscription found at Sardis is a record of the vote taken by the Committee at a meeting in the city; *CIG,* 3450; *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 9.

12. Jahn, 123; cf. also Spinazzola, 126-127, and for the coin with seated statue of Tiberius and the legend *Civitatibus Asiae restitutis,* Ruesch, 24, fig. 4, and Sutherland, 95.

13. See *BMC Lydia,* 250f., nos. 98-101, pl. XXVI:4.

CONCORDANCE OF FINDS

CONCORDANCE OF ENTRY
AND TEXT-PAGE NUMBERS

GENERAL INDEX

INDEX OF INSCRIPTIONS

CONCORDANCE OF FINDS

Inventory number	*Catalogue number*	*Figure number*
Pieces from the excavations catalogued as sculpture		
S58.7:604	73	189
S58.8:605	224	389
S58.10:607; Manisa	186	336
S58.46:895; Manisa	132	264
S58.49:1104; Manisa 2235	225	390
S58.50	194	344
S59.10:1419	12	63-64
S59.22:1431	218	383
S59.25:1439; Manisa	113	239
S59.36:1741; Manisa 4085	227	394
S59.60:1768	126	257
S59.64:1778; Manisa	219	384
S59.66:1782; Manisa 3942	67	182
S59.66a:1865	127	258
S59.67:1866	128	259-260
S59.68:1867	96	215
S59.71:1892; Manisa 2238	93	208-211
S59.73:1903	131	263
S59.74:1962; Manisa 4084	228	395
S59.76:1966; Manisa 3943	59	172-173
S59.78:2068; Manisa 3945	199	353-354
S59.79:2069	204	359-361
S59.81:2093; Manisa 4089	54	165
S59.82:2094	122	250-251
S60.7:2503	117	243
S60.11:2601 + S60.29:3007	60	174
S60.21:2708	206	363
S60.25:2975	205	362
S60.28:3006; Manisa 3790	57	170
S60.29:3007 + S60.11:2601	60	174
S60.31:3024	23	87-89
S60.32:3028	169	317
S61.3:3149	190	340
S61.5:3201	133	265-266
S61.11:3280	135	269-270
S61.18:3398; Manisa 1674	92	206-207

Inventory number	*Catalogue number*	*Figure number*
S61.24:3486	72	188
S61.27.1:3489.1	81	199
S61.27.2:3489.2	88	201
S61.27.3:3489.3	82	200
S61.27.4:3489.4	83	
S61.27.5:3489.5	84	
S61.27.6:3489.6	85	
S61.27.7:3489.7	86	
S61.27.9:3489.9	105	228
S61.27.10:3489.10	87	
S61.27.12:3489.12	104	227
S61.27.13:3489.13	103	226
S61.27.14:3489.14	102	223-225
S61.27.15:3489.15	79	196-197
S61.44:3854	201	356
S61.56:4011	203	358
S61.60:4122	202	357
S61.61:4123	200	355
S62.4:4137	58	171
S62.17:4368	98	217
S62.31:4548 + S63.37A, B:5394; Manisa 4030, 4031	25	92-101
S62.61:4870	64	178
S63.9:5081	100	220-221
S63.22:5228	14	66
S63.30:5313	4	11-12
S63.31:5314	13	65
S63.34:5355	188	338
S63.35:5356	39	137-138
S63.37A, B:5394 + S62.31:4548; Manisa 4031, 4030	25	92-101
S63.38:5456	162	310
S63.41:5461	6	16-19
S63.50:5645	226	391-393
S63.51:5677; Manisa 4029	7	20-50
S63.58:5765; Manisa 3793	223	388
S63.59:5766; Manisa 3792	220	385
S63.66:5881	221	386
S64.6:5943	66	181
S64.13:6018; Manisa 3789	71	186-187
S64.20:6048	97	216
S64.21:6061	94	212
S64.36:6260	2	8
S64.46:6411	163	311
S64.49:6530	165	313
S64.50:6531	61	175
S64.53:6579	196	346
S65.7:6718	77	193
S65.8:6719	89	202
S65.12:6904	26	102-104
S66.1:6951	44	147
S66.3:6960 + S71.5:8133	118	244-245
S66.4:6962	209	367-368
S66.9:7017	144	283
S66.10:7069	198	351-352
S66.16:7158	75	191
S66.23:7420	222	387
S66.24:7246	95	213-214
S66.25:7247	216	378
S67.14:7352	197	349-350
S67.16:7354	27	105-109
S67.24:7441	178	326
S67.30:7522	107	231-232
S67.31:7549	16	68-69
S67.32:7550	28	105-106, 110-113
S67.33:7559	29	105-106, 114-117
S67.36:7589	207	364
S67.37:7593	10	61
S68.3:7655	152	297
S68.6:7678; Manisa 3937	20	78-83
S68.26:7801	52	162-163
S69.7:7959	1	6-7
S69.10:8031	129	261
S69.11:8032	19	75-77
S69.12:8034	51	161
S69.14:8047	18	72-74
S70.1:8063	106	229-230
S70.4:8083	123	252
S70.7:8108	33	124
S70.10:8112	32	123

Inventory number	*Catalogue number*	*Figure number*
S71.3:8130	167	315
S71.5:8133 + S66.3:6960	118	244-245
S71.6:8159	91	204-205
S71.9:8168	70	185
S72.5:8182	119	246
S72.6:8186	139	274-275
S72.7:8187	157	304
S72.9:8191	101	222
S72.13:8213	120	247-248
S73.1:8125	31	119-122
S73.2:8218	114	240
S73.3:8219	185	334-335
S73.10:8274	5	13-15

Pieces from the area of Sardis not excavated by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition

NoEx 58; Manisa	134	267-268
NoEx 58.17; Manisa 374	63	177
NoEx 58.27	21	84-85
NoEx 59.3	215	377
NoEx 59.7	24	90-91
NoEx 59.11	182	331
NoEx 59.13; Manisa 1672	180	328
NoEx 59.34; Manisa M67.4	181	329-330
NoEx 59.52	80	198
NoEx 59.60	115	241
NoEx 59.63; Manisa	268	459
NoEx 59.64; Manisa 4096	267	458
NoEx 59.65	213	373-375
NoEx 60.1 + B-140	171	319
NoEx 60.3	142	280-281
NoEx 60.4; Manisa	109	234-235
NoEx 60.11	175	323
NoEx 60.12	76	192
NoEx 60.13; Manisa	9	58-60
NoEx 60.16; IN60.47	153	298
NoEx 60.17; Manisa 3791	146	285-289
NoEx 60.18	174	322
NoEx 60.20	30	118
NoEx 61.1	189	339
NoEx 61.2	184	333
NoEx 61.3	177	325
NoEx 61.4	155	300
NoEx 61.8	166	314
NoEx 62.2	15	67
NoEx 62.8	3	9-10
NoEx 62.10	53	164
NoEx 62.11	214	376
NoEx 62.14	191	341
NoEx 62.22	90	203
NoEx 62.25	183	332
NoEx 62.26	264	454
NoEx 62.27	265	455
NoEx 62.28	266	456-457
NoEx 63.1	37	134
NoEx 63.3	154	299
NoEx 63.5	192	342
NoEx 63.6; IN63.6; Manisa	262	451-452
NoEx 63.10	179	327
NoEx 63.11	99	218-219
NoEx 63.12	11	62
NoEx 63.15	159	306
NoEx 64.1	116	242
NoEx 64.2	111	237
NoEx 64.3	22	86
NoEx 64.5	50	158-160
NoEx 65.2	136	271
NoEx 66.14	46	150-151
NoEx 67.3	172	320
NoEx 67.6	173	321
NoEx 68.4	56	169
NoEx 68.9	193	343
NoEx 68.19	112	238
NoEx 68.20	124	253

Inventory number	*Catalogue number*	*Figure number*
NoEx 69.1	210	369-370
NoEx 69.17; IN69.12	143	282
NoEx 69.24	130	262
NoEx 70.7	158	305
NoEx 70.13; IN70.11	145	284
NoEx 70.15	110	236
NoEx 71.1	140	276
NoEx 71.3	43	146
NoEx 71.7; IN71.7	150	295
NoEx 72.22	138	273
NoEx 73.1	45	148-149
NoEx 73.2	261	450
NoEx 73.10A, B; IN73.7A, B	164	312
NoEx 74.2	176	324
NoEx 74.1; IN74.2	161	308-309
NoEx 74.3	151	296
NoEx 74.7	170	318
NoEx 75.1	147	290
NoEx 75.2	148	291-292
NoEx 75.3	149	293-294
NoEx 75.4	141	277-279
Pieces catalogued as inscriptions		
IN58.4	276	469
IN60.19	211	371
IN60.47; NoEx 60.16	153	298
IN63.5; NoEx 63.5; Manisa	262	451-452
IN63.123	275	467-468
IN63.141	272	462
IN67.1	49	157
IN69.12; NoEx 69.17	143	282
IN70.11; NoEx 70.13	145	284
IN71.7; NoEx 71.7	150	295
IN72.1	277	470
IN72.26	278	471
IN73.7A, B; NoEx 73.10A, B	164	312
IN74.1	273	463-464
IN74.2; NoEx 74.1	161	308-309
Synagogue architectural inventory		
Syn 138	208	365-366
First Sardis expedition pieces inventoried by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition		
B-1	68	183
B-3; *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 167	137	272
B-4	69	184
B-5; *Sardis* VII (1932) no. 85	274	465-466
B-7	40	139-141
B-8	168	316
B-10	36	133
B-140 + NoEx 60.1	171	319
Sardis I (1922) ill. 47; Manisa 388	62	176
Sardis I (1922) ill. 122	47	153-154
Sardis II (1925) ill. 93	48	155-156

CONCORDANCE OF ENTRY AND TEXT-PAGE NUMBERS

Catalogue number	*Text-page number*
1	6, 14
2	6
3	15, 16, 17, 34, 36
4	7, 15, 16, 18, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38
5	7, 15, 16, 18, 34, 36, 37, 39
6	15, 16, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38
7	9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38
8	15, 17, 18, 32, 36, 37
9	6, 15, 16, 19, 32, 37
10	15
11	15
12	—
13	—
14	17
15	17, 19
16	6, 15, 17, 30, 32, 37
17	7, 17, 23, 26, 35, 37
18	9, 19, 20, 25, 27 n.121, 30, 32, 35, 36, 38
19	20, 27, 32, 33, 38
20	16, 20, 27, 29, 32, 33, 38
21	9, 16, 20, 21, 27, 31, 35, 37
22	7, 19, 35, 36, 37
23	9, 17, 21, 30, 34, 36
24	30, 38
25	20, 21, 22, 33, 34, 36, 38
26	16, 22, 22 n.74, 29, 30, 32, 38
27	6, 15, 16, 17, 21, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37
28	6, 15, 16, 17, 21, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37
29	6, 15, 16, 17, 21, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37
30	29, 30
31	7, 17, 21, 22, 29, 30, 34, 36, 38
32	17, 21, 29, 30, 34, 36, 38
33	17, 21, 29, 30, 38
34	9, 22, 29, 38
35	29
36	21, 29
37	30
38	20, 22
39	20, 21, 22, 36, 37, 38
40	17
41	17
42	34, 37
43	15, 17
44	36
45	17, 19, 23 n.82, 24, 25, 35, 37
46	18 n.39, 19, 23 n.82, 24, 25, 25 n.108, 32, 35, 37
47	9, 23, 23 n.82, 24, 25, 25 n.105, 26, 27 n.120, 33, 35, 37
48	23 n.82, 24, 25, 25 n.101, 26
49	18 n.42, 23 n.82, 25, 27, 37
50	—
51	31, 32
52	—
53	—
54	—

Catalogue number	*Text-page number*
55	9
56	—
57	9
58	—
59	9, 81, 82, 86
60	—
61	—
62	—
63	—
64	—
65	—
66	—
67	9, 81, 82, 86
68	—
69	9
70	9
71	—
72	9
73	83
74	—
75	—
76	9
77	9
78	9, 83
79	4, 82
80	—
81	—
82	—
83	—
84	—
85	—
86	—
87	—
88	6
89	—
90	—
91	8, 9
92	8, 9, 81, 82
93	9, 83
94	85
95	9, 81, 85
96	—
97	—
98	—
99	—
100	—
101	81
102	4, 9, 39, 82, 84
103	—
104	—
105	—
106	85
107	81, 83, 84
108	—
109	—
110	86
111	83
112	9
113	—
114	9
115	—
116	83
117	8, 85
118	8
119	—
120	—
121	—
122	86
123	—
124	—
125	83
126	—
127	—
128	9, 84
129	—
130	—
131	6
132	3, 83
133	2, 8
134	27
135	81
136	—
137	85
138	—
139	81
140	—
141	—
142	—
143	—
144	9, 85
145	—
146	—
147	—
148	—

Catalogue number	*Text-page number*
149	—
150	85
151	—
152	—
153	—
154	—
155	—
156	5
157	81
158	—
159	83
160	—
161	—
162	—
163	—
164	—
165	—
166	—
167	84
168	—
169	—
170	—
171	—
172	—
173	—
174	—
175	—
176	—
177	—
178	—
179	—
180	—
181	—
182	85
183	9
184	—
185	—
186	—
187	—
188	9, 33 n.14, 38, 83
189	84
190	84, 85
191	3, 83
192	—
193	—
194	16, 82, 84
195	—
196	—
197	9, 81, 85, 86
198	9, 81, 82, 85
199	9, 81, 82, 85
200	9, 81, 82, 85
201	9, 81, 82, 85
202	9, 81, 82, 85
203	9, 81, 82, 85
204	9, 81, 82, 85
205	9, 81, 82, 85
206	9, 81, 82, 85
207	9, 81
208	9, 81
209	9, 81
210	9
211	84
212	—
213	82
214	82
215	82
216	81
217	—
218	—
219	85
220	—
221	81
222	81
223	—
224	—
225	81, 82, 86
226	—
227	—
228	—
229	6, 13, 37
230	3, 15, 36
231	3, 17, 19, 30, 36
232	2, 3, 17, 19, 23 n.82, 26
233	2, 7, 19, 20, 23 n.82, 27, 30
234	2, 9, 19, 23 n.82, 31
235	2, 3, 16, 21, 22, 34, 36, 39
236	2, 3, 16, 18, 21, 34, 36, 39
237	2, 21, 32
238	2, 3, 17, 21, 34, 36, 39
239	2, 7, 17, 34
240	2, 18 n.42, 20, 23 n.82, 24, 26, 37
241	2, 18, 20, 23 n.82, 24, 26, 31, 32, 37
242	2, 18 n.42, 20, 23 n.82, 24, 26, 37

Catalogue number	*Text-page number*
243	2, 3, 82, 85
244	2, 3
245	2, 3
246	2
247	3
248	3
249	3, 15, 15 n.16
250	3
251	3, 82
252	2, 82, 82 n.10
253	3, 84
254	3, 9
255	—
256	3, 84
257	—
258	2, 3
259	3
260	—
261	—
262	—
263	—
264	—
265	—
266	9
267	—
268	—
269	20, 23, 23 n.86, 25 n.99, 27 n.120
270	—
271	—
272	35
273	19 n.46, 31, 33, 38
274	4, 18, 21, 21 n.61, 32, 34, 35, 36 n.35, 39
275	33 n.14, 38, 81 n.1, 83, 85
276	82, 83
277	82, 83
278	38 n.47, 82, 83, 85

GENERAL INDEX

References to catalogue entries are in bold type.

Abacus (of capital), 7 p. 44
Abrasives, use of, and smoothing, 7-8, **2, 23, 56, 132, 259**
Acanthus leaf motif, 26, **156, 167, 170, 218, 226, 227, 242**; on figured capitals, **193-196, 201, 205**
Achaemenid
  Anatolian folkloric style, 19
  court style, 18, 25, 47
  Empire, 1
  linear style, 27
  lion sphinxes, 22
  stylistic influence, **233**
  lions, **39, 47**
  see also Persian period, Persians, Satrapal style
Achaeus, portrait of, **102**
Acroliths, 9, **102, 251, 252**
Acropolis (Athens), 7 p. 51, **12, 34**
Acropolis (Sardis; Ac), 6, 34, 39, **23**; *see also* Citadel (Sardis)
Acropolis Museum, *see* Athens
Acroteria
  architectural, 24
  on naiskos relief, **21**
  on sarcophagus lids, 21, **36, 244, 260**
  on stelai, **47, 134, 137, 141, 245**
Adalia, hunt sarcophagus in, **146** p. 121
Adana Regional Museum, **271**
Addorsed animal motifs, 25 p. 64
Adrastos, statue of, 31f. no. 18, 83; *see also* Atrastas
Aedicula relief, **156**; see also Naiskoi, Shrines
Aegina, sphinx from, **239**
Aegis of Athena, **113**
Aegisthus, 7 p. 50
Aemilius Paullus frieze, Delphi, **135** p. 116
Aeneas carrying Anchises, 83, **73**
The Aeolid, 17, 23 n.86, 24; *see also* Columns
Aeropagus (Athens), **128**
Africa, quarries in, 5
Agamemnon, 7 p. 50
Agora (Athens), painted lioness from, **39**
Agorakritos, seated Cybele image by, 20, 27, 31 no. 13, 20 p. 60, 21
Ahura Mazda, 19, 31 no. 16; *see also* Zeus Baradates
Alaşehir, **262, 263**; *see also* Philadelphia
Alcmaeon, Alcmaeonidae, 19, 7 p. 50
Alexander the Great, 1, 19, 27, 32 no. 18, 141, **204, 234**
Alexandria, influence of, **129**
Alikres, son of Karos, stele of, **26, 242**
Alkamenes, 83, 181, **110**
Alpha, in stele relief, **245**
Altars
  cylindrical, **160, 161**
  inscription block as part of, 35, **272**
  with muse statuette, **129**
  in votive and funerary reliefs, **135, 149, 158, 162, 163, 253, 270**
  of Zeus Lydios (on coin), 84
  see also Cybele (Kuvava), altar of; Artemis altar (LA)
Alyattes, King, 29 no. 4, **16**
  burial mound of, 6, 23, 7 p. 43
  employment of Greek artists by, 14, 29 no. 3
  lions from period of, 30 no. 6, 33
  and Periander of Corinth, 17, **31**
Amasis Painter, 7 pp. 46, 47
Amazons, 83, **12, 96, 112, 118**
Amorini, **149**; *see also* Erotes, Putti
Amphiaros crater, 7 p. 46
Amphipolis lions, 25 p. 65
Amphitheaters, animal games in, **146-148**
Amphoreis, 30 no. 7
Amphotto, stele of, 27 n.124, **233**
Anadoumenos. **74**
Ananeosis at Sardis, 38
Anathyrosis, 7 p. 43, **18, 19, 42, 147, 211, 212, 223, 225, 237, 273**
Anatolia, evidence for Prehistoric culture in, 13-14
Anatolian: goddess, 82, **194**; traits in Lydian sculpture, 18
Anavysos-Ptoon kouroi, **14**
Anchises, *see* Aeneas
Andokides Painter, 7 pp. 47, 49
Andromenes, **134**
Ankara, recumbent lion in, 21
Antae, 7 p. 43
Antefixes, lion-head, **260**
Anthemia, *see* Architectural sculpture, Stelai
Antioch: nymph from, 91; Tyche of, 83, **128**
Antiochus III, statue of, **72**
Antoninus Pius, colossal statue of, 4, 82, **79-87, 251**
Anzio (Antium) maiden, **53, 246**
Aphrodisias: quarry at, 6; sculpture from, **95, 167**
Aphrodite
  images of, 16, 37, **9, 99**; by Cheramyes, 7 p. 45, 20 p. 60
  sanctuaries of, 181, 20 p. 59
  see also Venus
Apollo
  on coins, **156**
  images of, 32 no. 19, **120, 207, 225, 249**
  Kitharoidos, **129**
  lions sacred to, 21, 34
  temples of: Delphi, 19, 30 no. 7; Didyma, 15
  see also Delphi, oracle of Apollo
Apollonios (grammarian), 181
Apollonios of Tyana, 31 no. 13, 181
Apri (Thrace), venatio reliefs from, **146, 148**
Aquincum, gorgon from, **150**
Aramaic, *see* Inscriptions

Arbarii, 149
Arcades, in relief, **148**
Archaeological Museum, *see* Istanbul, Izmir, Manisa
Archaic
  sanctuary of Cybele, 33
  sculpture, 4, 36, **22, 40, 43, 50-52, 230, 231, 238;** figures, 17, **3-7, 14;** lions, 21, 22, **23-24, 26-37, 235, 236, 261;** reused in Synagogue, 32, 33; stelai, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, **17, 45-47**
  tooling, **23**
  see also Lydian
Archaistic sculptural features, **3, 12, 14, 55, 58, 110, 249, 263**
Archelaos of Priene, **43**
Architectural sculpture, 9, 33, 35, 36, 82f., 85, **211-216;** anthemia, 24, **51, 52;** *see also* Capitals, Columns, Friezes, Pediments, Terracottas
Architecture, relation to sculptural decoration, 15, 7 pp. 44-45, 51; *see also* Building B, head-capitals
Ardashir, 32 no. 19; *see also* Cyrus
Ares, head-capital, **204**
Argive goddess, head of, **100**
"Argivo-Corinthian" bronzes, 7 p. 49
Aristonautes, portrait of, 31 no. 18
Aristotle, pupil of, 30 no. 11
Arkades, Cretan lion from, **26**
Armor, *see* Gladiators, Helmets, Shields, Swords
Arrow, held by Eros, **247**
Artabānaś; **240**
Artaphernes II, satrap of Lydia, 30 no. 11
Artaxerxes II Mnemon, 20, 31 nos. 15-16, 32 no. 18, **241, 273**
Artemidoros, monument of, 37 n.39
Artemis
  Anahita (Anaitis), 16 n.26, 19, 31f. no. 18, **264**
  attributes of, 16, 17, 21, **238, 274**
  cult of, at Sardis, **17**
  Cybele's relation to, 35, **20**
  Demeter invoked with, **242**
  of Ephesus, 17 n.28, 31 no. 15, **17,** 20 p. 60, **238, 241;** temple of, 17, 29 no. 5, 7 p. 51; *see also* Artemisium of Ephesus
  epithets of, 16, 31 no. 12
  graves protected by, 17
  -Hekate (Laodicea), **194**
  images of, 32 no. 19, 34, 36, 38, **3, 12, 188;** Attic influence on, 27; colossal statue of, 82, **88, 251, 252**
  of Koloe, 31 no. 15, **241**
  Nannas dedication to, 33, **274;** *see also* Nanas monument of Olympia, 7 p. 47
  priest and priestess of, **17, 246**
Artemis altar (LA 1, 2), 21, 31 no. 14, 31f. no. 18, 32, 34, 39, **51;** masonry of, 6, 37 n.42
Artemisia: of Delos, 66; of Ephesus, 6, 7 p. 44; of Halikarnassos, **59;** *see also* Artemis of Ephesus, temple of
Artemis Precinct, 36
  Cybele relief from, 21
  Roman restoration of, 21, 34, 35, 39, **274**
  see also Nannas monument, North stelai bases, South stelai bases
Artemis Temple (AT), 3, 31f. no. 18
  destruction of, 81 n.5
  marble used in, 4, 5
  sculpture found in, 21, 32, **62, 137, 237;** fragments of colossal statues, 82, 84, **72, 79, 102, 251, 252**
The Art Museum, *see* Princeton University
Ashmolean Museum, *see* Oxford
Asia, province of, 32 no. 19
Asia Minor, 21, 25
Asiarchs, 121
Asios in Athenaeus 12.525f, 4
Asklepeion (Pergamon), snakes and patera at, **158**
Asklepios, 83, **125**
Aspasia (Europa), 27
"Aspasia/Sosandra type" veiled women, **19**
Assessus, temples at, 20 no. 4
Assos: friezes from, 7 p. 49, **41;** temple at, 7 p. 50
Assurbanipal II, relief of, **37**
Assyria, 14, 22; influence of, 22, 24 n.91, 34, 7 p. 45, **236**
Atargatis, image of, **25** p. 64
Athena: images of, **12, 56, 113;** Painter, 25 n.109; Parthenos, 83, **56, 188;** temple of (Assos), 7 p. 50; *see also* Minerva
Athenaeus
  12.525f, **4**
  210c, 29 no. 3
Athenian treasury, Delphi, **12**
Athenians: burning of Sardis by, 18; stele of, 26
Athens, 25, 30 no. 11; Acropolis Museum, 7, **8, 9;** National Museum, **42, 79**
Athlete: statue bases, 176, **17** p. 56; stelai, **143;** torsos, **74, 75**
Atlas, relief of, **213**
Atranes, 18
Atraśaś, **240**
Atrastas: priest of Demeter, **242;** son of Sakardas, stele of, 7, 17, 26, 35, **17;** son of Timles, stele of, 19, 27, 31 no. 17, **234**
Attalos: son of Eleutherion, stele of, **256;** son of Theodotos, stele of, **270**
Attic sculpture, 30f. no. 11, **20** p. 60
  influence of, on Sardian work, 19, 20, 27, 28, **20** p. 59, **134;** on lions, 20, 22, **25** p. 64
  Neo-Attic workmanship, **162**
  sphinxes, **25** p. 64, 239
  terracotta simae, **52**
  see also Pottery
Attis, **159, 164, 224**
Augustus, portraits of, 3, **76, 250**
Aurelius Epagathos, stele of, **137**

Babylon, 14, 22
Babylonian: court, 14, 15 n.17; walking lions, **39;** wall-high decoration, 15, 7 p. 44f.
Bacchus, 7 p. 50, **225;** *see also* Dionysus
Back pillars, **4, 5, 167**
Baiae Museum, **19**
Baker woman statue, 14, 30 no. 9
Baki, 31 no. 12, 7 p. 50
Bakir, stele from, **270**
Bakivas, seals of, 18
Balkans, 22
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 3, **258**
Barakes, satrap of Lydia, 31 no. 16
Barbarian, *see* Captive
Bases
  for columns, **6,** 7 p. 44, **182, 184**
  for statues, 7, **121;** inscribed, 31 no. 16, 33f., 35, 36, 38, 82, 83, 85, 180-181, **246, 272-278**
  for stelai, 5, 35, 36, **39, 17**
  see also Pedestals, Plinths
Basiliskos, governor of Lydia, 85, **278**
Basket, in relief, **245**
Basket-bearer statue (Paestum), 31 no. 11
Başlioğluköy, 36 n.37
Bath CG, 81 n.5, **186**
Batrachomyomachy, **43**
Bead and reel decoration, **18** p. 57
Beard styles, **79, 90, 91, 93, 94**
Bears, **146-148**
Bed, in relief, **270**
Belts, 37, **4, 5,** 7 pp. 45, 47, **9, 147**
Beneventum, arch of, **73, 159**
Berkeley, Museum of Anthropology, **93**
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3, 15, 84, **19, 40, 249, 255-257**
Berossus in *Clem. Al. Protr.* 5.65.3, 19 n.46
Bestiarii, **148, 149**
Bilecik, lion (living) at, 21 n.67
Bin Tepe (BT), 3, 36; sculpture found at, **230,** 231
Birds
  on anthemion stele, **242**
  of prey, 16f., 36, 39, **238;** *see also* Eagles, Hawks
  Bronze Age, **2**
  held by Kore, **10**
  with tree on Cybele shrine, 7 p. 48
Boars, 14, 7 p. 48, **147, 149**
Boeotia, stelai from, 27 n.124, **233;** *see also* Cycladic
Bolster, figured, **214**
Bones, 22, 66
Borgia stele, 19f., 23, 25 n.99, 27, 35, **269**
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, **23, 24, 107, 108, 259**
Bowls, gold and silver, 29 nos. 2, 3, 30 nos. 7, 8
Bracelets (in relief), **8, 133**
Brantaghem Collection, **25** p. 64
Brickstamps, 22 n.68, **9**
Bridles on horses, **163, 231, 258**
British Museum, *see* London
Brocklesby Park, relief in, **20** p. 59f.
Bronze
  animal figures, 14, 16, 17, 83, 7 p. 48, **26, 43, 278**
  "Argivo-Corinthian" reliefs, 7 p. 49
  horse trappings, 14
  statues, 19, 30 no. 11, 31f. no. 18, 32 no. 19, 34 n.16, 38

Bronze Age, 13f., 1, 2; *see also* Neolithic
Brooch (in relief), 207
Bucrania, 160, 161, 171; *see also* Bulls
Budapest, Musée de Budapest, 150
Building A, sculpture found in, 112, 115, 124
Building B (Gymnasium)
  ananeosis program at, 38
  head-capitals of screen colonnades in, 2, 9, 81, 82, 83, 85, 140f., 197-209
  limekiln at, 81
  Marble Court (MC): dedicatory inscription of, 9, 82, 140f.; marble sample from, 5; screen colonnade, 82, 85, 140, 198-206
  Palaestra (Pa) screen colonnade, 85, 141, 207, 208
  Sculpture found in: Lydian-Persian, 44, 49, 52; Hellenistic, 57, 114, 139; Roman-early Byzantine, 81, 82, 83, 84, 60, 64, 75, 94, 95, 101, 107, 114, 117-120, 122, 127-129, 132, 157, 167, 194, 197-209, 216, 222, 224, 276, 277
Bulls, 16; golden, 14; gold-silver, 30 no. 9; heads of, 168, 172; humped, 147; and lion, 21, 31 no. 13, 36, 44; in venatio reliefs, 146-148; *see also* Bucrania
Burning of sculpture, 33, 39, 81; *see also* Limekilns, Mutilation of sculpture
Bust capital, 207
Butler, H. C., 2, 23, 35, 274; *see also* Sardis expedition, first
Buttons (in relief), 59
Byzantine period at Sardis, 1, 2; reuse and survival of sculpture in, 39, 86; sculpture of, 94, 95, 133, 167, 210, 278; *see also* Coins
Byzantine Road, 82
Byzantine Shops (BS), sculpture found in, 85, 96, 113, 185, 220, 223

Caduceus, 156, 271
Caere, "Campana" plaques from, 17
Caeretan hydriae, 25 n.108, 7 p. 48, 34, 46
Çakallar, 146
Calceus, 68
Çaltılıköy, 11
Calvert stele, 24, 45
Calyxes, 150
Cambridge (Eng.), Trinity College Collection, 3, 254
Camel train attacked by lions, 22
Campus Martius, 212
Can Hasan, Neolithic sculpture from, 13, 229
Cape Phoneas, Milesian statue from, 8
Capitals, 182
  archaic, used as stele base, 39
  Corinthian (non-figural), 186; *see also* figured, *infra*
  Doric, 7 p. 44
  figured, 16, 192-210; *see also* Building B, head-capitals
  Ionic, 24, 36 n.34, 6, 7 pp. 43, 44, 9, 20 p. 59, 48
Cappadocian: funerary monuments, 21; lion killer, 37 n.43, 7 p. 49
Caps, 96, 147, 149; "Phrygian," 215
Captive barbarian, 3, 83, 191, 215
Caracalla, 83, 140, 205, 207, 277
Carthage, altar from, 73
Caryatid: bowls, 30 no. 8; Siphnian treasury, 8
Castor and Pollux, 258
Catal Hüyük, Neolithic sculpture from, 13
Cavetto floral profile (on stele), 24
Cayster Valley, 270
Centaur, 7 pp. 48, 49
Cesnola Collection, 36
Chaironea lions, 25 p. 65
Chairs, 37, 134; *see also* Couches, Thrones
Chalcedony, 13 n.2
Chalkis, kouroi from, 14
Chamber tombs
  Lydian, 23, 35, 36, 45, 50, 234; Tomb 24, 40; Tomb 27-A, 31 no. 16; Tomb 813, 24, 25, 27 n.120, 33, 35, 47; *see also* Mound burials
  Roman, 150
Chapes, 14
Charioteers, 157; Helios as, 84, 167; Pelops as, 37, 7 p. 49
Chariots: horse-drawn, 84, 7 p. 49; dragon, 181
Chemtou, quaries at, 5
Cheramyes: korai, 16, 4, 6, 7 p. 46; Aphrodite, 7 p. 45, 20 p. 60
Chios, 25 n.107
Chiron, 7 p. 48
Chisels, *see* Tools
Chitons
  Hellenistic-early Byzantine: on charioteer, 157; Cybele, 256; Dorian chiton, 194; female figures, 53, 55, 58-60, 63-65, 129, 136, 173, 245, 246, 262, 264; male figures, 135, 145, 262
  Lydian-Persian period, 7 p. 47, 11, 18, 233; on charioteer, 7 p. 49; goddesses, 6, 7 pp. 43, 45, 9, 20, 21; Herakles, 7 p. 49; horsemen, 231; korai, 4, 5, 7 pp. 46, 47, 8
Chlamyses, 127, 135, 144, 145, 207, 271
Chosroes II, 1
Christ, 167
Christians, 39, 102
Chrysanthia (coin inscription), 84
Church M, sculpture found in, 39, 81, 102, 103
Cingulum, 72
Citadel (Sardis), 29 no. 1, 34; *see also* Acropolis (Sardis)
"Citizen type," 66
City Goddess of Sardis, 83, 180-181; *see also* Tyche
Clamps and clamp cuttings, 9
  in Hellenistic-early Byzantine sculpture, 58, 61, 73, 102, 136, 147, 148, 170, 174, 212, 213
  in Lydian-Persian period sculpture, 18, 19, 21, 31, 34, 242, 269, 273
  see also Dowels, Pins
Clasps, on chiton, 11
Classical
  phase, sanctuary of Cybele, 33
  sculpture, 31 no. 11, 32, 35, 36, 15, 21; in High Classical style, 20 p. 60; lions, 21, 22, 25 p. 64; reused in Synagogue, 32, 33; stelai, 24, 26, 27, 28, 19, 20, 269
  technique, 102
Claudia Antonia Sabina, *see* Sarcophagi
Claudius Antonius Lepidus, 276
Clytemnestra, 7 p. 50
Coinage, Lydian, 14
Coins
  Byzantine, 1 nn.4, 5, 86, 94
  Hellenistic period, 84, 102
  of Ionic League, 110
  Lydian: lions on, 14, 21; inscribed 21 n.60
  Roman period, 84, 7 p. 49, 108, 167, 191; with City Goddess of Sardis, 180, 181; with Tylos legend, 181
Colonnades, Byzantine, 39; *see also* Building B
Color, *see* Painting on sculpture
Colossal statues, 4, 82, 181, 13, 72, 79-88, 102-105, 251, 252
Columnae caelatae, 7 p. 45
Columns
  Aeolic, 7 p. 45
  Doric, 141
  engaged Ionic, 7 pp. 43-44
  figured, of Croesus, 17, 29 no. 5, 6, 7 pp. 45, 49, 51
  fluted, 7 p. 44; spirally, 5 n.35, 182
  marble of, 5
  plain, 6
  with recumbent lion, 21
  see also Bases
Committee of the Twelve Cities, 181
Commodus, heads of, 90
Constantine, 38; arch of, 121, 209
Constantinople, 128
Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, 3, 40, 250
Corinthian
  boars, 7 p. 48
  influence on Sardian lions, 17, 29 no. 2, 7 p. 48, 23, 25 p. 64, 26, 31, 236
  Kore relief, 20 p. 60
  order, capitals, 186, 194, 195, 200, 201, 210
  treasury, Delphi, 17, 29 no. 2, 30 nos. 6, 8
  war, 26, 241
Cornices, 237, 244
Cornucopias, 180, 144
Couches, 36, 183, 221, 231; in funerary relief, 18 p. 57, 145, 234, 234 *bis; see also* Chairs, Thrones
Craters, 29 no. 2, 30 no. 7; *see also* Bowls
Crescents, 160, 248, 253
Cretan lion, 26
Croesan era: Cybele shrine dated to, 7 p. 51; development of Ionic style in, 7 p. 44; lions of, 22, 30 no. 6
Croesus, 1, 19, 25, 32 no. 19
  presents to oracle of Apollo, Delphi, 14, 21, 30 nos. 6-9; golden lion, 23, 66, 236
  presents to temple of Artemis, Ephesus, 14, 29 no. 5; figured columns, 17, 6, 7 pp. 45, 49, 51
Cross, sign of, 85
Crowns, 93, 156
  attached metal, 9

floral, **248**
Hittite "cylindrical type," **3**
mural, 180, **159**
turreted, **128, 248**
see also Diadems, Poloi
Cuirassed figures, **72, 73, 191, 231**
Cult images or statues, 16, 21, 34, 35, 36, 82, **156**; reflected on coins, 84; *see also* under individual deities
Cult scene, 121, **149**
Cup, **7** p. 46
Cybebe, **20** p. 60
Cybele (Kuvava)
altar of, 16, 17, 31 no. 13, 66; Corinthian-izing sherd from, **23**; lions from, 6, 16, 17, 21, 22, 32f., 34, 36, 66, **27-29, 31, 35**
attributes of: birds of prey (hawks, eagles), 17, **238, 274**; lions, 16, 20, 21, 31 no. 13, **7** pp. 45, 48, 50f., **20, 21, 25** p. 64, **27-29, 164, 256, 259, 274**; snakes, **6, 7** p. 45, **193**; trees, 37, **7** p. 48, **149, 159**
Artemis, relation to, 35, **20**
Baki, relation to, 31 no. 12, **7** p. 50
Demeter equated with, 31 no. 13, 181
epithets of, 16, 31 nos. 12, 13, **21**; *see also* Mother
images of: Bronze Age, 20; Lydian-Persian period, 21, 31 nos. 12, 13, 35, 36, **3, 6, 7, 9, 20, 21**; Attic influence on, 27; typology of, 20, 35; Hellenistic, **156, 159, 259**; Roman period, 83, 84, **164, 193, 256**
sanctuary or temple of, 33, 38, **7** p. 51; *see also* Metroon
shrine, 9, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 34, 35, 36, 37, **7, 149**
thrones of, 21, **21, 23, 259**
as Tyche, **128**
Cycladic: -Boeotian stelai, 19, 27; influence on Sardian sculpture, 19, 27, 28, **22**; -Thessalian-Boeotian stelai, 20
"Cyclado-Ionian" stelai, **233**
Cymae, **161, 182**; Lesbian, 36 n.34, **18** p. 57, **182-184, 260**
Cyrene, sculpture from, **109, 122, 256**
Cyrus, 18, 32 no. 19, **233**; the Younger, 31 no. 14
Cyzikus, column fragment from, **214**

Daggers, **155**
Dancers, **7** pp. 47, 50; *see also* Maenads
Daphne, stele from, **20** p. 59
Darius, 18
Darius, Persepolis H 3-10, 30 no. 10
Darius, Susa F 35-55, 30 no. 10
Dark Ages, 2
Daskylion: satrapal residence at, 19, 25; stelai from, 19, 25, 26 n.115, **46, 49, 231**
Datbey, *see* Hypaepa
Dede Mezarı, 6, 32, **9**
Deer, frieze of, 15, **230**; *see also* Hind, Stags
Delos, 34, 66, **7** p. 44
Delphi
Aemilius Paullus frieze at, **135**
Alcmaeonidae at, 19, **7** p. 50
gifts to oracle of Apollo at, 14, 29 nos. 2, 3, 30 nos. 6-9
golden lion of Croesus at, 22, 66, **236**
Naxian sphinx at, **7** p. 44
treasuries at, 17, 29 no. 2, 30 nos. 6, 8, **8, 12, 52**
Demeter, 31 no. 13, 181, **20** p. 59, **242**
Demetrios, son of Hermogenes, **161**
Demosthenes, statue of, 32 no. 18
Dendrobates, **149**
Dennis, George, at Sardis, 3, **230, 231, 251, 253**
Dentils, **156, 182, 183**
Dermys and Kittylos kouroi, 4
Despoina, 31 no. 12
Dewclaw, 22, **25** p. 63
Dewlap, **44**
Diadems, **7** p. 46, **78, 81, 99, 100**
with crown of turrets, **128**
with grapes, **198, 267**
ribbon, **7** pp. 46, 47, 122
with twelve heads, **93**
see also Crowns, Poloi
Diagores stele, **45, 52**
Didyma: sculpture from, 17, 34, **7** p. 45; temple of Apollo at, 15
Didymaion: anthemion, **52**; priestesses of, **7** p. 45
Dikaia, 19, 26 n.119
Diocletian, portrait of, **93**
Diodorus 16.56.6, 30 nos. 6, 9
Dionysiac: figures, **162**; theme in head-capital 82, 141; *see also* Maenads, Grapes, Satyrs
Dionysus
Cybele linked to, 31 no. 12
figures of, 86, **120, 123, 184, 223, 267**; with panther and satyr, **121, 122**; head-capital, **198**
infant, **100**
with youths, wineskins, and small game (pottery), **7** p. 46
see also Bacchus, *Baki*
Dioscuri, **258**
Dioscurus, 26
Diphilos, **246**
Dipoinos, 32 no. 19
Divine Mother, 31 no. 12; *see also* Cybele
Dogs, 26, 35, **17, 22, 137**; *see also* Hounds
Domitian, **161**
Donkey, **44**
Doorjambs, **16, 50**
Doors, **50**
Doric order, **7** p. 44, **138, 141, 156**
Dorylaion, stele from, 25 nn.107, 108, 26 n.115
Double outlining of muscles, **23**
Double-sided sculpture, 17, 21, 34, **16, 23, 249**
Douris, **17**
Dowels and dowel holes, 9
in Hellenistic-early Byzantine sculpture, 86, **56, 59, 66, 68, 70, 79, 91, 95, 102, 106, 113, 128, 130, 149, 156, 161, 212, 213, 217, 223, 225, 249, 251, 259**
in Lydian-Persian period sculpture, **9, 18, 21, 34, 37, 41, 50, 273**
see also Clamps, Pins
Drafted edges, **272**
Dresden, *see* Zeus
Drills, *see* Tools
Droaphernes, satrap, 31 no. 16, 33, **273**
Drove, *see* Tools
Dugs, **34**
Duman Tepe, **50**

Eagles, 84, **127, 161, 192**; on Cybele shrine, 37, **7** p. 48; from Nannas momument, 3, 17, 34, **238, 274**; *see also* Birds
Eagle table, *see* Synagogue
Earrings, 14, **159, 233**
Earth (*Ge Karpophoros*), 181
Earthquake, *see* Sardis
Eastern Greek
influence: on archaic Lydian art, 14, 16, 18; on art of Persian period, 19, 20; on lion imagry, 22, 66, **23, 26**; on development of anthemion stele design, 24, 25, **45, 242**; on figural stelai at Sardis, 26, 27, **17, 20** p. 60, **140, 233, 269**
siren, **40**
sphinxes, **239**
see also Ionia, Ionian, Pottery
Echinus, **7** p. 44
Egg and dart motif, **52, 168, 170, 182, 200, 202; 207, 217, 234**
Egyptian: craftsmen, contacts with Sardians, 30 no. 10, **16**; exports at Sardis, 6, 14, **131**; lions, 34
Elagabalus, coins of, **167**
Electra, **7** p. 50
Electrum, 30 no. 6
Eleusis, relief from, **20** p. 59
Eleutherion, relief of, **23, 25** p. 64, **256**
Eleutherna, archaic sculpture from, **3**
Elpidephoros, **255**
Elpidike, bust of, **255**
Ephesus
Byzantine and Roman heads from, **95, 254**
Cybele images at, **25** p. 64, **256**
gladiator reliefs from, **153, 155**
influence of, on Sardian sculpture, 25, **6, 7** p. 51
ivory sculpture of, 15, 16, **6, 26, 40**
procession represented at, **7** p. 50
tritons from, **124**
see also Artemis, Artemisia, Croesus, Schools of sculptors, Selçuk
Epiblema, **4, 7** pp. 45, 46
Epichorie thoes, **20** p. 60
Epistyles, **138, 260**
Epithema, **262**
Erechtheion ornament, influence of, 26, **240-242**
Ergotimos cup, **7** p. 46
Erinys, **7** p. 45
Erotes, 3, **247, 257**; *see also* Amorini, Putti
Eski Balıkhane, Prehistoric finds from, 14, **1**
Etruscan: lions, **36**; painted plaques, **17**
Eumenes II, **72**
Euphrates region, lions in, 21 n.67
Euphronios, **17**
Euposia, 180, 181, **277**; *see also* Kore

Euripides
Bacchae 58, 72-81, p. 31 no. 12
Bacchae 72-82, 7 p. 50
"Europa" type of veiled woman, **19**
Euthenia, 180, 181; *see also* Euposia
Euthydikos kore, 30f. no. 11
Eutychides, 83
Exekias, 26

"Farnese bull," **147**
Farnese Herakles, *see* Herakles
Fasciae, **138, 210**
Faun, head-capital, 199; *see also* Satyrs
Faustina, **57**; the Elder, colossus of, 3, 82, **79, 82, 251**; the Younger (Minor), **89, 252**
Favorinus *De Fortuna* 22, 29 no. 1
Fence of Herms, 15, **249**; *see also* Herms
Fillets, 7 p. 44, **93, 108, 119, 161**; *see also* Diadems
Fire priests, 19
Fish, **185**
Flaccus, L. Valerius, **246**
Flood damage, 33, 39
Flowers, **98, 234, 241, 242**; bell-flowers, 26, **241**; *see also* Calyxes, Lotuses, Palmettes
Folkloric elements in sculpture, 16, 18, 19
Footstools, **37, 134, 256**
Forum Transitorium, Rome, **212**
Foundation Tablet, **16**
Fountain
attachments, 85, **43, 190, 216**; *see also* Waterspouts
Etruscan painted (Tarquinia), 34, 66
of Juterna (Rome), **258**
with gilded bronze snakes, 82, 83f., 85, **278**
Foxes, 7 pp. 46, 48
François vase, 7 p. 49
Friezes: Lydian-Persian period, 36, **22, 44, 51, 230, 231**; Roman-early Byzantine period, 85, **146-149, 155**; *see also* Parthenon
Frog, 17, **43**
Fronto, M. Cl., coins minted by, **110**
Fulcrum, horse head, **181**
Funerary meal motif, 19, 25, 27, 31 no. 17, **18** p. 57, **234, 234*bis***
Funerary and sepulchral sculpture
Hellenistic-early Byzantine, 121, **134-157, 245, 255, 262**; chests, **227, 228**; *see also* Sarcophagi
Lydian-Persian period, 21, 23, 24, 32, 33, 35, 36f., **18, 232, 234, 234*bis*, 240, 242**; *see also* Chamber tombs; Stelai, anthemion
Furnaces, 32, **94**
Furnishings: Hellenistic-early Byzantine, **217-228**; Lydian-Persian periods, 37, **23**; *see also* Chairs, Couches, Footstools, Tables, Thrones

Ganymede, **127**
Gatepost, **213**
Gates, lions guarding, 21, 34, 36
Gemma Augustea, **191**
Gems, Greco-Persian, 27; *see also* Glyptic art
Geneleos korai, **4, 6**
Genesis 49.9, 38
Gens Augusta, altar of, **73**
Geta, 83, 140, **277**
Giants, Hellenistic, **124**
Gilding of sculpture, 9, 31 no. 12, 32 no. 19, 83, **128**; *see also* Gold
Gladiator reliefs, **143, 149, 153-155**
Glaukos of Chios, 14, 29 no. 3
Glycon, son of Glycon, **277**
Glyptic art, 18; *see also* Gems
Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, *see* Copenhagen
Goats, reliefs of, 37, 7 p. 46, **162**
Goatskin (nebris), **118**
Goblet, 7 p. 46
Gold
animal figures, 14, 16, 29 no. 5; gold-silver bull, 30 no. 9; lions, 14, 22, 30 no. 6, **236**
bricks, 30 no. 6, 66
jewelry and ornaments, 14, 16, 22, **9, 16, 47, 93**
kore, 14, 30 no. 9
plaques, 25 n.105, 31, no. 16
refinery at Sardis, 16, 30 no. 6, 31 no. 13, 32
vessels, 29 no. 2, 30 no. 8
see also Gilding
Gölde, sculpture from, **264, 265**
Golgoi, sarcophagus from, **36**
Gorgoneia, 85, **113, 150**
Gorgons, 85, 7 p. 45, **158, 195, 196, 202, 203**; *see also* Medusa
Gouge, *see* Tools
Graffito, Lydian, 33; in Egypt, 30 no. 10, 16
Grain, attribute of city goddess, 181
Grapes and vines, **122, 123, 170, 198, 214, 223, 267**
Graves, guardians of, 17, 36; *see also* Chamber tombs
Greaves, **153**
Greece, lions (living) in, 22
Greek (mainland) influence on Sardian sculpture, 17, 19, 20, **194**; on lions, 21, 22; on stelai, 26, 28; *see also* Attic, Cycladic, Eastern Greek
Greeks: burial customs of, 23; burning of Cybele temple by, 33
Griffin: masks, 3; pillars, 85, **218, 219**
"Grosse Herculanerin" type, **57**
Gygean Lake, Prehistoric finds at, 14
Gyges, King: mound of, 6; gifts to Delphi, 29 no. 2
Gymnasium (Sardis), *see* Building B

Hacılar, Neolithic sculpture from, 13, **229**
Hadrian, **161**; temples of, **212, 214**; villa of (Tivoli), head from, **79**
Hadrianic: classicism, **161, 169**; forum colonnade (Iasos), **214**
Haghigeorgitika, archaic sculpture from, 3
Hairstyles
archaic: of polos goddess, 3; influence of Corinthian "stepped wig," **31**; of korai, 7 pp. 46, 47, **8**; of kouroi, **8, 14**; *krobylos* type, 7 p. 50, **232**
of classical Cybele, **19, 259**
Harmodios type, **15**
Hellenistic-Roman period: Antonine, **89, 180, 193**; Augustan, **250**; of barbarian, **191**; braided, **98**; coil style, **254**; Diocletianic, **93**; Julio-Claudian, **76**; Severan, **91, 149**
Halikarnassos, relief from, 20 p. 60; *see also* Artemisia, Mausoleum
Hammath-Tiberius, mosaics at, **167**
Hammer, *see* Tools
Hares, 7 pp. 45, 46, **238**
Harmodios, **15**
Harvard-Cornell Expedition, *see* Sardis Expedition
Hawks, 14, 16, 17, **238**; *see also* Birds
Head-capitals, *see* Building B
Hegesandros, 29 no. 3
Hegeso: Master, **20** p. 60; stele, **20** p. 59
Hekate and Hekateia, 3, **248, 263**
Helios, 84, **167**
Helkochitones, **4**
Hellenistic period at Sardis, 1, 2, 27, 81, 85, 7 p. 49
sculptural techniques and tooling in, 9, **102, 158**; *see also* Tools
see also Coins, Pottery, Schools of sculptors, Seleucids
Helmets, **12, 153, 154, 213, 231, 234*bis***; Attic, **204**; Corinthian, **213**; "Phrygians," **163**
Hera: heads of, **100, 206**; of Samos, 16, **3**; sanctuary of, at Sardis, 33 n.14; statue base for image of, 33 n.14, 38, 83, 85, **275**
Heraion of Samos, 15, 30 no. 7, 7 p. 45
Herakles, 20, 7 p. 50
dragging bull, 84
equated with Tylos, 181 n.6
herm as, **71**
reliefs of, 37, **166, 266**; in aedicula, **156**; and Nemaean lion, 15, 7 p. 48f.
statues of, 32 no. 19, **114, 115**; Farnese type, 83, **116**
Herakles Selinus temple "E," **15**
Heraklid dynasty, 20
Hermagenes, **245**
Hermes: images of, **110, 156, 205, 249, 271**; of Olympia, pose, **74**
Herms, 3, 15, 86, **71, 110, 249**
Hermus, on Sardian coin, 84
Hero cult, **163, 270**
Herodotus, 20 p. 60
1.14, 17 n.29, 29 no. 2
1.22, 29 no. 4
1.25, 29 no. 3
1.50, 25 n.104, 30 no. 6, **236**
1.51, 30 nos. 7-9
1.84, 20, 29 no. 1
1.92, 29 no. 5
3.48, 17 n.29
5.60, 7 p. 50
5.102, 33
6.125, 19 n.49
7.125-126, 22
Heroon, 36, **212**
Hierapolis, venatio relief from, **146**
Himatia
Lydian-Persian period, 5, **12**; Ionic, **6**

Hellenistic-early Byzantine period: on female figures, **53, 55, 57-60, 63, 65, 136, 245, 246, 256, 262, 264;** on male figures, **67, 135, 138, 262**
Hind, **20;** *see also* Deer, Stag
Hippodrome of Constantinople, 83
Hittite influence, **3, 194, 238;** *see also* "Late Hittite"
Hittites, ritual of, 29 no. 1
Homer, 21, **129**
Honorary monuments, 32 no. 18, 121, **270**
"Horns of Consecration," **135**
Horsemen reliefs, 3, 84, **141, 163, 253, 270;** Persian influenced, 17, 19, 25, **231**
Horses (without riders), **7** p. 49, **181, 258**
Hosion kai Dikaion, dedications to, **265, 271**
Hounds, **147, 148;** *see also* Dogs
House of Bronzes (HoB), sculpture found in, 81, 82, 85, 86, **12, 58, 59, 67, 106, 163, 190, 196, 218, 219, 225, 227**
Hunters, **147-148**
Hunts, royal lion, 22; *see also* Sarcophagi, Venatio reliefs
Hypaepa (Datbey): fire priests at, 19 n.46; lion from, 17, **261**
Hypocaust Building, **273**

Iasos, Hadrianic forum at, **214**
Ibexes, bronzes of, 14, 16
Iliad 16.670-675, 23 n.79
Images, *see* Cult images
Imports, *see* Sardis
Inlay, use of, **236**
Inscriptions
bilingual: Aramaic-Lydian, 18, 31 no. 15, **241;** Greek-Lydian, 17, 18, 29 no. 5, 32 no. 18, 34 n.16, **274**
of Darius, 30 no. 10
Greek, 176, **145, 148, 164, 211, 255-257, 265;** on altars, **160, 161;** Marble Court dedication, 82, **243;** on menorah, **226;** on statue bases, 82, 83f., **21, 246, 271, 273, 275-278;** on stelai, 27, **134, 137, 143, 150, 245, 264, 269, 270;** *see also* bilingual inscriptions, *supra;* Index of Inscriptions
Latin, 180-181, **262**
Lydian, 1 n.3, 18, 29 n.1, **272;** on statuary base, 36, **274;** on stelai, 31 no. 17, 35, 37, **17, 49, 233, 234, 240, 242;** *see also* bilingual inscriptions, *supra,* Coins, Graffito
in unknown tongue, 35, **272**
"Invitation to Dance" motif, **119**
Ionia, sculpture from, 23 n.86, **36;** *see also* Eastern Greek
Ionian: artists, 29 no. 3, 30 no. 10; boars, **7** p. 48; influence, **233;** *see also* Eastern Greek
Ionians, burning of Sardis by, 18, **7** p. 51
Ionic
League, coins of, **110**
mantle, **7** pp. 46, 47; *see also Epiblema*
order, 18, 24, 27, 36, **6, 7** pp. 44, 50, **156, 182, 184**
sculptural types, 18
Iran: contacts with Lydia, 30 no. 10; lions (living) in, 21 n.67; Lydian sculptors in, 18, 27; *see also* Persia
Iranian: clothes, 27; influence on sculpture, 14, **234;** names, 18; *see also* Achaemenid, Persian period, Persians
Iraq, lions (living) in, 21 n.67
Iron: bit for horse, **258;** stand, 14; welding of, 29 no. 3; *see also* Clamps, Dowels
Ishtar: Gate (Babylon), 15 n.17, **7** p. 44; image of (Nuzi), **25** p. 64
Isocrates 15, 22 n.69
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 2, 3, **234, 236-239, 245, 252**
Iulianus, breeches-maker, **137**
Ivory sculpture, 14, 15, 38, **6, 26, 40**
Ivy, **267**
Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 66, **233, 240-242, 246, 260;** Fuari Museum, **135**

Javelin, **143**
Jewelry, 18, 22, 25, 37, *see also* Bracelets, Necklaces
Jews, *see* Synagogue
Juda, lion of, 38
Julia Domna, 140, **91**
Julia Lydia, restoration of Hera image by, 83, **275**
Julia Mamaea, portraits of, **254**
Julianus, *threptos,* **264**

"Kallimachos" maenad, **176**
Kantharos, **7** p. 46
Katakaumene, **16**
Katovas, stele of, 26, **240**
Kayseri, priest from, **93**
Kazar Tepe, chamber tomb at, 23
Keklik Suyu, **193**
Kephisodotus, **110**
The Kerameikos, lekythos from, **7** p. 47
Kerkyra pediment: gorgon from, **158;** panthers of, **26, 31**
Kertch, stele from, 24
Kerykeion, bronze, **158**
Kilns, *see* Limekilns
Kimmerian influence at Sardis, 14
King's Peace, 20
Kithara, **129**
Kittylos, *see* Dermys
Klazomenai, kore from, **8**
Knidos, 19
Koloe, *see* Artemis
Kolpos, **4, 7** p. 45
Komasts, 15, **7** pp. 46, 50
Korai, 7, 14, 33, 34, 39, **4, 5, 6, 8;** on Cybele shrine, 30 no. 9, **7** pp. 45, 46, 47, 50; Greek influence on Sardian, 19; *see also* Baker woman, Miletus, Samos
Kore
"Albani," **20** p. 60
Children of, 82, 83, 180, **277**
from Corinth, **20** p. 60
with Demeter, **20** p. 59
image of, 16, 36, **194**
on Sardian coin, 84
of Sardis, 181, **156**
Koros, 180, 181, **277**
Kouroi, 17, **8, 14, 31**
Kouros-herm, 3, **249**
Kourotrophos from Cyrene, **109**
"Kritios boy," **232**
Krito-Timariste stele, **20** p. 59
Kula, **23, 264, 265, 271**
Kuretes, **213**
Kuvava, see Cybele
Kyme, 16
Kyroupedion, battle of, 32 no. 18

Lacaedemonians, 30 no. 8
Laecanius Bassus, nymphaeum of, **124**
Lamian War, 31 no. 18
Laodicea of Lycus, capital from, **194**
Laodike, Queen, 33 n.13
Laokoon, influence of, **114**
Larisa: seals from, 22; terracottas from, **7** p. 49
Larissa, stele from, 20, 27 nn.123, 124
Late antique period, 1
"Late Hittite" influence, 14, 15, **7** p. 45; on lion imagry, 14, 15f., 22, 34, **23, 26, 261;** *see also* Hittite
Latrine (at BS), 86
Lava, 5, 6, 32, 37, **16**
Leochares, **127**
Leon of Sinope, stele of, **25** p. 64
Leonnatos, 31 no. 18
Leopards, 35, 36, 37, **22**
Letoon of Delos, 34
Lews, 16, 31 no. 17, **234**
Lewis hole, **207**
Lily, on stele relief, **245**
Limekilns, 39, 81, **101, 139, 157**
Limestone, use of at Sardis, 5, 6, 23, 37, **9, 40, 47, 267**
Limus, **149**
Limyra, mausoleum at, **18** p. 57
Lintels, door, **39, 50**
Lions, 15
of Alyattes and Croesus eras, 22, 30 no. 6, 33
Anatolian crouching type, **26**
and boar, **7** p. 48
and bulls, 21, 31 no. 13, 36, **44, 146**
display and functions of, 21, 34, 36; as furniture supports, **23, 37, 220-222, 257;** on sarcophagi, **36, 178, 179, 260;** as sepulchral monuments, 21, 36f.; as spout, 21, 32, **237**
female, 22, 38, **34, 39**
golden, 14, 22, 30 no. 6, **236**
"kissing," 16
of Meles, 29 no. 1
in nature, 21, 22
recumbent (couchant), 21, 22, **7** p. 45, **27-30, 35, 36, 236, 261;** "laughing," 16, 32, 66, **26, 27;** Main Avenue, 17, 21, **31-33;** *see also* Cybele, altar and attibutes of; Nannas monument
rock-crystal, 14, **26**
as royal symbol, 14, 20, 21, 22
with "sea-lion" (seal-like) heads, 17, **25**

p. 63, **28, 31**
sejant, 21, 22, 7 pp. 47, 48, **21, 23, 24, 235, 256;** addorsed, **25, 217;** *see also* Cybele, attributes of; Nannas monument
skins of, **114, 115, 166**
walking, 21, 37, **16, 38, 39**
winged, **47**
see also Archaic, Attic, Classical, Coins, Corinthian, Eastern Greek, Herakles, "Late Hittite," Manes, Synagogue
Locks (of funerary chests), **227, 228**
Locks (of lions' manes), **23, 24, 25, 34, 35, 38, 235, 236;** *see also* Manes
London, British Museum, 3, 7 p. 45, **38, 40, 230, 231, 251**
Lotuses, 25, 26, **45-49, 51, 52, 240**
Loutraki lions (Corinth), **31, 236**
Louvre, *see* Paris
Lucilla, portrait of, 82 n.10, **252**
Lucius Verus, statue and inscribed base of, 3, 82, 83, **132, 276**
Lycia, 19, 23
Lycian: language, **233;** lion monument, **34;** sarcophagus, **239**
Lydian
iconography, 15, 16f., 37; *see also* "Man and Dog" motif
kingdom, 1
language, 1, 18, 23; *see also* Inscriptions
lions, 20-23, **23-39**
masons and masonry, 6, 7, 18, 30 no. 10, 37
names, 14 n.5, 18
sculptors, 18; in Iran (Persia), 18, 27, **233;** in Egypt, 30 no. 10, **16;** *see also* Schools of sculptors
sculptural technique and tooling, 7, 9, 25, 37; experimental, of Cybele shrine, 7 p. 51; *see also* Archaic, Tools
stelai, 23-28, **45-49**
style, 1, 15-18, 25, 28
see also Archaic, Coins, Pottery, Sardis
Lydians
in Babylon, 14, 15 n.17, 22
burial customs of, 23; *see also* Mound burials
see also Lydian names
Lydo-Ionian lion, **35**
Lydus, 180
Lykaonia, Helios-Zeus from, **167**
Lyre: capital, 25; design on stele, 26, **48**
Lysippides Painter, 31 no. 11
Lysippus, 83

Macedonia, 32 no. 18
Maenads, 15, 141, **176, 206, 208;** *see also* Dancers
Mağara Dereşi gorge, 4, **156;** *see also* Marble quarries
Magic symbol, **50**
Magna Mater (Demeter), 181
Magrath, Dr., at Sardis, **253**
Main Avenue (MRd), 21, 38, 82, **31**
"Man and Dog" motif, 23 n.86, 26, 27 n.121, **17**
Manes
of boars, 7 p. 48
of horses, **163, 258**
of lions, 22, **24, 35, 178, 179;** back or dorsal, **23, 38, 235, 236;** collar type, **25, 26, 34;** inspired by Corinthian coiffure, **31**
Manes: seals of, 18; son of Kumlis, stele of, 18, 20, 26, **241**
Manisa, Archaeological Museum, 2, 3, **8, 9, 25, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 65, 67, 71, 74, 78, 92, 93, 108, 109, 111-113, 115, 121, 125, 132, 134, 143, 146, 155, 160, 177, 181, 186, 190, 194, 195, 199, 212, 213, 215, 217-220, 223, 225, 227, 228, 249, 262, 263, 267, 268**
Mantle figure ("mantle-wearer"), 17, 18, 8
Mappa, **149;** hand with, 8, **133**
Marathon, lion from, **25** p. 64
Marble
analysis of, 5, 6-7, 8
Greek Island, **90**
Miletus, 6, 66, **75**
Parian, **125, 181**
Pentelic, **94**
Proconnesion, **118, 254**
"Tmolus," **261**
quarries, 4, 5, 6, 7; *see also* Mağara Deresi
use of local, 5, 6, 7, 37
Marble Court (MC), *see* Building B
Marciana, coins of, 7 p. 49
Marcus Aurelius, medallion of, 84
Marhesuan, **241**
Masonry, *see* Lydian
Mason's mark, **141**
Matdere, Cybele from, **159**
Matis, stele of, 27, **134**
Mausolea, 35, 36, 82, **18**
Mausoleum (Halikarnassos): Phase, 38; style, 20
Medea-Peliades reliefs, **270**
Medizing Lydian, 18 n.39
Medusa, **130, 150, 196, 203, 210;** *see also* Gorgoneia, Gorgons
Meles, King, 20, 29 no. 1
Melfi sarcophagus, **180**
Mên, 84, **253;** Motelleites and Tiamu, **264**
Menandros Apoloniou, stele of, **150**
Menophila, stele of, 3, **245**
Menorah, **226**
Mermere, quarry at, 6
Mermnad kingdom, 1
Mersindere, **141**
Mesopotamian lion statues, **34**
Metallurgy, Lydian interest in, 14
Metalwork, imitation of, **236;** *see also* Bronze, Gold, Iron, Silver
Meter: Oureia, 31 no. 12; *Potnia,* 31 no. 13; *see also* Cybele, Mother
Meter Theon Lydias, **21**
Metopes, **156**
Metroon, 20, 33, 38, **20** p. 60, **21**
Metropolitan Museum, *see* New York
Mice, **43**
Microlith, 13 n.2
Middle Terrace East (MTE), **2, 66**
Middle Terrace West (MTW), **71, 97**
Mikos Metrodoro, 21
Miletus
korai of, 4
lions, 37 n.9, 25 p. 63, **34**
naiskos reliefs, 16
stelei, 25
see also, Assessus, Cape Phoneas, Kazar Tepe
Minerva, **212** p. 147; *see also* Athena
Mitrastas, 18
Mitratastas, 35 n.28
Models of buildings, 15, 36, **6, 7** esp. p. 50
Monsters
marine, **124, 183;** *see also* Tritons
see Griffins, Sirens, Sphinxes
Month of Bakkhos, **241**
Moon: god, 84; goddess, 16; Medusa as the, **150;** reliefs of the, 84, **160, 194;** *see also* Mên
Mosaics, **147, 149, 167**
Moschine, statue of, **62, 246**
Moses of Chorene 2.12, 32 no. 19
Moth, stele with, 85, **137**
Mother
Earth, 31 no. 13
goddess, 1
of the Gods, 3, 84, 30f. no. 11, **21, 23, 25** p. 64, **39, 160, 233, 256**
of the Mountains, 31 no. 12
see also Cybele, *Meter,* Mountain Mother
Mound burials, 23, **50;** *see also* Alyattes, Chamber tombs, Gyges, Tumuli
Mountain: god, **211;** Mother, 16, 31 no. 13; *see also* Cybele, *Meter,* Mother, Tmolus
Musée du Louvre, *see* Paris
Muse statuette, **129**
Musicians, **149**
Mutilation of sculpture, 38, 81, **20, 139, 225;** *see also* Burning of sculpture
Mylasa, Zeus from, **107, 108**
Myron, **15**
Mythological subjects, Lydian, *see* Lydian iconography
Myus, draped youth from, **8**

Naiskoi, 16, 36, **4, 20** pp. 59, 60, **21;** *see also* Aedicula, Shrines
Nannas (Bakivalis, Dionysikleos), 18, 32 n.18, **274**
Nannas monument, 3
bird of prey from, 3, 17, 34, **238**
inscribed base of, 4, 35, **274**
lions of, 16, 34; recumbent, 3, 22, 39, **31, 236;** sejant, 22, 39, **25** p. 65, **235**
Roman arrangement of, 21, 33f., 39
Naples, National Museum, **269**
Naucratis, seals from, 14, **16**
Naxian, Oikos of, 7 p. 44
Naxian sphinx, 7 p. 44
Neandria, early stelai at, 23
Near Eastern influence on Lydian sculpture, 15, 16; *see also* Persian
Nebris, **117, 118, 121, 122, 176**
Nebuchadnezzar, 22 n.68
Necklaces (in relief), 7 p. 45, **9, 194**

Necropolis (Sardis), sculpture found in, **233, 240, 241**
Nemean lion, *see* Herakles
Neo-Attic, *see* Attic
Neocorate, *see* Sardis
Neolithic sculpture, 13, **229**
The Nereid Monument, 35, **18** p. 57
Nereids, **124**
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2, 3, 26, 27, **24, 36, 232, 235**
Nike, **12**; balustrade, **20** p. 59; *see also* Victory
Nisyros, 26 n.119
Nome, 31 no. 12
Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.466f., 181 n.9
North stele bases (NSB), 5, 34, 39; *see also* Artemis Precinct
Numismatics, *see* Coins
Nuzi, **25** p. 64
Nympheros, stele of, **143**

Oak spray, **192**
Ödemis, sculpture from, **267, 268**
Odysseus vase, **40**
Oikos of the Naxians, Delos, **7** p. 44
Oinochoe, from T 813, **47**
Oinomaos, **7** p. 49
Oltos, **17**
Olympia: seer, **106**; statue of Zeus, **107**; temple of Zeus, **25** p. 64
Olympic chariot race, **7** p. 49
Omphale, Queen, 20, **7** p. 50
Onesimos, **255**
Oracle, *see* Delphi
Orans figures, **165, 264**
Orbiana, portrait of, **254**
Oreibasia, **7** p. 50
Orestes, **7** p. 50
Oriental costume, **13**
Orientalizing influence on Sardian sculpture, 14, 15, 16, 24
Orontas, 31 no. 14
Orthostates, figurative, **7** p. 45
Ovolo, **161, 182**
Owl, limestone, **40**
Oxen: "Carian" humped, **146** p. 121; golden, 29 no. 5
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 3, 14, 17 n.28, 84, **148, 253**

Pactolus Bridge (PBr), **34**
Pactolus Cliff (PC), **18, 93, 143, 180-183, 228**
Pactolus North (PN)
  Cybele (Kuvava) altar and lions at, 32-33, 66, **27-29**; *see also* Cybele, altar of
  gold refinery area at, 32; *see also* Gold, Pactolus River
  lime-slaking pit at, 81 n.5
  rock-crystal lion from, **26**
  sculpture found at: Hellenistic-Roman, 81, **135, 178, 211**; Lydian, 32, **5, 8, 16**
Pactolus River and Valley, 4, 24, 31f. nos. 16, 18, **138**; gold from, 16, 31 no. 13; *see also* Gold
Painting of sculpture, 9, 34, 66, **7** pp. 43, 45, 49, 51, **18** p. 57, **21, 47, 62, 112, 159, 183, 188, 194, 234, 239**; *see also* Gilding
Palace, on citadel of Sardis, 6, 34, 36
Palazzo Torlonia, Rome, sarcophagus from, **181**
Palestine, lions in, 21 n.67
Palliati, **67, 69, 70, 138, 140**
Palmettes
  on architectural anthemia, 32, **51, 52**
  on Asiatic sarcophagus, **182**
  on Ionic capital, **7** p. 44
  in jewelry, 25, **47**
  on stele acroterion, **134**
  of stele finials, 24, 27, 31 no. 15, **45, 48, 240, 241**
Paludamentum, **72**
Pan, 3
Panormus, road to, 34
Panthers, **22, 244**; with Dionysus, 86, **121, 122, 184**; from Kerkyra pediment, **26, 31**
Papyrus rolls, in stele relief, **245**
Paramon Menekleous relief, **135** p. 116
Parastades of the Metroon, 33, 38, **20** p. 60; *see also* Metroon
Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3, **8, 244, 247, 248, 270**
Parma, **147**
Parthenon, **7** p. 50, 11
Parthian, **215**
Paryphe, **7** p. 45, **9**
Pasargadae, **6, 16, 233**
Paterae, **158, 161, 213, 270**
Patmos, bronze lion from, **26**
Pausanias, 83
  5.27.5, 19 n.46
  7.6.6, 31f. no. 18
  10.16.1-2, 29 no. 3
Pedestals, 34, 66, **6, 7** p. 43; *see also* Bases, Plinths
Pediments
  on aedicula relief, **156**
  of Persian period, 19, 20, 25, 27 n.121, 32, 35, 36, 38, **18, 234**
  on sarcophagi, **182, 260**
  of stelai, **20, 134, 137, 141, 150, 152, 245**
  see also Kerkyra
Peisistratos, sons of, 19
Peleus, 15, **7** p. 48
Peloponnesian War, 20
Pelops, 180, 181; relief of, on Cybele shrine, 15, 37, **7** pp. 49, 50
Peploses
  on Hellenistic-Roman figures, 180, **54, 56, 61, 62, 134, 193, 212, 259, 263, 268, 270**; "Phidian," **113**
  on Lydian-Persian period figures, **18** p. 57
Perachora lion, **7** p. 48, **23, 24**
Pergamene Baroque, **135** p. 116
"Pergamene" eye, **159**
Pergamon, **26, 158**; influence of, **96, 97, 128, 137, 141**
Perge, Sabina from, **78**
Periander of Corinth, 17, 31
Perikalles agalma, **20** p. 60
Perirrhanteria, 30 no. 8
Persepolis, 30 no. 10, **233**
Perseus, head-capital of, **205**
Persia
  lion hunts in, 22
  Lydian influence on art of, 30 no. 10
  see also Iran
Persian
  gods, 19, 31 no. 16, **273**; *see also* Artemis Anahita, Zeus Baradates
  iconography, 19, 20, **18**
  influence on Sardian sculpture, 18-19; on stelai, 19, 25, 28, **233**; on lions, 22f.
  palace reliefs, 19, 27
  palaces, 30 no. 10
  period at Sardis: influence of Greek art on sculpture of, 19-20; sculptural techniques in 7, 9; lions of, 21f.; rebuilding of Kuvava altar in, 33; stelai of, 24ff.
  see also Achaemenid, Iranian
Persians
  conquests of Sardis by, 1
  figures of, **18, 96, 188**
"Petal convention," **26**
Petrographic analyses, 6
Phainias of Eresos, 30 no. 11
Phallic markers, 6, 23, 36, **50**; *see also* Mound burials
Phidias, **20** p. 60; influence of, 83, 181, **21, 56, 107, 138**
Philadelphia, herm from, **249**; see also Alaşehir
Philadelphia, Penna., The University Museum, **93**
Philetos, **256**
Phlegon *De mirabilibus* 13, 181
Phoenician influence, 14, 15
Phokai, 17, 22
Phokaia, 17, 22
Phrygia: art of, 14, 18, 24 n.91, 36 n.39; burial customs in, 23; Cybele of, 16, **7** p. 51
Phylai: Leontioi, 38; Pelopis, **7** p. 49; Tmolis, **211**
Physician relief, Basel, **17**
Piazza Armerina, mosaics at, **149**
Piecing of sculpture, 9, **54, 67, 68, 69, 74, 114**; *see also* Clamps, Dowels, Pins
Piglet, **7** p. 46
Pilasters, **255**; Doric, **138**; Ionic, **20** p. 59, **156**
Pillars, as grave markers, 23; *see also* Phallic markers, Stelai
Pindar *Olympia* 1.46, **7** p. 49
Pine cones, **7** p. 47, **170, 199**; *see also* Attis
Pins and pinholes, **54, 68, 75, 102, 133, 147**; *see also* Clamps, Dowels, Piecing
Pistoxenos Painter, **17**
Pithoi, silver, 30 no. 8
Plaques, 31 no. 16, **7** p. 45, **17, 40**
Plektron, **129**
Plinths
  for columns and pilasters, **6, 7** p. 44, **20** p. 59
  for recumbent lions, **26-31, 33**
  for statues, **54, 61, 67, 132**
  see also Bases, Pedestals
Pliny

NH 8.70.179-180, **147**
NH 8.70.182, **148**
NH 34.79, **127**
Plotina, coins of, 7 p. 49
Ploutos, 181
Plutarch
De Pythiae oraculis 16 (401E), 30 no. 9
Themistocles 31, 20 n.57, 30 no. 11
Point, *see* Tools
Poles, wooden, as grave markers, 23 n.80; *see also* Phallic markers, Stelai
Poloi, 20 p. 59, **156, 193, 194, 256, 259, 263;** on archaic goddess, 17, 34, **3;** *see also* Crowns, Diadems
Polycratean anthemia, **46, 47, 52**
Polykleitos, influence of, **115, 142**
Polyxena, stele of, **19**
Polyxenaia, stele of, 20, 27 n.124, **233**
Pomegranates, **170, 193**
Pompeian dwellings, 37
Poros buildings, Acropolis (Athens), 7 p. 51
Portraits
early Byzantine (late antique), 85, **94, 95**
Hellenistic imperial, as Zeus, **102-105**
of Lydian warrior, 31f. no. 18
Roman Imperial period, 83, **76, 77, 88-93;** of emperors and empresses, **78-87, 209, 250-252;** from sarcophagi, **180, 243**
Potnia theron, 16
Pottery
Assyrian, 14 n.5
Attic, 19, 25, 30f. no. 11, **47**
Corinthian, 23 n.84
Eastern Greek, 23 n.84, 32 n.8; Corinthianizing, 23
Hellenistic relief ware, 84 n.37
Lydian, 1, 16, 32 n.8, **16, 47;** marbled lekythos, 33; plastic vessels, 14f.
Praxiteles, influence of, **99, 118, 120**
Prehistoric sculpture, 13f.; *see also* Bronze Age, Neolithic
Priam, death of, 7 p. 50
Priene, Cybele from, **256**
Priestesses
Archaic votives, 15, 16, 34, 36, **4, 5**
of Artemis, **62, 246**
crowns of, **93**
of the Didymaion, 7 p. 45
Ephesian ivory, **6**
on stele of Persian period, 27
of Roman period, **212**
Priests, 83, **93, 160, 242**
Prima Porta Augustus, **250**
Princeton University: Archives, 2; The Art Museum, 3, **259**
Prinias, temple of, **3**
Processions, 25, 7 p. 50
Prokne and Itys, 83, 181
Propylaios of Alkamenes, **110**
Protome, **3**
Pseudo-Codinus *Patria* 2.73, 83
Ptolemy IV, portrait of, **71**
Pudicitia pose, **140, 245**
"Pulvinated bands," 24
Puteoli, base from, 83, 180-181
Putti, **141, 177, 243, 244;** *see also* Amorini, Erotes
Pyramid Tomb, 6

Quarries, *see* Marble quarries
Quiver, **247**

Rabbit, **238;** *see also* Hares
Rades (Tunisia), mosaics from, **147**
Rams: gold and silver, 14, 16; heads of, with garlands, **169, 170**
Reeds, as attributes of river gods, **189, 190**
Reins for horses, **163;** *see also* Bridles
Repair of sculpture in antiquity, 86, **67**
Reuse of sculpture, 32, 33, 38-39, 81, 82, 85f., esp. **25, 94, 137, 217, 273, 274, 278**
Rhodes, 19; stele from, 17, **17**
Rhoikos, 7 pp. 44, 50; altar by, **52, 239**
Rhyton, 180
Ribbons, **5, 42, 53, 74, 159, 161, 169, 170, 172, 248;** *see also* Diadems, Vittae
Ring, from T 813, **47**
River gods, 84, 85, 181, **189, 190, 211**
Road Trench (RT), **92, 98, 133**
Rodin Collection, 3
Roman
Empire, 1
Imperial iconography, 3, 83, **191;** *see also* Portraits
period at Sardis, 1, 2, 81-85
restoration and reuse of ancient sculpture, 21, 33f., 35, 38f., 82, 84, **273, 274**
sculptural technique and tooling, 8, 9, **117, 185;** *see also* Tools
see also Coins
Rome: American Academy, 20 p. 60; Museo Capitolino, **251;** Terme Museum, **78, 79**
Roofs, for naiskoi and shrines, 7 p. 45, **21**
Rosettes, **47, 161, 168, 170-172, 174, 226, 248**

Sabina, **83, 57, 78**
Sacred road, 34
Sacrifice, relief of, **162**
Saddle blanket, **163**
Sage, head of, 81, 82, **91**
Salihli, **35, 38, 41**
Samos
eagle altar from, **161**
frog-lion group from, **43**
Hera of, 16; *see also* Heraion
ivory lion from, **26**
korai from, 16, **4, 6,** 7 pp. 46, 51
kouroi at, 17
sarcophagus from, 7 p. 44
stelai from, 24, 25, 45, 46, 52
temples at, 7 p. 44
Sandals, **55, 67, 121, 125, 130, 246, 259;** *see also* Shoes
Sandstone, 6, 37, 66, **27-29**
Sappho Painter, 7 p. 49
Sarcophagi
Asiatic, 3, 85, **180-187, 244;** of Claudia Antonia Sabina, 3, 82, 85, 134, **243;** PC fragments, **180-183**
Cypriot, **36**
garland, 85, **168-179**
with hunting scene, **146** p. 121
limestone, from T 813, 25 n.109, **47**
lion acroterion from, **36**
with nereids and sea monsters, **124**
"Pamphylion" type, **260**
Samian, 7 p. 44
Sardis
artists from: contacts with Egyptians, 30 no. 10, **16;** in Persia, 30 no. 10; *see also* Lydian
chronology of site, 1 esp. n.3
conquests and destruction of, 1, 15, 18, 29 no. 1, 31f. no. 18, 86, 7 p. 51; earthquake of A.D. 17, 81, 83, 85, 180, **273, 275**
history of research and excavations at, 2-4
imports to, 6, 13, 14, 23 n.84, 37
neocorate bestowed on, **79, 251, 276, 277**
Prehistoric culture at, 14
workshops of sculptors at, 9, 34f., 85; *see also* Schools of sculptors
see also City Goddess
Sardis Expedition, 2
Sardis expedition, first, sculpture found by, 2, 3f., **72, 82-88, 148, 187;** *see also* Concordance of Finds, 188
Sarpedon, 23 n.79
Sart, **42;** Mahmut, **90, 117;** Mustafa, **56, 110, 174**
Sassanian Persians, 1
Satrapal: capital, 1; courts, 18, 19, 28; style, 25; *see also* Achaemenid, Persian period, Persians
Satraps of Lydia and Sardis, 18, 19, 22, 30f. no. 11, 31 no. 16, 33, **273**
Satrap Sarcophagus, 20, 27 n.121, **13, 18** p. 57, **240, 269**
Satyrs, **117-119, 121, 122, 162, 216, 257;** in head-capital series, 141, **200, 201;** *see also* Faun
Scarabs, 14 n.4
Scepter, **104**
Schist, 5, 6, 1
Schools of sculptors
Croesan, at Ephesus, **8**
distinquished in head-capital series, at Sardis, 85; Hellenistic, **197, 204;** Roman Asia Minor, **197, 201**
early Byzantine, at Sardis, **95**
of Lydian ivories, 15
Lydo-Ephesian (Sardo-Ephesian), 17f., 29 no. 5
see also Sardis, workshops at
Schools of sculpture: Eastern Greek, 16, 18, 19; satrapal, 19
Scroll, 17; design on anthemion, **48**
Sculptors' workshops, *see* Sardis
Sculpture found *in situ,* 32 82, 86, **47, 276-278**
Scythians, influence of, 14
Seals
Achaemenid, 25 n.109; in court style, 18, **47**
Ahura Mazda on Perso-Lydian, 31 no. 16
attributed to Sardis, 1 n.3, 19; showing *potnia theron,* 16; with lions, 21; with sirens, **40**

Egyptian, 14, **16**
Neo-Babylonian, 14 n.5
Seals (animals), 17, 22
Seated man motif, 17, 26
Selçuk Museum, **149** p. 124; *see also* Ephesus
Seleucids, 32 no. 18, **102**
Semata, 23
Semnai, **7** p. 45
Sepulchral, *see* Funerary
Serpentine, 6, 13, 37, **131, 229**
Serpents, gilded bronze, 85, **278**; *see also* Snakes
Severe style, **20** p. 60
Şeytan Dere, 32
Shafts: of columns, **6, 7** p. 44; of pilaster, **138**; of stelai, **46, 47, 49**
Shear, T.L., at Sardis, 2, 3, 39
Shepherd's staff, **224**
Shields, **146, 153-155, 188, 213, 234*bis***
Shoes, 37, **17, 129**; *see also* Sandals
Shrines, 34, 36, 37, **6, 7, 9, 66, 156**; *see also* Cybele shrine, Naiskoi
Side, Antonine head from, **90**
Sidon, sarcophagi from, 20, **239**; *see also* Satrap Sarcophagus
Silukas, **241**
Silver, 14, 16, 17, 25, 29 nos. 2, 3, 30 nos. 7, 8; and gold bull, 30 no. 9
Simae, 3, **51, 52, 237**
Siphnian treasury (Delphi), **8, 52**
Siren, 17, **40**
Sivams, 18
Skopas, influence of, 20, **204**
Skyllis, 32 no. 19
Sleep and Death, 23 n.79
Smoothing, *see* Abrasives
Smyrna, 5, 84, **7** p. 44, **141**; *see also* Izmir
Snake goddess, 16, 34, 35, 36, **6, 193**
Snakes, **158, 163, 176, 234*bis*, 245, 270**
as attributes of Cybele, **7** pp. 43, 45
on fountain, 38 n.47, 82, 83, **278**
in gorgoneia, **113, 150, 196, 202, 210**
see also Serpents
Socrates: menorah of, **226**; Pardalas, **275**
Soft style, 19, 20, 26, 27 n.121
Sol-Constantine, **167**
Sol-Invictus, **167**
Soldiers, relief of, **265**
Sophocles *Philoctetes* 391-401, 16 n.27, 20 n.56, 31 no. 13, 181
South stelai bases (SSB), 5, 34, 39; *see also* Artemis Precinct
Spears, **146**
Sperlonga, Ganymede from, **127**
Sphinxes, 17, 22, 24, 34, 37, **7** p. 44, **16, 41, 42, 47, 239**
Spiegelthal, H., at Sardis, 3, **249, 256**
Spiral designs, **46, 48, 50**
Spoils, *see* Reuse of sculpture
Staatliche Museen, *see* Berlin
Stags, 16, **149**; *see also* Deer, Hind
Star, **160**
Steatite, 6, **130**
Stelai
anthemion, Lydian-Persian period, 37, **45-48**; Aramaic-Lydian bilingual, 18, 20, 26, 31 no. 15, **233, 240, 241**; display of, 23, 35, 36; inscribed, 37, **49, 240-242**; shafts of, 26; sources and development of, 17, 18, 24-26, 28
early development of, 23
figured with anthemion, 25, **46**
figured Hellenistic, 27, 85, **134-138, 140, 141, 245, 253, 262, 270**
figured of Lydian-Persian period, 31 no. 17, **9, 17, 19-21, 232-234**; display of, 35, 36; sources and development of, 24, 26-27; *see also* Persian influence and period
figured Roman, **143, 144, 150-154, 264, 270**
see also Bases, Funerary sculpture, Votive sculpture
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, **234*bis***
Stool, **17**
Stone cutters, 30 no. 10; *see also* Masonry
Stone markers, 23; *see also* Phallic markers, Stelai
Strigil decoration, **217**
Struts, use of, **109, 110, 121, 125, 129**
Stylobate, **7** p. 43
Subligaculum, **147, 148**
Suetonius *Claudius* 21, **148**
Sun God, **167**
Survey of Sardis, 4
Susa, 30 nos. 10, 11, **16, 233**
Swords, **153, 154, 213**
Syme, 26 n.119
Synagogue (Sardis; Syn)
"cut outs" from, 3
Hellenistic sculpture found in, **100, 162, 188**
Jewish congregation of, 38
Lydian-Persian period sculpture found in, **4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 272**; lions, 22, 38, **25, 26, 32, 33, 39**
reuse of sculpture in, 32, 33, 38, 81
Roman-early Byzantine sculpture found in, **61, 70, 77, 89, 91, 123, 144, 152, 165, 221, 275**; "eagle table," 34, 38, 25 p. 63, **217**; menorah, **226**
Syria, lions in, 21 n.67
Syriskos Painter, **239**

Tables
in funerary reliefs, **18, 234*bis***; with bull's hoof feet, **17**
legs and supports for, 85; with lions, **23 220, 222, 257**; griffin pillars, **218, 219**; with male figures, 82, **223-225**
see also Synagogue, "eagle table"
Tacitus
Ann. 2.47, 81 n.1
Ann. 4.55, 180, **7** p. 49
Taenia, **177**
Talisman, **229**
Tarquinia, Tomba dei Tori, 34, 66
Taurokathapsia, **148**
Tegea, head from, **204**
Telmessians, 29 no. 1
Temples, *see* under individual deities and Models of buildings
Tenea kouros, **7** p. 46, **31**
Terracottas, 16, **7** p. 48; architectural, 1, 15, 18, 25 n.100, 38, **48**; from Larisa, **7** p. 49; plaques, **7** p. 45
Thasos, 19, **7** p. 50
Thea Meter, 31 no. 12; *see also* Cybele
Theater (Sardis), **55, 76**
Thebes, kouroi from, **14**
Themis from Rhamnus, **53**
Themistocles, 19, 31 no. 11
Theodoros of Samos, 14, 25, 30 no. 7, **7** p. 50
Theophania (Divine Appearance), 30 no. 7
Therapeutai, **161**
Thermopylae, lions from, **25** p. 65
Theseus Painter, 25 n.109
Thespiae, lions from, **25** p. 65
Thessaloniki, horseman relief from, **163**
Thessaly, stelai from, 20, 27 nn.122-124, **233**
Thrace, 22
Thrones
of archaic polos goddess, **3**
of Cybele, 21, **21, 23, 259**
decorative elements from, 21, 34, 36, **23, 37, 42, 221, 231**
Thunderbolts, **161, 217**
Thyrea, sphinx relief from, **42**
Thyrsus, **121**
Tiberian classicism, 181
Tiberius, 180, **76**; colossus of, 181
Tile, marble, 5; *see also* Terracottas, architectural
Timarchides, **129**
Timarchos, stele of, 5, 35 n.29, 39
Timotheos *The Persians,* 20, 31 no. 12
Titus, colossus of, **82**
Tivdas, **242**
Tleson, **7** p. 49
Tmolus (mountains), 5, 31 no. 12, **7** p. 50; *see also* Marble
Tmolus (mountain god), 84, **211**
Toga, **68**
Tomba: delle Lionesse, **34**; dei Tori, 34, 66
Tombs, *see* Chamber tombs
Tombstone, 85; *see also* Stelai
Tools (sculptors')
in relief, **190**
use of chisels: in Bronze Age sculpture, **2**; in Hellenistic, **53, 56, 97**; in Lydian-Persian period, 7, 37, **4, 5, 7** p. 43, **13, 23, 31-33**; in late antique sculpture, **123**; in Roman, **8, 58, 132, 133**
use of drills: in Hellenistic sculpture, **56, 57, 110, 135, 142, 258, 259**; in Lydian-Persian period, **10, 18** p. 57; in Roman, 8, **61, 63, 65, 68, 70, 80, 81, 90, 107, 108, 110, 120, 127-129, 177, 194, 195, 202, 268**
use of drove, 7, 37, **5, 7** p. 43
use of gouge, 8, 9, **32, 62**
use of hammer, 7 n.43, **71**
use of point: in Lydian-Persian period sculpture, 7, **4, 5, 17, 19, 23, 32**; in Roman, **69, 79**
use of "toothed-chisel" (multiple claw tool or chisel): Lydian-Persian period sculpture, 7, 35, 37, **5, 9, 17, 19, 31-33**; in

Roman, 8, **67, 70, 81, 133**
Torus, **6, 7** p. 44, **184, 192**
Trajan, 161; arch of, **159**; coin of, **191**; *see also* Portraits
Treasuries, *see* Athenian, Corinthian, Siphnian
"Tree babies," **149**
Trees, **123, 162, 189**
cult, **149**
in Cybele reliefs, 37, **7** p. 48, **149, 159**
green marble, 6
in horseman reliefs, **141, 163, 270**
see also Attis
Trinity College Collection, *see* Cambridge
Triptolemos, 181
Tritons, **124, 185**; *see also* Monsters, marine
Troad, stele from, 24, **45**
Trojans, 23
Trophime, stele of, **264**
Troy, 34
Tsavo, lions of, 22 n.72
Tumuli, **230, 231**; *see also* Chamber tombs, Mound burials
Turtle, 3
Tyche, 83, 84, 181, **128, 159**; of Antioch, 83, **128**; *see also* City Goddess
Tylon, 37
Tylos, 181
Tympana, **20, 21, 259**
Tyrant-slayer kouroi, 15
Tyrrhenus, 180

Unfinished sculpture, 8f., 85, **106, 117, 144, 266**
Upper Terrace (UT), sculpture found in, **37, 126, 131**
Urartian: bronze lion, **26**; double outlining of muscles, **23**; metalwork, 24 n.91
Urartu, 14

Vase painting, *see* Pottery
Veiled females, 180, **19, 20, 78, 193, 194, 233, 245**
Venatio reliefs, 121, **146-148**
Venatores, **147-149**
Venus: *Anadyomene,* 83, **111**; Genetrix, temple of, 181; *pudica,* 83; *see also* Aphrodite
Vespasian, **161**
Victimarius, **149**
Victory, **173, 174**; *see also* Nike
Villa Romana des Casale, mosaics of, **149**
Vittae, **160**; *see also* Ribbons
Vix, crater from, 30 no. 7
Volcanic stone, *see* Lava
Volumen, **70**
Volutes
of capitals, **7** p. 44, **156, 193, 194**; *see also* Ionic order
lions standing on, **7** pp. 47, 48
of stele finials, 24, 25, 27, **45-49, 241, 242**
Votive sculpture
Hellenistic-early Byzantine, 83, **158-167, 246, 256, 259, 264, 265, 271**
Lydian-Persian period, 15, 16, 34, 36, **6, 7**; stelai, 24, 27, 35, 36, **9, 19, 20**

Walters Art Gallery, *see* Baltimore
Water carrier, bronze statue of, 19, 30 no. 11 31 no. 11
Waterspouts, **94, 216**; lion head, 2f., 21, 32, **237**
Whip, held by Helios, 84, **167**
Wild Goat style, 16, 32
Window frame, **39**
Wineskins, **7** pp. 46, 47
Wood, works in, 30 no. 10
Wooden: poles for grave markers, 23 n.80; sculpture, **3**
Workshops, *see* Sardis
Wreaths: as crowns, **9, 97, 199**; on stelai, 85, **141, 245**

Xanthos: friezes from, 36, **7** p. 50, **22**; lion monument from, 36 n.39, **34** p. 70; Nereid Monument from, 35, **18** p. 57
Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.6.6-7, 31 no. 14
Xerxes, 22, 31 no. 12
X-ray diffraction analyses, 6

Yılmaz Köy, 82, **213**

Zebu, **147**
Zeus, 4, 16, 31 no. 13, **234**
Baradates, **161**; base for image of, 19, 31 no. 16, 33, 38, **273**
birth of (relief), 82, **213**
colossal image of, 9, 39, 82, **79, 102-105**
Dresden, **125**
head-capital, 86, **197**
heads of, 81, 83, 85, **106-108**
with Helios, **167**
Karios, 84
Lydios: image of, 31 no. 16, 84, **107, 108**; altar of, 84
Olympios, **102, 161**
Phidian (Olympia), 83
Polieus, 84
servants of, **161**
temple of, Olympia, **25** p. 64
Zopyrion Cave, 23 n.87

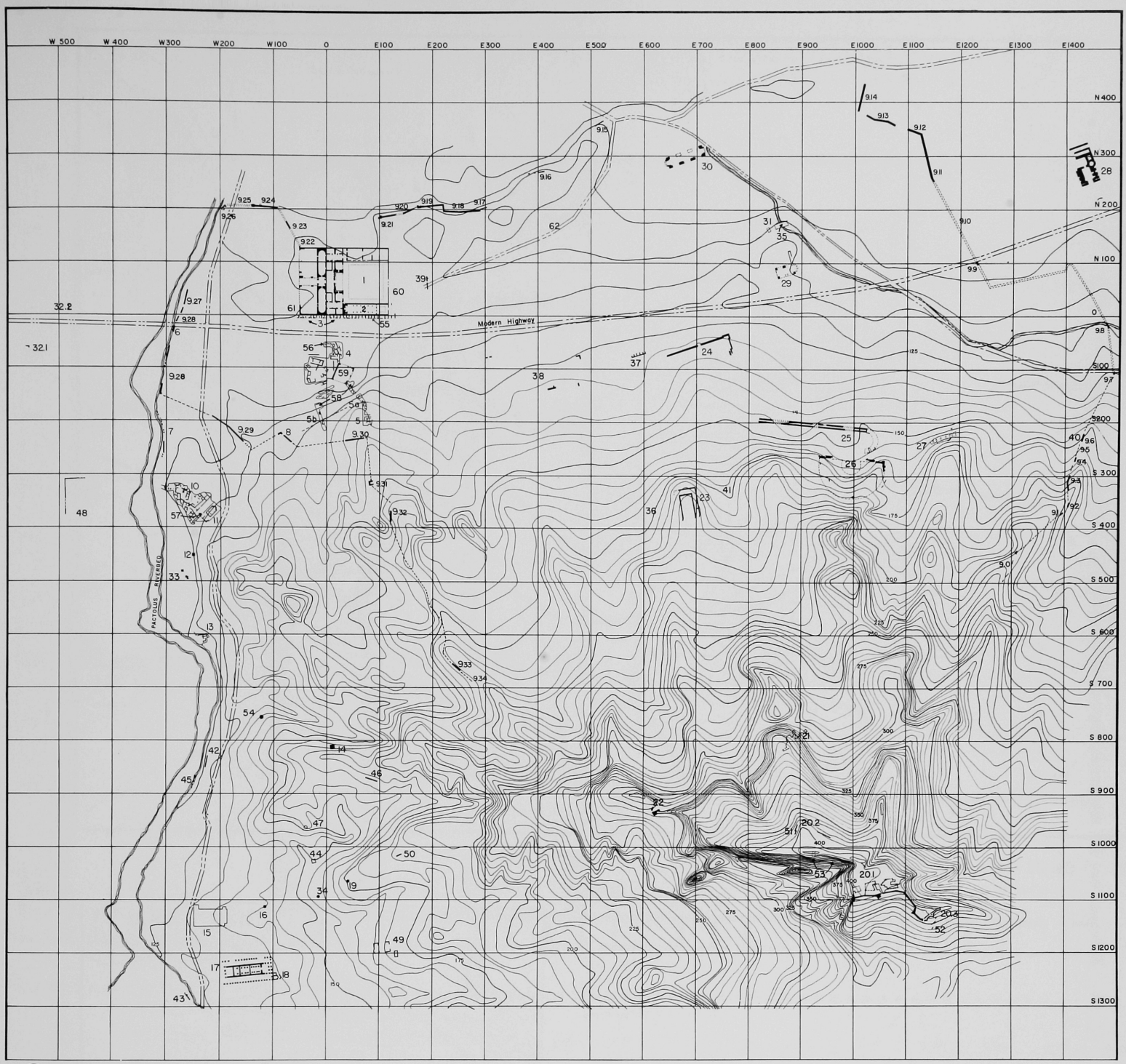
INDEX OF INSCRIPTIONS

CIG, 3450, p. 181 n.11
CIL X 1624, p. 180 n.2
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 1, pp. 18 n.42, 31 no. 15, **241**
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 2, p. 18 n.42
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 3, p. 31 no. 17, **234**
Gusmáni, *LW,* no. 7, p. 23 n.88
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 8, **240**
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 17, **233**
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 22, p. 35 n.28
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 23, p. 35 n.28
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 24, p. 35 n.28
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 26, **242**
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 41, p. 18 n.42
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 49, p. 30 no. 10
Gusmani, *LW,* no. 54, **17**
ILS, no. 156, p. 180 n.1
Sardis VII (1932) no. 8, p. 84 n.41
Sardis VII (1932) no. 9, p. 181 n.11
Sardis VII (1932) no. 14, **161**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 22, **275**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 50, **246**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 58, **251, 252**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 82, **148**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 85, **274**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 91, **275**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 95, p. 19 n.46
Sardis VII (1932) no. 101, **256**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 111, **245**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 122, **275**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 127, **275**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 156, **255**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 162, p. 121
Sardis VII (1932) no. 167, **137**
Sardis VII (1932) no. 192, **257**
Sardis M3 (1975) no. A I 2, **49**
Sardis M3 (1975) no. A I 3, p. 18 n.42
Sardis M3 (1975) no. A II 5, pp. 31 no. 13, 33 n.10
Sardis M3 (1975) no. A III 2, p. 16 n.25
Sardis M3 (1975) Inschrift der Synagoge, 35 n.27, **272**
Sardis M4 (1976) no. 17, **278**

ILLUSTRATIONS

PHOTOGRAPHIC ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Unless otherwise indicated, the scales used with objects are divided into one centimeter units, those on plans, into one meter units. The measure used in field shots is one meter divided into ten centimeter units.



mag. N

0 50 100 150
meters

1. Gymnasium-Bath
2. Synagogue
3. Byzantine Shops
4. House of Bronzes
5. Upper and Middle Terraces (a, b)
6. Roman Bridge
7. Pactolus Industrial Area
8. Southwest Gate
9.1-9.34. Byzantine City Wall
10. Pactolus North
11. Churches E and E(A)
12. Peacock Tomb
13. Pactolus Cliff
14. Pyramid Tomb
15. Expedition Headquarters
16. Northeast Wadi
17. Temple of Artemis
18. Church M
19. Kâgirlik Tepe
20.1 Acropolis Top
20.2 Acropolis North
20.3 Acropolis South
21. Acropolis Tunnels
22. Flying Towers
23. Byzantine Fortress
24. Building A
25. Stadium
26. Theater
27. Hillside Chambers
28. Bath CG
29. Building D (Byzantine Church)
30. Building C (Roman Basilica)
31. Mill
32.1 Claudia Antonia Sabina Tomb
32.2 Painted Tomb
33. Brick Vaulted Tombs
34. Roman Chamber Tomb
35. Road under Mill
36. Road to Byzantine Fortress
37. Vaulted Substructure
38. Roman Agora
39. Rubble Walls East of Gymnasium
40. Odeum Area
41. Foundations
42. Hypocaust Building
43. Marble Foundation
44. Minor Roman Building
45. Rubble Wall
46. Wall
47. Brick Vaulted Tomb
48. Walls
49. Butler's House
50. Shear's Stoa
51. Lydian Walls (AcN)
52. Pre-Hellenistic Walls (AcS)
53. Holes in Acropolis Scarp
54. Şeytan Dere Cemetery
55. Hellenistic Steps
56. Hellenistic Tombs
57. Street of Pipes
58. HoB Colonnaded Street
59. Building R and Tetrapylon
60. East Road
61. West Road ?
62. Conjectured Ancient Road

Fig. 1 Site plan with excavated sectors and identified ruins.

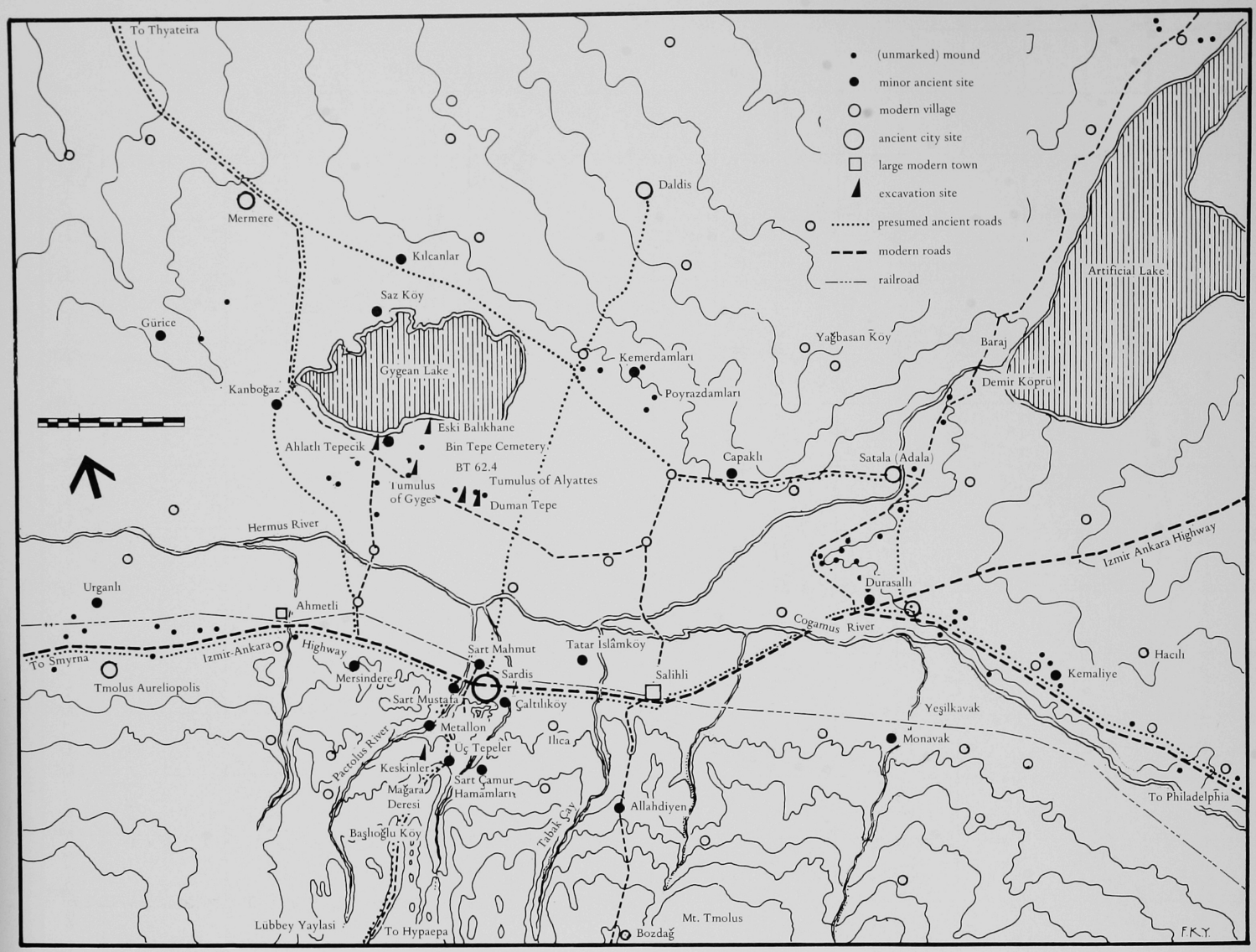


Fig. 2 Sardis and surrounding region.

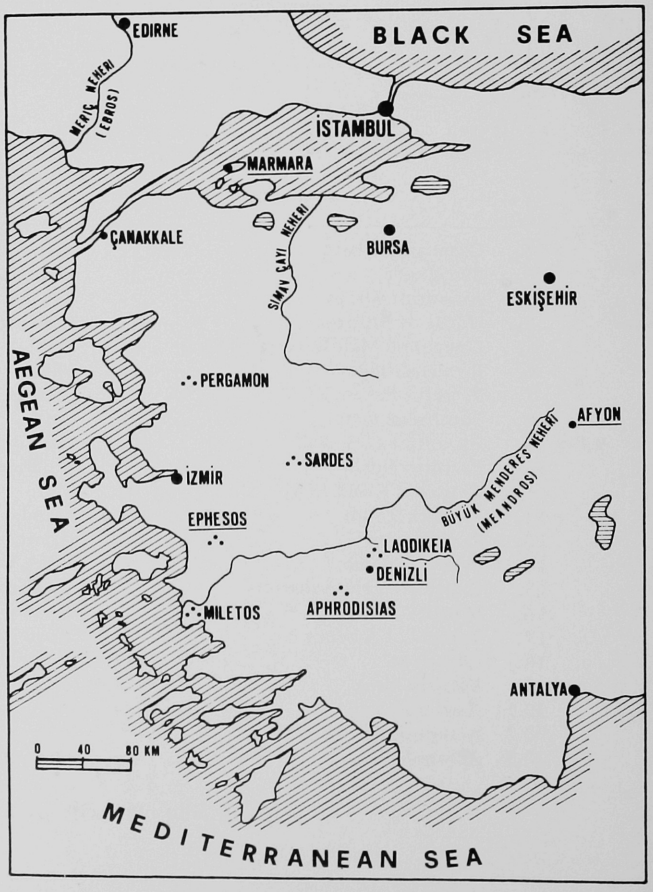


Fig. 3 Map of Western Anatolia showing marble quarries; from Manfra-Masi-Turi, fig. 1.

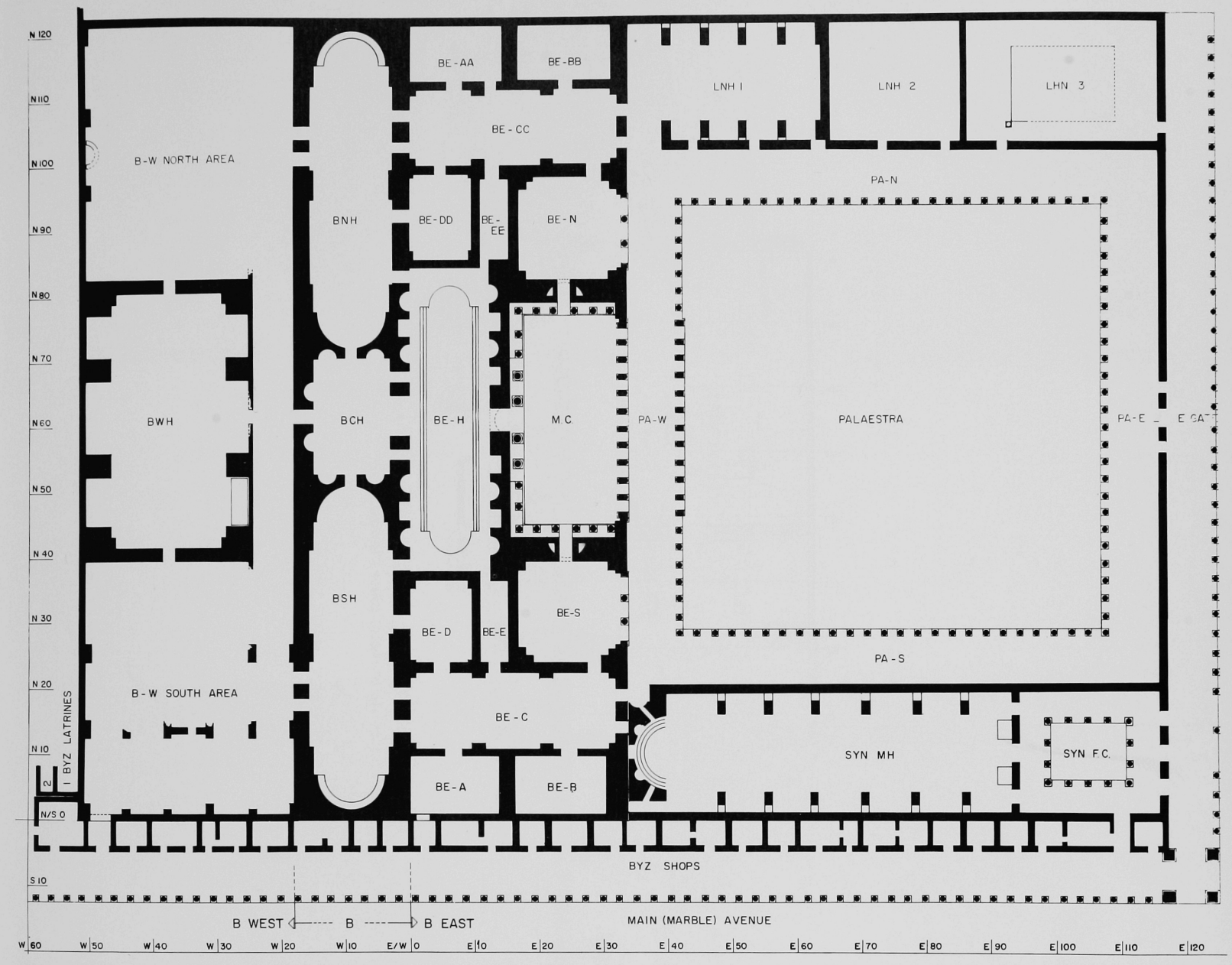


Fig. 4 Plan of Gymnasium complex.

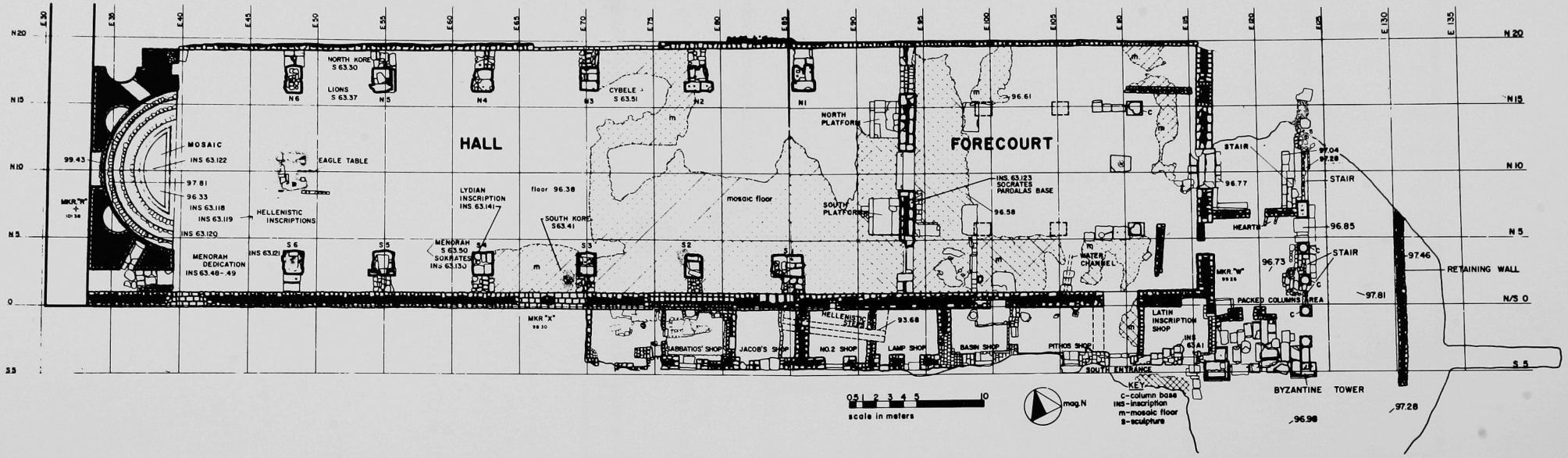
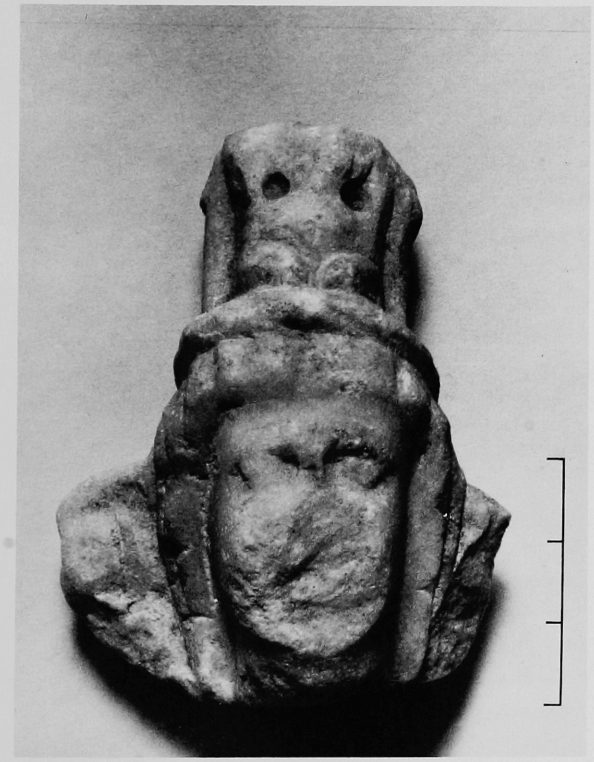


Fig. 5 Plan of Synagogue with findspots of major pieces indicated.

Figs. 6-7 **1**

Fig. 8 **2**



Figs. 9-10 **3**

Fig. 11 **4**

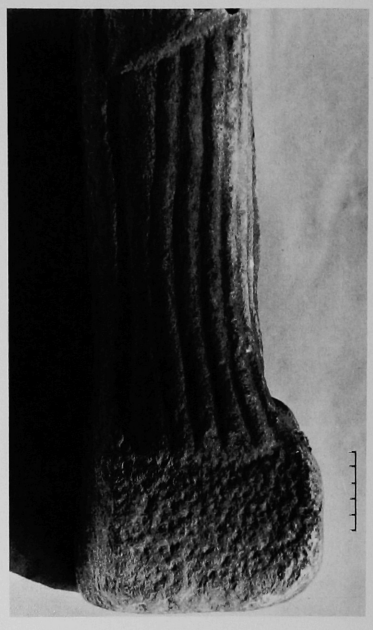


Fig. 12 **4**

Fig. 13 **5**

Fig. 14 **5**

Fig. 15 **5**

Fig. 16 **6**

Fig. 17 **6** Tentative restoration.

Fig. 18 **6** Capital fragments.

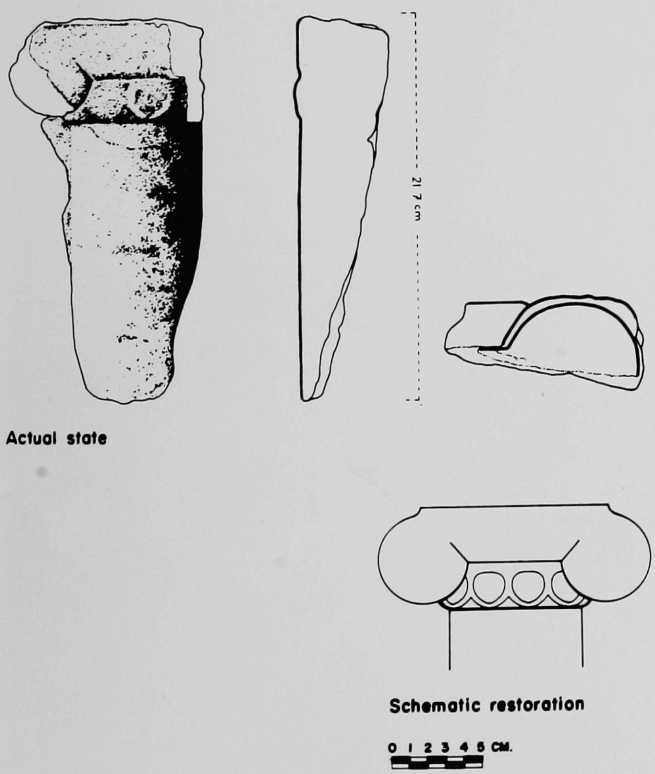


Fig. 19 **6**

Fig. 20 7

Fig. 21 7

Fig. 22 7

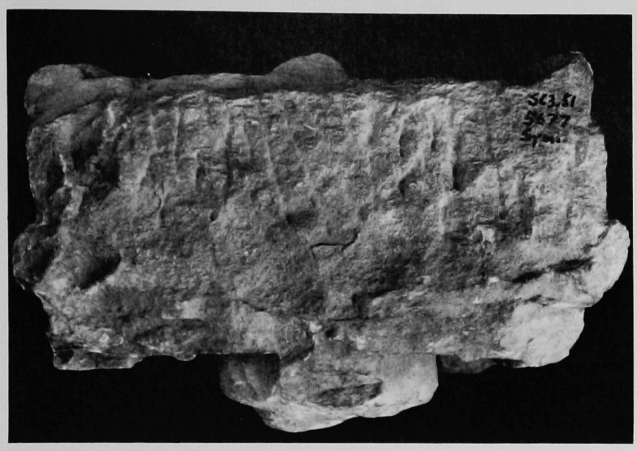


Fig. 23 7 Top.

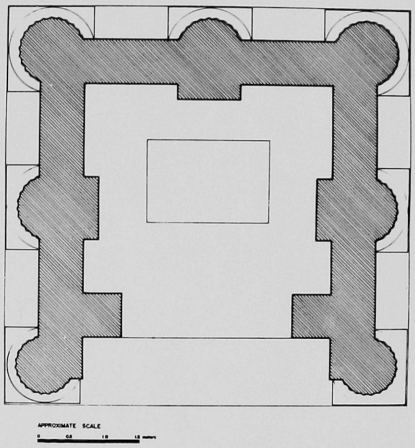


Fig. 24 7 Restored plan as actual building.

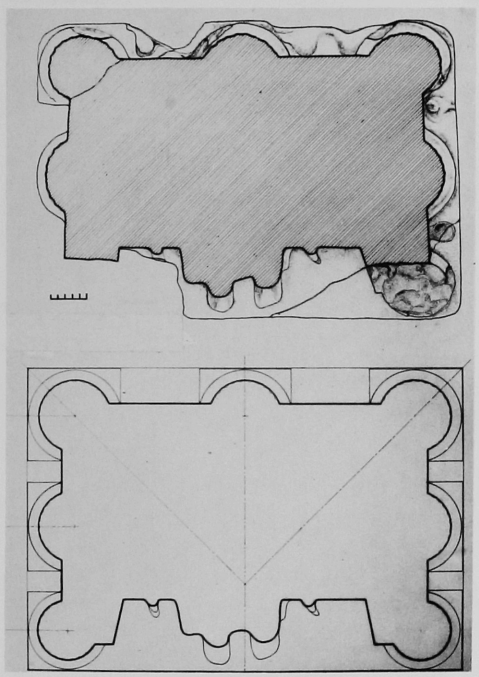


Fig. 25 7 Plan: actual state and restoration.

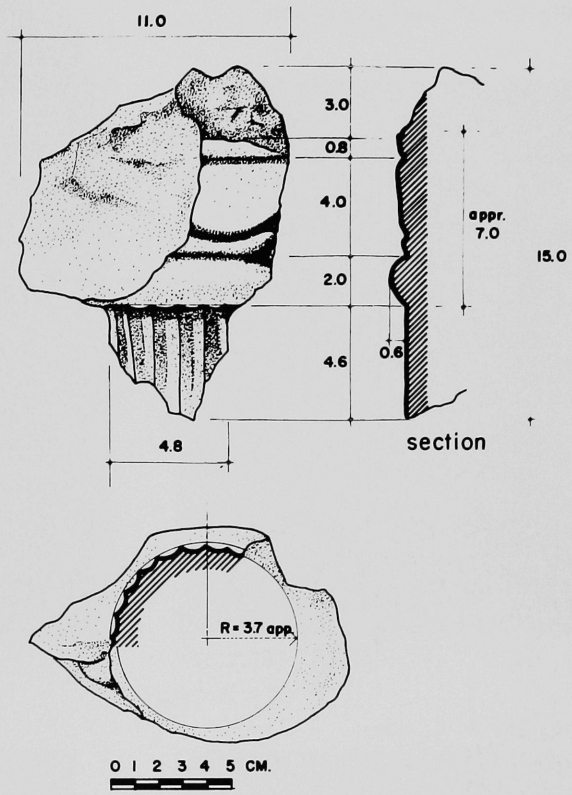


Fig. 26 7 Preserved capital fragment.

Fig. 27 7

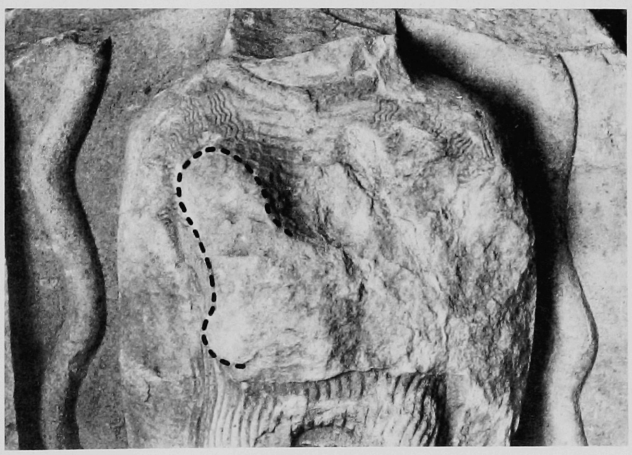


Fig. 28 7 Detail; possible outline of lion.

Fig. 29 **7** Back and r. side.

Fig. 30 **7** R. side.

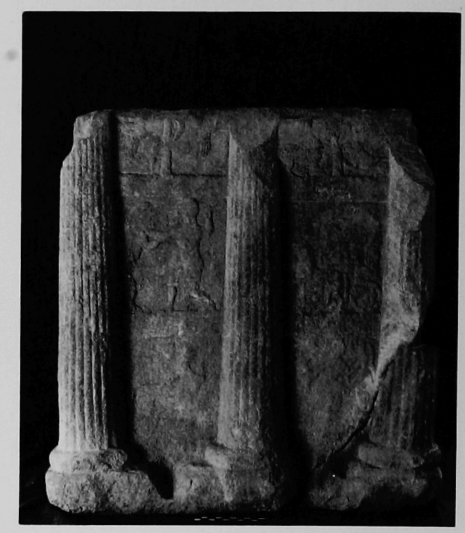


Fig. 31 **7** Back.

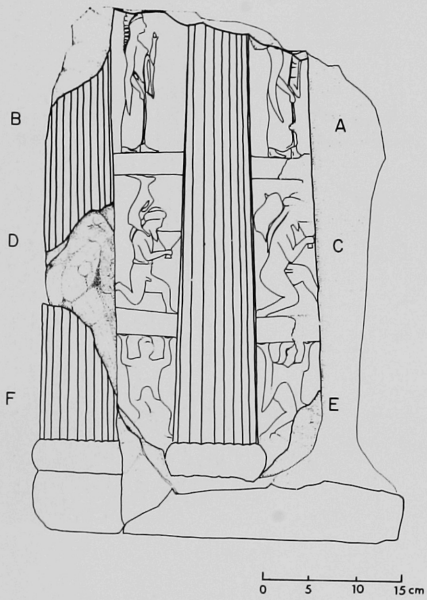


Fig. 32 **7** L. side.

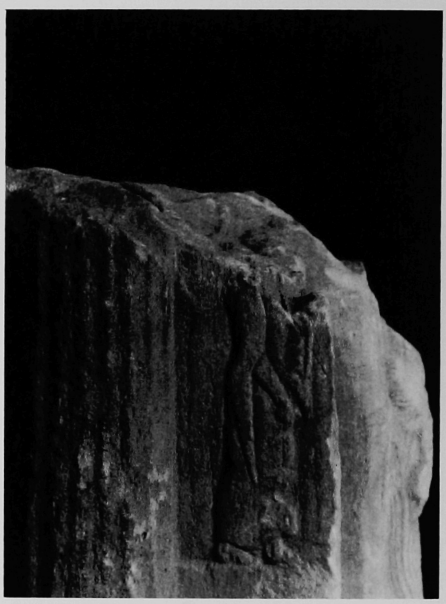


Fig. 33 **7** Panel A.

Fig. 34 **7** Panel B.

Fig. 35 **7** Panel C.

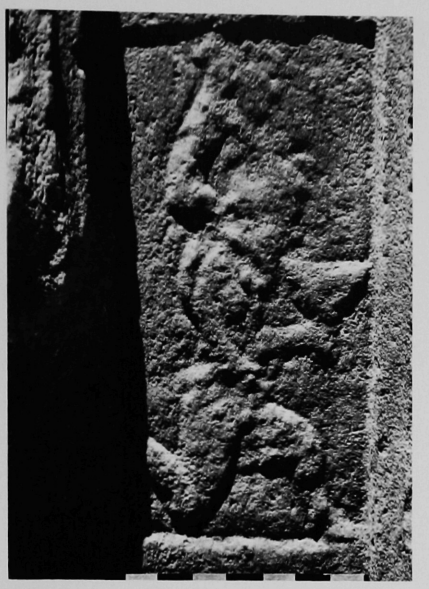


Fig. 36 **7** Panel D.

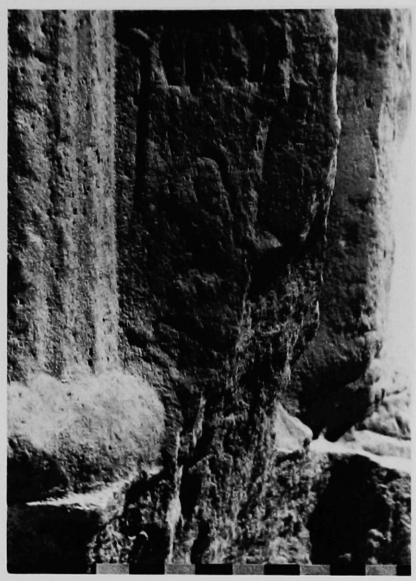


Fig. 37 **7** Panel E.

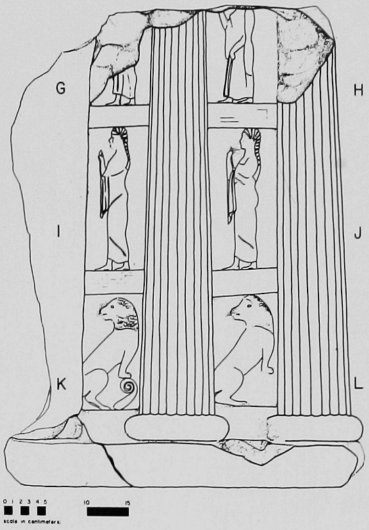


Fig. 38 **7** R. side.

Fig. 39 **7** Panel H.

Fig. 40 **7** Panel I.

Fig. 41 **7** Panel J.

Cybele Shrine

Fig. 42 **7** Panel K.

Fig. 43 **7** Panel L.

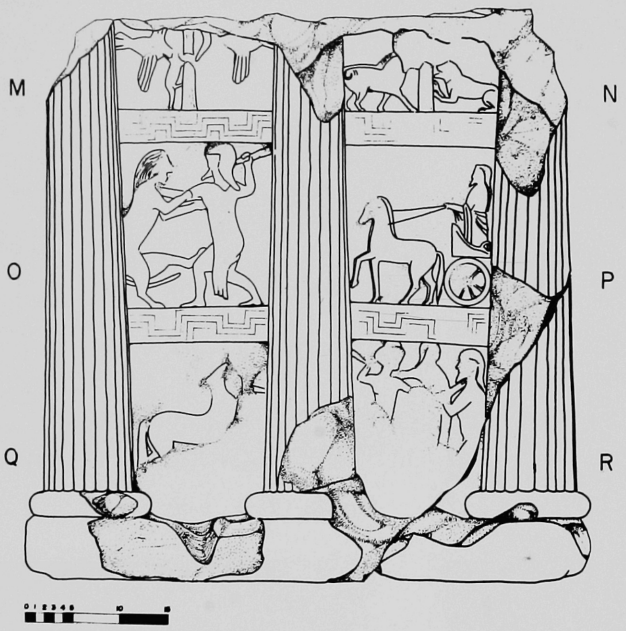


Fig. 44 **7** Back.

Fig. 45 **7** Panel M.

Fig. 46 **7** Panel N.

Fig. 47 **7** Panel O.

Fig. 48 **7** Panel P.

Fig. 49 **7** Panel Q.

Fig. 50 **7** Panel R.

Fig. 51 **8**

Fig. 52 **8**

Fig. 53 **8**

Fig. 54 **8**

Fig. 55

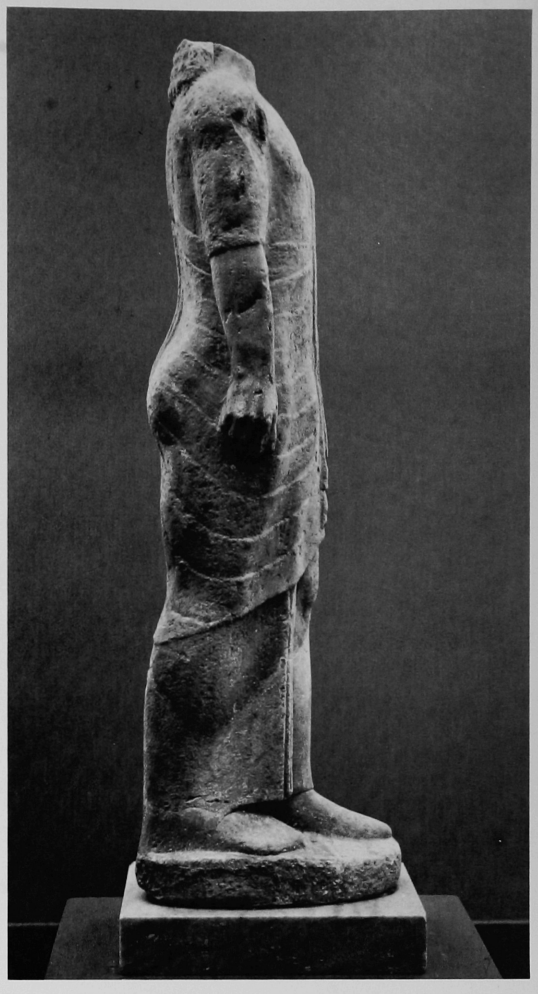


Fig. 56

Figs. 55-57 Draped youth from Myus, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, SK 1664.

Fig. 57

Fig. 58 **9**

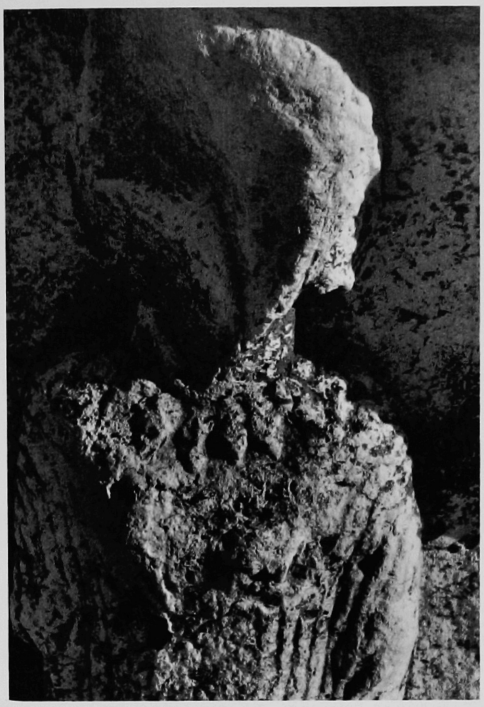


Fig. 59 **9** Detail.

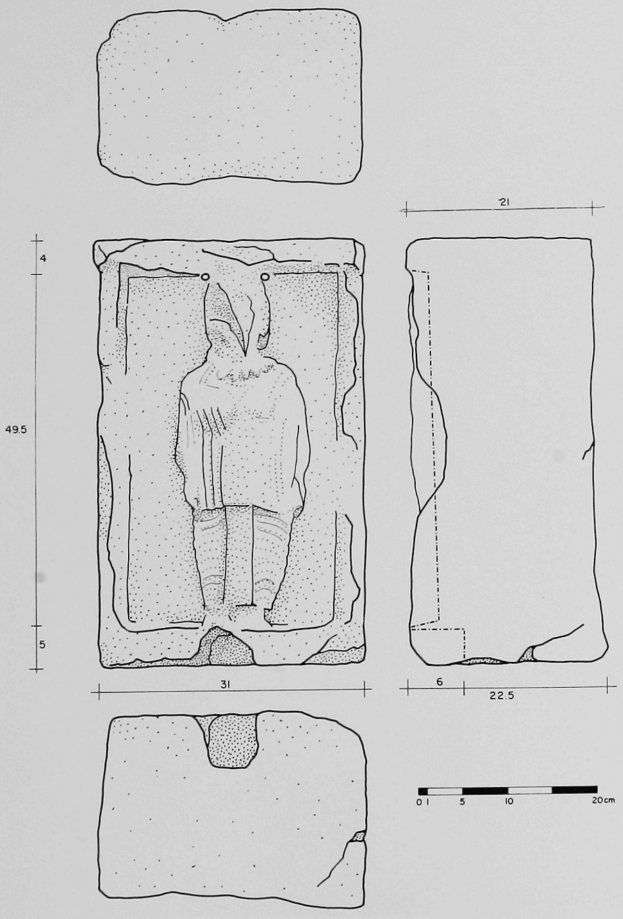


Fig. 60 **9**

Fig. 61 **10**

Fig. 62 **11**

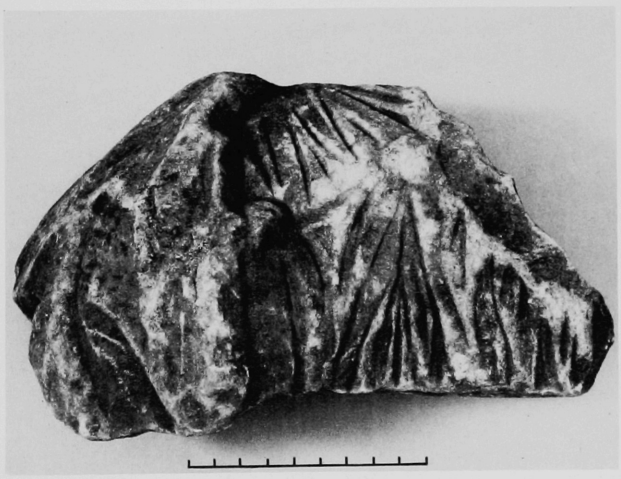


Fig. 63 **12**

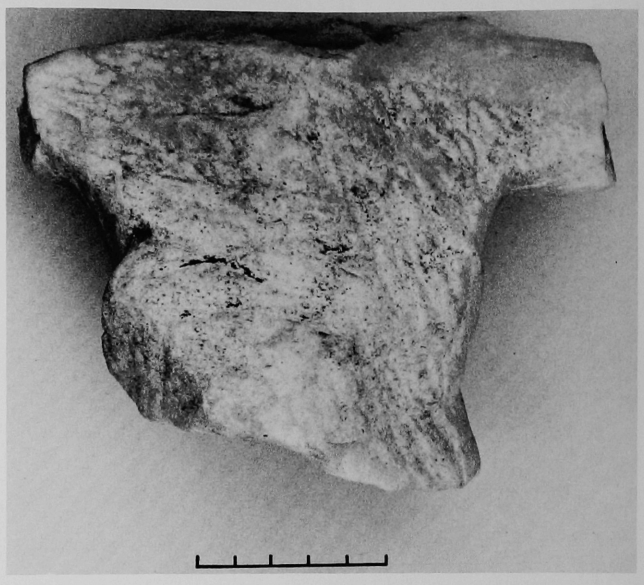


Fig. 64 **12**

Fig. 65 **13**

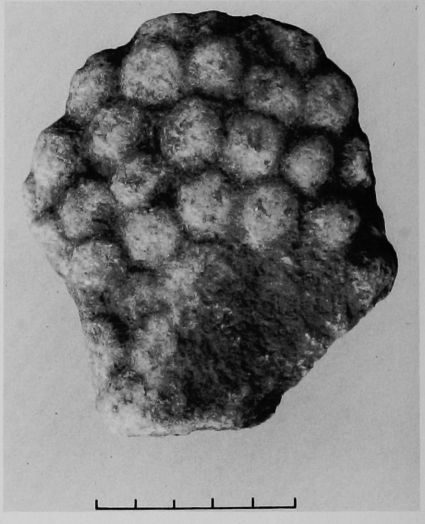


Fig. 66 **14**

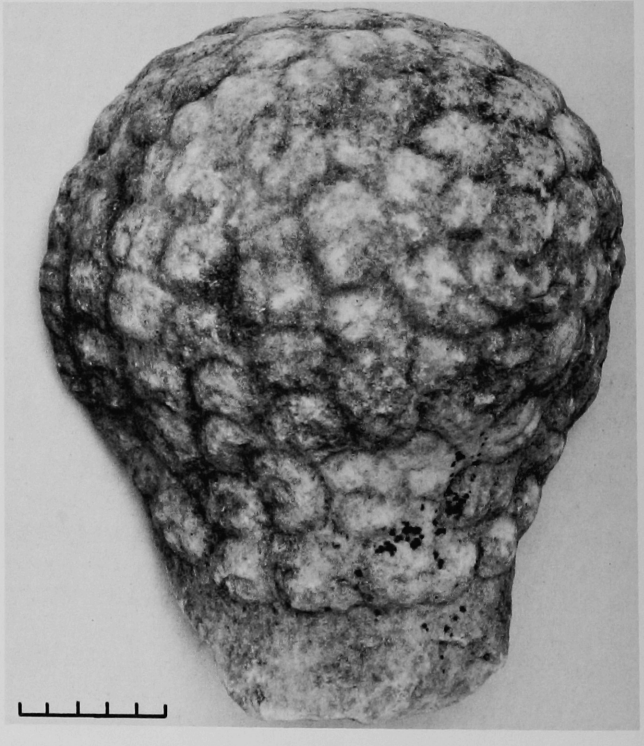


Fig. 67 **15**

Fig. 68 **16**

Fig. 69 **16**

Fig. 71 **17** Detail.

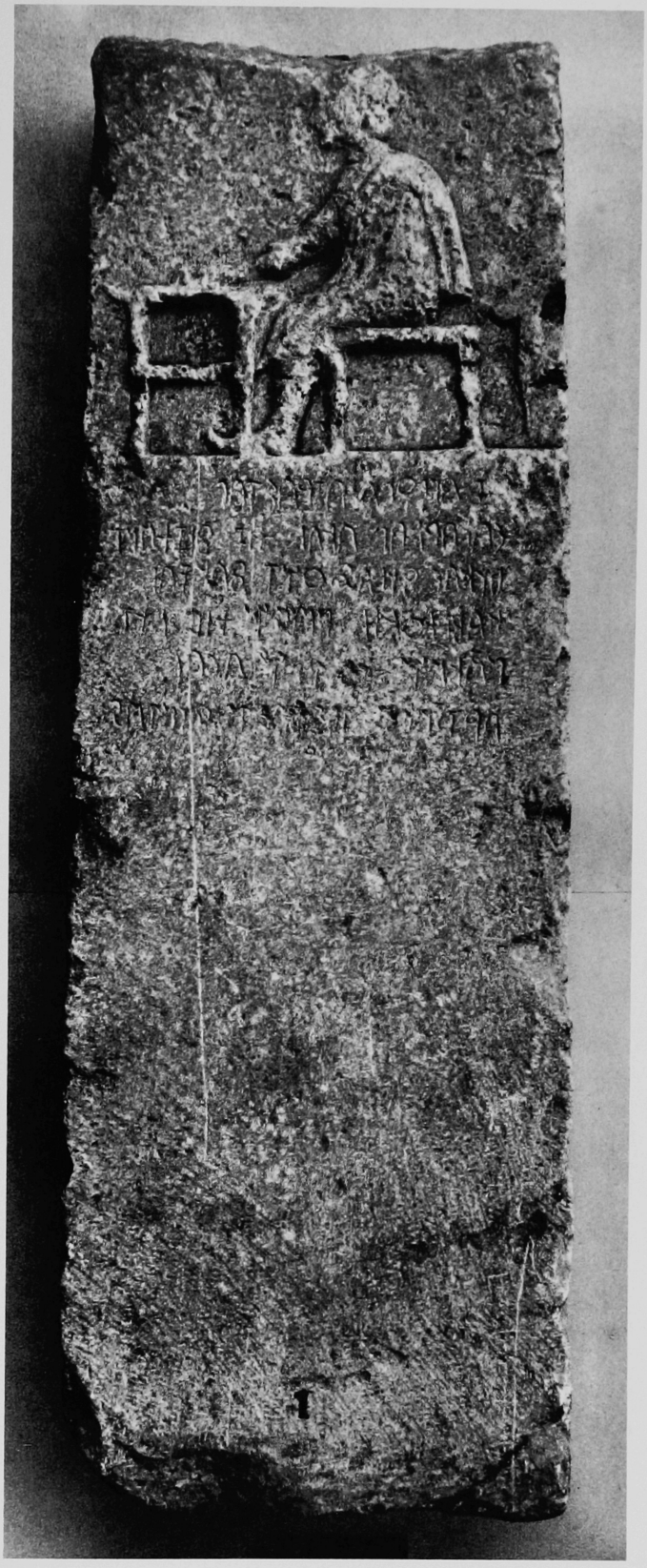


Fig. 70 **17**

Fig. 72 **18**

Fig. 73 **18** Detail of ornament.

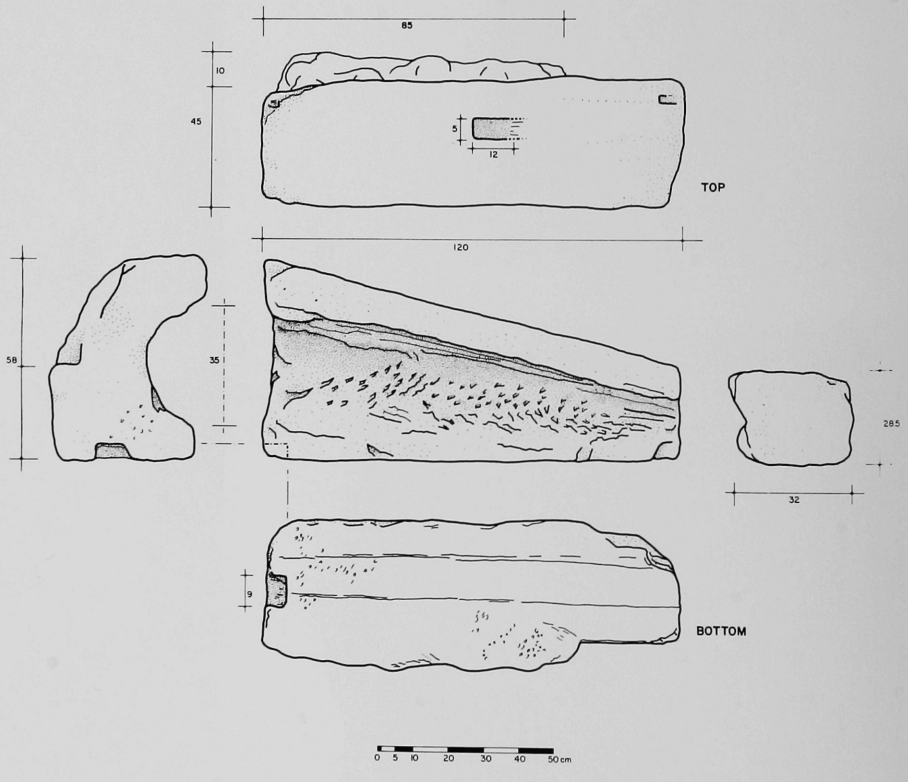


Fig. 74 **18** Projection drawing of pediment block.

Fig. 75 **19**

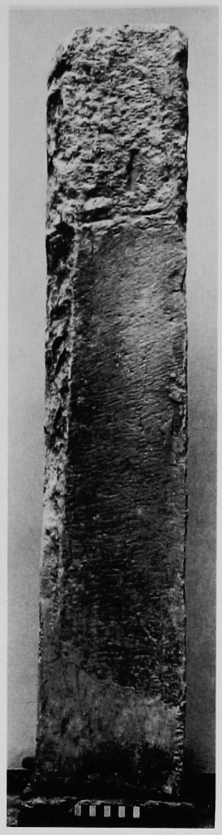


Fig. 76 **19** L. side.

Fig. 77 **19** Detail.

Fig. 78 **20**

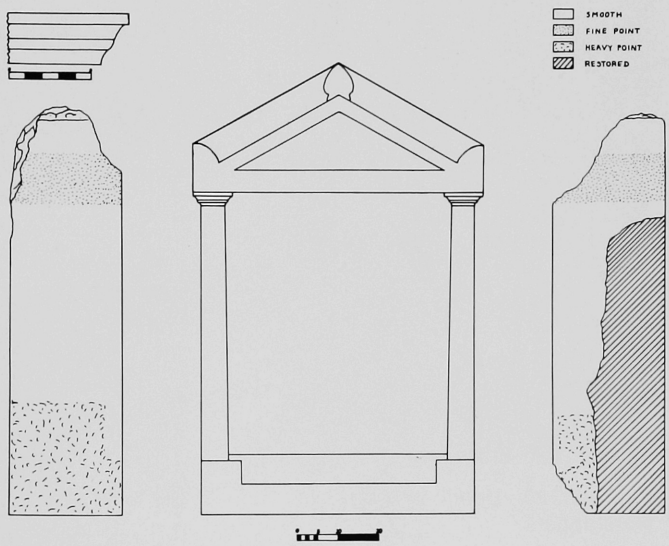


Fig. 79 **20** Reconstruction drawing of naiskos.

Fig. 80 **20**

Fig. 81 **20** Detail of Artemis.

Fig. 82 **20** Detail of Cybele.

Fig. 83 **20** Detail of two worshippers.

Fig. 84 **21**

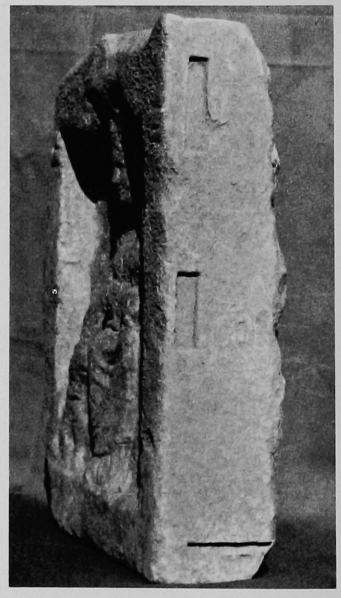


Fig. 85 **21**

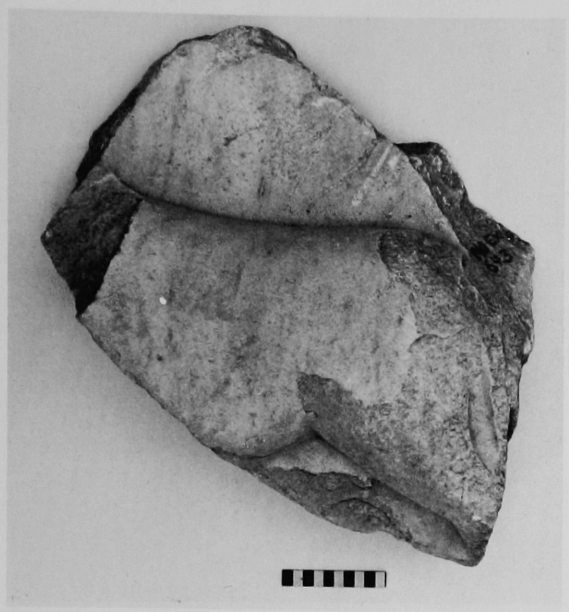


Fig. 86 **22**

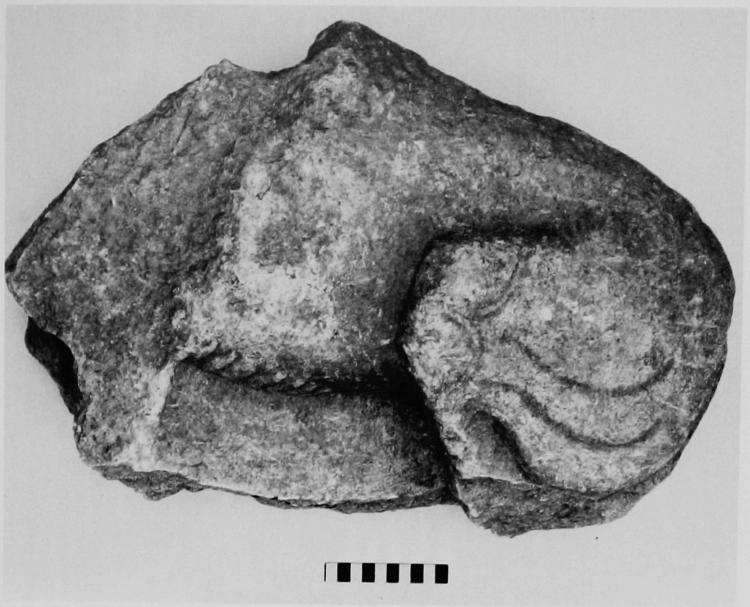


Fig. 87 **23**

Fig. 88 **23**

Fig. 89 **23** Top.

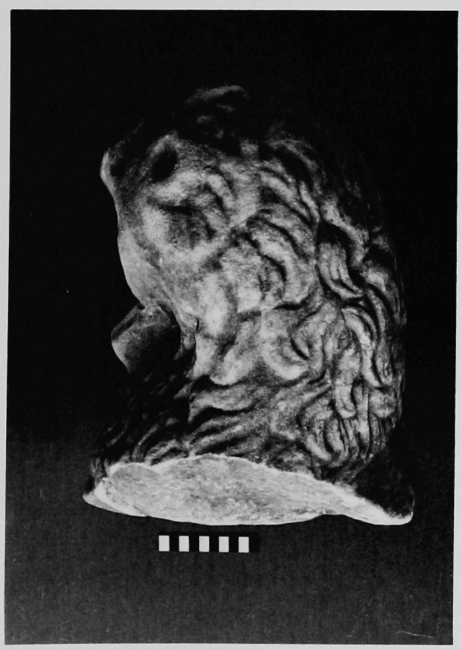


Fig. 90 **24**

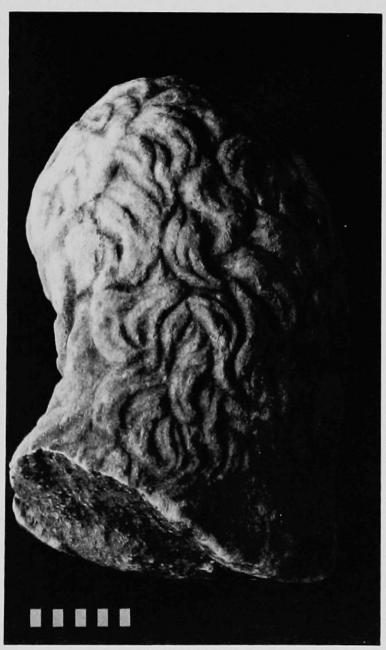


Fig. 91 **24**

Fig. 92 **25** Lions A and B.

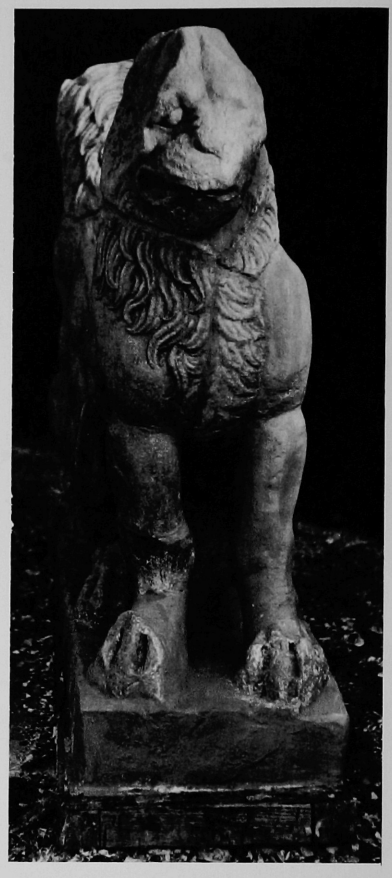


Fig. 93 **25** Lion B.

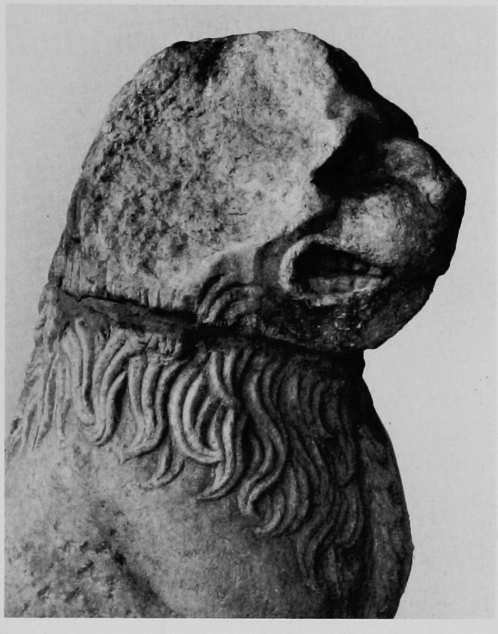


Fig. 94 **25** Lion B.

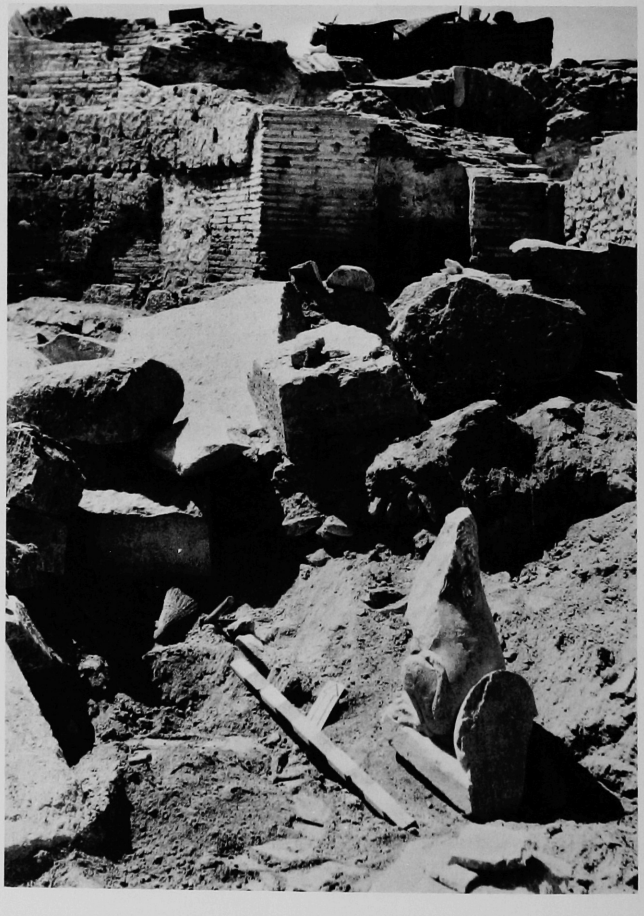


Fig. 95 **25** Lions C and D *in situ* near Synagogue apse.

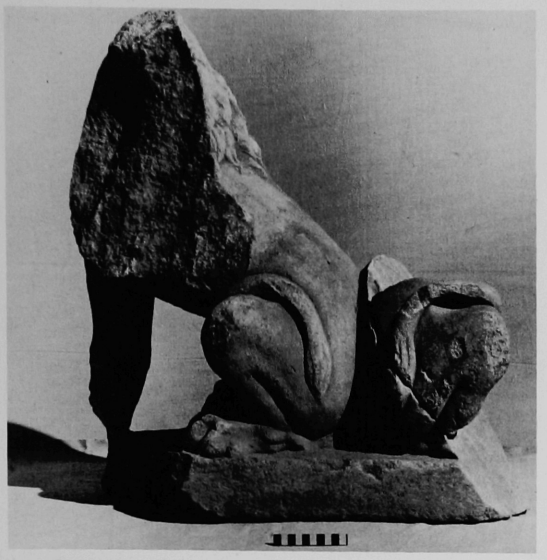


Fig. 96 **25** Lions D and C.

Fig. 97 **25** Lions D and C after restoration.

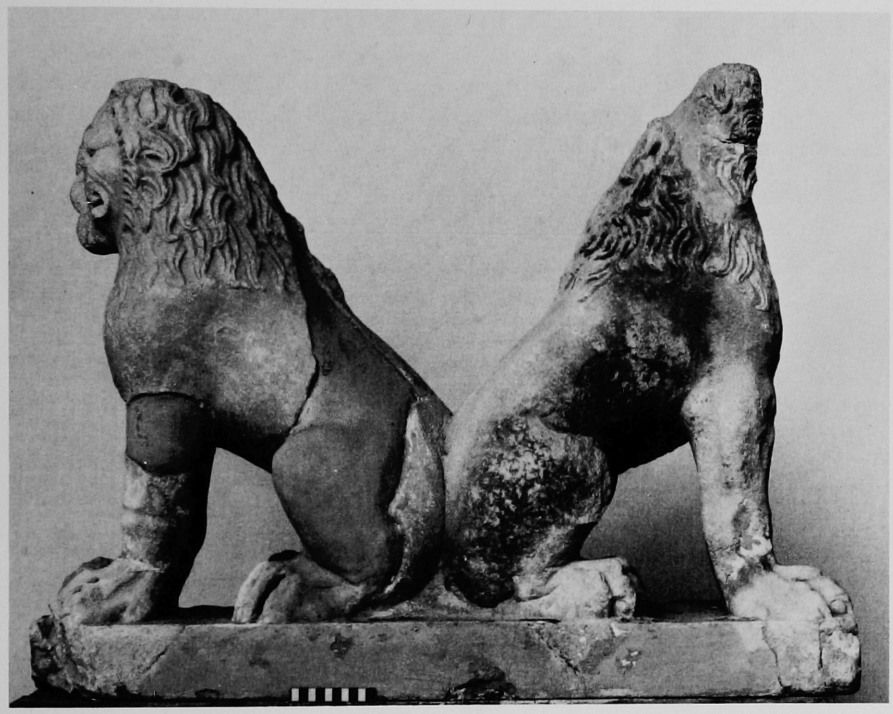


Fig. 98 **25** Reverse of Fig. 97.

Fig. 99 **25** Lion C.

Fig. 100 **25** Lion C, r. profile.

Fig. 101 **25** Lion D from above.

Fig. 102 **26**

Fig. 103 **26**

Fig. 104 **26** Detail.

Fig. 105 Restored altar at PN with casts of lions **27**, **28**, and **29** in place, looking S.

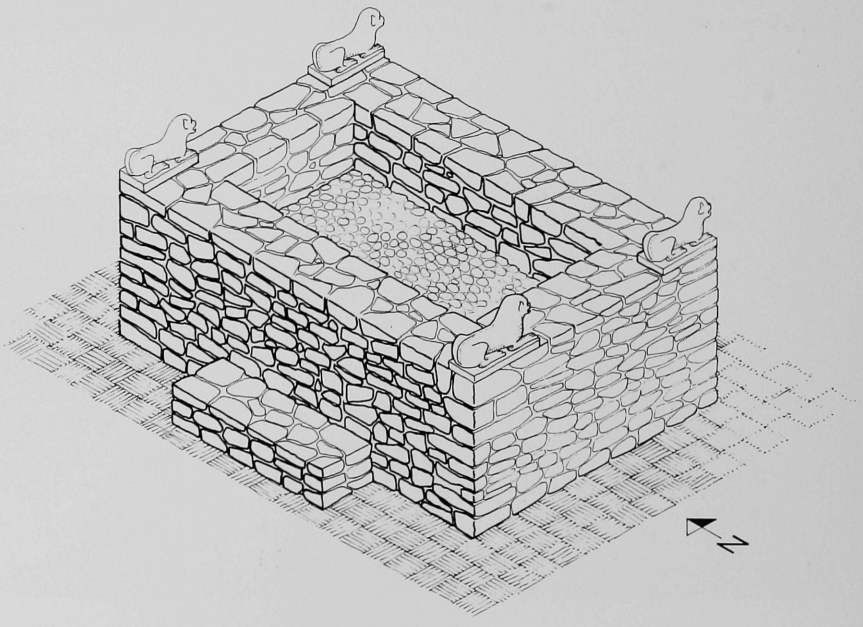


Fig. 106 Isometric reconstruction drawing of altar at PN, first building phase, showing tentative position of lions.

Fig. 107 **27**

Fig. 108 **27**

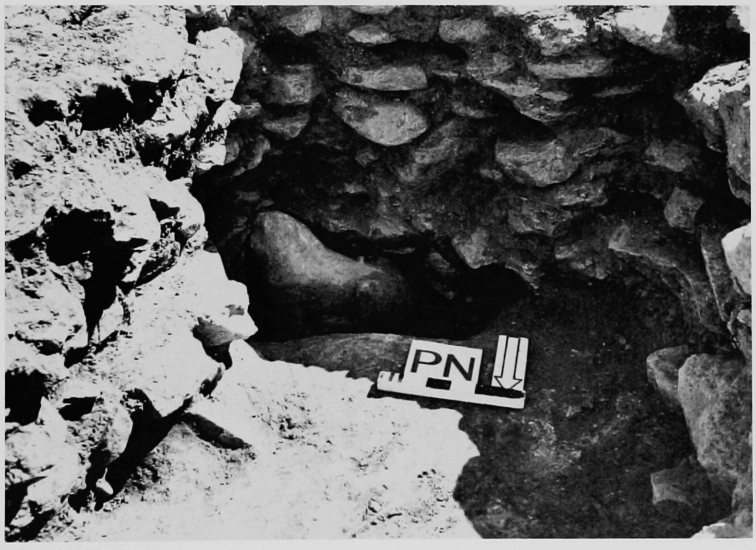
Fig. 109 **27** *In situ.*

Fig. 110 **28**

Fig. 111 **28**

Fig. 112 **28**

Fig. 113 **28** *In situ.*



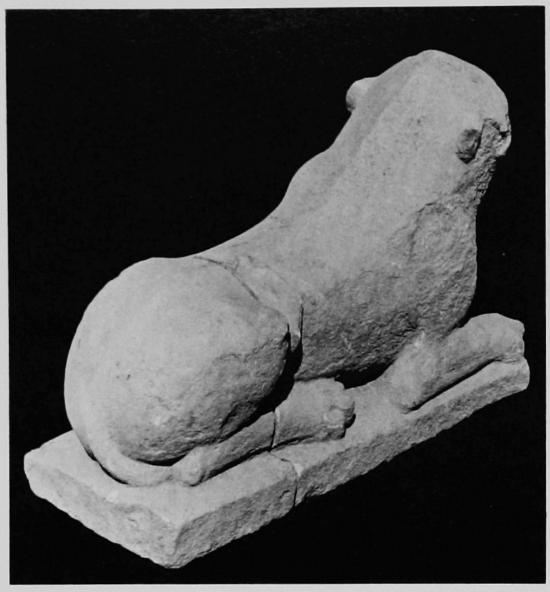


Fig. 114 **29**

Fig. 115 **29**

Fig. 116 **29**

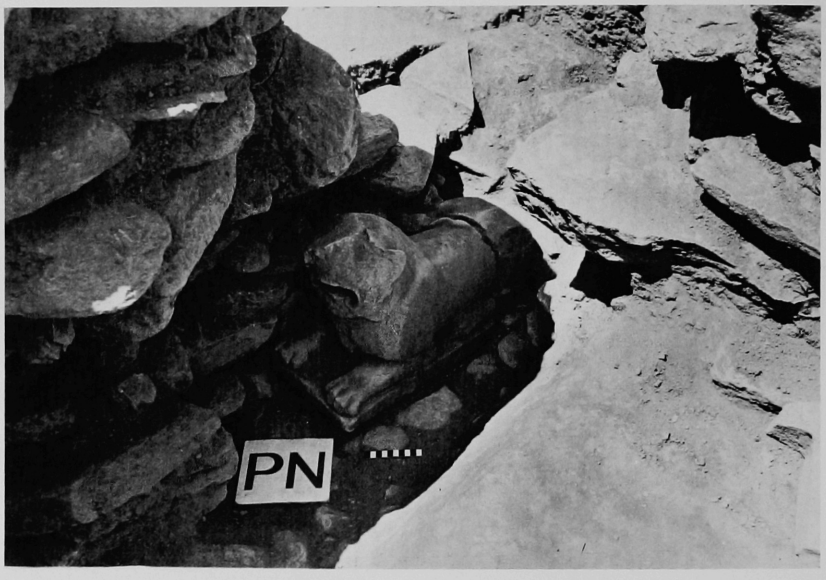


Fig. 117 **29** *In situ.*

Fig. 118 **30**

Fig. 119 **31**

Fig. 120 **31**

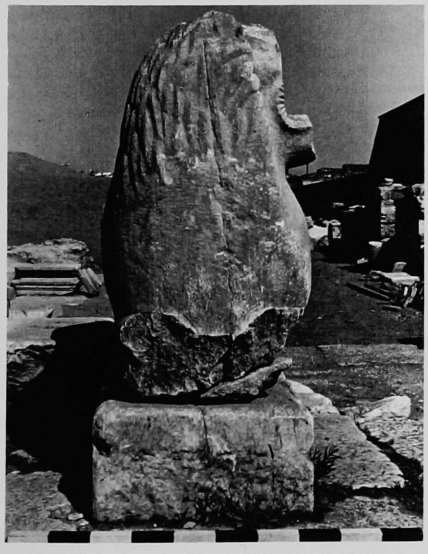


Fig. 121 **31**

Fig. 122 **31** Detail.

Fig. 123 **32**

Fig. 124 **33**

Fig. 125 **34**

Fig. 127 **34**

Fig. 126 **34**

Fig. 128 **34**

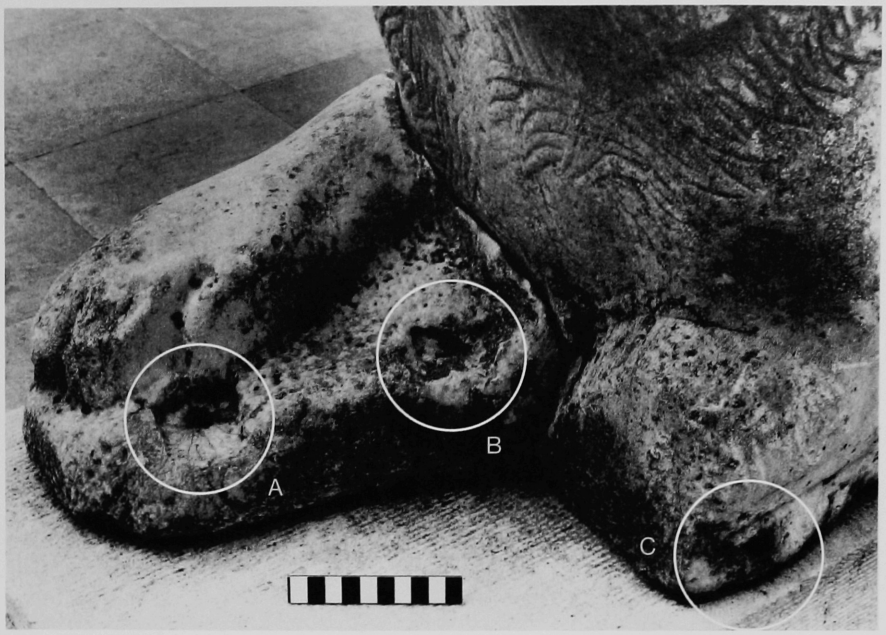


Fig. 129 **34** Detail showing clamp holes.

Fig. 130 **35**

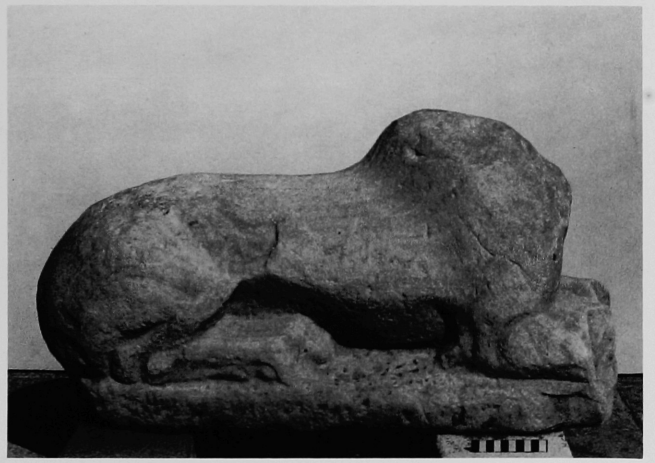


Fig. 131 **35**

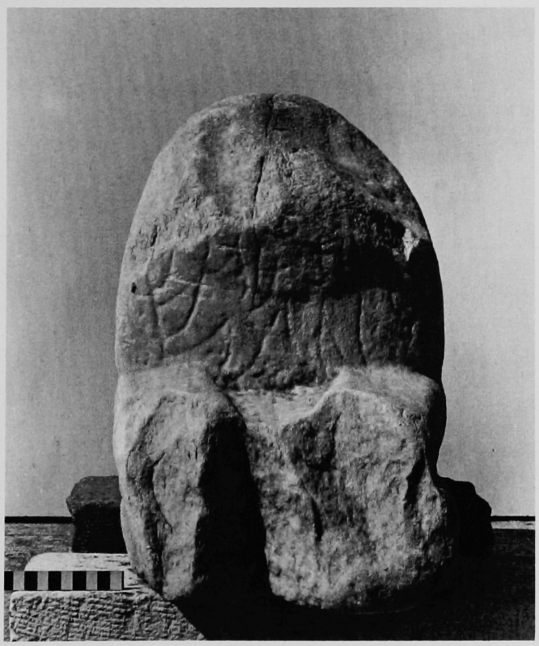


Fig. 132 **35**

Fig. 133 **36**

Fig. 134 **37**

Fig. 135 **38**

Fig. 136 **38**

Fig. 137 **39**

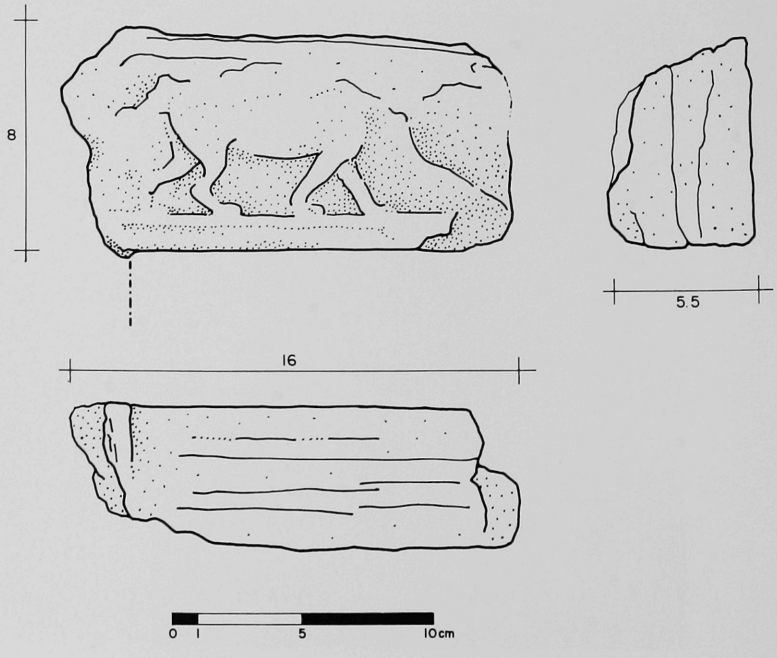


Fig. 138 **39**

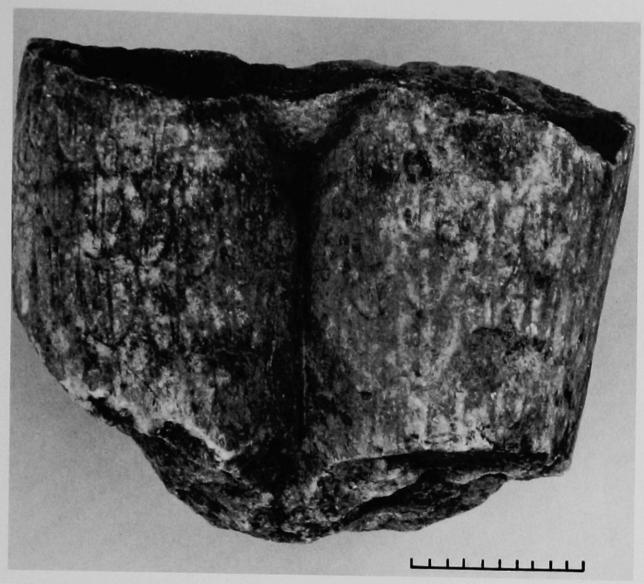


Fig. 139 **40**

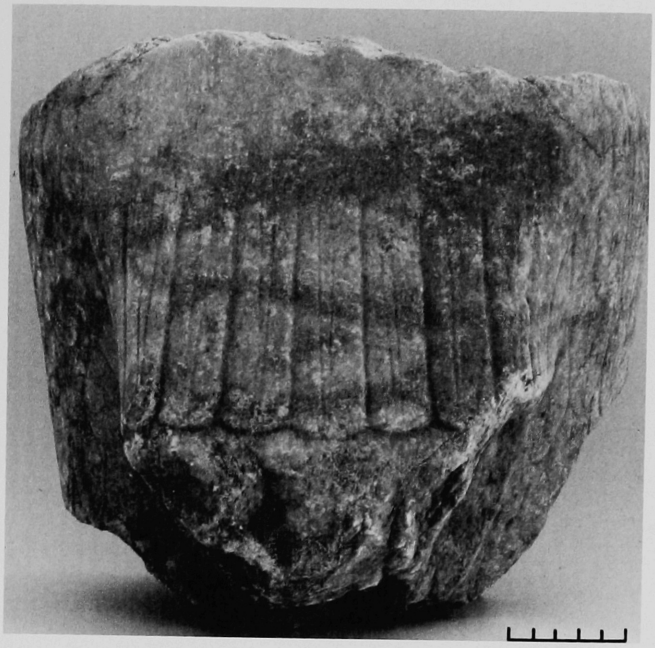


Fig. 140 **40**

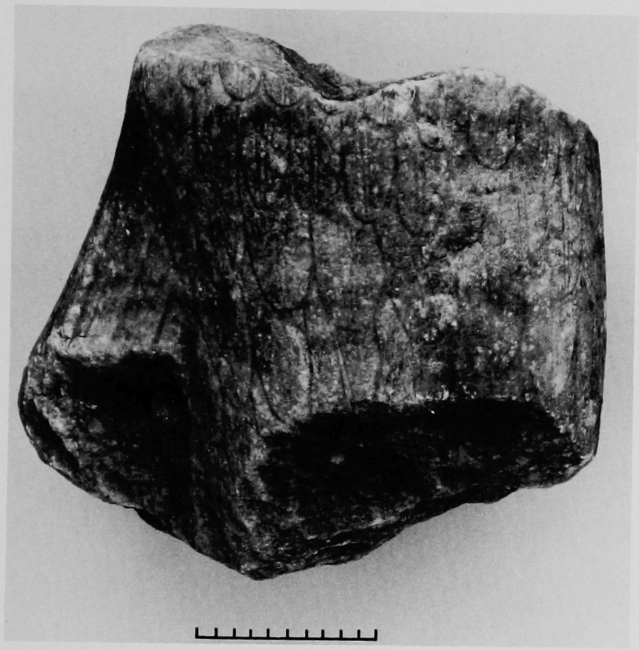


Fig. 141 **40**

Fig. 142 **41**

Fig. 143 **41**

Fig. 144 **42**

Fig. 145 **42** Front.

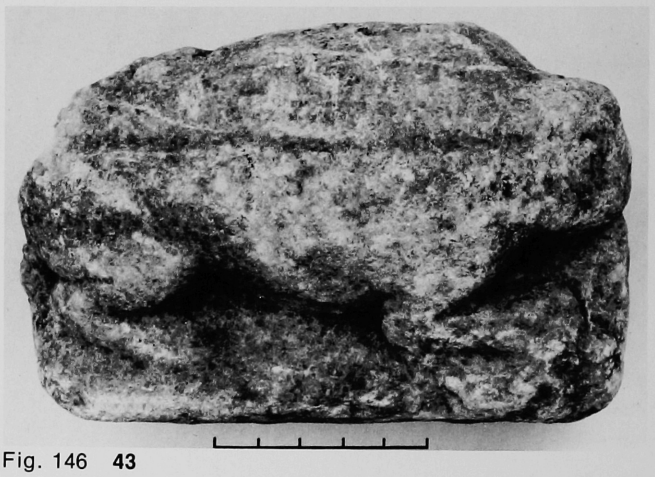


Fig. 146 **43**

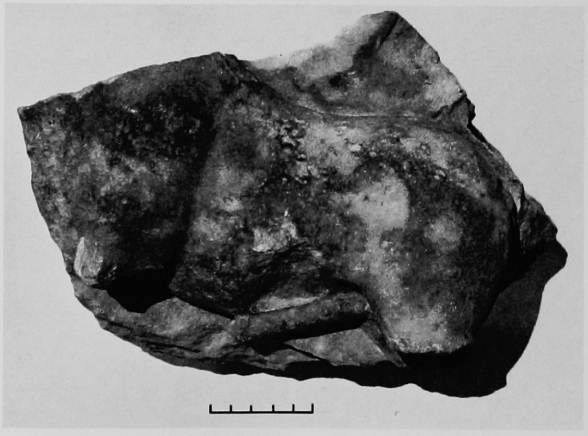


Fig. 147 **44**

Fig. 148 **45**

Fig. 149 **45** Back.

Fig. 150 **46**

Fig. 151 **46** Detail.

Fig. 152 Stele from Daskylion, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.

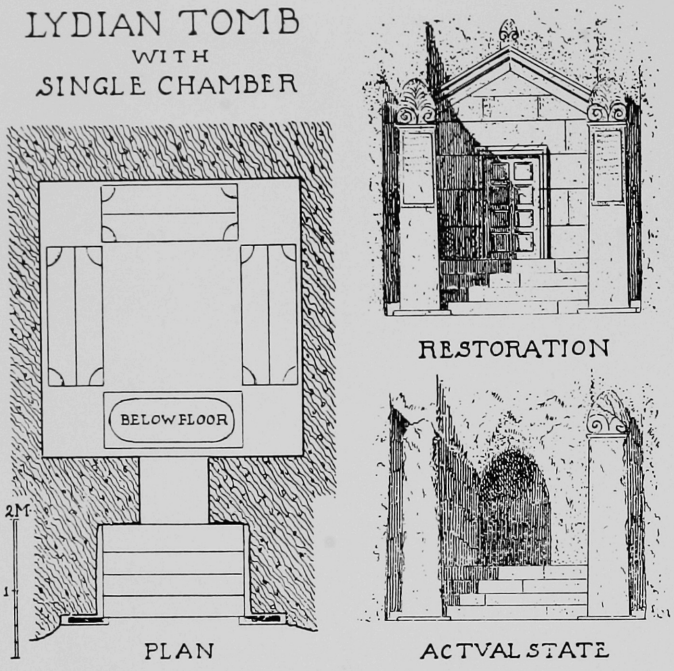


Fig. 153 **47** Plan and elevation of chamber tomb showing placement of stelai. From *Sardis* I (1922) ill. 178.

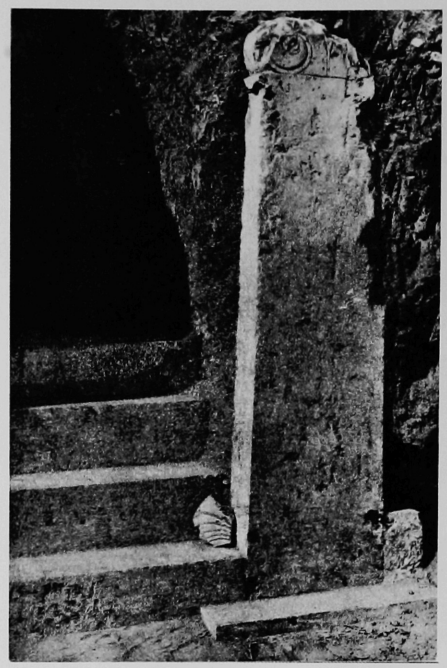


Fig. 154 **47** From *Sardis* I (1922) ill. 122.

Fig. 155 **48**

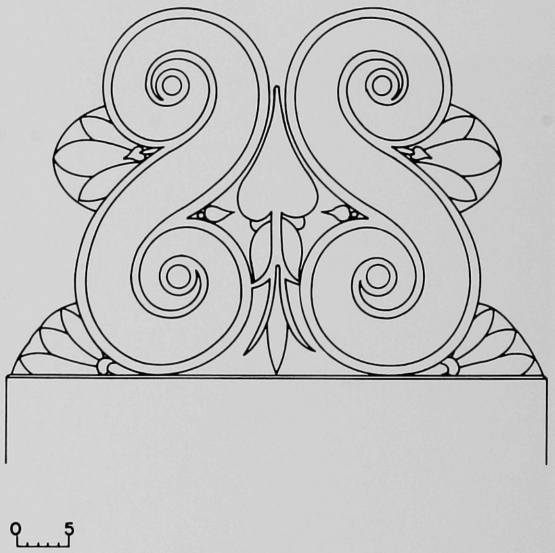


Fig. 156 **48** Restoration drawing.

Fig. 157 **49**

Fig. 158 **50**

Fig. 159 **50** Back.

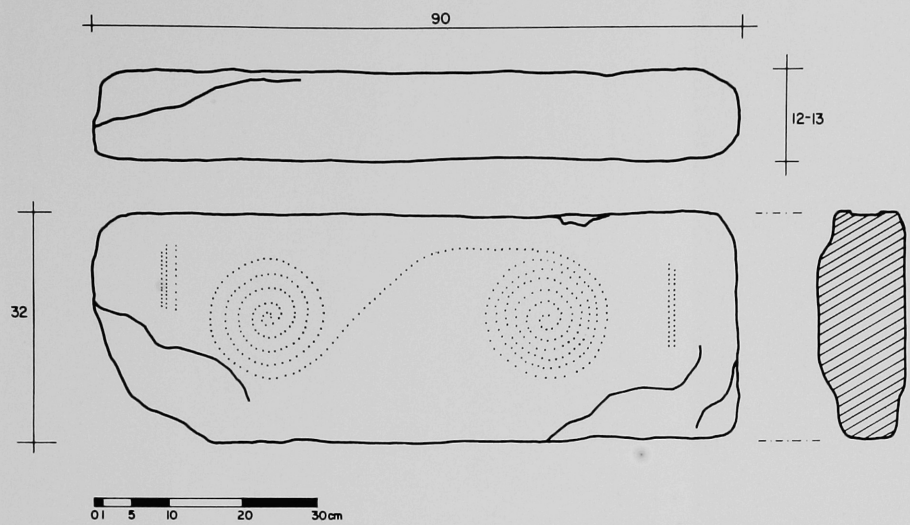


Fig. 160 **50** Drawing and section.

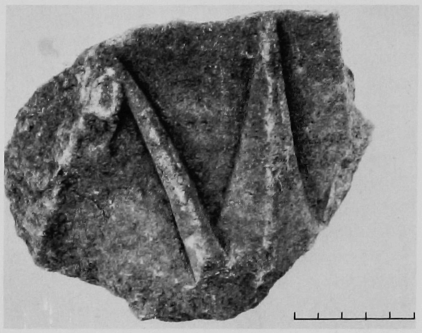


Fig. 161 **51**

Fig. 162 **52**

Fig. 163 **52** Drawing and section.

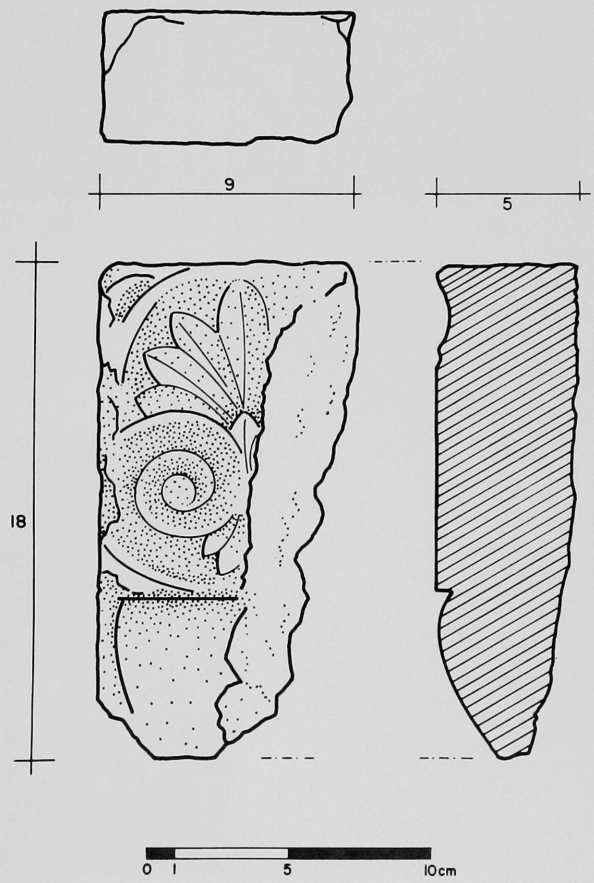


Fig. 164 **53**

Fig. 165 **54**

Fig. 166 **55**

Fig. 167 **55**

Fig. 168 **55** Detail.

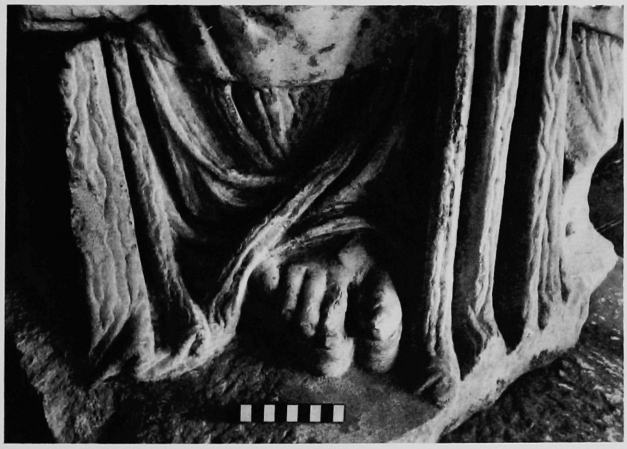


Fig. 169 **56**

Fig. 170 **57**

Fig. 171 **58**

Fig. 172 **59**

Fig. 173 **59**

Fig. 174 **60**

Fig. 175 **61**

Fig. 176 **62**

Fig. 177 **63**

Fig. 178 **64**

Fig. 179 **65**

Fig. 180 **65**

Fig. 181 **66**

Fig. 182 **67**

Fig. 183 **68**

Fig. 184 **69**

Fig. 185 **70**

Figs. 186-187 **71**

Fig. 188 **72**

Fig. 189 **73**

Fig. 190 **74**

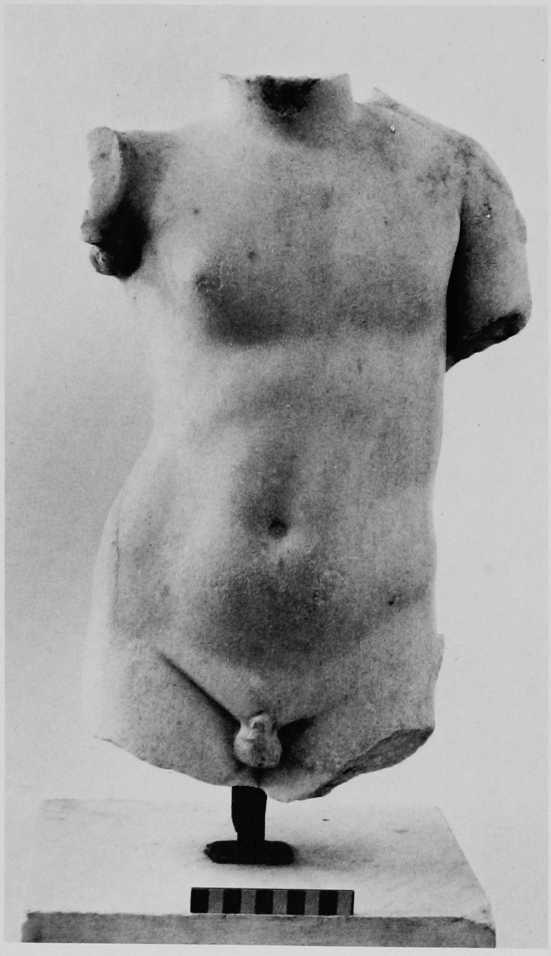
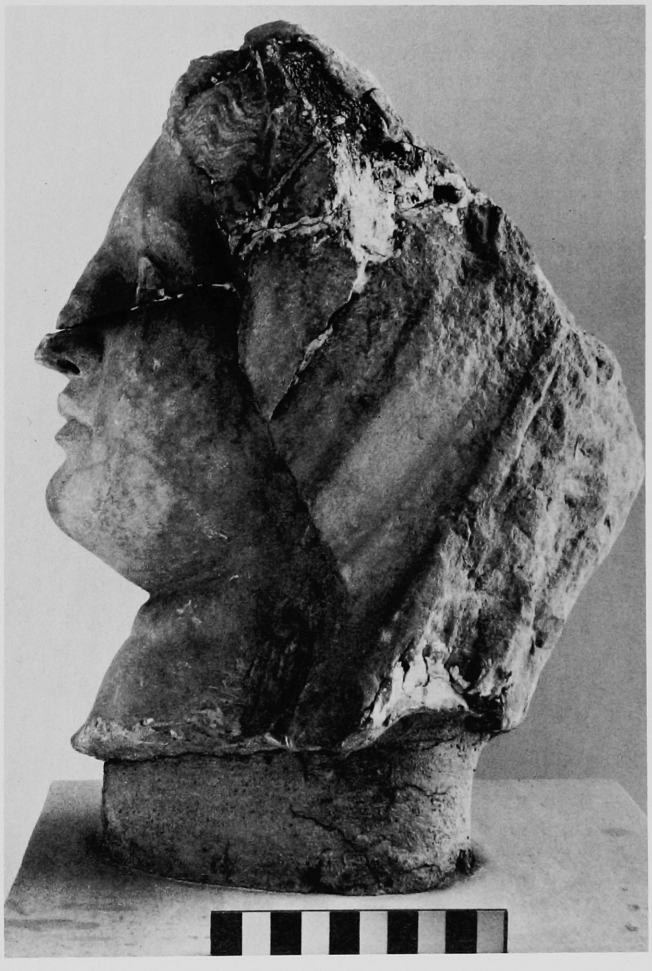


Fig. 191 **75**

Fig. 192 **76**

Fig. 193 **77**

Figs. 194-195 **78**



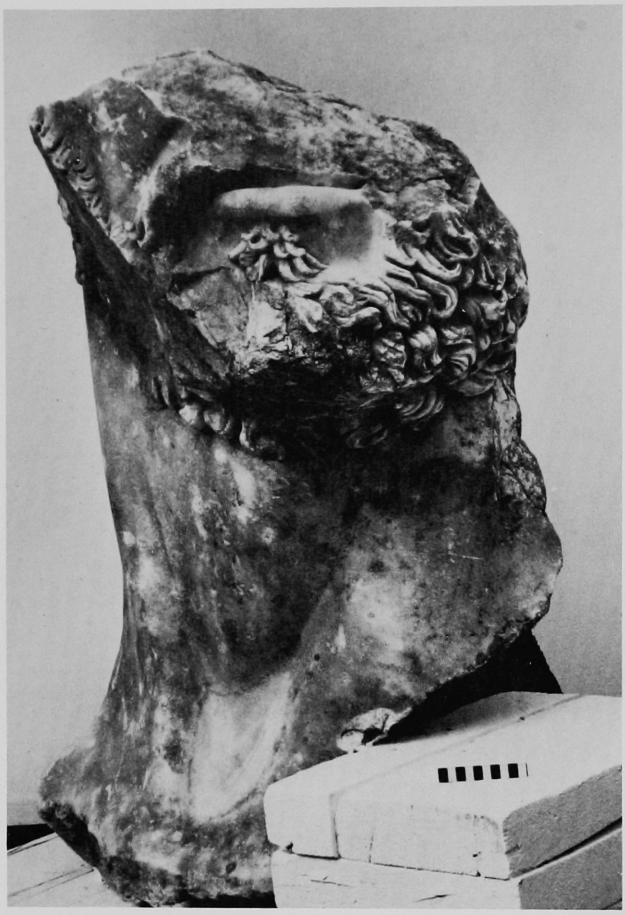


Fig. 196 **79**

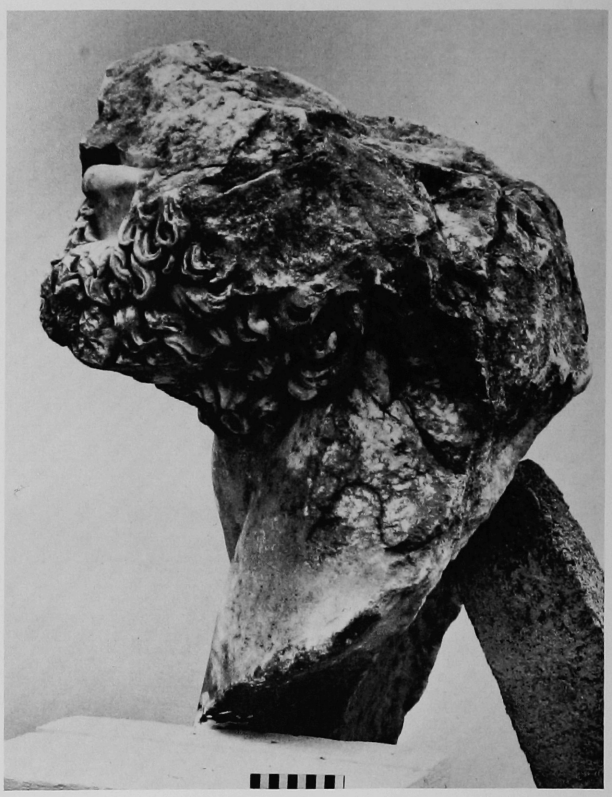


Fig. 197 **79**

Fig. 198 **80**

Fig. 199 **81**

Fig. 200 **82**

Fig. 201 **88**

Fig. 202 **89**

Fig. 203 **90**

Fig. 204 **91**

Fig. 205 **91**

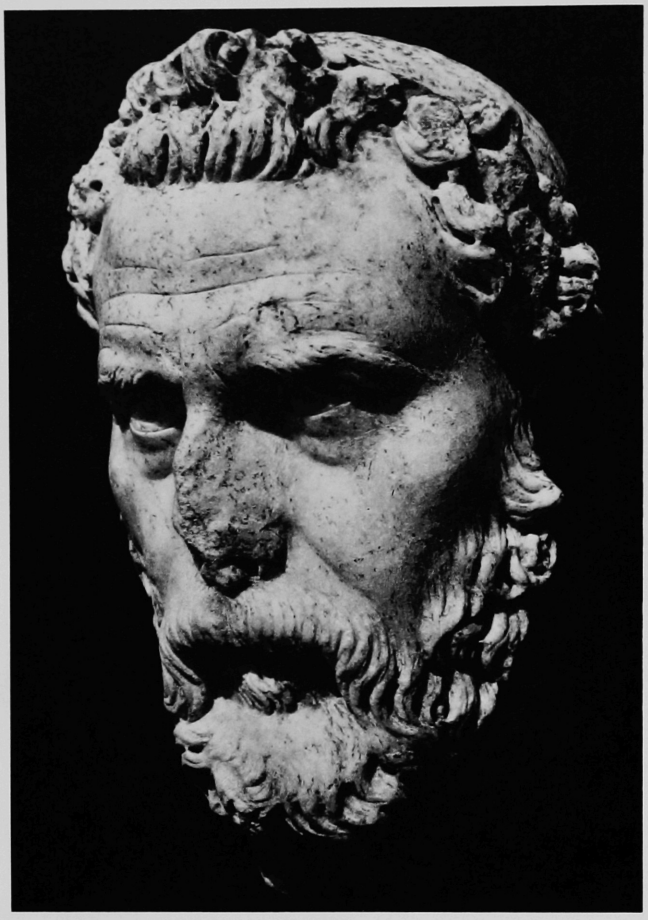


Fig. 206 **92**

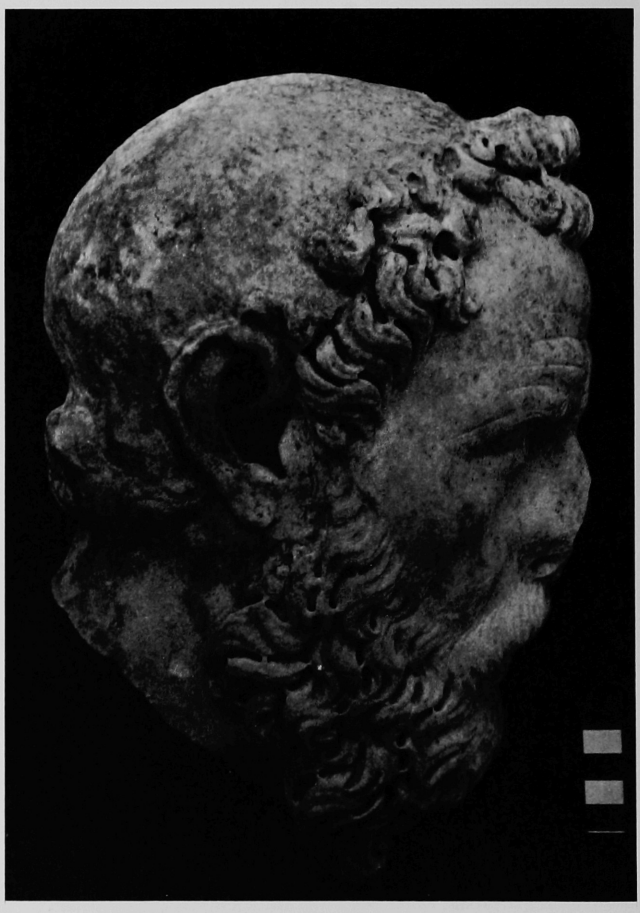


Fig. 207

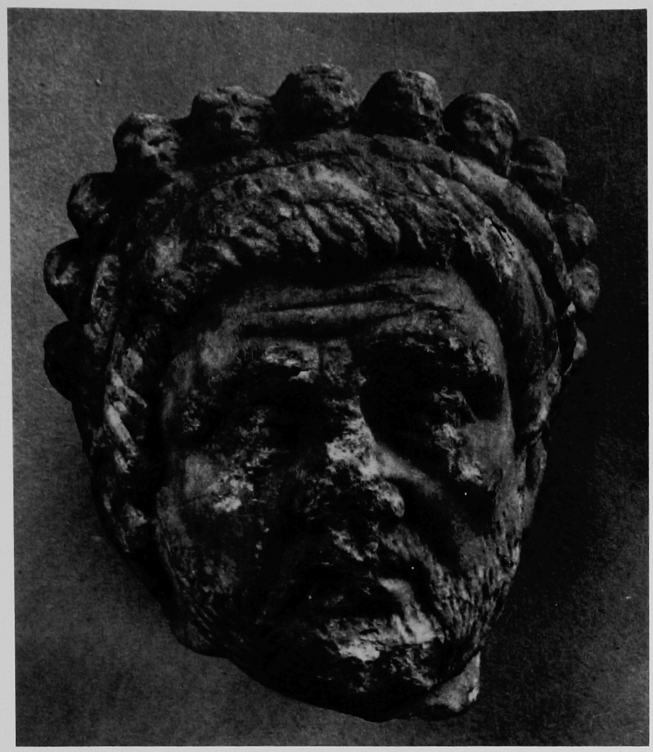


Fig. 208 **93**

Fig. 209 **93**

Fig. 210 **93**

Fig. 211 **93** Detail of diadem.

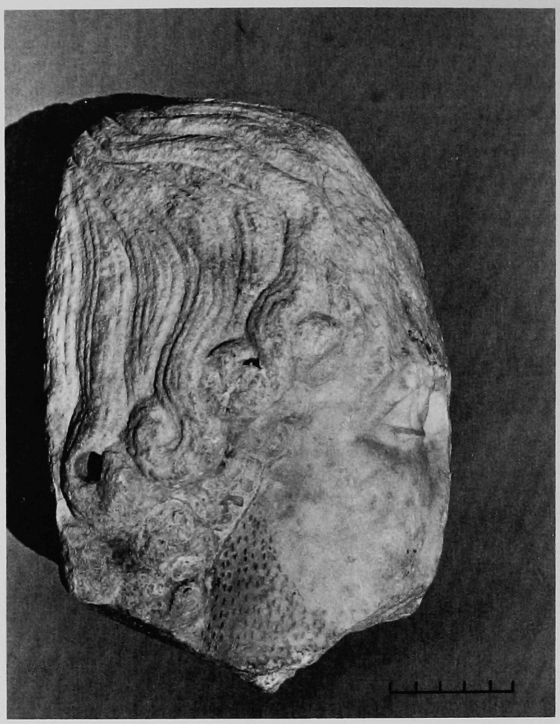


Fig. 212 **94**

Figs. 213-214 **95**

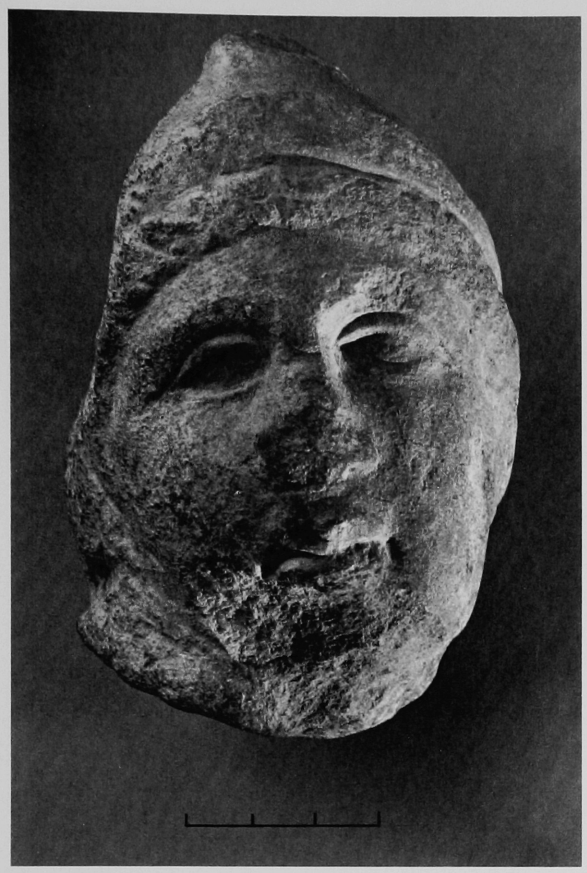


Fig. 215 **96**

Fig. 216 **97**

Fig. 217 **98**

Fig. 218 **99**

Fig. 219 **99**

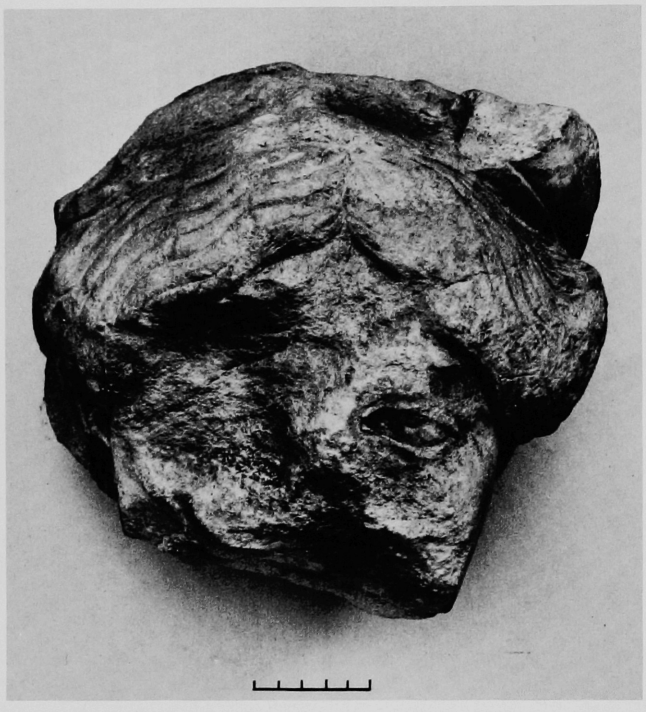


Fig. 220 **100**

Fig. 221 **100**

Fig. 222 **101**

Fig. 223 **102**

Fig. 224 **102**

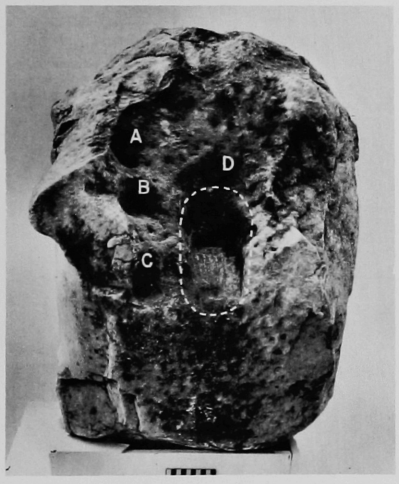


Fig. 225 **102** Back, with dowel and clamp holes indicated.

Fig. 226 **103**

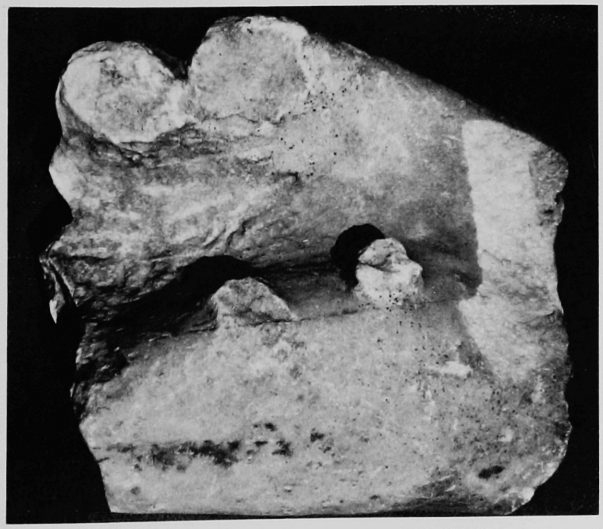
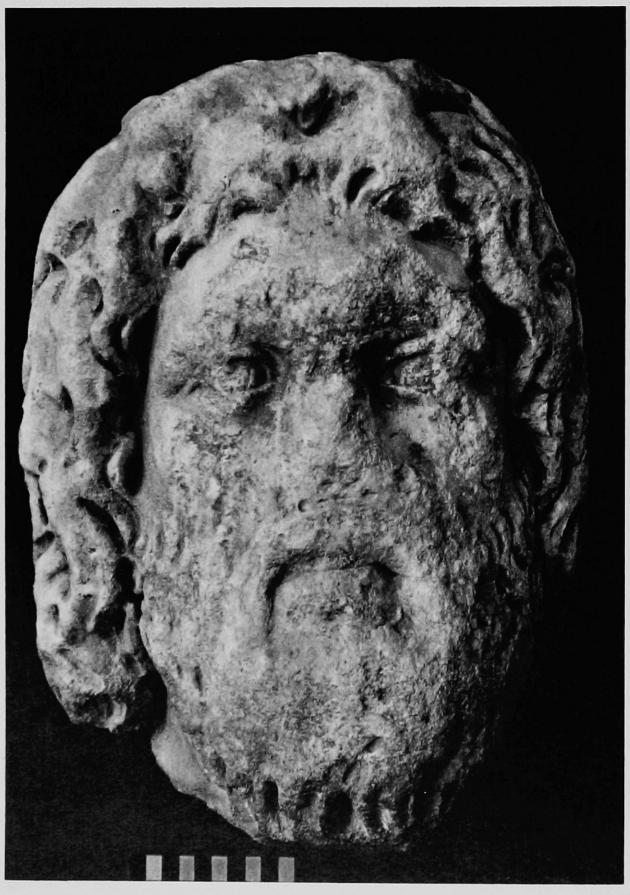


Fig. 227 **104**

Fig. 228 **105**

Figs. 229-230 **106**

Figs. 231-232 **107**



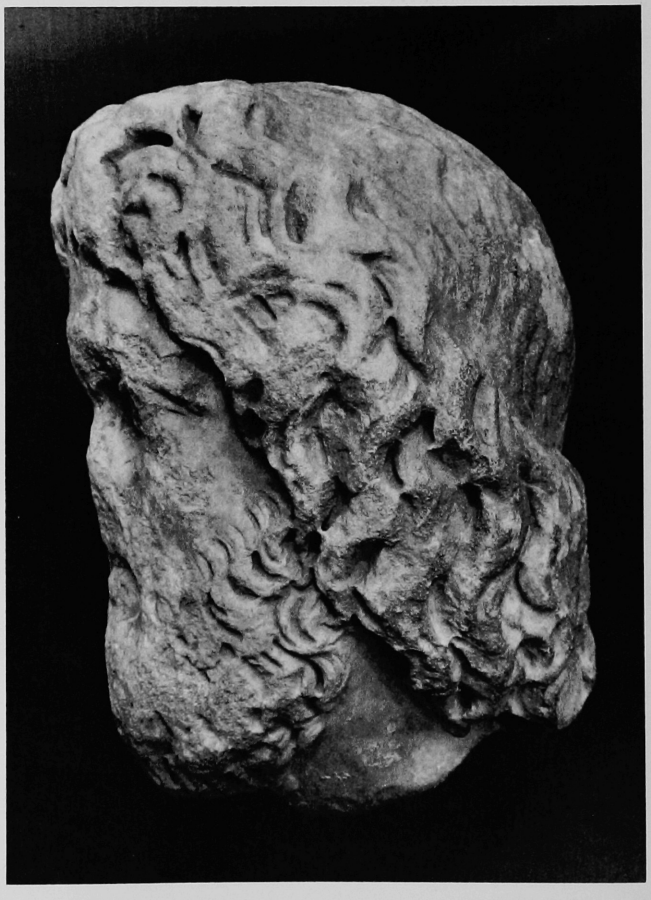


Fig. 233 **108**

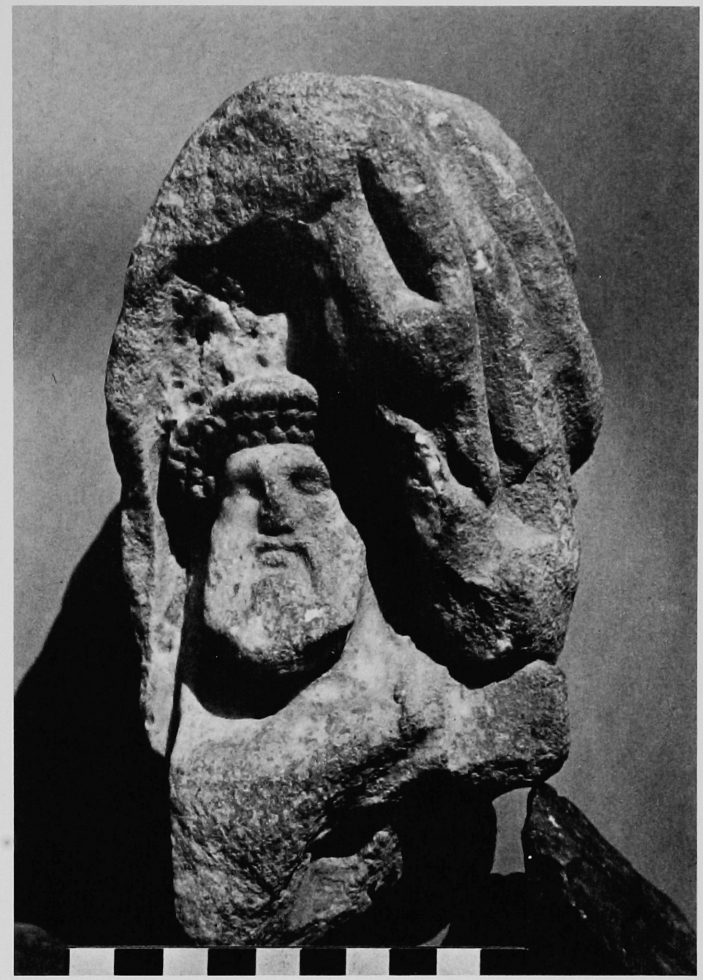


Fig. 236 **110**

Fig. 234 **109**

Fig. 237 **111**

Fig. 235 **109** Back.

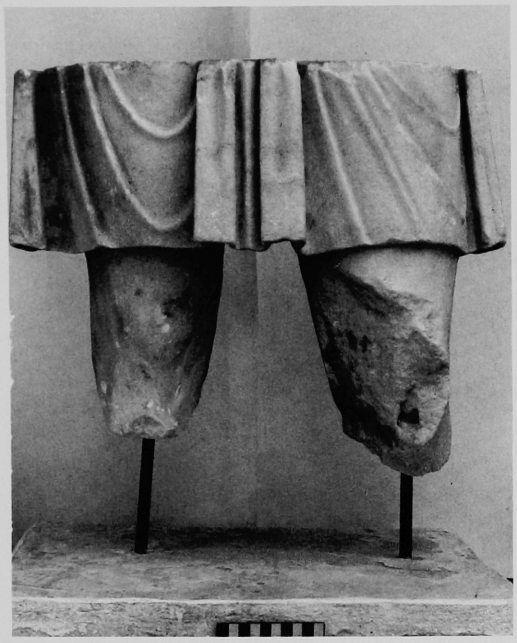


Fig. 238 **112**

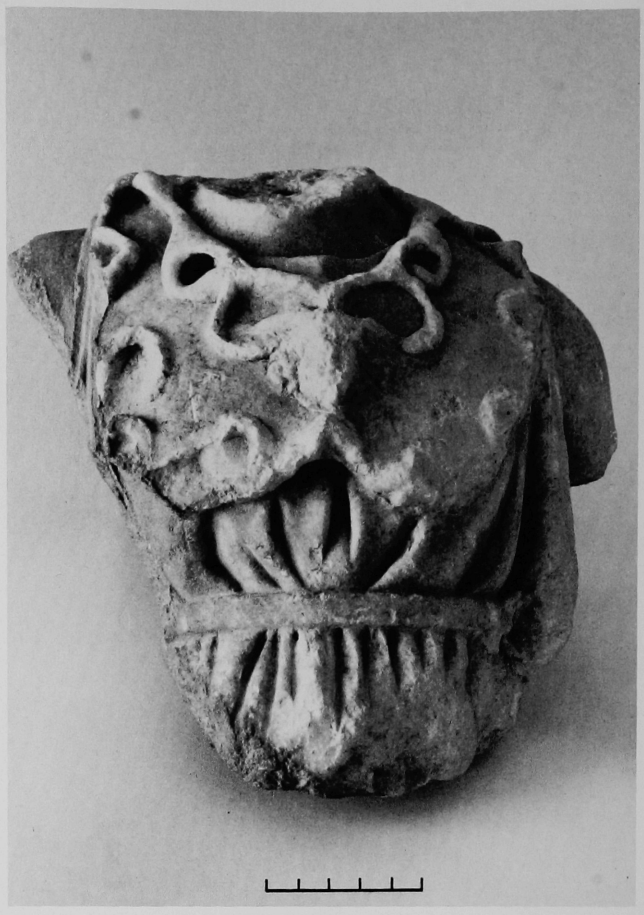


Fig. 239 **113**

Fig. 240 **114**

Fig. 241 **115**

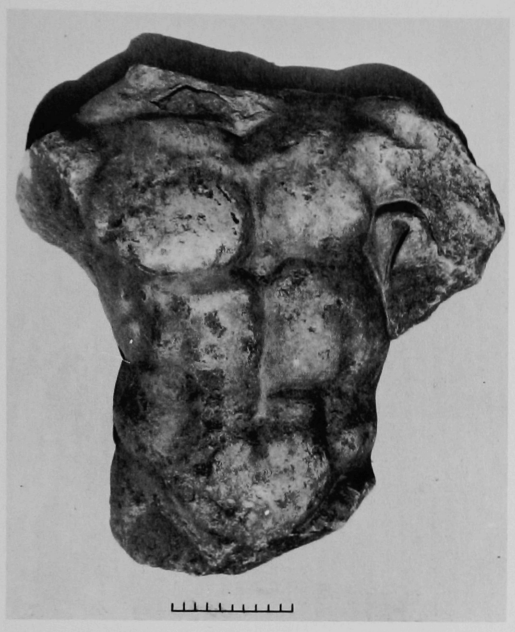


Fig. 242 **116**

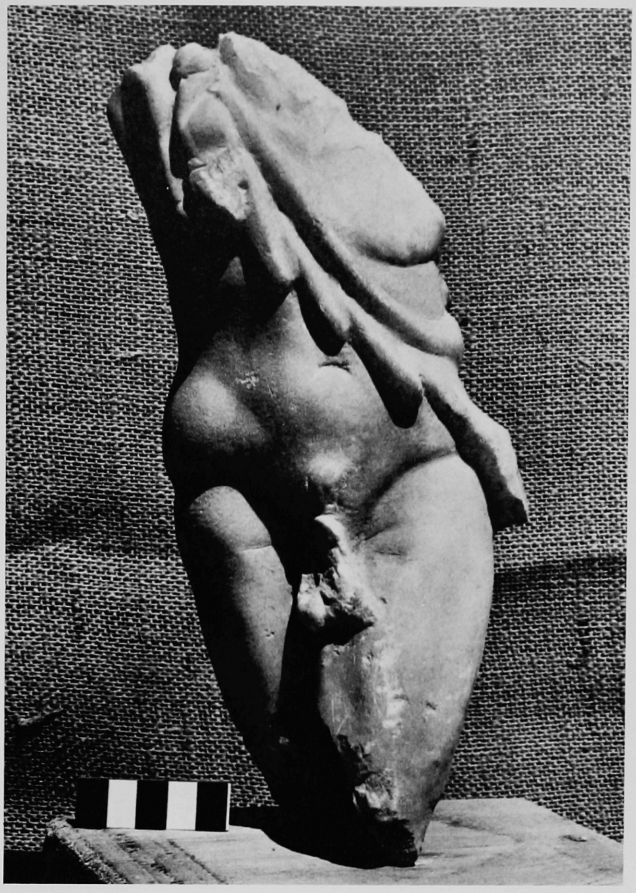
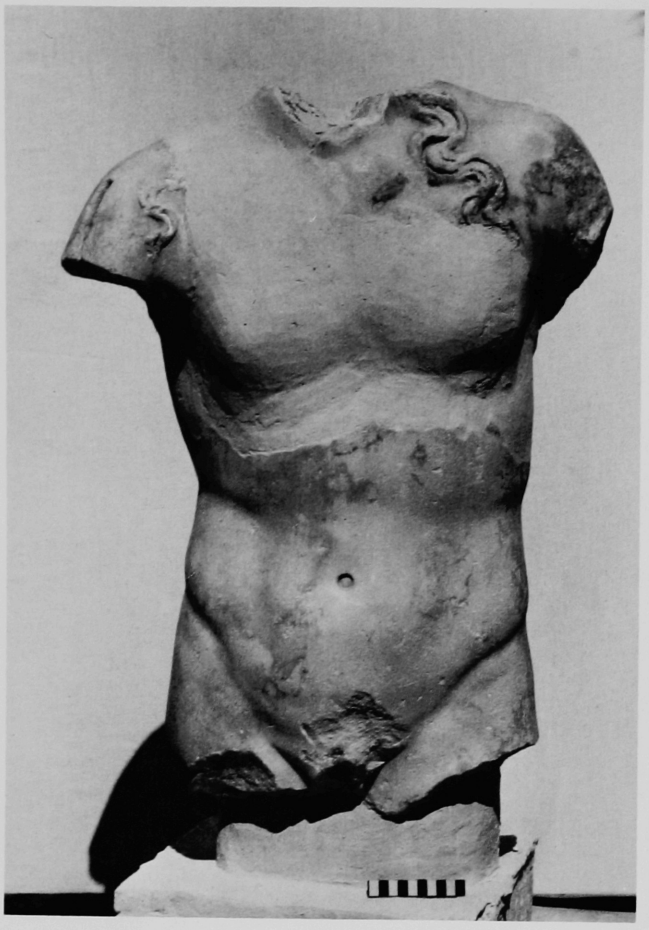


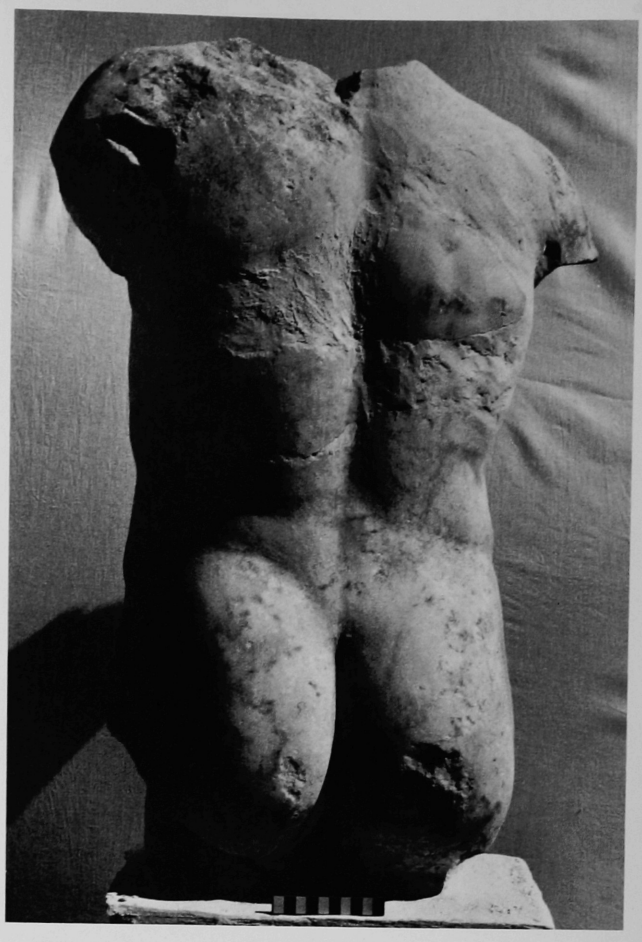
Fig. 243 **117**

Fig. 244 **118**

Fig. 245 **118** Detail.

Fig. 246 **119**





Figs. 247-248 **120**

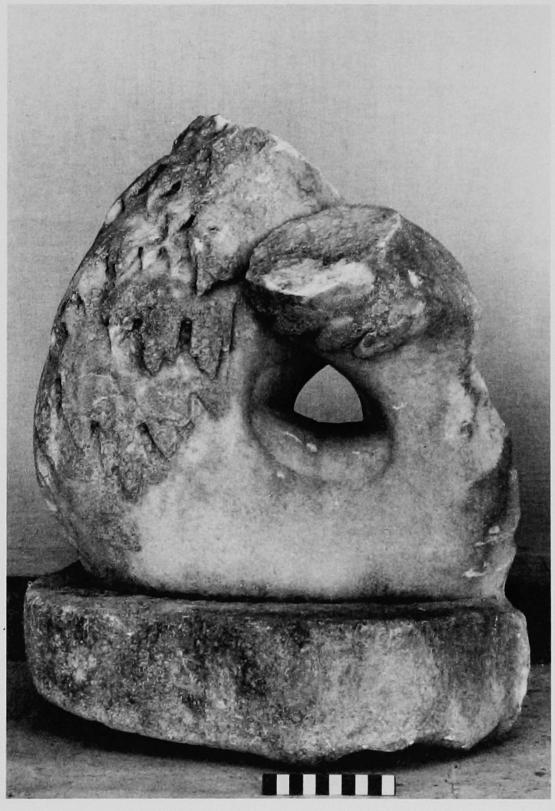
Fig. 249 **121**

Fig. 250 **122**

Fig. 251 **122** Detail, r. side of head.

Fig. 252 **123**

Fig. 253 **124**



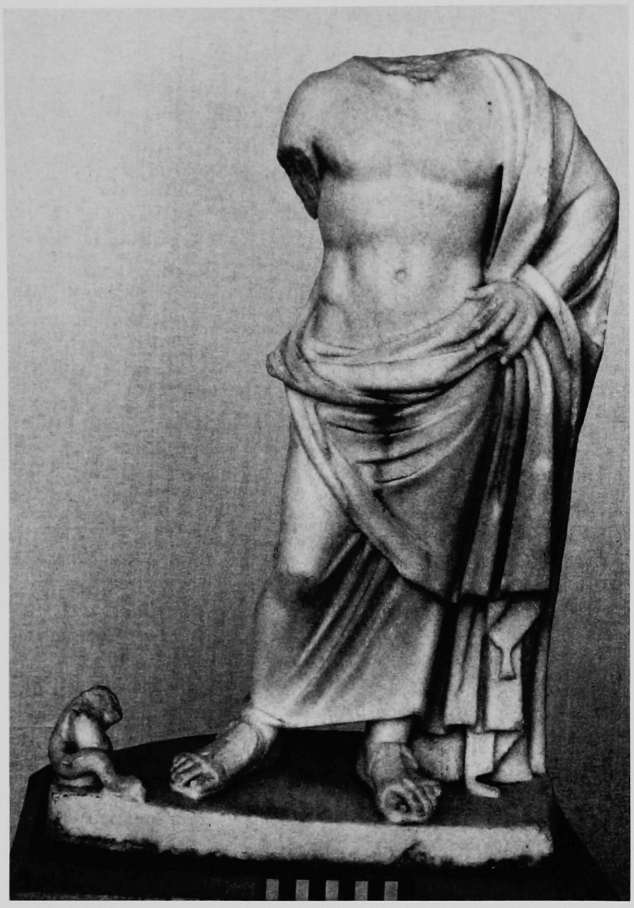


Fig. 254 **125**

Fig. 255 **125**

Fig. 256 **125**

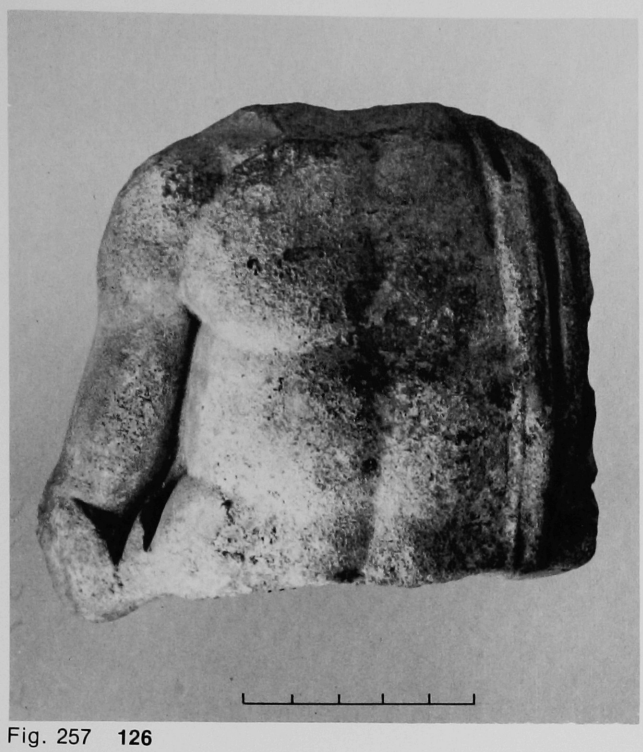


Fig. 257 **126**

Fig. 258 **127**

Fig. 259 **128**

Fig. 260 **128** Front.

Fig. 261 **129**

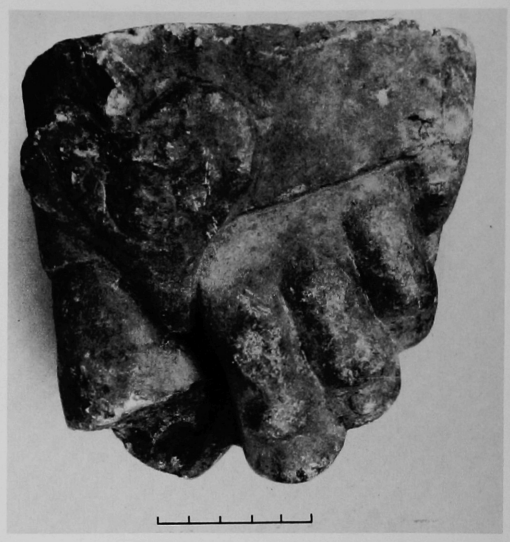


Fig. 262 **130**

Fig. 263 **131**

Fig. 264 **132**

Fig. 265 **133**

Fig. 266 **133** Detail of tooling.

Fig. 267 **134**

Fig. 268 **134**

Fig. 269 **135**

Fig. 270 **135**
Restoration drawing.

Fig. 271 **136**

Fig. 272 **137**

Fig. 273 **138**

Fig. 274 **139**

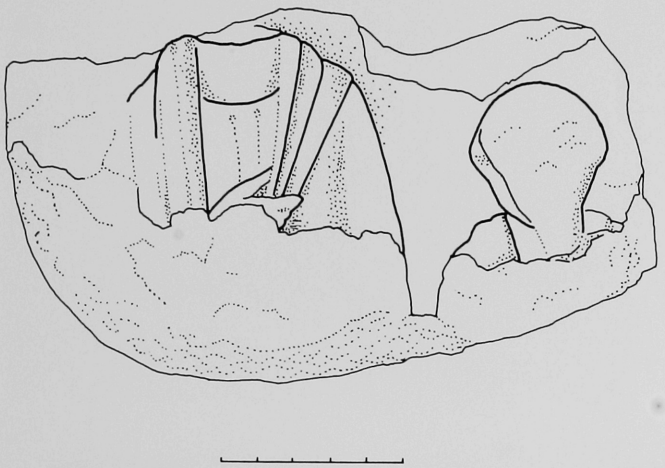


Fig. 275 **139**

Fig. 276 **140**

Fig. 277 **141**

Fig. 278 **141** L. side showing arrises.

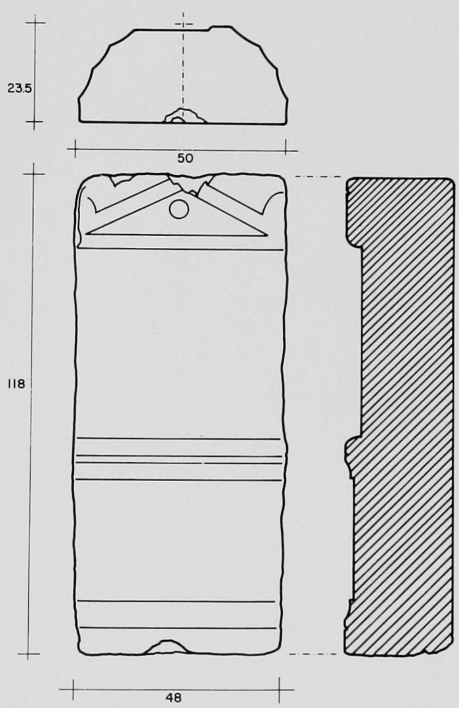


Fig. 279 **141** Drawing and section.

Fig. 280 **142**

Fig. 281 **142**

Fig. 282 **143**

Fig. 283 **144**

Fig. 284 **145**

Fig. 286 **146** Block A, detail.

Fig. 285 **146** Block A.

Fig. 287 **146** Block B.

Fig. 288 **146** Block B, detail.

Fig. 289 **146** Block B, detail.

Fig. 290 **147**

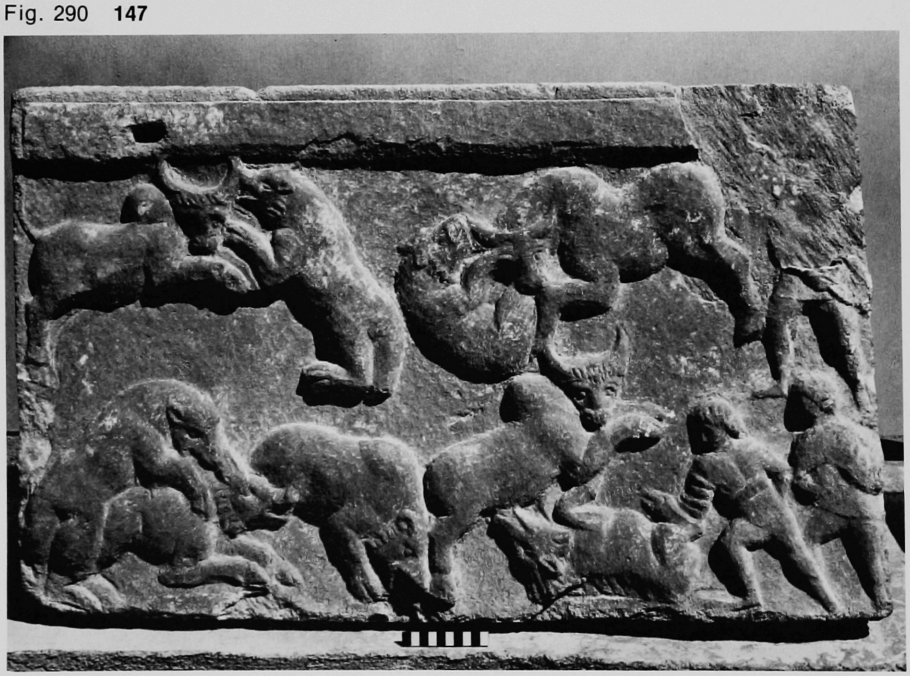


Fig. 291 **148**

Fig. 292 **148** Detail.

Fig. 294 **149** Detail.

Fig. 293 **149**

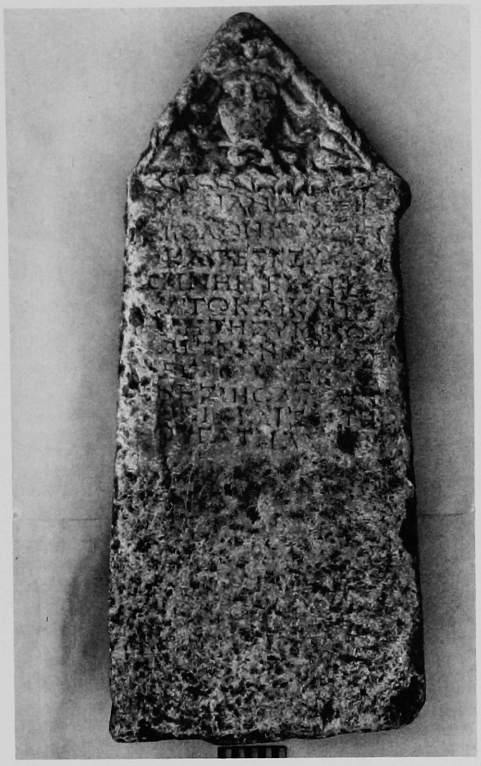


Fig. 295 **150**

Fig. 296 **151**

Fig. 297 **152**

Fig. 298 **153**

Fig. 299 **154**

Fig. 300 **155**

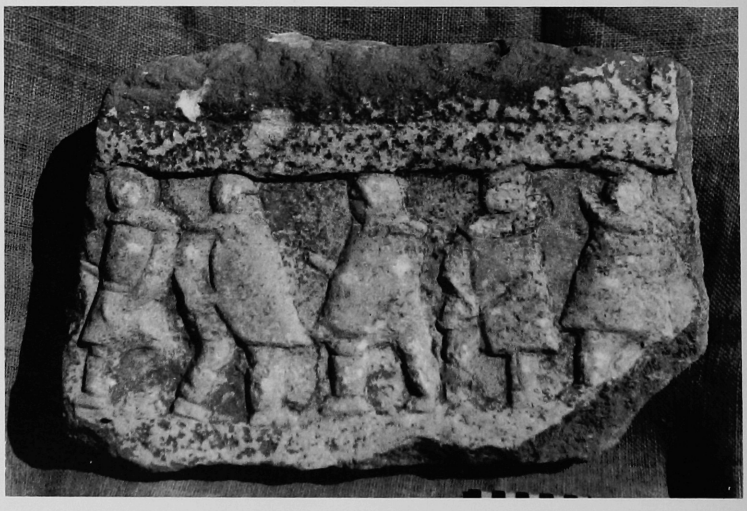


Fig. 301 **156**

Fig. 303 **156** Detail of caduceus.

Fig. 302 **156** Detail of goddess on r.

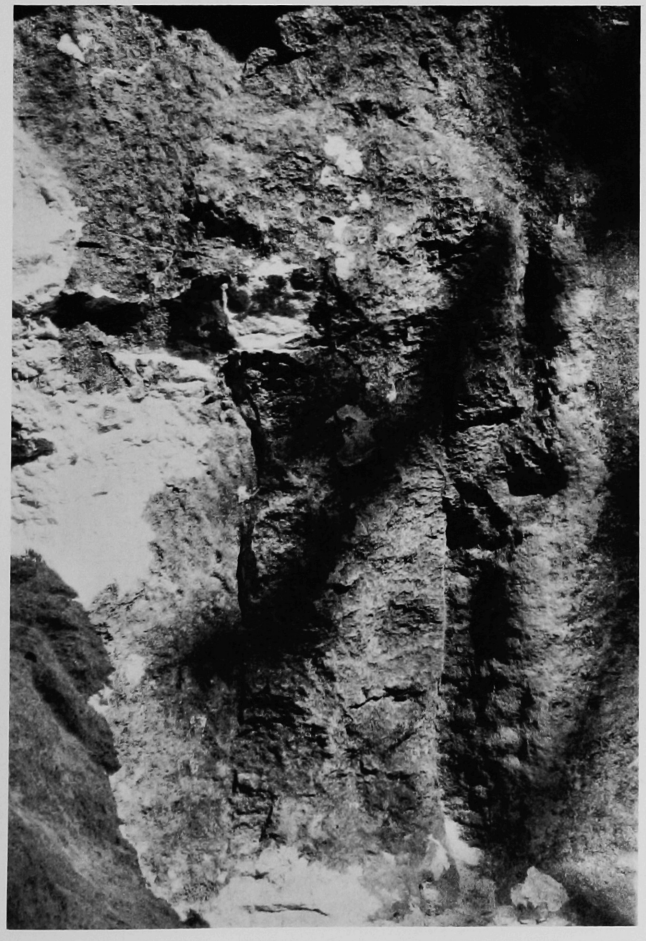


Fig. 304 **157**

Fig. 305 **158**

Fig. 306 **159**

Fig. 307 **160**

Fig. 308 **161**

Fig. 309 **161**

Fig. 310 **162**

Fig. 311 **163**

Fig. 312 **164**

Fig. 313 **165**

Fig. 314 **166**

Fig. 315 **167**

Fig. 316 **168**

Fig. 317 **169**

Fig. 318 **170**

Fig. 319 **171**

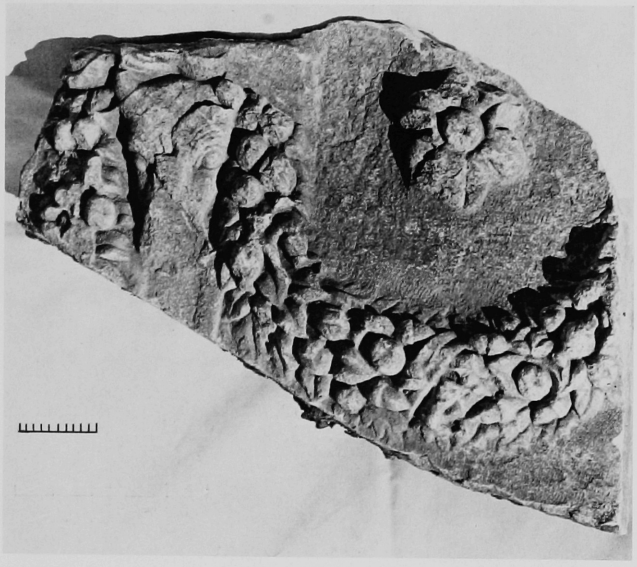


Fig. 320 **172**

Fig. 321 **173**

Fig. 322 **174**

Fig. 323 **175**

Fig. 324 **176**

Fig. 325 **177**

Fig. 326 **178**

Fig. 327 **179**

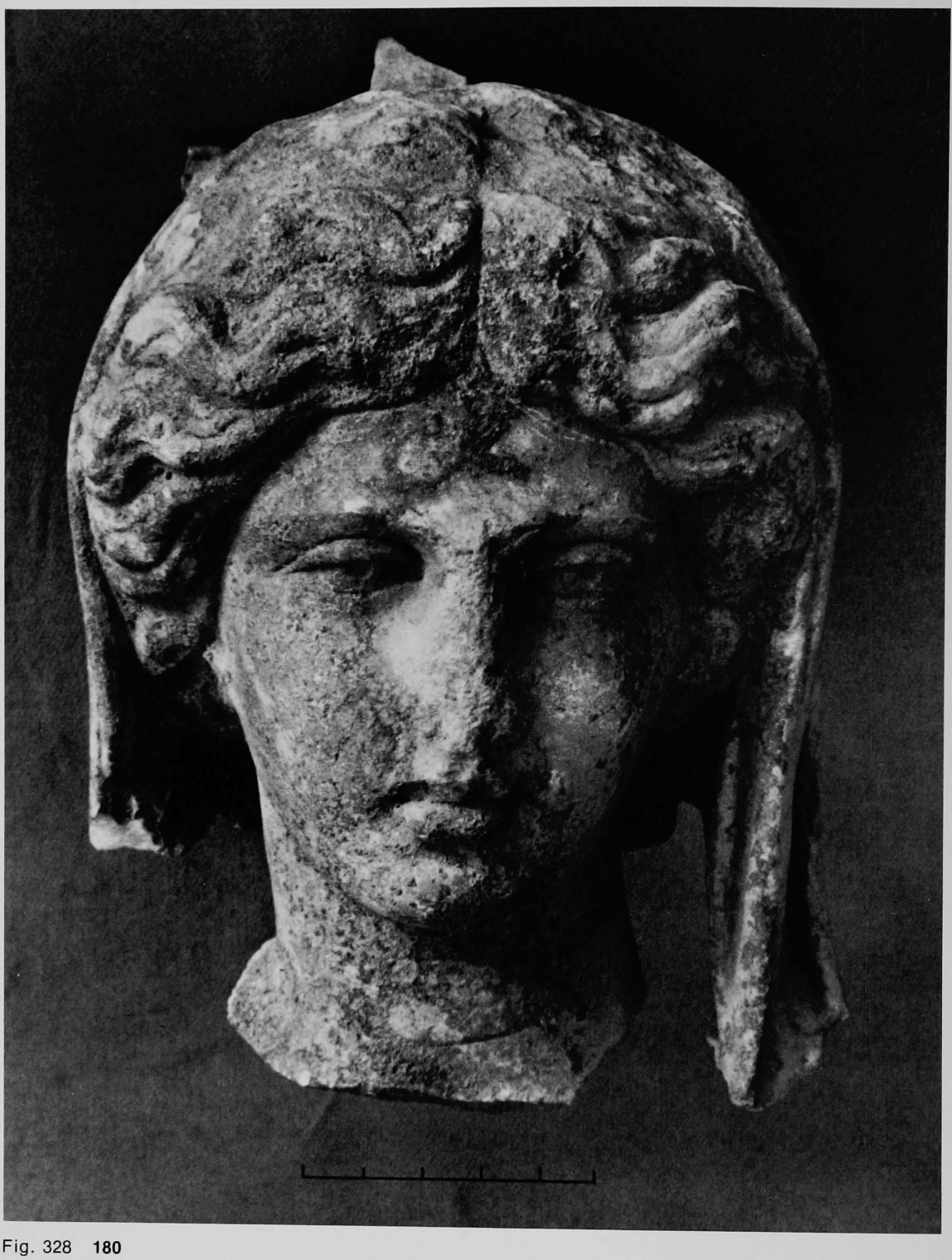


Fig. 328 **180**

Fig. 329 **181**

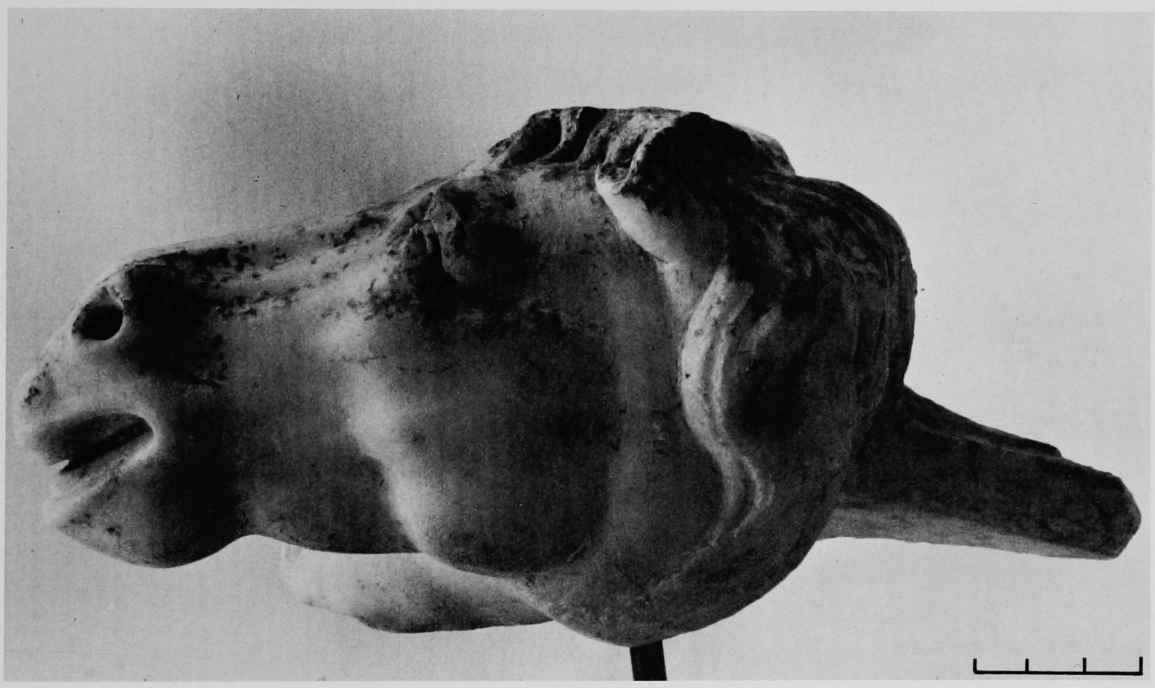


Fig. 330 **181**

Fig. 331 **182**

Fig. 334 **185**

Fig. 332 **183**

Fig. 335 **185**

Fig. 336 **186**

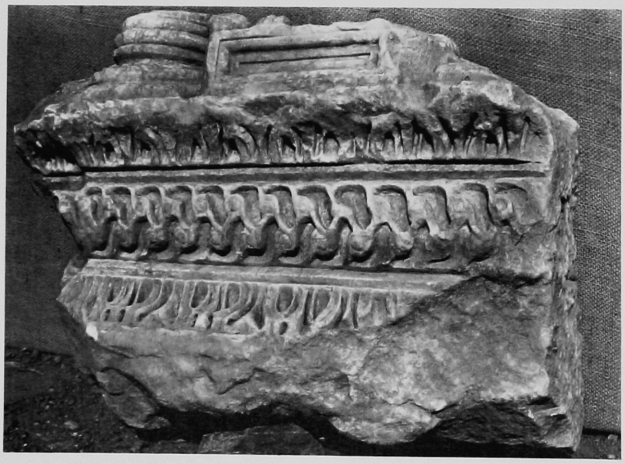


Fig. 333 **184**

Fig. 337 **187**

Fig. 339 **189**

Fig. 338 **188**

Fig. 340 **190**

Fig. 341 **191**

Fig. 342 **192**

Fig. 343 **193**

Fig. 344 **194**

Fig. 345 **195**

Fig. 346 **196**

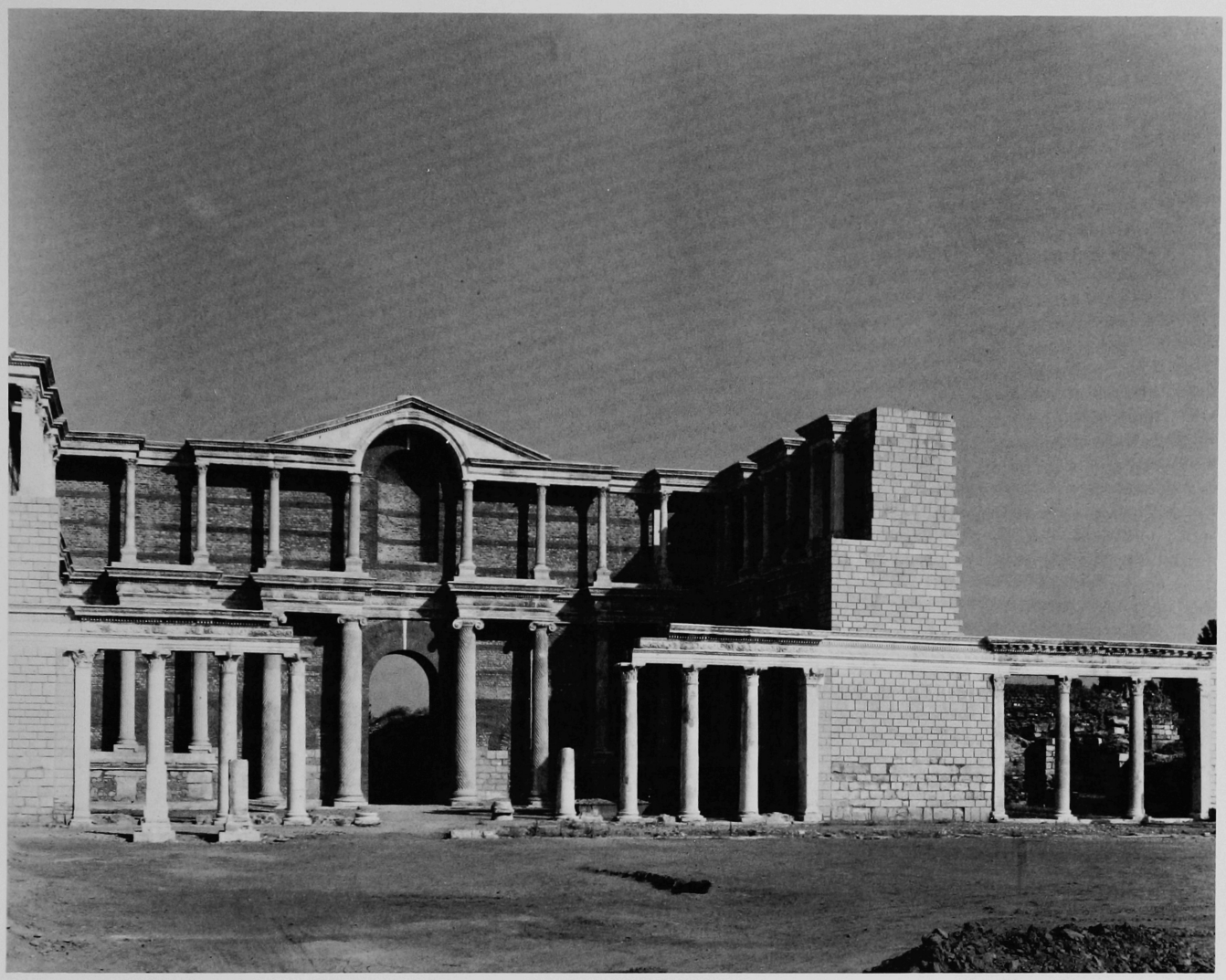


Fig. 347 The Gymnasium: the "Marble Court" as restored by the Harvard-Cornell Expedition, showing originals or casts of head capitals **198-206** in place on the screen colonnade.

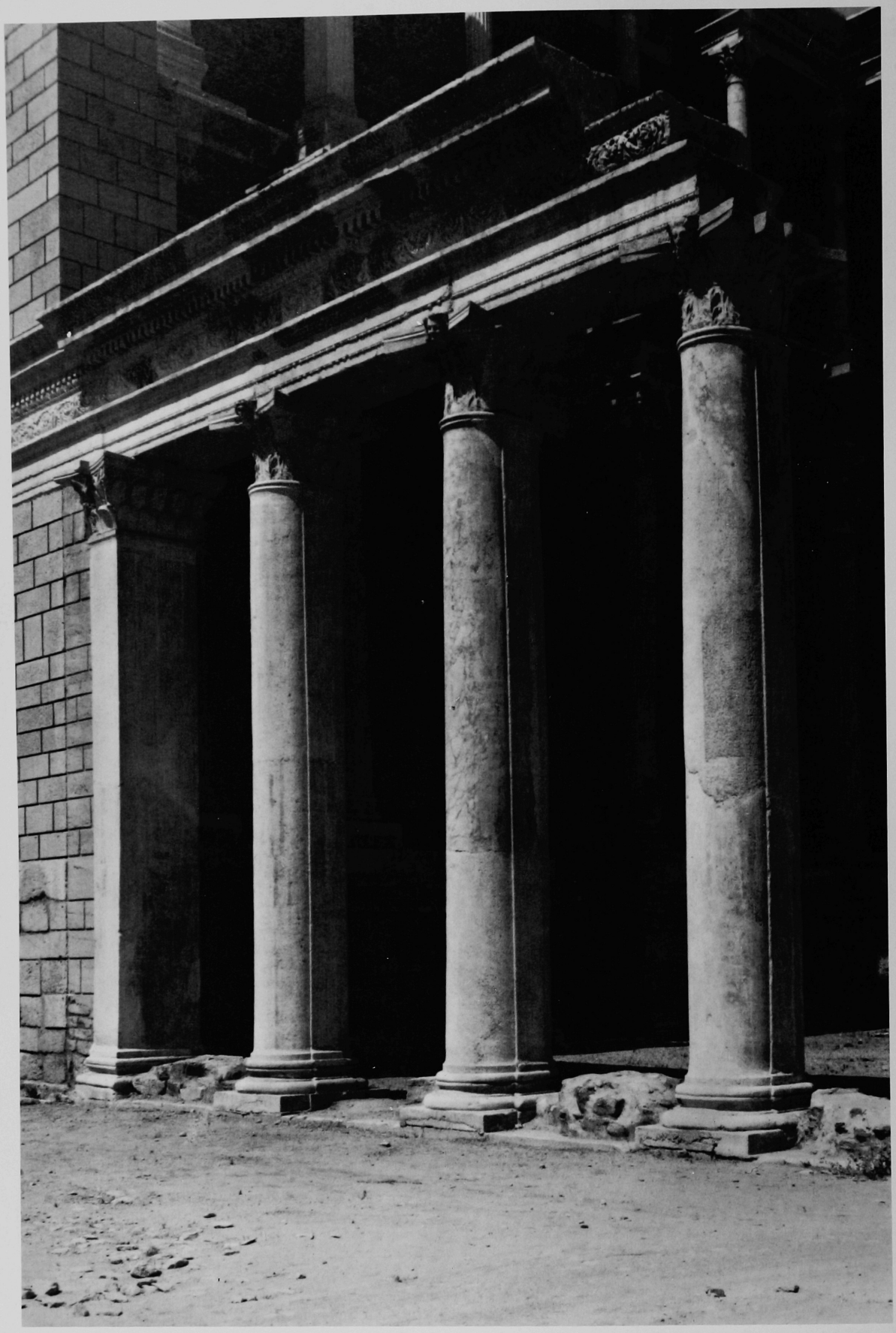


Fig. 348 Screen colonnade, Fig. 347, showing originals or casts of head capitals in place.

Fig. 349 **197**

Fig. 350 **197** Detail.

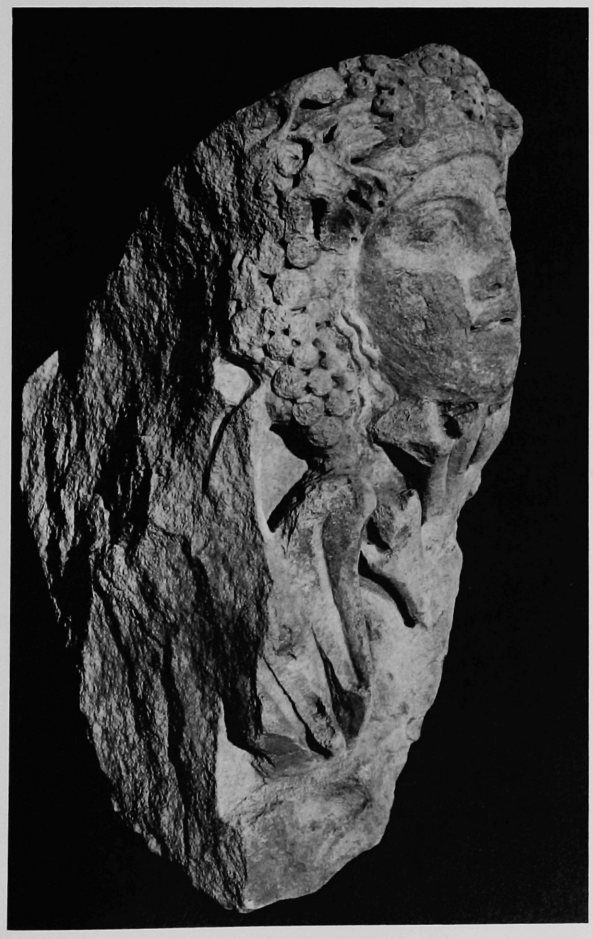


Fig. 351 **198**

Fig. 352 **198** Detail.

Fig. 353 **199**

Fig. 354 **199** Detail.

Fig. 355 **200**

Fig. 356 **201**

Fig. 357 **202**

Fig. 358 **203**

Fig. 359 **204**

Fig. 360 **204** Detail.

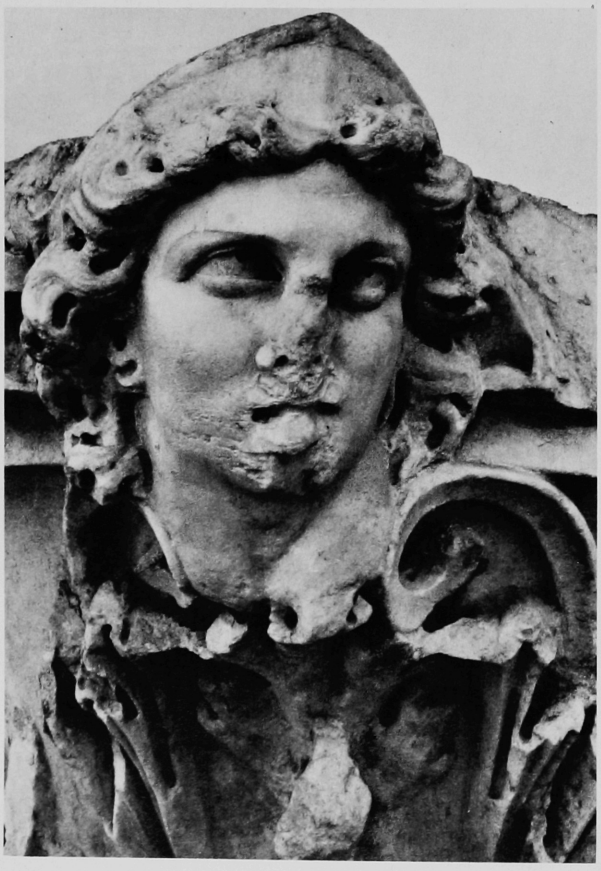
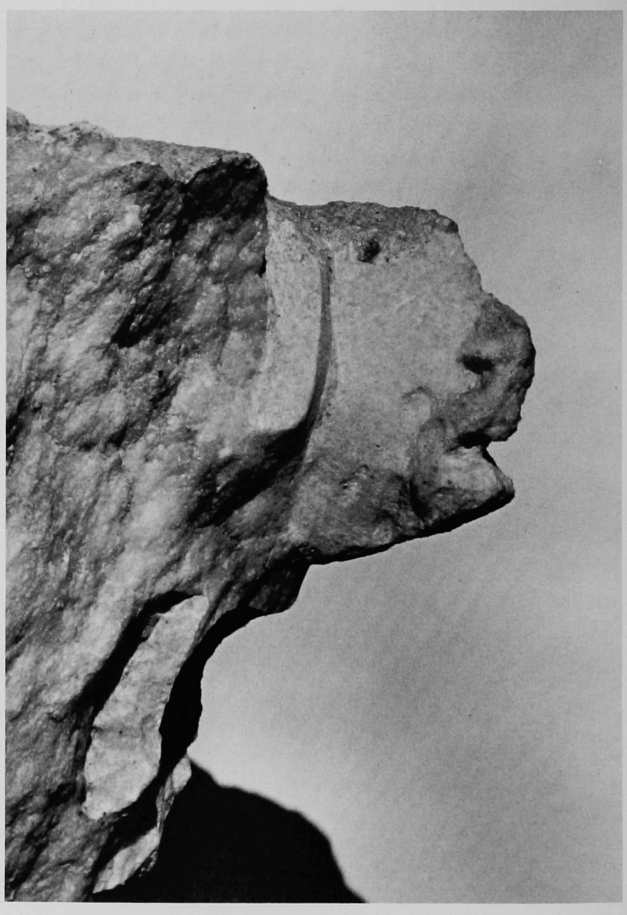


Fig. 361 **204** Detail of hair on side.



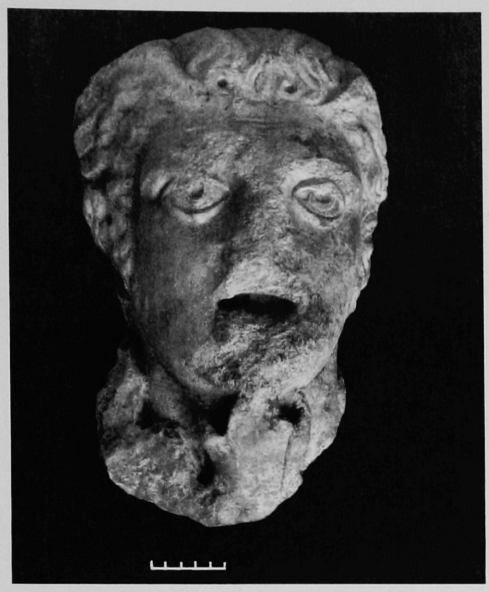


Fig. 362 **205**

Fig. 363 **206**

Fig. 364 **207**

Fig. 365 **208**

Fig. 366 **208** Detail.

Fig. 367 **209**

Fig. 368 **209** Detail.

Fig. 369 **210** Center.

Fig. 370 **210** Side.

Fig. 371 **211**

Fig. 372 **212**

Fig. 373 **213**

Fig. 374 **213** R. side.

Fig. 375 **213** Projection drawing.

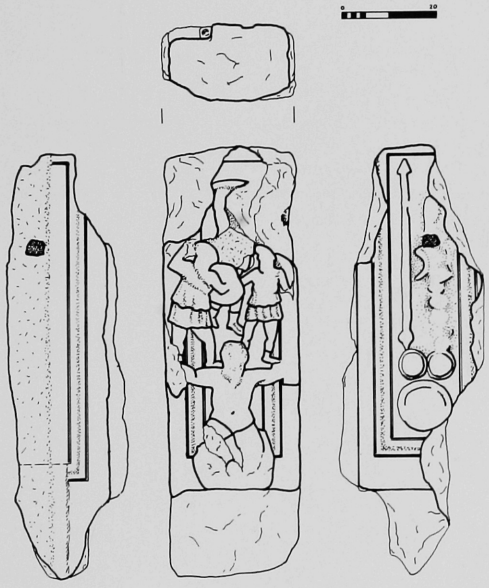


Fig. 376 **214**

Fig. 377 **215**

Fig. 378 **216**

Fig. 379 **217** Relief A.

Fig. 380 **217** Relief B.

Fig. 381 **217** **217** A and B with table top fragments *in situ*.

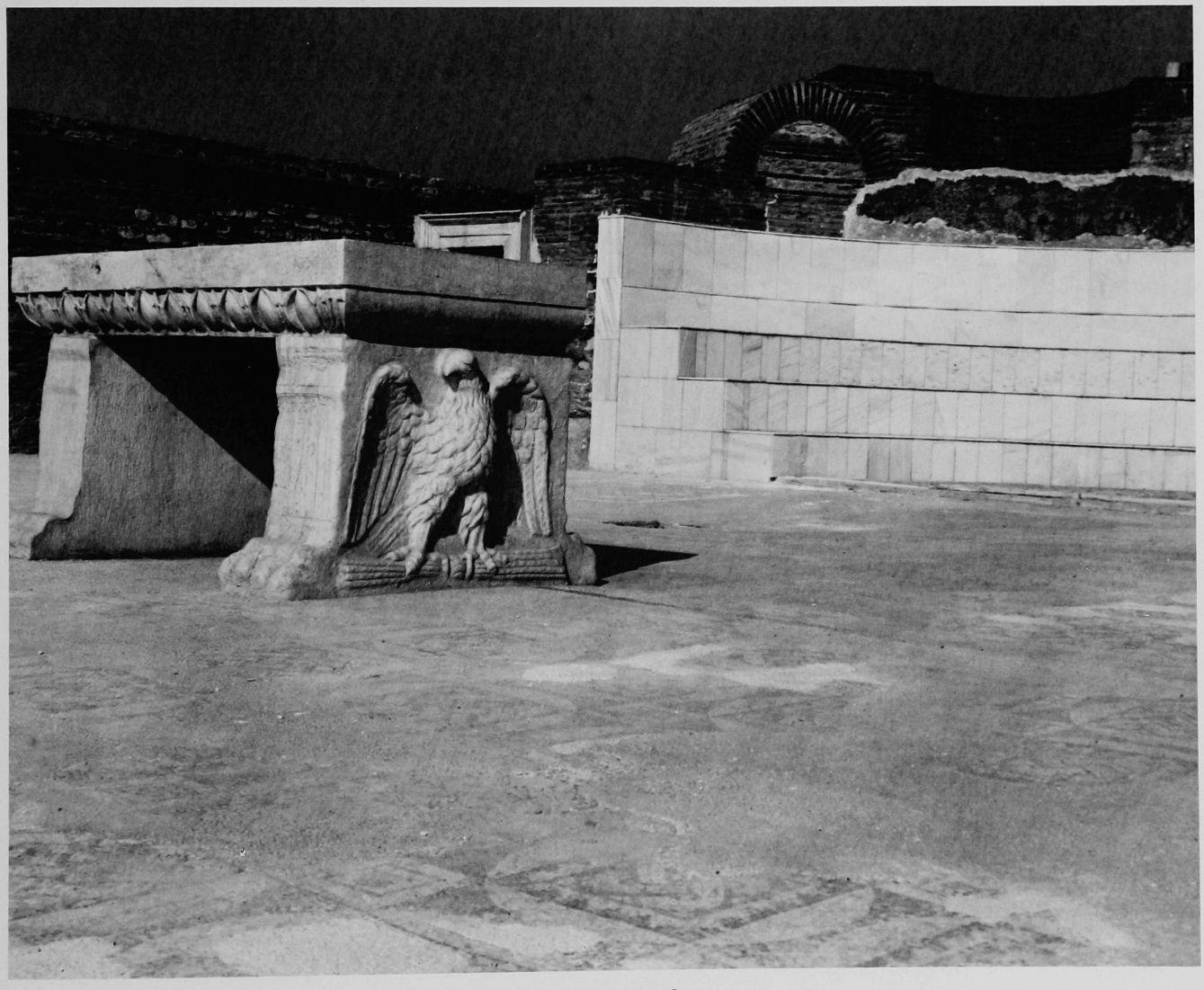


Fig. 382 **217** Restored top on casts of **217** A and B in front of the Synagogue apse.

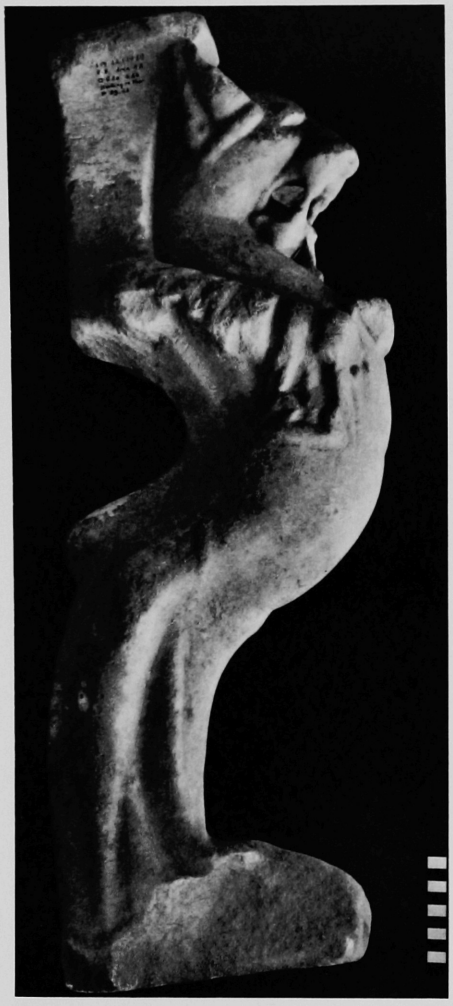


Fig. 383 **218**

Fig. 384 **219**

Fig. 385 **220**

Fig. 386 **221**

Fig. 387 **222**

Fig. 388 **223**

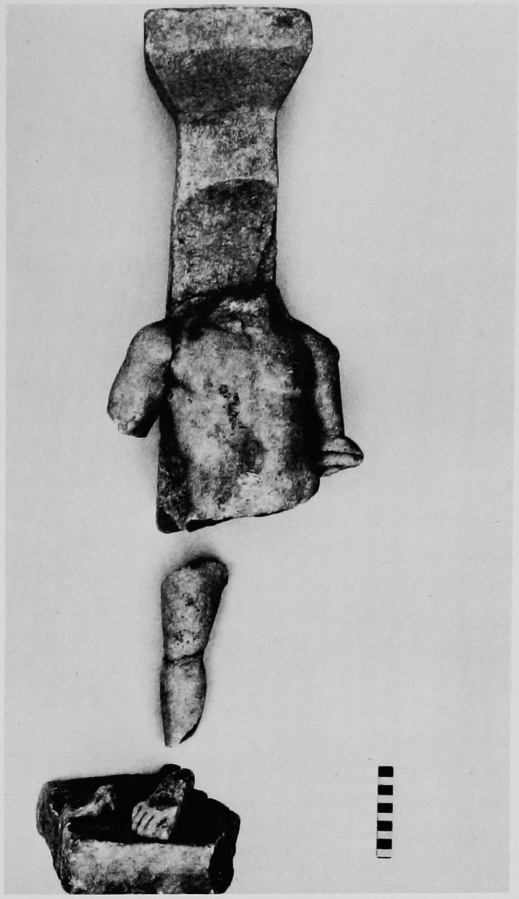


Fig. 389 **224**

Fig. 390 **225**

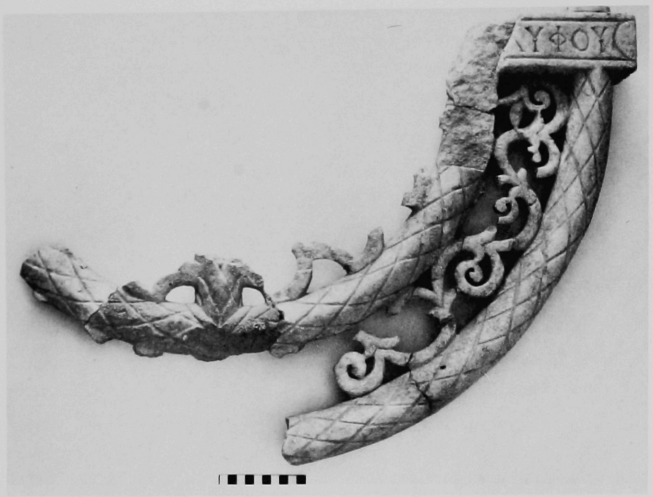


Fig. 391 **226**

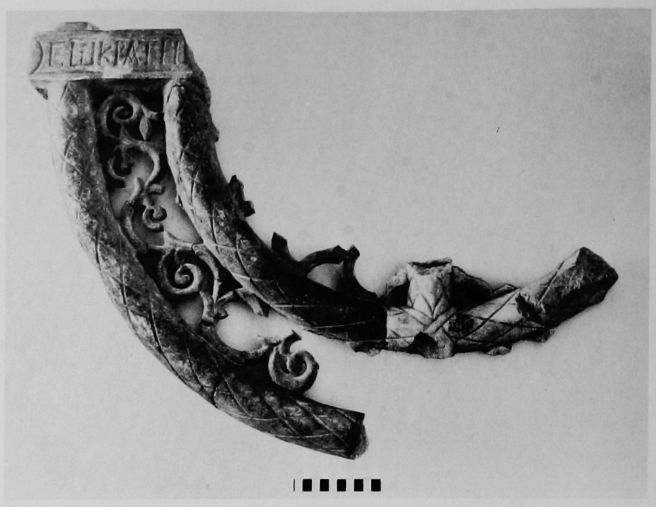


Fig. 392 **226** Reverse.

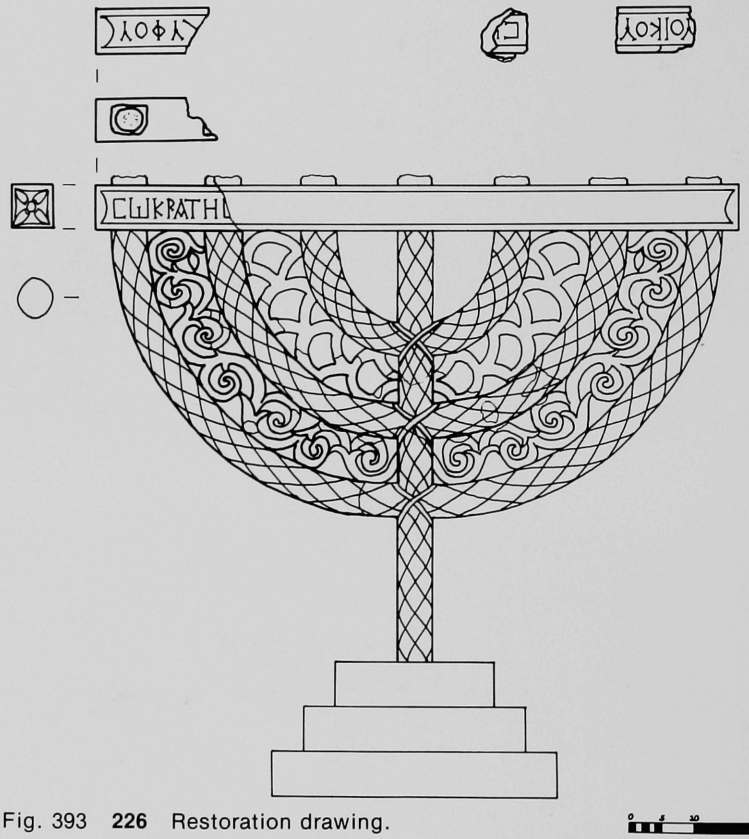


Fig. 393 **226** Restoration drawing.

Fig. 394 **227**

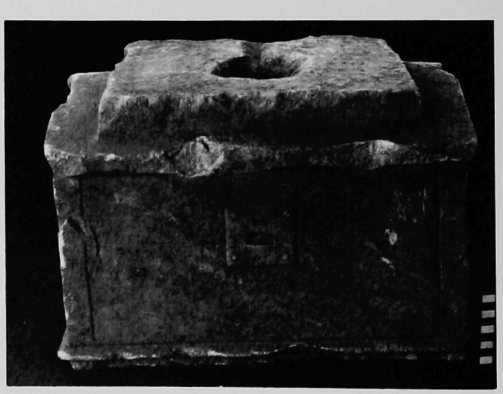


Fig. 395 **228**

Fig. 396

Fig. 398

Fig. 397

Fig. 399

Figs. 396-399 **229** Private Collection.

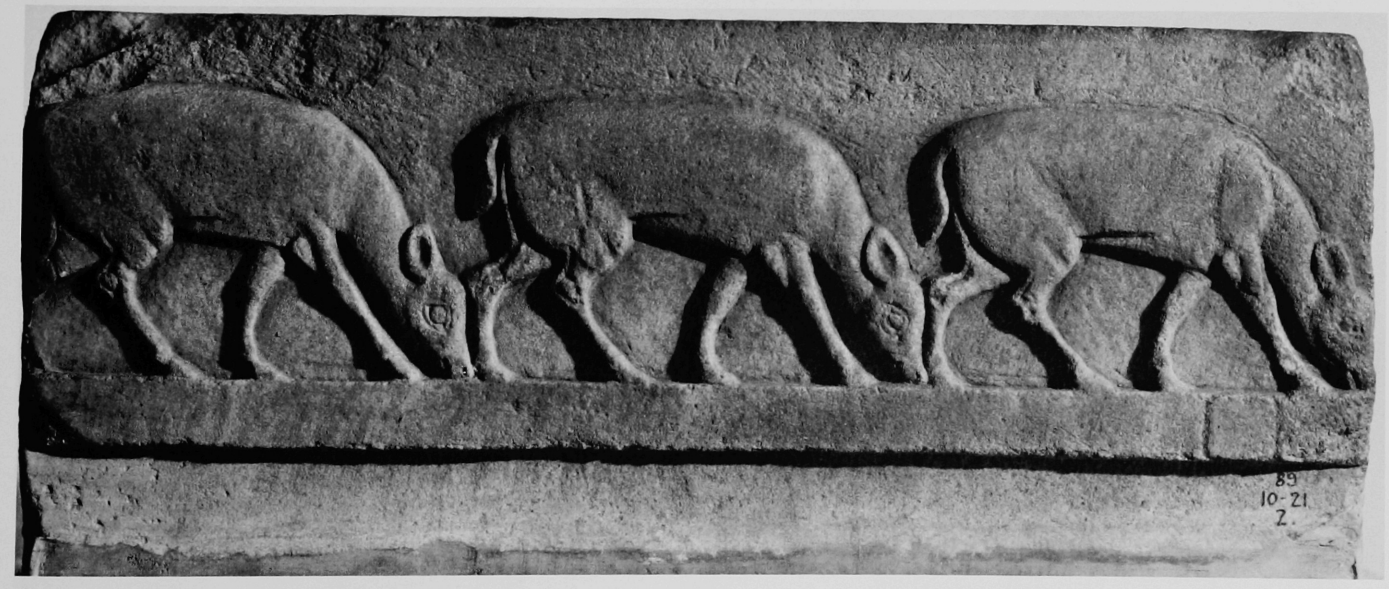


Fig. 400 **230** London, The British Museum, B 270.

Fig. 401 **231** London, The British Museum, B 269.

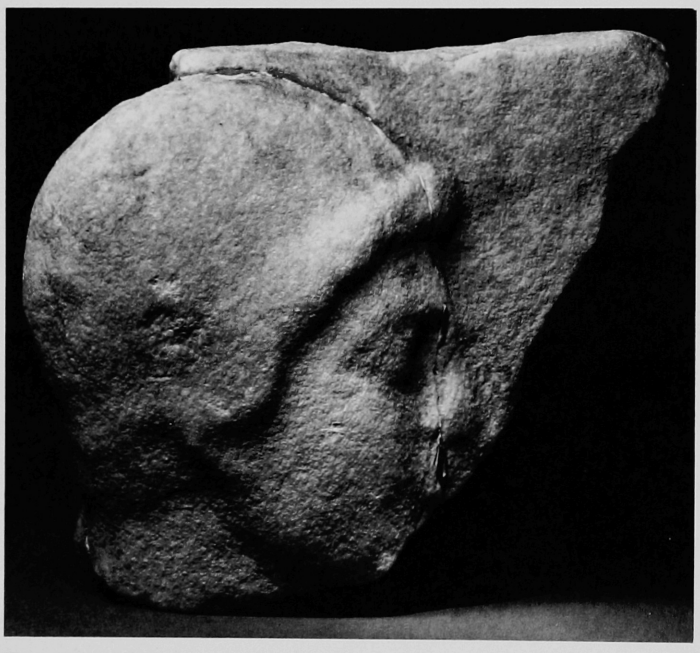
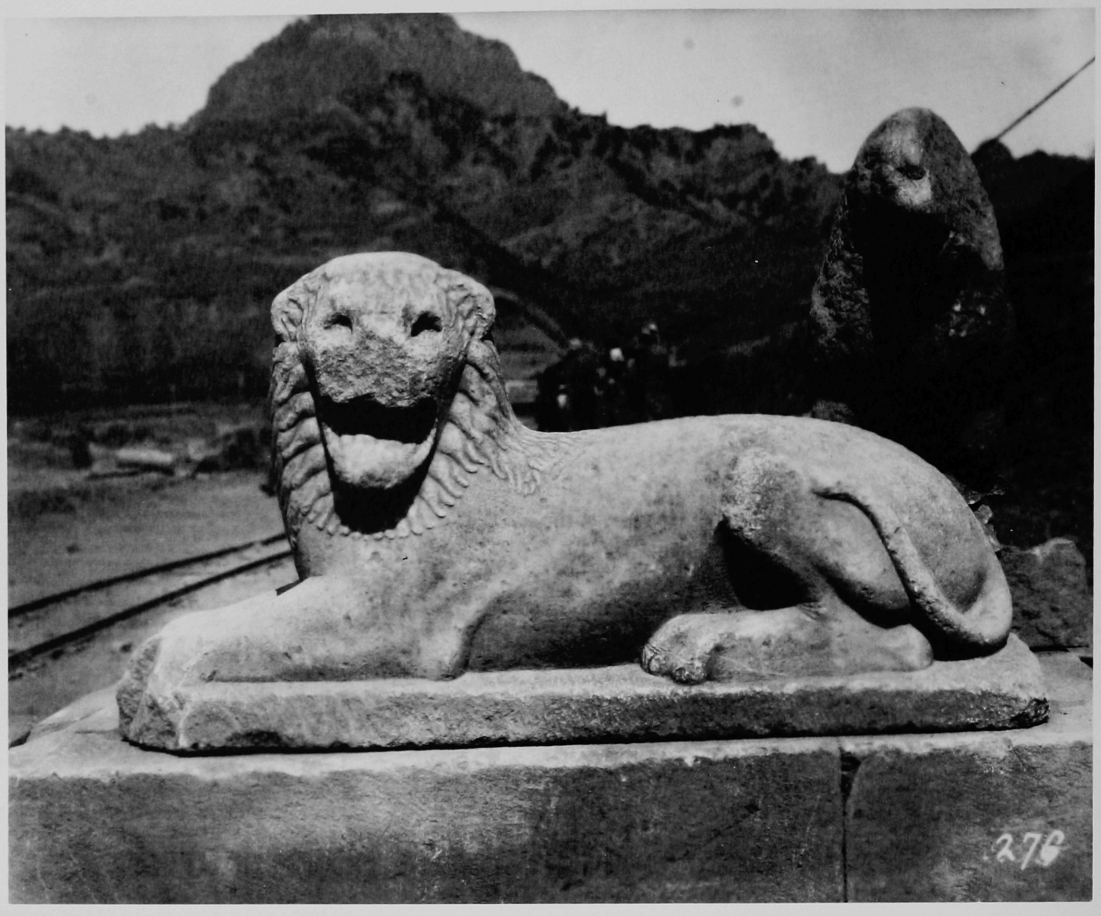


Fig. 402 **232** New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.199.278.

Fig. 403 **233** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 690.

Fig. 404 **234** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4030.

Figs. 405-406 **235** New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.59.9. Gift of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1926.



Figs. 407-408 **236** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4028; shown as excavated by the first Sardis expedition.

Fig. 409 **235-236** *in situ.*

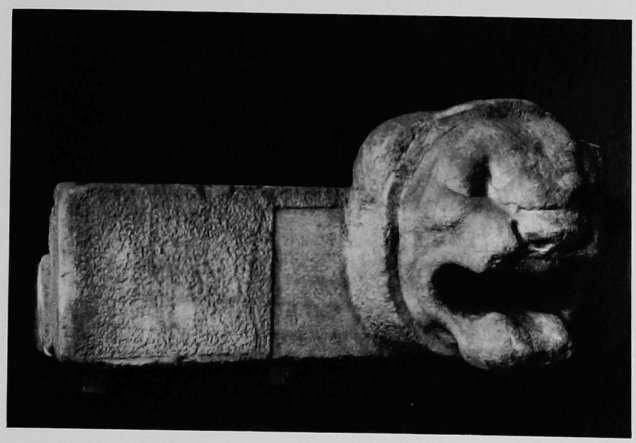


Fig. 410

Fig. 411

Figs. 410-412 **237** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4047.

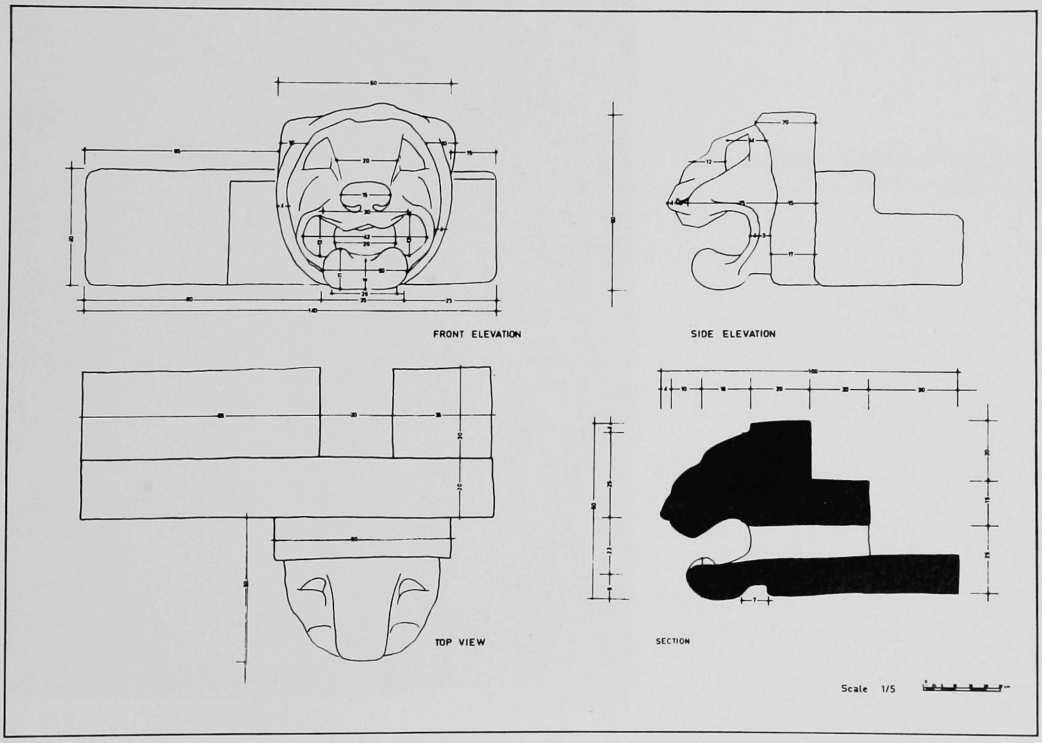


Fig. 412

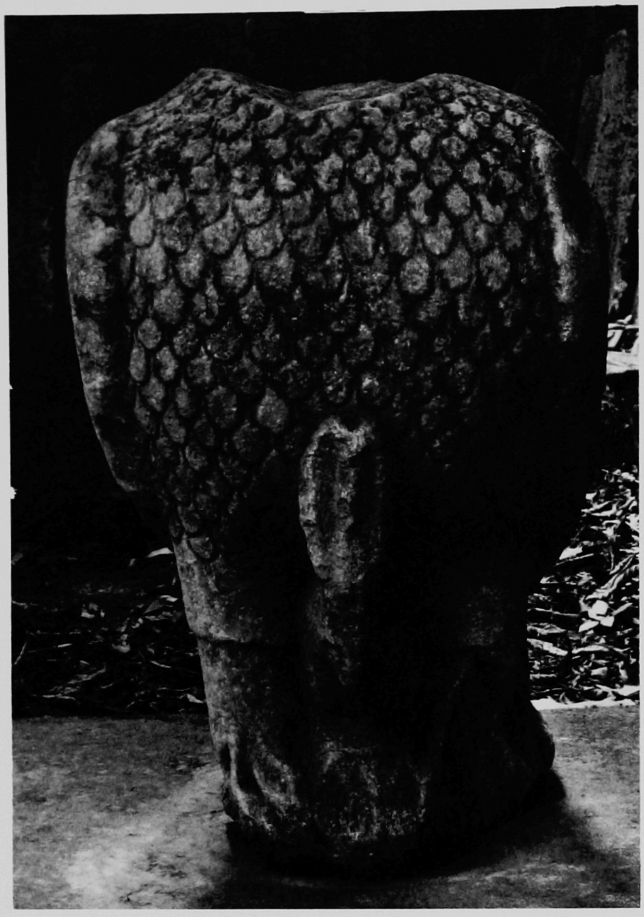


Fig. 413

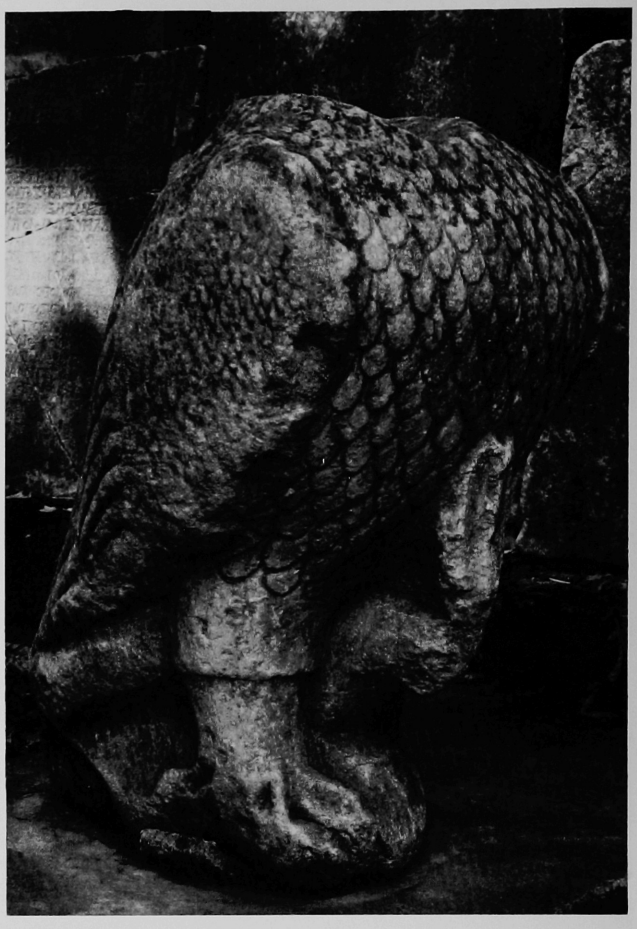


Fig. 414

Figs. 413-415 **238** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4032.

Fig. 415

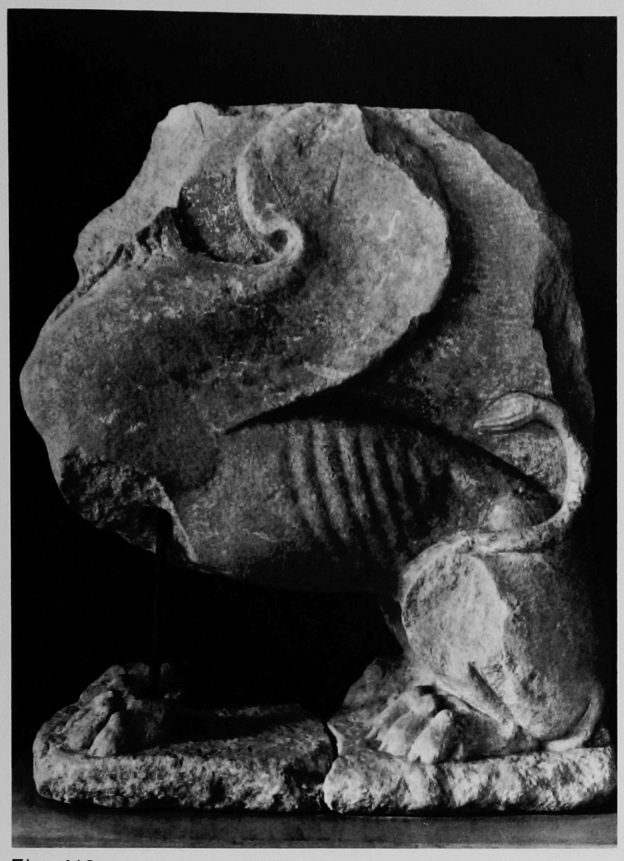


Fig. 416

Fig. 417

Fig. 418

Figs. 416-418 **239** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4031.

Fig. 419 **240** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 695.

Fig. 420 **241** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 691.

Fig. 421 **242** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 694.

Fig. 422 **243** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4027

Figs. 423-424 **244** Paris, Musee du Louvre, MA 3198.

Fig. 425 **245** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4033.

Figs. 426-427 **246** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 582

Fig. 428 **247** Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 3307.

Figs. 429-430 **248** Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 3249.

Fig. 431 **249** Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 883.

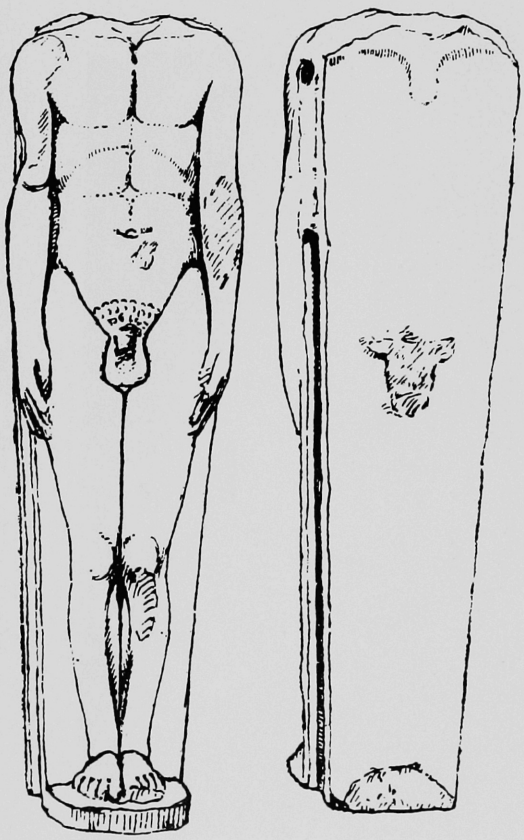


Fig. 432 **249** Drawing from *Berlin Beschreibung*, 354, no. 883.

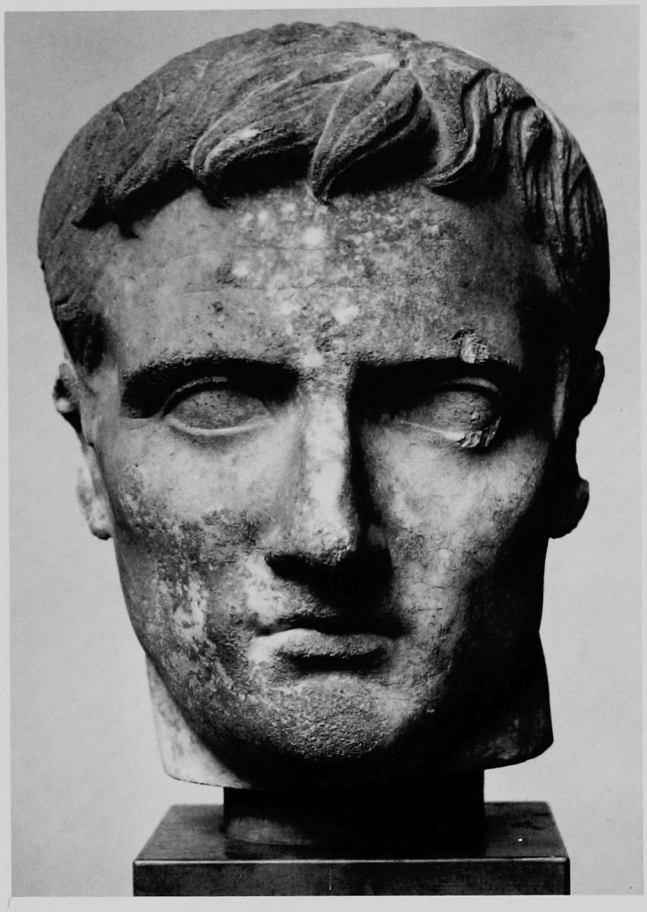


Fig. 433 **250** Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 746.

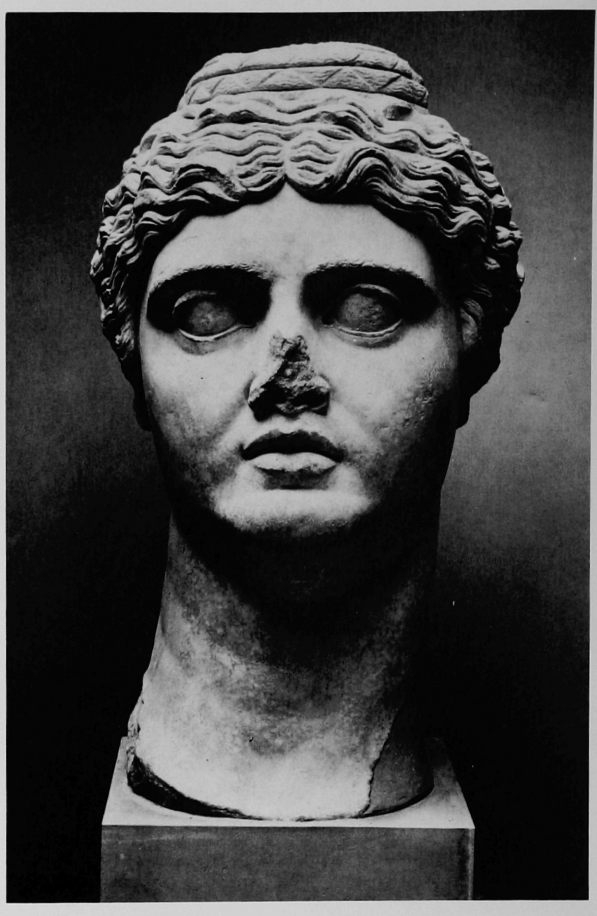


Fig. 434 **251** London, The British Museum, 1936-3-10-1.

Fig. 435 **252** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4038; shown as excavated by the first Sardis expedition.

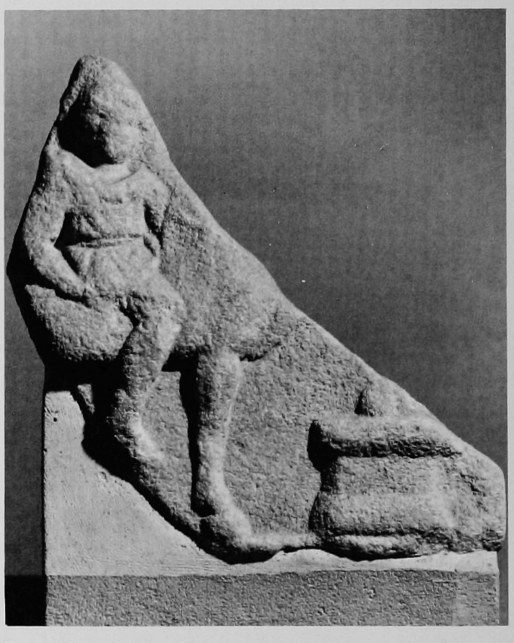


Fig. 436 **253** Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G 1140.

Fig. 437

Fig. 438

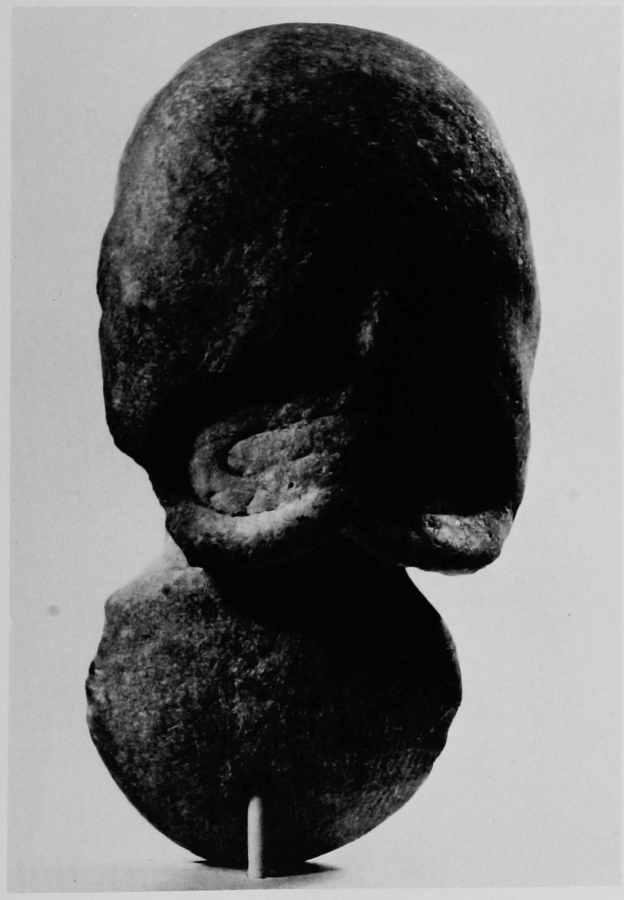


Fig. 439

Fig. 440

Figs. 437-440 **254** Cambridge, Trinity College Collection, on permanent loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Fig. 441 **255** Berlin,
Staatliche Museen, 793.

Fig. 442 **256** Berlin,
Staatliche Museen, 702.

Fig. 443 **257** Berlin,
Staatliche Museen, 1077.

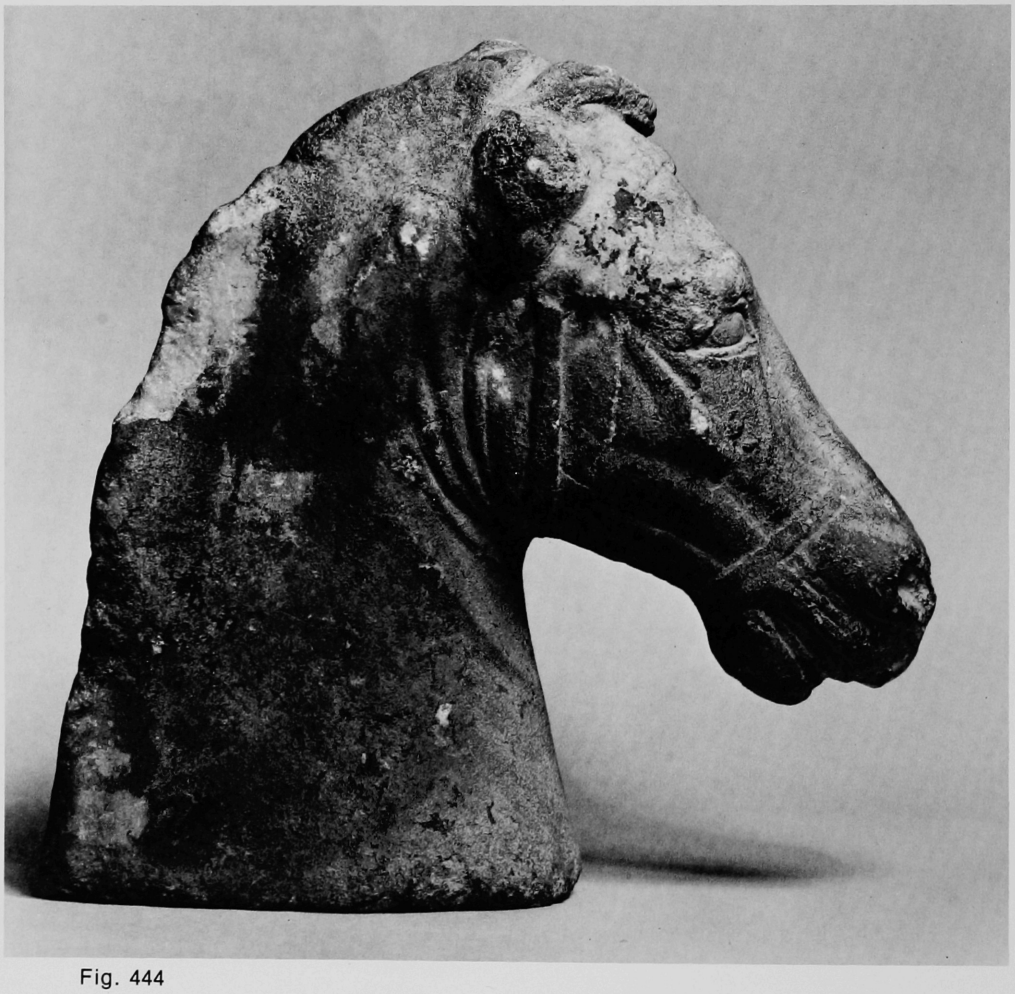


Fig. 444

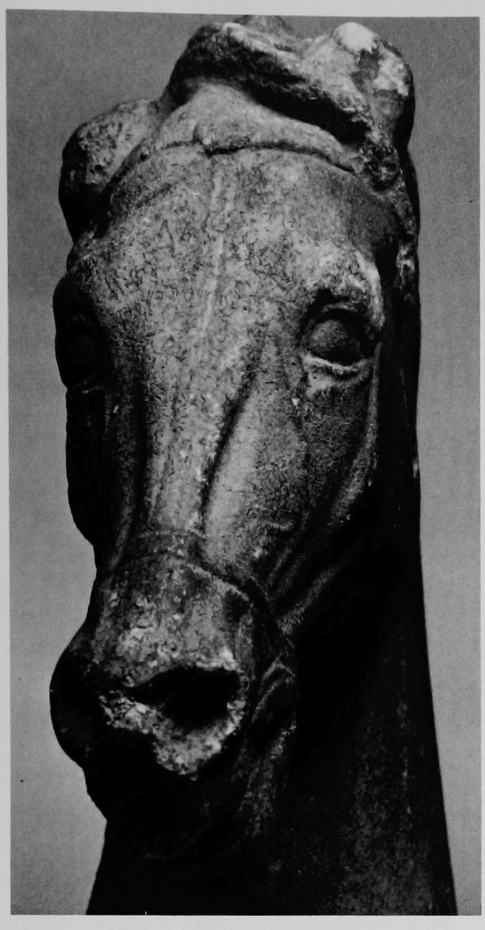


Fig. 445

Fig. 446

Fig. 447 **259** Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 29-64.

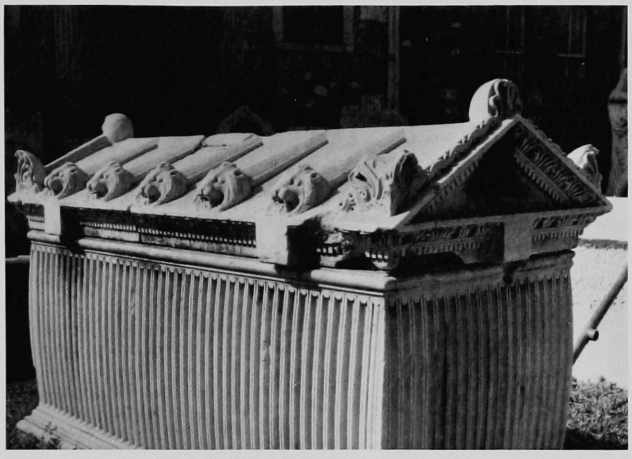


Fig. 448

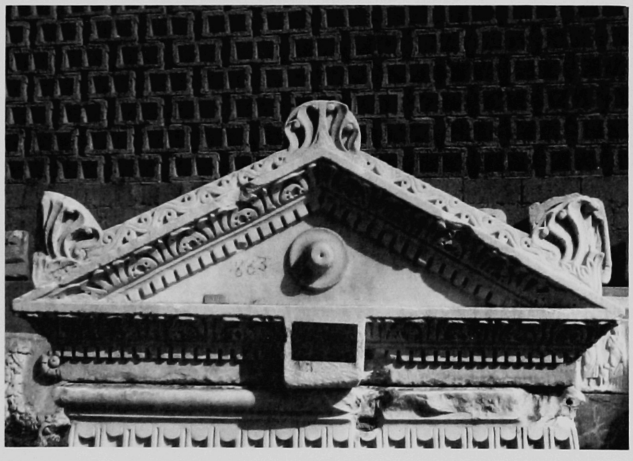


Fig. 449

Figs. 448-449 **260** Izmir, Archaeological Museum, 833.

Fig. 450 **261**

Fig. 451 **262**

Fig. 452 **262** Detail.

Fig. 453 **263**

Fig. 454 **264**

Fig. 455 **265**

Figs. 456-457 **266**

Fig. 458 **267**

Fig. 459 **268**

Fig. 460 **270** Paris, Musée du Louvre, MND 438.

Fig. 461 **271** Adana Regional Museum.

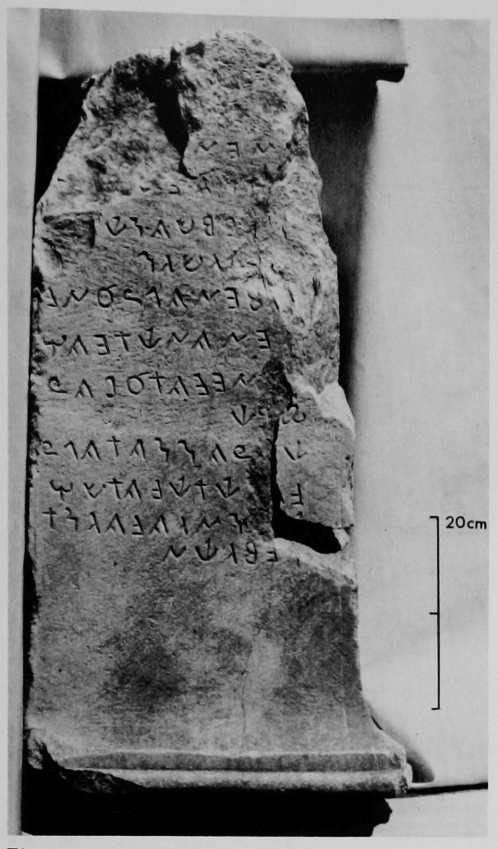


Fig. 462 **272**

Fig. 463 **273**

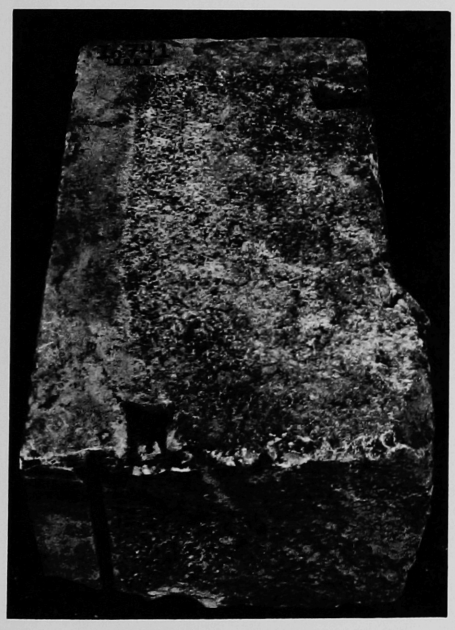


Fig. 464 **273** Top and back.

Fig. 465 **274**

Fig. 466 **274** Top.

Fig. 467 **275**

Fig. 468 **275** Top.

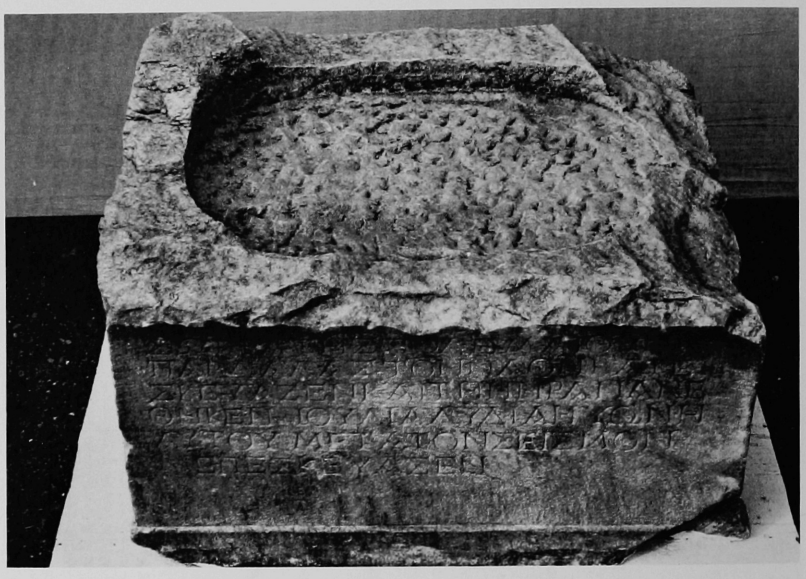


Fig. 469 **276**

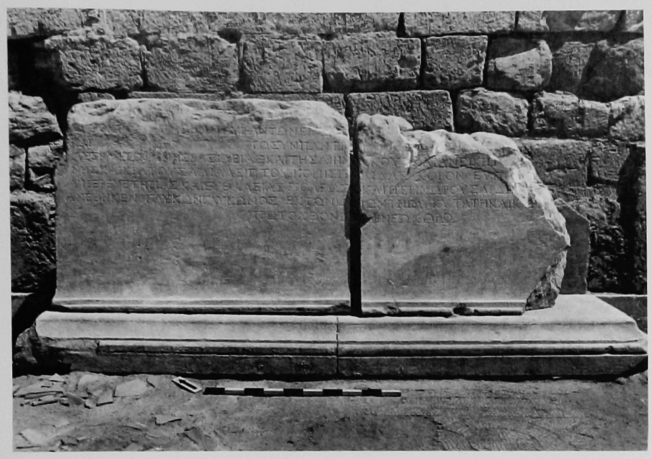


Fig. 470 **277**

Fig. 471 **278**

Fig. 472 Base from Puteoli. Naples, National Museum, 6780.

Photographic Acknowledgments

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3892 -

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