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AN ARCHAIC IVORY FIGURINE FROM A TUMULUS NEAR ELMALI

CULTURAL HYBRIDIZATION AND A NEW ANATOLIAN STYLE

To my father, Arif Şare

ABSTRACT

The extent of cultural and artistic hybridization in Archaic Anatolia is explored through close examination of an ivory figurine of a mother with two children from Tumulus D at Bayındır, near Elmalı in southwestern Turkey. Along with other figurines from that tomb and from Archaic Ephesos, this family group testifies to the late-7th-century B.C. birth of a western Anatolian style in the minor arts that anticipates the Ionian style in Greek sculpture. The author suggests that the figurines served as handles of sacred implements and that they represent elite participants in the cult of an Anatolian goddess, perhaps Artemis Ephesia.

Among the remarkable archaeological discoveries of the past century is an ivory figurine of a mother with two children recovered from a tumulus adjacent to the village of Bayındır, near Elmalı in Antalya province, southwestern Turkey (Figs. 1–4, below).¹ Since its discovery in 1987, the group has stimulated scholarly debate over its date, style, and the workshop that produced it, as well as the identity of the figures it represents. The proposed dates for the figurine range from the late 8th to the early 6th century B.C. Some scholars consider the group to be the product of a Neo-Hittite workshop, while others suggest an Ionian, Lydian, Phrygian, or Lycian workshop; some identify the figures as the Anatolian Kybele with her children, while others identify them as Leto with Apollo and Artemis.²

In this article, I reevaluate the existing scholarship on the figurine in light of other figurines discovered in the same tomb, as well as related material from Ephesos. I suggest that the Antalya figurines were carved in an

1. Antalya Museum 2.21.87. This article derives from a case study in my dissertation (Şare, forthcoming).

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All dates are B.C. unless otherwise indicated. The term “Archaic” is used

here to refer to the period ca. 700–480.

2. The main publications concerning this figurine are Dörtlük 1988; Özgen and Özgen 1988; Akurgal 1992; Özgen and Öztürk 1996; Roller 1999; Işık 2000; Boardman 2000; and Börker-Klähn 2003.

“Anatolian” workshop and exemplify the cultural and artistic amalgamation of Greek and local traditions that flourished in Anatolia and developed into what art historians call the Ionian style. I also argue that the figurines functioned as handles of ritual implements, possibly distaffs or libation cups, and that they depict high-status participants in the cult of an Anatolian goddess, possibly Artemis Ephesia. I pay special attention to the costumes of the figurines as evidence for religious and gender-specific roles and status in Archaic Anatolia.

I begin by describing the figurine and its archaeological context. I then reassess the figurine’s date, style, and workshop of production; the iconography and identity of the subjects represented; the figurine’s cult associations; its function within the funerary context; and the possible identity of the deceased. Adopting Işık’s label, I refer to this figurine as Antalya C.³

ANTALYA C IN CONTEXT

Tumulus D, from which Antalya C was unearthed, is one of over a hundred small tumuli on the plain outside Bayındır. Only two of these tumuli, C and D, have been excavated systematically, both by Kayhan Dörtlük.⁴ Both tumuli have revealed similar construction techniques: a burial pit sunk in the hardpan, enclosed within a wooden chamber, with the whole structure covered by stones forming a mound. Interestingly, the contents of the tumuli represent different burial traditions—cremation in Tumulus C and inhumation in Tumulus D.⁵

The wooden burial chamber in Tumulus D measures 3.25 × 4.50 m and has a floor decorated with pebbles.⁶ The skeletal remains of a female in her late 20s laid out on a wooden *kline*, with her head facing east, were found on the north side of the room.⁷ Surviving elements of the deceased’s costume include a large silver belt over her waist, ten bronze fibulae over her chest, and nine silver fibulae found next to her chin. Scattered around the body were two small bronze cauldrons with bull protomes, ivory furniture appliqué (possibly from the *kline*), embossed silver plaques (possibly from a horse’s harness), and two iron horse bits.⁸ The eastern corner of the chamber yielded another silver belt and a large cauldron containing the remains of

3. Işık 2000.

4. Dörtlük 1988.

5. Both tumuli are similar in size. Tumulus C is 36–38 m in width and 4.20 m in height (at the center); and Tumulus D is 40–45 m in width and 5.10 m in height. See Dörtlük 1988, p. 172.

6. Not much survived of the wooden walls and the ceiling. Eight postholes in the pebbled floor, 50 cm in depth and 22 cm in circumference, once held the supports of the wooden roof. See Dörtlük 1988, p. 173. Wooden burial chambers underneath earthen and stone

tumuli are typical of Phrygian burial tradition, the most famous example being the so-called Tomb of Midas or Tumulus MM from Gordion; see *Gordion I*, pp. 79–102; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 32; Uçankuş 2002, pp. 287–338.

7. The wooden *kline* had virtually disintegrated and the remains of the deceased had fallen to the floor.

8. The tumulus did not contain any equine skeletal remains. Almost all of the embossed silver plaques are perforated with holes for attachment. Thus, they may be the surviving parts of the

garment of the deceased. Börker-Klähn (2003, pp. 70–72), however, believes that the silver plaques belong to a horse saddle, a personal possession of the deceased woman that was deliberately damaged and rendered unusable at the time of burial. She further notes that remains of such saddles are known from Phrygian tombs at Gordion. For golden appliqué sewn onto the garments, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, pp. 165–167, nos. 115–119; for a representation of a dress decorated with appliqué on a 7th-century medallion, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 166, fig. 158.

burned ceramics. Antalya C and three more figurines, two of ivory and one of silver, were found in the southwest corner in a pile of objects including several silver and bronze omphalos cups (some plain, some with petaled decoration); bronze and silver bowls with swiveling ring handles attached to bolsters; a silver ladle and a bronze ladle; small cauldrons of silver and bronze with ring-handles or bull protomes; and a small ivory cup. Eleven of the metal vessels bear incised Phrygian names.⁹

Antalya C, 17 cm in height and 5.4 cm in width, offers a lively representation of a mother with her two children (Fig. 1). The family group is carved from a single piece of ivory. A rectangular hole at the top of the mother's polos indicates that the figurine was originally attached to an object (Fig. 2). The mother stands at the center on a shallow base with her left foot forward. She wears a one-piece, sleeved dress with a belt and a large circular collar band at the neck. The dress has decorative horizontal and vertical bands; one of the horizontal bands forms the hem. The belt has incisions imitating metalwork, recalling the two silver belts found in the same tumulus.¹⁰ Over the high polos the figure wears a veil, two corners of which are brought to the front and tucked into the belt; the veil is also held in place by a band tied around the polos in typical Anatolian fashion.¹¹ The dress, which responds to the forward movement of the mother's foot, is rendered longer in the front and shorter in the back and reveals the backs of her ankles. Two straight chin-length locks of hair fall in front of her ears. She wears a beaded necklace arranged like a bead-and-reel molding, and spiral bracelets on both wrists. The figure has full rounded cheeks, almond-shaped, slanting eyes, a large rounded nose, and full lips with an Archaic smile.

A small girl on the right stands with her left foot forward and holds her mother's hand tightly (Fig. 3). She wears a sleeved and belted dress with a collar band at the neckline and a beaded necklace like her mother's. The thinner pleats just above her feet indicate that she is also wearing an undergarment. The horizontal and vertical bands on her dress are decorated with double hooks and hooked swastikas, and her collar band is decorated

9. Dörtlük (1988, p. 173) mentions these inscriptions, but does not identify the language of the text. The inscriptions were initially published by Varinlioglu (1992) and then by Börker-Klähn (2003, pp. 74–77) and Brixhe (2004). The inscribed Phrygian names include Siñidos, Ata, Dide, and Ates, the last appearing seven times. Börker-Klähn (2003, pp. 74–77) suggests that these cups did not come from the household of the deceased but belonged to her surviving relatives: their names were inscribed on the objects, which were placed in the grave as offerings. She further believes that Ates, whose name appears most frequently on the cups, was probably a chief priest and a relative of King Midas; the name Ates

appears, along with that of Midas, as a dedicator on Phrygian rock reliefs at Yazılıkaya.

For the inscribed small silver cauldron (Antalya Museum 11.21.87) and the silver ladle (Antalya Museum 43.21.87), see Özgen and Özgen 1988, pp. 187–188, nos. 32 and 34; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 27.

10. These belts provide the only analogy between the costume of the deceased in the tumulus, who had a large silver belt at her waist, and the costume of Antalya C. For the deceased's belt (Antalya Museum 71.21.87), see Özgen and Özgen 1988, p. 192, no. 48. In addition to being a status symbol, the second silver belt, found in the eastern corner of the tomb,

must have had a sacred significance; perhaps it was a virginal belt. As discussed below, dedication of such belts as a symbol of the transition to womanhood or motherhood is well attested in the cult of Artemis. For representations of fibulae, see Muscarella 1967; for types of Anatolian belts in the Archaic period, see Boardman 1961–1962 and Vassileva 2005; for the dedication of belts to Artemis, see Roccas 2000, p. 240; Cole 2004, pp. 217–218.

11. Initially a part of Neo-Hittite costume, the combination of a polos with a long veil whose corners are brought to the front and tucked into a belt seems to have been adopted by the Ionians living in Anatolia; see Özgen 1982, pp. 263–286.



Figure 1. Antalya C, ivory figurine of a mother with her two children. H. 17 cm. Antalya Museum 2.21.87. Işık 2000, pl. 3. Courtesy Akdeniz University Lycian Civilizations Research Center



Figure 2. Antalya C, detail of the mother's head, showing a rectangular opening. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism



Figure 3. Antalya C, detail of the girl. Işık 2000, pl. 3. Courtesy Akdeniz University Lycian Civilizations Research Center



Figure 4. Antalya C, detail of the boy. Işık 2000, pl. 3. Courtesy Akdeniz University Lycian Civilizations Research Center



Figure 5. Antalya A, silver figurine of a priest. H. 12.4 cm. Antalya Museum 1.21.87. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism

with a triangular pattern. Her feet are just visible in front through two arches formed by the hem of her dress, while the backs of her feet are completely covered by the pleats of her undergarment. The figure's long hair, incised with a herringbone pattern, falls down the back in five separate locks that end in ringlets. Two shorter, curved locks of hair fall in front of the ears on both sides. This figure too has almond-shaped, slanting eyes, a large rounded nose, full rounded cheeks, and lips set in an Archaic smile. Her young age is indicated not only by her size relative to that of her mother, but also by the ringlets at the end of her long hair.

A nude infant boy is seated on his mother's left shoulder in a "riding position" (Fig. 4). The child secures his balance by holding onto his mother's polos with his right hand. Even though his head is missing, aspects of his stature, especially his small feet and his plump body, clearly communicate his young age.

The three figurines discovered with Antalya C have great importance for a better understanding of that figurine's artistic context and function. Antalya A is the only silver figurine in the group (Fig. 5). The controversial



Figure 6 (left). Antalya B, ivory figurine of a priest. H. 7.6 cm. Antalya Museum 4.21.87. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism

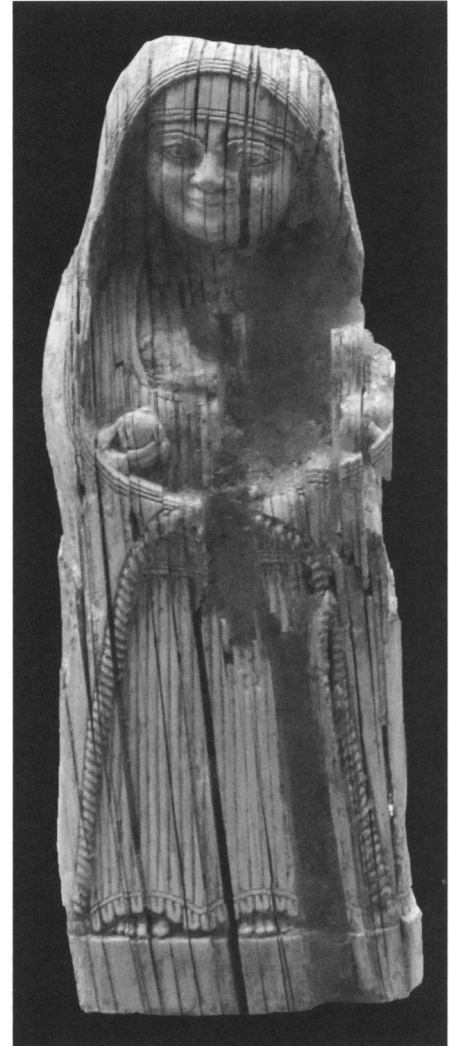


Figure 7 (right). Antalya D, ivory figurine of a woman. H. 16.2 cm. Antalya Museum 3.21.87. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism

issue of the figure's gender is taken up in more detail below. Antalya A wears a one-piece belted dress and a tall polos with horizontal decorative bands. Claspings its hands in front, the figurine stands stiffly, with large eyes and truncated locks of hair in front of the ears. The style of Antalya A is slightly different from that of the other three ivory figurines, possibly due to its different medium and the hollow-cast technique used for its creation.

Ivory Antalya B, whose gender is also controversial, wears a one-piece belted dress, a polos, and a long necklace, which the figurine holds with both hands (Fig. 6). Short curved locks of hair frame the face on both sides. Though details of the face do not survive, the overall rendering is reminiscent of Antalya C. Both Antalya A and B wear dresses with closely packed folds, which indicate that the garments are made of soft fabric, possibly linen.

Antalya D is an ivory figurine of a woman wearing a dress fringed at the hem, and over the dress a veil whose edges are tucked into a large belt (Fig. 7). The figure's chin-length straight hair is visible in front of her ears. The overall rendering of the face, with its slanting eyes and Archaic

smile, is almost identical to that of Antalya C. She holds a bird in her right hand and a baby in her left, although these figures are very fragmentary. The stylistic similarities among the three ivory figurines found together, Antalya B, C, and D, indicate that they were products of the same workshop. Furthermore, these figurines all have rectangular holes at the top, which suggests that they were attached to something similar and thus probably had a similar function.

DATE, STYLE, AND WORKSHOP

Since its initial brief mention in the excavation report by Dörtlük, Antalya C, along with the other Antalya figurines, has been the focus of many studies, each presenting a different interpretation of the figurines' style, date, and iconography. Focusing on the details of the costumes, Akurgal considers Antalya C as an example of the last bloom of Neo-Hittite art in the late 7th century.¹² Özgen suggests an early-7th-century date and proposes a Lydian origin for the workshop.¹³ Roller argues for a late-7th-century date and a Phrygian origin for the workshop,¹⁴ and she identifies the figures as the Anatolian Kybele with her children.¹⁵ Boardman cites Antalya C as an example of a 7th-century style in the minor arts of Anatolia that he describes as "Phrygian, gradually becoming Lydian with shifts in political power, but Lydian of a type that owes nothing important to Greek style."¹⁶

In his comprehensive study of the Antalya figurines, Işık discusses Antalya C as an example of the Ionianization of Phrygian and Neo-Hittite forms in Anatolia in the early 6th century. Işık assigns the figurines to an Ionian, and more specifically an Ephesian, workshop. He further argues that the figurine was commissioned by a Lycian and represents Leto with her children, Artemis and Apollo.¹⁷ In the most recent publication on the Antalya figurines, Börker-Klähn also identifies the group as Leto and her children. She dates the figurines to the late 8th century, however, and considers the style an example of a South Asia Minor artistic koine that is rooted in Syro-Phoenician style but matured in a homogeneous culture in northeastern Lycia.¹⁸

The variety in the proposed interpretations of the origin of Antalya C is not surprising. Though Bayındır is geographically part of Lycia,¹⁹ the archaeological context in which Antalya C was found signals a Phrygian or Lydian origin. The construction technique of Tumulus D and the typology

12. Akurgal 1992.

13. Özgen and Özgen 1988; Özgen and Öztürk 1996. In the former publication (1988) Özgen categorizes the Antalya figurines as Phrygian, but in the latter (1996) she posits a Lydian origin for the workshop. She does not explain this change in her interpretation, but it may be based on typological connections between the looted materials from the Lydian tombs of the Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions (see

n. 21, below) and finds from the Bayındır tumuli (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 27).

14. Roller 1999, p. 104. In the text, Roller dates Antalya C to the late 7th–early 6th century, but in the captions for the illustrations of Antalya C (p. 106, fig. 35) and Antalya A (p. 107, fig. 36), she specifies a range from the late 8th to the 7th century.

15. Roller 1999, p. 105.

16. Boardman 2000, p. 91.

17. Işık 2000, pp. 76–79. In addition, Işık (2000, pp. 80–83) identifies Antalya A and Antalya B as representations of an Anatolian mother goddess, and Antalya D as Aphrodite.

18. Because of the early date she assigns to the figurine, Börker-Klähn (2003, pp. 90–92) also thinks that its style has no connection with either Greeks or Ionians.

19. This northern part of Lycia is also called Milyad.

Figure 8. Kubaba relief from Carchemish. Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations 10304. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara



of the belts and metal cups found with the figurines display strong Phrygian affinities, and 11 of the metal vessels bear Phrygian inscriptions.²⁰ Similar silver vessels with Phrygian inscriptions from the Lydian tombs of the Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions also suggest a Lydian connection.²¹ The typology and stylistic rendering of Antalya C, along with those of Antalya B and D, recall a group of ivory figurines (the “Oriental group”) found as part of a large assemblage in the foundation deposit of the Artemision at Ephesos, an Ionian city with Lydian ties.²² Moreover, several features of the costume on the Antalya figurines—namely, the polos, large belt, veil tucked into the belt, and locks of hair in front of the ears—are specifically Anatolian and analogous to Neo-Hittite representations of Kubaba (Fig. 8) and Phrygian representations of Kybele (Fig. 9).²³

Antalya C shows striking stylistic and typological similarities to the “Oriental group” within the Ephesian ivory figurines, particularly to a

20. Bowls with petal or omphalos embossments and swiveling ring handles attached to bolsters are often considered hallmarks of Phrygian material culture; dozens of such bowls of bronze were discovered in several of the tumuli at Gordion. See *Gordion I*, pp. 11–27, 102–172, 199–212; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, pp. 32–35; Uçankuş 2002, pp. 288–295.

21. Collectively called the Lydian Hoard, a number of grave goods from at least four tombs (Aktepe, Töptepe, İkiztepe, and Harta) from the modern Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions of ancient Lydia were looted in the 1960s and later sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Unfortunately, the

original context of these superb artifacts is unknown. The museum returned the hoard to Turkish museums in 1993. Ironically, some of the returned artifacts were stolen from the Manisa Museum in 2001. See Özgen and Öztürk 1996.

22. For the Ephesian ivory figurines, see Hogarth 1908, pp. 155–176; Bammer 1985; Carter 1985, pp. 225–248. Boardman (2000, p. 90) considers the Ephesian figurines to be Lydian rather than Ionian. Two other typological parallels to Antalya C and the Ephesian “Oriental group” are an ivory figurine from Gordion, carved in less detail (Young 1966, pl. 74, fig. 5), and a silver figurine from the Stanford Place Collection, Faringdon, England

(inv. no. not known).

23. The Neo-Hittite goddess Kubaba, queen-goddess of Neo-Hittite Carchemish, is believed to have derived from the Hurrian goddess Hapat and is often seen as the forerunner of Lydo-Phrygian Kybele. See Hawkins 1981; Mellink 1983, pp. 358–359; Naumann 1983, p. 18; Munn 2008, p. 159. Yet, Roller (1999, pp. 44–46) points out that even though the two goddesses shared similar imagery, especially in costume, their cults differed in Hittite and Phrygian contexts. For features of Anatolian costume in general, see Özgen 1982; for representations of Phrygian Kybele and Kubaba, see Roller 1999, pp. 51, 56–59, figs. 4–10.



Figure 9. Kybele relief from Gordion. Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Gordion 5459/559. Akurgal 1961, p. 98, fig. 62

figurine of “Megabyzos,” a eunuch priest of Artemis (Fig. 10). The figure’s one-piece belted dress with a circular collar and polos is similar to the clothing of Antalya C, while the long necklace, the way in which it is held, the curved ringlets in front of the ears, and the way the toes appear through two arches formed by the hem of the dress are analogous to features on Antalya B. All three ivory figurines—Antalya B, C, and the Ephesian Megabyzos—also share similarities in their facial features: inlaid eyes and eyebrows slanting upward, rounded noses, and lips set in an Archaic smile. All these similarities might indicate that the Megabyzos figurine and the Antalya ivories are contemporaneous and belong to the same or related workshops. Thus, the date and workshop of the Ephesian Megabyzos can be used as a benchmark for determining the date of Antalya C.

The date of the Ephesian ivories, however, is controversial. Upon their discovery in the foundation deposit of the Temple of Artemis, which had been commissioned by the Lydian king Kroisos at Ephesos around 600, Hogarth dated them to the end of the 7th century and divided them into two groups on the basis of style: the earlier “Oriental group” that includes the Megabyzos, and the later “Greek group.”²⁴ Later, Jacobsthal claimed that many of the objects found together with the ivories in the foundation deposit, such as pins, brooches, and fibulae, typologically date from the 6th century, as does the foundation deposit.²⁵ Most recently, after a careful review of Hogarth’s excavation reports, Carter reasserted the late-7th-century date for the deposit.²⁶ Furthermore, by clarifying the stratigraphy of the figurines’ archaeological context and pointing out

24. Hogarth, director of the excavations, published his initial reports in *Excavations at Ephesus* in 1908. The stylistic categorization of the ivory figurines is treated therein by Cecil Smith; see Hogarth 1908, pp. 155–176. Recent Austrian excavations at Ephesos under the direction of Bammer have revealed four more figurines, one of gold and three of ivory. Bammer (1985, pp. 54–57) also dated these finds to the second half of the 7th century.

25. Jacobsthal 1951.

26. Carter 1985, pp. 225–248; see also Simon 1986, pp. 27–31. Both Carter and Simon provide excellent summaries of the argument over the date of the deposit.



Figure 10. Ivory figurine of Megabyzos, eunuch priest of Artemis. H. 11 cm. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2593. Akurgal 1961, p. 199, fig. 159

how the rounded forms of the Megabyzos are artistically more advanced than some of the “Greek group” figurines, Carter disproved the theory that the “Oriental group” was an earlier formative influence on the later “Greek group.”²⁷ Carter convincingly concluded that the Megabyzos is the work of an Ephesian artist familiar with Eastern forms who was active in the last quarter of the 7th century, much like the artist(s) of the “Greek group.” Considering the Megabyzos’s typological and stylistic similarities to Antalya C, one may assume that Antalya C also dates from the last decades of the 7th century.²⁸

Our knowledge of how ivory carving was organized during this period in Anatolia is very limited, but the relatively large number of ivories found at Ephesos makes the existence of a workshop there more likely.²⁹ Indeed, in his initial excavation reports, Hogarth stressed that there is little doubt that the Ephesian ivories were crafted locally. He attributed the statuettes to an Ephesian ivory workshop because of their Ionic style and also because of the unique patterns engraved on their dresses. These patterns also decorate the dresses on fragments of marble sculpture that must have been executed at Ephesos.³⁰

The Ionic touch in the rendering of Antalya C and the Ephesian “Oriental group” can be traced in their lively, soft, and rounded forms. Yet these features are not enough to mark these figurines and their artists as purely Ionian. The Eastern character of their costume is indicated by parallels to Neo-Hittite and Phrygian fashions represented in Anatolian iconography (see below). Furthermore, the details of the technique, such as the engraved eyebrows and carved pupils, are reminiscent of the Nimrud ivories.³¹ Thus, a more proper label for such a hybrid style would be “Anatolian,” which gradually developed into the Ionian.

As noted above, Boardman assigns the Antalya figurines, along with the Ephesian “Oriental group,” to a coherent 7th-century Anatolian style in the minor arts, but, surprisingly, he describes this style as characterized by “block-like figures with no sensitivity to anatomical forms” and by little detail in the representation of costume.³² It is easy to see that Boardman’s generalization is based heavily on the stylistic features of the silver figurine, Antalya A. In fact, a detailed reexamination of the Antalya figurines as a group shows exactly the opposite. The organic treatment of the forms and the detailed rendering of costume on such a small scale are striking, especially in Antalya C and Antalya D. The natural treatment of forms was the defining characteristic of East Greek sculptural styles in the Archaic period.³³ One of the earliest examples of this characteristic is the Cheramyes Kore from Samos, often dated to around 570.³⁴ Looking at Antalya C, one

27. Carter 1985, p. 232.

28. Işık (2000, pp. 76–80) proposes a narrower date, between 610 and 590.

29. For new methods of identifying ivory-carving workshops and determining their relationship to one another, see Winter 2005.

30. Hogarth 1908, p. 177.

31. Barnett 1957, 1982.

32. Boardman 2000, p. 88.

33. Stewart 1990, p. 117.

34. Almost all surveys of Greek art and archaeology present the Cheramyes Kore and Ischys Kouros from Samos as representatives of the East Greek artistic interest in soft, fleshy forms as compared to the rigid, linear forms seen in earlier examples of kouros and korai from the Greek mainland. See, e.g., Pedley 2007, p. 187, figs. 6.58, 6.59. Not only the form, but also the drapery of the Cheramyes Kore, whose veil is

tucked into her belt, follow the Anatolian fashion. Karakasi (2003) shows that 21 out of 33 surviving korai from Samos have veils (p. 166, table 11), four out of nine surviving korai from Didyma have veils (p. 167, table 12), and six out of 16 surviving Milesian korai have veils (p. 167, table 13), but among Attic korai there is no evidence for a veil worn over the head.

can see that the origins of the Ionian artistic mentality that informs the Samian Kore lie in the visual arts of Archaic Anatolia.

Literary and archaeological evidence indicates that the Ephesian Artemision, like the Samian Heraion, was an international sanctuary revered and visited by Greeks and non-Greeks alike.³⁵ Best attested by Kroisos's dedication of the columns of the Archaic Temple of Artemis, Lydian involvement in the cult at the Artemision was particularly significant.³⁶ The continuous intermarriages between the Lydian royals and the lords of Ephesos down to the time of Kroisos indicate that by the end of the 7th century, Ephesos was already a half-Lydian trading outlet on the sea-coast.³⁷ According to Herodotos (1.28), by the late 7th century the Lydian kingdom had subdued all the populations of western Anatolia except for the Lycians and Cilicians. One can imagine, then, that the subjects of the Lydian kingdom included artists of Phrygian, Mysian, Carian, and Greek origin all working at Ephesos and influencing one another.³⁸ The fusion of these artistic traditions may have contributed to the birth of the Ionian style, which eventually became a popular choice for large-scale sculptures, such as korai and kouroi, that were dedicated in the international sanctuaries of Ionia and elsewhere. Indeed, Rein explains the Anatolian elements in the costume of the East Greek korai as the result of the interplay between Anatolian and East Greek arts in the 6th century. Rein links this phenomenon to the fact that overland travel across Anatolia was made safer by the political unification of the region under the Lydian empire.³⁹ Ridgway, however, points out that the exchange of artists and artistic motifs between Greece and Anatolia could have taken place already in the 7th century.⁴⁰

Other intriguing aspects of Antalya C are the emotional intimacy suggested between the mother and the children, and the artist's interest in rendering age realistically and capturing a momentary action. The mother protectively holds her daughter's hand and her son's leg. The daughter's full upper cheeks and ringlets of hair and the son's plump figure clearly communicate their young age. The mother's dress responds to her step forward. Such interest in naturalism and movement reaches its maturity only in the "severe style" of 5th-century Greek sculpture.⁴¹ Thus, if Antalya C was produced in the late 7th century, it is among the earliest examples of such an artistic mentality in the arts of the ancient Mediterranean.

35. The discovery of an Archaic gold statuette of an Egyptian priest (Ephesos Museum LO.508.534) implies Egyptian involvement in the cult. For a detailed discussion of the literary and archaeological sources for the cult at Ephesos, see Simon 1986, pp. 31–43; for the Heraion of Samos, see Kyrieleis 1993.

36. Herodotos (1.92) mentions Kroisos's dedication of the columns. The king's name appears in fragmentary inscriptions on the surviving column bases of the Artemision, confirming Herodotos's account.

37. For intermarriages between

the members of the Lydian Mermnad dynasty and the Greek rulers of Ephesos, see Hall 2002, p. 102.

38. For multicultural aspects of Ephesian art in the Archaic period, see Bammer 1991–1992.

39. Rein 1992.

40. Ridgway 1993, p. 55, n. 2.52.

41. Ridgway 1970. In her examination of the East Greek korai from the Archaic period, Ridgway (1993, pp. 136–138) also states that the plasticity of forms on these korai is very similar to the modeling of the "severe style" sculpture of 5th-century Greece.

ICONOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY

In the absence of literary testimony, it is difficult to determine whether Antalya C represents mortals or deities. Basing their arguments on iconography, scholars have associated the figure with two different divine families: Leto with Apollo and Artemis, and Anatolian Kybele with her children. As I argue below, however, it is not necessary to identify the figures as deities. Instead, the mother figure may represent a high-status cult participant in the service of an Anatolian goddess.

Işık and Börker-Klähn identify the subject of Antalya C as Leto and her children. Işık suggests that the early cult at Ephesos, which he thinks inspired the creation of the Antalya figurines, was related to Leto rather than Artemis.⁴² He points to Ephesian coins from Roman times showing Leto and her twin children on her shoulders as evidence for the possible continuation of the Archaic cult of Leto at Ephesos.⁴³ Finally, Işık mentions the literary and archaeological evidence for the cults of Leto and Apollo in Lycia, namely, in the sanctuaries at Letoon and at Patara, the legendary birthplace of Apollo. He uses these examples to illustrate the early existence of the cult of the divine family in Lycia, where Tumulus D is located.⁴⁴ Börker-Klähn also cites the Roman-era coins as well as a statue type depicting Leto with Artemis and Apollo; she considers Antalya C as a 7th-century prototype of these Roman images.⁴⁵

Although their suggestion is attractive, Börker-Klähn's and Işık's identification of Antalya C as Leto with Apollo and Artemis is not convincing. First, there is no reason to link the Archaic Antalya C group iconographically with representations on Roman coins that appear hundreds of years later. The image on the coins may derive either from Euphranor's famous sculpture of Leto escaping from Python with her children on her shoulders (Plin. *HN* 34.77), or from Skopas's sculpture of the same group at Ephesos (Strabo 14.1.20 [C 639]).⁴⁶ Second, the archaeological evidence indicates that the cult of the divine family in Lycia, particularly in the sanctuary at Letoon, became important only toward the end of the 5th century.⁴⁷

Roller, on the other hand, suggests that the figures in Antalya C represent Anatolian Kybele with her two children.⁴⁸ It is indeed true that the details of the mother's costume—the veil worn over her high polos and tucked into a large belt—and the locks of hair that fall in front of the ears are typical of representations of Kybele (or Matar) in Archaic Anatolia.⁴⁹ Yet none of these dozens of images shows the Mother Goddess

42. Işık 2000, pp. 80–83. This suggestion is based on Bammer's 1985 article, in which he relates the early cult at Ephesos to Demeter and Leto or Kybele. Bammer also sees the Ephesian ivory figurines as representations of a goddess, possibly Demeter, Kybele, or Leto.

43. Işık (2000, p. 81) also stresses that Apollo and Artemis become twins only later in the literary tradition. Thus, he argues that Antalya C agrees with

the early literary tradition, in which Artemis is present during her younger brother's birth.

44. Işık 2000, p. 81.

45. Börker-Klähn 2003, p. 79.

46. For representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis, see *LIMC* VI.1, 1992, p. 258, s.v. Leto (L. Kahil).

47. For the sanctuary at Letoon, see des Courtils 2003, p. 132.

48. Roller 1999, p. 105.

49. The Mother Goddess was called

Matar in the Phrygian language, but in the Greek world she was best known as Kybele. Greeks seem to have adopted the Anatolian cult of the Mother Goddess sometime in the early 6th century. They gave her a new name, Kybele, which derives from "Kubileya" (Phrygian, "of the mountain"), an epithet of the Phrygian Mother Goddess; see Roller 1999, p. 2. For Anatolian Kybele, see also Naumann 1983; Lane 1996.



Figure 11. Carchemish relief with priestesses bearing offerings. Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations 9656. Photo T. Şare, courtesy Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara

accompanied by her children.⁵⁰ In Anatolian representations of the goddess, her typical attributes are a beast of prey, which she usually holds in one hand, and a libation cup in the other hand (see, e.g., Fig. 9).⁵¹ The items of dress—the polos, veil, and large belt—that are common to representations of both Antalya C and Kybele originate in 9th-century representations of the Neo-Hittite goddess Kubaba and show a specific Anatolian fashion (Fig. 8).

There is no reason, however, to regard such costumes as exclusively divine attributes. On the Carchemish reliefs, for example, the representations of priestesses of Kubaba bearing offerings are dressed like the image of Kubaba enthroned that appears on the same wall (Fig. 11).⁵² The polos is well known from its appearance in depictions of goddesses in ancient Greek art.⁵³ Yet the depiction of the priestesses on the Carchemish reliefs indicates that in Anatolia the polos was not only a divine attribute, but also a part of ceremonial costume.⁵⁴ Thus, Antalya C may well be a representation of a high-status participant in the cult, dressed in her best clothes for a special occasion and accompanied by her children. The figure of the mother may thus be compared to *korai* who were depicted in their

50. The two beardless male musicians accompanying the famous Boğazköy Kybele can hardly be her children; they may be young attendants; see Roller 1999, p. 60, fig. 10. The discovery at Gordion of other reliefs featuring beardless male youths strengthens the hypothesis that Matar was served by young male attendants who were not

her children; see Roller 1999, p. 77, fig. 14.

51. Roller 1999, pp. 56–58, figs. 7–9.

52. For the Carchemish reliefs, see Vieyra 1955, pp. 36–44; Ussishkin 1967.

53. Hera, Persephone, and Demeter are among the Greek goddesses depicted with the polos. For the polos in

general, see Müller 1915; Müller considers the headdress to be an exclusively divine attribute.

54. The history of the polos in Anatolia goes back to the Hittite period. As early as the 14th century, the headdress appears on Hittite goddesses, best known from the Yazılıkaya reliefs. See Akurgal 2001, p. 124, fig. 53:a.

best clothes and were dedicated in Ionian sanctuaries as embodiments of high-status cult participants.⁵⁵

If this interpretation of Antalya C is correct, then the costume and poses of the two children may also provide clues about gender roles in the socioreligious sphere of the society that produced Antalya C. The young daughter, dressed as ornately as her mother, follows in her footsteps as a young cult attendant; her presence may signify the continuation of her mother's lineage as well as her religious tradition. The nude young boy sits high on his mother's shoulder as if riding a horse, perhaps auguring his future role as a hero and protector of the land.

CULT ASSOCIATIONS

Since Antalya C was found in a tomb rather than a sanctuary, it is difficult to identify the cult with which it should be associated. The tumulus in which the group was discovered has strong Phrygian connections both in construction technique and in the nature of burial goods. Kybele was the only deity worshipped in Phrygian Anatolia, and thus one might relate the figurine to her cult. Yet typological connections between the Antalya figurines and the Ephesian ivories point toward the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Börker-Klähn proposed that the figurine was associated with the cult of Istustaja and Papaja, Neo-Hittite goddesses of Destiny who were believed to spin the thread of life, and whose cult might have been known at Ephesos.⁵⁶ Of these three possibilities, the cult of Artemis Ephesia, a uniquely Anatolian goddess assimilated with Kybele at Ephesos, is the most likely candidate. Nonetheless, it is hard to be certain, since the same iconography could have been used with a slightly different meaning in different contexts.

Though the literary evidence for Kybele and her cult is abundant in Greece, little is known of her cult attendants and the specifics of ritual ceremonies held in her honor in Archaic Anatolia, from which the cult was imported.⁵⁷ Descended from the Neo-Hittite Kubaba, Kybele was a fertility goddess. The frequent occurrence of her cult monuments on the

55. Compare especially the korai from the sanctuaries at Didyma, Miletos, Ephesos, and Samos. The identity of the Archaic korai is a controversial issue. For a discussion of Archaic korai as portraits of ideal cult participants or of priestesses, see Karakasi 2003, pp. 30, 38; Connelly 2007, pp. 124–130.

56. Börker-Klähn 2003, pp. 91–92. Since she identifies Antalya C as Leto with Artemis and Apollo, Börker-Klähn considers that Leto and her children were worshipped in connection with the cult of Destiny. Though attractive, this theory depends on the assumption that Neo-Hittites were

present at Ephesos, which is based on the discovery there of a Hittite inscription written in Greek letters. But this lone inscription is not enough to prove the existence of a Neo-Hittite cult at Ephesos.

57. Kybele appears in many Greek and Roman sources, from Euripides' *Bacchae* and Aristophanes' *Birds* to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Catullus's poems. Imported from Anatolia in the early 6th century, her cult in Greece seems to have involved ecstatic dances of both male and female attendants accompanied by wild music. In Greece a tympanum gradually replaced the beast of prey that was the goddess's customary

attribute in Anatolian iconography. Not only her attributes and name, but also her rites seem to have been Hellenized through connections with Greek deities such as Demeter, Dionysos, and Pan. The literary sources indicate that Greek Kybele maintained her foreign character, unlike divinities of other cults associated with Greek civic identity. In Archaic Anatolia, however, archaeological evidence implies that she was the goddess of the Phrygian state. The scarcity of comprehensible Phrygian texts from Archaic Anatolia makes it difficult to resolve these issues; see Roller 1999, pp. 64–70.

edges of Phrygian city settlements—on walls and gates, along roads and edges of settled countryside, near funerary monuments, or in sanctuaries in remote landscapes—implies that she was also the goddess of boundaries.⁵⁸ The beardless musicians accompanying the Boğazköy Kybele, as well as the small figurines of beardless worshippers discovered at Gordion, show that she had young male attendants.⁵⁹ The only known Archaic representations of her female cult attendants come from the fragmentary reliefs on the miniature temple shrine to Kybele discovered at Sardis, dating to 540.⁶⁰

A good deal is known of the cult of Artemis Ephesia thanks to literary and archaeological sources. As a fertility goddess and protector of children, Artemis Ephesia had great importance for women from puberty to childbirth.⁶¹ Indeed, the votive offerings discovered in the sanctuary include different types of jewelry, weaving implements, belts, and fibulae, thus confirming the prominent role of female votaries in the cult.⁶² According to Herodotos (1.26), the history of the cult went back to the first half of the 6th century, when Ephesians dedicated their city to Artemis to prevent its destruction by Kroisos. In addition to the foundation deposit discovered by Hogarth in 1906, two separate cult areas were revealed beneath the precinct of the Kroisos temple by Austrian excavations in the 1980s: a rectangular cult building with an altar, to the west of the Kroisos temple, dated to the 7th century, and an apsidal cult structure underneath the altar of the Kroisos temple, dated to the late 8th century.⁶³ Bammer, the director of the Austrian excavations, suggested the earlier existence of a dual cult of Demeter and Leto or Anatolian Kybele at the site, predating that of Artemis. Later, however, Simon pointed out that the identification of the early cult of Demeter at Ephesos is based solely on a later Roman account and a few pig bones, an animal usually sacrificed to Demeter.⁶⁴

On the basis of the Austrian excavation of the two cult areas, which were associated with Late Geometric pottery, Simon traced the cult of Artemis at Ephesos back to the early 7th century and proposed that the cults of Artemis and Anatolian Kybele coexisted at the site before the construction of the Kroisos temple.⁶⁵ The popularity of the cult of Kybele in Anatolia and the discovery of votives with strong Phrygian and Lydian connections in the foundation deposit of the Kroisos temple seem to prove Simon's theory.⁶⁶ Indeed, these votives, including the aforementioned

58. Her common attribute, a beast of prey, implies that rather than being specifically a fertility goddess, Matar was also the goddess of the natural world, whom people worshipped to gain control over nature in Archaic Anatolia.

59. See Roller 1999, p. 60, fig. 10 (Boğazköy Kybele); p. 77, fig. 14 (Gordion figurines). The beardless male figures from Gordion hold standard attributes of the Mother Goddess, a bird of prey and a bowl, implying their role as attendants.

60. The reliefs, on two sides of the shrine in three registers, are very shallow and damaged, which makes it dif-

ficult to discern the dress of the priestesses. See Dusinberre 2003, p. 105, fig. 45. A later example is a 5th-century relief from Thasos that shows two female attendants approaching a shrine with a seated cult statue of Kybele.

Though fragmentary, female attendants seem to be dressed in a similar manner as Kybele; Roller 1999, p. 158, fig. 45.

61. For the cult of Artemis in general, see Cole 2004, pp. 198–230.

62. For the range of votive offerings discovered in the Archaic sanctuary at Ephesos, see Simon 1986, pp. 34–38.

63. Simon (1986, pp. 30–33) presents a useful summary.

64. Bammer 1982, pp. 81–87; 1985; Simon 1986, p. 33. Strabo (14.1.3 [C 633]) says that the cult of Eleusinian Demeter was introduced to Ephesos by its founder Androklos, but nowhere does he connect it with the cult of Artemis.

65. Simon 1986, p. 33. Simon (p. 34) also rightly points out that if there was a pre-Greek ancestor cult at the site, it was probably that of Anatolian Kybele.

66. The foundation deposit of the Artemision also revealed gold and ivory pins and brooches and bronze fibulae. While the rich amount of gold attests

figurines and a range of jewelry, both with “Oriental” and “Greek” qualities as Hogarth classified them, may have been intentionally offered together for the foundation of the Temple of Artemis Ephesia.

Like Anatolian Kybele, Artemis is also a goddess of nature and boundaries. These common features might have brought these deities together in 7th-century Ephesos, where they blended in the cult of Artemis Ephesia.⁶⁷ Thus, the figurine Antalya C could be related to the cult of either Anatolian Kybele or Artemis, or to the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Assuming that Kybele and Artemis merged relatively soon after they came into contact in Ephesos, it seems reasonable to associate Antalya C with the cult of Anatolian Artemis Ephesia.

Ascertaining the identity of the subjects of Antalya A and B may strengthen the associations between the Antalya figurines as a group and the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Merely identifying the gender of the two figurines has been a problem, however. Akurgal, Özgen, and Roller considered them to be priests but did not discuss the matter in detail.⁶⁸ But Işık, noting both the figures’ “female costume,” which also appears on some of the clearly female Ephesian figurines, and the absence of a beard on either figure, identified both Antalya A and B as representations of an Anatolian goddess.⁶⁹

The key to determining the gender of the two figurines is Antalya B (Fig. 6). The clear absence of breasts on the figurine poses a challenge to Işık’s argument. If we accept that the same artist or workshop carved all of the Antalya ivories, it is hard to overlook his ability to differentiate the sexes. He clearly rendered the breasts of Antalya C. Indeed, as the baby fat on the stomach of the little naked boy indicates, the artist even attempted to use physical features to render age. Thus, it is more reasonable to assume that the absence of breasts on Antalya B is intentional, and that a male is represented. The long, belted dress with sleeves, the polos, and the curly tresses of hair on either side of the face—all of which Işık treated as elements of “female costume”—and the clean-shaven face, like that of Antalya A, may indicate that both figurines are representations of priests, perhaps eunuchs, in ritual costume.⁷⁰ Indeed, male cross-dressing at ceremonies

to Lydian connections, the typology of the fibulae provides the Phrygian link. For the finds from the foundation deposit, see Hogarth 1908, pp. 155–176; Jacobsthal 1951; Carter 1985, pp. 225–248; Simon 1986, pp. 27–31.

67. For the deities’ association with nature and boundaries, see Cole 2004, pp. 198, 201 (Artemis); and Roller 1999, pp. 108–115 (Anatolian Kybele). In his examination of the imperial coins from western Asia Minor, Fleischer (1973, pp. 215–216) traces the striking similarity in the Archaic features of the representations of several goddesses and posits a common ancestor, an Archaic Anatolian fertility goddess whom he names Ephesia.

68. Akurgal 1992, p. 70; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 27; Roller 1999, p. 105.

69. Işık 2000, pp. 3–7. See also Bammer 1985 in general for a reidentification of all Ephesian ivories as representations of a goddess.

70. Akurgal (1992, pp. 70–73) also considers the hunchbacked appearance and clasped hands of Antalya A to be a typical posture for a priest. Işık (2000, p. 81) disagrees with Akurgal by pointing out that the hunchback is due to the early date of the figurine, and that clasping of hands is not a gesture unique to male representations.

Though unrelated to the cult of Kybele or Artemis, the image of an old beardless man watching the sacrifice of

Polyxena on the frieze of the famous Polyxena sarcophagus from Gümüşçay in northwest Anatolia, dated to 500, may also reflect the appearance of eunuch priests. The old man, who leans on a stick and holds his nose as a sign of grief, wears a long dress. His prominent position in the middle of the long frieze implies his high status, perhaps in a religious institution at Troy. His beardlessness led some scholars to identify him as a female, but he is clearly differentiated from the females in the composition by his flat chest and also by his hunchback. For the Polyxena sarcophagus, see Sevinç 1996, pp. 251–255, figs. 2–5; Draycott 2007, pp. 97–108.

honoring Artemis and Dionysos seems to have been an Anatolian tradition introduced to the Greek mainland in the 6th century via Ionia.⁷¹

Furthermore, eunuchs who dressed and acted like females held important priestly offices in Anatolia; this custom dates back to the 8th century or beyond.⁷² Perhaps the best known of these eunuch priests are the Megabyzoi, who served Artemis at Ephesos and are mentioned in many literary sources from Xenophon to Pliny.⁷³ Eunuch priests also served in the Anatolian cult of Kybele. Ancient Greek and Roman sources indicate that the eunuch priesthood was recognized as a distinctly shocking feature of the cult of Kybele in Greece and Rome.⁷⁴ A series of epigrams from the 2nd century describes a eunuch priest of Kybele as an emasculated character dressed in women's clothes and scented with women's perfume, wearing his long hair in dainty tresses.⁷⁵

Although there are many literary sources for the eunuch priests of Artemis and Kybele, there are no certain depictions of them in art. The only possible Archaic image of a eunuch priest is the Megabyzos figurine from the foundation deposit of the Artemision at Ephesos (Fig. 10).⁷⁶ It was the absence of breasts that led Hogarth to identify the figurine as a Megabyzos. In the 1980s, during the Austrian excavations at the site, Bammer discovered another ivory figurine, which he named Ephesos D. The figurine is dressed like the Megabyzos, but has a clear rendering of breasts (see Fig. 14, below). Based on the similarity of costume, Bammer, and Işık and Connelly after him, reidentified the Ephesian Megabyzos as a female.⁷⁷ This reidentification, however, relies on the application of modern gender codes to the figurine's costume. West Anatolian/Lybian male dress in the Archaic period had many elaborate features that looked effeminate to Greeks on the mainland.⁷⁸ Even if vestmental gender codes in Anatolia

71. Miller (1999, pp. 232–236) provides an excellent discussion of cross-dressed komasts on a series of Attic vases called “Anakreontic,” after the Ionian poet who dressed like a woman and introduced the fashion to Athens. Miller interprets the komasts as transvestites engaged in ritual activity. She sees the origin of the tradition of komastic transvestism in Archaic Anatolia. DeVries (1973), on the other hand, regards these komasts as Athenians mimicking Lydians, whose fancy dress was considered effeminate by mainland Greeks.

72. See Roller 1998; Munn 2006, pp. 157–169.

73. Xenophon (*An.* 5.3.6) names “Megabyzos” as the sacristan of Artemis at Ephesos. Pliny (*HN* 35.93–132) describes paintings of two Megabyzoi by 4th-century artists. Quintilian (5.12.19–21) cites a Megabyzos as an example of a eunuch, in contrast with the virile Doryphoros. For a complete list of literary sources mentioning Megabyzoi of Ephesos, see Smith 1996.

Smith questions the very existence of a class of eunuch priests called “Megabyzoi” in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, and suggests that the account may go back to the name of one specific priest, not necessarily a eunuch, who lived in the 4th century, but this theory is not widely accepted. The tradition of a eunuch priesthood at Ephesos is accepted by Burkert (1999, pp. 62–63) and Munn (2006, pp. 157–169).

74. For a thorough investigation of the eunuch priests of Phrygian Matar and Greek and Roman attitudes toward them, see Roller 1998.

75. *Anth. Pal.* 6.217–220, 234, 237, esp. 6.234.5.

76. A later image of a eunuch priest from Anatolia appears on a votive relief from Kyzikos in northwestern Anatolia and is dated to 46. Dressed in “women's clothes”—a long dress and a veil covering the head—a priest on the relief approaches the altar of Phrygian Matar. The faces of the figures on the relief are not clear in detail, but the priest does not seem to have a beard. The Greek

inscription accompanying the relief even gives his name, Gallus Soterides, “Gallus” being the Roman title for eunuch priests of the Mother Goddess; see Roller 1998, p. 121, fig. 1.

77. For the initial identification of the figurine as a Megabyzos, see Hogarth 1908, pp. 155–176; for its reidentification as a female, see Bammer 1985, p. 57; Işık 2000, p. 80; Connelly 2007, pp. 121–122. For a general discussion of the Megabyzoi in the cult of Artemis Ephesia, see Smith 1996; Burkert 1999, pp. 62–63; Munn 2006, pp. 157–169.

78. For effeminate-looking western Anatolian dress, see DeVries 1973, pp. 33–34; also Wees 2005, p. 46. The richly decorated linen chitons and earrings worn by Anatolian men that are mentioned in Greek sources also appear in Anatolian art. The reclining man in the funerary banquet scene on the early-5th-century Karaburun fresco, for example, appears to wear an elaborate chiton, a hat, and earrings; see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 47, fig. 89.

were similar to those of mainland Greeks, Bammer's reidentification fails to take into account the cross-dressing of eunuch priests for cult practices.⁷⁹ As Hogarth recognized, the clear absence of breasts on the Megabyzos, in contrast with the anatomy of similar pieces, indicates that the figure is male and presumably a eunuch priest.

Antalya A and B also look anatomically male, despite their "female" costume, suggesting that they too represent eunuch priests (Figs. 5, 6). The long, beaded necklaces worn by the Megabyzos and Antalya B are not ornamental jewelry but signs of priestly authority.⁸⁰ If Antalya A and B represent eunuch priests, they were most likely priests of Artemis Ephesia. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that all four Antalya figurines, A, B, C, and D, are related to the cult of Artemis Ephesia.

One may question the Antalya figurines' association with the cult of Artemis Ephesia on the basis of their findspot in a tomb in northern Lycia. Literary and archaeological sources, however, testify to the popularity of this cult throughout Ionia and at Anatolian sites.⁸¹ Easy to carry, the figurines could have traveled with cult devotees from the central sanctuary to peripheral sites. Indeed, a similar ivory figurine was also found in the so-called South Cellar accumulation at Archaic Gordion.⁸² As the figurines were moved from one context to another—for example, from a sanctuary to a private burial—they could have gained slightly different meanings, but because of the expensive material they are made of, they must have maintained their intrinsic value as symbols of prestige and religious devotion.

THE FUNCTION OF THE ANTALYA IVORIES

The rectilinear cuttings at the top of all three Antalya ivories indicate that the figurines were not freestanding votive offerings or objects of worship in the cult, but parts of implements.⁸³ Özgen speculates that these holes may point to their function as supports for a perirrhanterion.⁸⁴ Yet the figurines are too small to have served that function, and because they vary in height they could not have supported an object evenly.⁸⁵ Işık is not certain about the function of these cuttings. Through comparisons with the Ephesian ivories, he suggests that the cuttings of the Antalya ivories may have served as points of attachment to necklaces, making them amulets; or that they may have been attached to cult implements, a suggestion confirmed by a thorough examination.⁸⁶

79. For cross-dressing in cultic activity and confusion over the gender of figures on Anakreon vases, see Miller 1999, pp. 230–236.

80. An earlier iconographical parallel to this necklace appears on Kubaba, on a broken 9th-century relief from Carchemish; see Roller 1999, p. 50, fig. 3.

81. See Fleischer 1973.

82. See n. 22, above. Although carved in less detail, the ivory figurine from Gordion has a costume and facial features similar to those of the Antalya

and Ephesian groups. On the basis of Corinthian Geometric pottery found in the same deposit, DeVries (2005, p. 42) dated this piece to the late 8th century. A silver figurine related to both the Antalya and Ephesos figurines in its pose and costume was last held by the Stanford Place Collection (see n. 22, above). The figurine was on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1999 to 2006. Unfortunately, the provenance of the figurine is unknown. I would like to thank Maya Vassileva for bringing this piece to my attention.

83. The cuttings are regular and measure slightly less than 1 cm² on Antalya C and D. The cutting on Antalya B measures ca. 0.5 cm².

84. Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 26.

85. The heights of the three figurines are 7.6 cm (Antalya B), 17 cm (C), and 16.2 cm (D).

86. Işık 2000, p. 76. An anonymous reviewer of this article noted that the figures could also have been attached to furniture.

Like the Antalya ivories, the Spinner from the Ephesian "Oriental group" has a rectilinear cutting at the top of her polos.⁸⁷ She holds a distaff, which supports a ball of wool, in her left hand, and a spindle in her right (Fig. 12). The elongated form of the figurine and the cutting at the top suggest that the figurine itself may have been part (possibly a handle) of a distaff, perhaps used for the ritual weaving of a costume for the cult statue.⁸⁸ In fact, the so-called Hawk-priestess from Ephesos, which is attached at the head to a long rod surmounted by a hawk, is now identified as the handle of a distaff (Fig. 13).⁸⁹ Bammer's discovery of Ephesos D, together with a shallow ivory double cup that neatly fits on the tonguelike protrusion at the top of her headdress, may be the most convincing evidence that some Ephesian figurines functioned as handles of implements (Fig. 14).⁹⁰ Interestingly, Ephesos D appears to hold a double cup reminiscent of the one of which she is the handle, just like the Spinner, who holds a distaff and probably functions as the handle of one. The tonguelike protrusion at the top of the Megabyzos's polos may indicate that he also was the handle of an object, possibly a libation cup (Fig. 10).⁹¹ Indeed, along with the figurines, Hogarth found several broken ivory cups in the foundation deposit of the Artemision.⁹²

The only ivory object found with the figurines in Tumulus D at Bayındır is a small cup, which Özgen identifies in the museum catalogue as a pyxis lid.⁹³ Measuring 2.5 cm in height and 5.2 cm in depth, the cup has two extensions: one with a circular piercing and the other with a vertical slit. The cup would have had a lid that swiveled horizontally on a peg inserted in the circular piercing, and could be latched with a clasp that fit into the vertical slit. The cup is a typological sibling of some of the broken ivory cups found in the foundation deposit of Artemision.⁹⁴

Drawing an analogy between the Ephesian and Antalya ivories, one may assume that the Antalya figurines were the handles of libation or cosmetic cups or of distaffs. The functional parts of the implements either perished inside the tomb or were intentionally broken at the time of the burial to make them unusable. Whether they supported ornate cups or distaffs, the ivory figurines of Tumulus D could not have been private toilet articles. The related Ephesian group shows that such implements had religious value. They could have been sacred objects used in the ritual bathing or clothing of the cult statue, or votive offerings donated by worshippers. Indeed, surviving inventories from Greek sanctuaries of Artemis indicate that women dedicated their finest textiles, along with the tools they used



Figure 12. Spinner of Ephesos, ivory. H. 10.5 cm. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2594. Akurgal 1961, p. 196, fig. 155

87. Hogarth 1908, p. 158.

88. Weaving clothes for the cult statue and "bathing" (i.e., cleaning) it were common practices in ancient Greek religion. Usually young maidens or priestesses were in charge. This must also have been the case for the cult statue at Ephesos. Other famous examples include the weaving of the peplos for Athena Parthenos for the Panathenaic festival, and the weaving of the chiton for Apollo at Amyklai. Surviving

lists of votive offerings from Miletos indicate that the Milesian women also dedicated their own clothing to the cult of Artemis Kithone (Artemis the chiton-wearer); see Cole 2004, pp. 223–225.

89. Connelly 2007, p. 120.

90. Bammer 1985, pp. 46–51. An earlier example (7th century) of an ivory cup with handles in human form comes from Ur. Two nude women with their arms around each other support a

shallow cup; see Barnett 1957, p. 226, pl. CXXV.

91. Hogarth 1908, p. 106.

92. Hogarth 1908, pl. 41; Bammer 1985, p. 49, fig. 13.

93. Antalya Museum 5.21.87: Özgen and Özgen 1988, p. 194, no. 58.

94. Another typological sibling is a stone pyxis, part of the so-called Lydian Hoard; see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 132, no. 87.



Figure 13. Hawk-priestess of Ephesos, ivory. H. (without the rod) 10.7 cm. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2596. After Akurgal 1961, p. 206, fig. 169

in weaving and spinning, to mark transitional stages of life, such as puberty, marriage, and childbirth.⁹⁵ Because of their perishable nature, the textiles did not survive, but excavations in different sanctuaries of Artemis have revealed jewelry, pins, belts, and fibulae, as well as tools such as spindles and distaffs, usually of precious material. Most if not all of these items of dress also appear at Ephesos and in Tumulus D at Bayındır. They were probably offerings, and as such they may have marked transitions in the life cycle of cult participants while communicating their social status. Thus, the Antalya figurines might once have supported the balls of precious thread that the tomb's occupant used to weave her bridal gown, or perhaps her first child's gown; alternatively, they might have supported cups containing sacred liquid, perhaps used for libation.

Although the comparanda for the Antalya figurines all come from sanctuaries, mainly in Ephesos, where they would have served as votives, the presence of the figurines in a tomb should not be surprising. The figurines may have originated as sacred objects and subsequently been buried with the deceased; as grave goods, they would have accompanied the woman to the underworld as markers of her social and religious status.⁹⁶ Indeed, Dörtlük, the excavator of Tumulus D, thinks that the corner of the burial chamber where the Antalya figurines and several vessels were discovered had been specifically arranged as a funerary banquet and votive offering.⁹⁷

The representation of humans in the decoration of sacred implements is a popular phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean. Karyatids support libation bowls, bronze mirrors, *perirrhanteria*, or incense burners.⁹⁸ According to Connelly, this use of anthropomorphism in sacred decoration may reflect the communality between a sacred implement and its user: in effect, the handle represents the user who holds it.⁹⁹ If Connelly's theory is correct, the Ephesian and Antalya figurines, as handles of ritual implements, may very well have mirrored the appearance of the cult participants who used them. On special occasions, cult attendants themselves

95. Best known are the inventories of the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, with duplicates from the Athenian Acropolis. The lists of dedications to Artemis also survive from Miletos, a site very close to Ephesos and famous for its cult of Artemis Kithone. For Brauron, see Linders 1972; for Miletos, see Günther 1988; for sources and general discussion, see Cole 2004, pp. 213–218.

96. A 3rd-century sarcophagus of a pregnant woman and a child from Ephesos also contained a bone spindle and distaff; see Trinkl 1994. A Late Classical Boiotian funerary relief, the so-called Grave Stele of Polyxena in Berlin (Antikensammlung SK 1504), also shows a young woman holding a figurine with a base very much like those of the Antalya figurines. The upper part of the relief is damaged,

and so it is hard to tell whether the figurine she holds is part of an implement, but given its position as the only attribute in a young woman's hand, it surely marks a transition in the deceased girl's life.

97. Dörtlük 1988, p. 173.

98. For a fine example of a silver pitcher with a karyatid as a handle, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, pp. 150–151, no. 106; for a karyatid supporting a bronze incense burner from Delphi, see Connelly 2007, p. 129, fig. 5:8; for bronze karyatid mirrors from ancient Greece in the Archaic and Early Classical periods, see Congdon 1981. Congdon (1981, pp. 12–18) also demonstrates that some of the karyatid mirrors were used for cult purposes, since at least six of them were found dedicated in sanctuaries.

99. Connelly 2007, p. 122.



Figure 14. Ephesos D, ivory figurine with double cup. H. 8 cm (16.5 cm with the cup). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (no inv. no.). Işık 2000, fig. 15. Courtesy Akdeniz University Lycian Civilizations Research Center

may have imitated the appearance of the deity they served, as attested in some literary sources.¹⁰⁰

Just as priests and priestess serve as intermediaries between the human and the divine, the handles operate as intermediary devices for reaching the divine through ritual. This mediatory aspect of the Antalya ivories may also be traced in the details of their iconography. All three appear to be holding or touching something with their hands: Antalya B holds a long ritual necklace with both hands, Antalya C holds her daughter's hand and her son's leg while her son touches her high polos, and Antalya D holds a bird and a baby. This tactile motif in the figurines may echo their actual function in the hands of cult members.

THE IDENTITY OF THE DECEASED

The value of the burial goods in Tumulus D, especially evident in the abundant use of silver and ivory, implies not only the sacred character of the implements but also the high status of the deceased woman.¹⁰¹ She was surely a member of an elite family, but her ethnicity is uncertain. The Phrygian character of the tumulus is evident from its construction as well as from the silver vessels—some bearing Phrygian inscriptions—and

100. Larson (1995, p. 118) mentions a heroine named Aspalis whose costumed body became a cult object of Artemis. Connelly (2007, pp. 104–115) establishes that the cult attendants' imi-

tation of the divine through their dress and attributes was already a common feature of ritual drama in Archaic times.

101. Marking the high status of their owners, spindles of gold, silver,

and electrum are also known from Bronze Age tombs of females at Anatolian sites such as Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, and Karataş; see Barber 1994, pp. 208–209.

Phrygian fibulae found within the tomb. Yet the tumulus is located in northern Lycia, outside the recognized sphere of Phrygian or Lydian culture. The absence of any known ancient settlement near Bayındır complicates the situation even more.

In light of the silver objects and the construction of the tomb as well as the iconography of the figurines, which recall Phrygian representations of Kybele, Dörtlük assumed that the deceased was Phrygian.¹⁰² Börker-Klähn also considered the deceased to be Phrygian, a princess married to a Lycian elite.¹⁰³ Yet these scholars disregard the fact that the ethnic identity of the deceased might have differed from the ethnic identity of the artisans in the workshops where the figurines were made. Thus, for example, the silver vessels might have been made by a Phrygian, and the figurines might be Lydian imports.

Despite the Phrygian connections of the burial, Işık identifies the deceased woman as a Lycian. His argument rests on two factors: the find-spot, and his own identifications of Antalya C as Leto with Apollo and Artemis, and of Antalya D as Aphrodite with the infant Eros. According to Işık, the depiction of these deities in the tomb of a Phrygian is impossible, since Phrygians worshipped only Kybele and did not have a large pantheon.¹⁰⁴ As discussed above, however, there is no need to identify the Antalya figurines as divinities; in fact, their function as handles suggests that they represent humans who were high-status participants in the cult, perhaps priests and priestesses.¹⁰⁵ There is also no need to associate these figurines with a specific ethnic group. Instead, the figurines and the deceased woman they accompanied may simply be identified as Anatolian. Both the woman and the figurines may have served in the cult of Artemis Ephesia, a hybrid goddess who emerged from the fusion of Greek Artemis and Anatolian Kybele.

Previous scholarship sought to identify Ionian, Phrygian, Lydian, or Lycian features of the Tumulus D burial and its figurines. The absence of a consensus can best be explained by acknowledging the “mixed” nature of Archaic Anatolia itself. The hybridization of the material culture of Anatolia may also indicate the hybridization of its people. Indeed, intermarriages between the members of the ruling Lydian and Greek elites, like earlier unions among elite Phrygian-Greek families, testify to the blurring of ethnic boundaries in western Anatolia in the 7th century.¹⁰⁶ According to Herodotos (1.28), by the end of the 7th century the Lydian tyrant Alyattes of the Mermnad dynasty had achieved control of all the Phrygian, Ionian, Aeolian, Mysian, Dorian, Carian, and Pamphylian cities of western Anatolia; only Lycia (where Tumulus D is located) and Cilicia remained free. But who were the Lydians? Speaking a language belonging to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family, the Lydians were Anatolians whose tyrants became powerful first around the city of Sardis and eventually across western Anatolia. Inheriting the cultural, economical, and religious legacy of the Phrygians, the Lydians intermarried with Greeks and intermingled with other non-Greek populations, such as Carians and Mysians. The Lydians did not come from far away; their culture was a fusion of local, Greek, and Phrygian traditions, just as Phrygian culture itself was a fusion of Thracian and local Neo-Hittite traditions. Such fusion and hybridization characterized most ancient cultures in Anatolia.

102. Dörtlük 1988, pp. 173–174.

103. Börker-Klähn 2003, p. 103.

104. Işık 2000, pp. 85–86.

105. There are not many well-known examples of handles that represent deities. Bronze mirror handles from Archaic Greece show draped female figurines that are sometimes identified as Aphrodite or Helen of Sparta, but there is no agreement on this issue. See Congdon 1981, pp. 13–18.

106. A fragment of Aristophanes (611.37) mentions the Phrygian king Midas's marriage to a Greek princess from Kyme. For intermarriages between Greeks and Anatolian locals in general, see Hall 2002, p. 102.

CONCLUSION

The label “western Anatolian”—rather than Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian, Greek, or Neo-Hittite—best describes the style of Antalya C, as well as the identity of the woman in whose tomb the figurine was discovered. The distinctive features of the costume worn by the mother in the figurine group—the veil worn over a polos and tucked into a large belt—reflect Anatolian fashion. Parallel finds from the Archaic sanctuary at Ephesos establish the figurine’s date at the end of the 7th century B.C. and attest to its religious function. The figurine served as the handle of an implement, perhaps a distaff or a vessel, that was probably used in ritual activities related to the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Dressed in her finest clothes and accompanied by her children, the figure of the mother in Antalya C echoes an idealized cult participant who might herself have held such a figurine in religious ceremonies. Thus, one may consider this Antalya figurine as a self-referential religious object, reflecting the role and the status of the deceased woman with whom it was buried.

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