

Mixed Signals: Androgyny, Identity, and Iconography on the Graeco-Phoenician
Sealings from Tel Kedesh, Israel

by

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To all those who have helped along the way

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ABSTRACT

Mixed Signals: Androgyny, Identity, and Iconography on the Graeco-Phoenician Sealings from Tel Kedesh, Israel

by

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This dissertation presents an analysis of the Aphrodite and Apollo seal impressions from the Hellenistic administrative building at Tel Kedesh. A significant amount of this study is dedicated to the analysis of the Aphrodite and Apollo pose types, and comparisons to the archives at Seleucia and Delos, among others. Other small-scale media, specifically terracotta figurines and coins, are also examined. Such objects, despite their small size, were accessible to a larger section of the population and thus, are considered to be a better gauge of the tastes and trends of a given culture.

Once these comparisons have been made, I use both the images and the objects on which they occur, the bullae, to comment on two main issues: the presence of androgyny in the Kedesh corpus and its relation to Hellenistic art; and the role of cultural contact in the development and modification of Apollo and Aphrodite iconography in the Hellenistic Phoenicia.

Pose types of both deities demonstrate a persistent presence of androgyny, either through the use of occluded rear views, or ambiguously rendered genitalia and secondary sexual characteristics. An investigation of the use of androgyny in Greek art, literature and medical texts follows, in which I argue that there is an underlying concept of androgyny present in all three, but it is not until the Hellenistic period, that overt sexual ambiguity is given physical form in images of the hermaphrodite. The Kedesh images pull back from such a dramatic display of physical androgyny but are, nevertheless, consistent with the aesthetics of the Hellenistic period.

Using post-colonial theory to describe the socio-political situation in the Levant in the second century B.C.E., it is possible to conclude that the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae are part of a new visual language, unique to the region of Hellenistic Phoenicia; a trend that is also born out by the architectural and ceramic remains. Located on a fluctuating border between empires, Phoenicia, and specifically Kedesh, had long been in contact with many different cultural influences, resulting in a visual language that drew upon a mixture of new and old, imported and embedded visual imagery.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the 140s B.C.E., in the plains of Hazor, the armies of Jonathan Maccabeus and Demetrius II clashed in one of a series of battles between the Seleucid kings and the family that would eventually establish the Hasmonean dynasty.¹ Though the Maccabees lost the battle, they pursued the Seleucid army back to their encampment at Kedesh, where 3,000 foreign troops fell, before turning south to Jerusalem.

More than 2000 years after the battle described in 1 Maccabees 11:63-70, the Universities of Michigan and Minnesota began archaeological explorations at the site where the armies of Demetrius encamped and were routed by Jonathan. In seven seasons of excavation, the joint venture has uncovered significant portions of large administrative building, with grand reception rooms, ample storage capacity, a central courtyard, and an archive room (figs. 1.1 and 1.2). At its height, the archive room housed hundreds of papyrus documents, documents that went up in flame when the archive room was destroyed sometime after the battle with the Maccabees. Although the documents are now lost to us, the small clay lumps used to seal these documents were accidental survivors of the destruction.² Hardened to ceramic by the conflagration, these clay lumps, or bullae, preserve the impressions of individual seals.

2043 bullae were recovered from the archive room and its environs during two

¹ 1 Maccabees 11:63.

² For a technical discussion of the ways in which bullae were affixed to documents see Berges 1997, 14-17, which includes some useful diagrams; and Brandl 2000.

seasons of excavation (1999 – 2000). Approximately 85% (~1800) are legible; of that number, 75% (~1300) bear Greek mythological and anthropomorphic figures. Another 20% (~350) of the legible bullae depict Greek style portraits and portrait heads.³ An additional 22 bullae bear Greek and/or Phoenician inscriptions.⁴ Lastly, another ~100 bullae carry images of plants, animals, and symbols. It bears mentioning that the seals used to make the impressions were likely not manufactured at Kedesh, itself, but created elsewhere, possibly Tyre. These seals were then used to secure papyrus scrolls that were sent to, and subsequently stored at Kedesh; or they were purchased by individuals who lived or worked at Kedesh, and were called upon to affix their seal to a document then stored in the archive. In the act of a securing a document with a seal, the seal acted as a kind of signature or identification card and thus a valuable and treasured possession.⁵ Although these seals were not produced at Kedesh, seal selection appears to have been a very personal choice in antiquity. It is possible to infer that the selection of a particular image was not a random choice, but a deliberate decision by the user, a decision that would have had “personal, administrative, social and/or cultural consequences.”⁶

This dissertation is a study of the iconography of the impressions representing Aphrodite and Apollo. The selection of one female and one male figure is deliberate in order to analyze the ways in which gender is conveyed at such a small scale, and how scale affects the viewer’s understanding and interpretation of gender. I will look at other small-scale media, specifically terracotta figurines, coins, and other seals and seal impressions, in order to comment on the abilities of artists who carved the Kedesh seals

³ This number needs to be revised in light of the identification of several portrait heads as Apollo. For the remaining portrait heads see Rose 2008.

⁴ See Ariel and Naveh 2003.

⁵ In Sophocles’ *Electra*, 1222-4, Electra recognizes her brother Orestes by the seal he is wearing.

⁶ Garrison 2000, 154.

to convey a specific idea of gender. I will also comment on how these gendered images are similar to or different from images on other seals and in other media.

This is also a study of how this iconography can inform us about the character of the population living at and around Kedesh in the second century B.C.E. I do not seek to use style to comment upon ethnicity – this approach is woefully unreliable and based upon the faulty premises that style equals ethnicity.⁷ Style could be used, however, to communicate a situational and fluid notion of identity.⁸ Since little is known about the individuals living in Kedesh, and we have a precise context for the bullae, it is potentially fruitful to ask how the iconography of the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae might reflect on the individuals who selected these motifs as their personal emblems.

Terminology

I pause here, to clarify certain terminological issues. In the study of seals and seal impressions, there is a tendency to use certain terms interchangeably both correctly and incorrectly. A “bulla” as it is used here and by Herbert is a small lump of clay that is molded around a cord or string and then impressed with some sort of seal. Once dry, the scroll cannot be unraveled without damaging the clay bulla. A bulla can bear a single imprint or multiple imprints. At Kedesh, each bulla carries only one imprint, whereas at Seleucia, for example, there are larger bulla that carry multiple imprints.⁹ These individual imprints, called “impressions,” can be made using a variety of objects including carved stones, metal, or even one’s fingernail. Thus a bulla can carry an impression but is not itself an impression. Closely related to “impression” is the term

⁷ Gates 2002, 105.

⁸ Gates 2002, 119.

⁹ For a discussion of bullae and how they were used to seal papyrus documents see Brandl 2000.

“sealing.” A sealing is the object that bears the impression, thus a bulla is a specific type of sealing. I use the terms interchangeably in this dissertation because, as mentioned above, each Kedesh bulla carries only a single seal impression.

A “seal” is that which is used to make an imprint onto a bulla, wax, molten metal or any other imprintable material. A seal can be carved using one of two techniques: intaglio and relief. Intaglio is the more common technique used in seal carving; it is when an image is carved in the negative, which means that the motif has been cut into the seal surface. The resulting impression made from an intaglio is then raised above the surface of the clay, a positive image. The relief technique is when the design projects out of the background; this is the common technique used for shell cameos. An impression made by a seal carved with relief would be a negative image.

In the Hellenistic period the most common type of seal was the stamp seal carved using the intaglio technique. These seals were oftentimes set in a ring, using either a bezel, or a set of pins inserted into two points of the seal. Because this becomes the most common way of mounting a seal, “ring” is sometimes used when “seal” is the more accurate term. Another common term in used in glyptic studies is “gem,” where it is used to describe intaglio-carved stone artifacts. But “gem” suggests in today’s parlance, an item of jewelry, “created and worn for their value as things of beauty, status, personal enhancement, and perhaps magical agencies.”¹⁰ The term does not necessarily suggest an administrative function in which the act of making an impression denotes an official transaction or ownership.

At Kedesh, each bulla bears an impression made by a stamp seal carved in the intaglio technique, thus the impressions show a positive image. Some of the impressions

¹⁰ Gates 2002, 110.

also show the marks of a bezel, making it possible to conclude that some of the seals used at Kedesh were set in rings. Because ring-set seals were popular in the Hellenistic period, the two terms, “ring” and “seal” have often been used interchangeably, but this assumes that all seals were set in rings, which cannot be confirmed.

Aphrodite and Apollo

There are 82 bullae, representing 60 discrete seals that depict naked women who have been identified by Herbert as Aphrodite; another 164 sealings from 66 discrete seals depict figures that have been identified as Apollo. These 246 bullae serve as the starting point of a visual analysis that contributes to our understanding of the site and its population. I will explore the iconography of gender and issues of cultural contact in a border zone. In addition I will comment on the role of seals and sealings as an administrative tool, and consider the role of these objects and their images in reflecting the identity of the users.

The decision to concentrate on Aphrodite and Apollo was driven by my interest in gender studies. The depictions of these two gods provide the opportunity to study female and male figures side by side. It is no longer sufficient to study the iconography of only women or only men; one must examine the full spectrum of the iconography of gender. We see this trend manifesting itself in the development of gender studies programs from what were once women’s studies programs. To study the representation of one gender requires the study of the other, because they exist together in society, not separately, and boundaries between the two can be fluid. Aphrodite is an easy choice for those interested in depictions of women in the ancient Greek world, because she is the figure most often

depicted in various states of undress. However, these partial and fully nude images have led to the over-emphasis of Aphrodite's role as goddess of sexual love, at the expense of her other spheres of influence. In reality, she is much more than the beautiful and seductive character she is painted to be by Homer.¹¹ She is a potent and multifarious deity who is often called upon in ancient Greek myth to guide young men, *ephebes*, through transitions to adult sexuality and marriage.¹² In addition to being the goddess of sexual love, Aphrodite also oversees marriage, political harmony, and fair sailing.¹³

Apollo, the god of prophesy and healing, patron of medicine and music, is considered to be one of the most morally developed of the Olympian gods, the embodiment of reason.¹⁴ As such, he may strike the reader as a somewhat incongruous selection to be compared to Aphrodite; Dionysus and his effeminacy appears to be the obvious choice for the study of gender and its fluidity. While Apollo's character may be quite different from Aphrodite's, his iconography is well-suited to this analysis. In art Apollo is the quintessential *ephebe*, forever youthful, never bearded. He is, in many ways, the divine model of the very youth that Aphrodite is called upon to guide and protect in his journey to sexual maturity, described above. He has a series of unhappy and unsuccessful romantic liaisons, and in this respect he too, is in need of Aphrodite's protection and guidance. In the course of this iconography analysis, I will demonstrate that his iconography in the Kedesh corpus is, at times, strikingly effeminate. What motivated such design decisions? In the course of this study, I posit that Apollo as the youthful Greek male *par excellence* is, in certain ways, somewhat androgynous, both in

¹¹ Kousser 2005, 244.

¹² Aphrodite helps Hippomenes bring about his marriage to Atalanta; she also helps Theseus during his adventures on Crete (Kousser 2005, 243).

¹³ Kousser 2005, 245; Kousser 2005, 245 n. 106.

¹⁴ Rose 1959, 145; Powell 1998, 164, 177.

his persona and his appearance. Little has been made of the fact that Apollo is a twin to Artemis, but perhaps in sharing a womb with his sister, his persona absorbed some of her characteristics and *vice versa*.

*Kedesh: "Strong Inland Village of the Tyrians"*¹⁵

Nestled in the hills above the Hula valley, enveloped in a plateau of fertile, agricultural land owned by Kibbutz Malkiya, lies Tel Kedesh. The large double tel covers approximately 9-10 hectares, and sits within sight of Mount Hermon, the source of the Jordan river (fig 1.3). At its steeper, northern edge, the tel has been cut by the modern road, then slopes gently towards the southern tel. Located 35 kilometers inland from Tyre and 10 kilometers northwest of Hazor, Kedesh and its surrounding lands have played host to a wide range of peoples and cultures, including the Canaanites, Israelites, Phoenicians and modern day Palestinian villagers and Israeli kibbutzniks. These physical characteristics, its location near to the mountainous region of Mt. Hermon and its proximity to several important Bronze and Iron age sites, including Hazor and Dan, allow us to distinguish Tel Kedesh from a number of other ancient settlements of the same name.¹⁶

The earliest literary mention of Kedesh of the Upper Galilee may be from a group of Egyptian execration texts dating to the 19th century B.C.E.¹⁷ Another possible mention comes from a list of towns captured by Seti I in the 13th century B.C.E..¹⁸ Kedesh is

¹⁵ This appellation comes from Josephus *War* 4.104.

¹⁶ There are several other ancient settlements named Kedesh (Herbert and Berlin 2003, 13): the most famous is the Syrian site of the historical battles between the Hittites and Egyptians in the early 13th century B.C.E. Other sites of the same name are Kadesh Barnea in the northern Sinai, Kedesh/Tell-Abu-Qudeis in the Jezreel Valley, and Khirbet Kedesh, near the southeastern shore of the Kinneret.

¹⁷ Aharoni 1962,133; Herbert and Berlin 2003, 14.

¹⁸ Aharoni 1962, 166; Herbert and Berlin 2003, 15.

mentioned several times in the Hebrew Bible, in which it is described as a fortified, Canaanite city, which, when under Israelite control, belonged to the tribe of Naphtali.¹⁹ Its location in a border zone left it vulnerable to invaders and as such was one of the first towns captured by the invading forces of the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser III in 733-32 B.C.E..²⁰ The sources also report that Joshua established Kedesh as a city of refuge for those seeking asylum for taking another's life, unintentionally and without premeditation.²¹ The selection of Kedesh as a city of refuge highlights the liminal character of the site, neither completely of Judea, nor completely of Phoenicia.

Kedesh is also cited in several Graeco-Roman sources. There are two mentions of Kedesh in the Zenon Papyri, which chronicle the business and peregrinations of Zenon, the secretary of Apollonios. The archive dates to the third century B.C.E. and largely relates to Zenon's life in Egypt, but it is known that Zenon traveled to Palestine at the behest of Apollonios in 259 B.C.E. The first mention of Kedesh names the town as the source of two artabas of flour; the second identifies Kedesh as the spot where Zenon once bathed.²²

As mentioned earlier, 1 Maccabees briefly recounts the battle that was fought in the plains of Hazor between Jonathan Maccabeus and the army of Demetrius II. The author tells us that the army of Demetrius bivouacked at Kedesh in the Galilee on the eve of the battle. Although they lost the battle, the Maccabees pursued Demetrius and his army back to his encampment at Kedesh, with a great loss of life to the foreign army.²³

¹⁹ Joshua 19:37.

²⁰ 2 Kings 15:29; Josephus *AJ* 9.235.

²¹ Joshua 20: 7; Josephus *AJ* 5.91.

²² For the first mention see Edgar 1925; P. Cairo Zen. I 59.004. For the second, in which Zenon takes a bath see Westermann, Keyes, and Lievesny 1940, no 61.

²³ 1 Maccabees 11: 63-74.

Josephus corroborates this story and situates Kedesh somewhere between Tyre and the Galilee.²⁴

Josephus mentions Kedesh two additional times in *The Jewish War*, and both references emphasize the connection between Kedesh and Tyre, the latter being a traditional opponent of the Jews.²⁵ The association of Kedesh with Tyre by Josephus stresses the non-Jewish/outsider nature of Kedesh vis à vis Judea, a status that made it a fitting locale as a place of sanctuary, as outlined above. Josephus is the latest mention of Kedesh in literary sources, and at the time *The Jewish War* was written, the site was past its prime and occupied intermittently until the British Mandate of 1948.

History of Excavations

19th century travelers were first attracted to the site of Kedesh because of the monumental Roman temple, the façade of which is still standing today. The temple, as well as several scattered mausolea and large stone sarcophagi, are situated in the fields east of the tel.²⁶ The first scientific excavations took place in 1953, under the direction of Yohanan Aharoni, who excavated a 17 meter long step trench along northwestern slope of the tel. He found ceramic and/or architectural remains from the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze age, Iron I and II, Hellenistic and Arab period. Although the precise chronology of the site was unclear due to the narrow confines of the excavation, Aharoni, who had also surveyed extensively in the Galilee, was still able to conclude that this Kedesh was the site of the Canaanite city mentioned above and in Joshua 12:22.²⁷

²⁴ Josephus *AJ* 13.154-62.

²⁵ Josephus *JW* 2.459 and 4.104.

²⁶ C. Conder and H. Kitchener 1881 – 1883; vo.l 1, 226-30.

²⁷ Aharoni 1957; Herbert and Berlin 2003, 15.

It was not until the 1970s that the site was again the focus of archaeological investigation. Mordechai Aviam and Yuval Portugali began a survey of the area in the first years of the decade under the auspices of the Israeli Antiquities Authority.²⁸ Asher Ovadiah, Moshe Fischer, and Isaac Roll resurveyed the area the later years of the decade, focusing on the Roman period remains; in the 1980s this same team conducted excavations of the temple.²⁹ They concluded that the temple was built in the early second century C.E. and was likely dedicated to the Syro-Phoenician god Baalshamin, “the Lord of Heaven,” who was an important deity during the middle and late Roman periods, and has often been associated with Apollo.³⁰ Aviam returned to the area to excavate Keren Naftali, a small fortress dating to the late Hellenistic/Early Roman periods. The fortress is some distance away from the tel, at the extreme eastern end of the Kedesh valley, overlooking the Hula.

The most recent excavations are those directly jointly by Universities of Michigan and Minnesota.³¹ The primary goal of the project has been “to expand the understanding of Phoenician material culture as it continued and changed in interaction with that of the Greeks and Romans in the eras of their political control of the region” and to gauge “to what extent can an ongoing Phoenician social identity be documented through the material record in the Hellenistic and Roman eras.”³² Building off of their discoveries from the nearby site, Tel Anafa, Herbert and Berlin, hope to “establish a profile of Phoenician material culture,” a task that has been made difficult because of the abrupt

²⁸ Aviam 1997: n. 14.

²⁹ Fischer, Ovadiah, and Roll 1984; 1986-1987.

³⁰ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 15. This identification has been disputed by Jodi Magness, who has suggested that the temple was the site of an oracular cult of Apollo. See Magness 1990; Ovadiah, Roll, and Fischer 1993 for their response.

³¹ Excavations were conducted in 1997-2000, 2006, 2008-2009 and supported by a grant from the NEH.

³² Herbert and Berlin 2003, 16.

and mysterious disappearance of Phoenician material goods after the conquest of Alexander the Great.³³

Excavations began in 1997, with two short, exploratory seasons. A Magnetometric survey performed in 1998 revealed the outline of a significant structure on the southeast quadrant of the tel, which has since become the focus of the project. In five seasons of excavation, a significant portion of this impressive administrative building has been uncovered. The building (hereafter the PHAB) was originally constructed during Achaemenid rule and continued to be in use as an administrative center until the middle of the second century B.C.E., right around the time of the battle between the Maccabees and Demetrius II. The remains are generally quite close to the surface with little modern occupation to confuse and complicate the Graeco-Persian occupation layers. This proximity to the surface, however, made the site an attractive source of building materials in the Roman period. The PHAB measures 56 meters east-west by 40 meters north-south. The building was reoccupied in the late second century B.C.E., during which time several modifications were made to certain rooms to accommodate the needs of these settlers.

A large western courtyard measuring 10 by 14 meters gives access into several zones. To the west and north, there is a series of storage rooms and utility rooms, characterized by the large storage vessels found therein, both broken and intact. To the east of the courtyard is a suite of three reception rooms, whose walls are decorated with masonry style wall plaster; two of the three rooms are outfitted with *opus signinum* floors. The floor of the third, and largest reception room has been completely destroyed. To the south of the courtyard is a warren of utility rooms equipped with basins, drains,

³³ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 16.

and plain plaster flooring. Further to the east, beyond the reception rooms, a monumental stylobate, replete with cuttings for columns, has been recently uncovered. In plan, then, the PHAB very generally resembles Persian and Hellenistic governors' palaces at Lachish, Dura, Nippur, and Ai Khanoum.³⁴

Tucked into the northwest corner of the PHAB is the archive room. Measuring 5.4 by 6 meters, this room was the only room of the building destroyed by fire. The doorway of the archive room appears to have been intentionally blocked to prevent the fire from spreading.³⁵ As a result of the fire, the entire floor was covered with a layer of ash. A total of 52 vessels, intact or restorable, along with the bullae were discovered immediately above the floor. In addition to the remarkable ceramic finds, were two infant burials. These infant burials were placed directly above the floor deposit in the northern half of the room. The first burial was disturbed by Roman building activity; the second burial was marked by a ring of stones and sealed under a hard burnt brick layer, and had its hands and feet amputated before burial. The excavators have posited two possible explanations. The first and more macabre of the two is child sacrifice, a practice known to have taken place during times of danger at Carthage and the Phoenician settlement Idalion, on Cyprus.³⁶ The second hypothesis is that the burials took place when the site was being reoccupied after its initial abandonment, and that the infant burials and the fire that destroyed only the archive room, were both part of some sort of purification ritual.³⁷

The excavations at Kedesh conducted by the universities of Michigan and Minnesota have brought to light the significance of the site. The existence of such a large

³⁴ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 19; Nielson 1999.

³⁵ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24.

³⁶ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24.

³⁷ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24-5.

structure in the Tyrian hinterland suggests that Kedesh was a regional center in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.³⁸ The selection of Kedesh as the site of a regional administration is significant because Kedesh was of little importance to the Jews. The Persians could have selected Dan or Hazor, but instead they chose a new, neutral location for their administrative center.³⁹ This choice may also have served as a check to Tyrian power, demarcating the border between Tyre and the Galilee, and once again speaks to the liminality of the site, a characteristic that, I argue is reflected in the iconography of the bullae.⁴⁰

To date, the bullae remain the largest single source of iconographic data from Kedesh, and they are only one of a handful of contextualized archival material from the Hellenistic period. Their analysis as archaeological artifacts can shed light on those individuals who selected the motifs that appear on the bullae; how did their iconographic choices reflect their identity? How many different people used the archive? How do the visual motifs compare with other Hellenistic archive? Is there evidence for a local Phoenician style of seal carving? Though I cannot hope to answer all of these questions in this dissertation, the Kedesh bullae are a loaded source of data if studied as archaeological objects rather than isolated items.

Problems and Approaches to the Study of Hellenistic Glyptic

Those who choose to study Hellenistic glyptic may be surprised at the seemingly meager resources available, especially in light of the plethora of work on ancient glyptic from other periods. Those who want to study glyptic in the period after the death of

³⁸ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 47.

³⁹ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 45; Berlin personal communication 2009.

⁴⁰ Herbert and Berlin 2003, 47.

Alexander the Great find only a few pages dedicated to the Hellenistic period in general works on Greek glyptic; they must piece together materials from public and private collections from around the world, collections that are often problematic because of high percentages of unprovenanced items. Although iconographic studies can sometimes make use of this de-contextualized corpus, it can be difficult to come to any definitive conclusions. Often times there is no way of knowing if these seals have been reworked, recut, or reset in later periods, especially in light of the eclectic and varied nature of Hellenistic art in general.⁴¹

There are, however, a handful of essential sources that scholars can turn to in their investigations of Hellenistic glyptic. Adolf Furtwängler's *Die Antiken Gemmen* was the first study to examine glyptic in a systematic way and to recognize the wealth of data that can be gleaned from seals and seal impressions. He compiled a "representative sample of Hellenistic intaglios" and discussed their iconography, style, and technique.⁴² He also considered what ancient sources had to say about precious stones and seal usage. His approach, however, highlights the artistic element of seals and seal impressions rather than treating them as excavated objects. His "representative sample" has been handpicked to best support his stylistic development and chronologies, and his work exemplifies the problem that shadows glyptic studies: the use and reliance upon unprovenanced materials. Despite all of its problems, because it is the first of its kind, Furtwängler is an essential source for scholars as a model of both best and worst practices of glyptic studies.

⁴¹ Plantzos 1999, 1.

⁴² Plantzos 1999,1; Furtwängler 1900.

Dimitri Plantzos has, in many ways, modeled his study of Hellenistic gems (still the only one of its kind for this period) after Furtwängler's. Plantzos addresses issues of style and iconography but with a somewhat more nuanced understanding of artistic styles and trends outside of seal iconography. He is careful in his use of comparative material, and he is conscious of the fact that any and all analysis must consider the "social and historical parameters" of the Hellenistic period.⁴³

In the past century there have been some 15 archives of Hellenistic date that have been excavated and published to varying degrees.⁴⁴ The publications of the archives from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Carthage, and Kedesh (forthcoming) serve as models for this type of publication, which must include a catalogue as well as pertinent comparative material and contextual analysis. The discovery of seal archives that are both responsibly excavated and published have done much to further the study of the medium, especially with regard to the Hellenistic material.

We are also fortunate in that we can draw upon the approaches to glyptic studies from other periods. Near Eastern Glyptic studies have formed the backbone of glyptic studies in part because of the wealth of material from western Asia. It is in this sphere that one is able to trace the development of glyptic studies from typological studies of unprovenanced "gems", considered in and of themselves *objets d'art*, to a more functional approach, in which seals and sealings are viewed as both functional and active

⁴³ Plantzos 1992, 2.

⁴⁴ Plantzos lists these as: Cathage, Selinus, Elephantine, Cyrene, Nea Paphos, Doliche, Syria, Nikopolis, Palmyra, Alexandria at Issos, Orchoi/Uruk, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Kallipolis, Delos and Titani.

objects and expressions of artistic tastes and techniques – objects that had a role in reflecting the beliefs and identities of the society that made and used them.⁴⁵

There are many monographs, catalogues, edited volumes and conference proceedings that are commendable in their approaches and contributions to the field, but I highlight here a handful of the very best in their analysis of seals and seal impressions as archaeological data. Gibson and Biggs' *Seals and Sealings of the Ancient Near East* was the result of an informal symposium on seal usage and it challenged each of the contributors to study some aspect of ancient seals “within a functional context.”⁴⁶

Porada's essay is particularly relevant to this study in the way in which she recognizes the dual nature of seals as both art *qua* art, and as and important primary objects that can both convey identity, status, and prestige and serve a ritual or votive object.⁴⁷ But all of the papers in this edited collection have the common goal of reuniting seals and sealings “with the society that used them and the tablets upon which they were impressed.”⁴⁸

These essays use glyptic data to engage with a variety of topics ranging from the administrative and religious uses of seals, the connections between seal motifs and style and the owner/user of those seals, and the place of glyptic art within the broader framework of Near Eastern art.⁴⁹

The Persepolis Seal Project, an ongoing project spearheaded by Margaret Cool Root and Mark Garrison, asks exciting questions of the glyptic data. Continuing the work started by Gibson and Biggs, Root and Garrison investigate the administrative and social

⁴⁵ In many ways, the development of glyptic studies mirrors that of Attic vase painting, which itself began with connoisseurship studies and typological catalogues of unprovenanced materials and has since moved on to study the meaning and function of the paintings and the pots on which they appear within ancient Greek society.

⁴⁶ Root 1982, 58.

⁴⁷ Porada 1977, 7-14; Root 1982, 59.

⁴⁸ Muhly 1981, 399.

⁴⁹ Root 1982, 59; Khatchadourian 2005, 26.

function of the image-bearing seals from the archive.⁵⁰ But Root and Garrison also examine the human element of glyptic. They move beyond attributing a seal with a particular individual, and ask how the social space of Persepolis felt.⁵¹ Root and Garrison are at the forefront of glyptic studies, using reception theory to investigate how individuals engaged with seals and seal images, and how seal application can be a form of social discourse.⁵²

Recent edited volumes and conference proceedings are also important to the development of glyptic studies because they bring together disparate geographical and chronological periods under the roof of glyptic studies. Working on the same model as Gibson and Biggs' *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, volumes like *Archives et Sceaux*⁵³ and *Seals and Seal Impressions*⁵⁴ bring together scholars who study disparate geographical and chronological periods under a single umbrella of glyptic studies. The essays included these volumes almost universally discuss seals and seal impressions with known archaeological contexts. These volumes contribute significantly to the discipline in the participants' willingness to engage with other scholars who may not focus on the same geographical or chronological era but otherwise study the same kinds of data.

There have also been several outstanding essays on the style and iconography of seals and seal impressions, and in what ways we can use style to comment on the identity of the user/owner/creator of a particular seal. I highlight two essays, both of which focus

⁵⁰ Root 2008, 87.

⁵¹ Root 2008, 110.

⁵² Root 2008, 109.

⁵³ Boussac, Marie-Françoise, and Antonio Invenizzi, eds. 1996. *Archives et Sceaux du Monde Hellénistique. Archivi e Sigilli nel Mondo Ellenistico; Torino, Villa Gualino, 13-16 Gennaio 1993, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Supplément 29*. Athènes: Ecole Française d'Athènes.

⁵⁴ Abusch, I. Tzvi, Carol Noyes, William W. Hallo, and Irene Winter, eds. 2001. *Proceedings of the XLV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Part I: Historiography in the cuneiform world, Part II Seals and seal impressions*. 2 vols. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.

on seals from the Achaemenid empire. Both essays take issue with the label “Graeco-Persian” and the way in which this label has been applied to a diverse array of unprovenanced seals with the assumption that they were created for a predominately Persian audience.⁵⁵ Dusinberre’s essay “Imperial Style and Constructed Identity” is particularly pertinent to this study because she examines regional styles of glyptic at Sardis using a seal with a known archaeological context. Dusinberre concludes that although Achaemenid imperial programs were distributed throughout the empire, these “ideologies of empire were translated into regional artistic compositions to make them intelligible to local viewing audiences in widely disparate parts of the empire.”⁵⁶ Dusinberre’s essay can serve as a model for similar issues at Kedesh, where official Seleucid iconography is occasionally adjusted.

Gates’ essay, “The Ethnicity Name Game” focuses on the tendency in iconographic studies to equate style with ethnicity. Using a seal impression from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, Gates challenges the approaches of Furtwängler, Richter, and Boardman as being overly hellenocentric and emphasizing the style of these objects over their context.⁵⁷

In short, although it appears at first glance that resources for the study of Hellenistic glyptic are few and far between, in reality, there are ample resources available for those who wish to study the seals and sealing of this period. While not all of these approaches consider the social and political circumstances of the Hellenistic period, we can still benefit from the contributions of scholars from other disciplines and sub-

⁵⁵ Dusinberre 1997, full text HTML: http://vnweb.hwwilsonweb.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/hww/results/getResults.jhtml?_DARGS=/hww/results/results_common.jhtml.33; Gates 2002, 110-114.

⁵⁶ Dusinberre 1997.

⁵⁷ Gates 2002, 113-114.

specialties, particularly those approaches that seek to bring together archaeological context, object functions and artistic style. Those studies highlighted above demonstrate that it is possible to use glyptic to inform us about much more than iconographic/stylistic development, and that these objects belie their small size and enable scholars to ask and potentially answer “big” questions about administrative practices and seal usage, social function, identity, and artistic conventions and tastes.

Organization of the dissertation

Chapter 2 presents the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae that form the basis of this dissertation. In this chapter, I rely on the typologies and identifications of Herbert’s forthcoming catalogue. For each pose type, I identify a prototypical model, if one exists, and compare the Kedesh images with this prototype, as well as any comparable seals from contemporary Hellenistic archives. By looking at the bullae in comparison to examples from other contemporary archives and other small-scale media, it is possible to understand how the populations of the Hellenistic Levant adapted images of the Greek gods, Aphrodite and Apollo appearing in small-scale media. I then supplement this discussion with comparative material from other small-scale media, primarily terracotta figurines and coins. I have opted to focus on these small-scale objects because “minor traditional arts” are often a good indicator of what is most broadly acceptable in any society because of their affordability and accessibility by a larger segment of the population, and thus, they provide a better understand of the tastes and trends of a given culture, despite their small size.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Boardman 1993, 78. The use of the adjective ‘minor’ to describe small-scale objects conveys a negative value judgment and reflects an antiquated kind of scholarship, in which valued items were big (marble and

This chapter is intended not only to present the data to the reader. The iconographic analysis is a necessary undertaking in order to address question of why the bullae look as they do, and to comment on the archaeological and visual landscape of Hellenistic Kedesh. It also highlights unusual or problematic issues either of the images themselves, or *vis à vis* the comparative material. The focus of chapter 3 is the sexual ambiguity of the subset of Aphrodite and Apollo bullae. While this ambiguity, which I call androgyny, can, in part, be attributed to the small size of the images, and the level of craftsmanship, I argue for an intentionality that is the result of several factors, including local artistic tastes, and a more fluid conception of gender identity. Androgyny in ancient art has not received a great deal of attention by scholars, thus, in this chapter I also outline the state of scholarship, and establish several rudimentary definitions of key terms. A review of androgynous images in Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Ancient Near Eastern art serves to situate the Kedesh images within an artistic and cultural context. Through an iconographic analysis of these androgynous figures, it is possible to comment on conceptions of gender in the Hellenistic Levant.

Chapter 4 addresses the issue of cultural contact and the role such interactions played in the development of unusual iconographic motifs present at Kedesh. Unlike androgyny, cultural contact has long been a locus of archaeological debate, and several different models of cultural contact have been distinguished. In this chapter I examine a selection of these theoretical models in order to identify an approach best suited to explain the complicated socio-political situation in the Upper Galilee in the second

bronze sculpture, monumental architecture). The use of the word minor to describe small-scale art, both here and in the title of chapter 2 is meant to be ironic. Small-scale media can often be more informative and be reflective of a larger segment of population because of greater accessibility in terms of lower cost, and use of space.

century B.C.E. Located on the fluctuating border between Israel and Phoenicia, the region around Kedesh had long been open to interactions with neighboring cultures. This situation, along with Greco-Macedonian political hegemony in the region during the Hellenistic period exposed the individuals who created and used the sealings from Kedesh to a mixture of new and old, imported and embedded conceptions of their gods.

This chapter takes account of visual and cultural traditions as well as archaeological context when assessing the iconography and meaning of the images. And in so doing it is possible to ask a range of questions both archaeological and stylistic. What do the bullae and the images upon the bullae suggest about the creator/user/owner of these particular seals? What conclusions can we draw about the identities, real or imagined, of these users? How do other finds from Kedesh, including ceramic and architectural evidence, compare to the findings made from examining the bullae? Do the seal impressions reflect a collective, communal identity or do they seem to indicate a diverse and heterogeneous population?

In the concluding chapter, I situate this study within the discipline of glyptic studies and offer some thoughts on the social function of this small subset of Kedesh bullae and the role of these bullae in the administrative life of Kedesh.

Chapter 2

“Major” Gods on a “Minor” Scale: The Aphrodite and Apollo Seals from Kedesh

In this chapter I will survey the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae excavated from the archive room at Kedesh (see plates for images and drawings). These deities are only two of a host of Greek gods and heroes that appear at Kedesh,. They have been selected for this analysis because of their relative popularity within the archive, and because of the regularity of partially and fully nude pose types, which lend themselves to a potentially fruitful discussion about the iconography of male and females bodies at such small scale.

I will use catalogue numbers taken from Herbert’s forthcoming publication; each number refers to an individual seal. Where there are multiple impressions from a single seal, the catalogue number is followed by a letter, for example APH 001a, 001b, etc. I will discuss the Kedesh seals in juxtaposition with a prototype, if such exists, in order to asses the similarities and/or differences between them. Each pose will then be compared with counterparts from other archives, predominantly the large and recently-published archive from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Comparative material from other media, including terracotta figurines and numismatic evidence, will also be presented and examined. Exceptional images and unusual motifs, whose analysis will come in subsequent chapters of this dissertation, will be highlighted.

The pose types used here are based on Herbert’s original attributions made at the time of excavation and subsequent study. They are based on two primary factors: the

existence of a sculptural type, and, in the absence of a well-known sculptural counterpart, Herbert bases her typology on posture, gesture, and associated paraphernalia. The typology of Apollo poses is fairly straightforward; in the case of the Quiet and Active Archers, and the Citharodos, the categories are determined by paraphernalia (Apollo holding a bow = archer; Apollo holding a lyre = musician); and then certain sub-groups are made based upon the differences within any given action. The Lycian and Belvedere categories are determined by particular postures or actions that are known from popular sculptures. The categorization of the Knidian Aphrodite images is similarly direct. The Kallipygos, though not particularly well-documented in ancient sources, is clearly recognizable from its unusual posterior viewpoint. But others of the Aphrodite typologies may appear somewhat less straightforward. Herbert's categories occasionally differ from the way other scholars define them. Bathing, for example, is a generic category in which many Aphrodite images can fall. Herbert has defined the bathing category as those specifically illustrating Aphrodite standing before a basin, even though images of a crouching Aphrodite of the Knidian Aphrodite may very well be meant to illustrate an aspect of the bath. In this case, posture and additional accoutrements have been used to subdivide the pose types. These same criteria inform Herbert's other categories. The Anadyomene bullae all show Aphrodite reaching up and clasping her hair; the semi-draped Aphrodite images are just that: semi-draped. But some confusion arises with the introduction of comparative material because there exists an entire category of semi-draped Anadyomenes, a category that does not occur at Kedesh. Despite the confusion that may arise with the introduction of comparative materials that use a different typology of poses, the categories formulated by Herbert are sound.

The creation of these typologies goes hand in hand with the identification of the figures. Herbert's method results in fairly secure identifications. In the case of several Aphrodite images, the assumption of nudity as an attribute of the goddess may at first seem problematic. It has become a convention of iconographic studies to associate nudity and partial nudity with Aphrodite. Although nudity is a characteristic most commonly associated with Aphrodite, it is not unique to her iconography. For instance, Leda is also occasionally depicted in a similar stance and pose, as is Dionysus. However, the swan and the thyrsus, respectively, usually secure these identifications. Aphrodite occasionally can be securely identified through the presence of a dolphin or an Eros. A large portion of semi-draped images, including all of the Kedesh impressions, are anonymous. Merker, who has published the terracottas from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, notes that:

While it is sometimes difficult to distinguish representations of nude mortal women at their toilette from "genuine" representations of Aphrodite, in the context of a sanctuary such distinctions may be unnecessary. Whether a figurine depicted a nude woman, a courtesan, or Aphrodite, *the point must have been to evoke a sense of Aphrodite for the worshiper and to allow the mortal to identify with the deity*. As mentioned above, the very difficulty of distinguishing deity from mortal in these votive gifts is itself the essence of the relationship between the two (emphasis mine).⁵⁹

Although the bullae were not excavated from a sanctuary site, the ubiquity of religion in the daily life of the ancient Mediterranean makes it impractical to discount Merker's suggestion. Moreover, given the date of the Kedesh archive in relation to the development and subsequent dissemination of Aphrodite iconography incorporating nudity in the late Hellenistic period, it is reasonable to presume that the idea of Aphrodite

⁵⁹ Merker 2000, 169.

would be suggested by partially nude, and fully nude female images, regardless of the artist's original intentions.⁶⁰

Following the description of an individual pose and explanation of its history, I will provide a detailed analysis of the Kedesh seal types. These will subsequently be considered in comparison to examples from several other Hellenistic seal archives. I have limited myself to those archives closest in date to the one at Kedesh.⁶¹ The two largest archives that I will be using are those at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Delos. I will also look at seals and seal impressions from Carthage, Selinus, Cyrene, and Uruk (fig. 2.1).

As Seleucia was the newly-established capital of the Seleucid kingdom, one would expect to find an large city archive there.⁶² More than 25,000 bullae were uncovered from an archive building in the business sector of the city. The plan of the building was designed to accommodate the storage of documents. The bullae from the archive have been beautifully published by the Italian excavators of the site. The three volume catalogue is organized according to subject: "official," i.e. inscribed and portrait seals; divinities; and animal, vegetation, and symbols, where each catalogue entry refers to a discrete seal. The overall character of the divine and mythological seals at Seleucia is decidedly western, i.e. "Greek," especially in contrast to older, Babylonian cities, like Uruk, where there is a greater proportion of older, local iconographic types.

The Delian archive comprises 25,000 sealings, preserving 14,000 different seal types and was excavated from a private house from the Insula of the Bronzes, in the

⁶⁰ We ought also to consider the identities of nude male figures, which are almost always initially considered to be gods or heroes. Rarely does one postulate a mortal archer or musician for these Apollo types, (S. Herbert *personal communication*).

⁶¹ See Plantzos 1999, 22-32 and Berges 1999, 33-38 for short synopses of a full range of ancient seal archives.

⁶² Invernizzi et. al 2004. In addition to this large city archive, two small archives were excavated by the University of Michigan in 1927/8 – 1931/2.

Skardhana district.⁶³ Despite the location of the Delian archive in a private home, it displays a diversity of subject matter that one might expect from such a cosmopolitan municipality. The island was destroyed in 69 B.C.E., which serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the life of the archive. Stambolidis, who is responsible for publishing part of the Delian corpus, has calculated that the archive functioned for three generations prior to the destruction.⁶⁴ At this time, only the Apollo seals have been published and can be referred to here. Further research will be required when the Aphrodite rings are finally published.

The Phoenician connections of the Carthage archive make it a potentially useful source of comparative material. The archive was excavated from a temple, dedicated to the worship of Tanit and Baal, the primary Punic deities.⁶⁵ Over 4,000 bullae were found by German excavators from 1989-1991. Belonging to the same archive are an additional 362 sealings, recovered from a sondage conducted in an earlier German excavation, at the end of the 19th century.⁶⁶ The temple was destroyed along with the city by the Romans in 146 B.C.E., which serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the use of the archive. Berges, who has studied the Carthaginian archive, has estimated that the archive was in use as early as the sixth century B.C.E.. Scarabs imitating those of Thutmosis III made during the 26th dynasty (664-525 B.C.E.) are among the earliest seals present in the archive. There are also Greek, Egyptian, Egyptianizing, Graeco-Phoenician, Etruscan, Italic, and Punic styles represented in the seal imagery of the archive. Thus, in spite of the early origins of the Carthage archive, the Hellenistic seals can be distinguished from earlier seals based on stylistic grounds.

⁶³ Boussac 1992.

⁶⁴ Stambolidis *Sceaux de Delos*, 2. 30-1.

⁶⁵ Berges 1997; Plantzos 1999, 23.

⁶⁶ Berges 1993, 246.

Another temple archive was found at Uruk, in Babylonia.⁶⁷ 897 bullae were discovered from the temple of Anu and Antum, built in 171/0 B.C.E.. The hoard was excavated during various (and sometime illicit) excavations, and has been dispersed in many museums and collections around the world. Wallenfels has published the impressions from the Yale Babylonian collection, and Rostovtzeff compiled the public seals with Greek inscriptions, of which there are two types: tax seals, and the seals of the *chreophylax*. The *chreophylakes* appear to have been a board of officers who functioned as state archivists responsible of the authorization of public and private documents. Based on dates on some of the seals, and excavation data, it has been determined that all of the sealings were produced in the Hellenistic period, during the Seleucid occupation of Babylonia until the Parthian invasion in 141 B.C.E..

Temple C at Selinus, on the island of Sicily, also housed a small archive; 643 bullae bearing 547 impressions from 431 seals were placed in the archive in the years between 409 and 249 B.C.E.. These dates mark the first and second times that temple C burned down, events that were well-documented by the sanctuary officials, thus providing us with a secure date for the archive. The contents of the archive consist mainly of standing figures and portrait heads, but also include some eastern deities and inscriptions.

Located in modern day Libya, Cyrene was a Greek colony that eventually came under the political sphere of the Ptolemies of Egypt. The bullae come from a building in the Agora of Cyrene identified as the public records office, the *nomophylakeion*, where public and private contracts were kept under the supervision of the city officials. Therein 421 bullae were found bearing a total of 1311 impressions, 1212 of which are legible.

⁶⁷ Wallenfels 1997; Plantzos 1999, 30-1.

More common seal types include Apollo, the patron of the Cyrene, Aphrodite, and Athena.⁶⁸ The archive was destroyed sometime in the first century CE and never rebuilt. Amongst the sealings preserved by the fire are several Roman emblems which indicate that the fire took place sometime after Cyrenaica passed over to the Romans. Maddoli situates the fire around the time of the Jewish revolt in 115-117 CE.

After these seal comparisons, I will examine other small-scale media for comparison with the Kedesh images and Hellenistic glyptic in general, in order to establish whether there are similar stylistic trends across various media.⁶⁹ Within the corpus of Hellenistic terracottas, Aphrodite and other female representations dominate; whereas Hellenistic coinage swings the other way, with Apollo far outweighing Aphrodite in popularity. These preliminary findings are not wholly unexpected, given Apollo's role in official Seleucid iconography. But what are the functions of terracottas that they trend so heavily in favor of Aphrodite? And why is Aphrodite so popular at Kedesh?

Throughout this discussion, it will become clear that there is a disconnect between poses popular in large-scale monument sculpture and poses commonly used in Hellenistic glyptic. The primary reason for this is that almost all of the extant comparable sculptures for the Kedesh pose types are Roman "copies" of Greek/Hellenistic originals. Therefore, we cannot be sure that the original details have been accurately recorded by the Roman interpretation. The original Hellenistic sculpture was, at some point, lost or destroyed and what remains is a replica that is several centuries removed from the original date of creation. This situation, then, is much like a visual version of the children's game

⁶⁸ Maddoli 1965; Plantzos 1999, 28.

⁶⁹ I have limited myself to terracotta and numismatic comparisons only.

‘telephone,’ where the original message, in this case the sculpture, may or may not be significantly changed from its earliest form.

As I will demonstrate in due course, motifs popular in large-scale monumental sculpture are not particularly popular in Hellenistic glyptic. This may, in part, be due to the different dates of manufacture of the statues and the seals, but there are several additional possible explanations as well. From a technical standpoint, certain motifs popular in three dimensions do not translate well into two dimensions. But more significant is the difference in function of sculpture and glyptic, as well as the difference in audience and consumer. Large-scale marble and bronze sculpture would have been accessible only to those who could afford such lavish items, whereas seals are a universal item, needed and employed by all members of society, regardless of socio-economic status. Consequently, the Kedesh bullae can provide a greater understanding of those motifs preferred by a broader segment of the population.

In addition to comparisons between media, the comparison of the Kedesh material with other glyptic material highlights unusual stylistic and iconographic choices within the Kedesh corpus. For example, the prevalence of androgynous physiques and ambiguous viewpoints is characteristic of the Kedesh bullae, and significantly less common at other Hellenistic archives. Other exceptional motifs, like the Aphrodite Kallipygos and the Active Archer Apollo seem to be the result of a combination of cultural influences unique to Upper Galilee and Phoenicia in the Hellenistic period. These unusual features will be highlighted throughout this chapter and will serve as the focus of subsequent chapters.

Aphrodite Seal Types (Plates I-XI)

There are seven types of Aphrodite pose that occur in the Kedesh corpus: Kallipygos, Semi-draped, Anadyomene, Knidia, Sandalbinder, Crouching, and Bather. Several of these types are known either from extant examples and/or literary reference to belong to the Hellenistic sculptural repertoire, although most survive only in either later Roman renditions or in small Hellenistic bronzes, terracottas or coins. The Kedesh bullae are particularly important to iconographic and sculptural studies because they can confirm that those poses known only from later interpretations, were indeed in existence in the mid-second century B.C.E.. Some of the Aphrodite pose types do not have a secure prototype, nor are known from large-scale sculpture. These images are particularly interesting because they attest to the existence of new or different pose types of Aphrodite that are not known from sculpture, and in turn raise the issue of trends across media. This allows scholars to engage in a discussion regarding the popularity of certain poses and motifs in different media.

At Kedesh, Aphrodite is one of the most popular Greek divinities to occur on the bullae. She appears on 82 impressions from 62 seals, which is approximately 4 percent of the total bullae and 9.5 percent of the total divine bullae. The contemporary archive at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris provides a striking contrast; there, Aphrodite appears on 73 impressions from 63 seals and comprises only 3.3 percent of the total seals representing divinities. Although the Seleucid capital was established in the Hellenistic period and home to Greek expatriates, soldiers, merchants, and administrators, Aphrodite was not one of the more popular Greek motifs on their seals. Numismatic evidence reinforces this evidence; Aphrodite never appears on Seleucid coinage. Instead, Apollo in various poses,

as will be discussed later, and Tyche, goddess of fortune and prosperity, were most frequently called upon to decorate signet rings and seals in the Seleucid capital.⁷⁰ Other archives in use during the Hellenistic period exhibit similarly small numbers of Aphrodite seals. Several impressions can be found in the archives from Carthage, Cyrene, and Uruk, but she is completely absent from Selinus. The paucity of Aphrodite seals in these other archives makes her popularity at Kedesh all the more intriguing. Particularly noticeable is the prevalence of the little-known “Kallipygos” Aphrodite instead of the more well-known types such as the Knidian or Melian Aphrodites.⁷¹

In contrast to other seal archives and the numismatic evidence, Aphrodite features prominently in the repertoire of Hellenistic terracottas, where semi-draped and nude female figures are extremely popular. This disparity is particularly jarring in this study because of the severity of the contrast. It raises the question: why? I have yet to come across an explanation as to why Aphrodite is popular in terracotta and large-scale sculpture, but not other media. Certainly, object-function is a factor; coins and seals can fall under the purview of “official” iconography; the evidence seems to indicate that Aphrodite was not considered an extremely appropriate political symbol. This explanation, however, does not address the reasons for the wealth of Aphrodite images in other media. I would suggest that this discrepancy is in part due to Aphrodite’s role as overseer of the realms of love, beauty, and sex. From an aesthetic standpoint, Aphrodite images are generally very pleasing to behold, a sentiment that the ancients must also have held in light of the sheer number of (sometimes very costly) images. But more to the

⁷⁰ Tyche is also very common at Kedesh.

⁷¹ Unfortunately, to date, the Delian material has not yet been fully published and therefore cannot be included in this analysis of Aphrodite bullae.

point, Aphrodite's purview over interpersonal relationships would have made her indispensable to the everyday lives of regular people.

Kallipygos (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 765 – 771)

The *Kallipygos* pose is an unusual one that highlights the profile and buttocks of a standing, nude female figure reaching back with one arm. Her weight is generally on the her left leg, and her right leg bent at the knee; sometimes the bend is very slight; other times it is more pronounced. Her right arm is bent back behind her head, as if she is trying to reach the small space between her shoulder blades. There is generally no drapery, and the lone accessory occasionally included in the scene is a small hand mirror.

The pose is known from only one sculpture, discovered in the 16th century at Nero's *Domus Aurea* (fig. 2.2).⁷² In the 18th century, the statue was heavily restored and altered and moved to the National Museum in Naples.⁷³ The restored statue displays a tight spiral composition in which the figure lifts the hem of her dress over her left shoulder, revealing her shapely buttocks, while at the same time looking over her right shoulder. Her garment falls off of her right shoulder, exposing her right breast. Her gaze is directed at her buttocks. There are no other reproductions of the *Kallipygos* pose in large-scale sculpture.⁷⁴

Scholarly commentary on this singular pose type has been mixed. The statue's blatant self-admiration and titillating pose could be considered to be “the perfect

⁷² Havelock, 1995, 98.

⁷³ Saflund 1963, 30.

⁷⁴ This seemingly lack of popularity could be for practical reasons, such as the difficulty of carving such complex three dimensional images in stone and the inherent vulnerability of such a statue to breakage.

illustration of the moral degeneration predicted of the art in the Hellenistic period.”⁷⁵ G. Saflund, who has studied the Kallipygos pose, suggested that the pose of the statue was altered in the process of its restoration, and that in the correct pose, the head was turned forward more, so that her glance was not directly at her buttocks.⁷⁶ By assuming this emendation to the statue’s pose, Saflund restores to it “a classical innocence and modesty, neither of which were possible in the erroneous restoration by Albacini.”⁷⁷ However, it is this “lack of modesty” that has led scholars to date the Kallipygos to the Hellenistic period. Saflund’s attempt to situate the Kallipygos in the Classical period by means of inaccurate reconstruction renders this particular example of the Kallipygos pose problematic as an original Hellenistic prototype. Much of this debate, however, is futile, since we know that all female nude and semi-draped sculptures post-date the Aphrodite of Knidos, and therefore date to the Hellenistic period or later. The debate about the date of the Kallipygos aside, the discovery of the Kallipygos seal impressions at Kedesh firmly situate the type in the late Hellenistic period, and provide a *terminus ante quem* for the development of the pose.

26 bullae represent 20 different seals bearing the image of Aphrodite Kallipygos at Kedesh (Plates I-III). All of the impressions show the goddess standing right in a slight contrapposto stance. Her weight is on the left leg, and her right arm is raised and bent back behind her head, which is tilted forward, looking down. Two seals situate the figure on a ground line (APH 006, 010). The positioning of the goddess’ body varies from seal

⁷⁵ Havelock 1995, 99: Havelock’s statement suggests that although she herself does not interpret the statue this way, one could, and in fact others have interpreted the tight spiral pose and the self-admiration as characteristic of Hellenistic art because of its alleged lewdness or overt eroticism. See also Bernoulli 1873, 342 for a similar criticism; and Robertson 1975, 535.

⁷⁶ Saflund 1963, 30.

⁷⁷ Havelock 1995, 99; Saflund 1963, 30.

to seal. Most of the seals show a profile with slight three-quarters view, where the legs are represented in profile while the torso is in three-quarters (APH 001-003, 007, 010, 013-018, 020). On these impressions, the left buttock is partially occluded. The remaining seals illustrate a true three-quarters view, which exposes the goddesses entire backside to the viewer (APH 004-006, 009, 010).

There are three different types of physique in the Kallipygos pose represented at Kedesh: tall and slender (APH 001, 003, 006,007, 010); voluptuous (APH 004, 019); and short and squat (APH 008). In addition to the different body types, there are other small variations between the seals. The angle of the bent right leg ranges from fairly significant (APH 002, 004, 005, 008, 009, 015, 016, 020) to barely noticeable (APH 001, 003, 006, 013, 017, 019). The right breast can be very high, round, and almost frontal, emerging from the armpit at an awkward angle (APH 010), or cursorily rendered as a subtle swelling of the chest by the neck (APH 005). Occasionally, the left hand is depicted and when visible, juts out awkwardly from the midsection of the figure (APH 002, 004, 005, 007, 008, 010). Another variation can be seen in the depiction of the raised right arm, which can sometimes be abnormally long and bent back on itself into a physically impossible position (APH 002, 006, 008, 010-012, 015, 016, 020). Few facial details are visible and the absence of visible locks of hair indicates that the goddess' hair is tied up.

The differences in the details have varying impact upon the overall quality of the image. In some cases, the goddess is realistically depicted, similar to the graceful figures of the semi-draped category. In other cases, the combination of features results in a figure

that does little to call to mind the physique of the goddess judged to be the most beautiful of the Olympians.

Although Bollati and Messina do not include an Aphrodite Kallipygos category in the Seleucia catalogue, there are several seals that replicate the Kallipygos pose. These similarly posed images are identified by Bollati and Messina as Aphrodite bathing (Af 11 (fig. 2.3), 13, 14, 15 (fig. 2.4), 17 (fig. 2.5), 18). These impressions show the goddess standing three-quarters right (Af 11, 13, 14, 17) or in profile to the right (Af 12, 16). She puts her weight on her left leg and her right leg is slightly bent; a stance that is essentially identical to the Kedesh seals. Her right arm is raised and bent behind her head and she is viewed from behind. The body types at Seleucia are fairly consistent, tall and curvaceous, and do not exhibit the range present amongst the Kedesh impressions. Two examples exhibit an abnormally long arm folded back on itself (Af 17, 18) in the manner of APH 002, *et. al.* On two seals the elbow of the bent left arm is visible, the arm furthest from the viewer, juts out to the left from behind the torso (Af 14, 15). This feature is different from the Kedesh corpus, where, if the left hand is visible, it emerges awkwardly from the midsection, towards the right. Overall, the Aphrodite bathing impressions from Seleucia are remarkably similar to some of the Kedesh bullae; but due to the smaller number of impressions, there is not the same range of physical characteristics.

Two comparable impressions come from Uruk. The first situates the Kallipygos in the context of the bath by including a high-necked jug, to the right of the figure. No. 76-3 shows Aphrodite standing three-quarters right and viewed from behind. Her weight is on her left leg and right leg is slightly bent. She has a voluptuous physique and a large rear end. Her right breast is just visible. The placement of the arms is slightly unclear due to

the faintness of the impression, but Lindstrom reconstructs the right arm raised back behind the head. No. 221-3 duplicates the pose of no. 76-3 but Aphrodite has a thinner physique and her upper body/arm is much more visibly reaching back behind her head.

The common components of these examples of the Kallipygos pose are the raised arm and the viewpoint. The Aphrodite Arming pose replicates the rear viewpoint and could have served as an inspiration for the Kallipygos pose. The type depicts Aphrodite facing right in three-quarters view from the back, stooping slightly due to her bent knees. Her himation is around her thighs and she holds a round shield and a spear. One of the best examples of this pose occurs on a garnet ring-stone, illicitly excavated from Eretria sometime in the 19th century and signed by one Gelon. Kourouniotes, who studied the tomb after it had been robbed, dated it to the end of the third century B.C.E., on the basis of the finds reported to have been found inside, as well as the inscriptions found therein. Another ring from Amrit, ancient Marathos, presents the same pose.⁷⁸

The earliest known versions of the Aphrodite Arming in Greece come from Sparta, Kythera, and Corinth. Pausanias mentions a wooden *xoanon* at Sparta and a cult statue in a temple of Armed Aphrodite on Acrocorinth.⁷⁹ Although Pausanias does not describe the Corinthian cult statue, it was depicted on later lamps and coins. This version “was a peaceful and static type of Aphrodite, using the shield as mirror, and bore little resemblance to the type employed by Gelon.”⁸⁰ From this evidence one can conclude that the cult of Armed Aphrodite existed in Laconia in the Archaic period.

Plantzos argues that both types of Arming Aphrodites seem to refer to a passage in the *Argonautica* of Apollonios in which the goddess wields a shield as her dress slips

⁷⁸ LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite no. 659.

⁷⁹ Sparta: Pausanias 3.3.15; 3.23.1; 3.17.5. Corinth: Pausanias 2.5.1.

⁸⁰ Plantzos 1999, 68.

from her body.⁸¹ Presumably Gelon had the text in mind when carving the garnet.⁸² As for the Amrit sard ring-stone, Plantzos makes a rather tenuous argument that the Aphrodite Arming motif was the result of Ptolemaic influence in the Levant in the third century B.C.E.. That the Arming pose was known in Alexandria is based upon the fact that Apollonios gave a public recital of the *Argonautica*, and that there is “evidence to suggest the occurrence of the theme in Alexandrian art.”⁸³ Plantzos, however, does not cite any examples of Arming Aphrodite images from an Alexandrian context. Furthermore, he seems to suggest that the knowledge of Apollonios’ *Argonautica* would result in the creation of an Arming Aphrodite image. Admitting that his argument is based upon somewhat questionable evidence, Plantzos returns to the original Gelon ring, whose “broad, rounded hoop, rising into a large oval bezel with fluted rim, has strong connections with Ptolemaic Egypt.”⁸⁴ Since the Levantine coast was controlled by the Ptolemies in the third century, it is certainly plausible that artistic influences, both direct and indirect, had an impact on glyptic production. But Plantzos’s argument relies on too many assumptions, not least of which is the provenance of the Amrit ring, which resides in an unknown collection.

What is slightly more convincing is Plantzos’ theory of the development of the Arming pose out of the closely comparable type of Nike writing on a shield, which replicates the slightly hunched posture of the Arming Aphrodite. According to Plantzos, a combination of the Nike writing on a shield and the Aphrodite Arming eventually developed into the Kallipygos: “here the goddess is looking at a mirror, a proper one and

⁸¹ Apollonios *Argonautica* 1.742-6.

⁸² Plantzos 1999, 68.

⁸³ Plantzos 1999, 68.

⁸⁴ Plantzos 1999, 68.

not a substituted shield. The posture is reminiscent of its origins with Gelon's Aphrodite, but also of its adoption for Nike, seems here to have completed another of the circles of interactive influences so characteristic of Hellenistic art."⁸⁵ But Plantzos does not fully explain the evolution of the Arming Aphrodite and the Nike writing pose into the Kallipygos; for instance, what about the bent arm? The overall tone and narrative framework of the Kallipygos is very different from either of the preceding poses. Plantzos does not appear to give credit to the seal carvers who developed this new pose, relying too heavily on the precedents and passing over the creativity of the craftsmen to develop new and different poses.

An additional inspiration for the Armed Aphrodite motif comes from the Near East, where there exist several goddesses who oversee both "love" and "war." Particularly, if one accepts the theory of Aphrodite's "oriental derivation," the relationship becomes clear.⁸⁶ Even if one does not wholly accept the eastern origins of Aphrodite, the similarity between the nature of Aphrodite and Near Eastern love/war goddess is striking. Rather than attributing this similarity to one of derivation, where the Near East provides a predecessor for a Greek model, I would suggest instead, that certain aspects of Aphrodite's persona are the result of cultural influence and syncretization, an issue I will explore in more depth in a subsequent chapter.

No exact parallels of the Kallipygos have been yet identified amongst terracotta figurines, in part because of the tendency of terracotta figurines to be viewed from the front. A lone figurine from the Louvre and dating to the Hellenistic period (Besques 1954, no. D2165, plate 341a) shows a woman looking over her shoulder, in a way that

⁸⁵ Plantzos 1999, 69.

⁸⁶ Flemberg 1995, 110

brings to mind the 16th c. Kallipygos restoration, but does not replicate the pose of the Kedesh pieces. Similarly, certain images of Aphrodite at her toilet (LIMC II Aphrodite nos. 482-525) and Aphrodite arming (LIMC II Aphrodite nos. 456-461) give the impression of the Kedesh Kallipygos posture, but when closely examined, the weight distribution, positioning of the arms, and the torsion of the body are all different.

The Kallipygos does not occur on Hellenistic coins; but nonetheless, seems to be a truly Hellenistic invention, in terms of its composition and viewpoint. The glyptic version borrows these conventions from Hellenistic sculpture, even if the motif itself is not well-known in large-scale form. The absence of the Kallipygos pose in other small-scale media, including glyptic, suggests that this pose has a certain resonance with the population living in an around Kedesh. Given the location of Kedesh at the crossroads of Phoenician, Greek, Ptolemaic, and Near Eastern cultural spheres, it seems possible that the motif was born out of an arming goddess motif, but that it was significantly altered and adapted in light of developments in Hellenistic sculpture.

Semi-draped (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 526-728; Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientali): nos. 31-39)

The semi-draped pose is one of infinite variation and extreme popularity. As the name clearly implies, this pose portrays a woman in a state of *déshabillé*, whose actions can be interpreted as either disrobing or dressing herself. The overall tone of the pose suggests a woman caught in the midst of activity, regardless of the final result – clothed or not. Given the uncertainty of the moment captured by this pose, the viewer is presented with myriad variations on this basic theme. The posture, viewpoint, draping of

the cloth, and accoutrements can all vary. Thus it is difficult to give an exact précis of what exactly the “typical” pose ought to look like. Sometimes the drapery is swathed around the figure’s hips and waist, leaving her torso completely bare and her arms free; other examples cover more of the torso, as the drapery hangs from a single shoulder and is slung over one of the figure’s arms. The viewer can observe the figure from either the front or back; and the presence of water jar, mirror, or an Eros can be used to create a particular narrative context.

The Aphrodite of Melos is one of the only large-scale marble statues discussed in this dissertation that was manufactured in the Hellenistic period (fig. 2.6). Discovered in 1820, by a farmer plowing his fields, the statue was found in two pieces, which were quickly found to join. The statue stands with her weight on her right leg, while she bends her left leg, causing her left knee to project forward and secure the drapery around her hips. There is a slight twisting in her torso as she looks to her left. Though the figure is missing both arms, it is clear that they would have had no role in holding the drapery, whose heavy folds are wrapped entirely around the hips of the statue.

The statue was also found along with two herms, and two sculptural fragments: an upper arm and a left hand holding an apple.⁸⁷ Rachel Kousser, who has studied the statue, the fragments, and the other theories of reconstruction, agrees Furtwängler’s reconstruction that the Aphrodite of Melos was holding an apple, a symbol that is connected not only the Judgment of Paris but also the island itself.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Kousser 2005, 230.

⁸⁸ Kousser 2005, 235; Furtwängler 1895, 369, 381-2.

Perhaps because it is one of the few Greek “originals,” some scholars have tried to claim the Aphrodite of Melos as a prototype by the many subsequent versions.⁸⁹ But the discovery of the bullae at Kedesh refutes that claim, since the archive had already been in use (and destroyed) by 150 B.C.E., the earliest date given to the creation of the Aphrodite of Melos. Kousser also cites a terracotta statuette from Corinth, securely dated to the late fourth/early third century B.C.E. of similar design. This has led Kousser to suggest that rather than being an “original” motif, the Aphrodite of Melos ought to be considered a “creative, but also deliberately retrospective, work of art.”⁹⁰

It is the pose of the Aphrodite of Melos that is most closely related to the Kedesh images, with one major difference: the treatment of the drapery. The Kedesh images use an arm or hand to hold the cloth, which subsequently falls down the body and exposes the buttocks. Furthermore, the Kedesh bullae precede the creation of the Melian Aphrodite by several decades. The dating of these images is significant because it testifies to the artistic climate of the Hellenistic period and that small-scale art can play a role in possibly predicting trends in more expensive, large-scale objects.

There are 19 semi-draped bullae from 14 different seals at Kedesh (Plates IV-VI). Eight seals show the goddess in a three-quarters view from the rear (APH 038-045); a single seal shows her in profile (APH 046); and five seals show her from the front (APH 047-051). Of the eight seals that show Aphrodite from behind, seven face right and two face left. Of all the semi-draped seals, these eight display the most elegant and visually pleasing images. The goddess is shown standing in three-quarters view from the rear with her weight on one leg. She holds her drapery in an unseen hand, leaving the folds to hang

⁸⁹ Kousser 2005, 237; Havelock 1995, 97.

⁹⁰ Kousser 2005, 238.

around her hips and legs and frame her round buttocks. Her hair is tied up in an elegant chignon with a few strands hanging loose, which highlight her long neck and back. In some cases, she holds a mirror in her right hand (APH 044), or rests her left elbow on a column (APH 038, 039). In the sole instance where the figure is viewed from behind and facing left, she draws her mantle up with her right hand while still exposing her left buttock (APH 045). This pose is mimicked in the frontal figures APH 047, 048 and 049. Although the quality of the impressions varies, the representations of the goddess on the original seals display a soft, realistic, style in which anatomical details such as the indentation of the spinal column are clearly, and beautifully rendered.

The seven impressions of Aphrodite semi-draped viewed frontally come from five different seals. Three of the five seals show the goddess in the act of raising her drapery toward her head (APH 047, 048, 049). The first seal shows the goddess completely naked, shielding her genitals with her right hand, and using her left arm to sweep up a piece of drapery towards her head. Her face is frontal, but her torso twists slightly to her left (APH 047). The other two seals depict the goddess standing with drapery knotted around her thighs, and she uses her right arm to sweep the drapery over her head. The effect is that the drapery billows out behind her and conveys the sense of dramatic sweeping motion caused by the quick twist of her arms to cover herself with her mantle.

The final two seals show the goddess simply standing. On APH 050 she appears to hold her drapery up around her navel with her right arm; her left arm is illegible. APH 051 shows the goddess holding some of the folds of her garment over her left arm while her right arm reaches up to her exposed breasts. The carving of the drapery in the original ring was quite deep, resulting in an impression of very plastic and raised drapery. Her

large breasts are also clearly rendered but other anatomical features including her head and left leg are too shallowly rendered to be legible.⁹¹

Although the semi-draped Aphrodite is a very popular at Kedesh, it is not nearly as popular at Seleucia. There are only five semi-draped figures in the entire corpus and three of them picture an Arming Aphrodite, an image not present at Kedesh. Two images depict the figure from the rear, with drapery swathed around her legs leaving the buttocks exposed, leaning on a column (Af 45 (fig. 2.7), 47 (fig. 28)). This motif finds an exact parallel in the Kedesh corpus (APH 038, 039, 041). The Aphrodite Arming, previously discussed in the Kallipygos section, shows the goddess semi-draped standing, with the head in profile while her body is in three-quarters view from the back. Drapery falls from her arm revealing her physique and buttocks (Af 42, 43). In one case, Af 44, all trace of drapery is absent. Although in the Seleucia corpus she is depicted with weaponry, the basic pose of the figure still harkens back to the semi-draped figures viewed from the rear in the Kedesh corpus.

Two additional semi-draped impressions come from Cyrene. Two of these impressions show a female figure standing three-quarters right, viewed from the rear. No. 142 shows the figure standing next to a tree or pole at her left and another, shorter vertical object at her right. She holds out her right hand and according to Maddoli, holds a dove. Her head is turned to the right and she is looking down at her outstretched arm. Her drapery is visible as it falls from her right arm and along her body. Her weight is on her left leg, almost as if she is taking a step forward, away from the viewer. It is difficult

⁹¹ This seal is one of several from the corpus in which part of the image is very shallowly rendered. It is unclear whether this is due to the quality of the seal carving, or attributable to wear. Ariel and Naveh have suggested that the Kedesh archive was likely in use for at least half a century (Ariel and Naveh 2003, 62); this seems like a fairly long time for a single seal to remain undamaged.

to tell from the reproduction but her buttocks may be swathed in drapery similar to Kedesh APH 044. No. 144 is similar to 142, but on this seal, the object to the left of the figure is much shorter and, as in Kedesh APH 038 and 039, it is possible that the goddess could be leaning upon it. Her drapery is clearly swathed around her buttocks. Given the point of view of the figure from behind, Maddoli, suggests that alternative identification of either a Muse or a Grace for these figures.

The semi-draped Aphrodite is the most popular of the Aphrodite types in extant terracotta figurines, with over fifty examples identified to date and certainly countless more as yet unpublished. I have distinguished two main types of poses among the terracotta figurines: standing and leaning upon a pillar, column, or statue;⁹² and veiling/unveiling. The standing/leaning type is very common, and thus there is a large pool from which to search for parallels to the Kedesh images; I will address these images first.

There are two main differences between the terracotta corpus of semi-draped figures and the Kedesh semi-draped leaning figures: viewpoint and the treatment of the drapery. The main characteristic of the standing semi-draped figures at Kedesh is the way in which the figure is swathed in drapery in such a way to expose and highlight the buttocks. With the exception of one figurine from the Augustan period,⁹³ none of the semi-draped terracotta figurines wear their drapery in a similar style; it is typically worn

⁹² For the standing/leaning pose we have examples from Seleucia (Van Ingen, 1939, no. 74); Corinth (Merker 2000, H249-252; H254; H267-8; I14); Myrina (Burn 2001, BM2277-8 and Thompson 1963, nos. 9 and 10 and Leyenaar-Plaisier 1956, no. 673); Pergamon (Topperwein 1976, nos. 206, 210, 212-215 and Besques 1954, no. D569); Delos (Laumonier 1956, nos. 496-7, 501); Olynthus (Robinson 1931, no. 336); Alexandria (Breccia 1934, 175-177); Cyprus (Caubet 1998, no. 955); Tunisia (Cherif 1997, no. 387); Amathus (Queyrel, 1988; nos. 37, 39-42, 86, 87); Tanagra/Boeotia (Burn 2001, no. 2092; Besques 1954, D23-4); Corfu (Burn 2001, nos. 2220-1); Cyrenaica (Burn 2001, nos. 2738-2840); Crete (Besques 1954, no. D349); Babylonia (Karvonen-Kannas 1995, no. 188).

⁹³ Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 94 no. 673.

too high on the hips to expose the buttocks. Thus, the particularities of the drapery on the Kedesh bullae seem to set them apart from the similarly-titled terracotta figurines. However, if we look slightly beyond basic semi-draped figurines to the half-naked Anadyomene Aphrodite, we find a more comparable set of images. It is the semi-draped Anadyomenes that actually come closest to mimicking the revealing costume of the Kedesh semi-draped impressions despite the different positioning of the arms. I will discuss the half-naked Anadyomenes below.

An additional difference between these aforementioned terracotta types and both the leaning and certain of the veiling Kedesh semi-draped images is that of viewpoint, which for almost all of the comparable terracotta figurines is meant to be from the front.⁹⁴ Because both seals and terracottas allow the craftsperson to highlight a single point of view, the difference between the Kedesh images and the terracotta evidence is all the more striking. While the rear view of some of the semi-draped Aphrodites in the Kedesh corpus is unusual as compared to similar images in other media, the point of view is consistent with Hellenistic aesthetics. We see this phenomenon most often in large-scale Hellenistic sculpture where the torsional composition of a sculpture necessitates that it be viewed from all sides rather than just the “front” in order to complete the viewing process. Furthermore, later literary references to the Knidia make reference to the setting of the statue, in which she can be viewed from all angles, and it is her backside that is the most titillating.⁹⁵ Thus the rear view of the Kallipygos and these particular semi-draped bullae may have made such images more appealing to audiences familiar with these aesthetic choices.

⁹⁴ The craftsman can communicate the preferred point of view by choosing not to form the “back” side of the figurine.

⁹⁵ Pliny *NH* 36.20; Lucian *Amores* 13-14.

The group of veiling impressions from Kedesh is comprised of one figure viewed from behind (APH 045) and three depicted frontally (APH 047- 049). Two terracotta figurines from Seleucia serve as good examples of the frontal veiling pose at Kedesh. Both figurines illustrate a female figure in the act of veiling or unveiling, as the case may be. No. 77c (Van Ingen, plate VI, 42) shows the upper half of a female torso; the lower half has been lost. She raises her right arm over her head and pulls with it a piece of drapery. She wears a diadem and looks off to her right. The folds of the drapery hang down from her right hand, behind her head and down behind her shoulder, creating a striated space similar to APH 047. No. 80 (Van Ingen, plate VI, 43) is very similar to No. 77c. Another figurine from Boeotia, now in Leiden, shows another variation of the veiling motif (Leyenaar-Plaisier: 57, p. 11, Inv: RO.II. 173). Dating to the second quarter of fourth century B.C.E., it shows an androgynous figure raising drapery with the left arm and holding the other corner at her right thigh. The overall effect is similar to APH 047. However, the figure holds on to a swan with her right hand, whose neck and beak extends up her torso, which has led Leyenaar-Plaisier to identify it as "Leda and the Swan."⁹⁶

The semi-draped Aphrodite does not appear on coinage of the Hellenistic period, which is in contrast to the popularity of the motif in terracotta. This disparity suggests that while Aphrodite revealing herself may have been an aesthetically pleasing image, an appropriate and desirable motif for a votive offering, the symbol was not considered by Hellenistic rulers to be an effective (or perhaps dignified) political symbol. Nor is the semi-draped Aphrodite particularly popular in glyptic, which also raises the issue of what types of motifs are considered appropriate for totemic items, such as coins and seals.

⁹⁶ Martin, W. "Leda Oder Aphrodite." In *Festschrift Für Frank Brommer*, edited by Frank Brommer, Ursula Höckmann and Antje Krug, 223-9. Mainz: von Zabern, 1977.

Anadyomene (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 423-455; Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientali): nos. 40-89)

The Anadyomene Aphrodite, also known as Aphrodite Rising from the Sea, is a sensual pose that captures the goddess adjusting her hair, caught in the moment of bathing. The goddess is generally depicted standing frontally with her weight on one leg and raising her arms to her head. She clasps two sections of hair from either side of her head, giving the impression of wringing out the water or twisting the locks up atop her head. It is this gesture of grasping her hair that characterizes this pose. The weight-bearing leg, the tilt of her torso, and the bend of her arms can all vary. Her nudity is also variable; sometimes she is depicted entirely naked, while other examples illustrate her semi-draped (fig. 2.9), in a manner similar to the Aphrodite of Melos (fig. 2.6). She is occasionally accompanied by a small Eros, dolphin, or similar companion. The pose is open and places the goddess' entire body on display in a way that Havelock suggests conveys the fearlessness of Aphrodite, who "now realizes how attractive she is, and the observer is no longer threatening but admiring."⁹⁷ Havelock perhaps takes her visual analysis of the Anadyomene a bit too far, particularly when speculating about the intentions of the viewer, but her observation regarding the directness of the pose ought not to be dismissed.

The Anadyomene pose was first made famous by the painter Apelles, who was admired by Alexander the Great, and was frequently commissioned to paint the Macedonian's portrait. A story, recounted in Athenaeus (13.590), suggests that Apelles was inspired to the painting after watching his mistress, Phryne, take off her clothes and

⁹⁷ Havelock 1995, 91.

walk into the sea at Eleusis. Pliny (*NH* 35.91) tells us that the completed painting was then installed in the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos. Between the fourth century and the late Hellenistic period, ancient sources remain silent about the painting. It seems to be rediscovered in the late Hellenistic period and “undoubtedly became as attractive to tourists as the Aphrodite by Praxiteles.”⁹⁸ The painting was so highly regarded in antiquity that Augustus had it shipped to Rome, where it was dedicated in the temple to the divine Julius Caesar, and the Koans were exempt from paying tribute in return for the painting.⁹⁹ Despite the fame of the Apelles’ painting, there is no single sculptural version. Furthermore, although the painting was praised in antiquity, the ancient sources are rather short on the details of the depiction. Thus, it is unknown what moment of her emergence of the sea Apelles chose to depict. Havelock, who has performed a detailed survey into Aphrodite sculptural types, has identified two leading candidates for the sculptures version of the Anadyomene: a fully naked type and semi-draped type, which have been described above.

There are 14 impressions of the Anadyomene from 14 different seals – the only pose within the Aphrodite corpus not to have any repetition (Plates VI –VII). This pose is characterized by the naked goddess viewed frontally reaching both hands up to her hair with her weight on one leg. Physiques vary from short-waisted and thick with broad shoulders (APH 022) to a slimmer version (APH 025). Details of the Anadyomene

⁹⁸ Havelock 1995, 87. According to Havelock, Greek epigrams of the late Hellenistic period caused a revival in certain works of art that had until then been forgotten. She cites one Antipater of Sidon, who died in 125 B.C.E.: “Look on the work of Apelles’ brush; Kypris, just rising from the sea, her mother; how, grasping her dripping hair with her hand, she wrings the foam from the wet locks....” Havelock 1995, 86-7; *Greek Anthology* vol. 5, 263.

⁹⁹ Strabo *Geography*, 14.2.19.

figures are generally quite schematic resulting in a disjointed appearance of the body.¹⁰⁰ In some cases the free leg is canted out from the body at such a dramatic angle that the goddess appears knock-kneed (APH 025, 027). The awkwardness of the Anadyomene pose is heightened by the disjointedness between upper and lower body, as in APH 022, 024, 026, and unnatural proportions such as slim physiques paired with thick, long arms (APH 029) or broad torsos with spindly, short arms. The hair is cursorily rendered by two thick single tresses that spring from a central part atop the head and hang down both sides of the head, similar in appearance to a wig placed on a bald head. The details of the face are generally omitted except in APH 022 where large, bug-like eyes are discernable. For the most part, the Kedesh Anadyomenes are awkwardly rendered, lending this motif an eerie overall impression. None of the graceful, naturalistic features that characterize the semi-draped Aphrodite is present here. The overall result evokes the idea of the Anadyomene rather than realistically depicting individual details, and the harsh frontality and the complete absence of torsion in the body is unusual for the Anadyomene.¹⁰¹

There are no Anadyomenes in the Seleucia corpus and the frontality of the Kedesh Anadyomene is present in only one image at Seleucia, Af. 51 which depicts Aphrodite holding a scepter (fig 2.10). However, the gorgon-like features of the face visible at Kedesh are absent, and the face of Seleucia Af. 51 is more naturalistic and eschews the harsh, somewhat threatening frontality of some of the Kedesh Anadyomenes.

¹⁰⁰ Ariela Bollati, who has studied the divine bullae from Seleucia, has identified this pose there as well. She calls it *dinocolate*. The pose is characterized by the disarticulated stance with one leg slightly bent while the other carries the weight. The body is usually elongated, the shoulder represented too obliquely, and the hip juts out in an exaggerated way so as to create an imbalance in the figure (Bollati 2003, 133). Bollati goes on to argue that the *dinocolate* pose is the result of cultural synthesis of the “Greek” chiastic pose in the artistic climate of the Achaemenid empire.

¹⁰¹ An exception to the standard Anadyomene at Kedesh is APH 031, which is the most graceful of the Kedesh Anadyomenes; the lower body is not preserved but the torso is lushly modeled with delineations of the breasts and abdominals clearly visible. The hair is naturally rendered so that individual curls are discernable, in contrast to the wig-like nature of the other Anadyomene figures at Kedesh.

There are, however, several images that display the distinctive disjointed, *dinocolate* pose similar to the Kedesh Anadyomenes: Af 57, Aphrodite bathing; Ap 14-16, 18, Apollo holding a lyre; Ap 137, 140, Quiet Apollo.¹⁰²

At Cyrene, there are two possible variations on the Anadyomene pose.¹⁰³ The first type occurs on four seals, which each depict a naked figure standing frontal in a slight chiastic pose and holding both hands up to her head. The weight is on the right leg and the right hip juts out. The left arm and shoulder are higher than the right (Maddoli fig. 23, nos. 388-391). Maddoli suggests two possible identifications: the Diadoumenos of Pheidias or the Aphrodite Anadyomene. The images are very difficult to read due to reproduction quality and scale, and discernable details of the body are minimal. Male genitalia are not depicted, nor are there any obvious breasts. Overall the bodies are soft and rounded and eschew all anatomical detail. It is also incredibly difficult to discern any hair. One image, no. 390, may show traces of rather thin, unimpressive tresses, but this could very well be the fillet of the *diadoumenos*; it is impossible to be sure without closer examination. Despite the absence of legible details, the positioning of the hands and the slight hipshot posture are certainly characteristic of the Anadyomene pose.

There are two additional seals that Maddoli identifies as Anadyomenes. The first, no. 145 (Maddoli, fig. 13) is extremely similar to the Cyrene images just described. The figure stands frontal with the left shoulder higher than right, and the right hip higher than left. Her weight is on her right leg. There may be drapery around the lower body, and there is a small column or pillar at her left. No hair is visible, but her hands are closer to her head than the previous images. The second image is quite different than the first. No.

¹⁰² See Bollati 2003 for a detailed discussion of the *dinocolate* pose at Seleucia.

¹⁰³ Cyrene also boasted a famous Aphrodite Anadyomene statue in antiquity. The statue was originally in the baths. It is now in the National Museum in Rome, (LIMC II, s.v. Aphrodite, no. 455).

146 (Maddoli, fig. 13) shows a very faint impression of a figure standing frontal. Her weight is on her left leg. Her shoulders are level and the arms are tucked and raised very close to the body. Again, as typifies all the Cyrene images, it is impossible to discern any hair. Her physique is very blocky, thick and stiff, lacking any torsion. This image, in its stiff frontality, is similar in overall tone to the Kedesh Anadyomenes.

Aphrodite Anadyomene is another popular pose for Hellenistic terracottas, and it occurs throughout the Mediterranean region.¹⁰⁴ One terracotta in particular, bears mentioning; it comes from the site of Maresha in the southern Levant and speaks to the familiarity of the pose in this region. The fragment, no. 16 from the *Maresha II* volume, preserves only the upper half of the torso, with the characteristic hair-clasping pose (fig. 2.11). The right arm is raised higher than the left, which is held close to the body. This example also preserves much of the white slip, common on Hellenistic terracottas, but rare at Maresha.¹⁰⁵

Among the other examples, there is significant variation in details such as weight-bearing leg, elaborateness of hairstyle, and body position, but the requisite characteristic is the arms raised towards the head and holding her hair. To date, few of the terracotta figurines convey the startling frontality of the Kedesh impressions. A single exception

¹⁰⁴ Anadyomene terracotta figurines can be found at the following: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (Breitenstein 1941, no. 511, plate 62); Delos (Laumonier 1956, nos. 485-487, plate 51; 489, plate 51); Alexandria (Breccia I 1934, no. 8, plate I,1; no. 1, plate II, 2,; no. 2, plate II, 4; no. 4, plate III, 6 and Breccia II 1934, no. 177, plate XIX, 1); Louvre (Dunand 1979, nos. 7, 364), Hungary (Török 1995, no. 5); Louvre (Besques 1954, nos. D325, plate 71a; D858, plate 157d; D2159, plate 340e; D2160, plate 339h) and CA2547, Pergamon (Topperwein 1976, no. 207, plate 34); Seleucia (Van Ingen 1939, no. 86, plate VI, 45); Walters Art Museum 48.1946; Munich Staatl. Antikensslg 6795 and S1301; British Museum D288; Martine von Wagner Museum, Würzburg H5359; Berlin Staatl. Mus. LIMC 451.

¹⁰⁵ Erlich reiterates statements made by Jentel 1984 and Havelock 1995, that the Aphrodite Anadyomene was widespread in Egypt and the Levant. There are many examples to be found from Egypt, especially from the Roman Period. See Török 1995, 84 for further explanation and examples. In the Levant, however, Erlich cites only two other examples from Israel: an Early Roman Aphrodite from Naha Me'arot and a nude female, probably Aphrodite, from Akko, Jentel illustrates several dozen more in *LIMC II*, s.v. Aphrodite (in peripheria orientali).

can be found Török's catalogue of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas from Egypt in Hungary (fig. 2.12). The legs of the figurine are lost at the knees so it is impossible to discern if the weight was distributed equally. The upper body is fully frontal. The figurine has a slim trunk and small rounded breasts. Her shoulders are level and her arms are almost equal. The head is slightly too large for her body. She wears a *stephane* and wears her hair in loose waves. The details of her face are easily visible: flat nose, large chin, and large, closely set eyes. According to Török, this piece represents a later generation of derivative molds that started in the late Hellenistic period. In addition to the figurine in Hungary, another example of the stiff, frontal Anadyomene, dating to the second or third century C.E., occurs at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.¹⁰⁶ Said to be from the Fayum, this figurine is the half-naked type of Anadyomene and preserves much of the original painted detail. Despite its late date, it could represent a typical Egyptian interpretation of the Anadyomene pose.

The semi-draped Anadyomene does not occur in the Kedesh corpus, but merits discussion here because it is this version that more closely approximates the rigid frontality of the Kedesh Anadyomene images. The frontality of the semi-draped Anadyomene seems indebted to the tradition of Egyptian art, where in later periods Isis is occasionally depicted in the Anadyomene pose.¹⁰⁷ Brinkerhoff, in fact, has suggested that the original statue of the Anadyomene "was intended for official worship in Egypt, where so many copies were found."¹⁰⁸ Havelock goes so far to propose Egypt as the place of

¹⁰⁶ Fjeldhagen 1995, 99 no. 81.

¹⁰⁷ Louvre: Besques 1954, D 273, plate 546, b; E/D2158, plate 339, g; Pergamon: Topperwein 1976, 2287; 209, plate 34; MUS T 114.

¹⁰⁸ Brinkerhoff 1978, 59-60.

creation for the semi-draped Anadyomene type.¹⁰⁹ These Egyptian Anadyomene terracottas can be securely identified as Isis both because of context and the characteristic “Isis knot.” Thus, the semi-draped Anadyomene serves as an example of a hybrid image, since any worship of the Greek goddess would have been incorporated into the identity of the native goddess. Such an image, therefore, would resonate in multiple cultural situations as Aphrodite, or Isis, or a Ptolemaic queen, or any combination of the three. It seems then, that this Anadyomene type was exported to Egyptian neighbors, subjects, and trading partners, which may explain why we find similar Anadyomene images at Cyrene and Kedesh, the latter of the two sites having been under Ptolemaic control until the battle at Panias in 198 B.C.E..

If we are to believe that the semi-draped Anadyomene has its origins in Ptolemaic Egypt, this could explain the development of an alternative to the fully naked version of the Anadyomene. Although there is a persistence use of the nudity in Egyptian art, its use is restricted to certain types of figures and contexts. Gay Robbins has outlined the types of nudity in New Kingdom Egyptian art, in what has become the standard source for this topic.

In the case of female nudity, Egypt, like the Ancient Near East, had a long history of female fertility figurines, which typically took the form of a naked woman lying down with her hands at her sides or one hand across her chest.¹¹⁰ These figurines were used as votive offerings, in funerary contexts, and domestic cult, usually in connection with rebirth, fertility, and the worship of the goddess Hathor.¹¹¹ During the 18th dynasty, a new type of naked female begins to appear in art: the adolescent girl. These figures were used

¹⁰⁹ Havelock 1995, 91.

¹¹⁰ Robbins 1996, 28.

¹¹¹ Robbins 1996, 28-29.

only to depict generic figures of dancers, musicians, and servants and could appear in wall paintings or plastic representations on mirror handles or spoons.¹¹² Like the fertility figurines, these unclad adolescent girls appear in association with concepts of fertility, birth, rebirth, and Hathor. These examples of female nudity in Egyptian art create a striking contrast with representations of elite women and goddesses, who are rarely depicted without clothing.¹¹³ Until the middle of the 18th dynasty, elite women are commonly represented wearing a tight-fitting sheath dress that molds to the outline of the breasts, stomach, buttocks, and thighs.¹¹⁴ At around the same time that the naked adolescent girls appear in the artistic repertoire, the costume of the elite woman “gives way to a looser, often pleated, garment that falls to the ground and is draped round the body and secured by a knot under the breasts.”¹¹⁵ One explanation for the differing depictions between adolescent girls and elite women and goddesses has to do with the role of decorum in Egyptian art. Strict rules were developed to regulate style and content of Egyptian art, in large part because images were believed to have the power to affect the real world.¹¹⁶ The taboo against nudity of high-ranking women and deities was, in part, a result of these protocols.

In light of these artistic conventions regarding female nudity in Egypt, it is possible to accept Havelock’s theory of an Egyptian origin for the semi-draped Anadyomene figure. In order to accommodate Egyptian artistic practices, the naked

¹¹² Robins 1996, 30 – 33, *passim*.

¹¹³ Robins 1996, 33.

¹¹⁴ This style of clothing can be compared with the Greek “wet drapery” style.

¹¹⁵ Robins 1996, 37.

¹¹⁶ Pinch 2003, 6.

Aphrodite Anadyomene was refashioned into the semi-draped Isis Anadyomene, whose drapery is held in place by means of the distinctive Isis-knot.¹¹⁷

The Kedesh Anadyomenes are unusual *vis à vis* the comparative material.¹¹⁸ The combination of rigid frontality, the garish faces, and stiff positioning of the arms is rarely exhibited by other images. In addition to the influence of Egyptian Isis, I will argue later that Phoenician Tanit, with her distinctive stick-figures symbols, is also a factor in the exceptional appearance of the Kedesh Anadyomenes. Thus, these unconventional Kedesh Anadyomenes are a result of several different cultural influences from Greece, Egypt and Phoenicia; they are hybrid images created by a unique combination of cultural factors. I will explore this issue in more depth in chapter five.

The Anadyomene pose at Kedesh is unusual in so many ways, both in comparison with the other Kedesh Aphrodite figures and those from other archives. From a purely aesthetic standpoint, the Kedesh Anadyomenes have a very different look from other images of Aphrodite in Hellenistic glyptic. This disparity cannot be solely attributed to craftsmanship. The level of quality of others of the bullae, including Anadyomene APH 031, demonstrates that the people using the Kedesh archive had access to highly skilled craftsmen. We must, therefore, look for another explanation for their unusual appearance. Might the frontal, schematic Anadyomenes be the result of a intentional rejection of the Hellenistic artistic convention of torsion? And yet, while rejecting one facet of Hellenistic art, the disjointed and unnatural appearance of the Kedesh Anadyomenes suggests a certain likeness to the genre of Hellenistic “grotesques.”

¹¹⁷ Upon consultation with T. Wilfong APH 048 could have an Isis knot.

¹¹⁸ Like the previous Aphrodite poses described, the Anadyomene does not appear on Hellenistic coinage.

Additionally, there are no repetitions among the Anadyomene rings in the Kedesh corpus, which suggests that these particular seals belonged to individuals who did not need to seal documents regularly.

Rather than attempt to explain the Kedesh Anadyomene as a singular entity, it is necessary to consider it in conjunction with other motifs that occur in the same corpus, specifically the Kallipygos. These two pose types occupy opposite ends of an iconographic spectrum, where despite their difference appearances, both poses borrow certain elements from contemporary Hellenistic art, but at the same time are unusual and almost exclusively confined to Kedesh.

Knidia (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 391-408; Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientali): nos. 1-9)

Perhaps one of the most famous pieces of ancient Greek sculpture, the Aphrodite of Knidos, shows the goddess shielding herself from an intrusive viewer while at her bath (fig. 2.13). The pose of the Knidian Aphrodite, then, is characterized by the position of her hands: she covers herself with one hand and reaches for or holds drapery in the other. It is this feature that distinguishes this pose from similar naked Aphrodite types such as the Capitoline and Medici types, which cover their genitals and breasts with their arms in the *pudica* gesture (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 409-421).

The Aphrodite of Knidos was first unveiled in the fourth century as a cult statue of the island of Knidos, after their neighbors from the island of Kos deemed the sculpture too risqué for their taste. It garnered immediate attention and quickly became one of the most scandalous and famed statues of its time. Despite the Knidia's notoriety, reception

of the ancient Greek world's first large-scale naked female sculpture was somewhat mixed. In the ensuing centuries a kind of cultish mystique arose regarding the origins and reception of the innovative statue. Despite its date, the Knidia only began to exert a special appeal in the first century B.C.E., and the earliest literary references to the statue date to the first and second centuries C.E..¹¹⁹

Because the original sculpture has been lost, scholars are forced to reconstruct the pose from coins, literary references, and later sculptural variations. The numismatic evidence shows the goddess standing on her right leg, with her left leg slightly bent (fig. 2.14). She covers her pubic area with her right hand, and with her left holds a piece of drapery over a tall vase. She looks to her left. Only Lucian makes reference to the statue's pose saying that she held one hand in front of her to shield herself (*Amores* 13-14). Sculptural replicas consistently show the goddess standing in a contrapposto pose, and covering herself with one hand, either left or right, while the opposite arm holds a piece of drapery. From this evidence we can speak generally about the Knidia's pose: she stood in a contrapposto position and covered herself with one hand while holding a piece of drapery with the other; her head was turned to the left.¹²⁰ The Kedesh Knidia bullae are important because they provide an additional reconstruction of the famed Praxitelean original.

There are only two bullae of the Praxitelean statue type at Kedesh, and they come from the same seal (Plate VIII). The goddess is depicted standing frontally with her weight on her left leg. Her head is turned three-quarters to the right, looking down. She has an unnaturally long left arm that extends to the opposite right thigh, covering her

¹¹⁹ Havelock 1995, 2; Pliny the Elder *N.H.* 36.20 and Lucian *Amores* 13-14.

¹²⁰ Havelock, 1992, 12.

pubis. She raises her right arm up to her head. The face is rather un-elegantly carved; the goddess has large, bug-like eyes and few other facial features. Her coiffure is illegible. There is no drapery present.

There are no Knidia types present at any of the contemporary ring archives at Seleucia, Selinus, Carthage, Uruk, or Cyrene, which is perhaps not entirely surprising. The association of Praxiteles' Aphrodite statue with a particular location, the island of Knidos, likely rendered this iconographic type irrelevant to those not closely associated with the city and its symbol. The notoriety of the Knidian statue may have also dissuaded non-Knidians from selecting that particular image as their personal ring. The presence of the Knidia motif among the bullae at Kedesh could indicate a desire to be associated with the island, perhaps by an immigrant or an individual of Knidian descent.

Two terracotta figurines from Tarsus, now at the Louvre, both Hellenistic in date, provide an example of a midpoint in the life of the Knidian pose. Though both are rather mediocre examples, they capture the overall impression of the standing figure (Besques, D2166, plate 341c; D2164, plate 341e). Other terracottas of Hellenistic date, primarily from the first century B.C.E., can be found at Smyrna, (Burn 129, BM2305, plate 56), Priene (Rumscheid 2006, 59-64; plates 27-28), Capua (LIMC II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 405), and a singular signed example from Myrina (LIMC II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 406).

These terracottas show that despite the near absence of the Knidia on the rings of the Hellenistic period, the motif had a long life in other media, including bronze, terracotta, and marble, starting in the mid-Hellenistic period. The popularity of the motif continued into the Roman era, particularly in the Roman East, where it first appears on the coins of Caracalla, more than six hundred years after the debut of the original

statue.¹²¹ Although the popularity of the Knidia in other media seems to contradict the glyptic evidence, I would like to suggest that in the case of the terracotta figurines, the function of the object was significantly different from that of a seal, thus the elegant aesthetics of the Knidian Aphrodite made an appropriate ritual or votive object as well as decorative item.

I turn now to the figurines from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and the figurines of the Near East that have sometimes been considered Near Eastern variants of the Knidia pose. It is necessary to demonstrate the differences between these Hellenistic Seleucid figurines and the pose of the Knidian Aphrodite in order to explain why similar images have been excluded as comparanda. Van Ingen illustrates several figurines of this type for comparison. Many of these figurines grasp or point to their breasts and/or use another hand to point to their genitals. These gestures are not meant to shield or conceal. Instead they direct the viewer's attention to the breasts and genitals. Such figures have alternately been considered to be fertility or "mother goddess" figurines, as well as "seductress" figurines.¹²² I would like to focus on one figurine in particular, due to my access to it in Michigan.

KM 16059, currently at Michigan's Kelsey Museum, can be considered to be an example of the phenomenon described above (fig. 2.15). The figurine depicts a naked female figure viewed from the front; her head is missing. Her right arm reaches across her body and clutches her left breast, distorting the natural round shape. Her left arm reaches down to her pubis and shields part of her vulva. This gesture, however, is

¹²¹ The Knidia appears as the obverse of a coin which depicts Caracalla and Plautilla on the reverse, (LIMC 407: AE, Knidos (Caria); Caracalla and Plautilla 211-218; Lacroix, 1949, 311-314). A second coin from Tarsus, also dating to the third century CE, illustrates that region's interest in the pose (LIMC 408: AE Tarsus (Cilicia); Maximinus, 235-238).

¹²² Bahrani 1996, p. 7-8.

intended to draw the viewer's attention to the lines that the coroplast incised to indicate her genitals. Her legs are held together and her toes are pointed so that the figurine cannot stand up on its own. Certain features are incised, including the fingers of both hands, the navel, and the vulva. The abdomen is slightly rounded and the hips are relatively slim. Van Ingen, in her publication of the figurine, categorizes it as a "mother goddess type."

KM 16059, and others like it, could be considered comparanda for the Knidia pose. However, there are several problems with this comparison. The first is the placement of the arm at the breasts. As I have already mentioned, it is agreed upon that the Knidia's arm was held away from the body and that the overall impression of the pose seems to indicate that of concealment. KM16059 is overtly pointing to her sexual attributes. Though a certain similarity can be seen in the positioning of the arms of KM 16059 and other Hellenistic variations of the Knidia, such as the Capitoline and Medici types, from which we get the *pudica* pose, the similarities are only superficial. While it may visually recall the pose of the Knidia, this figurine and others similar to it are not imbued with the same connotations as the Greek and later Hellenistic images.

Despite the apparent similarities between the Knidia and the Seleucid figurine, the latter is more firmly rooted in the ancient Near eastern tradition of "Mother goddess" or "fertility" figurines.¹²³ Such figurines can be found through millennia and in various shapes and sizes, although much attention has been paid to those that "place emphasis on fertility by exaggerating the size of hips and breasts and by abbreviating all other parts of the body."¹²⁴ These figurines sometimes draw additional attention to these exaggerated

¹²³ "For the prehistoric period this interpretation may indeed be correct, but scholars have generally assumed that the nude females, prevalent throughout the subsequent millennia until the advent of Islam, all represent some sort of fertility fetish," (Bahrani 1996, 7).

¹²⁴ Bahrani 1996, 7. Reade 1991, figs. 16.

features by pointing at them. According to Bahrani, who has studied the relationship between Greek and Near Eastern nude female images, a new feminine ideal was introduced in the late third and early second millennia B.C.E., which emphasized the sexual allure of women rather than her reproductive capabilities. As a result, the corpulence of many of the “fertility” figurines was reduced, and slim, lithe female bodies were introduced into the visual record.¹²⁵ This theory, while neatly accounting for the change in the visual record, creates a false chronology of Near Eastern figurines. The corpulent, exaggerated fertility figurines do not yield to a new, thinner female form, but rather, the two body types co-exist. Bahrani’s explanation presumes a teleology of female iconography in which a smaller, dare we say more “realistic” body is the goal. Instead, the main point that ought to be taken from Bahrani’s discussion is the acknowledgement of an ancient Near Eastern tradition of emphasizing female sexuality (and fertility), by grasping or pointing to their breasts and/or genitals. Such gestures, then, are not meant to conceal, but to draw attention to allurements of the female body.¹²⁶

This difference in intention, to showcase rather than conceal, removes KM 16059 and others like it from the pool of available comparanda for the Knidia pose. The Knidia pose is actually quite rare in Hellenistic terracotta and glyptic, which makes the presence of the motif at Kedesh all the more exceptional. Thus, despite being one of the most famous statues of the fourth century B.C.E., this popularity does not carry over into other media. What this example does demonstrate, as will be confirmed by other seal types from Kedesh, is that certain trends/motifs do not carry over from large-scale sculpture to small-scale, “minor” arts. On the other hand, media such as glyptic or terracotta could be

¹²⁵ Bahrani 1996, 7-8.

¹²⁶ Bahrani 1996, 11.

used to develop and experiment with new motifs and ideas, which could eventually transition to larger-scale media. The notoriety specific to the Knidia, however, may have also negatively impacted its popularity in glyptic since the sculpture was essentially synonymous with the island of Knidos.

Sandalbinder (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 462-481; Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientali): nos. 196-210)

The Sandalbinder pose is a lighthearted scene that captures the figure in the act of adjusting her shoe. It survives in a number of sculptural variants, and the most famous precursor can be found on Nike balustrade on the Athenian Acropolis dating to 410 B.C.E.. Three-dimensional versions do not appear until the late Hellenistic period.¹²⁷ The pose shows the figure bending down while lifting one leg, in order to adjust her sandal. The figure can face either right or left and raise either leg and adjust with either arm. The bend of the torso ranges from a slight tilt forward to an almost prone position. Sometimes she looks down at her foot, or turns her head to the side, as if feeling for the offending strap. The identification of the figure as Aphrodite is dependant upon the connection between Aphrodite and bathing.

There are 20 impressions of the Sandalbinder from 10 seals at Kedesh (Plates VIII-X). All of the impressions show the goddess in profile to the right, with minor variations in the weight-bearing leg, and extended arm. The majority of the bullae show the goddess with her weight on her left leg, raising her right leg and reaching down with her right arm. There is significant range in the degree to which the figure bends; in some

¹²⁷ Havelock 1995, 85.

cases, her torso is fairly upright and she raises her leg almost ninety degrees (APH 053, 056). In other instances, the figure is hunched over, her torso almost parallel to the ground (APH 052, 059). In addition to the variations in posture, the goddess' physique also fluctuates. On one impression, the goddess has a large, sagging breast but a rather slim physique (APH 052); whereas another seals shows the goddess with a paunch and a barely visible breast (APH 060). When the head is preserved, the hair is tied back into a chignon. This is not the elegant hairstyle characteristic of the semi-draped Aphrodites, but rather a large, bulbous bun, set low on the head (APH 052, 057). The last major modification is the presence of a low column in some of the images; it is usually placed behind the bending figure; in one instance it is in front of the figure, who looks to be hitting her head upon it as she reaches to adjust her footwear (APH 059).

The Sandalbinder is the most common type of Aphrodite image in the Seleucia corpus and it is present here in five different variations. The first depicts the goddess leaning on a rudder (Af 22 (fig. 2.16)). This type recalls Aphrodite Euploia, protector of sailors and navigation and indicates a syncretism of several different goddesses.¹²⁸ The presence of a strap under the right armpit indicates the presence of a sautoir, which is an attribute of Isis, and thus, seems to confirm this syncretism.¹²⁹ Similar variations of this theme show the goddess leaning on a column (Af 23) or support (Af 24), or standing next to a column (Af 25 (fig. 2.17)). The last variant lacks any support (Af 26-30, 31 (fig. 2.18), 32 (fig. 2.19), 33 (fig. 2.20), 34-39). Regardless of the presence of a support, the goddess is always depicted in profile to the right and adjusting the sandal of her right leg.

¹²⁸ For example, Agathe Tyche, the goddess of good fortune, in addition to holding the cornucopia can also be shown holding a torch, scepter, stalk of grain, or a rudder, among other attributes (Herbert 2003-4, 77; LIMC VIII s.v. Tyche, 119-121, nos. 20-65).

¹²⁹ Bollati and Messina 2004, 80.

There are subtle differences in how far the right leg is raised and how prone the torso is in relation to the leg. When discernable, the hair is always in a chignon. On the whole, the Seleucia bullae show the same range of variation in and posture as the Kedesh impressions, but with somewhat sketchier physiques and other details.¹³⁰ The bodies of the Sandalbinders of the Seleucia bullae are round and fleshy, but in only one instance (Af 36) is the right breast discernable; the other impressions exhibit a more schematic physique. The hair is often illegible, which suggests that it is likely tied up in a chignon, but there are none of the large, bulbous buns that occur at Kedesh.

Another set of Sandalbinder impressions can be found at Uruk. There are 11 total impressions but only seven have been illustrated.¹³¹ The pose of the Uruk Sandalbinders is generally the same as at Kedesh; she stands on her left leg, facing right while leaning forward to adjust her sandal with the right hand. The bend in her torso is consistently fairly far forward, and when her hairstyle is visible, it is up in a bulbous chignon (300-3, 283-3) as at Kedesh. The most striking variation is evident in the physiques. One image shows the figure with extremely thin arms and legs and an enormously oversized head (283-3), while another shows a short, plump, short-waisted woman with an unnaturally long arm (300-3). There are some other minor variations of details. Several have been set on a ground line (241-1, 298-1, 307-3, 532-2, 540-1) which does not occur at Kedesh. A pair of images shows the raised right leg projecting slightly, while the weight-bearing left leg bends slightly, creating a slightly awkward half-squat pose (275-5, 307-3).

¹³⁰ One aspect of the Seleucia bullae that is noticeably different is how shallow the impressions are, making them somewhat difficult to decipher.

¹³¹ The following have been illustrated in Lindstrom 2003: nos. 241-1, 275-5, 283-3, 298-1, 300-3, 307-3. Nos. 460-1, 532-2, 539-1, 540-1 have not.

A single impression from Carthage (Berges, tav. 83, no. 483) seems to depict the Sandalbinder motif but the faintness of the impression makes the image difficult to decipher. It shows a female figure facing left and lifting her left leg. She reaches towards her foot with her right hand. Typical to the earlier date that Berges has given this image, fifth century B.C.E., the woman is wearing some sort of draped garment, which is different from the Kedesh images.

The geographical range of Sandalbinder images in terracotta reinforces this motif's popularity as an iconographic type of the Hellenistic period. Examples exist throughout the Mediterranean from Asia Minor to Sicily with dates ranging from the second through the first century B.C.E., though she is conspicuously absent from Egypt.¹³² These figurines exhibit the same range of body posture and leg positioning as is seen among the Kedesh and Seleucia bullae.

As I have pointed out with other Aphrodite pose types, the Sandalbinder does not occur on contemporaneous coins. Instead, its popularity is restricted to marble, bronze, terracotta, and seals. The significance of this pose is in its mass appeal, which accounts for its popularity in so many media, both large- and small-scale, and its widespread geographic distribution.

Crouching (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: nos. 987-1043; Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientali): nos. 182-195)

¹³² I have identified nine examples from Asia Minor: Pergamon (211, plate 35; AKR T1198), Priene (13, plate 5,1; 52, plate 24,1-2; 53, plate 24,3; 54, plate 24,4 – fragment; 55, plate 24, 5 – fragment), Myrina (Ist. Arch. Mus 2313), and Smyrna (Boston MFA 97.375; BM 2304, plate 56). Van Ingen identified a lone Sandalbinder figurine fragment from Seleucia (Van Ingen, p. 74-5, no. 91). There are two from Delos (472, A3466, plate 47-48; 473, A3387, plate 47 and 49); an additional pair was excavated at Morgantina (229, plate 57, no. 61-1443; 231, plate 58, no. 57-3017). And two more in the Syracuse National Museum round out the comparative collection (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite nos. 469 and 473).

As the name clearly states, the Crouching Aphrodite depicts Aphrodite kneeling or crouching, presumably to wash or rinse her hair (fig. 2.21). There does not appear to be a single standard type; instead there is significant variation in the pose. Aphrodite can face either left or right; she can hold her hair in the Anadyomene pose, or lean forward and let it fall over her head; she can rest on her knees, place a single knee down, or squat down. Occasionally she is accompanied by the trappings of bathing and grooming such as a comb or water jug.

This diversity of the Crouching motif indicates that there was no, single canonical image. A disputed passage in Pliny's *Natural History* does refer to one Doidalsas, who was commissioned by the king of Bithynia to create an Aphrodite sculpture. Despite the absence of a single prototype, the crouching pose has been considered to be a "prime example" of centripetal composition and depth of movement.¹³³ Havelock has identified one variation, the Rhodian type, as being the closest variant to a generic type. It shows Aphrodite with her right leg tucked under her body and bearing most of the weight, while the left leg is raised in order to preserve the balance. The torso is sometimes rotated and sometimes frontal and the position of the hands and arms varies. The main variations in the pose revolve around the position of the legs and the posture of the upper body. The legs can be split, with one leg parallel to the ground while the other is perpendicular to the ground; or parallel, where both legs are folded underneath the figure. As mentioned above, the upper body can exhibit varying degrees of torsion and arm positioning. The uncertainty surrounding the original pose seems to have resulted in several variations of the crouching Aphrodite, a characteristic that the Kedesh bullae reinforce.

¹³³ Havelock 1995, 81.

At Kedesh, the Crouching Aphrodite type occurs in two very different poses on two bullae from different seals (Plate X). The first, APH 036, depicts a naked female kneeling on a thick ground line, facing right. Both of her shins are parallel to the ground line. Her right arm hangs down in front of her right knee; a small section of chignon may be visible but otherwise the head is missing from the impression. The position of the figure, kneeling rather than crouching, is quite different from the second image, APH 037, which is closer in design to the “typical” crouching Aphrodite motif. It shows the goddess facing left; her legs in profile and her torso twisted in $\frac{3}{4}$ view. Her left leg is tucked beneath her, shin parallel to the ground; the right leg is visible behind the left, and perpendicular to the ground. Her head is in profile to the left, looking down and a long lock of hair falls down toward her right knee. Her arms are missing. A one-handled high neck jug stands behind the goddess at the right. Unlike the first impression, this second one makes reference to the bathing theme which is often associated with images of Aphrodite and this particular motif.

In searching for comparanda for this particular image type, it is important to note that it is the crouching aspect that is more important than the bathing aspect. Aphrodite is often associated with bathing in Greek art, and many of the image types discussed previously can often be placed within the setting of the bath. While the bathing theme is present at Seleucia, there is only one image of the goddess crouching. Af 20 depicts the goddess in profile, kneeling and facing right with a hydria in front of her (fig. 2.22). Her right breast is visible in profile. The right arm is bent, with the elbow resting on the thigh and reaching forward. The image itself is blurred, indicating movement during the act of

making the impression. Despite the blurring, this image is a parallel leg type, like APH 036 from Kedesh.

Four examples come from the archive at Carthage. These seals, like the two Kedesh bullae, exhibit a significant amount of variation on the crouching theme. All four seals belong to the parallel leg type, and exhibit varying degrees of upper body positioning. The first image, no. 485, shows the goddess kneeling right. Her lower body is in profile, with the legs parallel; she reaches towards a column behind her, at the left. She reaches her right arm up to the column and her left is crossed across her body, just below her breasts, grasping a thin sheet of drapery. Her face is in profile to the left, looking at the column. Her hair is tied up and corded around her head. The second image, no. 486, also depicts the goddess with drapery. She crouches on her feet, with her legs tucked underneath her, supporting herself on her toes. Her lower body is in profile; her legs are parallel and in perspective, so the left is slightly higher than the right. Her torso is turned toward the viewer and she is in the process of draping herself with a cloak. Her face is blank and she looks down to the left. Nos. 488 and 489 are similar in the depiction of Aphrodite crouching to the left in profile. Her legs are tucked beneath her and she is propped up on her toes. She rests her left arm on her left knee, in a Rodin-like “thinking” pose. Her hair is tied up and in no. 489 there is a shallow basin before her.

A final image from Carthage, no. 490, warrants mentioning because of certain similarities between it and APH 036 from Kedesh. The Carthage piece shows Aphrodite bending forward combing her hair in front of her face. Drapery is wrapped around her legs. Her right leg is bent, and the left leg is one step in front. She bends her head down and forward causing her hair to fall in front of her. There is a small bird in the space

created by her legs and her outstretched arms and hair. She is in profile to the right.

Though she is not in a true crouching position, the forward bend of her upper body is, to date, the closest approximation of the body position of the Kedesh APH 036.

The crouching motif occurs in multiple variations in terracotta, none of which corresponds exactly to the Kedesh images. I have divided them into two main categories: parallel-legged, like APH 036, and split-legged, like APH 037. The split-legged crouching Aphrodite appears to be the less popular of the two poses; as yet, three have been identified, one from Morgantina (Bell 1981, p. 236, plate 29, no. 58-1968), one from Seleucia (Van Ingen, no. 98, plate VII, 51), and one from Alexandria (Breccia I, no. 3, plate III, no. 7). The Morgantina figurine faces left with her left elbow possibly resting on her left knee. The Seleucia figurine faces right, and stretches her left arm across her torso towards her right breast, while simultaneously turning her body as if to look over her right shoulder. The Alexandrian figurine shows the goddess facing left, with her left leg tucked beneath her and right leg raised. She rests her right elbow on her right knee as she raises both arms to her hair in the gesture of the Anadyomene. She wears a *stephane* and her left arm is raised higher than the right. *Vis à vis* Kedesh APH 037, there are few similarities. APH 037 exhibits none of the torsion evidenced in the twisting of the Seleucid and Alexandrian terracottas. That said, the way the hair falls to the knee on Kedesh APH 037 suggests that, were the arms visible, the figure would be combing or somehow handling her hair, though not in the same manner as the Alexandrian figurine. All in all, these three terracottas compared to the lone Kedesh split-legged seal have little in common.

Although few in number, the examples of the split-legged crouching motif in terracotta are each important because they demonstrate the geographical extent of the pose. The Morgantina piece was excavated in the destruction fill from the Prytaneion room IV, a room that was, according to Bell, used for the practice of some sort of syncretistic cult. He bases this interpretation on the miscellaneous group of terracottas found therein. The Seleucian and Alexandrian figurines, despite being the lone examples from each region, suggest that the type was known in the two regions that exercised control over the Levant and Phoenician in the Hellenistic period, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies.

The parallel-legged Crouching Aphrodite, the more popular of the two crouching poses, does not display the same geographical breadth of the split-legged pose, nor do any of the examples replicate the pose of APH 036 from Kedesh. In most cases, the legs are parallel to one another but not quite parallel to the ground, as they are on APH 036. In the case of a figurine from Seleucia (Van Ingen no. 95, plate VII, 50), the figure squats down, supporting herself with her toes and her knees do not touch the ground, unlike APH 036, which rests both knees on the ground. Furthermore, the Kedesh parallel-legged pose of APH 036 eschews the slightly twisted torso that often occurs in this type. A figurine from Corinth, dating to the third century B.C.E., replicates the leg position of APH 036, but also exhibits torsion in the torso. Several Parthian period figurines from the Iraq Museum show a more elaborate interpretation of the scene, where the posture does not correspond to either of the Kedesh poses, but does include elements of the toilet, and in one case Eros (Karvonen-Kannas, 191, plate 34; 192, plate 34; 193, plate 34).

Neither of the crouching pose types appears on Hellenistic coinage. Generally this is not a popular pose in small-scale arts, perhaps because it is difficult to render in two dimensions and in small sizes.

Bather (LIMC II s.v. Aphrodite: no. 452)

The Aphrodite with basin is one of the few image types that shows the goddess definitively in the act of bathing. A solitary female figure stands naked before a waist-high tripod basin, and washes herself. Her hair tied up atop her head, to prevent her long locks from getting wet. She scrubs herself with her left hand, while at the same time reaching up, as if to tuck an errant hair back atop her head with the right hand. This pose, depending on the placement of the hand and arm, recalls the Kallipygos pose, except the viewer is looking on from the front rather than the back.

Aphrodite has long been connected to the idea of bathing and others of her pose types at Kedesh have been associated with the bath or toilette; together they illustrate the various stages of bathing and grooming. The Anadyomene and Crouching poses capture the goddess washing or rinsing her hair; the Knidia (and the related *pudica* pose of the Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites, which do not occur at Kedesh) has often been interpreted as Aphrodite caught at her bath; the Semi-draped Aphrodites appear to have completed their ablutions and admire the final results. Even the Sandabinder can be interpreted as removing her footwear in preparation for entering the bath.

Despite the prevalence of bathing imagery in the plastic arts, the Aphrodite with basin does not appear to have a prototype in sculpture.¹³⁴ Instead, we must look to Attic

¹³⁴ This is not entirely unexpected since separate elements can be problematic for three-dimensional sculptures, given issues of cost, tensile strength, and size.

and Apulian red-figure vase painting for models. One Attic example comes from the Bologna Museum (Civ 300; ARV 1152, 7; LIMC II s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 1523). A red figure calyx krater, dating to ca. 420 B.C.E., depicts Atalanta standing before a louterion, preparing for her footrace with Hippomenes. She is naked except for her sandals, and adjusts her hair as Hippomenes stands nearby, ready to receive the golden apples from Aphrodite. Another Attic example from a red figure stamnos of the Polygnotan Group (Munich 2411; ARV 1051, 18), shows three women gathered around a large basin. The woman at the left folds her robe; her boots are also illustrated. The central figure, who is standing behind the basin and depicted frontally, combs her hair with her left hand, and holds an alabastron in her right. A third woman, at the right of the basin rinses her hands. Two Apulian examples of similar date, both pelikes, repeat the motif of nude woman standing before a washing basin. The first, from the Ashmolean Museum (G 269; RVAp I 399, 22 Fig. 140, I), shows a naked woman, standing to the left of a large basin, which itself sits atop a Doric style stand. She holds an alabastron in her right hand and pours some of the contents out into her left hand. Her hair is short and curled; she wears coiled bracelets on both arms, and right ankle. Eros hovers above holding myrtle branches. The second example in the Jatta Museum (654; RVAp I 20, 89 fig 7,1-2) shows a louterion amidst several woman, all nude. One figure, just right of the louterion stands with her weight on her right leg and binds her hair with a large band, in a posture that prefigures the motion of the Diadoumenos. These three suggest that this motif of a female bather standing before a bathing basin was known as early as the fifth century B.C.E..

Two impressions in the Kedesh corpus from the same seal depict Aphrodite bathing before a three-legged basin (Plate XI). She faces right; her legs and head are

show in profile while her torso is twisted towards the viewer. She stands with her weight on her left leg and her right leg is slightly bent. Her left arm reaches across her body towards her right hip, and with her right arm, she reaches up to her shoulder. Her hair is gathered in a loose bun atop her head.

The basin-bathing scene from Kedesh is not replicated at Seleucia. Only two seals include paraphernalia of bathing: Af 11 shows Aphrodite standing next to a fountain; and Af 20 shows the goddess crouching next to an object that could be construed as a water jug.¹³⁵ Invernizzi also attributes Af 11-20 as Aphrodite bathing based on pose alone, since bathing tools are absent from most of the impressions (figs 2.3-2.5).

The basin-bathing scene is replicated at Carthage, where there are three seals that represent Aphrodite bathing. All show the same basic scene: Aphrodite, in profile to the right, stands before a large basin, leans forward and wrings the water from her hair with both hands (Karthago II, taf. 84, nos. 491-493). Her weight is on the right leg and the left is slightly bent. Her head is turned slightly towards the viewer. The scene presents a rather accurate rendition of a woman trying to wash or rinse her hair, without drenching her entire body with water. Although the posture of the Carthage Aphrodite is different from the Kedesh Aphrodite, who stands up straight, the presence of the basin is the common factor.

At this time, no exact parallels for the Kedesh bathing motif have been discovered among terracotta figurines, nor does it occur on coins of the Hellenistic period.

¹³⁵ This impression is difficult to read because the ring used to make the impression was moved at the time of stamping so there is a sort of visual “echo” in the right side of the bullae where three outlines of the figure’s knee and of the water jug are visible. Due to this “noise” Bollati and Messina suggests that the object beside Aphrodite could also be a small chest or box. Bollati and Messina 2004, 83.

The basin bathing scene has its roots in painting rather than sculpture. This is significant because, as a painting, it was possible to spatially widen the scene to cover the painted surface. The ability to expand a scene to fill a larger space is the very feature that would make the scene somewhat difficult to translate into three dimensions or small-scale carving; the size and spread of these basin scenes would require a seal stone with a fairly large surface area. Such a stone would likely be more expensive, and thus less popular among the population at large.

Summary

The search for comparative material for the Kedesh Aphrodite types illustrates two important phenomena: first, none of these types occur on Hellenistic coinage, which clearly demonstrates that Aphrodite was not considered appropriate for official Seleucid or Ptolemaic iconography. She was, however, at Kedesh, considered an appropriate emblem for personal seals. What, then, does this mean regarding the popularity of Aphrodite images on the seals from Kedesh? I would suggest that this may in part be due to the prior worship of indigenous female goddess such as Phoenician Tanit and Mesopotamian Ishtar as well as influence from Ptolemaic Egypt and mainland Greece.

Aphrodite is generally more popular in terracotta than in glyptic in the Hellenistic period. The numerous Aphrodite votives suggests that she was a popular deity to call upon for help. Her governance over love, sex, and even marriage and fertility would make her the *de facto* source for assistance in personal relationships and familial issues. Additionally, the aesthetic aspect of some of these images ought not to be overlooked; Aphrodite is a great beauty of Greek mythology, and a favored inspiration for artists. And

yet, the terracotta figurines do not seek to replicate or even necessarily emulate large-scale sculptural representations of Aphrodite. Other than the semi-draped Aphrodite, which occurs in innumerable variations, famous Aphrodite sculptures are not particularly popular in terracotta and glyptic.

Apollo Seal Types (Plates XII-XXII)

Apollo is one of the most popular of the Olympian gods at Kedesh, appearing on 164 impressions from 66 seals, and comprises 8% of the total bullae and 19% of the total divine bullae.¹³⁶ There are five types of Apollo poses that occur in the Kedesh corpus: Quiet Archer, Active Archer, Citharodos, Lycian, and Belvedere. The Active Archer pose, although the most common Apollo type at Kedesh, is the most unusual of the Apollo types because it is not well-known in either sculpture or other media. Although the Quiet Archer is also not attested to in large-scale sculpture, its selection as an emblem of the Seleucid empire resulted in its appearance in great quantity on coins.

As patron of the Seleucid empire, the prevalence of Apollo in the Kedesh archive is not wholly unexpected and he is, not surprisingly, very popular at the Seleucid capital as well. At Seleucia the 188 seals representing various types of Apollos have been divided into two main categories: resting and in motion. The former, according to Bollati and Messina, is a feature characteristic of late Classical and early Hellenistic period bullae; whereas the latter is indicative of the late Hellenistic.¹³⁷ Overall, the iconography of the Seleucia bullae has been characterized as somewhat monotonous because of the

¹³⁶ There are an additional 41 impressions of heads of Apollo that will not be examined as part of this dissertation and are not included in the calculation of total of Apollo bullae.

¹³⁷ Bollati and Messina 2004, 35.

reproduction of few designs and the eschewing of details.¹³⁸ Nonetheless, they are elegant representations of Apollo, as evidenced by Bollati and Messina's description of the body types, which they consider typically Hellenistic with their elongated and elegant proportions.¹³⁹

At Delos, there are over 400 seal types which illustrate Apollo in his various guises.¹⁴⁰ The number of iconographic types is fairly limited; but within the each distinct group, the intaglios demonstrate a relatively high level of detail and variation, unlike the Seleucia and Kedesh corpora, which both exhibit a fair amount of redundancy within pose groups. The most popular Apollo pose group at Delos is the Apollo archer, of which the most numerous group is Apollo shooting an arrow. The popularity of Apollo in the Delian archive is not unexpected, given the religious connection between Apollo and the island: Delos being the mythical birthplace of Apollo and center of Apollo's Ionian cult. On Delos, the Apollo is rarely depicted at rest, save for the archaizing poses, including the Delian Apollo statue type, which the second most popular Apollo ring type from the Delian corpus.

Apollo Archer

The archer is Apollo's most popular guise within the Kedesh corpus, appearing on 126 impressions from 41 seals. There are two main categories of Apollo as archer in the Kedesh corpus: the Quiet Archer, who is depicted at rest, leaning on a bow or tripod, and

¹³⁸ Bollati and Messina 2004, 35.

¹³⁹ Bollati and Messina 2004, 35.

¹⁴⁰ I follow the abbreviations used in each of the publications for the abbreviation of Apollo; each site uses a different two letter abbreviation followed by the catalogue number: Kedesh uses AP; Seleucia uses Ap; and Delos uses Aπ.

Quiet Archer (LIMC II s.v. Apollo: nos. 10-50)

The Quiet, Resting or Standing archer pose, as it is alternately called, depicts Apollo standing and leaning on a support, which can be his bow, a column or a tripod. The difference in the support leads to a slight difference in the details of the scene. When leaning on a bow, Apollo holds on to the bow with one hand and thus channels his weight to the grounded bow. When the item is column or a tripod, the taller height of the prop allows Apollo to lean on his elbow, which rests atop the support. Apollo is typically rendered nude in this pose, although he occasionally is depicted wearing a quiver. Oftentimes he holds an arrow in his free hand.

The origin of the Quiet Archer has been much debated by scholars. It has been suggested by some that the type was inspired by a large-scale sculpture, erected in one of the main cities of the Seleucid empire.¹⁴⁴ Regardless of its origin, the Quiet Archer pose was disseminated widely throughout the empire and even beyond, thanks to its regular appearance on the reverse of Seleucid coinage.¹⁴⁵

The Quiet Archer appears at Kedesh on 29 impressions from 26 seals (Plate XII-XIV). In the majority of the seals, the god is facing left with his body in a frontal or three-quarters view and his head in profile. His weight is on his right leg and his left leg is slightly bent. The most common support is the bow, upon which he leans with his right arm, slightly bent, while looking down to the left. When facing right, the position is reversed with the weight on his left leg while the right leg is slightly bent and the gaze

¹⁴⁴ Müller 1873; Bikerman 1938; Lacroix 1949; Bollati and Messina 2004.

¹⁴⁵ See Houghton 2002 for a catalogue of Seleucid coin types.

focused on the left hand. The genitals are frequently visible. The physique of the god varies from lean and muscular (AP 001, 002, 003, 004, 005, 006, 008, 012) to a thick, bulky body with visible abdominal fat (AP 015, 018, 022). One exception to these physique types is AP 024. The figure's narrow waist, wide hips and rounded pectoral muscles can be easily mistaken for a female. The hair is usually pulled back into a chignon and sometimes tied with fillets which run down the back (AP 020). In some cases, the bow or prop is too short for the god to lean naturally upon, creating an awkward pose (AP 003, 015, 018). In two seals, the quiver is visible behind the right shoulder (AP 015, 018).

At Seleucia, seals Ap 140-152 illustrate the Quiet Archers most similar to those at Kedesh (figs 2.24 and 2.25). Apollo stands and leans on his bow while holding an arrow in his other hand. Seven of the seals show him standing facing left and the other seven show him facing right. In one case he is shown standing on a ground line (Ap 141). The physiques of these Quiet Archers are generally soft and fleshy; and none of these archers are represented with clearly legible genitalia. One example in particular (Ap 146) exhibits the same rounded pectoral muscles that combined with the soft, fleshy physique results in an effeminate Quiet Archer. It bears mentioning that this effeminate Quiet Archer is the most commonly stamped seal of this type, occurring on 25 discrete impressions.

Five more seals depict Apollo holding an arrow in one hand, while leaning on a column with the opposite hand or elbow (Ap 160, 168-171). Ap 160 shows a small, thin Apollo, facing left and resting his elbow on a column, topped with a tripod. The column and tripod combine to a height that is just shy of the leaning figure. In his right hand, he holds an arrow, with the point facing down and away from him. Ap 168 and 169 preserve

only the upper bodies of the figure, and both illustrate thicker, fleshier individuals, both of whom lean on their elbows. Ap 168 faces right and Ap 169, left. Ap 169 also holds the arrow with the point facing down. Ap 171 is too poorly preserved to comment on anything other than the presence of the arrow and the left-facing position. Of this group, Ap 170 is most like the Kedesh Quiet Archers in the way he leans (fig. 2.26). Rather than leaning his elbow on a support, he leans on a thigh-high column with his hand channeling his weight to the support. He faces left and puts his weight on his left leg, while bending his free right leg; this causes his left hip to just out slightly. This slight hip-out pose is characteristic of this small group. There are an additional 20 impressions that show Apollo leaning on some sort of support, without the trappings of an archer. He sometimes is shown holding a branch or other unidentifiable object. Bollati and Messina have grouped together these leaning non-archer Apollos with the five Apollos leaning with arrows, into a single group catalogued as *Apollo stante appoggiato* (Ap 159-162, 163 (fig. 2.27), 164-183).

In addition to the “true” Quiet Archers and the Leaning Apollos, there is a set of images from Seleucia that show Apollo standing (thus “at rest”), but not leaning, while holding various combinations of archery paraphernalia (Ap 134-139). The first type depicts Apollo holding an arrow (Ap 134 (fig. 2.28), 135, 136). Standing in profile, the god faces right and has his hair tied up in a characteristic chignon. His physique is thick and muscular, with the strong right thigh that is similar to the some of the Active archers from Kedesh. The second type, which occurs on only one seal, shows him holding an arrow and wearing a quiver (Ap 137 (fig 2.29)). Apollo stands frontally, with his weight on his right leg. He looks down at the arrow he holds in his right hand. His quiver peeks

out from behind his left shoulder. This is one of the only seals at Seleucia where the god's genitals are seen clearly. The third type, in which the god holds both a bow and arrow, displays a figure that is similar in body type and pose to the Seleucia Citharodoss (Ap 138 (fig. 2.30), 139). Standing in profile to the right, the position highlights the thick thighs and legs of the god, while he holds an arrow out in front of him in his right arm.

In contrast to Kedesh and Seleucia, the Quiet Archer motif only occurs on three seals from Delos (Aπ 144 (fig. 2.31), 145-147). They show Apollo leaning on a support and holding an arrow, similar to Kedesh bullae AP 015 and 018. Two of these bullae are notable for the clarity of the facial features. Aπ 145 and 146 clearly illustrate the brow ridge, aquiline nose, and round chin of Apollo, which is unusual at such a small-scale. These figures also have sculpted abdominal muscles and long wavy locks, which work together to create a kind of archaizing Apollo. The dearth of this motif at Delos is not entirely unexpected. Given that the Quiet Archer is one of the official Seleucid numismatic images, it was not likely to be a particularly popular image type at site that was not under the political sphere of the Seleucids. Rather, the presence of this ring type may be the result of a traveling official from the Seleucid empire to the trading post of Delos.

There are seven seals of the Quiet Archer from the Hellenistic archive at Uruk. The most common type shows Apollo standing left and leaning on an ornate tripod with his left elbow.¹⁴⁶ He holds an arrow in his outstretched right hand. The image is accompanied by the inscription ●●●●●●●● ●●●●●, which refers to the official of the archive.¹⁴⁷ Two other seals depict a variation of the Quiet type. Apollo, wearing a quiver

¹⁴⁶ See Lindstrom taf. 6 no. 2-1; taf. 9 no. 56-1; taf. 14 no. 105-1; taf. 29 no. 237-1.

¹⁴⁷ The chreophylax is a keeper of the register of debts at Uruk. See Rostovtzeff 1928.

over his left shoulder, stands three-quarters right and holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right. His head is turned slight to his right as he looks down at his extended right arm (Lindstrom taf. 13 no 100-3 and taf. 43 no. 502-1). A single impression from the cuneiform tablets at Uruk shows Apollo standing three-quarters left, leaning on a short column with a small spherical capital; the right hand is indistinct (Wallenfels, no. 153).

Two final seals from Carthage depict Apollo standing three-quarters left and leaning upon a support while holding a bow in his left hand. The figure on no. 517 displays a brawny physique, whereas the other impression, no. 518, displays a markedly less brawny body. Both wear their hair around their shoulders.

In addition to these examples of the Quiet Archer pose and its variants, there is an entire series of intaglios from Delos (Aπ 318 – 458) and Cyrene (nos. 1-11) that depict Apollo at rest, leaning on a support, but without the paraphernalia of archery. As with the pose of the Quiet Archers, Apollo is shown leaning on a support with his left hand or elbow, carrying his weight on his right leg, while his left leg is bent slightly at the knee. He is completely naked. His physique is elongated, supple, and smooth – a body that seems to characterize Apollo in the Hellenistic period –rather than a chiseled, brawny, muscled one. As is to be expected given the number of impressions of this type, there are countless variations in the details. The Delos impressions show Apollo holding a variety of different objects, including a bird, a Nike, a head, a branch or nothing at all (fig. 2.32); the Cyrene impressions are consistent in the laurel branch Apollo holds in his free right hand. At Delos there are also several syncretistic impressions, in which Apollo while leaning on a support holds either a caduceus or a cornucopia. Although these impressions

do not illustrate Apollo in his guise as archer, they are still similar to the Kedesh Quiet Archers in their pose.

One of the main characteristics of the Quiet Archer on Hellenistic glyptic is his complete nudity. While there are several terracotta figurines that illustrate male figures leaning on a support (Corinth H300, pl 49; H301, pl 49; Louvre D1304, pl 254a), all of them include drapery, either on the figure or over the support. At Seleucia, there are no comparable figures; the closest parallel is the “resting Herakles” type but the physique is too brawny and the figure leans upon the club, a traditional attribute of the semi-divine hero.

As mentioned above, the image of the Quiet Archer is, at times, a popular reverse type on Seleucid coinage. It first appears on bronze denominations from the mint at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Ecbatana during the reign of Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.E.).¹⁴⁸ The Quiet archer reaches its zenith under the reign of Seleucus II, who is most commonly associated with the motif (fig. 2.33). The pose occurs on gold, silver and bronze issues from mints from around the Seleucid empire but is most popular at Seleucia, Ecbatana, and Antioch on the Orontes;¹⁴⁹ mints in Asia Minor also issue coins with the motif only during the reign of Seleucus II.¹⁵⁰ We also see the motif on the coins of Antiochus III.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ See Houghton and Lorber 2002, nos. 391-393 (Seleucia); nos. 520-522 (Ecbatana).

¹⁴⁹ See Houghton and Lorber 2002, nos. 762-764, 766, 781-784 (Seleucia); nos. 809-812, 814-816, 825, 826 (Ecbatana); nos. 687-691, 700 (Antioch on the Orontes).

¹⁵⁰ See Houghton and Lorber 2002, nos. 643 (uncertain mint, Asia Minor); nos. 644-646 (perhaps Teos); nos. 647-650 (perhaps Smyrna); no 651 (Perhaps Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus), nos. 652-656, 659-661 (Sardes); no. 664 (uncertain mint 35); nos. 667-668 (unattributed issues from inland Asia Minor); nos. 669-670 (Magnesia on the Menander); nos. 671-673 (Ephesus before Ptolemaic conquest); nos. 674-675 (Unattributed issues of Western Asia Minor); nos. 676-677 (uncertain mint 36); nos. 678-679 (perhaps Tarsus); nos. 680-686 (uncertain mint 37).

¹⁵¹ See Houghton and Lorber 2002, no. 983 (Sardes); nos. 1051-1052, 1055-1061 (Antioch on the Orontes); no. 1064 (perhaps Antioch on the Orontes); no 1096 (Ptolemais-Ake); no. 1098 (uncertain mint 63); nos. 1149-1150 (Icarus); nos. 1176-1179, 1185 (Seleucia); nos. 1202, 1204 (uncertain mint 72); no. 1222 (Susa).

Amongst the major Phoenician mints, it is notable that Tyre and Sidon do not issue such coinage, but Akko does.¹⁵² 23 bronze halves have been found from various contexts at the Akko excavations. Generally of inferior style to similar coins from other mints, these examples from Akko are consistent with the other examples of Quiet Archer coins found in the Levant. Houghton and Lorber have compiled all the sites in Israel where the Quiet Archer coin type has been found: Mt. Gerizim (100+), Shechem (6), Beth Zur (9), City of David (5), Ramat Rachel (2), Ein Gedi (1), Beersheba (2) and Marisa (221).¹⁵³ These examples are unmarked, and “of somewhat crude style in comparison with their counterparts found in Syria, which typically bear Antioch control marks.”¹⁵⁴ D. Syon, who as has studied these Quiet Archer coin types in Israel, and was consulted by Houghton and Lorber, attributes these unmarked coins to Ako-Ptolemais, which as the capital of Coele-Syria, likely functioned as a subsidiary mint to Antioch.¹⁵⁵ These numismatic finds are important because it clearly shows that coins bearing the Quiet Archer were in circulation throughout Phoenicia and Coele-Syria in the Hellenistic period, and thus would not have been an unfamiliar image type to the population of the Upper Galilee.

Further analysis of denominations bearing the Quiet Archer image shows an interesting phenomenon. There are two main variations of the Quiet Archer pose on Seleucid coinage: Apollo either leans on his bow, or on a column/tripod. Apollo leaning on a bow seems to occur only on smaller, bronze coins. Apollo leaning on a tripod occurs on both bronze and more valuable silver and gold denomination, with one significant

¹⁵² There is one example from the reign of Antiochus III from Ptolemais-Ake in Houghton 2002, no. 1096.

¹⁵³ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 49-50. It also bears mentioning that all of these sites are located in the central or southern Levant, whereas Kedesh is in the north.

¹⁵⁴ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 50.

¹⁵⁵ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 50.

difference – the tripod. The tripod on the bronze issues is more rudimentarily rendered than on the larger, more valuable coins.¹⁵⁶ Both types of Apollos occur at Kedesh; the Apollos leaning on their bows are almost exact replicas of the numismatic image; the tripod-leaning Archers are similar to the bronze numismatic image, rather than the silver and gold reverses. The silver and gold numismatic images show a clearly-defined Apollo leaning on an ornately rendered tripod, often accompanied by an inscription. The Kedesh tripod type is much less detailed, and in no case includes an inscription. The absence of this ornately rendered version of the tripod-leaning Quiet Archer at Kedesh suggests that the ring carvers in Phoenicia were more familiar with the bronze issues of the Seleucid empire than the more valuable silver and gold issues. At Delos and Uruk, however, it is the Quiet Archer of the more valuable denominations that is more popular.

Studies of silver coinage in Coele-Syrian and Phoenicia have revealed that to date there are no silver issues of Antiochus III from the province. Instead, studies show that from 200 B.C.E. until the close of the century, the Ptolemaic standard of silver currency was in circulation.¹⁵⁷ Le Rider believes that this phenomenon is due to the Seleucid tradition of maintaining existing currency systems rather than introducing new Seleucid coinage. In Coele-Syria and Phoenicia this fiscal policy made sense because of the abundance of Ptolemaic silver which the Seleucid treasury would have to replace at great cost to the provincial economy.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Seleucid treasury would reap the benefits from “regulating and overseeing the exchange of money at the frontiers of the

¹⁵⁶ For bronze issues with Apollo leaning on a tripod see Newell *ESM*: pl. XXXI, 13 and 14 (Susa mint, Antiochus III); pl. XL, 8-10 and pl. XLI, 15 and 15 (Ecbatana mint, Seleucus II).

¹⁵⁷ Le Rider 1995, 393.

¹⁵⁸ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 56.

new province.”¹⁵⁹ At the same time, in the western part of the Seleucid empire, there was a significant increase in minting of bronze coins, which resulted in a dramatic increase in the role of bronze denominations in the Hellenistic economy.¹⁶⁰

Thus, the mint at Ako-Ptolemais, at least during the reign of Antiochus III, was limited to producing small bronze denominations “with banal Seleucid types and not even control marks to distinguish its products from very similar coins minted at Antioch.”¹⁶¹ Thus, the less elaborate bow leaning Quiet Archer coin type appears to have been one of the predominate coin types in circulation at the time that the Kedesh archive was in use. This, then, would have been the most accessible model for local Phoenician ring carvers, instead of the elaborate tripod-leaning Quiet Archers that appear on gold and silver Seleucid coins. Seleucia, Uruk, and Delos were not subject to this monetary restriction, thus were more familiar with the official Quiet Archer type from these larger denominations.

At the same time, while the production of bronze tender was expanded, silver and gold denominations began to serve a different purpose, at least in the western half of the Seleucid empire: “many emissions may have been issues of prestige, or expressions of amity between the king and a subject city.”¹⁶² That Kedesh did not receive such a grant suggests that Kedesh ranked fairly low in the hierarchy of Seleucid administrative centers, since it was not bestowed with such issues nor seems to have received foreign visitors who themselves carried such valuable legal tender.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 56.

¹⁶⁰ Houghton and Lorber 2002, xvii.

¹⁶¹ Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 52.

¹⁶² Houghton and Lorber 2002, xvii.

¹⁶³ It must be acknowledged, however, the gold and silver coins would have been the first to be melted down for the valuable metal, which could account for the absence of these larger denominations at Kedesh. However, that so few gold and silver coins of the Apollo leaning type have been found in the whole of the

Active Archer (LIMC II s.v. Apollo: nos. 67 – 80)

The Active Archer pose, as the name implies, illustrates the Archer god, Apollo, as he prepares to shoot an arrow from his bow. He steps forward to the right with his right leg, and the pose captures the moment just after the archer's weight has shifted from his back leg to his front (right) leg. The left leg maintains slight contact with the ground through the archer's toes. Sometimes the left leg is more firmly planted on the ground which gives the impression of a stationary split leg position. As he positions his lower body, the archer reaches his right arm back to pull an arrow from his quiver. Occasionally, he is shown drawing the arrow back in the bow. His left arm is fully extended to the front, or sometimes a degree or two upwards. His hair can be neatly groomed and pulled back into a bun at the nape of his neck, or it can be shaggy and messily tied back. The movement inherent in the pose creates a distinct contrast to the static Quiet Archer pose.

The Active Archer pose is not well-suited for the sculptural medium for practical reasons similar to those mentioned for the Aphrodite Bather. And like the Aphrodite Bather pose, the Active Archer pose does have a history in Attic vase painting. Ranging in date from 525 B.C.E. to 420 B.C.E., one white ground lekythos,¹⁶⁴ and six Attic red figure vases¹⁶⁵ illustrate variations of the Apollo stepping forward while holding his bow, but no two scenes are identical. As with the glyptic images, the weight distribution alternates between an active step forward, and a planted split-legged stance. The

Levant suggests that these issues are missing from the archaeological record for reasons other than retrieving the bullion.

¹⁶⁴ LIMC II, s.v. Apollo no. 67.

¹⁶⁵ LIMC II, s.v. Apollo nos. 68, 324, 1072, 1079, 1086. Beazley *ARV*² 199, 30.

positioning of the head, the hair style, and the moment of archery captured, are all also variable. Sometimes Apollo looks back over his shoulder; sometimes he simply holds the bow and arrow in his extended hand; other examples depict him in the moment just prior to releasing the arrow. Even with these minor variations, the essential elements of the overall posture of the pose, stepping forward with an arm extended, are clearly visible.¹⁶⁶ One significant difference, however, is the state of nudity. All of the vase paintings show Apollo either fully clothed, or wearing a mantel around his shoulders, whereas the glyptic examples from Kedesh and Delos clearly illustrate a fully nude male figure.

The Active Archer pose type occurs on 98 impressions from only 13 seals (Plates XV-XIX). There are a variety of physiques, but they can be broadly divided into two main types: an effeminate, slim figure with large, round pectoral muscles; and a shaggy-haired, bulky, “rough” archer.¹⁶⁷ There are twelve seals depicting heavier, more masculine “rough” archers. These heavier archers are planted in the ground with weight on the left leg, and the right leg slightly bent (AP 033). The heads are generally larger and depict a fuller, messier hairstyle. In some cases, the genitals are clearly visible (AP 033). The back leg and bow are present more often. This same seal, AP 033, is one of the few seals where the bowstring *and* the quiver are clearly visible. This seal helps to demonstrate that the action taking place on most of the Active Archer seals is that of drawing an arrow from the quiver. The bowstring is straight between the two points of the bow and the Archer’s right hand is tucked in the crook between shoulder and neck,

¹⁶⁶ Although seven examples is, perhaps, not a sufficient number of examples to argue for an overwhelming degree of familiarity and popularity of this pose type in Attic vase painting, I have here only specific representations of Apollo as archer. Other male figures are similarly posed in other scenes from Attic vase painting. For example, see Theseus on a column krater by the Florence painter, ARV 541,1. Furthermore, the general association of Apollo with archery, and subsequent large-scale sculpture, like the Apollo Belvedere, clearly seem to have drawn upon this extended arm, Active Archer pose.

¹⁶⁷ A similar phenomenon can be seen in the Quiet Archer Apollos. AP 001 is very softly modeled and has slightly swollen pectoral muscles whereas AP 018, is very angular and thick-waisted.

where the quiver is. The quiver is also visible on AP 036, 039, and 040 – all “rough” archer seals.

60 impressions from only 6 seals depict the effeminate archer, whose very rounded, high pectoral muscles can give the impression of female breasts. These seals tend to show the torso almost completely frontal and the back leg is almost always missing (AP 027, 029). These seals tend to be somewhat longer than other seals used at Kedesh, resulting in many partial impressions, where the legs are cut off around the calf. This characteristic, combined with the often missing back (left) leg gives these figures a sense of movement missing from the shorter “rough” archer impressions. The hair is neatly coiffed and the overall tone of these impressions is one of a fleet-footed, graceful archer in motion. The action of these figures is much more schematic than the “rough” archers – the quivers and bowstrings are not visible on any of the seals.

The Active Archer is also depicted frontally on three seals. AP 038 shows the torso and face frontally, while the lower body is in profile. Other than the fully frontal stance, this impression is similar to the effeminate archer type. AP 039 and AP 040 show the body standing fully frontal while the head is turned to the right in profile. AP 040 clearly shows the genitals. The final seal, AP 041, is the sole example of the archer shooting. He holds the bow with his left hand and pulls the arrow back with this right; the bowstring is clearly visible. He stands in profile to the right with the torso three-quarters right. His right leg is bent and the hair is neatly pulled back in a chignon. The physique is again similar to the effeminate archer.

At Seleucia, the Active Archer pose occurs on 13 seals (Ap 120-132); this motif is not particularly popular at the Seleucid capital. In all cases, the god is in profile facing

right, a position that highlights his thick, muscular right leg. The left leg, in a phenomenon also seen at Kedesh, is almost invisible on the impressions. He pulls his right arm back either to pull an arrow from his quiver or release the arrow from his bow. Ap 121 shows his torso frontally, and his pectoral muscles are high and round orbs (fig. 2.34). Some of the archers have very broad, muscular physiques (Ap 122, 123, 124, 126 (fig. 2.35), 132) while others have a slimmer, lighter physique (Ap 120, 125 (fig. 2.36), 128, 130). In one impression, the quiver is visible over the right shoulder (Ap 123 (fig. 2.37)). Another impression places the god on a ground line and rather than wearing his quiver, it is placed on the ground line behind him (Ap 132). Overall, Bollati and Messina characterize the Seleucid impressions as fluid in motion despite its simplified subject.

Delos paints a different picture from Seleucia; like Kedesh, the Active Archer is one of the most popular motifs to occur (Aπ 152-272). The seals are consistent in their illustration of the god facing right and some even have the high, rounded pectorals of the Kedesh bullae (Aπ 167 (fig. 2.38), 209). When the lower body is preserved on the impression, the back leg, which often disappears on the Kedesh and Seleucia impressions, is much more visible. A handful of impressions convey a light, carefree sense of movement, almost as if the god is dancing (Aπ 205, 222, 224 (fig. 2.39), 240). These impressions do not display the same rigid angles as many of the other Active archers. The weight-bearing leg is slightly bent, implying some movement and the arms do not extend from the body at a sharp right angle but instead the back is slightly bent so that the face and extended arm of the god point upwards. In some cases, Apollo is shown wearing a crown of rays, more typical of Helios and a single impression (Aπ 157) also

includes a Semitic inscription, possibly meant to say “servant of god” and could, in some way, be connected to the worship of Apollo by Semitic populations on the island.¹⁶⁸

The Active Archer does not occur in any of the other Hellenistic archives. There are, however, several impressions that warrant mention because of certain similarities. A lone impression from Cyrene, no. 148, shows the goddess Artemis, Apollo’s twin sister, moving to the right with her arm raised behind her head. She holds a bow in her left hand and the right hand reaches for an arrow. Maddoli has classified this image as Artemis, but the body of the figure is difficult to read. There is no discernable drapery, which is required for any image of the notoriously modest huntress. That said, this could be evidence of this Active Archer seal type but further investigation of the bulla is required.

Seven impressions from the cuneiform tablets from Uruk (Wallenfels, nos. 67-71) illustrate standing archers facing right, but they are not meant to represent Apollo *per se*. Each impression shows the figure holding a bow in his left hand and drawing his right arm back, in preparation to release an arrow; the feet are apart. The main difference between these archers and the Kedesh Active Archers, however, is that the Uruk figures are bearded and clothed. Representations of Apollo in Greek art are never bearded, hence these Uruk impressions cannot depict the Archer god. However, given the similarities in action and pose of the Uruk impressions and the Kedesh rings, and the long history of Archer iconography both in Greece and the Seleucid heartland, it is likely that these bearded Archers would have been meaningful to diverse Hellenistic populations. Thus, although the Active Apollo seal type is not as widely disseminated as other types, *per se*, the action of the image would have been familiar to a larger audience than the extant seal impressions suggest.

¹⁶⁸ Boussac 1992, 48-49. Bordreuil 1983; 1988. ID 1777 is dedicated to the Apollo.

There are no terracotta comparanda for the Active Archer.¹⁶⁹ The few numismatic parallels are either significantly later than the Kedesh archive or do not fully replicate the Kedesh pose. The closest visual parallels date to the first and second centuries C.E., minted at Synaos (Phrygia).¹⁷⁰ Both examples show Apollo in the moment just after releasing the arrow from the bow. He stands in profile to the right and holds the bow in his extended left hand. His right hand is drawn back to his ear. His body is elongated and he appears to stand on his tiptoes. The overall image is strikingly similar to the Kedesh Active Archers despite the late date.

The Active Archer does not appear on Seleucid coins; and it is more popular in the western part of the empire. This may be due to the fact that the Active Archer is a variation on the clothed and bearded Persian archer-king. In the west, where the association of the archer with the Persian king would have been tenuous, the naked version was readily accepted. In the east, however, the active archer motif had a long history as a venerated symbol associated with Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian kingship; thus it may still have been subject to nudity taboos that pre-existed the development of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Citharodos (LIMC II s.v. Apollo: nos. 156-167; 190-238)

Apollo in his guise as musician is an incredibly popular motif that has a long history in Greek art. As such, there is very little regularity to the pose. Apollo can be shown standing or seated, while holding a lyre or its larger cousin, the cithara. He can be

¹⁶⁹ Again, this is likely due to practical reasons; the pose just is not easily rendered in three-dimensions because the extension of the arms would challenge the tensile strength of marble, and would be easily breakable at both a large- and small-scale. Tensile strength would not have been an issue for a bronze statue, but the risks of error during the sculpting process would have been greater as well.

¹⁷⁰ BMC 25: Phrygia (Synaos), plate xlv, nos. 5 (Flavian), 8 (Nero), and 9 (L. Verus).

fully clothed in the heavy drapery of the professional musician, the Citharodos; he can be semi-draped, or fully nude. Sometimes Apollo is shown actually plucking the strings; and other times he simply holds or carries the instrument. One excellent example of the Citharodos from Attic vase painting can be seen on a red figured belly amphora by the Berlin Painter, which dates to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E..¹⁷¹ The painting shows a particularly elegant, youthful Citharodos, wearing a chiton and mantle. He holds the cithara, painstakingly rendered, with his right arm, while plucking the seven strings with his left. His head is thrown back and his mouth is open, communicating to the viewer that he is in the midst of song. The Citharodos is youthful, as indicated by his lack of beard. This painting may or may not represent Apollo; it could be one of the numerous images of generic musicians depicted on Attic vases. One way these generic musicians can be distinguished from Apollo is through the presence of a beard. One such example can be seen on a hydria by the Phintias painter in which a bearded man seems to be instructing a younger un-bearded man how to play the lyre. The tortoise shell sound box is clearly visible in the older musicians instrument.¹⁷²

In sculpture, there is an Apollo Citharodos type that is associated with the late Hellenistic period (fig. 2.40). The sculpture, which is only known from a later Roman reproduction, shows Apollo standing semi-draped, and looking down onto a rectangular cithara that is resting upon a slender column or branch, which is itself entwined with snakes, at his left. Pollitt, who has extensively studied Hellenistic sculpture, comments that the Citharodos sculpture “has been plausibly connected with the Apollo of Timarchides,” a late Hellenistic sculpture dating to ca. 150-100 B.C.E., which comes to

¹⁷¹ ARV 197, 3: Red figure bell amphora from New York, Metropolitan Museum 56.171.38.

¹⁷² ARV² 23, 7: Red figure hydria from Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421.

us from a Roman reproduction from the second century C.E.. Though this sculpture post-dates the Kedesh seals, the popular motif of Apollo as musician was represented in multiple media.

Apollo in his guise of cithara player occurs at Kedesh on 27 impressions from 20 seals (Plates XX-XXII). 23 impressions from 17 seals show the god standing; and four impressions from three seals show him seated. In both types, Apollo is nude, facing right and holding a lyre or cithara in his left arm; he strums with his right arm. Eight seals show the god naked and standing three-quarters from the rear. His weight is on his left leg, and his right leg is slightly bent. This position highlights his lush, rounded, buttocks and calls to mind the Kallipygos Aphrodite type in both the realistic depiction and the position of the body (AP 042-049). Nine seals depict Apollo standing in profile; in some images he wears a cloak around his shoulders but the garment does not serve to cover any of his body (AP 050). He carries his weight on his right leg and a slight paunch can be discerned on some of the impressions (AP 050). On all of the standing Citharodos images, the god's head is in profile to the right with the hair tied up in a chignon; occasionally fillets hang down his neck. The stringed instrument is represented in varying levels of detail; sometimes both the frame and strings are visible, as on AP 043, and in other impressions only the position of the figure suggests that he is holding a lyre (AP049). The physiques of the profile Citharodoi vary from slim and lithe (APH 050, 051) to bulky with exaggerated abdominal muscles (APH 053, 055).

The seated Citharodoi are again depicted facing right; they are all naked and exhibit a range of body types and compositional details. Two of the three rings depict the god seated on an omphalos, resting the lyre on his knees and strumming with the right

hand (AP 059, 060). His hair is in the typical chignon and tied with fillets. The last seal shows the god only half seated on a pile of rocks with a bulkier, huskier physique (AP 061).

Similar to the Kedesh Citharodoi, there are two types present at Seleucia: standing and seated. It is the most popular Apollo type at Seleucia, represented by 105 individual rings (Ap 14-119). The god of music is shown both playing the instrument and holding the instrument and in various states of dress. The seated Citharodos occurs on 28 seals; and they are primarily depicted in profile or three-quarters view and face both left and right. Seated upon a rock, Apollo holds the instrument on his knee. In one case, the figure has the high, rounded pectoral muscles that are characteristic of some of the effeminate Kedesh archers (Ap 92 (fig. 2.41)) but for the most part, the physiques are soft and youthful. This group is fairly monotonous, with very little variation in the execution of clothing and attributes.¹⁷³ The seated type, in particular, enjoyed a period of popularity during the reign of Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.E.), appearing on coinage from his reign.¹⁷⁴

There are 77 seals that represent the standing Citharodoss at Seleucia. The standing musician is most often depicted in profile facing left, holding or struming the lyre. His hair is tied back in a chignon. In some cases, he has a cape pinned around his neck that flows down his back (Ap 69 (fig. 2.42)). His physique is fairly consistent with long, muscular legs and a broad, strong torso. In some cases, the abdominal muscles are clearly defined (Ap 42, 69).

In addition to these securely identified standing Apollo Citharodos rings, there are three in which Bollati and Messina acknowledge some ambiguity (figs. 2.43-2.45). Ap

¹⁷³ Bollati and Invernizzi 2004, 36: This may be due to the phenomenon of progressive standardization or serial production of the type.

¹⁷⁴ Lacroix 1949, pl. IV n.9; Newell ESM, pl. XVI n.17-18; Le Rider 1999, pl. 7 n.13.

184-186 illustrate effeminate forms similar to some of the ambiguous Kedesh bullae, in particular AP 042-046. Although they are catalogued with the Apollo intaglios, the cataloguers suggest that the images could depict one of the Muses. One of these, Ap 185, is particularly similar to two types of Kedesh images: the semi-draped Aphrodite and the standing Apollo Citharodos. Viewed from the rear and facing left, the figure holds something in his (I use this gender to be consistent with authors who have included it among the Apollo bullae) left hand. The right arm is illegible. The head is turned to the left and there is possible drapery falling from the left arm and around the left, but this is difficult to discern since the lower body of the figure is off the field of the impression.

In addition to these three images, several of the clothed Apollo Citharodoss could also be mistaken for muses or other generic female figures. These rings (Ap 20 (fig. 2.46), 21, 22 (fig. 2.46), 23-34, 35 (fig. 2.27), 36-38) are fully clothed in at least a chiton, but often also an apotygmata, thus entirely obscuring the body. Bollati and Messina attribute the confusion to the popularity of pairing Apollo and the muses in vase painting: “Le confusione tra Apollo e le Muse potrebbe essere stata generata dalla popolarità delle refigurazioni soprattutto vascolari che li retraggono insieme (LIMC II, n. 689-715). A ciò si aggiunga che lo stato di conservazione e frammentarietà delle impronte non permette una lettura certa di questi sigilli.”¹⁷⁵ While the state of preservation and scale of the ring impressions can certainly contribute to confusion, I will argue in a subsequent chapter that this confusion can also be attributed to an underlying ideal of both conceptual and physical androgyny that permeates Greek art.

There are 55 Apollo Citharodos in the Delian corpus and they are significantly more varied and detailed than both the Seleucia and Kedesh Citharodoi. As at Kedesh,

¹⁷⁵ Bollati and Messina 2004, 36.

the standing type is the more popular type at Delos (Aπ 85-132). It occurs on 47 seals and there is significant variation in the pose, physiques, and depiction of the instrument. Sometimes the god is shown standing frontally or in three-quarter view in a hipshot pose while holding the cithara in one hand (Aπ 85 (fig. 2.49), 90 (fig. 2.50), 91). While on others he is shown in profile facing either left or right playing the instrument with a plectrum (Aπ 95, 96 (fig. 2.51), 109, 110 (fig. 2.52)). In one particularly elegant example, the god is shown in the midst of song, with his head thrown back and mantle flowing out behind him (Aπ 110). None of the rings illustrates Apollo from the rear.

There is at Delos, a subset of the standing Citharodos that does not appear at either Kedesh or Seleucia: the leaning Citharodos (Aπ 115 (fig. 2.53), 116–132). This type depicts the god either leaning on a support while holding the cithara in the other hand or actually leaning upon the instrument itself. He is either completely nude (Aπ 116–122, 123 (fig. 2.54), 127) or semi-draped (Aπ 124-125, 128-129). The most common type of this group shows the god leaning with his left arm or elbow upon the cithara with his weight on his right leg and the left either crossed over the right or slightly bent at the knee. The body types of the leaning Apollo Citharodoi are softer and rounder than some of his other standing counterparts; despite the voluptuous, feminine physique, male genitalia are clearly visible on certain rings (Aπ 116 (fig. 2.55), 123).

The intaglios that show Apollo leaning and semi-draped recall the semi-draped Aphrodites of the Kedesh corpus because the drapery is hitched low around the thighs, which if viewed from behind, would reveal the figure's buttocks. In three cases, Aπ 127, 128, and 132, the figure's right arm is raised over his head and the strings of the cithara create the impression of sweeping drapery, as if the figure is trying to wrap a garment

around himself (fig 2.56); this creates an extremely similar image to the Kedesh APH 048 where the goddess is raising her garment up behind her.

The seated Citharodoi exhibit the same variation in detail as their standing equivalents (Aπ 133–140). In some cases the musician is seated directly upon a rock (Aπ 136) in others he is seated upon a stool (Aπ 138). Sometime he is completely naked and sometimes he wears a cloak or sits upon the folds of his own mantle. The physiques, however, do display some consistency; these figures are brawnier than their standing brothers.

There are five seals of Apollo Citharodos from Carthage (Berges 1997 Tav. 87, nos. 519-522; 524) and a single seated Citharodos from Selinus (Salinas 1883, tav. VIII, no. XLI). The Carthaginian images provide very interesting parallels for the Kedesh bullae. The first, no. 519, shows Apollo from the front standing three-quarters right, holding a lyre in his left hand and plucking with his right. He stands with his weight on his right leg and his left hip juts out slightly. A cloak is fastened at his neck and falls down this back. The genitalia are rendered prominently visible. He has a broad torso which tapers down to a slim lower abdomen. This impression has been dated to the late 4th/early 3rd c. B.C.E.. Nos. 520 and 521, dated slightly later to the third century B.C.E., are very similar to one another and again show Apollo standing frontal, with his weight on his left leg. He holds the lyre in his left hand but does not pluck the instrument. Instead his right hand rests at his side. These two images contrast with no. 519 in the rendering of Apollo's physique. No. 520, in particular, depicts Apollo with an unnaturally thin torso that contrasts with his over-long, sausage-like right arm. This awkward body is capped off with an exceptionally small head. Despite his unnatural proportions, his

genitalia are clearly visible. No. 521 is a slight improvement on unnatural body; the right arm is shorter and his torso is thicker and his pectorals muscles are hinted at. He stands on a very faint ground line and Berges sees a faint impression of a swan at his right. But it is no. 522 that is the most stunning parallel piece. It shows Apollo standing three-quarters right and he is viewed from behind. His hair is tied back into a ponytail that falls down his neck. He wears a mantle draped over his left shoulder and it flows down his body, partially obscuring his left buttock. His head is turned in profile to the right and his weight is on his right leg. He holds the cithara in his left arm and strums with his right. This is the only other image from Hellenistic glyptic that shows the god from behind in a manner similar to Kedesh AP 042 – 049.¹⁷⁶ The final impression from Carthage, no. 524, shows Apollo seated upon a baetyl, facing right and holding the lyre in his left hand, and playing with his right.

One impression from Selinus, no. 41, also depicts a seated Apollo Citharodos. The image is similar to the seated Apollo from Carthage, except that Apollo is seated upon a stool rather than a baetyl. Unfortunately, the reproduction of this image is at such a small-scale at low resolution that it is impossible to be sure of the details.

There are a handful of Hellenistic terracotta figurines that illustrate the Citharodos Apollo in both the standing and seated positions, but they do not occur in the same numbers as occur on the bullae. The standing position is only slightly more common than the seated. Only the standing type appears at Seleucia; one represents a “draped male

¹⁷⁶ This impression is similar to a glass paste gem called the *Muse of Onesas*, dating to the third century B.C.E. and currently in the Florence Museum of Archaeology (Zazoff 1983, pl. 53, 6). It shows a semi-draped muse, standing on a groundline facing left and holding a lyre in her left hand. Behind her is a pillar, topped with a small statue. Her drapery hangs off of her left shoulder and partially reveals her right breast; the garment then wraps around her back and drapes over her left thigh, leaving her mid-section, and right leg completely bare, and her pubis only partially covered. The high quality of the engraving results in a unmistakably female figure

citharist” whose cloak hangs off his shoulders (Van Ingen no. 540a, pl XXXVII, 272). Van Ingen does not identify the figurine as Apollo and instead refers to it as a generic musician type. In addition to the draped citharist, there are three nude citharists that are not illustrated (Van Ingen nos. 535-537). Two of the three are illustrated by Karvonen-Kannas in her catalogue of figurines from the Iraq museum. No. 318 (Karvonen-Kannas, plate 53) shows a naked Apollo Citharodos standing in contraposto; his hair plaited into multiple braids, and he is heavily adorned with a wreath, necklace, earring and anklets. Karvonen-Kannas attributes his short legs and large nose to local taste.¹⁷⁷ No. 319 (Karvonen-Kannas, plate 52) is very similar to no. 318. Neither figurine has a known provenance and both are dated to the Seleucid period because of their style. In her examination of the Seleucid and Parthian figurines from the Iraq museum Karvonen-Kannas notes that while the Apollo Citharodos is more popular in Mesopotamia than some other Olympian deities, including Eros, she expresses surprise that “Apollo figures have not been discovered in greater numbers outside Babylon and Seleucia, despite the fact that Apollo was the personal deity of the Seleucids.”¹⁷⁸

Another terracotta example of Apollo Citharodos, dating to the second century B.C.E., can be found at the National Museum in Rome (Pensabene 50, plate 12; Inv. 62498). This example shows Apollo standing on his right leg, left leg slightly bent. He holds the plectrum in his right hand while holding the lyre atop a small column, which is a similar stance one of the Delian types (Απ 115-132) A particularly fine example comes from Cyprus, and shows the musician leaning on a support while holding a cithara whose frame terminates into the neck and head of a swan (Caubet: 972, AM 283). The head of

¹⁷⁷ Karvonen-Kannas 1995, 83.

¹⁷⁸ Karvonen-Kannas 1995, 83.

the figurine is missing. According to Caubet, the type was introduced to Cyprus in the sixth or fifth centuries B.C.E. and it most commonly known to come from Asia Minor and the Levantine coast in the first century B.C.E..¹⁷⁹

To date, only two seated Citharodoi have been identified among various terracotta collections. An example in the Louvre from Pergamon shows a headless youth seated upon some drapery, on which the instrument sits. The body of the figure looks quite young and it could be a child. The other example dates to the Roman period but is clearly modeled after the Hellenistic type. A naked Apollo sits atop his himation, which he has placed on a pile of rocks, and holds his lyre in his left hand (LIMC II 165, Naples Mus. Naz. 6254).

Of all the Apollo pose types that occur at Kedesh, the Citharodos is most often rendered in terracotta. However, many of these figurines are categorized as generic musicians, rather than Apollo himself. These figurines, then raise many of the same issues of identification as the semi-draped Aphrodites, in that they may suggest the idea of Apollo whether they are meant to depict Apollo or a generic male musician.

Although Apollo Citharodos is a popular motif for Hellenistic seals, both standing and seated types only occasionally appear on coins.¹⁸⁰ Two issues from Colophon in Ionia show variations of the standing type: No. 38 (BMC Ionia, plate VIII, no. 8) shows a clothed Apollo holding a lyre in his left hand, and reaching out with his right. The other example, no. 42, replicates the first, except that he holds a patera in his extended right hand. Two other examples from the reign of Antiochus III opt for a clothed Citharodos,

¹⁷⁹ Caubet 1998, 972.

¹⁸⁰ The appearance of a lyre player on official coinage of the Seleucid empire confirms the identity of the figure as a deity. Although there is often ambiguity associated with musicians in terracotta, the official nature of numismatic iconography and the close association of Apollo to the Seleucid kings makes this identification secure.

seated upon the omphalos, holding the lyre on his left knee (ESM Seleucia mint, nos. 195 and 197, pl. XVI 17 and 18). A naked standing Citharodos is depicted on the reverse of a two small bronze units, also from the reign of Antiochus III (ESM Seleucia mint, nos. 244 and 245, pl. XIX no. 9 and 10.). Both examples are extremely worn and difficult to decipher, but appear to show Apollo standing right, holding a lyre in his left hand.

Lycian (LIMC II s.v. Apollo: 184-185, n. 39)

The Apollo *Lykeios* is the creation of Praxiteles and shows the god standing, leaning on a column, while holding a bow in one hand and resting the other on the crown of his head. It is this last detail, the arm thrown over the head that is the defining feature of the Lycian (fig. 2.57). The pose is known from a fourth century bronze original that has been attributed to Praxiteles.¹⁸¹

This pose occurs on seven impressions from 3 different seals at Kedesh (Plates XXII-XXIII). Viewed frontally, the god is represented moving towards the left and looking back over his left shoulder; his right arm is carelessly thrown over his head. Although the stance of the legs seems to imply movement, he occasionally looks to be seated, a significant departure from the sculptural type. This is particularly clear on AP 006, where Apollo is shown resting his left elbow on a pile of rocks. These figures are much brawnier and solid than the slim, lithe musicians.

The Lycian type is also represented at Seleucia on six seals, one seated (Ap 7 (fig. 2.58)) and five standing with or without a mantle (Ap 8-13). Several of the impressions are very faint and difficult to read. Two in particular (Ap 7, 8) show a thick, fleshy figure, with very rounded shoulders; in both of these cases the lower bodies are illegible. One

¹⁸¹ Bollati and Messina 2004, 36.

figure, in which the entire body is visible, shows Apollo with a less fleshy upper body but a swelling at the hips and thighs, creating an awkward pear shaped physique (Ap 10 (fig. 2.59)).

At Delos there are several variations of the Lycian. In his guise as archer, there are two seals that depict Apollo seated, holding a bow in one hand while the other arm is thrown over his head in the characteristic Lycian pose (Aπ 150-151 (figs. 2.60 and 2.61)). In another group of seals, discussed above, Apollo as Citharodos leans on his instrument with one arm while the other is raised up to his head creating an image that recalls the careless posture of the Lycian (Aπ 122-126).

The Lycian pose is even more rare in terracotta. To date I have been able to identify only a single figurine that *may* represent the Lycian motif. However, it dates to the Roman period. From Tunisia and currently at Leiden, only the top half of the figurine is preserved; the lower body of the figurine has been lost. The preserved portion illustrates only the upper body with the arm raised over his head (Leyenaar-Plaisier no. 1549, p. 200; Inv. H III Q25). Despite the incomplete preservation of the figurine, it is the characteristic raised arm that allows for its identification as a variant of the Lycian Apollo pose.

Belvedere (LIMC II s.v. Apollo: no. 79)

The Apollo Belvedere shows Apollo walking from left to right and holding out his left arm (fig. 2.62). His quiver strap is visible across his chest and his cape is clasped at his right shoulder and draped over his extended left arm. His proportions are elongated and he wears his hair in a bow-knot over his forehead. There is some debate as to the

attributes he held in his hands. Although it is generally agreed upon that he held a bow in his left hand, it is open to question whether he held an arrow or a laurel branch in the other.¹⁸² The Belvedere is known through a single replica and has been attributed to the sculptor Leochares, who worked in the fourth century B.C.E., on the basis of similarity to another of Leochares' sculpture, the Artemis of Versailles, and on the basis of mentions in literary sources (Pliny *NH* 34.79; Paus. 1.3.4).¹⁸³

At Kedesh there are two impressions from two different seals that show a male figure standing frontal with a cape clasped around his neck and hanging down his back (Plate XXIII). His right arm is extended at shoulder level; his left arm is flung back. His face is turned slightly to the right. His genitals are clearly visible and both impressions cut the figure off at the thighs.

The Belvedere pose does not occur in any other archives of Hellenistic date, and it is rarely replicated in terracotta figurines. One possible example from Corinth may recall the pose but its provenance is uncertain (Merker I82, plate 71). Furthermore, in the context of the Demeter sanctuary, the representation of Apollo is surprising.¹⁸⁴ Another figurine from Smyrna, dating to the Hellenistic period may also recall the Belvedere Apollo. Apollo is shown with a naked male torso while wearing a cloak around his shoulders; he extends his left arm which is missing at the elbow. The right arm is also missing. Although there are no signs of any attributes like wings or archery items, Leyenaar-Plaisier has suggested that the figurine represents Eros (Leyenaar-Plaisier no.

¹⁸² Bieber 1955, 63; Ridgway 1990, 93.

¹⁸³ Ridgway has taken issue with the attribution of the Belvedere to Leochares as well as its early Hellenistic date (Ridgway 1990, 95). Furthermore, as is often the case with the sculptures discussed in this chapter, this lone extant example of the Belvedere dates to the Roman era.

¹⁸⁴ Merker 2000, 297.

298, p. 51; Inv I 1895.2.10). Finally, a “youth” figurine from Seleucia could also be considered a variant of the Belvedere (Van Ingen no. 271, plate XIX, 127).¹⁸⁵

Both the Lycian and Belvedere suffer the same fate as the Knidia does in Hellenistic glyptic. All three fail to make a successful transitions from large-scale, three dimensional renderings to small-scale, two dimensional representations.

Conclusion

This exploration of the Kedesh Aphrodite and Apollo bullae, and comparison of these seal types to other media, has shown that the iconography of the Kedesh bullae does not simply mimic Hellenistic sculpture, terracottas, numismatics or other glyptic. Instead, the Kedesh bullae appear to be evidence of a thriving tradition of seal carving that does not only take its cues from other media, but manipulates pre-existing iconographic motifs, in order to develop an original and different iconography. Let us review the similarities and differences that have emerged from this study before proposing explanations for these differences.

With regards to the bullae in comparison to large-scale marble and bronze sculpture, there appears to be a significant divide between those motifs with and without sculptural prototypes. Motifs that can be said to derive from a sculptural prototype, that is the large-scale sculpture known to have existed *before* the destruction of the archive the 140s B.C.E., are not particularly popular at Kedesh. The Knidian Aphrodite and the Lycian and Belvedere Apollo pose types occur on a total of only eleven impressions; and these small-scale versions are fairly similar to the large-scale sculptural versions. These

¹⁸⁵ It should be noted that these parallels do not correspond exactly to the statue type but rather recall the idea of the Belvedere pose, rather than replicating the details of the original.

pose types are equally rare in terracotta and coinage. The rarity of these sculptural types in small-scale arts indicates different tastes and preferences from one medium to another. This could be for a variety of reasons, but the most obvious seems to be socio-economic. Large-scale sculptures would have been significantly more expensive than seals and terracottas.¹⁸⁶ As per the coins, these sculptural types may not have been considered “official” enough, as I have suggested is the case for the Citharodos Apollo, to represent Seleucid imperial policy.

In addition to those pose types with a definitive sculptural prototype, there are those that can be associated with a sculptural type, but are not derived from that sculptural type. This category includes the Semi-draped, Sandalbinder, and Crouching Aphrodite poses. Because the large-scale sculptures do not necessarily precede the creation and use of the Kedesh archive, these images are not simply replicated at a smaller scale on the bullae. The numerous variations in physique, posture, and detail within certain Kedesh pose types implies that there was no common prototype in any medium. Take, for example, the semi-draped Aphrodites that are viewed from behind. These images developed contemporaneously with or even before the Aphrodite of Melos. It would be a mistake to consider these semi-draped figures as the result of the deliberate manipulation of the semi-draped female type made famous by the Melian Aphrodite. Thus, to call these images unusual is a slight misnomer since such an appellation implies that the sculptural type is the “norm.” Rather, these semi-draped Aphrodite are additional evidence of the creativity of Hellenistic seal carvers and of the medium in general.

¹⁸⁶ Seals carved from precious and semi-precious gems would have been expensive relative to other types of stones, but even these expensive stones would still have been less expensive than a life-sized marble or bronze sculpture. Precious stones such as diamond, ruby, emerald and sapphire were too hard and too rare to have been used for seals (Boardman 1970).

Finally, there are those motifs that cannot be traced to a single or even any sculptural type, such as the Kallipygos Aphrodite and Active Archer Apollo. These pose types tend to be restricted to Hellenistic glyptic, and do not occur with any regularity in terracotta or on coins. This trend seems to suggest that these images were created explicitly for glyptic and, thus, that seal carvers and their clients were interested in developing new and different iconographic types.

Whether there are sculptural parallels for the bullae, there are certain consistencies with between some of the bullae and general trends in large-scale sculpture. The preference for the rear view of both Aphrodite and Apollo seems to be consistent with trends Hellenistic Greek sculpture, where torsional compositions and visual puns are played out.

In the course of this chapter I have also compared the Kedesh bullae with contemporary terracotta figurines and coins. One phenomenon that becomes clear is the contrasting popularity of Apollo and Aphrodite in different media. Apollo is more popular in Hellenistic coinage than in terracotta, whereas the opposite is true for Aphrodite, who frequently is evoked by terracotta, but rarely appears on coins. This begs the question: why such a distinction? I would suggest that it is due, in large part, to the different functions of terracotta figurines and coins in the ancient world. Terracottas were personal objects, often votive in nature, and as such, they would have been used by individuals for their own benefit, or for the benefit of themselves, their family, and their friends and loved ones. Wishes for health, matrimonial happiness, children, fertility, love, sex, as well as an abundance of other personal issues would have been more appropriately addressed to Aphrodite, goddess of love and sex, and by association, of

marriage, fertility, and interpersonal relationships. Apollo, on the other hand, is himself unlucky in love, and thus not an obvious choice for such a personal dedication.¹⁸⁷

Apollo is also the patron of the Seleucid empire, which, I suggest, further complicates the issue. The deliberate propagandistic program of the Seleucids to associate themselves with Apollo, especially visually, may have negatively impacted the veneration of Apollo, by means of terracotta figurines, perhaps because of a pre-existing Greek taboos against the veneration of living kings.¹⁸⁸

The reasons that Apollo is not a popular subject of terracotta figurines are the very reasons why he is so common on Seleucid coinage. As the god of law and prophesy, such lofty, impressive realms, Apollo makes an appropriate and legitimizing patron of kings and rulers. His popularity, with respect to the governing parties of Greek and Hellenistic antiquity, is evidenced by the many sanctuary sites and temples dedicated to him, and his role on Hellenistic coinage. Of the Apollo pose types that occur at Kedesh, only the Quiet Archer is a popular reverse type for Seleucid coins. While there are certain common features between Seleucid coins and the Kedesh poses, overall, there appears to be limited overlap of iconography. One example is the seated Apollo Citharodos; Herbert has suggested that these musicians are seated upon the omphalos, the symbol of Delphi and, thus Apollo's relationship to prophesy. Seleucid coinage also adopts this particular symbol, but instead of Apollo as musician, these coins depict Apollo in his guise as archer, leaning or holding his bow (and sometimes and arrow). The coin reverse type is not popular in Hellenistic glyptic, while the seated Citharodos rarely occurs on Seleucid coins. Overall, it is possible to suggest that there is little overlap between official

¹⁸⁷ Apollo is the god of medicine, but by the Hellenistic period, Asklepios became the preferred deity of medicine and health.

¹⁸⁸ At this point, this is only a suggestion, which requires further research.

Seleucid coin imagery and that of the Kedesh Apollos. This trend seems to indicate that the Quiet Archer Apollo was used by someone with access to and perhaps even permission to use official Seleucid iconography, such as the local administrator of the archive or the site.

Given the role of Apollo as a symbol of Seleucid power, his popularity as a motif at the Kedesh archive is not surprising, as it may be indicative of a local administrative ring. This theory is reinforced by the number of sealings to seals; Apollo impressions outnumber Aphrodite by almost double, but there are almost the same number of discrete rings: 66 Apollo rings versus 62 Aphrodite rings. This suggests that there are just as many people with Apollo rings as Aphrodite rings, but those with Apollo rings are doing a larger portion of stamping. This indicates that individuals with Apollo rings were called upon more often than holders of Aphrodite rings, to seal documents that required security and safekeeping, but it does not suggest that Apollo is necessarily a more popular ring type for individuals in general.¹⁸⁹

A further note on the relationship of the Kedesh Apollo bullae and Seleucid coinage is the selection, at Kedesh, of the Quiet Archer type more commonly associated with bronze currency. This may indicate that the site of Kedesh was of less importance within the Seleucid administrative organization than other Seleucid sites in which there are contemporary archives. Furthermore, the absence of the ●●●●●●●●, a kind of state archivist of the Seleucid administration, is, perhaps, an additional indication of the status of Kedesh within the hierarchy of administrative centers in the Seleucid empire.

¹⁸⁹ Tyche is the second most popular seal type after Apollo in terms of number of impressions (105 versus 164). Yet most of the Tyche impressions represent single uses, which shows that although many different individuals (there are 88 different Tyche seals) selected Tyche iconography, those individuals in possession of Apollo seals, particularly the Active and Quiet Archers, are sealing more documents more often.

Finally, I would like to close this chapter with a short discussion of one of the unusual characteristics of the Kedesh bullae that will be the subject of subsequent chapters of this dissertation: androgyny. One reason why the androgyny of certain pose types at Kedesh is so striking is because Aphrodite and Apollo are not usually associated with androgyny; Aphrodite is the ultimate female beauty and Apollo is an unlucky lover of both men and women. Usually, Artemis and Athena are considered more asexually androgynous, and Dionysus is the male deity most often associated with androgyny and effeminacy. Perhaps the efficiency of androgyny was an active choice by ring carvers to simplify their work and appeal to a broader audience. But this begs the question: why is this phenomenon missing from other Hellenistic archives?

I would like to suggest one reason for the androgyny and other unusual characteristics of some of the Kedesh seal types is due to their syncretistic nature; they are neither truly “Greek,” nor truly “non-Greek.” They combine features in such a way so as to create a unique image: “while it is true that one can often identify the inspiration of a motif as either one or the other (“Oriental” or “Greek”), it is the synthesis of these two traditions by ring cutters, perhaps both native and foreign, accommodating their various Babylonian and Greek clients’ traditional as well as new-found tastes, which created the unique glyptic of Hellenistic Babylonia, and in particular Uruk”.¹⁹⁰ What Wallenfels attributes to Hellenistic Babylonian glyptic can be applied also to the Hellenistic Levant.

¹⁹⁰ Wallenfels 1991, 5.

Chapter 3

Aphrodite or Apollo? Re-examining the Concept of Androgyny in Hellenistic Art

When the initial classifications of the images on the Kedesh bullae were being formulated, there was confusion regarding certain representations and their categorization as male or female deities. This confusion was the result of several features of the bullae: the small size of the images and the ensuing difficulty of reading the images. These difficulties aside, I argue that there was an intentional blurring of male and female by the creator or creators of some of the seals.

Given the ambiguity of these particular images to the modern viewer, one must first ask whether this ambiguity would have been apparent to ancient viewers. What is the likelihood that this group of images was intentionally communicating a message of androgyny? Furthermore, given the nature of the Levant in the politically turbulent third and second centuries B.C.E., how might those living in and around Kedesh and interacting with the sealings from the archive have understood such visual ambiguity compared to their Greek and Near Eastern neighbors?

Before addressing these and other questions, it is necessary to compile a series of definitions of the pertinent concepts such as androgyny, and other related concepts including hermaphroditism and bisexuality. Once the issue of vocabulary has been addressed, several cross-cultural examples will be presented in which a distinct “third gender” category has been documented. These cross-cultural examples are meant to

demonstrate that a binary system of gender categorization is insufficient in accounting for all types of physical and mental gender in the Hellenistic Greek world.

These cross-cultural examples are followed by a brief discussion of ancient Greek medical texts and the “scientific” distinctions made between male and female bodies. These texts reveal that male and female bodies were not considered to be so drastically different from an anatomical standpoint. This realization helps us to better understand some of the external factors that influenced visual representations of the human body in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Taking the medical literature into consideration, the art of the Hellenistic period is briefly reviewed in order to situate the Kedesh bullae in their appropriate artistic milieu. This will then be followed by a review of the material culture of the Levant, Greece and the Near East, in order to determine whether androgyny is an intentional message of the some of the seals that created the Kedesh bullae. By undertaking this search for both visual representations of hermaphrodites and other androgynous figures, and tracing the concept of androgyny in each specific geographical location, it will be possible to better situate the images of the bullae within their cultural context.

After reviewing representations of androgyny in Hellenistic art, a brief outline of the work that has been done on the concept of androgyny in Greek culture will be presented; to date, there has been no substantive discussion of androgyny *vis à vis* Near Eastern art, for reasons that will be explored below. Once the contributions of the scholarly corpus have been outlined, several explanations for the increased presence of androgynous figures, in art, literature, and religion in the Hellenistic era will be suggested. Greek conceptions of the body as understood from ancient medical texts will

provide a starting point for this discussion, and I will attempt to show that the ancient Greeks may have conceived of gender as more fluid than the binary system that is in use today. In order to explain this idea of gender identity and its acquisition, the theories of Laqueur and Butler will be called upon. Finally, at the end of the chapter, the question of androgyny and its importance as a concept for the visual analysis of the Kedesh material will be revisited.

The Vocabulary of Androgyny

Upon close examination, the human images represented by the bullae can be divided into three general types: males marked by male genitalia, females as such marked by breasts and/or known sculptural types, and ambiguous figures, which either display no obvious primary or secondary sexual characteristics or apparently display both male and female characteristics. The first and second categories include the “Rough” Active Archers, and Resting Apollos, and the Sandalbinder, Knidia, and Bathing Aphrodites, respectively, while the third category is best exemplified through the Citharodos Apollo, the “effeminate” Active Archer, and the Aphrodite Kallipygos

There are four poses within the Kedesh corpus that demonstrate a higher degree of androgyny than the others: the Kallipygos Aphrodite, Apollo Citharodos, Aphrodite Anadyomene, and the effeminate Active Archer (fig. 3.1). The Kallipygos and Citharodos are paired together because certain examples of the two poses display extremely similar stances. Both are viewed standing three-quarters right, viewed from behind. The Kallipygos then raises her right arm up and behind her head, while looking down. The Citharodos, standing in the same position, holds the lyre in his left arm, while

strumming the instrument with the right. Both figures have their hair tied up; and Apollo usually wears a fillet as well. Although the Aphrodite Anadyomene motif has no repeated stamps, the basic form of the images is fairly uniform. Aphrodite is depicted standing frontally, with her arms raised, clasping strands of her hair. The figures tend to be flat, faceless, and eschew many anatomical details, including the breasts. On the other hand, the effeminate Active Archers illustrate tall, slim men with over-developed pectoral muscles. The figures all face right, with the lower body and face in profile, and the upper body almost frontal, highlighting the large, rounded pectorals. He holds the bow in his extended left arm, as he pulls his right arm back to his right shoulder.

I have singled out these four motifs because the gender of the figures can be difficult to decipher even under close scrutiny; viewed from further away the chance of confusion increases significantly. In the case of the Kallipygos and the Citharodos, we have an example of a female and a male figure depicted in a very similar stance that obfuscates the secondary sex characteristics; the absence of the more obvious secondary sex characteristics, including breasts and genitalia, would have heightened the viewer's uncertainty of the subject's gender, especially if the seals or seal impressions had been viewed side by side. The effeminate Active Archer seal impressions, on the other hand, both over- and under-emphasize the sexual characteristics, resulting in a decidedly androgynous male archer.¹⁹¹ The impressions bearing the Anadyomene motif can be divided into two types: those with clearly defined breasts, and those without. The latter category is the more androgynous of the two. Despite the long tresses, the overall appearance of the Anadyomenes, with their hollow, absent faces, and disjointed, ill-

¹⁹¹ I do not hesitate to call the effeminate Active Archer figures male because of the presence of the huskier version of this pose, in which the pectorals are downplayed, and the genitalia clearly visible, while the posture is identical.

proportioned physiques all contribute to the physical asexuality of the figures. The Anadyomenes are not depicted with any obvious male characteristics, but nor are the female characteristics well-developed and defined; they seem sexless, and yet the long hair and the famous pose mark these figures as female, in much the same way that the gorgons were female, yet monstrous and sexless.

Standard definitions of androgyny have a tendency to conflate several related phenomena, particularly by equating hermaphrodite with androgyny. Closer study shows that that androgyny is comprised of a more complex suite of concepts, of which hermaphroditism is only one expression. Moreover, these standard definitions emphasize the details of physical androgyny, with a particular emphasis on a profusion of characteristics. Androgyny as a broader concept is generally overlooked. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines androgyny as follows: “Union of sexes in one individual; hermaphroditism.”¹⁹² Although succinct, this definition is somewhat lacking; it essentially defines androgyny as hermaphroditism and fails to address the fact that androgyny can also denote an absence of sexual characteristics. The definition of specific exemplars of the state *androyne* is only slightly more expansive: “1. A being uniting the physical characters of both sexes; a hermaphrodite. 2. An effeminate man; a eunuch. 3. An androgynous plant.”¹⁹³ While this second definition cursorily addresses the idea of absence, in its mention of the eunuch, it is still firmly rooted in the physical aspects of androgyny. What is needed is a more conceptual framework for androgyny; one that includes both the physical and theoretical notions of androgyny, but to do this, it is

¹⁹² *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2nd ed., s.v. “androgyny.”

¹⁹³ *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2nd ed., s.v. “androyne.”

necessary to first address the idea of hermaphroditism since this plays such a large role in the meaning of androgyny.

Hermaphroditism is considered to be one type of androgyny; but what are the requirements of hermaphroditism? Does it require both sets of primary sexual characteristics, i.e. both male and female sexual organs?¹⁹⁴ Or is any combination of male and female primary and secondary sexual characteristics sufficient to earn the label hermaphrodite?¹⁹⁵ The definition of *hermaphrodite* shows that this concept can be conceived of in two ways: on the one hand a hermaphrodite is a creature being in which both male and female primary sex organs are present; on the other hand, a more general definition is also accepted where a hermaphrodite combines any parts, qualities, or attributes, characteristic to both sexes.¹⁹⁶ Thus, the term *hermaphroditism* can encompass a variety of different combinations of physical characteristics and attributes. Some scholars choose to call this physical state bi-sexuality or dual sexuality, where the term does not refer to sexual proclivities, but to the state of having two sets of sexual characteristics.¹⁹⁷ What is interesting about the definition of hermaphroditism is the prevailing idea that physical manifestations of hermaphroditism must include a profusion of attributes rather than an absence of attributes.

In biological terms, hermaphroditism, or intersex, as it is currently called in medical literature, is a group of conditions where there is a discrepancy between the

¹⁹⁴ Primary sex characteristics are defined as the sexual organs. For female this includes the cervix, clitoris, fallopian tubes, labium, ovaries, uterus, vagina and vulva; for males this includes the penis, prostate, scrotum, seminal vesicles, and testicles.

¹⁹⁵ Secondary sexual characteristics include those traits that distinguish the two sexes of a species but are not related to the reproductive system. Such traits include tone of voice, body hair, musculature, and differing distributions of weight and fat.

¹⁹⁶ *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2nd ed., s.v. “hermaphrodite.” Additional definitions given are an effeminate man or virile woman; a catamite.

¹⁹⁷ For an explanation on the distinction of bisexuality as a sexual orientation and bi-sexuality as it is used here see Brisson 2002, 1-3.

internal and external genitals.¹⁹⁸ A person can have the chromosomes and ovaries of a woman, but with external male genitalia. The reverse can also occur, where an individual has the chromosomes of a man, but the external genitalia are either incompletely formed, ambiguous or clearly female. A person having this condition may have normal testes, but the testes could also be abnormal or completely absent. Both of these conditions are considered to be “pseudohermaphroditic” conditions. True gonadal intersex is the condition where both ovarian *and* testicular tissues are present, and the chromosomal configuration can be XX, XY, or XXY. Other outward physical characteristics are not discussed, though unexpected changes at puberty are symptomatic of intersex conditions. In reading the medical literature, it becomes apparent that a true intersex condition involves profusion of primary sexual characteristic, i.e. reproductive organs rather than an absence.

The use of the word androgyny in the description of the hermaphroditic condition results in a fair bit of slippage in the usage of these two words. It is important when discussing physical or conceptual ambiguity, that the terminology be clear and consistent. Classical scholarship has been fairly consistent in maintaining a clear division between the two words “androgyny” and “hermaphrodite.” Studies that focus on images and ideas specifically of dual-sexed beings rely on the word hermaphrodite.¹⁹⁹ Scholars interested in sex and gender ambiguity as a concept in religion, literature, philosophy, as well as art, tend to use the more flexible term androgyny.²⁰⁰ E.J. Ament distinguishes between the

¹⁹⁸ See the entry for “intersex” in the U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institute of Health’s Medical encyclopedia, MedlinePlus. (<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001669.htm>).

¹⁹⁹ For example see Aileen Ajootian’s work on the *anasyromenos* Hermaphrodite from 1995 and 1997.

²⁰⁰ Aileen Ajootian’s work on the Hermaphrodite can serve as an example of the first phenomenon and Ament’s essay on the pervasiveness of androgyny in ancient Greek culture can serve as an example of the second.

two terms succinctly and accurately: androgyny describes an abstract, spiritual or conceptual state whereas hermaphrodite describes a physical condition.²⁰¹

This modern-day usage of the words androgyny and hermaphrodite should be contrasted with their usages in ancient Greece. Although it is not known when the word *androgynos* first appears in ancient Greek, its most well-known usage occurs in Plato's *Symposium*, when Aristophanes describes the first humans as globular creatures consisting of two halves variously male-male, female-female, or male-female; it is this last category that Plato calls androgynous.²⁰² Elsewhere, however, the word *androgynos* refers to an effeminate man.²⁰³ The first known usage of the word hermaphrodite occurs as a proper noun, Hermaphroditus, in a Greek inscription of the early fourth century B.C.E.. Pliny suggests that the term *androgynyos* was in use before *hermaphroditus* and he notes a shift in vocabulary from the use of androgynous to hermaphrodite, but this phenomenon is not supported by any other textual or epigraphic evidence.²⁰⁴ It seems that when it is first introduced, the word hermaphrodite is used specifically to refer to the mythological personage, Hermaphroditus, and beings with multiple sexual characteristics are referred to using a variety of adjectives describing their plurality. At some point in the Roman period, hermaphrodite is used less and less to refer to the particular mythological character and used more and more generically, possibly supplanting the word androgyny.

²⁰¹ Ament 1993, 3.

²⁰² Plato *Symposium* 189e – 193a.

²⁰³ Herodotus 4, 67 describes a subset of Scythians, the Enarees, as androgynes, who are skilled in the art of divination, but does not explain precisely how they came to be described as such. Further research reveals a passage from Hippocrates *Air, Waters, Places* 22 which describes the Enarees as Scythians who do women's work and live the like women. Hippocrates goes on to say that Scythians, in general, are believed to be impotent, (a type of androgyny), because they wear pants and spend so much time sitting astride horses.

²⁰⁴ Ajootian 1995, 103.

This discussion shows that despite the broad range of meanings which fall under the term “androgyny,” the term “hermaphrodite” is actually quite specific in its denotation. We can categorize hermaphroditism as a specific type of *physical condition*, as per Ament, in which there is a profusion of sexual and/or reproductive organs, thus hermaphroditism is determined by reproductive organs and sexual traits. Androgyny, on the other hand, is much more conceptual. Androgyny can be signified both and combination of male and female traits that defies societal “norms,” and it need not have anything to do with sexual and reproductive organs. Every society develops rules of what is “male” and what is “female.” In ancient Greece, one example of such a rule is the exclusion of women from the political system and from warfare. The Amazons, the mythical female warriors, broke with this convention, and were thus deemed to be “unnatural” and “outsiders.” We see a similar situation with certain characterizations of Persian kings, who were purported to stay indoors all day and were thus, considered by the Greeks to be effeminate, because of their adoption of a traditionally female role. These example are oversimplifications of the nature of Amazons and Persians but they serve to illustrate that androgyny need not be as closely tied to sexual characteristics as the condition of hermaphroditism.

The four Kedesh types that have been singled out in this discussion each demonstrate in different ways, varying degrees of physical ambiguity: the Kallipygos Aphrodite and Citharodos Apollo share a stance and point of view that results in similarly rendered male and female bodies; the Active Archer with his miniscule genitalia and overly-developed pectorals looks incredibly effeminate; and the Aphrodite Anadyomene with her gorgon-like stare and long tresses seems relatively sexless. These images cannot

be categorized as hermaphroditic because they do not exhibit the profusion of sexual reproductive organs required for that state. Might we then call them androgynous? We could, but these images demonstrate a level of physical ambiguity that is not necessarily included in Ament's definition of the term. I think that we would be better served by a different description: sexual ambiguity. This pithy phrase suggests that the ambiguity lies in the physicality of the figures – in their pose, their gesture, as well as their physical characteristics. By adopting this descriptive phrase, we can make a clear distinction between the physical condition of hermaphroditism and the abstract and spiritual state of androgyny.

This terminological discussion has highlighted the breadth of meanings and nuances that fall under the definition of androgyny, and has shown the difficulty of distinguishing between conceptually- versus physically-manifested ambiguity. Some of this difficulty arises from the reliance on binary gender categories that predominate in Western culture, which has long presumed that “‘male’ and ‘female’ are innate structures in all forms of life and that heterosexuality is the teleologically necessary and highest form of sexual evolution”²⁰⁵ Physical ambiguity can be problematic because such beings cannot be neatly categorized as male or female. Furthermore, the role of hermaphrodite in Western art and culture bears witness to the tensions between sexual and gender classifications, by playing with the dictates of sexual binaries.²⁰⁶ However, individualism and rebellions against these sex and gender hierarchies have played a large role in the discourse of what is normal and aberrant, and thus in transcending sexual dimorphism.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Herdt 1994, 28. Herdt's introduction to the volume *Third Sex, Third Gender* provides a brief explanation of the two-sex model and how it became so engrained in Western thought.

²⁰⁶ Herdt 1994, 23.

²⁰⁷ Herdt 1994, 77.

Once these barriers have been surmounted, it is possible to recognize that a third category is more common in the human condition than once thought.²⁰⁸ Exploring situations in which a third category has received recognition from the larger community can help to untangle the complexities of defining androgyny and its relationship to physicality.

Cross-cultural Case Studies

Two cross-cultural case studies where a third gender is given ontological status and a special role in society can help us better understand the particulars of androgyny: the Indian *hijra*, and the Byzantine eunuch. The *hijra* serves as a modern-day example of culturally accepted hermaphroditism that has strong roots in Hindu religion and mythology, not unlike the Greek hermaphrodite. I have selected the case of the Byzantine eunuch because it provides an historical example of a politically- and socially-accepted third gender.

Hijras are devotees of the mother goddess and are usually sexually impotent men and occasionally non-menstruating women.²⁰⁹ Typically, the choice to become a *hijra* is made during adolescence. Distinctions are made among the *hijra* community between “real” and “made” *hijras*, i.e. those born with some defect of the male sexual organ and those who undergo emasculating surgery to remove the penis and testes. This process of emasculation is believed to endow the subject with the divine power of the mother goddess and at the same time, with the removal of the sexual organs, the *hijra* embraces a

²⁰⁸ Herdt 1994, 21.

²⁰⁹ For a short précis of *hijras*, see Gilchrist 1999, 60. For a more detailed analysis see Nanda’s article in the volume *Third Sex, Third Gender*, 1994, 373 – 417.

life of asceticism through which impotence can be transformed into generative power.²¹⁰

Thus the *hijra* is often called upon to perform music and dance at situations in which reproduction is immanent, such as marriage or at the births of male children. These performances are often comical and flamboyant caricatures of the aggressive sexuality which is believed to be a trait of women in Indian culture. These performances mirror the day to day behavior of the *hijra*, who embraces many of aspects of the feminine gender role, including dress, hair, and gesture, but these qualities are often exaggerated and thus contrast with the behavior of ordinary women. *Hijras* can also be the object of fear and are known to threaten curses and infertility if not satisfied with the compensation for their performances. In fact, one of the most intimidating weapons in the arsenal of the *hijra* is to “raise her skirt and display her mutilated genitals which is a source of both shame and insult for the audience, as well as a curse by which the *hijras* contaminate the potentially fertile with a loss of reproductivity.”²¹¹

In Indian culture male and female are considered natural categories, and each sex has its own essential innate nature. However, these qualities are interchangeable, and transformations of sex and gender are re-current themes in Hindu mythology, ritual and art. Thus, despite the seemingly rigid gender dichotomy of male and female, a role has been carved out for individuals of mixed gender. The *hijra* role provides the opportunity for a human to attain “personhood” through alternative life-paths, namely through service

²¹⁰ This practice of emasculation of “made” *hijras* recalls the actions taken Attis, and in turn some worshippers of Cybele in the Classical world. There are several versions of the myth of Attis and Cybele. Catullus LXIII 4-8 describes Attis’ emasculation as self-inflicted; Attis, having been betrayed by his mistress, Cybele, is reported to have struck off his testicles with a sharp flint. The more popular version, including the version of Ps. Lucian *De Dea Syria* 15, represents Cybele herself as the perpetrator (Casadio 2003, 236).

²¹¹ Nanda 1994, 392. This gesture has a long history in the ancient world, dating back to the second millennium B.C.E.. The term comes from the Greek word meaning “to pull up one’s clothes; obscene, (Liddel and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. “●●●●●●●● . ”) The gesture is most commonly associated with Baubo, Attis, and Isis in the ancient Mediterranean world (Ajootian 1997, 223; 236, n. 8).

to the goddess and an embracing of asceticism, rather than through heterosexual marriage and reproduction. Not all *hijras*, however, fully embrace the ideal tenets of their chosen state. Many practice prostitution with men in order to earn their living, and they are sometimes ambivalently regarded in the larger context of Indian society.

The *hijra* serves as an example of a gender role and identity that has the capacity to change over time and is accepted rather than considered pathological. In contrast, western psychology of gender acquisition tends to believe that gender identity takes place during a critical period of childhood and is not subject to change without great psychological cost.²¹² Furthermore, the case of the Indian *hijra* works to show that the sex/gender dichotomy is not universal, and that gender identity is not necessarily so tied to sex assignment as has been previously thought. The *hijra* also serves as a parallel to characterizations of hermaphrodites in Greek myth and literature, where they are alternately revered and reviled. Later, I will discuss images of hermaphrodites lifting their skirts to reveal male genitalia and the case of the *hijra* may provide insight into the interpretation of this action.

Looking back at the past, there are also historical examples of a third gender as seen in the Byzantine eunuch. The eunuch was an important figure in the Byzantine secular society and performed a variety of courtly, ceremonial, political and service functions; a eunuch could reach high positions in the hierarchical world of Byzantine society. Unlike the *hijra*, the desire to become a eunuch was not necessarily motivated by personal sexuality or a cross-gender identity but was seen as a way to achieve a particular social status. In its broadest sense, Byzantine society defined eunuchs as anyone who did not or could not produce children. This included men who were born sterile or became

²¹² Nanda 1994, 396.

sterile, men lacking in sexual desire, men and women who embraced celibacy for religious reasons and men who voluntarily castrated themselves.²¹³ Medically, eunuchs were more closely identified with women or a feminine state. Kathryn Ringrose argues convincingly that although the language and logic of Byzantine society and medical texts embraced a polarity between male and female, this same society placed eunuchs outside of the dominant patriarchal schema because of their lack of procreative ability. In so doing, Byzantine society implicitly categorized eunuchs as a separate gender.²¹⁴ Therefore, despite the fact that eunuchs shared characteristics with both men and women, eunuch should be considered a separate, third gender because they were not only excluded from the realm of procreation, but they were also assigned certain indispensable social roles that were considered inappropriate for either men or women.²¹⁵ These distinctive roles paired with dress, mannerisms, speech and body language also served to identify eunuchs as a separate gender since Byzantine society, among others, emphasized these external characteristics in determining gender status rather than sexual object choice.

Socially, eunuchs occupied a liminal space and like Indian *hijras*, their perceived ability to change their psychological aspect and share attributes of both male and female contributed to the belief that eunuchs possessed special magical powers. Consequently, they were often regarded with awe and suspicion. It is this very characteristic of liminality that defined many of the occupations of eunuchs, including their role as go-between for the male and female members of the Byzantine court. Additional parallels

²¹³ Ringrose 2000, 15-16; 1994, 86.

²¹⁴ Ringrose 2003, 7; 1994, 90; 94.

²¹⁵ Ringrose 2003, 142; 1994, 94.

drawn between eunuchs and angels serve to strengthen the role of eunuchs as mediators between world of reality and imagination.²¹⁶

The Byzantine ecclesiastical conception of eunuch was significantly different from secular notions. The standards of masculinity for the church centered around moral worth, celibacy, and rejection of sexual desire rather than one's procreative abilities. While some Late Antique and early Byzantine sources express disdain for practices of self-castration, the later Byzantine church does not, and unlike in Byzantine secular society, castrated clergymen and monks are not presented as members of a separate gender category. Eunuchs could aspire to the same spiritual ideals and high positions as whole men. This is due to the church's exclusion of procreation from its concerns: "the factors at work in constructing the gender statues of eunuchs in the Church were different from those constructing gender of secular eunuch."²¹⁷ The distinction between the roles of eunuchs in Byzantine lay society and ecclesiastical society is noteworthy because it illustrates how a single gender category, in this case the Byzantine eunuch, is (or is not, as the case may be) accepted by different groups within Byzantine society.

Although the mentalities, motivations and social roles of the *hijra* and the eunuch are vastly different, both groups are/were seen within their respective societies as completely within the realm of gender possibilities.²¹⁸ What I hope these cross-cultural examples show is the possibility of the existence of gender systems which do not privilege the binary categories of male versus female to the exclusion of all other possibilities. Ancient Greek conceptions of the body outlined in the medical texts suggest that the androgynous figures represented on the Kedesh bullae and the Hermaphrodites

²¹⁶ Ringrose 2003, 162-3; 1994, 97.

²¹⁷ Ringrose 1994, 102.

²¹⁸ Gilchrist 1999, 61

from the Hellenistic period could speak to a similar gender system at work in the ancient Greek world in the second century B.C.E. which would have supported the idea of multiple genders.

Ancient Greek Medical Texts

Leslie Dean-Jones and Helen King have both contributed significantly to the discussion of bodies in the ancient world through an analyses of Greek medical texts. Greek medical literature can be broken down into essentially two approaches: Hippocratic and Aristotelian. Hippocratic ideas are known from a collection of medical treatises which were codified sometime in the third or second centuries B.C.E. at Alexandria, but the collection as a whole likely dates to the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century B.C.E..²¹⁹ The corpus has no unifying doctrine, and instead has as its goal the improvement of therapy and the effective treatment of the body.²²⁰ Because of the emphasis on patient care and treatment, it is not surprising to find a separate set of Hippocratic treatises which focus on gynecological issues.²²¹ The Hippocratic corpus, therefore, does not purport to explain the nature of things, but rather serves as a manual of how best to treat certain symptoms and diseases.

Aristotelian medical ideas are known from a series of the philosopher's writings, which date to the fourth century B.C.E.. In contrast to the Hippocratic corpus, Aristotelian medical writings are much more theoretical in nature and espouse a single methodological approach. Aristotle surveyed pre-existing medical ideas, treatments, and diagnoses, and then analyzed the anatomical, physiological and biological processes of

²¹⁹ Dean-Jones 1994, 6.

²²⁰ Dean-Jones 1994, 6-8.

²²¹ Dean-Jones 1994, 10.

each in order to determine which theories, diagnoses, and treatments ought to be considered valid and useful.²²² He does not treat gynecological issues separately.

In terms of gynecology, both Hippocratic and Aristotelian medical treatises center around menstruation. For Hippocrates, menstruation was the result of the inherent weakness of a woman's body; for Aristotle it was the production of menstrual blood, required for reproduction, that caused woman's weaker physicality.²²³ Eventually, Aristotelian theory of female physiology supplanted the older, Hippocratic theory.²²⁴

Both schools asserted that the male and female bodies shared the same anatomical structure, with the only difference being that the male body had external genitalia, and the female body had the same genitalia inverted inside the body. From this point on, the difference between the male and female bodies can essentially be reduced to differences between physiological processes rather than structure. The process that received the most attention in the literature was menstruation, briefly outlined in the previous paragraph. Because menstruation was viewed as the most significant difference between male and female bodies, the Aristotelian school went so far as to say that before puberty boys' and girls' bodies were essentially the same.²²⁵

The Hippocratics believed that both parents were responsible for the conception of an infant, and that the characteristics of the child were dependant upon the types of seed produced by each parent.²²⁶ Thus, as the table below illustrates, if both parents produced male seed, then the child would have the characteristics of an alpha male.²²⁷

²²² Dean-Jones 1994, 14-16.

²²³ Dean-Jones 1994, 109.

²²⁴ Dean-Jones 1994, 20.

²²⁵ GA 728a 17; Dean-Jones 1994, 46.

²²⁶ Penrose 2009, 2; Hippoc. *On Generation* 6-7; Ps. Hippoc. *On Regimen* 26-18.

²²⁷ This table is taken from Penrose 2009.

Father's seed	Result of Battle	Mother's Seed	Offspring	Traits of Offspring
Male	+	Male	Alpha Male	Most brilliant, strongest
Male	>	Female	Beta Male	Less brilliant, Strong
Female	<	Male	Omega Male	Womanish
Female	+	Female	Alpha Female	Shapely, Most feminine
Male	<	Female	Beta Female	Bolder, yet still quiet
Female	>	Male	Omega Female	Most bold; Masculine

The Alpha males are considered manly and courageous; the females are shapely, feminine and well-behaved (implied here: quiet). The Beta males are just as manly and courageous, but less smart, while the Beta females are bolder, yet still well-behaved. The Hippocratic text labels the Omega male *androgynous*.²²⁸ The text does not specify what is meant by this, but Penrose suggests that the text implies that the Omega male is neither able-bodied nor smart, and is cowardly and effeminate.²²⁹ The Omega female, on the other hand, is considered *andreiai*, and bolder than the other two categories of women, which suggests that she is more outspoken and more masculine in her demeanor. This

²²⁸ Ps. Hippoc. *On Regimen* 28.4.

²²⁹ Penrose 2009, 4.

than men and had a greater need to conserve this nourishment in the form of menses to support the development of a fetus. This excess was stored in the womb until it reached such a volume where the menses was in danger of swamping the semen and then it was evacuated.²³³ Despite the focus of the medical texts on menstruation, it is rarely alluded to elsewhere in ancient literature. There is no aetiological myth to explain it and there do not appear to have been any restrictions placed on the movement of menstruating women, at least in and around Athens in the Classical period.²³⁴ The situation is different elsewhere, such as in the Graeco-Roman Egypt, where women were confined to the *gynaikonites* during menstruation.²³⁵

Thus, the Greeks used their empirical observations of menstruation and the development of breasts to create a biological construct which upheld the cultural characteristics of women as inherently weaker, softer, and less stable than men.²³⁶ What is important to take away from this discussion is the point, strongly emphasized by both Dean-Jones and King, that science and medicine are both cultural constructs and thus “the deeply implanted cultural belief that men and women are radically different can condition the interpretation of empirical evidence so that science, in its turn, supports the belief that perceived differences between men and women are a result of biology rather

²³³ Dean-Jones 1994, 60-64.

²³⁴ See Dean-Jones 1994, 232-234 for the lack of a mythological *aition* for menstruation. For discussion for the absence of menstrual taboos in Classical Greece, see Dean-Jones 1994, 243-247. Instead, bleeding associated with pregnancy and afterbirth are considered pollutants; one of the few indications that menstruation (i.e. a woman in her reproductive years) may have been threatening is the fact that many priestesses were restricted to older, menopausal women (Dean-Jones 1994, 246). It is not until the Hellenistic period that we begin to see restrictions placed on the movements of menstruating women; a trend that continues into the Roman period. According to Dean-Jones, the development of a menstrual taboo is related to the greater freedoms enjoyed by women in these later periods (Dean-Jones 1994, 248; Douglas 1966, 4).

²³⁵ Cf. Colin, F. 2001.

²³⁶ Dean-Jones 1994, 48.

than social conditioning.²³⁷ In other words, certain modern cultural beliefs about differences between male and female are explained by science, which is itself a cultural construct.

These medical texts demonstrate that the Greeks subscribed to a non-binary system of gender conception, in large part because of culturally-constructed notions of conception and anatomy. Male and female bodies were generally thought to be extremely similar, with the most significant differences being in the levels of moisture and dryness, and the placement of the genitals externally or internally. These anatomical characteristics combined with the nature of the parental seed (as illustrated by the chart above) result in gender identities that defy the simple dichotomy of male/female. Instead, scholars have called for a spectrum, as will be discussed below, that can accommodate a range of chromosomal and character types. Rather than a horizontal line with the XX female and XY male at either end, I suggest adding an additional vertical scale with masculine and feminine at either end, thus forming a four quadrant scale. Although such a scale oversimplifies the complex and nuanced nature of gender, it does serve to illustrate its multi-dimensionality.

Such a scale would be able to accommodate the various “others” of Classical Greek thought, such as effeminate Persians, and Amazons, both of whom I have briefly mentioned above. In the fifth century, as the Persian empire became a greater threat to Athens and the other Greek *poleis*, the Persian male, especially the king, was conceived as a being corrupted by luxury and moral laxity.²³⁸ This notion allowed the Greeks to create a monolithic enemy in the form of the cowardly, effeminate monarch, who, though

²³⁷ Dean-Jones 1991, 111.

²³⁸ Kuhrt 2007, 10.

physically male, embraced a feminine lifestyle, i.e. being inside.²³⁹ It is important to remember that this conception of the Persian king is, to a certain extent, an artificial one that has been constructed from a highly selective reading of the ancient sources. Although the situation in fifth century Athens was certainly not nearly as black and white as Athenian male/masculine and Persian male/effeminate, the idea of the effeminate Persian was exploited by artists and authors, for dramatic effect (fig 3.2).²⁴⁰

In contrast to the effeminate Persian are the Amazons, the infamous female warriors, whose practice of removing one breast in order to facilitate their archery skills gave them their moniker (fig. 3.3). Amazons are similar to Persian males, but at the same time they are the inverse of the Persian male; born female, they “act the male” and thus exist on the fringes of Greek. Although Amazons and Persians do not subscribe to Greek gender constructs, the recognition of them by members of the Archaic and Classical Greek world demonstrates that the ancient Greeks were familiar with categories of people for whom the binary labels of male/female were inadequate to accommodate their varied and different natures.

Because gender is a cultural construct, it follows that it would be present in other cultural forms, such as art. This medical philosophy of the overall physical likeness of male and female bodies can be traced in the large-scale sculptures of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, which are characterized by an absence or de-emphasis of specific male or female characteristics. There are also, however, examples from

²³⁹ Kurht 2007, 10.

²⁴⁰ See Greek tragedy, such as Aeschylus' *The Persians*, and any number of vase paintings that show Persian warriors dressed in long pants and sleeves and using bows and arrows in contrast to the heroically nude Greek warriors using sword and shield (Oenochoe by the Chicago painter; MFA 13.196; ARV 496, 2.

ancient Greek art that embody the notion of a single body type by means of a profusion of male and female characteristics: the hermaphrodite.

Images of Hermaphrodites in the Hellenistic Period

To begin a discussion of representations of physical ambiguity in the Hellenistic period, we must start with images of dual-sexed beings – the hermaphrodite.

Representations of the hermaphrodite in Hellenistic art can be broken down into two distinct groups. The first, the *anasyromenos* type, of which there are at least six known examples dating to the Hellenistic period, depicts an otherwise female figure lifting its clothing to reveal male genitals (fig. 3.4).²⁴¹ The second type, so-called Hellenistic genre sculptures, have a torsional construction that makes initial identification of the figure as hermaphrodite impossible.²⁴² Because the genre figures are generally considered to have been creations unique to the Hellenistic period, they provide the best starting point to understand the cultural and religious climate that would lead to the creations of such hybrid figures.

These hybrid genre figures are of two forms and are known from later Roman copies or interpretations. The first is the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, which is represented by

²⁴¹ See LIMC s.v. “Hermaphrodite,” nos. 30, 31, 32, 40, 41, 42.

²⁴² One aspect of hermaphrodite sculptures that remains unclear has to do with the paint treatment of these figures. It is well documented that ancient statues were painted in vibrant colors, and there were certain conventions regarding the skin color of males and females. Ajoatian makes no mention of any color preservation on any of the sculptures discussed in the LIMC entry, and thus it remains to be seen what color of skin hermaphrodites were painted. Although the issue of paint color would be irrelevant for the original bronze statues, small-scale terracotta figurines, wall paintings, and later large-scale marble replicas would have been painted.

six complete replicas, three variants, and one fragment (fig 3.5).²⁴³ The second is a group sculpture of a Hermaphrodite struggling with satyr, known from twelve replicas. Both of these sculptural types rely on the ambiguity of viewpoint, a characteristic unique to free-standing representations, in order to create a surprising visual contrast between male and female sexual characteristics.

The ‘Sleeping Hermaphrodite’ is a visual pun on the bi-sexuality of the figure presented. From the back, the viewer sees a naked figure, resting its head on its arms. The buttocks are supple and smoothly molded, and torsion of the waist and neck enables the viewer to see the face of the sleeping figure. The face is framed by curls drilled so that individual locks form a series of commas around the right side of the face. From this viewpoint, the figure *looks* female; the face shows no trace of a beard and the hair is parted in the middle with a very short fringe along the top of the forehead. The middle section of hair is braided and gathered back into some sort of topknot and there is a circular object placed just before the topknot. This complicated hairstyle is unique in its intricacy but it has some features in common with the hairstyles of children and youths as well as with sculptures of sleeping Erotes.²⁴⁴ The neck is partly obscured by the right arm and the presence of an adam’s apple is unknown. From this vantage point, scholars such as Pollitt²⁴⁵ and Ajootian,²⁴⁶ generally describe the figure as female. It is not until we move to the front side of the figure (the back side of the sculpture), where we are

²⁴³ LIMC s.v. “Hermaphrodite,” 270: Pliny, *Nat.* 34, 80 is the only reference in ancient sources to the sculpture of an hermaphrodite. According to Pliny, one Polykles created a bronze *Hermaphroditus nobilis*. However, there are three known Polykles; one from the fourth century and two from the second. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite is most often associated with the *Hermaphroditus nobilis* type.

²⁴⁴ LIMC s.v. “Hermaphrodite,” 284.

²⁴⁵ Pollitt (1986, 140) says: “The work was probably designed and positioned so that one saw first the sinuous female contours of its back and also, because of the extreme turn of its neck, its face.”

²⁴⁶ Ajootian (1997, 220) says: “While the Sleeping type is the best known hermaphrodite in ancient art, it is not the only one, nor is the addition of male genitals to a *clearly female body*, the earliest, or most widespread, tradition of Hermaphrodite iconography (emphasis mine).”

faced with clearly male genitalia and the outline of the left breast, that the identification of the sleeping figure is revealed as a hermaphrodite.

The Hermaphrodite in the Hermaphrodite and Satyr group can be described in much the same way as the Sleeping Hermaphrodite. Smooth, round buttocks, and wavy long hair tied up at the neck with a fillet, and a profile face showing no trace of a beard echo the characteristics of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite. The tone of this sculpture, however, is more playful, as the hermaphrodite attempts to thwart the satyr's advances by shoving its hand into his face and clutching his foot as if to flip him over or away. As the viewer moves around the sculptures, the breasts of the Hermaphrodite are clearly visible but the genitalia are somewhat obscured by the thrashing legs of the satyr.

In contrast to these Hellenistic genre sculptures, in which torsion plays a crucial role of both hiding and revealing the hermaphroditism of the sculpture, the *anasyromenos* images clearly communicate the hermaphroditism of the figure at first glance. Although the *anasyromenos* image occurs in a variety of media, including marble relief, terracotta and bronze figurines, and small-scale marble sculpture, the basic form of this visual motif remains constant: a standing figure, viewed frontally, wearing a chiton and sometimes a mantle, lifts up the dress to reveal male genitalia. Breasts are always clearly delineated through the drapery and folds of the fabric, and the hairstyle "is consistently similar to that of Aphrodite, Apollo and Dionysus, with central parting, long locks drawn back and sometimes rolled under, away from the brow, and fastened into a bun at the nape of the neck, a stray lock or two escaping onto the shoulders."²⁴⁷

The earliest known and securely datable image of a hermaphrodite in Greece dates to the fourth century B.C.E.. The figure, a mold of an *anasyromenos*

²⁴⁷ LIMC s.v. "Hermaphrodite," 284.

hermaphrodite, was excavated from the Coroplast's Dump in the Athenian Agora.²⁴⁸

This deposit has been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century, thus the presence of the mold indicates that there was a demand for hermaphrodite images in the fourth century.²⁴⁹ The characteristic gesture of lifting one's skirt to expose oneself, according to Aileen Ajootian, who has traced this motif in a series of essays, dates back to the second millennium in Syria where female figures lift or part their skirts to reveal their vulvas.²⁵⁰ The same gesture occurs within Greece as early as the seventh century B.C.E., where goddesses on relief plaques part the panels of their skirts, but like the earlier Syrian images, the figures are female and display female genitalia.²⁵¹ Many of these early Greek *anasyromenos* images were found in religious contexts, either in votive deposits or near sanctuaries, a significant departure from the Hellenistic genre images whose context, though unknown, was likely not religious. Thus, the *anasyromenos* hermaphrodite from the Athenian Agora is a new interpretation of the ancient gesture of lifting one's skirts.

One of the most famous literary episodes of *anasyrma* comes to us from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* when Demeter's nurse Baubo lifts her skirt, revealing her genitalia to her dejected charge. Although different versions of the story suggest divergent reasons for Baubo's gesture, the end goal remains the same: in lifting her skirts and revealing her vulva, Baubo hopes to make Demeter laugh. The *anasyrma* performed by an old woman removes the gesture from the realm of the obscene, and situates it in the realm of the ridiculous, and therefore humorous. Thus, Baubo has often been compared to

²⁴⁸ LIMC s.v. "Hermaphrodite," no. 36.

²⁴⁹ LIMC s.v. "Hermaphrodite," 282.

²⁵⁰ Ajootian 1997, 223; Porada 1947, nos. 937-46.

²⁵¹ Versions of the *anasyromenos* gesture appear on plaques from Kato Syme, and Itae on Crete and plaques and terracotta figurines at Axos, also on Crete. After these Daedalic versions, there is a chronological gap in which there are no known *anasyromenos* images until the fifth century on Sicily. For more discussion of this see Ajootian 1997, 223-4.

an ithyphallic Priapus.²⁵² Both figures are absurd, and their displays of genitalia serve as “a locus of a glance fascinated by the chaotic topography of an outrageous sexuality, a sexuality lying beyond the accepted limits of everyday social interaction.”²⁵³ It is this outrageousness that makes these characters comical and apotropaic. This skirt-lifting gesture is similar to the one performed by the Indian *hijra*, and could provide insight into the interpretation of the *anasryomenos* gesture. Ajootian has interpreted these figures as conveying several layers of meaning, including both generative and protective functions, ideas that are also imbued upon the Indian *hijra*.²⁵⁴ Yet, not all exposure of female genitalia is met with such humor; it can be both shameful and/or terrifying. Plutarch cites two instances in which women lift their skirts to shame men into action.²⁵⁵ But these are mortal women whom Plutarch describes; the situation is dramatically altered when dealing with a deity, such as Aphrodite as will be discussed below.

Despite the differences in the visual presentation of the *anasyromenoi* and the genre figures, there are certain commonalities from which it is possible to draw very preliminary conclusions about the understanding of hermaphroditism in the Hellenistic period. Both sculptural types reveal a “first-glance” female to have male genitalia, which suggests that there is a particular concept or set of concepts about the physicality of a hermaphrodite. First, we can understand the nature of a hermaphroditic being as female on the top, male on the bottom: “common to all representation of H. is the clear delineation of female breasts and male genitals, although female genitals were sometimes

²⁵² Oleander 1990, 103.

²⁵³ Oleander 1990, 105.

²⁵⁴ Space constraints prevent me from exploring this idea in more depth but for a more detailed discussion of Ajootian’s interpretation of the *anasyromenos* hermaphrodite, see her 1997 article “The Only Happy Couple, *passim*.”

²⁵⁵ Plutarch *De Mulierum Virtutibus* 9.246 and 9. 248.

indicated as well.”²⁵⁶ Thus, what makes these particular figures unusual is a profusion of sexual characteristics rather than any lack; this echoes the definition of hermaphroditism established earlier in this chapter. What I would like to emphasize here is the formulaic character of the components of this image. Little interest is taken in the musculature, physique, and facial construction of the individual figures. Instead, stock faces, coiffures and bodies can be used equally to create male, female or hermaphroditic figures. The distinction comes from the addition of sexual characteristics. What I propose is at work in these images is a multi-layered sexual ambiguity. The first, most visible layer is the figure’s hermaphroditism. This aspect is communicated through a combination of male primary (genitalia) and female secondary (breasts) sexual characteristics of the figure. The second layer of ambiguity is more subtle and requires the viewer to look beyond the obvious; after examining the other physical features, one can conclude that these features cannot be sexed any one way. This absence of an obvious gender speaks to another type of sexual ambiguity, which was also discussed earlier, where something is neither clearly female nor clearly male. Both types convey ambiguity by means of different combination of visual elements. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite looks like other effeminate male and sensuous female sculptures of the period from one side, and then is revealed to have breasts and a phallus; the *anasyromenos* Hermaphrodite looks female, until the clothing is removed to reveal the phallus. The initial gender determination may be different but the final result is the same.

I have outlined the two main categories of hermaphroditic images that are known to have existed in the Hellenistic period. It is my belief that the sexually ambiguous seal

²⁵⁶ LIMC s.v. “Hermaphrodite,” 284. Unfortunately, Ajootian does not refer to the specific images which illustrate female genitalia. I question her decision not to do so since this would be an example of a little documented visual phenomenon.

types in the Kedesh corpus ought to be more closely associated with the Hellenistic genre sculptures, where the physical ambiguity of the figure is not initially obvious, than with the *anasyromenos* figures. In particular, the prevalence of rear-views of both male and female figures at Kedesh, and the multiple depictions of rounded, full buttocks of the Citharodos Apollo and Kallipygos Aphrodite draw a striking visual comparison with the Sleeping Hermaphrodite sculpture. But in the case of the bullae, the final step of walking around the figure to confirm the viewer's initial categorization of the sex of the figure is thwarted, and the viewer cannot rely on the cues that on sculpture would be provided by the painted surfaces of the skin.

Sexual Ambiguity before the Hellenistic Period

In the previous section, I examined images of hermaphrodites in the Hellenistic period, as well as the history of the *anasyromenos* pose, and it becomes patently evident that the image of the hermaphrodite is a Hellenistic invention. But much like the arguments made for the fourth century appearance of the Aphrodite of Knidos, neither she nor the hermaphrodite appeared out of thin air. Rather artists had been working towards this most extreme version of physical profusion for centuries, in much the same way that the Knidia was the logical next step in the development of female iconography. In this section, I trace the presence of sexual ambiguity in Greek art in order to demonstrate that the hermaphrodite was the logical next step after centuries of latent ambiguity in male and female iconography. I will then turn to the Ancient Near East where although the concept of androgyny and sexual ambiguity was applied to certain

deities and religious figures, the absence of a tradition of male nudity did not allow for physical manifestations of hermaphroditism.

While the history of the image of the hermaphrodite in Greek art does not extend much further back than the fourth century, a look back at Archaic art and depictions the body shows a tendency of subtle sexual ambiguity at work.²⁵⁷ The principle expression of the human body in the Archaic period are the kouroi and korai, which express Greek aesthetic and social attitudes of the human form.²⁵⁸ If one examines the kouroi and korai of the sixth and fifth centuries, the bodily proportions and physiques are often similar despite the differences in dress between male and female sculptures: Archaic art “dwells as little as possible on the differences of structure between the male and female body. The kouroi have small waists and well defined pectorals (fig. 3.6). The korai also have narrow hips, small waists and small breasts set wide apart. The faces are also similar.”²⁵⁹

The ideals that the kouros embodied, namely beauty and youth, were so pervasive, that Hurwit describes the korai as having proportions and physiques of their male counterparts.²⁶⁰ Take, for example, the Berlin and Lyon korai (fig. 3.7), dating to 570 and 550 B.C.E., respectively. Both have all the culturally accepted trappings of female sculpture of the Archaic period: long robes, *poloi*, long curly tresses, jewelry; the Berlin kore holds a pomegranate and the Lyon kore holds a dove. But if one looks beyond these features to the actual bodies, both korai have similar features to their masculine counterparts, the kouroi. The korai both have big hands and feet, thick, muscular arms, broad shoulders, and no discernable breasts. Things improve slightly with

²⁵⁷ Delcourt 1961, 57.

²⁵⁸ Hurwit 2007, 270.

²⁵⁹ Delcourt 1961, 57.

²⁶⁰ Hurwit 2007, 275.

the Peplos Kore, which dates to 530 B.C.E. (fig. 3.8). The proportions of the body have slimmed significantly, but despite the expected trappings of female sculpture, the breasts still look awkward, as if fastened on as an after-thought.

I pause here to comment on the development of naturalism in Greek sculpture of the Archaic period. Since the kouroi and korai are early examples of Greek sculptors attempts to grapple with the human form, it is possible that the physical similarities of these sculptures should be attributed to the artists' as yet underdeveloped sense of naturalism, and their inability translate what they saw accurately in stone. I suggest, however, that we consider that these sculptors were representing youths of both sexes, which were in some way indistinguishable. According to the medical texts discussed above, it was generally believed that the body types of male and female children were the same, or at least very similar. Even after the onset of menses and puberty, it was mainly physiological process that distinguished male and female bodies. And as late as the fifth century, female physiques look overwhelmingly masculine; Andrew Stewart writes of partially-nude female figures that the "usually look like mutated men, their breasts applied to an essentially masculine torso."²⁶¹ Given this view of anatomy, it is possible that the ambiguity of the kouroi and korai is the result of a combination of as yet undeveloped technical abilities *and* socially accepted conceptions of the physical body.

The move towards realistic depictions of the body at the end of the fifth century, as seen in Polykleitos' Doryphoros, indicates a move away from the underlying similarities of male and female representations. This is due in large part to the development of canons of the male and females forms, and the artists increased ability to

²⁶¹ Stewart 1990, 76.

capture the verisimilitude of their subjects.²⁶² As their skill level increases, artists take on new and challenging forms; thus we see a move away from subjects like the prepubescent youths of the archaic period in favor of fully developed, adult male and female bodies.

Greek art continues to develop differentiated body types with the advent of the naked female form in the Knidian Aphrodite. Neither of the Doryphoros, nor the Knidia contains the same sexually ambiguous elements that characterize the kouroi and korai of Archaic art. I would argue, however, that the same artistic climate of the fourth century, which accepted the first naked full size female sculpture, was also innovative enough to transform the Near Eastern female *anasyromenos* into a full-blown hermaphrodite.

When we turn to the Ancient Near East we see a dramatically different situation regarding the representation of hermaphroditism and sexual ambiguity. Prior to the arrival of Alexander, a search for images of hermaphrodites nets almost no results. A lone sexually ambiguous image from the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia has been described by Bahrani as a rare example of a eunuch or castrate. The votive image of Urnanshe, a singer, wears a skirt typically donned by males, and has “soft facial features,” a clean-shaven face, and rounded breasts, but is not covered in such a way that is normal for a female (fig. 3.9).²⁶³ This combination of features results in an overall ambiguous appearance: “this statue is exceptional in its androgyny. Early Dynastic statues are usually clearly defined in a strict convention of masculine and feminine forms.”²⁶⁴ After Alexander, a new type of feminine imagery finds its way to Mesopotamia: a nude female figure pointing to her breasts is sometimes represented with

²⁶² Stewart 1990, 76.

²⁶³ Bahrani 2001, 101.

²⁶⁴ Bahrani 2001, 101.

a penis instead of a vulva.²⁶⁵ But overall, the hermaphrodite is not a common image in the Mesopotamian visual repertoire.²⁶⁶ One explanation for the scarcity of hermaphroditic images in the Ancient Near East could be the apparent reluctance to represent the naked male form.

Despite the absence of explicit hermaphroditic images from the visual record, the concept of androgyny was present in the religious world of the Ancient Near East.²⁶⁷ There exist in the various pantheons of diverse Near Eastern religions several androgynous or bi-sexual deities;²⁶⁸ one of the most prominent of these deities is Babylonian Ishtar, goddess of love, sex, fertility, and warfare. She is also considered to be the personification of Aphrodite.²⁶⁹ According to Bahrani “Ishtar functioned as a polyvalent signifier” who has been called bisexual, androgynous and a hermaphrodite by others.²⁷⁰ Her characteristics include several traits considered to be ‘masculine’ such as assertiveness, strong will, blood thirst, and vengefulness; but these attributes could just as easily be associated with a femme fatale or seductress.²⁷¹ Although androgynous and hermaphroditic images are extremely rare, Ishtar’s role as the crosser of boundaries and a patron of the marginal in society can help to explain her androgynous nature. As I mentioned, Ishtar is only one of several Near Eastern goddesses that have similar characteristics. Nanaia, for example, is another Babylonian goddess who has a distinct

²⁶⁵ See Invernizzi 1985, 132 no. 155; 133 no. 158. Unfortunately, neither of these examples are illustrated.

²⁶⁶ Bahrani 2001, 92.

²⁶⁷ Throughout this dissertation, I have made reference to the ancient Near East as a monolithic whole. I understand that the Near East was, in fact, a diverse and varied area with myriad political, cultural, and religious traditions. However, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to simplify for the sake of brevity.

²⁶⁸ I use the term androgyny here because it best captures the idea of a persona that combines both male and female characteristics, characteristics which have been assigned a gender by that particular society, i.e. war = masculine.

²⁶⁹ Guirand 1968, 58.

²⁷⁰ Bahrani 2001, 143; 182, n. 2 cites an example of a bearded image of Ishtar. For references to Ishtar as bisexual, androgynous and a hermaphrodite see Groneberg 1986, 1987; Harris 1990, 2000.

²⁷¹ Bahrani 2001, 144.

identity within the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon.²⁷² Semitic Astarte and Sumerian Inanna are two of the more common counterparts to Ishtar. Yet, it cannot be emphasized enough that despite the similarities between these goddesses, one cannot simply substitute one for another; they are distinct deities with distinct cultural connotations.

In addition to these androgynous deities, there exist mother-goddess deities whose male worshippers are purported to castrate themselves in honor of the goddess. These deities, including Cybele and Atargatis, are not themselves androgynous. In the case of Cybele, male worshippers castrate themselves in imitation of Attis, Cybele's male companion who is castrated in a fit of jealously-induced mania.²⁷³ Atargatis was the great goddess of Syria. Associated with fish and the life-giving elements of water, Atargatis is been closely related to Cybele and Astarte; and like Cybele, the priests of Atargatis, who served at the temple in Hierapolis, near modern-day Aleppo, were known to be emasculated as well.²⁷⁴ Although these practices are not reported to have been widely followed, there did exist a small class of eunuchs in the Ancient Near East. The existence of these emasculated devotees, combined with the presence of androgynous deities, demonstrate that hermaphroditism and sexual ambiguity did exist in Ancient Near Eastern society, despite the paucity of explicit images in the visual record.

The Greeks have falsely been credited with “inventing the Nude” because of their interest in the naked male form, in contrast to other Mediterranean cultures. Though this theory has been soundly debunked, the naked male is not a particularly popular iconographic subject in the art of the Ancient Near East. Instead, audiences seemed to

²⁷² Dirven 1999, 134-5 n. 38.

²⁷³ Ancient sources do not agree as to whether the mutilation is self-inflicted or performed by an angry Cybele (Casadio 2003, 236).

²⁷⁴ Casadio 2003, 252.

prefer representations of naked female figures. Despite the apparent frequency of naked female images in the Ancient Near East, “clothing was considered ‘normative,’ nakedness was situational, and nudity restricted to specific contexts and spheres.”²⁷⁵ One explanation of this can be the fact that the garments and attributes of Mesopotamian deities were vested with power.²⁷⁶

The naked female is a popular subject in Near Eastern art as early as the third millennium B.C.E.. Representations of naked females can generally be divided into four categories: mother, seductress, sexual partner and entertainer.²⁷⁷ Many of these images are depicted frontally, and as a result of this viewpoint, they have been the target of extreme over-sexualization because of their naturalism, exposure, and frontality.²⁷⁸ This frontality is not meant as a confrontation, but “it is not what the modern viewer has been conditioned to accept of the female nude.”²⁷⁹ It has been suggested that this frontality, which I suggest influences some of the images within the Kedesh corpus, is a personification of dignity.²⁸⁰ An alternative or additional explanation of the frontality of these figures is that this posture best communicates sexual allure in the form of availability and temptation. This explanation is not altogether unwarranted since sexual allure was considered a powerful attribute of female deities, an idea that is echoed in much of the literature of Mesopotamia, Akkadia and Sumeria.²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006, 125. Although the prevalence of female nudity in the Ancient Near East has been exaggerated, there is still a significantly higher number of example of female nudity as compared to Ancient Greece.

²⁷⁶ Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006, 140. See Bahrani (2001, 155-158) for an explanation of the story of Ishtar’s descent to the underworld, which points to the power of clothing. The goddess is made to remove an item of clothing at each of the seven gates, which can be read as the removal of her attributes of power.

²⁷⁷ Bahrani 2001, 81.

²⁷⁸ Assante 2006, 195.

²⁷⁹ Assante 2006, 197.

²⁸⁰ Assante 2006, 199

²⁸¹ Bahrani 1996, 11.

In contrast to the female images, representations of males in the Near East are not commonly depicted naked. When they are, it is often in situations in which the state of being naked is either practical or functional. In the Uruk period in Mesopotamia, male workers and servants are depicted naked, in contrast to elite men. Some scholars have considered this category of nakedness as a third gender category of “genderless” workers at the bottom of society.²⁸² There are several other specific situations in which naked males appear in Mesopotamian art: enemy combatants and prisoners of war, heroes in contest, cultic officiants. Furthermore, “nude gods are represented quite differently from nude goddesses, while the nude *lammas*’ sexual attributes are clearly visible, the bodies of nude gods are de-sexualized, that is, represented without genitals.”²⁸³ An additional difference between representations of naked male and female gods, is that while the gods are often shown in profile and in violent action, goddesses are often shown frontally and motionless.²⁸⁴

Looking forward to Achaemenid art, the naked male form is extremely rare. In her in-depth analysis of king and kingship in Achaemenid art, Margaret Root performs an exhaustive survey and analysis of monuments in which the Persian king is illustrated.²⁸⁵ Male nudity is not mentioned anywhere in the manuscript, which leave the reader to conclude that male nudity played no role in official Achaemenid art, not even to convey servile of captive status.

The different trajectories of Ancient Greek art of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, and Ancient Near Eastern art of the Early Dynastic period though

²⁸² Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006 135; Pollack and Bernbeck 2000, pp. 150-164.

²⁸³ Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006, 144.

²⁸⁴ Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006, 144.

²⁸⁵ Root 1979.

Achaemenid period resulted in the development of hermaphrodite images in the former but not in the latter. The absence of male nudity in Ancient Near Eastern art, whether for reasons of decorum or taboo, prevented the image of the hermaphrodite with explicit male genitalia from ever taking hold. On the other side of the Mediterranean, however, I would argue that the persistence of a latent sexual ambiguity in figural art, in combination with a comfort with male and female nudity resulted in the development of a new visual motif: the hermaphrodite. However, given the absence of both male nudity and hermaphroditic images in Near Eastern art of the first two and half millennia B.C.E., it seems plausible that seal carvers in Phoenicia in the second century B.C.E. sought to satisfy a variety of iconographic tastes, and thus created a category of images depicting sexually ambiguous figures that are not overly hermaphroditic and yet still in keeping with this newly developed visual motif.

To summarize, in the Hellenistic period there are images of hermaphrodites, beings with both male and female sexual characteristics. Prior to the Hellenistic period, hermaphrodite figures are only known as far back as the fourth century. In addition to images of dual-sexed beings, there does seem to be an element of sexual ambiguity in the aesthetics of the Greek world, where faces, hairstyles, physical proportions, and poses can work for both male and female images. In contrast to the situation in the Greek world stands the artistic custom of the Near East. Despite the long tradition of images of naked females, the Near East seems uninterested in representations of male nakedness. What is truly remarkable about the lack of naked male images is that it persisted over the course of millennia despite the variety of cultures that comprised the Ancient Near East. This resistance to the naked male form is an important factor in our interpretation of the

sexually ambiguous images represented on the Kedesh bullae. The scarcity of naked male forms in Near Eastern art results in the absence of images of hermaphrodites and a paucity of images embodying elements of physical androgyny, since they were working with only one visual aesthetic of the naked form, the female. Instead, ambiguity in the Near East existed at a more conceptual level, where Ishtar, Astarte and other traditionally female deities, were imbued with male powers and thus considered to be androgynous. The divergent artistic traditions of Greece and the Near East and their respective aesthetic conventions make the discussion of androgyny in the Levant in the Hellenistic period a particularly interesting avenue for the exploration of cultural interaction and its influence on native artistic traditions.

Cultural Receptivity

I pause here to comment upon the idea of cultural receptivity and the ways in which people and ideas came into contact with one another, because this discussion raises the question of what cultural ideas, taboos, and customs were known to the population living in and around the administrative center at Kedesh. Is it likely that those living in this outpost in the Upper Galilee were not familiar with Greek male nudity? That they would be scandalized by androgynous and/or hermaphroditic imagery? Furthermore, which competing cultures would have had a larger impact on indigenous Phoenician artistic ideas?

In her study of Athens and Persia in the fifth century B.C.E., Margaret Miller explores the idea of cultural exchange and the ways in which people, commodities, and ideas traveled back and forth between these two polities: “cultural exchange took place

by means of both the importation of manufactured goods (that is bearing some form of cultural stamp) and the interaction of individuals.”²⁸⁶ Phoenicia and its seafarers played a significant role in the trade network of the Mediterranean and thus played an important role in conveying not only goods but personal experiences from Phoenicia to Athens, via various ports of call. But trade was not the only mode of contact, exchange of information took place at a personal level, as individuals moved and settled, as they purchased new items and repaired old items, and as they lived their lives. Thus, it seems unlikely then that the diverse population at Kedesh would have been unfamiliar with Greek (i.e. Athenian) tastes and preferences of the third and second centuries B.C.E..²⁸⁷ Not only were Greek preferences present in the Levant, but so were Persian, as evidenced by certain objects such as metal vessels, coins, sarcophagi, and sealing. The sealings from Wadi Daliyeh, which date to the fourth century B.C.E., exhibit a strong Persian element, with one-third of the seal types based upon Achaemenid imperial iconography; the remaining two-thirds are based on Greek models.²⁸⁸ Thus, for all intents and purposes, it seems appropriate to assume that Hellenistic Phoenicia was well exposed to the cultural entities at all its borders and beyond, and that the iconographic choices were made by seal carvers who familiar with the general trends of Greek, Persian, Near Eastern, and Ptolemaic art.

Historiography

²⁸⁶ Miller 2004, 65.

²⁸⁷ Miller 2004, 88; 89-108; Elayi (1988) *passim* both comment on the presence of Greeks in Phoenicia in the fifth century, a presence largely attributable to trading activities.

²⁸⁸ Miller 2004, 97; Leith 1990.

I turn now to the history of the scholarship on androgyny in the ancient world. As one might expect, the subject has not received much attention and a bibliographic search for research on the subject of androgyny nets only a handful of results. Five studies form the core literature for the topic, and I will outline their contributions below.²⁸⁹

In 1958, Marie Delcourt published *Hermaphrodite. Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'antiquité*, which was subsequently translated in English in 1961. This book, despite its age, remains surprisingly relevant to current discussions of androgyny in Greek culture. Delcourt's main point is to demonstrate that the Ancient Greeks had a longstanding tradition of conceptual androgyny, and physical bisexuality and transvestism in their religious rituals, origin myths, and philosophy: "in short, it would seem that the Ancients clearly perceived the symbolism of bisexuality, without allowing it to become set in a great divine myth, but letting it be expressed in rites, cults and legends where, indeed its original meaning is often distorted."²⁹⁰ She supports this claim through analyses of religious practices, literary sources of myth and, to a much lesser extent, an examination of a few selected visual representations.

In her analysis of religious rites in ancient Greece, Delcourt cites several ceremonies that call for some sort of transvestitism. These ceremonies are usually associated with transitions such as marriage and adolescence.²⁹¹ Delcourt situates these customs in mythical stories of gender transformation in light of upcoming marriages.

This trend of "wearing another gender", so to speak, is also seen in the stories of the

²⁸⁹ The other references are: Rebuffat 1970 examines the image from the House of the Hermaphrodite at Timgad; Freyer-Schauenburg 1988 looks at a torso fragments; Guerrier-Delclos 1994 investigates an iconographical *hapax*; Teposu-Marinescu discusses a statuette from Roman Dacia; Ajootian 1995 and 1997, which I have made references to earlier, focuses mainly on the *anasyromenos* images.

²⁹⁰ Delcourt 1961, xii.

²⁹¹ In Sparta women would shave their heads and dress like a man and hide in bed; at Argos brides traditionally wore a false beard; on Kos grooms dress as women to receive their new wives. See Delcourt 1961, 1- 6.

heroes, including Herakles, Achilles, and Theseus, and on a more permanent basis for the bellicose Amazons. Delcourt also chronicles some religious festivals that include the ritual donning of clothes of the opposite sex; perhaps significant is the fact that the two festivals she cites, the cult of Aphroditos and the feast of Ekdysia, both take place on Cyprus. From these examples, Delcourt proposes the notion of “symbolic androgyny” which “must have had a positive and beneficent value, each sex receiving something of the powers of the other.”²⁹²

Such gender-swapping rituals are also depicted on Anakreontic vases of from the Archaic period. Depicted on these vases are dancers, called komasts, who are dressed in women’s clothing, including a long chiton, hat and the occasional parasol. And yet, these dancers are mustachioed and bearded, and bear no trace of breasts; thus signaling that these are clearly meant to be men wearing such clothing for a specific occasion.²⁹³

Anakreon was a lyric poet from Ionia, who was popular in Athens in the fifth century B.C.E. He is associated with the *barbitos*, a stringed instrument akin to a lyre, which is the preferred instrument used for Dionsyiac dance and merriment.²⁹⁴ Ankreon and his companions are even themselves depicted on at least three of these vases, if not more.²⁹⁵ Though it is unclear if the komast costume worn by Anakreon and his companions is part of cult observance or a festival celebration, as described in the paragraph above, “wearing another gender” is not uncommon for cult and ritual purposes.²⁹⁶

Delcourt continues to pursue the idea of androgyny through an examination of “two-fold personalities.” What she attempts to show is that figures in Greek myth who

²⁹² Delcourt 1961, 16.

²⁹³ Maas 1989, 119; Beazley ARV² 563.9.

²⁹⁴ Maas 1989, 118-9.

²⁹⁵ Maas 1989, 119: London E18; Syracuse 26967; Copenhagen 13365.

²⁹⁶ Maas 1989, 119.

demonstrate effeminate characteristics, hermaphroditic bodies, or androgyny are respected, revered, and sought out, and thus that these aspects had positive connotations in the ancient Greek world, including associations with fertility, health, regeneration and abundance.²⁹⁷

At this point in the investigation, Delcourt shifts to the mysterious figure of Hermaphroditus and his origins, his relation to Priapus, and from there moves to a discussion of visual conventions of the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece. Hermaphroditus is thought to be the offspring of Aphrodite and Hermes, as his name suggests.²⁹⁸ The pairing of these two fertility gods, thus results in the ultimate fertile creature, which has both male and female reproductive organs. It is thought that Hermes lends his name to the phenomenon of dual sex because of his encounter with the spring nymph Salmacis.²⁹⁹ The origins of Hermaphroditus may also be found on Cyprus, where a god by the name of Aphroditos was worshipped. It is said that the image of Aphroditos had a woman's body, was dressed in women's clothing, but also sported a beard and had the genitalia of a man.³⁰⁰ Regardless of his origins, it is this particular figure, Aphroditos,

²⁹⁷ Dionysus tends to be the god most often described as effeminate. However, it should be noted that images of Dionysus in the Archaic period depict him like a tragic actor with a beard; and it is not until the Classical and Hellenistic periods when his appearance becomes more effeminate. Hermaphrodites in the mythical corpus include Tiresias who was revered for his unique status and attained long life and the gift of prophesy as compensation for his blindness. Sexual ambiguity seems to be a prerequisite for gods of origins who need to create the cosmos from a single being, and in Rome these gods preserve their ambiguity in the formula from Latin prayers which describe the gods as "whatever they may be; either male or female."

²⁹⁸ In certain places, the two deities are worshipped together as a unity to protect sexual union (Delcourt 1961, 47.)

²⁹⁹ The most famous account of the myth of Hermaphroditus is recorded by Ovid in Book IV of the *Metamorphoses* (285-399). The story goes that H. was swimming a spring, when the nymph of the spring, Salmacis, fell in love with him and prayed to the gods that their bodies never be separated again.

³⁰⁰ Delcourt 1961, 27. Delcourt does not mention the date of inception of the cult of Aphroditos on Cyprus, but the cult was introduced at Athens sometime in the fifth century B.C.E. providing a *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the cult on Cyprus.

whom Delcourt believes is represented by the images from the Hellenistic Period.³⁰¹ She reckons that the lack of images of Hermaphroditus after the Hellenistic period indicate his failure to catch on as a presence in daily life. She claims that this is in part due to the figure of Priapus, who, unlike Hermaphroditus, was deeply involved in daily life of the ancients as an apotropaic deity and because of the ancients' own ambivalence about hermaphroditic beings.

From this explanation of Hermaphroditus, Delcourt identifies a unique aspect of androgyny in Greek thought. As a concept, hermaphroditic deities are revered as containing powers that are normally reserved for one or the other sex. In reality, the physical hermaphrodite was reviled as a monstrous embodiment of the anger of the gods.³⁰² She argues that it is this sentiment that caused the paucity of representations: "In both rites and legends the Hellenic spirit may be seen advancing toward the concept of the double man or god, then drawing back and, just as it is on the point of achieving exact representation contenting itself with allusions or symbols."³⁰³ What Delcourt succeeds in demonstrating through this discussion of Hermaphroditus is the distinction made by the ancient Greeks between physical androgyny, called hermaphroditism, and a more general state of androgyny that was a conceptual idea. It is the latter concept, androgyny, which she claims is ubiquitous in Greek art and particularly prevalent in the fourth century. She describes a shift in art from the Archaic and Classical period through the Hellenistic which gathers speed around the fourth century. It is at this critical juncture of the fourth century, when Praxiteles creates the Aphrodite of Knidos, that, according to Delcourt, the

³⁰¹ Delcourt's suggestion seems unlikely given the fact that we have no record of hermaphrodites images with this precise combination of attributes.

³⁰² Delcourt 1961, 43.

³⁰³ Delcourt 1961, 43.

ideal human form shifts from male to female. Before this in her scheme, art dwells little on differences between male and female bodies. She cites instances where torsos without heads have been sexed incorrectly, only to be corrected when new comparanda or pieces come to light.³⁰⁴

Despite a lack of systematic analysis of the visual evidence, and a conflation of the terms bisexuality, transvestitism, androgyny and hermaphroditism without sufficient explanation, Delcourt has established an as yet unchallenged history of androgyny through an investigation of religion, literature, art and myth. Not surprisingly, all of the subsequent work on androgyny relies heavily on the conclusions that Delcourt drew in 1958.

Thirty years after Delcourt, E.J. Ament echoes many of Delcourt's ideas in an essay about androgyny in ancient Athens. Ament posits that despite the strongly masculine orientation of Athens, as can be seen in Pericles' Funeral Oration, there existed and persisted a substantial element of androgyny from its past.³⁰⁵ Ament places his own essay as part of a long tradition of work that examines concepts of androgyny, citing works from a variety of different geographical and chronological regions. He explains that this is due to the ubiquity of androgyny as a concept, asserting: "androgyny is one of the most basic human concepts, figuring prominently in almost every religions and mythology of practically every country and age."³⁰⁶

One way in which Ament's essay differs from Delcourt and advances the discussion of androgyny is through a distinguishing explanation of the terms androgyny and hermaphrodite, which has been outlined above in the terminology section. According

³⁰⁴ For Delcourt's discussion see pp. 55-66.

³⁰⁵ Ament 1993, 1.

³⁰⁶ Ament 1993, 1.

to Ament, androgyny had a dual nature for the ancient Greeks. In physical form it was considered an abomination of god, an idea that Delcourt also endorses. As an abstraction it was considered an attribute of god and an ideal for humanity, because within a single person existed the powers and potentialities of both sexes.³⁰⁷ As an example, consider Gaia, the primordial deity who could reproduce and give birth to all life without a male entity. Thus androgyny does not require the monstrous physical characteristics of dual sexual characteristics in order to convey a sense of mingled powers. Ament also explains that the concept of androgyny can be conceived of in two ways: an entity that includes both male and female, or an entity that is *neither* male nor female but transcends the distinctions of gender.

The crux of Ament's essay rests on the idea that the historical development of Greek culture is mirrored in the evolution of their mythology, in which there is movement away from the androgynous ideal. He cites the rise in the significance of Zeus, father of the Olympians, at the expense of Gaia whose series of parthenogenic births led to the creation of the world, the fact that Gaia was born from Chaos, an omni-sexual, primordial being. The Greeks, however, are unable to leave their androgynous past behind completely and thus also attribute to Zeus the power of "birthing" children.

Ament makes no attempt to draw upon material culture and visual representations for the simple reason that very few images of androgyny have been preserved. He posits that this could be due to the fact that the idea of androgyny was somewhat conflicted for the ancient Greeks, a sentiment also expressed by Delcourt. On the one hand, an androgynous deity was revered for its complete power; on the other hand, the human hermaphrodite was feared and reviled by Roman society; their reception in the Classical

³⁰⁷ Ament 1993, 3.

Greek world is less clear.³⁰⁸ It is due to this conflict of the *idea* of an androgynous being and the *reality* of hermaphroditic human that Ament suggests is the reason for so few representations of ambiguously gendered beings; to create a representation somehow transforms the idea into a reality.

From Ament's discussion of the pervasiveness of androgyny in Greek culture, one would be well served to re-visit Greek male homo-eroticism. Is the homosexuality practiced by the ancient Greeks an expression of their androgynous mythical origins as described by Plato in *The Symposium*? Are the restrictions placed on homosexuality a reflection of a concerted attempt to impose the masculine orientation that Ament believes to be the governing principle of Greek culture in the Classical period? Although this particular question is beyond the scope of this chapter, Ament's essay is provocative in the way it presents the idea of androgyny as a concept which had a significant influence on shaping ancient Greek society. As he states at the close of his article: "Androgyny is never far below the surface of the human mind and never more so than in a society that forces men and women to live by rigid and artificial stereotypes of masculine and feminine behavior, with sharply defined boundaries."³⁰⁹

A German doctoral dissertation by Andrea Raehs published in 1990 surveys the iconography of androgyny and hermaphroditism in art through the ages, from antiquity through the surrealist movement of the early twentieth century. Raehs reiterates the point that, though the idea of the hermaphrodite is prevalent in oral and written traditions in ancient Greece, there are few images. Raehs' main contribution to the scholarly discussion is a series of succinct *précis* of the ideas of various German scholars on the

³⁰⁸ Ajootian 1995, 101-103; Diodorus Siculus (32.12.2-3); Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* (27.11.1-6).

³⁰⁹ Ament 1993, 25.

topic of androgyny. Her own conclusions, that the *mischwesen* is the mediator between heaven and earth and that the *mischwesen* itself is divided between both states equally, contribute little to the larger discussion but the study is a useful compilation of some of the more obscure works.³¹⁰

The most recent scholar to enter into the discussion of androgyny is Luc Brisson. Brisson, another French scholar, chooses four myths that showcase different aspects of dual sexuality, by which he means “the possession of both male and female genitalia, whether successively or simultaneously.”³¹¹ This book is different from the others because in its use of literary evidence, which he analyzes with an obvious structuralist viewpoint. Brisson performs close textual analyses of passages from ancient literature in order to expound upon the nature of dual-sexed beings. Despite the recent publication date, 2002, Brisson adds little new insight into ongoing ancient conceptions of androgyny, and reiterates some points already made by Ament or Delcourt. Where Brisson is useful is in his analysis of the ancient literary references to androgyny, where the term is often applied to men who flee battle and also to passive homosexual men and women.³¹² Furthermore, Brisson is the only scholar to engage in a discussion of the sexual proclivities of the androgyne, or as he prefers to call it, the dual sexed being.³¹³ One the one hand, the primordial androgyne is asexual, whereas for the human androgyne, “dual sexuality lay not in an enjoyment of pleasure with members of both sexes but, in the case of a man, in playing a feminine role in social life generally and in a sexual relationship in particular, and, in the case of a woman, in taking the role of a

³¹⁰ Raehs 1990, 78.

³¹¹ Brisson 2002, 1.

³¹² Brisson (2002, 61-2) discusses the example of androgyny connoting cowardice.

³¹³ See Brisson’s introduction for a discussion of dual sexuality versus bisexuality.

man.”³¹⁴ Both of the ‘feminine’ male and the ‘masculine’ female were condemned by society, and described pejoratively as androgynes. At the same time, such characters were used to great comic effect in classical Greek theater, where “a most comical effect was produced by setting on stage a transvestite made up to look like neither a man nor a woman.”³¹⁵

This survey of the literature has demonstrated several overarching themes in the study of androgyny in the ancient world. First, there are not many of images of Hermaphrodites and this is likely due to the discomfort of the ancients with the physical and real manifestations of the hermaphroditic condition. Which brings us to the second point: the disconnect between physical hermaphroditism versus the powerful aura of androgyny as a concept. The former was feared while the latter was revered. This reverence of the androgynous and the prevalence of androgynous characteristics of gods, heroes and other legendary figures seems to have had in influence on some of the religious rites of passage where cross-dressing and “wearing another gender” were central to attaining one’s adult identity. And finally, these works generally agree on the androgynous nature of the primordial origins of Greek myth.

What, then, is the impact of this historiographic survey for the Kedesh material, since the evidence available has been largely non-visual? This literature review has shown the prevalence of androgyny in Greek myth and religion, and the capacity of the ancient Greeks to blur gender distinctions at the level of their gods and in the religious context of festivals, marriages and initiation rituals. The Hellenistic Hermaphrodite sculptures and the Kedesh bullae, however, do not come from religious contexts,

³¹⁴ Brisson 2002, 66.

³¹⁵ Brisson 2002, 66.

although some have argued that the religions/aesthetic distinction in imagery is an early modern phenomenon.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, we must therefore explore alternate cultural explanations for the presence of androgynous images in the Hellenistic period.

Cultural Explanations for Androgyny in the Hellenistic Period

Thus far, I have shown that sexual ambiguity is a consistent undercurrent of Greek art, which in the fourth century is transformed into the image of the hermaphrodite. In the Hellenistic period, these hermaphrodite images exist side-by-side with sexually ambiguous images, like those found at Kedesh. I contend that these sexually ambiguous images convey a certain amount of awareness on the part of the creator/user/owner, which was not the case in the art of the preceding Archaic and Classical periods. On the one hand, the Kallipygos Aphrodite, Citharodos Apollo, and effeminate Active Archer continue in the tradition of earlier Greek art in their sexual ambiguity and reflect the continued adherence to Greek medical philosophies. At the same time, they need to be understood as being in dialogue with the hermaphrodite genre sculptures of the Hellenistic period; they use similar artistic devices, torsion, viewpoint, and physicality, as the hermaphrodite sculptures, but with rather different results.

Art in the Hellenistic Age by J.J. Pollitt is particularly important source for students of Hellenistic sculpture. Pollitt makes a distinction between the Hermaphrodite and Satyr group and the Sleeping Hermaphrodite. He characterizes the Hermaphrodite and Satyr as *symplegma*, a term that is used to describe wrestling or struggling figures, often erotic in nature.³¹⁷ Beyond this, however, it is difficult to characterize the

³¹⁶ Cf. A. Gell 1998, 971.

³¹⁷ Pollitt 1986, 130.

sculptural group due to lack of context. On the one hand, these *symplegma* groups could be intended to parody the pathos of Hellenistic baroque sculpture.³¹⁸ On the other hand, they could be caprices, as Pollitt suggests, designed to be purely decorative.³¹⁹ In contrast to the playfulness and eroticism of the Hermaphrodite and Satyr group is the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, which Pollitt categorizes as an example of Hellenistic exotica. Like Delcourt, Pollitt interprets this as an image of Hermaphroditus, the son of Hermes and Aphrodite, who, upon spurning the advances of the nymph Salmacis, was transformed into a bi-sexual being at Salmacis' behest. The torsion in the body lends itself to Pollitt's interpretation of an uneasy sleep and an overall more serious, subdued tone than the Hermaphrodite and Satyr sculpture. This figure, then, could be a votive in nature, perhaps connected to the cult of Aphroditos on Cyprus at Amathus. Alternatively, Pollitt suggests that the sculpture could express a "complex psychological and philosophical view of the psyche, the Platonic idea that on a spiritual level the natures which we call female and male become one," and that this idea could also account for the increasingly effeminate forms of the gods Apollo and Dionysus.³²⁰ This idea of a heightening of effeminacy in Hellenistic art bears further investigation, and I believe we can gain further insight into these sculptures and representations of androgyny if we re-visit how the Greeks theorize the body.

That the Greeks developed conceptions of the body in way that reflected their own cultural beliefs may not come as a surprise, but it gives credence to the theories that

³¹⁸ Pollitt (1986, 111) states: "The stylistic properties that have led Hellenistic sculpture which have led to its being compared to, for example, Italian sculpture in the time of Bernini are, first, a theatrical manner of representation which emphasizes emotional intensity and a dramatic crisis, and, second, the formal devices by which this theatrical excitement is achieved – restless, undulating surfaces; agonized facial expressions; extreme contrasts of texture created by deep carving of the sculptural surface with resultant areas of highlight and dark shadow; and the use of 'open' forms which deny boundaries and tectonic balance."

³¹⁹ Pollitt 1986, 131.

³²⁰ Pollitt 1986, 149.

sex is not a biologically determined category but a culturally constructed category in much the same way as gender. The deconstruction of the sex/gender dichotomy has been the focus of several theorists in the 1990s who view the separation of sex and gender as an artificial one.

Thomas Laqueur propagated the theory of a one-sex model in 1990 in his book *Making Sex*. He claims that up until the nineteenth century, the human body was not considered an ontological category but rather a sociological one. The basis of this one-sex model, he claims, comes from the ancient Greeks, whose treatises on medicine were rediscovered in the Renaissance and used as the basis for conceptions of humanism. He then takes this one-sex model and suggests that gender should be conceived as a point on a vertical spectrum rather than as two fixed opposing points on a horizontal spectrum. But this begs the question: how is flipping the orientation of the spectrum useful in making the scale less polarizing?³²¹ Laqueur overemphasizes the orientation of the axis of the spectrum, rather than highlighting the importance of the spectrum itself.

Though many have come to criticize Laqueur's one-sex model, there seems to be a general consensus within archaeology that sex can no longer be considered as an inviolable biological category. An essay in the edited volume *Archaeology after Structuralism* takes issue with the division of sex and gender as that of nature (biology) and culture. Jarl Nordbladh and Tim Yates state that such a division is false because it assumes that sexual differences are inviolable, transcend history and geography, and that there has always existed, since the beginning of time, a polarity between male and female. This is problematic for so many reasons, least of all, they say that there is a third category of sex that has been largely hidden in our own culture precisely because it does

³²¹ Sharon Herbert, *personal communication*.

not fit our ideal sex stereotype, examples of which I have previously outlined. Though rare, several other chromosomal sexes can and do occur and fall somewhere within or around the extreme male (XY) and the extreme female (XX).³²² Up to five different chromosomal combinations have been identified by geneticists, including XXX ‘super females’ and the male phenotypes XXY, XXXY, and YYX.³²³

Knapp and Meskell also endorse the idea of sex as spectrum rather than dichotomy. In their essay from 1997, they examine prehistoric Cypriot figurines and employ the concept of a spectrum of variation as a way of re-constructing the individual. Knapp and Meskell’s primary concern is employing discourses on the body to construct an archaeology of the individual. They suggest that prehistoric figurines “may have served in part to construct and characterize persons rather than categories.”³²⁴ Their concern for the individual emphasizes the uniqueness of identity and lived experience. Thus, in Knapp and Meskell’s conception, the individual transcends categorization as male or female and it is necessary to incorporate multiple masculinities (or femininities) into social interpretations of the past.

So then, how do these conceptions of the body manifest themselves in the art of the Hellenistic period? I would suggest that there are three ways in which the art of the fourth century and the Hellenistic period reflect these ideas: the development of the hermaphrodite figure; the depiction of female bodies *sans genitalia*; and the increasing move towards effeminate men.

³²² Nordbladh and Yates 1990, 224-5.

³²³ Meskell 1999, pp. 73-74. Meskell (1999, 75) explains these chromosomal complexities in order to “demonstrate that not even *science* could note always designate people into XX (female) and XY (male) categories.”

³²⁴ Knapp and Meskell 1997, 200.

The absence of labia in the depictions of naked female bodies and the absence of hermaphrodites with female sex organs is interesting considering that in the Greek medical texts, not only are the labia equated to the male foreskin, but there are no known restrictions or taboos regarding the functions of female genitalia and menstruation in strong contrast to ancient Near Eastern taboos.³²⁵ In part, the absence of female genitalia may have to do with the status of the subject being depicted naked. In many cases, the naked female depicted is the goddess Aphrodite. Since the labia could stand as a symbol of the purported weakness of women, i.e. the locus of menstruation, a quality that differentiates females from males, it simply would not suffice to represent this aspect of her body given her superior status as an immortal. An alternative suggestion is that the genitalia of female goddess were a locus of such power and mystery that it was not fitting for mortal behold, especially if we bear in mind examples from Greek myth where mortals are overcome by the sight of a deity.³²⁶ Hence we see here the intersection of gender and status, and, unlike in most cases where the two are intimately entwined, the Greek could not reconcile the two.

Alternate explanations for the absence of any accurate portrayal of female genitalia have been rooted in a psychoanalytic framework. Bahrani attributes the absence to the trope of castration and the denial of female sexuality.³²⁷ To reduce the female body to an object of fear and desire based on Freud's theory of castration is to privilege a hetero-normative structure of gender acquisition, which I do not believe is readily applicable to ancient Greek culture with its choreographed homosexuality and rich

³²⁵ Laqueur 1990, 4; Dean-Jones 1994, 226.

³²⁶ Seeing an Olympian deity in his/her pure form often has fatal consequences for the beholder. Semele is consumed in flames upon seeing Zeus; Actaeon is torn apart by his dogs after seeing Artemis at her bath; and Anchises is hesitant to engage in a liaison with Aphrodite for fear of the consequence.

³²⁷ Bahrani 1996, 5-6.

tradition of active female sexuality in its mythological tradition. This is not to say that there was not a sense of anxiety between the patriarchal strictures of ancient Greek culture and the representation of female sex organs, but rather that this anxiety is due to reasons other than a Freudian trope of castration.

The androgynous male-female body is another expression of ancient Greek concepts of the body. In the case of the Hermaphrodite figures, it is interesting that there is a formulaic way in which the bodies are depicted: female breasts, male genitalia. There are no extant images of female genitalia on a male torso. What I suggest is being displayed here is a category of gender in the form of the effeminate male, which, as we have seen from the cross-cultural cases, can be categorized as a separate third gender.

The manifestation of androgyny in the Kedesh bullae and in Greek art in general, is reflected in other forms of media, particularly Hellenistic and Roman literature. Using Lucian's *Dialogue of the Gods* as a stepping-off point to examine mutual desire, Konstan traces the development of Lucian's ideas on desire from different periods, starting with classical Athenian tragedy. Euripides' *Phaedra* serves as an example of the anathema of female sexual desire to the sexual mores of Classical Athens. *Phaedra* is anathema to the sexual discourse of the classical Greek city-state, where sexual relationships and desire were determined by status. Furthermore effeminate males, like Dionysus, are cast in opposition to other males, such as Pentheus, because of the desire he incites in his female followers and his ability to seduce a male to a feminine role.

At the same time, however, Greek novels begin to present a male protagonist who is attractive to other men: "the novelistic hero, like the heroine, is young and physically

desirable to adult males.”³²⁸ This character is epitomized, according to Konstan, by Dionysus, who is effeminate in appearance and who “is both lewd and attractive to women, a subject of erotic desire and the sort who rouses it in others.”³²⁹ Konstan goes on to say that it is precisely these types of characters who fall short of the “macho ideal” who are more liable to stimulate erotic desire, *eros*, in others, “even though the role of lover was normally conceived of as dominant or active, and thus characteristic of the free male adult.”³³⁰ Thus, these effeminate males inspired desire in both men and women. For Konstan, this desire, *eros*, contradicts the sexual ideology in the Classical world, where *eros*, or the active desire is restricted to male citizens, and women and youths are in the category of passive *eromenos*.

This idea of mutual desire, regardless of social status along with the aesthetic of the soft and mild masculine appearance persists into the Roman period, and the literature of Lucian and Catullus were dynamic sites “in which conventional erotic roles were both enacted and subverted.”³³¹ In Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Gods*, Eros advises Zeus to change his look in order to become more attractive to females. This advice suggests that, as in Classical Athens, “tough-guy looks, complete with fierce weaponry, do not arouse passionate love in others. If Zeus wants reciprocal enamorments, he must adopt an effeminate manner like that of Dionysus, whom the maenads pursue, it is implied, because he is attractive to them.”³³² Though Lucian’s anecdote dates to the Roman period, the kernel of the story, the idea that effeminacy is attractive to both male and female, has its roots in earlier periods; and to appeal to all genders (including a third

³²⁸ Konstan 2000, 354.

³²⁹ Konstan 2000, 359.

³³⁰ Konstan 2000, 361.

³³¹ Konstan 2000, 369.

³³² Konstan 2000, 355.

gender) imbues an image or a concept with a certain amount of power. Thus, the androgynous aesthetics of Greek art and the Kedesh bullae may be a deliberate design choice by the artists to appeal to as broad an audience as possible.

Gender Performativity and Androgyny in Greek Myth

I turn now to the seminal work of Judith Butler in order to examine the idea of gender identity and its creation in the ancient world through the theoretical model of performativity. According to Butler, who collapses the sex/gender distinction, gender identity is created by doing; expressions that are said to be the result of gender, for instance, wearing high heels, actually serve to constitute one's identity: "Gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed".³³³ Thus, gender does not express a pre-existing psychic identity; instead gender is the result of constant repetition of certain acts: "gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a nature sort of being."³³⁴ The impact of this theory on archaeology is that "gender is made visible, and material, tangible qualities amenable to archaeological study."³³⁵

The theory of gender performativity can be applied to the interpretation of ancient Greek myth. Tiresias, Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite and Dionysos are just a few of the mythical figures whose identity seems to break from a heteronormative mold and incorporate a spectrum of behaviors or characteristics ranging from "masculine" to

³³³ Butler 1990, 34.

³³⁴ Butler 1990, 45.

³³⁵ Gilchrist 1999, 82.

“feminine.” In the case of Tiresias, we have an example of a temporal hermaphrodite; born a man, Tiresias becomes a woman for seven years, and then reverts back to his former gender. In the course of his life he is struck blind and given the gift of prophesy and long life, two benefits of his dual nature. While none of the Olympian gods is a hermaphrodite, many of them either exhibit bi-sexuality in their literary traditions or are conceived of as such in their iconography. Zeus, the father of the Olympians, gives birth to Athena and Dionysus. Athena, goddess of wisdom, fits perfectly into Penrose’s characterization of the omega female; she is a cunning, wise warrior as well as chaste to the point of being asexual. Athena’s brother, Dionysus, is the god most often associated with androgyny and transvestitism but this is not how is originally conceptualized in Greek art. There is a marked change in his iconography from bearded, and ‘lusty,’ wearing the Ionian robe of a priest, king or tragic actor in the Archaic period, to effeminate, beardless, and wearing a girdle in the Classical period. Aphrodite is worshipped at Pamphylia with a beard and, she is often deemed the most beautiful and “feminine” of the Olympians, her birth from the severed genitals and semen of Ouranos, with no female vessel should not be over-looked. Finally, there is Apollo, though perhaps not an obvious candidate for bi-sexuality. At first glance, Apollo seems to be the most rational of the Olympians. He is the god who oversees prophesy, religious laws, murder and homicide, music, purification, etc. Guthrie described him as the “embodiment of the Hellenic Spirit.”³³⁶ A closer look, however, at Apollo’s interpersonal relationships reveals a more complicated persona; he is unsuccessful in all of his romantic and erotic pursuits in a way that suggests that his attempt at the “masculine” behavior characteristic of many of the Olympian gods is somehow stunted. I think that Apollo’s dual nature

³³⁶ Guthrie 1950, 73.

begins at conception – he is only one half of the result of Leto’s coupling with Zeus; the other half is his twin sister Artemis. This, more so than his possible Asiatic origins, could account for his two-fold nature.

From these descriptions, we can discern that a dual nature was common and that the condition of having aspects of both sexes, be it physically or mentally, is common in ancient Greek myth. These examples are intended to show that despite their anatomical sex, many gods perform actions and behaviors that do not conform to “traditional” gender roles. This ambiguity should not be considered as hermaphroditic in any way but rather speaks to the pervasiveness of conceptual androgyny. Consequently, the androgyny of ancient Greek deities serves as an indication that the gender identities of the Greek gods should be measured on the type of spectrum proposed by the theorists and that their behaviors serve to create their gender rather than gender dictating all of their behavior.

In the same way that Greek myth can be interpreted through Butler’s theory of performativity; both the hermaphrodite images of the Hellenistic period and the ambiguous Kedesh bullae can be understood as performative. Both types of hermaphrodite images, the Hellenistic sculptures and the earlier *anasyromenos* figurines, communicate a sense of disjunction; the viewer “sees” secondary sexual characteristics of one gender, female, but the genitalia of another. In this way, these images can be thought of as drag performances that serve as a subversive parody of heteronormative identities: “indeed, by highlighting the disjunction between the body of the performer and the gender that is being performed, parody performances such as drag effectively reveal the imitative nature of *all* gender identities.”³³⁷

³³⁷ Salih 2002, 65.

In a slightly different way, the Kedesh images also act as gender performatives. The androgynous appearances of the images, while not as overtly graphic as the hermaphrodite images, still serve to call into question the gender of the human figure. While we can classify many of the Aphrodites and Apollos from iconographic trends in other media, the choice of the artist to depict the gods from the rear allows for a flexibility of interpretation. Furthermore, the repeated act of stamping one's ring in order to create "copies" is a key element of gender parody. The ability to reproduce these images is itself a facet of Butler's theory. Gender is a repetition, a copy of a copy, that has no original and this process enables "the assertion of alternative domains of cultural intelligibility, i.e., new possibilities for gender that contest the rigid codes of hierarchichal binarisms, then it is only *within* the practices of repetitive signifying that a subversion of identity becomes possible."³³⁸ Thus the Kedesh bullae are preformative at both the level of the image and the object itself and the sequence of copies made by the owner of the seal.

Conclusion

In returning to the Kedesh bullae, I would argue that the type of androgyny demonstrated by the Citharodos Apollo and the Aphrodite Kallipygos images is closely related to the genre sculptures of the Hellenistic period in terms of the visual joke played on the viewer. In both seal types, the figure is viewed from the back, but there is a certain amount of torsion in the bodies, much like the Sleeping Hermaphrodite sculpture. But unlike with free-standing sculpture, the viewer is unable to view the image from any other vantage point, so the visual pun remains unresolved. There exists, however, a

³³⁸ Butler 1999, 198-9.

significant difference between the Hermaphrodite sculptures and certain of the Kedesh seal types, namely that the hermaphrodite sculptures are explicit in their profusion of sexual characteristics, whereas the images under discussion from the Kedesh corpus do not. There are two significant factors that need to be considered in the interpretation of these images. The first is that although the Kedesh bullae are not as overt in their ambiguity as the hermaphroditic images that enter into the visual record in the fourth century, they draw upon similar technical and stylistic tropes used in Hellenistic art and ought to be seen as part of a this visual conversation. Yet at the same time, these Kedesh images attest to a continued adherence to the cultural conceptions of male and female bodies from the preceding era.

Chapter 4

A New Whole: Cultural Interaction and Hybrid Images

In the previous chapters, I have explored the development of sexual ambiguity in Greek art and I have commented on the role of sexual ambiguity in the interpretation of certain of the Kedesh bullae. I concluded that the Kedesh bullae do not reflect the same kind of hermaphroditism as large scale Hellenistic sculpture; and that the existence of sexually ambiguous images and the concept of androgyny in the greater Mediterranean world seems to bespeak a culture in which gender identity is considered to be fluid and measurable on a spectrum rather than explicable as a binary equation.

In addition to sexual ambiguity, the Kedesh bullae display several other unusual features, including the preference for certain points of view, and variant pose types or motifs. In this chapter, I will examine these iconographic choices through the lens of cultural contact and influence. I argue that certain elements of the Kedesh sealings are a result of acculturation and syncretization. The final products of these processes, namely the bullae and the seals that made them, ought to be seen as hybrid objects that cannot simply be taken as purely Greek or purely indigenous, but rather as an entirely “new whole” that reflects the varied nature of the people living in and around Tel Kedesh in the late Hellenistic period. These “new” or hybrid images themselves, reflect the identities of the individual users and the community of Kedesh at large.

In order to begin an exploration into the cultural climate of the Upper Galilee in the second century B.C.E., it is necessary to look back at the political and social events that took place in the region after the death of Alexander the Great. I will present a brief historical overview, followed by an in-depth discussion of how scholars have discussed issues of culture and ethnicity. From these, I will assemble criteria by which the mixed elements can be identified. Then I will draw upon several case studies of cultural contact, each calling attention to a different element of “culture” including religion and iconography. Finally, I will highlight the individual seal types from Kedesh that fall into this category of a “new whole,” and explain how they are they sum of several parts.

Historical Overview

In the two centuries between the death of Alexander and the abandonment of the administrative center at Tel Kedesh, Hellenistic Phoenicia was a pawn in the ongoing conflicts between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms. Between 345 and 288 B.C.E., all six of the Phoenician cities, (Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arados, Tripolis, and Akko) changed hands at least four times and three of the six had been besieged and sacked; Phoenician expansion into Cyprus and Palestine effectively ceased. By the time the Ptolemies exercised control over the Phoenician coast and its hinterlands, the survivors would have been deeply affected by the experience of war. According to Grainger, the region was so devastated that “their traditions must have changed to cope with the new situation. Their cultural heritage was also surely mutilated beyond repair, leaving an impoverishment which Greek culture could hope to fill.”³³⁹ Grainger espouses an extreme, hellenocentric point of view in stating that a monolithic “Greek” culture would fill the nebulous void

³³⁹ Grainger 1991, 50.

left by a devastated Phoenician culture. In fact, the Kedesh bullae serve to undermine Grainger's characterization; I will argue below that the iconography of the bullae demonstrate a conscious and calculated use of certain Greek themes and motifs, that are at time tempered by local tastes and customs. Thus, the role of Phoenicia as a contested region would have opened the area up to cultural influences from these conflicting views, as well as providing a means of exporting Phoenician culture to point beyond.

One way in which Greek culture permeated Phoenicia was through the abolition of Phoenician monarchies and the introduction of a new political system which included Greek elements like the *boule* and *demos*. The inhabitants of the region, consisting of Greeks, Macedonians, and Phoenicians among others, adapted these organizations to their own local situations.³⁴⁰ Prior to Alexander, Phoenician religion had already shown itself to be willing to accommodate foreign deities, as is seen by the adoption and subsequent worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis at the sanctuary of Astarte at Kharayeb. These phenomena, however, do not provide conclusive evidence of a process of "Hellenization" in Phoenicia. What they do show, however, is that as new and different systems were being introduced, the Phoenicians were willing to accommodate, if not fully assimilate Ptolemaic cultural mores, which themselves are heterogeneous.

The outbreak of the Third Syrian War in 246 B.C.E., marked the recommencement of hostilities between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, this time with different result, as the Seleucids annexed Phoenicia and Judea by the end of the century. Seleucid policy regarding Phoenicia differed from their Ptolemaic predecessors. Instead of using the region as a buffer zone and posting garrisons at all the major cities and settlements, Phoenicia and its hinterland became an area open for settlement and

³⁴⁰ Grainger 1991, 65.

colonization, and political pressures and military presence were relaxed.³⁴¹ The annexation of Phoenicia by the larger and more culturally diverse Seleucid Empire has several important consequences. First, it cemented Greek as the *lingua franca* of trade and administration, at the expense of the Phoenician language; second, local mints were established in several of the “lesser” Phoenician cities, flooding the region with coins of small denomination, and furnishing the Imperial authority with a means of transmitting “official” propaganda; third, Phoenician cities produced more philosophers, poets, and victors than in the previous Ptolemaic period, indicating that more individuals were being educated “in the Greek fashion.” It should be noted, however, that all of these changes would have been most eagerly embraced by the elites of the main cities along the Phoenician coast, and that despite Antiochus IV policy of conciliation towards Semitic peoples, ethnic revolts continued. There is convincing evidence that there was both “indigenous indifference to, or active rejection of, Greek religious beliefs and practices” by the non-elites of Phoenicia.³⁴²

The successive sovereignty of the Ptolemies and Seleucids had an indelible effect on the cultural landscape of Hellenistic Phoenicia, and to a certain extent forced a variety of external religious, stylistic, and linguistic influences to bear on the native Phoenician population. Phoenicians as a sea-faring people had a long history of both transmitting and incorporating multiple cultural traditions. In the post-Alexander world these interchanges intensified. The Ptolemaic and Seleucid eras likely hastened the process. In order to explore the relationships amongst these various cultural influences, a general understanding of culture as a concept must first be established.

³⁴¹ Grainger 1991, 103.

³⁴² Green 1990, 497. See also Grainger 1991: 108-9.

Culture – A Definition?

This chapter hinges on the question of how the iconography of the bullae draws from various cultural influences to create a new whole. In order to be able to say that a new iconographic style has been created, we must first understand the pieces of the equation that were used. Thus, it is necessary to understand and critique the ways in which discrete cultures, in this case Greek and Phoenician, can be and have been identified through the archaeological record. To do so, requires one to participate in the complex discussion of culture, ethnicity, identity and acculturation. The concept of “culture” is a complex one that has received much attention by scholars from all fields, and it is not a concept easily summarized in a few pithy statements. In the following section I will outline some recent contributions to the discussion of culture and ethnicity from Classical Archaeology, with an emphasis on the works of Jonathan Hall.

There are “no fewer than 164 definitions of the term ‘culture’ and its synonym ‘civilization’”³⁴³ In fact, according to Jonathan Hall, “it is easier to express why we want to study ‘culture’ . . . than it is to define it.”³⁴⁴ The range of meanings reflects the difficulty scholars face when trying to explain, define, and quantify “culture.” The complexity and the anxiety the word culture induces in those trying to speak about it results in its frequent encasement in scare quotes, as in the previous sentence. Much of this unease comes from both the difficulty in pinning down a concrete meaning as well as “from postcolonial guilt about essentializing the behaviour of others and in part from poststructuralist doubt over the existence of objective classificatory categories.”³⁴⁵ Despite these concerns, the willingness of scholars to continue to speak about culture and

³⁴³ Hall 2003, 36.

³⁴⁴ Shipley and Vanderspoel s.v. Culture.

³⁴⁵ Hall 2003, 36 n. 7.

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First and foremost, the burning and demolition of the treasures and temples of the gods, whom we are required to avenge to the fullest extent rather than make concessions to the doers of these deeds, the kinship of blood and language of the Greeks and the shared shrines of the gods and common sacrifices and communal ways of life, it would not hold well for the Athenians to betray.³⁵⁰

In this passage, Herodotus establishes several criteria that Athenians have in common.³⁵¹

Although Herodotus speaks only about one subset of Greek people, it is possible to apply these common characteristics to the larger Greek world. Hall supplements these *indicia* – common blood, common language, common cult places and sacrifices, and similar customs – with several of his own, including an association with a common territory, and a sense of shared history and material culture.³⁵²

In the passage above, Herodotus was speaking specifically about the Athenians; but what of Spartans, Boeotians, Corinthians? How do we account for the countless regional variations in language, cult, and customs? Greekness was not the same everywhere; the Greekness of the Macedonians was different from that of Athenians, Spartans, Boeotians, etc.³⁵³ Such affiliations are, in large part, context-dependant. For example, an Athenian fighting the Persians might consider a Macedonian a fellow Greek; but an Athenian fighting against Philip II of Macedon, would consider a Macedonian to

³⁵⁰ Herodotus *The Histories* 8.144.2; translation is my own.

³⁵¹ See Hall 2002, 190 – 194 for his interpretation of this passage, which is about defining Hellenicity. I agree with Hall that this passage is not a definition of Greek cultural identity but rather is “attempting to broaden the defining criteria of Hellenicity beyond purely ethnic elements” (Hall 2002, 190).

³⁵² Hall 1997: 25. These *indicia*, including those mentioned by Herodotus 8.144.2, can be volatile and unstable categories and thus should be considered absolute.

³⁵³ An idea expressed by I. Malkin 2001: 4.

be a barbarian.³⁵⁴ But if such a context is not available, where do we draw the line between a shared culture or collective identity and ethnicity, a much-contested concept in its own right?³⁵⁵

In Greek the word *ethnos* could be used to refer to the inhabitants of a single *polis* or to a larger population that encompassed several *poleis*. Homer uses the term even more broadly to designate any class of being (human, celestial, animal, etc.) who share a common identification.³⁵⁶ Hall, who has spent much of the last decade addressing the issue of Greek identity, conceives of ethnicity as a distinct social collective defined by the following criteria: a collective name; a shared history; a distinctive shared culture; a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship; an association with a specific territory; a shared sense of history.³⁵⁷ Thus, according to Hall, culture is one of *indicium* of an ethnicity; and culture consists of language, religion, traditions, temperament, among other features.

By the time the archive at Kedesh came into use, the Greek world had expanded and populations had shifted to the extent that its identity as Greek might be questioned. Kinship, one of the primary *criteria* of ethnicity, ceased to have the primacy it did the Archaic and Classical periods. As Irad Malkin points out in the introduction to the edited volume *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*: “by the time we reach the fourth century, with the rise of Macedonia, we find the first calls for a predominantly cultural definition of Greek ethnicity, independent of blood connections.”³⁵⁸ Thus, being “Greek” often

³⁵⁴ Lisa Nevett, personal communication.

³⁵⁵ See Bilde et al., eds 1992; Hall 1997; S. Jones 1997; Diaz-Andreu 1998; Malkin, ed. 2001.

³⁵⁶ Hall cites examples in Homer where *ethnos* is used to describe a class of beings who share a common identity: Warriors/young men: Iliad 2.91, 3.32, 7.115, 11. 724. The dead: Odyssey 10.526. Birds: Iliad 2.459 (Hall 1997: 35, n. 12).

³⁵⁷ Hall 1997: 25; and reiterated again in Hall 2002: 9.

³⁵⁸ Malkin 2001: 7.

referred to social status, particularly economically and politically.³⁵⁹ Once kinship is removed as a criterion, ethnicity as a category loses its one link the biological, and like gender, become a social phenomenon defined by discursively constructed criteria which can be effectively manipulated by both dominant and subordinate groups.³⁶⁰

For an example of the decreased importance of kinship ties in the Hellenistic period, we can cite the case of “Tax Hellenes” in Ptolemaic Egypt. “Tax Hellenes” were those people considered Greek by Ptolemaic tax officials, and thus eligible to receive a superior tax status. In her study of what it means to be Greek in Hellenistic Egypt, Dorothy Thompson cites cases from papyrological evidence in which Jews, Thracians, and even Egyptians are considered “Greek” for the purposes of their tax bracket, i.e. they are considered to be “Tax Hellenes.”³⁶¹ What this example demonstrates is that by the Hellenistic period, culture (*paideia*, language, the gymnasium) became the defining feature of Greekness after Alexander rather than necessarily having Greek blood.³⁶² Given this shift in the conception of “Greekness,” for the remainder of this study I will focus on the idea of culture and cultural differentiation, rather than ethnicity.

Until now, I have focused on defining elements of Greek culture, which is only one set of elements contributing to the iconography of the Kedesh bullae. The other component is, of course, Phoenician culture. If we look for signs of ethnic *indicia* in the material record of Hellenistic Phoenicia, we find ample evidence of a thriving “Greek” cultural presence, through literary texts, inscriptions, and art. But in her study of the Persian period, Martin observes that “it is difficult to determine/define precisely what is

³⁵⁹ Dunand 1999, 100.

³⁶⁰ Lyon and Papadopoulos 2002, 17.

³⁶¹ Thompson 2001, 310.

³⁶² Thompson 2001, 316.

Phoenician material culture in the Persian period.”³⁶³ The same can be said for the succeeding Hellenistic period as Berlin recounts in an article from 1997:

The Phoenicians become difficult to recognize in the archaeological record precisely at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Just after the conquest by Alexander the Great, what had been a plethora of Phoenicians material goods mysteriously vanishes, even from sites at which those goods had been most abundant (e.g. Dor). Establishing a profile of Phoenician material culture from this period has been made doubly frustrating by the clear continuation of Phoenician social, political, and economic activities.³⁶⁴

Despite this sudden disappearance, excavations throughout the Levantine coast, and in particular, in the Galilee region of Israel, including Tel Kedesh, has led to the discovery of a locally (Tyrian) produced semi fine ware, whose distribution pattern mimics Phoenician trade routes of the second century B.C.E.³⁶⁵ Based on this clearly quantifiable material, Berlin and others have concluded that the Galilee was home to a mixed population that undoubtedly included a significant portion of Phoenicians.³⁶⁶

Besides the discovery of Phoenician semi fine ware, it is difficult to establish markers of Phoenician culture. The difficulty lies in the fact that primary sources are few, and material culture is not abundantly available. We have three main sources for Phoenician religion: inscriptions, which do little more than mention deities and clients; Ugaritic texts that date to ca. 1200 B.C.E., and the “Phoenician History” of Philo of Byblos, which dates to the late first/early second century CE. The latter two sources bookend the Phoenician heartland. The later text by Philo of Byblos is written by a self-ascribed Phoenician, but has often been set aside because Philo himself does not write during the peak of Phoenician power. This tendency to discount Philo as a kind of

³⁶³ Martin 2007: 8.

³⁶⁴ Berlin 1997, 16.

³⁶⁵ Berlin 1997, 11.

³⁶⁶ Berlin 1997, 48.

outsider because of the late date of his work *vis a vis* Phoenician ascendancy signals a scholarly bias regarding the matrix of the population of the Hellenistic Levant since Philo cannot be truly Phoenician because of certain Hellenized aspects of his name and story.

The Ugaritic texts are problematic due to their composition from a non-Phoenician perspective. This etic point of view can be problematic, for reasons to be discussed below. Furthermore, the nature of Phoenicia was similar to that of ancient Greece: a number of city-states compressed into a narrow littoral, with little unity amongst them.³⁶⁷ Each city had its own patron deities and specially honored pantheon and archaeological discoveries reinforce the emphasis on regional variety. The foreign authors of the Ugaritic texts and the “Phoenician History” may not have been as sensitive to such territorial differences.

In the case of Phoenician art, Old Testament and Assyrian sources suggest the existence of a thriving craft tradition in the Phoenician Levant but these sources are not supported by the material record.³⁶⁸ Ivory carving and seal carving are two such “craft traditions” that are attested, and a significant portion of the evidence of these two trades has been excavated from sites outside of the Phoenician coast. One should note, however, that evidence of Phoenician culture *does* exist, but in light of comparison with the wealth of evidence for Greek, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian cultures, the corpus of Phoenician material seems significantly limited; thus what does exist is doubly significant.

Given some of the short-comings of the evidence of Phoenician culture, it is relevant at this point to expand upon the idea of perspective, and how one ought to interpret the material we do have. It is of utmost importance to take note of our role as

³⁶⁷ Clifford 1990, 56.

³⁶⁸ Markoe 1990, 13.

outsiders. All excavated objects can inform us about a past culture but as outsiders we must be aware that our analytic framework is that of an outsider: the etic perspective. This is an important point to consider because what we may identify as a “new” or “different” phenomenon in the material record may not have been thusly interpreted in antiquity (the emic perspective).³⁶⁹ Furthermore, it is important to consider that changes in a given culture that manifest themselves in the material record, do not necessarily suggest the presence of a foreign entity: “changes in culture can be due to any number of factors including climate, topography, technology, or access to resources as well as external migration or conquest, thus the importance of secure context.”³⁷⁰ Change can come from within a culture; and, as mentioned earlier, culture is dynamic and can support several different sub-cultures under the aegis of a single over-arching “mother” culture. Although material culture can tell us many things about a given cultural group, it is important to recognize that monuments and assemblages of material culture have to be understood in the context of heterogeneous and often conflicting constructions of social identity.³⁷¹ Material culture can also mislead because individuals can use material culture to construct an identity, real or idealized. Thus, we must proceed with caution when interpreting objects from the past.³⁷² But how do we speak about the interaction between two or more cultures? And what impact do settlement, colonization or changes in the political landscape play in the structure of these interrelationships? To explore these questions it is necessary to explore theories of cultural contact in colonial situations.

³⁶⁹ Antonaccio 2003, 59.

³⁷⁰ Hall 1997: 130.

³⁷¹ Jones 1997, 140.

³⁷² A particularly humorous example of the mis-interpretation of material culture can be found in David Macaulay’s *Motel of the Mysteries*.

“Hellenization” and Other Theories of Cultural Influence

In order to analyze the ways in which Greek and Phoenician cultural elements come together to create a new kind of image, it is essential to examine different processes of cultural contact. Acculturation, syncretism, and hybridity are just a few terms that come from post-colonial discourse, and that have been used to explain cultural interaction in a range of periods. Elements of all of these concepts can be called upon to understand the specific ways in which cultural beliefs and stylistic elements are integrated in the Anadyomene and Active Archer pose types. In the following section, I will outline different models of cultural contact that have been employed by archaeologists to analyze colonial and post-colonial situations in the ancient Mediterranean world.

Acculturation is, perhaps, the most generic term used to describe the phenomenon of cultural contact. Most of the models that I will discuss can be described as processes of acculturation. Thus, it serves as a symbolic stepping-stone in the discussion of contact between cultures. Redfield defined acculturation as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups.”³⁷³ B. Knapp, in an excellent précis of acculturation and hybridization, makes the point that “cultural contact between human groups, and the involvement of peripheral groups in trade of exchange relations often developed without any physical coercion or through some negotiated form of acquiescence and resistance.”³⁷⁴ This is a significant point because many of the models of cultural contact used by archaeologists have been borrowed from post-colonial discourse where relations between culture groups were often contentious

³⁷³ Redfield 1936: 149.

³⁷⁴ Knapp 2008, 55.

and violent. In the case of Tel Kedesh in the Hellenistic period, while the transfer of the Upper Galilee from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control was violent in and of itself, the institution of a local Seleucid administrator was not likely met with the kind of violence and resistance that typifies 19th century colonial encounters.

A particularly dynamic model of acculturation is hybridity. First developed by Homi K. Bhabha to describe the colonial encounters between the British and the Indian sub-continent, hybridity has been embraced by archaeologists as a way of explaining the new identities that emerge when cultures collide: “the concept of hybridity has become central to interpreting and understanding such negotiations between different social groups and to revealing how the ideals of one social group are reconfigured as they are internalized by others.”³⁷⁵ For Bhabha, “hybridity is a process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonised (the *Other*) within a singular universal framework, but then fails, producing something familiar but new.”³⁷⁶ Hybridity as a process takes place whenever two or more historically separate realms come together in any degree that challenges their socially constructed autonomy.³⁷⁷

The most fertile locus for the process of hybridity to take place, according to Bhabha, is in the liminal “third space.” This idea is the crux of Bhabha’s theory because it is from this third space that new identities emerge:

People *and material objects* in these situations often exhibit a mixture of cultural similarities and differences, and thus reflect an ambivalence toward either a dominant colonial entity or a subservient indigenous one. Neither colonial norms nor indigenous traditions survive intact in such situations. Both are negotiated to some extent, and give way to new, more

³⁷⁵ Knapp 2008, 58. See also Papastergiadis 2005: 42-3; 48.

³⁷⁶ Papastergiadis 1997, 279.

³⁷⁷ Kapchan and Strong 1999, 243.

ambiguous social and material practices, to new perceptions concerning the meanings and memories of peoples and things.³⁷⁸

The importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, but rather that hybridity is the “third space” that enables new social and material creations to emerge; these “hybrid identities...demonstrated their own unity and coherence.”³⁷⁹ Consequently, we can view hybridity as a dynamic process in which all the parties involved, i.e. both colonizer and colonized, are impacted by the need to alter and develop systems of communication that can be understood by all.

Carla Antonaccio has used Bhabha’s framework to discuss the formation of a particular Sicilian Greek identity, the Sikeliotai, in the fifth century B.C.E.. Bhabha’s theories are useful in this discussion of Greek and Sicilian contact because it forces one to refrain from using binary oppositions of Greek and other, and thus from reading every Greek artifact as a material trace of a Greek person and *vice versa*.³⁸⁰ Antonaccio makes the important point that although Bhabha’s work has focused on India under British colonial rule, his theories can be applied to other colonial situations: “the notion of hybridity may be adapted to Greek antiquity to refer to how material culture was manipulated, combined, and deployed in practice to express identities – and how (material) cultural encounters in turn shaped identity, in colonial contexts but also in the metropoleis of Old Greece.”³⁸¹ Cultural contact between the Greeks and native Sicilians resulted in a hybrid or third space in which new tastes and styles were developed. At Syracuse “local artists forged a distinctive regional style that was at once Greek and yet

³⁷⁸ Knapp 2008 58; Bhabha 1990.

³⁷⁹ Rutherford 1990, 211; Knapp 2008, 58.

³⁸⁰ Antonaccio 2003, 59.

³⁸¹ Antonaccio 2003, 60.

reflected the particular needs, materials, and aesthetic preferences of their Sicilian patrons.”³⁸²

A term that is closely related to hybridity is creolization, which has specific linguistic connotations. Creolization is the combination of two languages, one dominant and one subdominant, into a new language. The concept emphasizes the creativity of the process.³⁸³ Antonaccio declines to use the concept of creolization in her discussion of the Sikiliotai, but in many ways, I believe that this term may most closely describe the processes from which the Kedesh bullae emerged.

Jane Webster has written extensively about Roman Britain, and the ways in which colonial subjects adopted and adapted imposed material culture.³⁸⁴ In contrast to Antonaccio, Webster embraces the creolization model because, unlike Hellenization, creolization offers “bottom-up” insights into the adaptation of material culture by native populations.³⁸⁵ Like hybridity, the creolization model of acculturation accounts for asymmetry in relations of power and allows for “adaptive synthesis.”³⁸⁶ Webster, whose scholarly interests also include slavery in the New World, cites African slaves who received their material culture from their European owners; although the artifacts were obtained from the dominant party, “they were frequently used according to sets of values that were principally African.”³⁸⁷ The same could be said of typically Greek image types and gods: “as creole artifacts, provincial artifacts can negotiate with, resist, adapt, Roman styles to serve indigenous ends, and ultimately, they are part of the emergence of creole

³⁸² Westcoat 1989, 16.

³⁸³ Kapchan and Strong 1999, 241.

³⁸⁴ See Webster 1997a; 1997b; 2001; 2003.

³⁸⁵ Webster 2001, 209.

³⁸⁶ Webster 2001, 217-218.

³⁸⁷ Webster 2001, 218.

societies.”³⁸⁸ Though speaking about Romano-Celtic relationships, Webster’s use of the creolization model is appropriate for Hellenistic Phoenicia.

Another model of cultural contact is syncretization, which is the interaction of two (or more) systems of belief.³⁸⁹ L. Martin outlines the history of the term, and then discusses it in light of his analysis of a passage from Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (book ix, 5). The concept acquired a pejorative sense in the 17th century, when a protestant group known as “the Syncretists,” tried to unify Protestants in light of a growing, unified Roman Catholicism. The Syncretists were ultimately unsuccessful, and thus the term was imbued with negative connotations today identified with colonialist views.³⁹⁰ When speaking of cultural interaction, there are two types of syncretism: *interpretatio*, in which a foreign god or concept is identified with an equivalent from another culture, such the common identification of Greek Aphrodite with Semitic Ishtar.³⁹¹ The second type of syncretization is *Verschmelzung*, which describes a process of fusion resulting from interaction with different cultures.³⁹² What is problematic about these conceptions is the assumption of an “ideal antecedent or future time or state which is not syncretistic....In other words, syncretism defined as a culture mixing implies already a norm, whether theological or historical, from which this fusion is viewed.”³⁹³

In the ancient world, however, the term communicated a slightly different sense. The etymology of the word comes from the combination of the prefix συν- meaning with, and κρασις mix. In its compound form, συνκρητισμος does not appear until relatively late

³⁸⁸ Webster 2001, 218.

³⁸⁹ Webster 1997, 165.

³⁹⁰ Martin 1983, 135.

³⁹¹ Martin 1983, 134.

³⁹² Martin 1983, 134

³⁹³ Martin 1983, 136.

in Greek literature, when Plutarch recounts the story of the Cretans uniting against a common enemy.³⁹⁴ In this example, Plutarch “employed the term to signify a coherent system whereby resemblance structured the relations of its constituent parts” in which “antipathetic foes who resembled one another, Cretans, came into sympathetic relations with one another only in antipathetical relations with dissimilar foes, foreigners.”³⁹⁵ From Plutarch’s passage, Martin suggests that, unlike later notions of a syncretization which presume chaos or monotheism, Hellenistic syncretism was a coherent system, and offers a “systematic model of understanding how divine relations came into being in the Hellenistic period.”³⁹⁶

In his analysis of the Isis Regina passage in book xi, 5 of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, Martin asks the questions how and why syncretism occurs. In the case of this particular passage, Isis is associated with Cecropian Minerva and nine other goddesses, but syncretism with the Syrian goddess Atargatis is conspicuously absent.³⁹⁷ This omission sets up the important questions of why certain elements are borrowed from one culture and not others. Atargatis is excluded from Apuleius’ configuration because of her association with the protagonist, Lucius’, ill-fortune. The goddesses included by Apuleius all have sympathetic relationships established in the story with good fortune.³⁹⁸ Thus, for Martin, the constituent parts of Hellenistic syncretism ought to be viewed as

³⁹⁴ Martin 1983, 136; n. 44: The Cretans, ... though they often quarreled with and warred against each other, made up their differences and united when outside enemies attacked; and this was which they called “syncretism.” *De Fraternali Amore*, 19. Trans. W.C. Helmbold, in *Moralia*, vol V, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

³⁹⁵ Martin 1983, 136.

³⁹⁶ Martin 1983, 137. For the chaotic nature of syncretism in paganism see G. Showerman’s translation of and introduction to Franz Cumont’s *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 2nd edition published in 1956, New York: Dover publications. For monotheistic tendencies in pagan religions see Jean Réville 1887: *La Religions à Rome sous les Sévères*. (Martin 1983, 136.)

³⁹⁷ Martin 1983, 140.

³⁹⁸ Martin 1983, 139.

related parts of a system in which there is a “relatively clear sympathetic/antipathetic structure of resemblance.”³⁹⁹

There are many different models of cultural contact, of which I have only highlighted three; Van Dommelen, in his study of colonialism in the western Roman empire, point out the different shortcomings of several of these models. In the case of syncretism, a teleology of monotheism or the misuse of *interpretatio*, to simply re-name a particular god in different cultures, represent the most serious limitations of this model. Neither hybridity nor creolization will “contribute to a more profound understanding of colonial situations if they continue to conceive of cultures as independently existing entities. One needs to abandon this essentializing view of culture.”⁴⁰⁰ Despite all of these limitations, these models can be deployed usefully, but with caution, to discuss the conditions of cultural interaction in the Hellenistic Near East.

Archaeological approaches to cultural interaction have closely mirrored the theoretical developments of colonial studies. Early approaches to colonialism in archaeology were often tarnished by present-day notions of modern colonial experiences, which were then projected onto the past, as we have seen with the model of Hellenization.⁴⁰¹ The assumption that total acceptance and assimilation was inevitable, varying only in depth of success was also implicit in many of the archaeological approaches.⁴⁰² The developments in cultural theory and archaeology have resulted in many more sophisticated essays on the nature of colonial societies and take advantage of the material culture to aid in the analysis of acculturation. Notwithstanding these flaws,

³⁹⁹ Martin 1983, 141.

⁴⁰⁰ van Dommelen 1997, 309.

⁴⁰¹ See van Dommelen 1997 for a discussion of the historiography of colonialist studies in archaeology.

⁴⁰² Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, 7.

each of these approaches has been meaningfully employed in a variety of geographical and chronological contexts, in large part due to the inadequacy of the concept of Hellenization and the related model, Romanization.

Historically, the most commonly employed model of acculturation in the Hellenistic Levant has been Hellenization. Because the modern history of the word/concept is rooted in the discourse of the 19th century, during the height of European colonialism, the term “Hellenization” presumes several problematic factors. First, it seems to suggest that the process is uni-directional and that contact with Greece resulted in “cultural change in which different local identities and ethnicities became recognizably more Greek.”⁴⁰³ Second, Hellenization assumes a core-periphery model in which the receiving culture either accepts or resists the imported culture.⁴⁰⁴ If we compare Hellenization with the Orientalizing phenomenon which took place in Greece in the seventh century B.C.E., a significant conceptual difference comes to light. The latter term, as discussed by both Burkert and Martin, “describes a phenomenon in which Near Eastern technologies, styles and motives inspired artistic and literary traditions in Greece.”⁴⁰⁵ Although the Greeks borrowed from the East, emphasis is placed on the creative transformation of those borrowed element by the Greeks.⁴⁰⁶ Hellenization, on the other hand, “rather than enriching another culture, replaces it” and makes not room for reciprocity.⁴⁰⁷ Many of these assumptions that have just been described are the result of being “rooted in the ‘present’ in which modern colonial experiences are projected into the

⁴⁰³ Martin 2007, 33.

⁴⁰⁴ Martin 2007, 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Martin 2007, 41. See also Burkert 1992 for more detailed discussion of the Orientalizing phenomenon and the influence of Near Eastern art in Archaic age Greece.

⁴⁰⁶ Burkert, 1992, 7.

⁴⁰⁷ Martin 2007, 41.

past which reinforced the idea that colonization was a unilateral initiative in which advantages of power led to the ‘civilizing’ of natives.’⁴⁰⁸

Hellenization and the related term Romanization, essentialize both participants as a single, coherent entity, rather than allowing for fluctuations within a given cultural group.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, Hellenization has often been seen as “progress” and a process that was the same wherever Greeks and non-Greeks came into contact. But if one looks at the supposed ‘Hellenization’ of the Phoenician cities, we see a rather “special” case.⁴¹⁰ The main Phoenician cities were not colonized or refounded; they did not lose their names; there is no clear indication that they were given Greek constitutions, and there was much continuity with their Phoenician past – language, cults, literary tradition and historical consciousness – through their colonies and also through their earlier contributions to Greek culture.⁴¹¹

The modern concept of Hellenization, as developed from Droysen, has led to an inaccurate analysis of the policies of the Seleucid Empire. It has long been assumed that Alexander’s arrival in the Near East began a period of significant changes to the region; and that his conquest of the Persian empire resulted in a Near Eastern world that looked more “Greek,” much to the benefit of native populations.⁴¹² As mentioned above, this is the very period in which Droysen, seeing an increase in the diffusion of Greek culture, deemed “Hellenistic.” But, much like the term Hellenization, this approach to the Near East in the period after the death of Alexander, has been significantly revised in light of

⁴⁰⁸ Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, 5.

⁴⁰⁹ Webster 1997a, 325.

⁴¹⁰ Millar 1983, 66. In truth all examples of Hellenization are special, in light of the “one size fits all” nature of the process of Hellenization.

⁴¹¹ Millar 1983, 68.

⁴¹² Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1994, 311.

Said's discourse on Orientalism from the 1970s. Instead, scholars have shown that there was, in fact, a significant amount of continuity from the Persian period in the Near East.⁴¹³ In fact, it was Persian policy to permit local cultures to thrive. That said, in order for an individual to climb the Persian administrative ladder, he had to learn the ways and customs of the rulers. Those hoping to accomplish such a feat were usually upper class local elites. This has led scholars to believe that large-scale acculturation took place.⁴¹⁴ But in fact, the Seleucids, and Alexander before them, adopted and adapted Achaemenid institutions in their kingdom, in much the same way the Ptolemies adopted Egyptian institutions in Egypt.⁴¹⁵

Using Babylonia as a case study, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White have demonstrated that although Alexander's arrival resulted in some changes in the administration of Babylon, Alexander accepted "the royal duties of a Babylonian king in the manner of the Persian conquerors before him, which guaranteed stability for traditional forms of civic life."⁴¹⁶ This policy was maintained by Seleucus I, who saw that Babylonian temples were repaired and renovated, and its major festivals were patronized by the Seleucids. "Thus, it is clear that the Seleucid rulers used Mesopotamian and Achaemenid imperial and cultural forms to articulate their kingship and Babylonia."⁴¹⁷ I would argue, also, that the adoption of the archer god, Apollo, as their patron was another way in which the

⁴¹³ Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1994; Avi-Yonah 1978.

⁴¹⁴ This is mainly for two reasons. First, this segment of the population generally had access to more resources and amassed more material possessions, that can leave a "louder" archaeological footprint. And second, the tendency of Classical Archaeologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to focus on the elite strata at the expense of lower class and marginalized populations.

⁴¹⁵ Avi-Yonah 1978, 43.

⁴¹⁶ Kuhrt, and Sherwin-White 1994, 317. Changes included the presence of military commanders, the creation of a navy, and the division of Babylon into two discrete areas.

⁴¹⁷ Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, 1994, 326.

Seleucid monarchs used Mesopotamian and Achaemenid imperial and cultural language to communicate their authority.

It appears that much of the evidence of “Hellenization” in the Near East was actually the result of “the increased density of a Greek presence” which “is to be expected in relation to the change in political domination that has taken place.”⁴¹⁸ Greek was not even introduced as an official language of the empire; but following the example of local elites hoping to find lucrative court positions, many people may have adopted Greek habits in hope of advancing to higher levels within the Seleucid administration. Thus, like the Persians before them, the “Graeco-Macedonians added their own traditions to a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual state, but were unable to achieve a unity centered on their own socio-cultural values.,” and it was all the more likely that they did not aspire to a culturally homogenous ‘Greek; state.’⁴¹⁹

This example has shown that Hellenization as a process of acculturation is problematic term because of many of the assumptions it makes that I have outlined above, and because of its beginnings in the 19th century, when cultural studies were fraught with a traditional colonial mindset. One of the first authors to identify the biases assumed by late 19th century colonial studies was Edward Said. His seminal work, *Orientalism*, paved the way for post-colonialist studies. In *Orientalism*, Said claims that the “West” created the idea of the “Orient” to function as its foil, and that as a foil, the Orient “has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.”⁴²⁰ Thus, Orientalism serves the West as a means of

⁴¹⁸ Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1994, 325.

⁴¹⁹ Avi-Yonah 1978, 61.

⁴²⁰ Said 1978, 1-2.

“dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”⁴²¹ In this way, the Orientalist “makes the Orient speak” and in so doing indicates that s/he is “outside the Orient.”⁴²² According to Said, the product of this positioning is representation, and he cites Aeschylus’ *The Persians* as an early representation in which “an artificial enactment ... has [been] made into a symbol for the whole Orient.”⁴²³

Although Said considers Orientalism to be a mainly British and French enterprise, he recognizes the role that Germany played in the development of Orientalist discussion, despite Germany’s lack of colonial interest in the Orient, i.e. its nominal presence in India, the Levant, and North Africa. However, because of Germany’s scholarly pre-eminence in 19th century Europe, “German Oriental Scholarship...refine[d] and elaborate[d] techniques whose application was to texts, myths, ideas, and languages almost literally gathered from the Orient by imperial Britain and France.”⁴²⁴ This is the environment in which Droysen developed his theory of ‘Hellenismus.’ Said paved the way for post-colonial theorists to move beyond the dichotomies inherent in earlier studies of the Near East, and to speak about colonial relationships in a much more sophisticated and nuanced manner. This includes the development of new models of cultural contact that are conscious of the issue of presentism and the changing global landscape.

Case Studies in Acculturation

I would like to turn to examples of cultural contact in the Hellenistic period that highlight some of the theoretical issues described above. Religious syncretization and

⁴²¹ Said 1978, 3.

⁴²² Said 1978, 21.

⁴²³ Said 1978, 21.

⁴²⁴ Said 1978, 19.

iconographic “fusion” are two types of cultural contact that are particularly prevalent in the Hellenistic East. In the case of religion, I will examine the relationships between several prominent female deities, including Isis, Aphrodite, and Astarte, to name a few, in order to demonstrate that the connections between these goddesses are more significant than a simple issue of re-naming, and that different elements of their personalities are married together in different circumstances. In the case of iconographic hybridity, I will examine briefly the art of Gandhara in order to illustrate a particularly striking example of the “borrowing” of Greek artistic elements, resulting in a new style. Both types of cultural contact are significant in the understanding of the unusual motifs at Kedesh.

Religious syncretization is considered by some to be “the main characteristic feature of Hellenistic religions” because of the tendency “to identify the deities of various peoples and to combine their cults.”⁴²⁵ This is mainly due to the expansion of the Greek world under Alexander. Greek foreign policy in newly integrated regions was to allow indigenous religions to continue with little interference from the Greek administration. In the case of Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Babylon, great lengths were taken by Greek rulers and administrators to actively take part and adopt local religious customs. The Greeks also believed that all peoples worshipped the same deities but with different names and customs.⁴²⁶ Given this belief and the expansion of the Greek world, there is a profusion and influx of “new” or “foreign” deities into the every day parlance of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Syncretism is not unique to the Hellenistic period. As far back as the history of Greek religion can be traced, syncretism can be found. Although many different gods and

⁴²⁵ Grant 1953, xiii.

⁴²⁶ Budin 2004, 98.

goddesses undergo some sort of religious blending, I would like to focus here on the combination of Aphrodite, Isis, and Astarte/Ashtart. As early as the Late Bronze Age, Levantine, Cypriot, and Mycaenaen religious systems came in contact and eventually led to the adoption of a new goddess, Aphrodite to the Greek pantheon. This syncretism is still embedded in Greek religious thought when Herodotus identifies several important Near Eastern goddesses with Aphrodite. What makes the syncretism of the Hellenistic period different is its vast extent, thoroughness, and the remoter origins of some of the cults and deities involved.⁴²⁷

Generally, the type of syncretization that seems to be the easiest to illustrate is that of *interpretatio*, where one deity is correlated with another. If we look at inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, we see that individuals thought of more than one deity when composing dedications. The earliest example from this period is a 4th c. bilingual inscription from Kos in which “son of Abdalonymous, King of Sidon” makes a dedication to Aphrodite in the Greek text and Queen Ashtart in the Phoenician.⁴²⁸ A similar bilingual inscription discovered in Athens maintains this parallel; the funerary inscription identifies the deceased as the son of one Antiparos Aphrodisios in Greek and Abd’ Ashtart in Phoenician. “In this instance, the term *Aphrodisiou*, “Belonging to Aphrodite” is a direct parallel with *Abd’ Ashtart*, “Servant of Ashtart.”⁴²⁹ Several other inscriptions from the island of Delos show the same parallel relationship. Inscriptions 1719 and 2305, dating to ca. 100 B.C.E. and 2nd c. CE, respectively, were both dedicated by individuals from Ashkelon on the southern Levantine coast and illustrate direct

⁴²⁷ Grant 1953, xxii.

⁴²⁸ Bonnet 1996, 159: E11; Budin 2004, 129.

⁴²⁹ Budin 2004, 129.

interpretatio between Aphrodite Ourania and Seminit Astarte.⁴³⁰ This pair of deities is also identified with Isis on Delos inscription 2132, which dates to the 2nd c. B.C.E.. Another pair of inscriptions from Delos, ID 2158 and 2040, are dedicated to Isis Aphrodite Dikaia, omitting any representative of the Phoenician pantheon.⁴³¹ A final inscription from the Phoenician city of Byblos in which the Phoenician reads “to the Lady of Byblos” while the Greek reads “Ashtart Great Goddess.”⁴³² “In this instance, we have a dedication in Phoenician to the *Baalat Gubal*, queen of the Byblian pantheon and often identified as a Levantine version of Egyptian Hathor and/or Isis, equated in the Greek text with the Great Goddess Ashtart.”⁴³³ What all of these inscriptions demonstrate that a specific and consistent Aphrodite-Ashtart syncretism is an exaggeration. The syncretism is not a one-to-one *interpretatio*, but a general association or *verschmelzung*, of several Greek, Egyptian and Near Eastern goddesses with one another in various and varied pairings or groupings. Budin states that “in the rest of the Mediterranean, however, a more extensive, yet less consistent, type of *interpretatio* took place, whereby Aphrodite and Ashtart not only came to be equated with each other, but with several other deities in the Greek and Near Eastern repertoires.”⁴³⁴

The Hymn to Isis from Medinet Madi I 14-24 is one of the best examples of the type of syncretism characteristic in the Hellenistic period in which diverse deities are subsumed under the guise of one. The text reads:

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 ●●●●●● ●●● ●●●●●●●●, ●●● ●●●●●● ●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●,
 ●●●●●● ●●● ●● ●●●●●●, ●●●●●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●●,

⁴³⁰ Bruneau 1970, 347; Budin 2004, 130.
⁴³¹ Brunaeu 1970, 348; Budin 2004, 131.
⁴³² Bonnet 1996, 156: 10; Budin 2004, 132.
⁴³³ Budin 2004, 132.
⁴³⁴ Budin 2004, 101-2.

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So many men are there upon the boundless earth,
 Thracians and Greeks and Barbarians,
 with different voices from different lands,
 they speak your beautiful name, that is honored by everyone.
 The Syrians call you Astart-Artemis-Nanaia
 and the Lycian tribes call you Mistress Leto,
 the Thracians, they call you mother of the gods,
 the Greeks, mighty-throned Hera and Aphrodite,
 and good Hestia and Rhea and Demeter.
 But the Egyptians, they call you Thious because there is in you alone
 all goddesses named by other people.⁴³⁵

This passage shows that Isis was identified with a variety of Greek and Greco-Oriental goddesses, but does not give any precise details about her cult. Thus the author, Isidorus, asserts the universality of Isis, even if there are not correlations to a reality in cult.⁴³⁶ This text also demonstrates a theoretical expression of syncretism rather than solely a system of correspondences in the manner of Herodotus.⁴³⁷ In the case of Isis–Aphrodite syncretism in particular, Isis sometimes appears as Aphrodite, with Aphrodite, or as several different forms simultaneously.⁴³⁸ The coexistence in the same deity of several different aspects is characteristic of Egyptian theology: a divinity can manifest these different modalities either at the same time or in succession.⁴³⁹ Isis can appear in certain circumstances as a goddess of women and love, but at the same time she does not totally

⁴³⁵ *SEG*, viii [1937], 548; translation is my own.

⁴³⁶ Dunand 1973, 80.

⁴³⁷ Dunand 1973, 80-1.

⁴³⁸ Dunand 1973, 84.

⁴³⁹ Dunand 1973, 86.

absorb the personality of Aphrodite, who maintains own existence and identity.⁴⁴⁰

Syncretistic relationships are not static unions, but rather dynamic associations in which there exists a certain amount of fluidity in identity.⁴⁴¹ Thus, in the union of Isis and Aphrodite, one can recognize their similarities without negating their individual existence.

There are two levels of Isaic syncretism. The first, characteristic of the Greco-Roman period, is essentially *interpretatio*, in which one finds in Isis the characteristics of functions of foreign deities. The second, older level is an inter-Egyptian one where Isis is identified with several of the most powerful and important Egyptian goddesses without these identifications resting on similar functions.⁴⁴² This earlier level of syncretism is what allows the Aphrodite-Isis syncretism to be established. Aphrodite's Egyptian equivalent is actually Hathor, who since Pharaonic times was paired with Isis and from whom Isis took her crown of the sun between two horns.⁴⁴³

What these examples demonstrate is that while an individual may equate one deity in a dedication or piece of literature, the process of syncretization is a more complex process than just *interpretatio*. Rarely, if ever is there a perfect one-to-one correspondence between deities and the search to establish one quickly becomes very problematic. In the case of Aphrodite-Ashtart, as Budin herself states at the end of the article, Hera likely played a role. Similarly, Hathor is also a key figure for Isis and her syncretization with other deities. What these examples show is that these syncretistic unions were unstable and the new entity did not necessarily have a permanent

⁴⁴⁰ Dunand 1973, 86.

⁴⁴¹ Dunand 1973, 87; Morenz 1973, 189.

⁴⁴² Dunand 1973, 90.

⁴⁴³ Malaise 2000, 8.

character.⁴⁴⁴ Thus, rather than Aphrodite evolving from eastern “predecessors,” there is a close relationship between the various Mediterranean goddesses.⁴⁴⁵ And because of this close relationship, the Greeks tended to see in the various Near Eastern goddesses elements of Aphrodite.

Syncretization is also expressed through the visual culture of a “colonial” or culturally diverse society. In the case of the Gandharan art, the resulting visual language is particularly stunning. Located in and around the Peshawar valley, Gandhara was the twentieth satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. After the collapse of the Achaemenids in 328 B.C.E., Gandhara came under the control of the Mauryan dynasty. It was during this period that Asoka allegedly introduced and promoted Buddhism in the region. The Mauryan dynasty ruled until 190 B.C.E., at which time control of Gandhara fell under the Graeco-Bactrians. This lasted until 90 B.C.E., when the united Sakas and Parthians took over. The most prolific period of Gandharan art was the Kushan period, which lasted from 64 – 190 CE. This historical outline illustrates the numerous cultural powers that reigned in the region and from whom Gandharan artists borrowed visual elements. Briefly, such visual cues as Greek clothing and postures, including a particular taste for *dehanchment* Parthian frontality, and Indian linearity and penchant for crowded scenes, can all be traced in Gandharan sculpture.⁴⁴⁶ But rather than presenting a pastiche of these different elements, Gandharan sculpture “represented an independent expression which belonged whole to non of the parent-traditions upon which it drew.”⁴⁴⁷ For instance, despite the indebtedness of Gandharan art to the Graeco-Roman tradition, most sculptures

⁴⁴⁴ Dunand 1973, 91.

⁴⁴⁵ Budin 2004, 95.

⁴⁴⁶ Boardman 1994, 112; Nehru 1989, 27; 45; 55.

⁴⁴⁷ Nehru 1989, xvii.

eschew the realism that characterized Greek and Roman art.⁴⁴⁸ Similarly, though there are remarkable similarities between Parthian and Gandharan stylistic treatment of the human form, “Parthian frontality” never quite makes significant inroads.⁴⁴⁹ Finally, themes popular in Indian art, such as fertility and abundance, are significantly less popular in Gandharan sculpture, where the most common visual themes revolve around the life of Buddha.⁴⁵⁰ Thus Gandharan imagination modulated stylistic elements from India, Parthia and the West; certain elements were absorbed, transformed and rejection in order to create an independent stylistic language.⁴⁵¹

In the discussion of cultural interaction style – of objects, building techniques, city planning – is an important facet of deciphering complex cultural relationships. Objects are “not simply residues of social interaction but are active agents in shaping identities and communities.”⁴⁵² And the style of those objects communicates messages about social, ethnic and religious affiliations. Style functions “as a mode of social interaction and difference, targeted at individuals beyond the immediate scope of the household or residence group.”⁴⁵³ The iconographic style of the Kedesh bullae, then, also helped to shape the identity of the community. The pose types, described in the first chapters, range from traditional “Greek” sculptural motifs, like the Lycian Apollo and Knidian Aphrodite, to more unusual poses that defy a single cultural categorization. These motifs – the Aphrodite Anadyomene and Active Archer Apollo – are, I suggest,

⁴⁴⁸ Nehru 1989, 27.

⁴⁴⁹ Nehru 1989, 45-6.

⁴⁵⁰ Nehru 1989, 55.

⁴⁵¹ Nehru 1989, xvii.

⁴⁵² Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, 8.

⁴⁵³ Hall 1997, 132.

“active agents” in expressing the identity and community of Kedesh in the late Hellenistic period.

Back to the Bullae: A New Whole

As we revisit the bullae, it is possible to identify images or aspects of images that seem “unusual” in comparison to similar images that occur elsewhere. In an earlier chapter, I attempted to categorize each pose type within the artistic milieu of the Hellenistic world by searching for comparanda and identifying trends within other small-scale media. Two pose types stood out during this process as being particularly unusual: the Aphrodite Anadyomene and Apollo Active Archer. In addition to these individual poses, I also noted the prevalence of rear views and the contribution of these poses to the ambiguity of the individual figures. This, too, is a rather unusual feature of the Kedesh corpus.

Of all of the pose types, both male and female, the Aphrodite Anadyomene is the most visually jarring. Lacking the features that characterize the Anadyomene pose from other sites and in other media, the Kedesh figures present a stiff, frontal, and schematic female form. This raises the question, why, of all the pose types, does the Aphrodite Anadyomene stray so far from other portrayals? I contend that it is due to the unique “third space” created by the intermingling of Greek, Phoenician, and Egyptian cultural presence in Hellenistic Phoenicia. The creators of the Kedesh Anadyomene seals were immersed in both the religious and cultural syncretization of the region to create this unusual motif. The religious syncretization that is so characteristic of Hellenistic religion is one result of this hybridization. As has been discussed, Aphrodite, Isis, and Ashtart are

all identified as or along with one another by ancient authors and literary sources. Given the location of Kedesh in Phoenicia, I believe that we should add Tanit to this equation as well.

Tanit was one of the predominant female goddess of the Phoenician pantheon, and oversaw many different aspects of Phoenician religion, including war, the heavens, motherhood, and virginity. Throughout the Mediterranean, wherever the Phoenicians settled, Tanit was usually assimilated with the region's most powerful female goddesses. In the Greek world, this would likely be Hera or Athena; however, as patron goddess of sailors, Aphrodite was a more appropriate choice for the sea-faring Phoenicians.

The symbol of Tanit is known possibly from the fifth century B.C.E., but definitely by the fourth century B.C.E. and appears throughout Phoenicia proper and its overseas colonies. There are two schools of thought regarding the origins of the motif: on the one hand, some believe that the cult is of eastern origin. On the other hand, others believe Tanit and her symbol to be indigenous to the Punic pantheon. The symbol occurs in several variations on a simple theme: a triangle, at whose point extend two "arms" or lines, which can be bent upwards, and a circular "head." It has been suggested the symbol began as the representation of an anchor, the symbol of Tyre, and later developed its anthropomorphic form at Carthage.⁴⁵⁴ Regardless of the origins of both the deity and the symbol, by the Hellenistic period, both are firmly entrenched in the daily life of the Levant.

In the case of the Kedesh Anadyomene, we have, I believe, a case of iconographic blending, or creolization, that is the result of the syncretism of Aphrodite, Isis, Ashtart and Tanit. This particular combination, of the Greek, Egyptian, Semitic and Phoenician

⁴⁵⁴ Dothan 1974, 47; M Dunand and R. Duru 1962.

goddesses, may account for the fact that the Kedesh Anadyomene is so unusual within the corpus of Hellenistic glyptic; at no other site in which we have contextualized glyptic archives does there exist the same combination of these specific cultures. The lone comparison piece, a terracotta depicting Isis from Egypt, demonstrates one of the key features of the Kedesh motif: frontality, which is a mainstay in the representative art of Egypt from the pre-Dynastic period on. The Aphrodite Anadyomene often appears with other Isaic iconography; and was particularly venerated in Alexandria.⁴⁵⁵

Another element of the Kedesh Anadyomenes can be found closer to home, among the Phoenician pantheon, in the form of Tanit.⁴⁵⁶ The Phoenician goddess is almost always represented by a schematic, faceless, ideogram. The two stick arms extending from the meeting place of the body and head are often bent at the “elbows” and point skywards. This is, very generally, the same arm positioning as the Aphrodite Anadyomene. Furthermore, the Kedesh Anadyomenes lack the torsion, asymmetry and realism of other Anadyomene figures. Instead, they highlight the frontality and schematism of Tanit’s symbol. These particular cultural elements, combine with the Greek elements to result in an unusual image in the repertoire of Hellenistic Aphrodite images.

Another aspect of the Anadyomene can be explained by this syncretism. The image is decidedly androgynous as compared to other images of Aphrodite. The Semitic goddess Ashtart, according to Budin, developed out of Babylonian Ishtar, who herself evolved from a male Venus god and “became the gender-ambiguous but essentially

⁴⁵⁵ Jentel 1981, 153.

⁴⁵⁶ This idea was first put forth by Herbert 2004: "The Hellenistic Archives from Tel Kedesh (Israel) and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Iraq)." *The University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* XV, (2003-2004): 65-86.).

female Ishtar (who occasionally sports a beard). As this new goddess, feminine in persona but masculine in name (“Ishtar” lacks the feminizing “t” found in the regional Semitic dialects) traveled westwards into the territories inhabited by Ashtar-worshippers, some apparent confusion emerged concerning her relationship with the long-established male Venus deity. Istar/Eshtar/Ashtar could be seen as simultaneously male and female....⁴⁵⁷ At the same time, in ancient Greek mythology, Aphrodite is born only from the genitals of Ouranos; no female component is used in her creation story – a decidedly masculine origin for this legendary feminine goddess. Like her Near Eastern counterparts, Aphrodite is also occasionally depicted bearded. Androgyny is characteristic of several of the goddesses whom are believed to be to be integrated in the form the Kedesh Anadyomene.

While I contend that the Anadyomene is the result of a complex process of religious syncretism and creative creolization of different visual languages, the Active Archer is the result of a different phenomenon. Two types of Active Archers exist at Kedesh: the effeminate archer and the brawny archer. Though they demonstrate different physiques, both types are depicted fully naked. This motif is also popular at Delos, the famous trading post in the Aegean sea, and home to a diverse cultural population. At Seleucia, however, this naked Active Archer is not particularly common. However, at both Seleucia and Uruk, there exist clothed versions of the same motif.

The archer is a commonly occurring motif in Ancient Near Eastern art, and as I have already discussed, the use of the naked male body is restricted to several different narrative tropes in Ancient Near Eastern art. Herodotus 1.10 recounts the story of story of Gyges and Candaules, in which Candaules contrives for Gyges to gaze upon the naked

⁴⁵⁷Heimpel 1982; Selz 2000, 32-33; Budin 2004, 104.

Queen. This is shameful because “for with the Lydians, as with most barbarian races, it is thought highly indecent even for a man to be seen naked.”⁴⁵⁸ Although the prohibition against nudity in the Ancient Near East had eased significantly by the Hellenistic period, the close association with Apollo the archer and the Seleucid imperial family may have discouraged this particular motif from taking a strong hold in the heart of the empire. Although Apollo frequently appears naked in the iconographic program of the Seleucid administration, he is represented as Apollo clearly through accoutrements, such as the lyre, arrow, or omphalos. On the other hand, the identity of the Active Archer is significantly more ambiguous given the history of the king-as-clothed-active-archer pose in the Near East. The old taboo of male nudity may explain why the Active Archer motif does not occur with any frequency in the more eastern regions of the Seleucid empire. The continuity of the clothed Active Archer pose in the heart of the Seleucid empire, may be the result of a policy of continuity with earlier traditions; whereas the proximity of Kadesh and Phoenicia to the Mediterranean coast and their position as Seleucid hinterland, created a more open and receptive audience of Greek iconographic practices, causing them to adopt a well-known motif.

What then, are we to make of the fully nude Quiet Archer images which are present in the eastern cities of the Seleucid kingdom? I do not mean to suggest that the male nudity taboo is in play for all images; clearly this is not the case given the numbers of nude Apollo images that appear on coins and seals. I do, however, want to make the distinction between “new” poses, like that of the Quiet Archer, and poses rooted in the visual language of previous periods. The Quiet Archer is an image type that in the Greek world is synonymous with Apollo, as well as being a sufficient departure from Persian

⁴⁵⁸ Herodotus 1.10, trans. A.D. Godley.

and Achaemenid iconographic practices. On the other hand, the Active Archer is a visual trope with long histories in both the Greek world and the Near Eastern world. I argue that this precedent was enough to make the fully nude Active Archer pose unpalatable to the Seleucid heartland, which could then account for the absence of the Active Archer motif from the glyptic traditions at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Uruk, and other cities of the Seleucid heartland.

A similar phenomenon may also account for the prevalence of rear view poses at Kedesh. While the Kedesh community may have been more receptive to Greek artistic influences, they too, had their limits. As discussed earlier, the androgyny of Hellenistic Greek sculpture is very formulaic and explicit. The androgyny expressed by certain of the Kedesh bullae is much more subtle. Given that androgyny is rarely if ever depicted in the Ancient Near East, these rear view poses, such as the Kallipygos Aphrodite, Semi-draped Aphrodites, and some of the Citharodos Apollos, could be the result of an attempt to mitigate Greek artistic tastes and transform them into something more acceptable and palatable to an indigenous audience; but this is a complex issue. On the one hand, the choice to view certain figures, particularly the male Citharodoi from the rear, could be a reaction against Greek artistic custom of the naked male form, and thus indicative of a discomfort with male nudity. This cannot, however, be a universal explanation since frontal naked male figures appear not only on other sealings from Kedesh, but also appear in other glyptic archives from the Near East. Furthermore, there are more female poses that highlight the rear view than male poses.

The popularity of these rear-view female poses, in particular the Kallipygos and the Semi-draped, contrasts with the frontal tradition of ancient Near East representations.

Furthermore, since as early as the sixth century, the Greeks have shown no discomfort in displaying the naked female form on vase painting. Why such modesty in the second century B.C.E.? I would suggest a combination of reasons: first, that the decision to depict certain female figures from the rear is a result of a demand for Greek aesthetics and a reflection of Greek homoerotic desire; or the artists who created the seals used to make the Kedesh impressions were influenced by Greek craftsmanship as a reaction against the tradition of frontality that predominated figural art in the ancient Near East. Either way, local artists were influenced by the torsion of Hellenistic Greek art; and this torsion happens to be quite different from the rigid frontal and profile poses known from ancient Near Eastern glyptic. Thus, there are multiple messages that could be read from these “beautiful buttocked” figures. One reading suggests domination of Greek artistic and aesthetic values, while the other suggests a more resistant adaptation of an unabashed physical androgyny popular among the Greeks. It is important to remember that the population of Phoenicia in the second century B.C.E. was diverse and heterogenous, as were the artists, who created the seals that made the seal impressions found at Kedesh, and their patrons. Thus, one would be mistaken to believe that a single explanation could account for these iconography phenomena. Just as the iconography itself is polysemous, so are the reasons behind its creation.⁴⁵⁹

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to establish different types of culture contact that can be used to understand the Kedesh bullae. Having established that Hellenization is an outdated term, it also inaccurately described the situation in Hellenistic Phoenicia.

⁴⁵⁹ Webster 1997b, 175.

Instead I have turned to postcolonial theory to describe the situation which the bullae may have helped to shape. The “third space” created in Phoenicia as a result of the Persian, Ptolemaic and Seleucid hegemony resulting in the intermingling of several different artistic styles. Like the Gandharan sculptures of the Kushan period, the creators of the seals used to make the Kedesh impressions drew upon several different visual traditions to create a new “hybrid” style. Given that the visual language is another type of language, the term creolization best fits this creative process. That said, this creolization was only possible because of the preceding religious syncretism of Aphrodite, Isis, Ashtart and Tanit, and the new social space of Hellenistic Phoenicia which allowed for “the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonialism.”⁴⁶⁰ “By complying with colonial norms and standards,” in this case certain well-established iconographic motifs, “and by simultaneously hanging on to certain indigenous perceptions, people develop new cultural norms of their own and effectively ‘invent’ new traditions that are peculiar to each specific contact situation.”⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶⁰ Ashcroft et al 1998, 118; van Dommelen 2006, 136.

⁴⁶¹ van Dommelen 2006, 136-7.

Chapter 5

The Bullae and the Larger Picture: Review and Reassessments

In the course of this dissertation I have presented both the Kedesh seal impressions of Aphrodite and Apollo, and comparative material from other sites and in other media. I have argued that the androgyny and the unusual pose types must be understood within the cultural milieu of the second century B.C.E. Levant, and the unique blend of artistic influences therein. The presentation of data and the subsequent iconographic analysis of the Aphrodite and Apollo pose types forms the backbone of this dissertation. Through comparison with other glyptic archives of Hellenistic date, I have been able to identify certain iconographic trends within Hellenistic glyptic, as well as highlight the exceptional and unusual aspects of certain Kedesh pose types. I would like to review these findings now. Rather than review the pose types in the same order as they were first presented in chapter 2, I have arranged the pose types in groups according to the existence of a visual prototype.

The Kallipygos Aphrodite and the Active Archer Apollo appear to be singular inventions of Hellenistic glyptic. Although there does exist a sculpture version of the Kallipygos, its provenance and questionable reconstruction serve to render this example extremely problematic, as I will discuss below. Nor do these poses appear with any regularity in terracotta or coins.

The Kallipygos is one of the most visually striking poses of the corpus. Known in sculpture from only a single image of questionable provenance, the Kedesh bullae situate this pose type securely in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶² Using features and elements common in Hellenistic sculpture, notable torsion and female nudity, these images show that the version of the statue in the National Museum at Naples is at odds with these securely datable Hellenistic images. Aphrodite Kallipygos from Kedesh does not look over her shoulder at her own buttocks, as the statue has been restored to do. Nor, is this pose a “perfect illustration of moral degeneration” that Saflund asserts is characteristic of Hellenistic art. It captures a single moment, a fleeting moment, of a woman, possibly meant to be Aphrodite, reaching back between her shoulder blades while looking forward, possibly gazing at her reflection in a mirror.

The Active Archer pose occurs on the most impressions of any of the pose types of mythological subjects at Kedesh: 96 impressions from only 13 seals, a majority of which come from just three seals.⁴⁶³ The ratio of impressions to seals clearly indicates that the owner(s) of this seal type was required to do a significant amount of sealing, and was an active user of the archive, even possible a local official who resided at Kedesh. The selection of Apollo, then, is not unexpected given his role as the patron god the Seleucid dynasty. Archery is an extremely important element of Apollo’s person that is often alluded to in official Seleucid iconography. Why then, does this motif occur so seldom at the archives from the eastern Seleucid empire? The contrast is made all the more apparent when we turn to Delos, where the Active Archer Apollo is the second most popular Apollo type after the Citharodos. There appears to be a geographical

⁴⁶² The lone sculptural example is in Naples, National Museum 6020.

⁴⁶³ The closest in number is Tyche, who in her most popular pose, standing right with a cornucopia on her back, occurs on 75 bullae.

division in the popularity of this pose, which indicates that while the pose type was, in fact, a known type not unique to Kedesh, it was deemed inappropriate for frequent use in the eastern half of the Seleucid kingdom. The origins of the pose seem firmly rooted in the tradition of Attic vase painting and Classical Greek sculpture; the extended arms and split-leg stance brings to mind the sculptures of Artemision Zeus (460-450 B.C.E.) in bronze, the Tyrannicides in marble (477 B.C.E.), and the painting by the Berlin painter. The proximity of Delos and the Levantine coast to the Greek mainland, and thus to this tradition, in conjunction with the pre-existing motif of the Persian archer-king in the east, likely accounts for the divide.

The Quiet Archer is the third pose that does not have a formal sculptural prototype, although it does bring to mind the Lysippan Farnese Herakles from the fourth century at a very basic level. Unlike the Active Archer pose, the Quiet Archer is an important Seleucid numismatic motif. This motif occurs in two variations: Apollo leaning on his bow, and Apollo leaning on a tripod. The bow-leaning Apollo rarely occurs on silver and gold coins, if at all, and is much more commonly associated with bronze. The tripod-leaning archer appears more often on large, more valuable denominations, though there are a handful of examples of the tripod-leaning Apollo on bronze coins. There is, however, a significant difference between the tripod-leaning Apollo of bronze coinage and those that occur on larger, more valuable denominations. The key difference centers on the depiction of the tripod. On gold and silver issues, Apollo is seen leaning on an ornately rendered tripod, that is nearly half his size and replete with handles and additional crossbars to reinforce the elongated legs; an inscription is usually included as well. The tripod from the smaller, bronze issues is not nearly as intricate. The Kedesh

images most closely resemble the images from these less intricate bronze issues. This is likely due to the fact that the Quiet Archer leaning on a bow is minted locally, at Akko and also the fact that the Hellenistic Levant likely only had access to bronze Seleucid currency.⁴⁶⁴

These motifs attest to the creativity and ingenuity of Hellenistic seal carvers and their patrons to develop and embrace new and different iconographic types. Although similarities exist between media, there is, in fact, no need to assume that glyptic artists borrowed from other media.

The dialogue between media can also be seen in the pose types which can be associated with a sculptural type, but are not necessarily derivative from them, because the large-scale sculptures may not precede the creation and use of the archive at Kedesh. At Kedesh, this includes the Semi-draped, Sandalbinder, Crouching, and Bathing Aphrodite poses, but none of the Apollo poses. These categories include significant variation within each image, and demonstrate that glyptic iconography need not rely on large-scale sculpture for inspiration. In fact, the opposite may likely be the case; seal carvers may have been at the forefront of developing new and different iconographic schemas, which, as they gained popularity could have influenced their colleagues working with larger bronzes and marble.

The Semi-draped Aphrodite pose is more popular at Kedesh than at any other contemporary Hellenistic archive. These semi-draped images developed in concert with,

⁴⁶⁴ This is not to say that there was no silver in circulation, only that what silver was in circulation was from Ptolemaic mints rather than Seleucid. See Le Rider 1995 for his convincing theory that from 200 B.C.E. until the close of the century, the Ptolemaic standard of silver currency was in circulation. Le Rider believes that this phenomenon is due to the Seleucid tradition of maintaining existing currency systems rather than introducing new Seleucid coinage. In Coele-Syria and Phoenicia this fiscal policy made sense because of the abundance of Ptolemaic silver which the Seleucid treasury would have to replace at great cost to the provincial economy (Houghton and Lorber 2000-2, 56).

or prior to the famous Aphrodite of Melos. Depicted from a variety of viewpoints, the semi-draped Aphrodite at Kedesh demonstrates a range of levels in terms of seal carving technique. Those images that illustrate Aphrodite from behind capture a grace and beauty that only a master seal-engraver could capture at such a small scale. Others in the corpus, however, including the three impressions showing Aphrodite semi-draped from the front, are depicted in a fairly schematic way, highlighting the sharp lines of the drapery and the blockiness of the figure.

This motif, more than any other of the poses examined in this dissertation, is also extremely popular in terracotta. Given the popularity of this motif in glyptic, terracotta, and large-scale sculpture, it would be a mistake to prioritize one medium over another. Thus, to say the Kedesh semi-draped figures are inspired by or a variation of the Melian Aphrodite is not only to rely in an inaccurate chronological sequence, but also assumes seal carvers were one step behind their sculptor colleagues.

The Sandalbinder Aphrodite is the most universally popular Aphrodite pose. It occurs in relief, three-dimensional sculpture, as well as in glyptic; it is the most common Aphrodite type at Seleucia. There is a dizzying amount of variation in physique, leg position, body angle, and weight-bearing leg. And yet, she is almost always depicted facing right. The Crouching and Bathing Aphrodite poses are not particularly prevalent in Hellenistic glyptic. But like the other examples from this category, exhibit a relatively wide range of variation on the theme of bathing and washing.

The Knidian Aphrodite and the Lycian and Belvedere Apollo poses are not very popular at Kedesh, occurring on only eleven total impressions; these pose types are virtually absent from the other Hellenistic glyptic corpora, nor do they occur with any

frequency in terracotta or on coins. This phenomenon clearly shows that trends do not always cross media. It also suggests an imbalance on the part of art historians and archaeologists of the past to place undue emphasis on the sculpture (as well as architecture and painting). As a result, scholars have often considered trends in large-scale sculpture to be “the norm.” In fact large-scale bronze and marble sculptures were not the norm, but accessible to only the topmost echelon of the socio-economic ladder. According to Pliny, it took the entire island of Kos to raise the funds needed to commission Praxiteles to make a sculpture for their sanctuary!⁴⁶⁵ Of course, seals carved from precious and semi-precious gems would also have been extremely expensive, but less-expensive media were readily available.

The Anadyomene is the final pose type. I have left it for the last because in many ways, it breaks the trends I have just outlined above. The prototype for the Anadyomene is not a sculpture but a painting by Apelles, and unlike the examples mentioned above, the Anadyomene is fairly popular in other media. Although the original painting(s) was lost in antiquity, there are several later sculptural interpretations as well as hundreds of smaller terracotta figurines. The 14 examples from Kedesh are somewhat unusual in comparison to these extant three-dimensional renderings and I think it is safe to assume that the Kedesh Anadyomenes are quite a departure from Apelles’ original. The rigid frontality, the disjointed pose, and the blank empty faces do little to recall Aphrodite “rising from the sea”. The point here is that although there is a prototype for this pose in a larger medium, glyptic and certain terracotta traditions, notable those from Egypt, pay little homage to the original. Instead, it appears that artists borrowed the characteristic raised-arm pose, and little else.

⁴⁶⁵ Pliny, *Natural History* 36.20.

An interesting characteristic of the Anadyomene is the *dinocolate* stance of the figures.⁴⁶⁶ The characteristic knock-kneed, disjointed stance can be clearly seen on the Kedesh Anadyomenes *and* on several of the seals Seleucia. This small physical feature is significant because it bears witness to the relationship between glyptic archives. Although the Anadyomene pose does not occur at Seleucia, the existence of the *dinocolate* stance at both Kedesh and Seleucia clearly indicates that there was contact, communication, and influence between archival centers and the seal carvers who supplied them.

The most notable feature that has become clear in the course of this analysis is the relative absence of sculptural types on seals; there is an apparent disconnect between the iconography of sculpture and that of glyptic. Although the subject matter may overlap, specific treatments do not. We can see certain aspects first observed in Hellenistic sculpture, in use in the glyptic imagery of the same period, notably torsion, manipulation of viewpoint, and the use of female nudity. But rather than attempt to determine which medium was the “leader” and which the “follower,” we ought to focus on “the effect of the objects themselves and the connotations of their media in diverse contexts.”⁴⁶⁷

This brief review of the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae *vis à vis* iconographic prototypes has shown that the Kedesh bullae are the result of a dynamic and thriving seal-carving schools working in the Hellenistic Levant. These artist both borrowed from, and inspired artists working in other media, and undoubtedly participated in an active dialogue with their colleagues.

Chapter 2 also sought to understand and outline trends among the Kedesh corpus and compare these trends with the other Hellenistic archives. One distinguishing

⁴⁶⁶ Bollati 2003.

⁴⁶⁷ Lapatin 2003, 83.

characteristic of the Kedesh archive that became clear in the course of this investigation is the remarkable fact that Aphrodite enjoys greater popularity as a seal motif at Kedesh than at any other contemporary archive. The crucial question that has yet to be answered is why. I can offer only a conjectural suggestion. To date, only the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative building has been explored at Kedesh and thus we have only the building and its contents from which to extrapolate about the religious life of the community. The prevalence of Aphrodite images from the seals used at Kedesh may be indicative of Aphrodite's importance to the inhabitants of site at a sacred, religious level. Perhaps there was a cult to Aphrodite or to some other related, syncretistic deity; or perhaps there was an important family or fraternity for whom Aphrodite was a personal patron. This answer is purely speculative, only further exploration at the site might shed light on this issue.

Another feature that stands out at Kedesh more than other archives is the use of sexual ambiguity. This visual ambiguity is writ large on the bullae. The Citharodos, Effeminate Active Archer, Kallipygos, and Semi-draped poses can all be argued to demonstrate androgyny to varying degrees. We do not see this phenomenon nearly as much at other archives, though there is the occasional Muse/Grace/Apollo confusion at Seleucia and Cyrene. Three of four of these Kedesh pose types illustrate the subject from the back, a feature that Plantzos describes as “standard second-century imagery” when discussing an unprovenanced garnet intaglio from the British Museum.⁴⁶⁸ The stone shows a muse viewed three-quarters from the back, reading a scroll as she leans her left elbow on a column. Her drapery is swathed around her legs in much the same way as APH 039-044. And yet, in this review of Hellenistic seal impressions, the leaning figure,

⁴⁶⁸ Plantzos 1999, 84.


viewed from the back does not occur frequently at any other archival corpus. Could this detail, instead, be a characteristic of a Phoenician “school” or style of seal carving?

My research in chapter 2 also revealed that Aphrodite and Apollo are popular in different media; Aphrodite is a common subject of Hellenistic terracotta figurines, while Apollo is frequently depicted on Seleucid coinage. I have argued that coins and terracotta figurines have drastically different functions, and as such certain deities are better suited for one rather than the other. Terracottas were often used as votives or personal religious matters, used by individuals on behalf of themselves or their loved ones. Personal matters seem best directed to a deity who is associated with matters of the household and the contents therein. Such a deity could be Hestia (overseer of the home), Hera (goddess of marriage), Athena (goddess of domestic arts, including weaving), or Aphrodite, whose influence over love eventually encompassed sex, fertility, and marriage.

Apollo, on the other hand, has a history of disastrous liaisons. His strengths run more towards the cerebral, as he oversees the exalted realms of prophesy, law, music, and medicine. This makes him a suitable benefactor of kings and rulers. His presence on Seleucid coinages is the direct result of Seleucid propaganda, which strove to establish a visual connection between the dynastic house and their patron deity. This relationship, may, in fact, have had a negative impact on the popular veneration of Apollo.

The only Seleucid numismatic image that occurs at Kedesh is the Quiet Archer pose and, while there are some common features between Seleucid coins and the Kedesh Apollo poses, there is a relatively limited amount of overlapping iconography. The absence of other Apollo coin types from the poses at Kedesh seems to suggest that the

Seleucid imperial machine kept a tight reign on its official iconography. This, in turn, suggests that the Quiet Archer seals at Kedesh were used by individuals with access to or express permission to use official Seleucid iconography.

One note on the relationship between the bullae and Seleucid coinage that bears emphasis is the fact that the Quiet Archer type that we have at Kedesh, is a type that is almost always associated with the smaller, less valuable, bronze denominations. Nor do we have at Kedesh any evidence of a , or state archivist, to monitor the Kedesh archive. These two factors may signal the relatively low status of Kedesh within the hierarchy of Seleucid administrative centers.

Before moving on to discuss the conclusions from chapters 3 and 4, I would like to make a brief observation about the quality of the carving of the seals used on the bullae. Sometimes the poor quality of the image the result of a bad stamp; the seal may have slipped, or it was not applied to the clay with enough pressure. But occasionally, the actual quality of carving seems lower. This raises questions about the stones used to make these impressions. All of the impressions are concave, which attests to the use of convex seal surface, a characteristic more often found in stone seals. Metal rings are usually relatively flat. It is a reasonable question to ask if the hardness of the stone played a role in the quality of an image. Perhaps, but stone quality and carving technique cannot account for all of the poorer images. It seems that in some cases, deliberate design choices are made that appear to negatively impact the overall quality of the carving.

The focus of chapter 3 was the sexual ambiguity of certain pose types and the relationship between these images and the hermaphrodite sculptures of the Hellenistic period; I outlined the visual traditions that led up to this point in order to show that

conceptual androgyny and sexual ambiguity was, in fact, much more prevalent in the minds of the ancient Greek than previously thought. I have argued that the androgyny of the Kedesh bullae is, in part, related to the genre sculptures of the Hellenistic period though the use of similar visual puns played on the viewer. And yet, the similarity only goes so far; when viewing an image in three-dimensions, the viewer is able to complete the pun by walking around the figure. Such an option is not available to the user of glyptic; only one viewpoint is available. This is, I contend, a rather significant difference between genre sculpture and the bullae. Instead of completing the visual pun and revealing a hermaphroditic figure, the sexually ambiguous images from Kedesh display only a subtle androgyny that is conveyed through the presence or absence of certain secondary characteristics, including hairstyle, shapely thighs and buttocks, defined pectorals or flattened breasts. Ambiguity can be multi-layered; Hellenistic genre sculptures display two or more layers: from the back the viewer is exposed to a subtle ambiguity, in contrast to the explicit hermaphroditism apparent from other angles. Glyptic images are restricted in this respect, and the seal carvers who made the seals used at Kedesh opted for a single layer of subtle androgyny that required the viewer to look beyond the obvious.

Let us step back for a moment, and consider the bullae in light of the ancient Greek medical philosophy. If male and female bodies were thought to be extremely similar, with the most significant difference beside the placement of genitalia and certain physiological conditions serving as the most significant distinctions, would the androgyny of these images register to the ancient viewer? The study of body types from ancient Greek medical texts raises the question if the androgyny of these images was

really an issue for the ancient viewer? Instead of seeing a male or a female body, perhaps the ancient viewer simply saw a human body, a body whose identity was determined by the setting and additional details. These images are fascinating because it is my opinion that they reflect the intrinsic, yet subtle androgyny that has been present in both ancient Greek and Near Eastern society. While at first glance, these images may have more in common with Hellenistic Greek sculpture in the way a visual pun can be interpreted, the subtleness also recalls suggests ancient Near Eastern androgyny that is more of character than of body.

I have argued in chapter 3 that gender categories in the Hellenistic Levant were more fluid than they are today, perhaps these images are not meant to represent male or female, but a third category. This third category is often played out in Greek mythology. Many of the gods and goddesses act out a dual nature despite their innate gender identification. In gender studies outside of the ancient world, Judith Butler argued convincingly for the performance of gender, rather than assigning gender based on physical characteristics. Images of androgyny and hermaphroditism continue to subvert heteronormative gender identities by emphasizing the difference between the body of the performer and the gender being performed. The Kedesh bullae contribute in a slightly modified way in that they allow for a flexibility of interpretation.

It is also necessary to consider the technical side of seal carving. The bullae are small, ranging in size from 9mm to 19mm. At such a small scale, how much detail would an individual be able to discern without carefully examining the seal impression. Androgyny could have been an active choice on the part of seal carvers to simplify their work. Perhaps it was more efficient to show an androgynous human rather than a specific

male or female character. Though we can only speculate as to the intention of the artist, this is a possibility that ought to be considered.

In chapter 3, I have attempted to demonstrate that sexual ambiguity and conceptual androgyny have long had a place in Greek art. The ambiguous Kedesh bullae are, in part, a continuation of this legacy, while at the same time drawing on artistic conventions used in depictions of Hermaphrodites. The result is a series of images that look backward and forwards; that incorporate something old with something new: the iconography of sexual ambiguity with the new artistic conventions that characterize Hellenistic art. A taboo against male nudity in the Ancient Near East prevented the hermaphroditic condition from being illustrated. Nevertheless, as in ancient Greece, there was a consistent literary tradition of deities acting out more than one gender. Androgyny is a concept that well attested to in the Ancient Near East, just not usually in the visual record. That said, the sexually ambiguous images of Aphrodite and Apollo at Kedesh may very well be the result of the blending of two different cultural concepts of androgyny.

In chapter 4, we move from ideas of a third gender, to that of third space. Third space is an idea developed by Homi Bhabha, which refers to the “in-between” space created when cultures come into contact with one another. It is from this liminal space that new and different cultural identities are formed. The location of Kedesh in a border zone only intensifies cultural innovation and improvisation⁴⁶⁹ Of all the pose types that have been examined in this study, and all the unusual features noted, the Aphrodite Anadyomene best exemplifies the creativity of the third space.

⁴⁶⁹ Knapp 2008, 58.

The Anadyomene pose as it occurs at Kedesh is a visually jarring image that lacks many of the elements that characterize the pose from other sites and other media. These are not images of Aphrodite elegantly emerging from the sea, instead the Kedesh images present a schematic female form presented in a stiff frontal posture and an eerily empty face. One of the primary questions raised by this image is: why does it stray so far from other depictions of the same theme? The answer to this question lies in Bhabha's theory of third space and the presence of several socio-political entities in Hellenistic Phoenicia. The Kedesh Anadyomenes are the result of a unique blend of Phoenician, Greek, Egyptian, and Semitic cultural and religious elements.

Alexander's policy of maintaining local customs and promoting inter-marriage inevitably led to certain amount of religious and cultural blending, a concept known as syncretization, a major element in Hellenistic religions. In the case of the Kedesh Anadyomene images, the artists who created the seals were able to draw upon the religious and cultural syncretization that was taking place the Levant. As I suggested in chapter 4, in the form of the Anadyomene at Kedesh, we can see elements of Aphrodite, Isis, Ashtart and Tanit, four very different and powerful female deities.

Tanit, in particular, has been somewhat overlooked in studies of the syncretization of female deities in the Hellenistic period. This is, in part, due to the fact that little is know about her iconography, as well as to the fact that little is know about Phoenician cultural and religious life in the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, the location of Kedesh in the hinterland region of Tyre, one of the foremost Phoenician cities, requires that we add Tanit to this *mélange* of female deities.

Tanit was one of the most important female deities of the Phoenician pantheon and oversaw many of the same aspects as her counterparts from Greek, Egypt, and the Near East, including war, the heavens, motherhood, virginity, and the sea. As the Phoenicians established colonies through the Mediterranean, Tanit was often incorporated into the identity of the region's most powerful female deities.

Little is known about the iconography of Tanit, besides the "symbol of Tanit." Known from at least the fourth century B.C.E., the symbol of Tanit is a schematic motif that occurs in several variations of a basic theme: a triangular body, capped with a circle, or head, with two lines, or arms extending out from the junction of head and body. It has been suggested that the form developed from the image of an anchor, a traditional symbol of Tyre and sea-faring Phoenicians in general.⁴⁷⁰

The peculiar nature of the Kedesh Anadyomene images is the result of iconographic creolization of the visual elements of Aphrodite, Isis, Ashtart and Tanit. The particular combination of female deities does not appear to exist at any of the other centers of Hellenistic glyptic, and thus may explain why the Kedesh Anadyomenes are so unusual in comparison to images from other glyptic archives and in other media. The syncretism of so many goddesses with masculine facets of their personas appears to have resulted, at least at Kedesh, in a de-sexed Anadyomene figure. Rather than acting out a different gender, this category of Aphrodite images appears to sublimate any sexual characteristics into a gender-less figure.

The Anadyomene motif serves as an exemplar of the complex processes of cultural blending that take place in the Hellenistic Levant. The unusual features of the Anadyomene, and of the Kedesh bullae, in general, can be attributed to their hybrid

⁴⁷⁰ Dothan 1974, 47; M Dunand and R. Duru 1962.

nature; they are neither truly Greek, nor truly Phoenician. These images defy categorization because they are unique. Neither Greek visual conventions, nor non-Greek (Phoenician, Galilean, Near Eastern) visual conventions remain intact; nor are these elements simply fused together like a patchwork quilt. Instead, a new visual culture emerges from the colonial and indigenous features used to create an entirely new visual language. The result of this process is a collection of images that defy categorization because they belong to a “new” hybridized language.

The purpose of this dissertation has been to situate the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae from Kedesh into an appropriate culture contexts, in order to best understand how those individuals who created, used, and interacted with the seals and sealing may have interpreted and reacted to the imagery thereupon. Using post-colonial theory to describe the political situation in the Levant in the second century B.C.E., it has been possible to conclude that the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae from Kedesh are part of a new visual language, unique to the region of Hellenistic Phoenicia.

When Alexander blazed a trail across Asia, the ancient world, in many ways, became smaller. For artists and their clientele, this meant contact with new and different visual vocabularies. Personal decisions had to be made as to what aspects of the old visual tradition would be used in conjunction with the new. The result at Kedesh is a fascinating combination of tried and true iconographic subjects that occur side by side with a category of new images. And all of this is happening with the backdrop of the Hellenistic period, a period of great changes and expansion, particularly in terms of its art. The focus has been on the iconography of the Aphrodite and Apollo images on the

bulle from Kedesh, and the reception of that iconography by the populations of the Upper Galilee in the second century B.C.E..

Seal Usage and Populations

Now that we have established the cultural milieu in which the bullae were created, we need to ask if these same bullae can inform us about the individuals living at Kedesh and using the archive. Ariel and Naveh, in their analysis of the inscribed sealings from Kedesh have asked this same question. According to Ariel and Naveh, seals were owned and used by members of the propertied class, and therefore that “the sealings assemblage from Kedesh reflects the artistic culture of a particular social stratum in Phoenician society;” this stratum was particular receptive to Greek symbols, imagery and even names.⁴⁷¹

I do not entirely agree with this assessment of the Kedesh corpus. As I have argued extensively above, at least in the case of the Aphrodite and Apollo bullae, that the the artists of Hellenistic Phoenicia drew upon several different cultural predecessors, of which Greece was only one and perhaps the “loudest.” By that I mean to say that the Greek motifs are the most easily recognizable in this new visual language. That does not make these images truly Greek, nor does it necessarily indicate the preference of Greek cultural elements in upper class Phoenician society.

My second point goes to the issue of ownership. Who can own a seal? Who needed to own a seal in the ancient world? While the sealings found at Kedesh may reflect the actions of upper level administrators and their affairs, any individual could purchase a seal. What, then, might we be able to say about the owners of the Aphrodite

⁴⁷¹ Ariel and Naveh 2003, 69.

and Apollo seals? It is tempting to interpret the presence of Aphrodite seal impressions as evidence that women were involved in the business of daily life. But to make this connection requires the belief that gender was the primary factor in seal selection; thus women selected seals with female imagery. To follow this reasoning to its logical conclusion, we would then be forced to assume that males selected seals with male imagery; who then would opt for animal motifs or symbols? Seal selection was, undoubtedly, a question of personal tastes and in some cases may be able to shed light on the identity of the user, but in this case, to make these kinds of assumptions leads us down a treacherous and false path.

Suggested Research

As is often the case with research projects, the author comes to the end finding that there is still so much more to explore. No research project is really ever “complete;” there are always more questions. The study of Hellenistic glyptic iconography is a fascinating subject because of the variety and breadth of imagery that occurs across the wide expanse from the Indus valley to the straits of Gibraltar. But the analysis of the pictures that occur on seals is only one small component of glyptic studies. The seals, or in this case their impressions, need to be studied as another category of artifact. In the same way the ceramics, or glass, or metal objects have an intrinsic value as artifact, so do the Kedesh bullae. I have touched only briefly on the issue of seal usage and what we can glean from seal impressions about the nature of the archive and its users. Such a study is particularly necessary at a site like Kedesh, where we do not have the documents to which the bullae were originally attached, thus rendering the conclusions we can draw

about ownership and usage somewhat limited. But it is not enough to study the bullae as isolated artifacts. Publishing archaeological finds by material, though common, is of limited utility. What is needed it to study the bullae in conjunction with other categories of objects in the hopes that an assemblage of objects will shed light on the individuals who used the archive at Kedesh.



Figure 1.1: Plan of the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building after 2009 excavation season. Credit: Lindy Lindorfer.

1. Archive Room
2. Storage Room
3. Central Courtyard
4. Reception Rooms
5. Storage/Utility Rooms

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Figure 1.2: Aerial photograph of Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building, with North at the top of the photo.
Photo Credit: Skyview

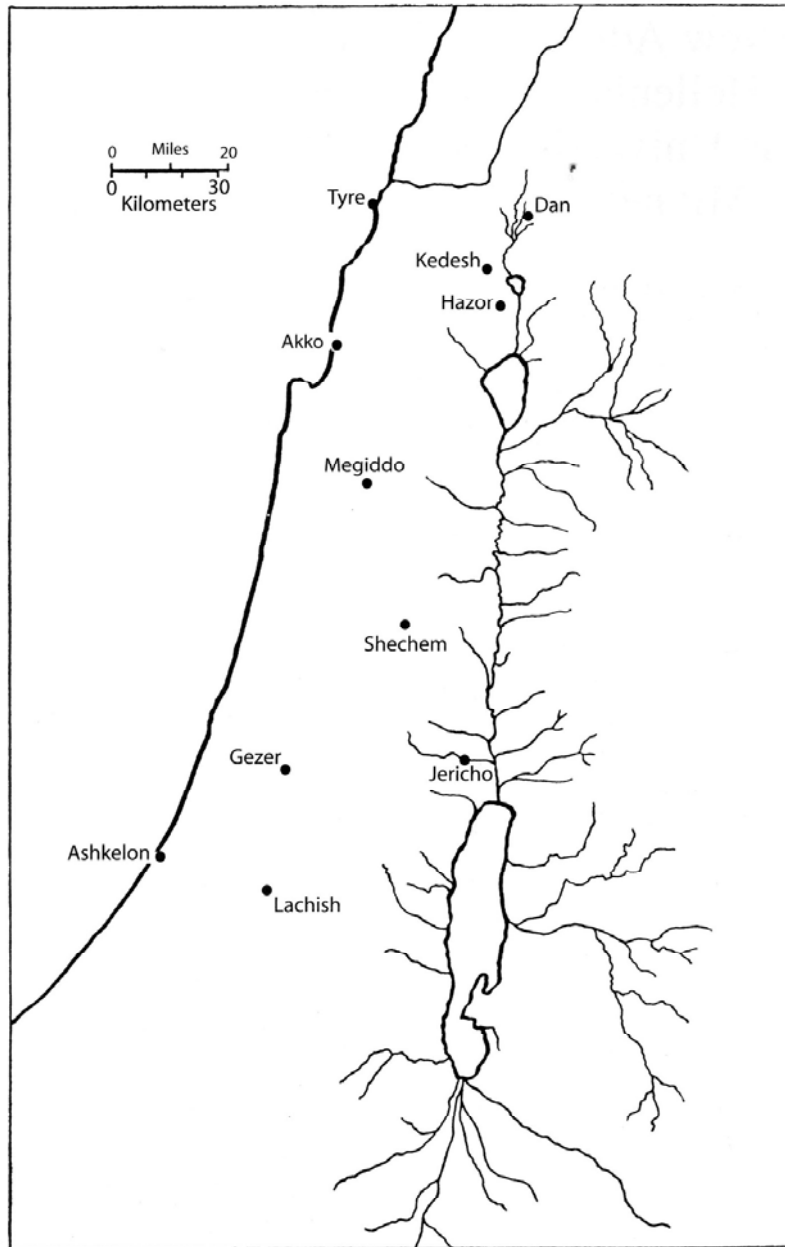
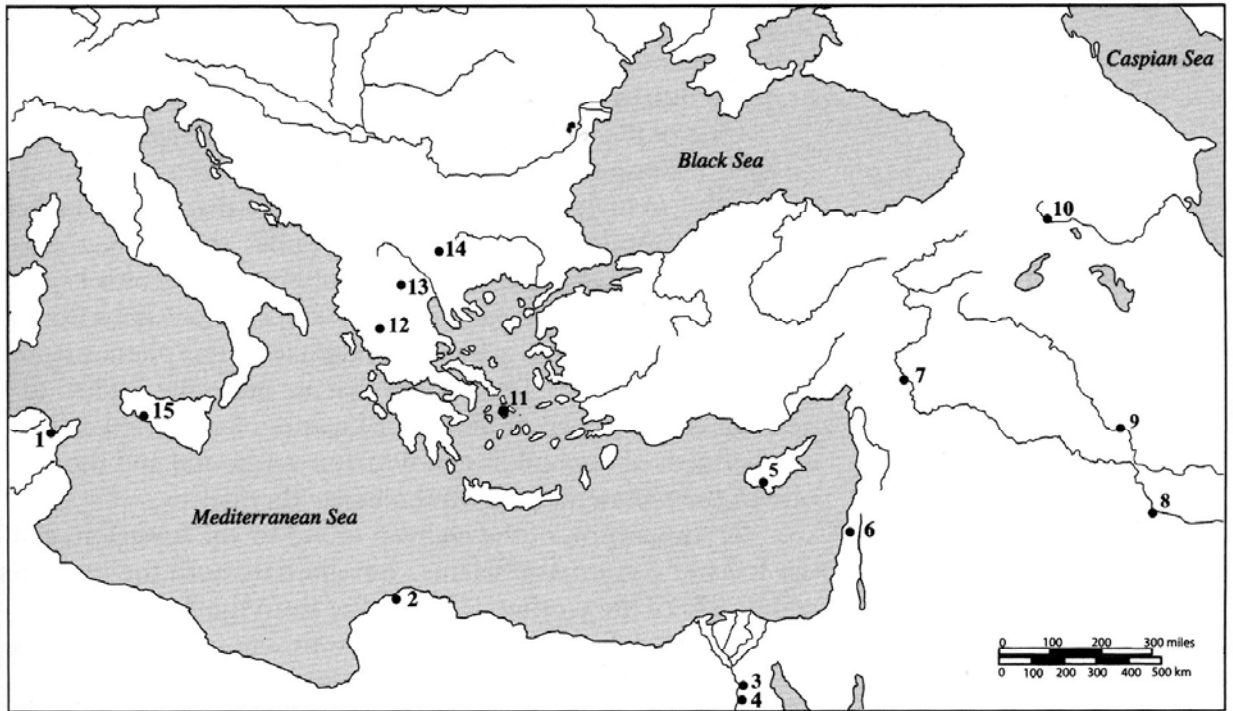


Figure 1.3: Map of the Levant.
After Herbert and Berlin 2003, figure 1.



- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|------------|
| 1 Carthage | 6 Kedesh | 11 Delos |
| 2 Cyrene | 7 Zeugma | 12 Kallion |
| 3 Edfu | 8 Uruk | 13 Pella |
| 4 Elephantini | 9 Seleucia-on-the-Tigris | 14 Gitana |
| 5 Nea Paphos | 10 Artaxata | 15 Selinus |

Figure 2.1: Map of distribution of Hellenistic Archives.
After Herbert 2003-4, figure 1.



Figure 2.2 : Aphrodite Kallipygos, Naples, National Museum S.10.15
Photo: <http://www.everyfoto.com>, 2009.



Figure 2.3. Aphrodite bathing
standing next to fountain
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 33,
Af 11.



Figure 2.4: Aphrodite bathing
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 33,
Af 15.



Figure 2.5: Aphrodite bathing
with abnormally long arm.
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 33
Af 17.



Figure 2.6: Aphrodite of Melos,
ca. 150-50 B.C.E.
Louvre Museum, MA 399
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia
Commons 2007.



Figure 2.7: Aphrodite semi-draped
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 35,
Af 45.

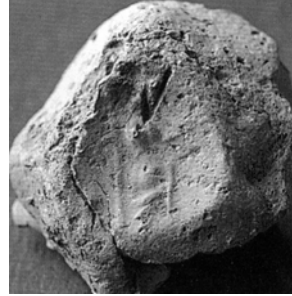


Figure 2.8: Aphrodite semi-draped
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 35,
Af 47.

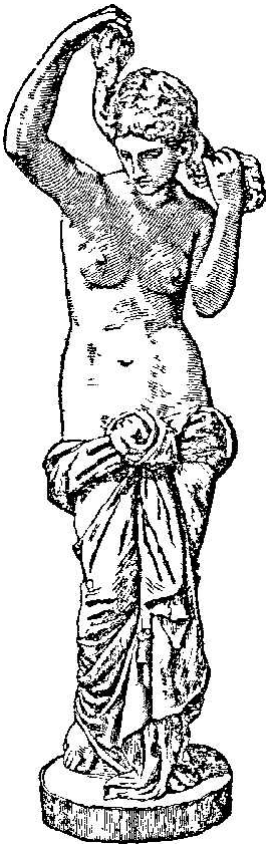


Figure 2.9: Drawing of Semi-draped Aphrodite Anadyomene. Vatican Museum. After L. Séchan. "Venus", in C. Daremberg - E. Saglio (eds.), *Le Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, V, Paris, 1904, p. 724.



Figure 2.10: Aphrodite holding a scepter
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 35, Af 51.



Figure 2.11: Aphrodite Anadyomene from Maresah
Photo: Adi Erlich



Figure 2.12: Aphrodite Anadyomene from Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest SzM 75.11.A
Photo: László Mátyus



Figure 2.13: Aphrodite of Knidos, 4th c. B.C.E. National Museum of Rome, Inv. 8619
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons, 2006



Figure 2.14: drawing of an ancient coin from Knidos. After Paul Caurus, *Venus de Milo: An Archaeological study of women*. The open court publishing company 1916, p. 162.



Figure 2.15a (front) and b (back): KM 16059, Nude female figurine, reddish terracotta with buff slip, Seleucia, Iraq, 150 BCE - 200 AD.



Figure 2.16: Sandalbinder leaning on a rudder. Seleucia.
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 34, Af 22.



Figure 2.17: Sandalbinder with column at left. Seleucia.
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 34, Af 25.

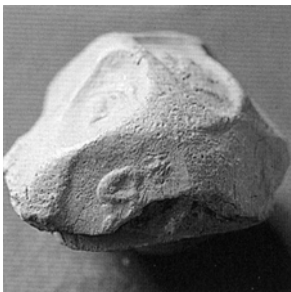


Figure 2.18: Sandalbinder leaning forward. Seleucia.
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 34, Af 31



Figure 2.19: Sandalbinder Seleucia.
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 34, Af 32



Figure 2.20: Sandalbinder Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 34, Af 33



Figure 2.21: Crouching Aphrodite.
Louvre Ma 5 (MR 372).
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia
Commons, 2007

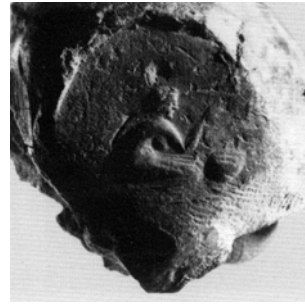


Figure 2.22: Crouching Aphrodite
with hydria
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messia 2004,
pl. 33, Af 20



Fig 2.23: Silver shekel issued by King Darius I of Persia ca. 500–490 BC, obverse: the king of Persia firing his bow. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons 2008.



Figure 2.24: Quiet Apollo
facing left, standing on groundline.
Seleucia
After: Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 22,
Ap 141.



Figure 2.25: Quiet Apollo
facing right.
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 22, Ap 146.



Figure 2.26: Apollo leaning on column
or column.
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 24,
Ap 170.



Figure 2.27: Apollo leaning
and holding a branch.
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 23, Ap 163.



Figure 2.28: Apollo holding an arrow.
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 22,
Ap 134.



Figure 2.29: Apollo holding an arrow
and wearing a quiver
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl.
22, Ap 137.



Figure 2.30: Apollo standing in profile
Seleucia Ap. 138.
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl. 22,
Ap 138.



Figure 2.31: Quiet Apollo
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 10, Απ 144.



Figure 2.32: Apollo (or Dionysis) leaning
on a statue of a satyr, holding a branch in his
right hand.
After Boussac 1992, pl. 23, Απ 384c.



Figure 2.33: Silver Tetradrachm
Seleucus II
After Gardner and Poole 1878,
pl. VI, no. 1.



Figure 2.34: Active Archer
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl.
21, Ap 121.



Figure 2.35: Active Archer
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004, pl.
22, Ap 126



Figure 2.36: Active Archer
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 21, Ap 125.



Figure 2.37: Active Archer
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina, pl 22
Ap. 123



Figure 2.38: Active Archer
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl, 11, Ap 167.



Figure 2.39: Active Archer
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 14 no Ap
224.



Figure 2.40: Apollo Citharodos, 2nd c. C.E.. After that of Timarchides. British Museum GR 1861.7-25.1 (Cat. Sculpture 1380)
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons 2006



Figure 2.41: Seated Citharodos
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 20, Ap 92.



Figure 2.42: Citharodos in profile
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 19, Ap 69



Figure 2.43: Ambiguous Apollo Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 24, Ap 184.



Figure 2.44: Ambiguous Apollo Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 24, Ap 185.



Figure 2.45: Ambiguous Apollo Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 24, Ap 186.

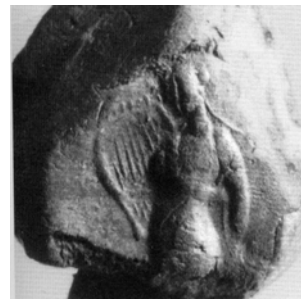


Figure 2.46: Apollo or Muse Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 17, Ap 20.

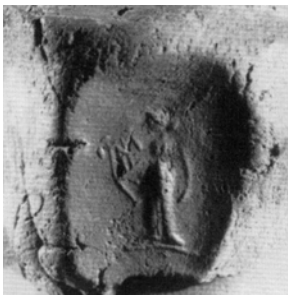


Figure 2.47: Apollo or Muse Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 17, Ap 22.



Figure 2.48: Apollo or Muse Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 18, Ap 35.



Figure 2.49: Apollo Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl 7, Απ 85.



Figure 2.50: Apollo Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 7, Απ 90.



Figure 2.51: Apollo Citharodos
Delos
Boussac 1992, pl. 7, Απ 96.



Figure 2.52: Apollo Citharodos
Delos
Boussac 1992, pl. 8, Απ 110.



Figure 2.53: leaning Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 8, Απ 115.



Figure 2.54: Naked Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 9, Απ 123



Figure 2.55: Naked Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 8, Απ 116.



Figure 2.56: Semi-draped Citharodos
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 9, Απ 132.



Figure 2.57: Lycian Apollo. Louvre Museum Ma 928 (MR 79). Roman copy from the second century C.E. after a Greek original attributed to Praxiteles.
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons2007



Figure 2.58: Lycian Apollo
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 16, Ap 7.



Figure 2.59: Lycian Apollo
Seleucia
After Bollati and Messina 2004,
pl. 16, Ap 10



Figure 2.60: Lycian Apollo
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 10, Απ 150.



Figure 2.61: Lycian Apollo
Delos
After Boussac 1992, pl. 10, Απ 151.



Figure 2.62: Apollo Belvedere. Roman copy of a Greek original ca. 330-320 B.C.E.
Vatican Museum Inv. 1015.
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons, 2006.



a.) Aphrodite Kallipygos
APH 019



b.) Apollo Citharodos
AP 043C



c.) Aphrodite Anadyomene
APH 027
Kedesh



d.) Effeminate Active Archer
AP 029N

Figure 3.1: Sexually ambiguous seal impressions from Kedesh



Figure 3.2: Greek hoplite and Persian warrior fighting each other. Kylix. 5th c. B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
Photos: Wikimedia Commons



Figure 3.3: The battle of Achilles and Penthesileia (with only one breast). Lucanian red-figure bell-krater, late 5th century BC. National Archaeological Museum of Spain, Madrid
Photos: Marie-Lan Nguyen/ Wikimedia Commons, 2008



Figure 3.4: Hermaphrodite lifting her clothing to show her masculine attributes. Hellenistic Bronze Sculpture. Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Ch. Larrieu.



Figure 3.5: Sleeping Hermahrodite. Louvre Museum Ma 231 (MR 220).
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/ Wikimedia Commons, 2007.



Figure 3.6: Kouros from the Asklepeion of Paros, ca. 540 B.C.E.
Louvre Museum, Ma 3103
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimidia Commons, 2005.



Figure 3.7: Lyons kore. Lyons, Museum of Fine Arts, H1993
Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons, 2008



Figure 3.8: Peplos Kore, ca. 530 B.C.E. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 679
Photo: Theodora Kopestonsky



Figure 3.9 Singer Urnanshe, alabaster, Mari, c. 2400 B.C.E.

Photo: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SingerUrNanshe.jpg#file>

Kallipygos

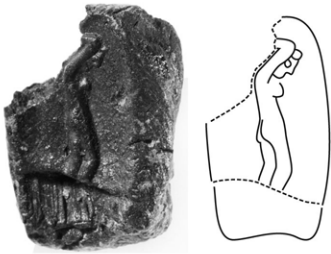
Plate I



APH 001



APH 002



APH 003A



APH 003B



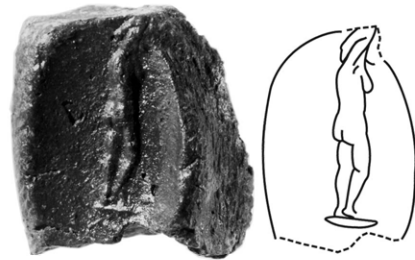
APH 004



APH 005



APH 006A



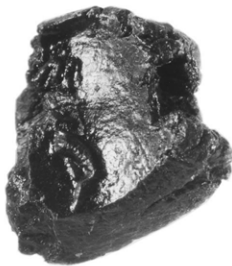
APH 006B



APH 007



APH 008A



APH 008B



APH 009



APH 010A



APH 010B



APH 010C



APH 011

Kallipygos

Plate III



APH 012A



APH 012B



APH 013



APH 014



APH 015



APH 016



APH 017



APH 018



APH 019



APH 020

Semi-draped

Plate IV



APH 038



APH 039



APH 040A



APH 040B



APH 041



APH 042A



APH 042B



APH 043



APH 044



APH 045A



APH 045B



APH 046



APH 047



APH 048



APH 049A



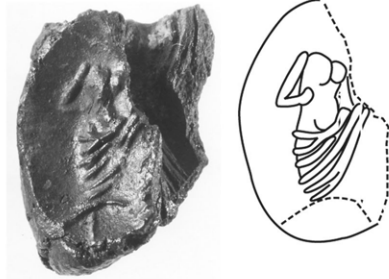
APH 049B



APH 050

Semi-draped

Plate VI



APH 051A



APH 051B

Anadyomene



APH 021



APH 022



APH 023



APH 024



APH 025





APH 025



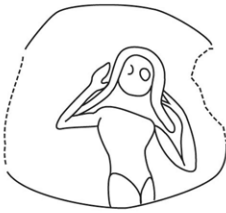
APH 027



APH 028



APH 029



APH 030



APH 031



APH 032



APH 033



APH 034

Knidia

Plate VIII



APH 035A



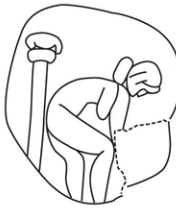
APH 035B



Sandalbinder



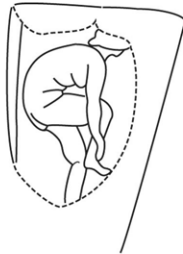
APH 052



APH 053



APH 054



APH 055A



APH 055B



APH 056A



APH 056B



APH 057A



APH 057B



APH 057C



APH 058



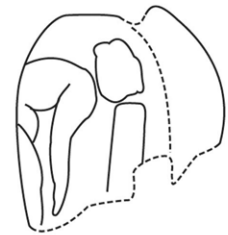
APH 059A



APH 059B



APH 059C



APH 059D

Sandalbinder

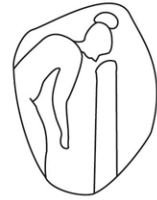
Plate X



APH 059E



APH 059F



APH 060A



APH 060B

Crouching



APH 036



APH 037





APH 062A



APH 062B



AP 001A



AP 001B



AP 002



AP 003



AP 004



AP005



AP 006



AP 007



AP 008A



AP 008B



AP 008C



AP 009



AP 010



AP 012



AP 013



AP 014



AP 015



AP 016



AP 017



AP 018



AP 019



AP 020



AP 021



AP 022



AP 023



AP 024



AP 025



AP 026

Active Archer
"Effeminate"

Plate XV



AP 027A



AP 027F



AP 027K



AP 027Q



AP 027 Composite



AP 027T



AP 027W



AP 027Y

Active Archer
"Effeminate"

Plate XVI



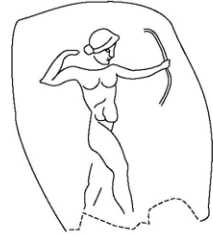
AP 028A



AP 028D



AP 028J



AP 028 Composite



AP 029C



AP 029D



AP 029J



AP 029K



AP 029N



Active Archer
"Effeminate"

Plate XVII



AP 030A



AP 030B



AP 030C



AP 030 Composite



AP 027/30D



AP 027/30E



AP 027/30S

Active Archer
"Rough"

Plate XVIII



AP 032



AP 033A



AP 033B



AP 033C



AP 033E



AP 033F



AP 033G



AP 033H



AP 034

Active Archer
"Rough"

Plate XIX



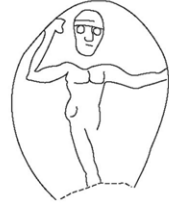
AP 035



AP 036



AP 037



AP 038



AP 039



AP 040



AP 041



AP 042



AP 043A



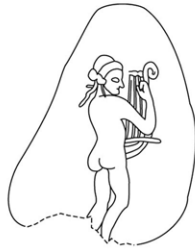
AP 043B



AP 043C



AP 043D



AP 043 Composite



AP 044A



AP 044B



AP 044 Composite



AP 045



AP 046



AP 047





AP 048



AP 049



AP 050A



AP 050B



AP 050C



AP 050 Composite



AP 051



AP 052



AP 053



AP 054

Citharodos

Plate XXII



AP 055



AP 056



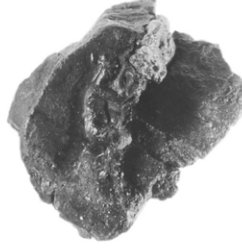
AP 057



AP 058



AP 059



AP 060



AP 061

Lycian



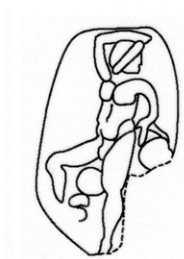
AP 062A



AP 062B



AP 062C



Lycian



AP 062D



AP 062E



AP 063



AP 064

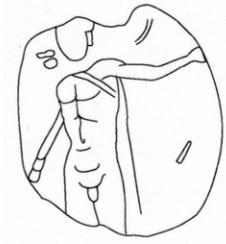
Belvedere



AP 065



AP 066



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