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A Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

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With my inaugural issue last January, we debuted a completely redesigned cover for the *AJA*. In 2015, readers will see design and format changes on the interior, which will be rolled out throughout the volume year and will make the journal as a whole more consistent and visually coherent. AJA Online has also been redesigned, and the open access policies have been revised.

I would like to thank sincerely all the peer reviewers who contribute their time and expertise to vetting manuscripts submitted to the *AJA*. These reviewers are the anonymous and therefore the unsung heroes of this enterprise. Without their willingness to take on this important professional responsibility, to do it thoroughly, and to complete it within a relatively short amount of time, the *AJA* could not exist. I have tried to increase both the number of reviewers per manuscript and the pool of experts on which I rely. If anyone who has yet to be called on would like to serve in this capacity, please do let me know. While I may be Editor-in-Chief, this is a deeply collaborative endeavor, and I am profoundly grateful to all who help me maintain both the high quality of the journal and the prestige of publishing in the *AJA*.

The first in the newly revived category of Archaeological Notes appears in this issue, and additional notes are scheduled for this year. Publishing these shorter contributions has allowed us to include more articles in an issue. I have also been advocating to the Governing Board of the AIA for more resources and a higher priority for fundraising for the *AJA*. In addition to endowing the position of Editor-in-Chief, more resources would allow us to increase the number of pages in each issue and to restore the option of publishing some illustrations in color at *AJA* expense. As of this writing (1 November 2014), I am beginning to fill the January 2016 issue of the *AJA*. Even a modest increase in the number of pages per issue would help shorten the time from initial submission to final publication, which now stands at about 18–20 months.

Nothing would get done without the dedication, industriousness, and professionalism of the staff in Boston—Madeleine Donachie, Director of Publishing; Katrina Swartz, Editor; Vanessa Lord, Electronic Content Editor; and Kimberly Huynh, Editorial Assistant. I am also deeply indebted to Book Review Editors Derek Counts and Elisabetta Cova and to our freelance proofreaders. In the editorial office at Duke University, I am very ably assisted by Lindsey Mazurek, an advanced graduate student in Roman art and archaeology. I would also like to acknowledge the generous support of the deans of Duke University's Trinity College of Arts & Sciences, and of the Department of Art, Art History & Visual Studies, without which I would not be able to undertake this important professional responsibility.

Finally, in light of recent events both in this country and abroad, it is important to restate that the *AJA* maintains its commitment to protecting archaeological heritage. In keeping with the 2004 policy of the AIA, the *AJA* will not accept any article that serves as the primary publication of any object or archaeological material in a private or public collection acquired after 30 December 1973 unless its existence is documented before that date or it was legally exported from the country of origin.

In addition, given the recent and continuing threats to the archaeological sites and material culture of countries such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Libya, the Editor-in-Chief and members of the Advisory Board condemn in the strongest possible terms the recent sale of Egyptian artifacts and the scheduled sale of Mesoamerican artifacts by the AIA St. Louis Society through the auction house Bonhams. While technically not illegal, the sale of the Egyptian antiquities certainly violated the spirit if not the letter of the agreement that brought the objects to St. Louis in the first place. The selling off of archaeological artifacts in the society's possession not only contravenes the ethical standards current in archaeology but also reinforces the commodification of archaeological material and in effect condones the traffic in antiquities, which is in opposition to the AIA's principal missions of research and education. As stewards of the past, no one associated with the AIA should be incentivizing the illicit trade in antiquities, which is a global criminal activity. High-profile sales such as these can have the unintended consequence of putting further at risk the archaeological heritage that the AIA has vowed to protect.

SHEILA DILLON
Editor-in-Chief

Masks and Ritual Performance on the Island of Cyprus

ERIN WALCEK AVERETT

The island of Cyprus is well known for its abundance of masks, which have been the subject of focused studies as well as broader investigations on Phoenician and Punic masks. Yet, there is no comprehensive and diachronic overview of this important corpus contextualized within its Cypriot setting. This article reevaluates the evidence for masking rituals in Late Bronze and Iron Age Cyprus through close analysis of archaeological contexts and use patterns to reconstruct masked performances. The evidence underscores the long tradition of masking on the island and reveals use patterns that allow a partial reconstruction of the social significance of masking ceremonies. At the end of the Bronze Age through the era of the autonomous city-kingdoms, masks likely functioned as symbolic objects used in constructing social identities and can be associated with restricted groups practicing rituals at key sanctuaries. Masking rituals flourished within the autonomous city-kingdoms and dramatically ended with the incorporation of Cyprus into the Ptolemaic kingdom.*

SETTING THE STAGE: CYPRIOT MASKS IN CONTEXT

An abundance of terracotta masks and distinctive figurines depicting masked men have been preserved from ancient Cyprus. Although these masks have been the subject of several studies, a comprehensive analysis of this corpus in its Cypriot setting is lacking. This article presents a compilation of published and unpublished masks, balancing past investigations of external influence with a new emphasis on local production and use. This corpus includes masks that were worn, commemorative copies of worn masks, and artistic representations of masks and masked figures. These objects, however, did directly reference past actors and actions, and they allow us to reconstruct (at least partially) otherwise ephemeral and unattested performances. Although the lack of textual sources prohibits detailed recreations of masked ceremonies, it is nevertheless possible to understand their social significance. The evidence suggests that masks were used in ritual acts associated especially, but not exclusively, with cults of male deities and that they were used in elite restricted societies and perhaps even by the Cypriot basileis.

Cypriot masks have generally been interpreted as part of a larger "Cypro-Phoenician" custom, and scholars have documented the formal similarities

to Near Eastern and Mediterranean examples.[1] Given the complex relationship between exogenous stylistic influence and internal reception, adaptation, and use in the Mediterranean Basin, an analysis of the data in their island context provides a more accurate reconstruction of masking rituals.[2] While past scholarship on Cyprus, an island with a diverse population situated along strategic trade routes, focused on foreign over local factors (a result of perceived foreign domination in the past combined with contemporary issues), current studies provide a more Cypro-centric approach.[3] Without denying that complex transmissions of artistic and cultural trends occurred, this evaluation follows current approaches in Cypriot archaeology in grounding external factors within a thorough analysis of local cultural contexts.

Chronologically, the archaeological evidence for masked rituals is concentrated in the Late Cypriot (LC) III through Cypro-Classical periods (tables 1, 2), but it is possible that perishable masks were used earlier. The earliest potential zoomorphic mask comes from the Neolithic site of Parreklishia Shillourokambos, where a feline-like serpentine head was found in a well. This unusual figural object could have been used as a mask, but based on the roughly shaped neck, Knapp proposes that it more likely functioned as a wall decoration.[4] Another possible early mask comes from the Early Bronze Age settlement at Sotira Kaminoudhia, where a worked cranium and horn cores, which could have been worn atop a human head, were found in a unit perhaps used for ritual.[5] Bull and other horned animal imagery forms a conspicuous part of the Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age symbolic system: antlered and horned cloven-hoofed figures decorate Early Bronze Age bowls from Vounous; bucrania are mounted on poles on the Kotchati, Kalopsida, and Vounous shrine models; and bulls are common in the figurine repertoire.[6] Several vessels from the tombs at Vounous are etched with stylized anthropomorphic stick figures with cloven hoofs, hands, and antlered heads—possible evidence for rituals involving horned animal masks.[7]

TABLE 1. Cypriot chronological chart.

Chronological Periods	Approximate Dates (B.C.E.)
Late Cypriot IIIA	1225/1200–1125/1100
Late Cypriot IIIB	1125/1100–1050
Cypro-Geometric I	1050–950
Cypro-Geometric II	950–900
Cypro-Geometric III	900–750
Cypro-Archaic I	750–600
Cypro-Archaic II	600–475
Cypro-Classical I	475–400
Cypro-Classical II	400–310
Hellenistic	310–30

Note: Chronology from Iacovou 2013, 3.

Two Middle Bronze Age terracotta anthropomorphic figurines with stylized zoomorphic (goat?) heads could similarly represent maskers.[8] The significance of the bull continues in the Late Cypriot period, evidenced by the abundance of bovine imagery depicted in the glyptic record: on painted pottery; on wall brackets; on silver bowls and bronze tripods; on ivory objects; as rhyta, gold pendants, and earrings; and as zoomorphic figurines.[9] The use of the bull as a sacrificial animal and the proliferation of bucrania and other horned skulls in sacred spaces further underscore this animal's special and sacred status in Bronze Age Cyprus. The evidence for zoomorphic masked rituals, however, is too limited and ambiguous to support a claim for a widespread masking tradition on prehistoric Cyprus.

From LC III, however, three distinct mask types consistently appear in the archaeological record: zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, and grotesque.[10] These types, which were used for the next several centuries, can be broadly organized into three major phases (fig. 1). This article presents the evidence by phase

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[1] Picard 1965–1966; Lagarce and Lagarce 1973; Caubet and Courtois 1975; Culican 1975–1976; Stern 1976; Carter 1987; Laurens and Louka 1987; Ciasca 1988; Kletter 2007.

[2] Yon 1986; de Polignac 1992. Contra Carter's (1987, 1988) theory of direct Phoenician inf uence on the masks and cult of Orthia at Sparta.

[3] Counts 2008, 3–5, 17; 2009a; Iacovou 2008, 2013; Papantoniou 2012, 28–52; Counts and Iacovou 2013; Fourrier 2013.

[4] Guilaine 2003; Knapp 2013, 93.

[5] Swiny 2003, 46–7, pl. 6.4d.

[6] Stewart and Stewart 1950, pls. 1b, 50a, 79–86, 89–92; Karageorghis 1970b; 1971, 263; 1991, 102–6, 114–15, 117–23, 139–57, pls. 57, 58, 63–5, 100, 101; Loulloupis 1979; Åström 1988, 9; Rice 1998, 237–48; Hadjisavvas 2003; Steel 2004, 203–5;

Knapp 2008, 279.

[7] Stewart and Stewart 1950, pl. 93; Loulloupis 1979; Belgiorno 1993, 45–6, f g. 1.

[8] Karageorghis 1991, 175, nos. 2, 3, pls. 138.2, 139.1; Belgiorno 1993, 45–8, f g. 1, pl. 1.1, 1.2.

[9] Hadjisavvas 2003, 115.

[10] Strictly def ned, a mask is an object worn over all or part of the face, or over the face and head (helmet style), and is usually part of a more complete costume (Pernet 1992, 10–14). For the history of the word "mask," see Twycross and Carpenter 2002, 2–4; Kletter 2007, 200–1. These categories are adapted from Carter's (1987, 356–59) revised typology for the masks from the Sanctuary of Orthia, Sparta.

TABLE 2. Kition chronological chart.

Kition Chronological Phases	Excavator's Approximate Dates (B.C.E.)	Smith's Revised Dates (B.C.E.)
Floor IV	1300–1190	1300–1190
Floors IIIA and III	1190-1125/1100	1190–1125/1100
Floor II	1125/1100–1050	1125/1100–1000
Floor I	1050–1000	1000–850
–	gap	no gap
Floor 3	800–725	850–707
Floor 2A	725–550	707–550
Floor 2	550–350	550–350
Floor 1	350–312	350–312

Note: Kition chronology from Karageorghis 2002, 5; revised Kition chronology from Smith 2009, xviii.
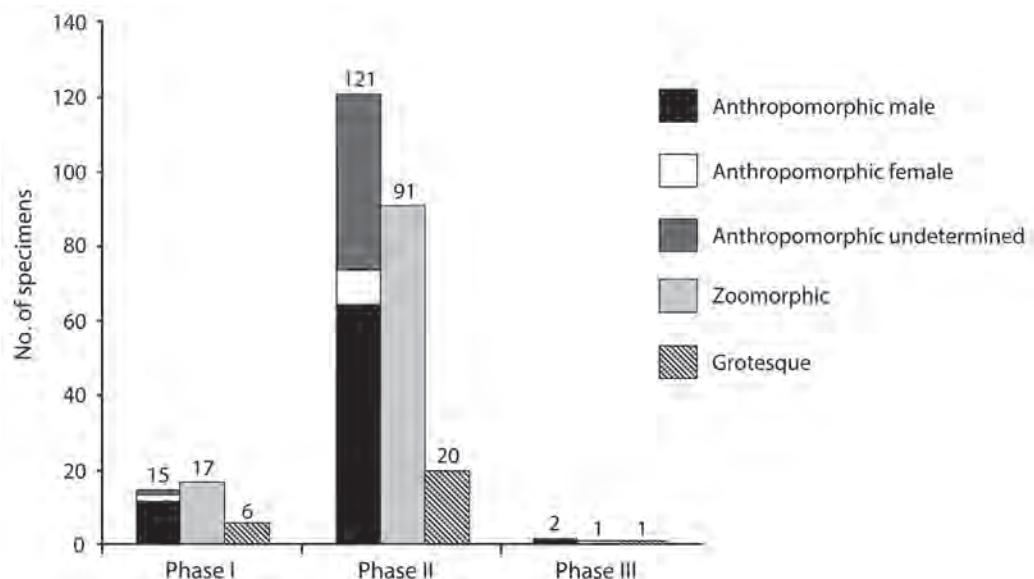
FIG. 1. Three phases of mask use on Cyprus.

and context, provides an overview of the evidence and use patterns, and concludes with an interpretation of the social significance, meaning, and use of masks in Cypriot society. The sites with masking evidence are plotted on two distribution maps by phase (figs. 2, 3).

PHASE I MASKS: LC III TO CYPRO-GEOMETRIC (CG) II

Enkomi

At the urban center of Enkomi on the east coast, eight terracotta fragments of bearded and/or mustached male masks were excavated (fig. 4; appx., cat. nos. 1–3). The masks are handmade, just under life-sized, and have cutout eyes and perforated holes around the edge for attachment.[11] Originally painted, they are decorated with incised geometric patterns and stamped circles to indicate facial hair. One fragment preserves a conical knob in the center of the forehead. The masks with recorded contexts were found in the metallurgical workshops next to the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, whose cult likely lent sacred protection to this industry. Two small female protomes were found in the open

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[11] I use Carter's (1987, 356 n. 3) measurements to define "life-sized": the average size of an adult face is between 18 and 21 cm from the top of the forehead to the bottom of the chin.
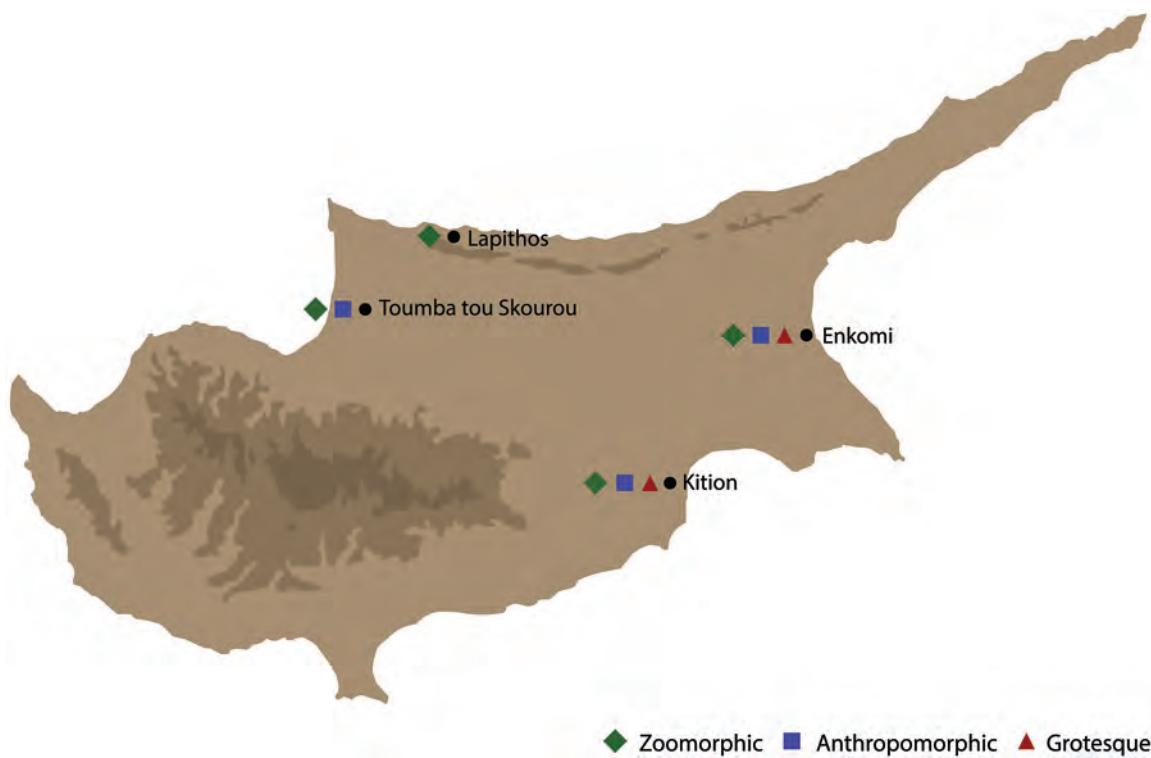
fig. 2. Distribution map for phase I masks (drawing by D. Coslett).
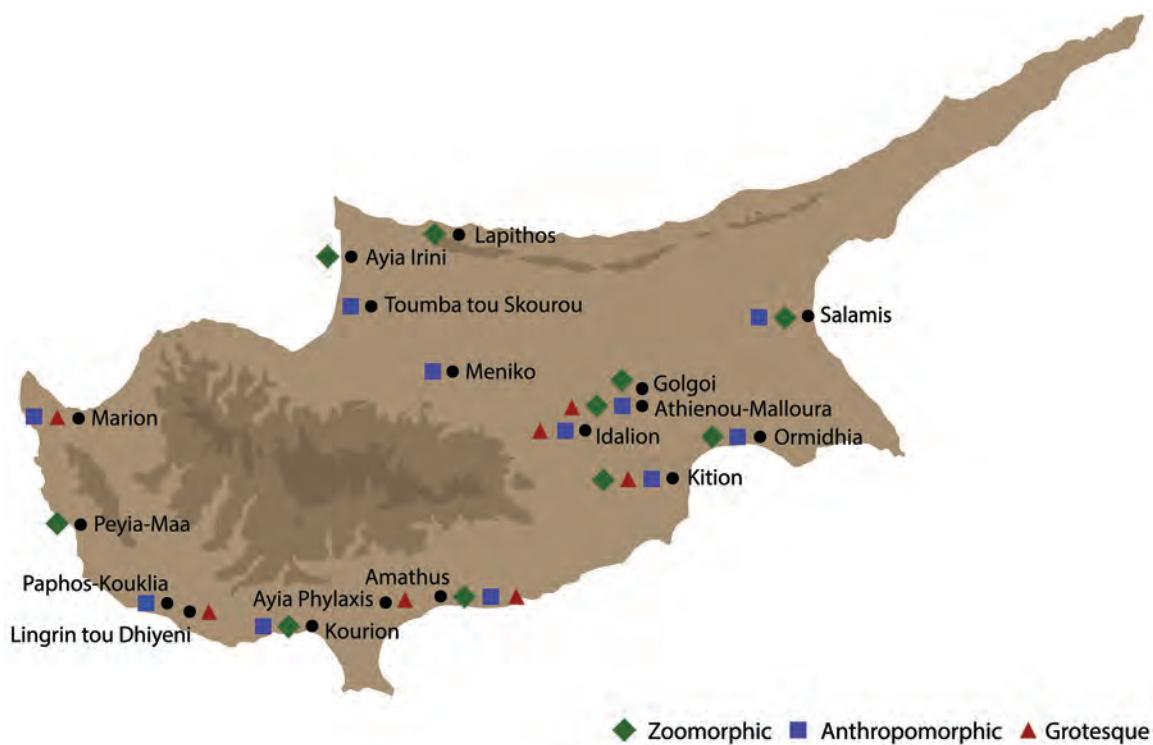
fig. 3. Distribution map for phase II masks (drawing by D. Coslett).

FIG. 4. LC III masks from Enkomi: *left*, bearded male mask (cat. no. 1); *top right*, miniature grotesque mask (cat. no. 7); *bottom right*, life-sized grotesque mask (cat. no. 6) (by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

court to the west of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (cat. no. 4), but they differ from their male counterparts in the lack of cutout eyes, their plaque-like shape, their miniature size, and the inclusion of a neck.[12]

Evidence for zoomorphic masking rituals at the site is provided by several worked bovine skulls large enough to be worn. Approximately 100 animal skulls (primarily male cattle) were discovered in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, scattered across the floor and on the north and west benches of the main use-level, which likely spanned LC III (cat. no. 5).[13] Some of these skulls appear to have been worked, with the occipital sections and mandibles deliberately removed, leaving only the smoothed front part. Unfortunately, this working is not noted in the faunal report, and later studies do not specify the number, species, or gender of the worked skulls. The bucrania could have been altered either for use as masks or to hang on the wall or a pole to mark sacred space, as illustrated by the earlier terracotta models noted below. Bulls were a conspicuous aspect of this cult, evidenced also by an annular rhyton with bucranial spout, a bronze ox horn, bovid

terracotta figurines, incised ox scapulae, and numerous cattle skulls and horns.[14] Although no masks were found in the nearby Sanctuary of the Horned God, the bull was also paramount at this shrine, as demonstrated by the horned headdress of the bronze cult statue, 15 skulls and *Bos* bones, numerous antlers and cattle horns, three gold-leaf ox horns, a bronze and terracotta bull figurine, and evidence for the regular sacrifice of oxen.[15]

The grotesque masking tradition also appears in LC III Enkomi: three life-sized fragments and one miniature example have been found (see fig. 4; cat. nos. 6, 7). The miniature mask features small, perforated eyes, a small, pointed nose, an amorphous depression on the forehead, and a circular, open, deep mouth. The life-sized grotesque fragments preserve part of the cutout eye and the deep furrowed lines that cover the face. These masks are made of coarse fabric and are thick and deep in section compared with the more finely made male masks. They were found in secondary depositional contexts: one from the bottom of a wall in an *échoppe* and others from streets.

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[12] Nys 1995, 19. Stylistically, they seem related to the series of female f gurines with upraised arms found in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.

[13] Nys (1995, 26–7) argues against their use as masks; contra Karageorghis 1996b. For issues with the dating of the levels and abandonment of the town, see Webb 2001, 77–80; Mount-

joy and Gowland 2005, 160–61.

[14] Courtois 1982a, 161–62; 1986, 32–7; Webb 1999, 106–7, 113, 222; Steel 2004, 178–81; Knapp 2008, 223–24; Papasavvas 2011.

[15] Webb 1999, 99.

Most of the masks at Enkomi can be associated with metallurgy and the cult of a male deity—and perhaps a female consort—associated with the metal industry and worshiped in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.[16] This sanctuary is unique in the diversity and richness of the material remains. It has been convincingly argued that an urban elite used this space for rituals involving conspicuous display of exotic objects and images.[17]

Kition

LC III zoomorphic and grotesque masks and later Cypro-Geometric anthropomorphic examples were found in the sacred precinct at Kathari at the urban site of Kition on the southern coast. Zoomorphic rituals at Kition are evidenced by worked bucrania, as at Enkomi (fig. 5; cat. no. 10).[18] Four cattle skulls and five horns were found in Room 12 of the northern metal workshops, while other bones (primarily bovine) were found by a standing anchor.[19] Room 12 also contained a worked triton shell used as a trumpet (likely a cult object),[20] as well as a grotesque mask (cat. no. 11). This unusual mask combines grotesque furrowed lines and a gaping mouth with zoomorphic horns. Four additional worked cattle skulls and deer antlers were excavated in the northern aisle of Temple 5, which in this phase is linked to the metallurgical industry. Temple 5 has been interpreted as dedicated to a male deity and paired with Temple 4, which appears dedicated to a female deity.[21] The same level of Temple 5 also included copper slag, a horn from a large terracotta bull, other animal bones, a macehead, and inscribed objects.[22]

Mask use continued into early CG I, when male masks were used in cults of male and female divinities. All anthropomorphic masks from the Cypro-Geometric period represent bearded and/or mustached males. One of the earliest examples, a fragment of a nose and mustache from a life-sized mask (cat. no. 8), was found in Room 16 in Temenos A. Temenos A communicated directly with the northern workshops and with Temenos B and is traditionally linked to a goddess cult based on female and bull figurines.[23] Two

under-life-sized bearded male masks (cat. no. 9) come from Bothros 20 in Temple 5, which likely remained dedicated to a male deity.

Northern Sites: Toumba tou Skourou and Lapithos

An ear fragment from a life-size bearded male mask, with a hole for an earring, was found outside the site of Toumba tou Skourou (cat. no. 13), while a worked bucranium was found outside the site's north terrace (cat. no. 14). Like similar examples from Kition and Enkomi, the large skull was worked, possibly for use as a mask. It was found with a fragment of another skull and other animal bones. It is possible that this assemblage represents sanctuary debris or that the skulls were hung outside the limits of the site.[24]

A figurine from Lapithos may mark the beginning of two new customs in CG I: the representation of masked figures in terracotta and the use of mask imagery in funerary contexts (fig. 6; cat. no. 12). This figure has breasts, suggesting it represents a female, and it appears to be wearing a mask. The generally simplified Cypro-Geometric style limits certain identification, but this face appears especially zoomorphic, perhaps representing a sheep/goat with long snout, pierced eyes and nostrils, and ears. The painted black lines are understandable as representations of strings holding the mask. If this is a masked figure, it is the earliest example aside from Late Cypriot glyptic representations (discussed below) and the only possible depiction of a female masker.

Phase I Masking Patterns

Although there exists a possibility of earlier masking practices, the earliest secure use of masks on Cyprus in LC III is represented by limited evidence, primarily from two sites, and appears only after one of the major disruptions on the island: the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA, ca. 1200 B.C.E., which marks a major cultural break.[25] The sites with masks are among the few to be rebuilt and continuously used in the 12th century after the LC IIIA destructions and abandonments. The total number of phase I masks is small (see fig. 1):

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[16] For the cult, see Catling 1971; Courtois 1986, 32–7; Webb 1999, 112–13, 298–304; 2001, 74–6.

[17] Webb 2001, 78. For the association between sanctuaries and metallurgy in the Late Cypriot period, see Knapp 1986, 1996a, 1996b; Kassianidou 2005.

[18] Although Nys (1995, 26) questioned whether the bucrania were worked, her argument has been countered by Karageorghis 1996b; Smith 2009, 103–4, fig. 3.15.

[19] Nobis 1985, 419–23.

[20] Reese 1985, 354; Åström and Reese 1990.

[21] Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 65–77, 108–12, 128–32,

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148–53. The cult objects in Temple 5 included predominantly male and bovine imagery, but Webb (1999, 77–84) cautions against secure deity identification since female and bovine imagery was found in both Temples 4 and 5.

[22] For reevaluations of the temples, see Webb 1999, 77–84; Knapp 2008, 181–82, 228; Smith 2009, 62–5, 247–48.

[23] Webb 1999, 71–3; Smith 2009, 62–4, 247–48.

[24] Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 390–91.

[25] For summaries of this critical period, see Iacovou 1989, 2008; Webb 1999, 7; Steel 2004, 187–213; Knapp 2008, 281–97; Voskos and Knapp 2008; Karageorghis 2011a.

FIG. 5. Masks from Kition-Kathari: *left*, CG I bearded male mask (cat. no. 9) (E. Averett, by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus); *right*, worked bucranium (cat. no. 10) (J. Smith).

23 terracotta examples and an unspecified number of worked bucrania.[26] All three types (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and grotesque) are associated with either sanctuaries or adjacent metal workshops, with some examples found in discarded contexts. Phase I masks come from urban sanctuaries dedicated to male deities (perhaps with female consorts) and metallurgical areas under their sacred protection; both sanctuary and industry were likely under the control of urban elites.[27] The Enkomi and Kition sanctuaries display bovine imagery and hybrid figures that meld the animal, human, and divine worlds. Excavated Late Cypriot masks have thus far been found only in Late Cypriot urban centers; they have not been recovered from non-urban cult places, such as Myrtou, Athienou, Idalion, and Ayia Irini. Enkomi and Kition were major coastal centers distinguished by their size, wealth, and key roles in international trade and the metal industry.[28]

Late Cypriot masks are traditionally interpreted as directly inspired by Levantine practices because of their similarities to anthropomorphic masks from Hazor, Gezer, Beth Shean, and Meskéné-Emar dated between ca. 1550 and 1200 B.C.E.; slightly later

FIG. 6. CG I zoomorphic masked figurine from Tomb 419, Kastros cemetery, Lapithos (cat. no. 12) (© Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm).

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[26] Unprovenanced phase I masks (not included in appx.) include a bearded male mask (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 22845 [Caubet et al. 1992, 58–9, cat. no. 51]) and three fragments from a grotesque mask (Paris, Musée du Louvre, no inventory number [Lagarce and Lagarce 1973, 352]).

[27] Catling 1971; Courtois 1982a; Karageorghis 1985, 253–54; Knapp 1986; 1996a, 10; Webb 1999, 298–302; Kassianidou 2005.

[28] Iacovou 2008; Knapp 2008, 216–28; Voskos and Knapp 2008, 664–66.

examples from Tell Qasile (1100–1050 B.C.E.); and a 10th-century example from Tell Ser'a.[29] The similarities between the masks, however, are superficial: the Levantine male masks are unbearded and stylistically distinct.[30] Markoe and Nys have rightly asserted that although the concept of masking may have been transferred to Cyprus from the Levant, the custom must have been locally adapted, resulting in masks crafted in local styles for local cults as part of a process of negotiation.[31]

A Near Eastern origin and identity is also commonly posited for the grotesque and zoomorphic masks, despite significant chronological and geographical gaps. Grotesque masks, commonly termed "Humbaba masks," have been traced to Old Babylonian depictions of the demon Humbaba or the Egyptian dwarf-god Bes.[32] Both Wilson and Nys, however, have demonstrated that in addition to chronological gaps, there are problems with associating a generic demonic form from Cyprus with extra-island grotesque depictions that are themselves difficult to identify securely.[33] The grotesque masks are best interpreted as Cypriot adaptations of foreign demons fused with local concepts and functions. Significantly, the zoomorphic, and specifically bovine, masks are unique to Cyprus and provide evidence for a distinctly Cypriot ceremony.[34] As noted above, there is an abundance of prehistoric bovine iconography on the island, suggesting a long-standing significance attached to horned animals that is manifested in bull-masking ceremonies at least as early as LC III and continuing through the Iron Age.

There are no textual sources to elucidate the meaning or use of phase I masks. There are, however, several glyptic depictions of hybrid figures engaged in various ritual anthropomorphic activities on Late Cypriot Elaborate and Derivative Style cylinder seals—notably on several from Enkomi and Kition—that were inspired by Near Eastern and Aegean seal iconography (fig. 7). Two bronze rims from Cypriot metal kraters,

the handles still attached, depict hybrid Aegean-style *genii* figures carrying libation vessels, one with bucrania.[35] These depictions, together with the Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age imagery discussed above, suggest that masking rituals occurred earlier than the preserved masks. The glyptic figures include zoocephalic bull-, lion-, and griffin-men that most commonly wear long skirts and serve as attendants and ministrants to gods and goddesses, typically carrying libation vessels.[36] While some figures appear to be demons (or *genii*), fully animal but with anthropomorphic poses, others have human bodies with animal heads. The bull-man is the most common, with at least 40 known examples, and is often depicted bringing animals to deities. Additionally, several Common Style seals feature bucrania and a repeated motif of nude male, tree, bucranium, and ingot(s). While the identity of the nude male is debated (worshiper or deity), the theme links bull imagery with the metal industry.[37] While the bull-men can be related to the masks, there is no straightforward parallel between the griffin and lion hybrid figures, just as there are no close equivalents for the deities depicted on the seals among the Late Cypriot divine images, such as the Enkomi Ingot God and Horned God statues.[38] Moreover, it is not clear whether the hybrid figures in the iconographic record represent divine/supernatural creatures or masked humans, or whether these are mythic or ritual depictions.[39] Like Aegean *genii*, some of the anthropomorphized animals wear shell-like capes and belts;[40] others appear to wear leather or cloth neck pieces, as seen on phase II maskers.[41] Still others seem to have fully human bodies with zoomorphic heads or masks and have parallels with the Aegean lion-, bull-, agrimi-, and stag-men.[42] Despite this iconographic ambiguity, the proliferation of these human-animal types in the glyptic record associates this imagery with the elites controlling the socioeconomic structures of the Late Cypriot period.[43] Like the seals, masks were exotic objects

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[29] Culican 1975–1976, 64–5; Stern 1976; Courtois et al. 1986, 166; Carter 1987; Nys 1995, 21–2; Kletter 2007, 189.

[30] Nys 1995, 21.

[31] Markoe 1990, 14–16; Nys 1995, 21–2.

[32] Culican 1975–1976, 67; Carter 1987, 365–66.

[33] Wilson 1975, 83; Nys 1995, 23–7.

[34] There are no contemporary or earlier Near Eastern equivalents of the Cypriot bucranium masks. A single worked bucranium was found at Megiddo (May 1935, 23, pl. 19; O'Bryhim 1999, 5–12) but dates to ca. 900–600 B.C.E.

[35] Stürmer 1985, 120, no. A.1.4, fig. 1; 127, no. B.2.13, fig. 13; Karageorghis 2000, 58–9, no. 95.

[36] Sjöqvist 1932, 346; Kenna 1967, 566, 571, figs. 21–5; Porada 1971, 789–90; 1974; Amiet 1973, 155–56; Caubet 1979, 22, fig. 37; Hermary 1979, 738–39; Collon 1987, 183–86; Nys

1995, 27–9; Webb 1999, 270–71; Karageorghis 2002, 50–1.

[37] Webb 1999, 276 (with references).

[38] Webb 1999, 270–71, 279.

[39] As noted by Porada (1947, 18, 74–80, 121–22) in her study of the Nuzi seals; see also Belgiorno 1993, 44–5; Nys 1995, 27–9; Chryssoulaki 1999, 111; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010.

[40] Cook 1894; Mellink 1987; Chryssoulaki 1999; Crowley 2013, 231–34.

[41] Porada 1971, 789–90, no. 4, pl. 256; Nys 1995, 23–5.

[42] Crowley 2013, 231–34, 353.

[43] Webb (1999, 262, 276) argues that ownership of seals linked newly established elites with their service to the gods to legitimate their divinely sanctioned authority. Although their function on Cyprus likely varied, most agree that it was administrative (Smith 2002; 2009, 246; Reyes 2005).

FIG. 7. Impression of a LC II cylinder seal from Enkomi depicting hybrid figures bearing libation vessels, and a human figure with a bull head (mask?). The latter is bearing an animal and approaching a god and goddess. A bucranium hovers between the deities' heads. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 1957/V-4/1 (drawing by E. Chapman IV).

found in metallurgical and religious areas. Such areas were likely used by the elite in religious rituals designed to showcase their privileged access to the divine realm, legitimizing their sacred authority.

PHASE II MASKS: CG III TO CYPRO-CLASSICAL (CC) I

Salamis

At Salamis, the urban center that replaced Enkomi in the Iron Age, evidence for masking rituals comes from rampart deposits, an early urban sanctuary, and the area of the later basilica at Campanopetra; all three findspots are votive deposits associated with the urban cult of a male deity later identified as Zeus.[44] In addition to masks, the votive offerings spanning the Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Archaic periods include male and warrior imagery, bulls, and horses.[45] The earliest mask is a Cypro-Geometric bull protome (cat. no. 114); the earliest anthropomorphic mask (CG III) is a fragment of a life-sized bearded male with cutout eyes from the sanctuary (cat. no. 108). At least 18 miniature masks (protomes with curved miniature faces without cutout eyes, mouths, or attachment holes) were dedicated in the sanctuary or placed in select graves in the Cellarka cemetery (cat. nos. 109–18). The miniature masks depict bearded males, females, and animals (mostly bulls, although one depicts a lion or horse). The Salaminian coroplasts also produced small, seated terracotta

figurines with anthropomorphic bodies and zoomorphic heads that perhaps depict maskers (cat. nos. 119–21); these were found in the rampart wall and in Cellarka tombs. These figurines are executed in a simple style, and the mask is not explicitly rendered. They are traditionally interpreted as seated monkeys, but the presence of painted linear designs around the head of one figurine[46] (which perhaps represent attachment strings as on the Lapithos example), in addition to the distinctive gesture (touching the face with one or two hands as if adjusting a mask), suggests that these could depict maskers.[47]

Ormidhia

In the area of the modern village of Ormidhia, approximately 30 km southwest of Salamis, di Cesnola unearthed two masked figurines from unspecified graves (cat. nos. 102, 103).[48] One is a wheelmade figurine, originally with attached legs, holding a bull mask over the head; the other is a bearded male holding an anthropomorphic mask near the left shoulder. No other information about these graves was recorded.

Kition

In phase II, masking continued at Kition-Kathari, as evidenced by several anthropomorphic mask fragments and additional worked bucrania. After a flood that damaged several of the Late Cypriot buildings,

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[44] Calvet 1976, 145–46; Monloup 1984, 15–18, 99–106, 99–103, 189–90.

[45] Yon 1980a; 1980b, 76–7; 1999, 18; Monloup 1984, 17–20.

[46] French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. Sal. 4122 (Tc 1430).

[47] Monloup 1984, 103–5; Karageorghis 1994; 1995, 16–19; cf. Langdon 1990, esp. 422.

[48] di Cesnola 1894, pls. 8.60, 27.214; see also Hadjicosti 2001.

masks appear again on Floors 3–2A, primarily in Temple 5; fewer occurred in Temple 4 and Temenos B, and worked bucrania masks have been found in Temple 1. The presence of phase II masks at Kition can be interpreted in one of two ways. According to the excavator, the sacred area was abandoned after the Late Cypriot phase for approximately 150 years, and all new building activity beginning with Floor 3 (traditionally dated ca. 800–725) can be attributed to the arrival of and subsequent domination by the Phoenicians.[49] Alternatively, Smith, in her reanalysis of the material and revised chronology (see table 2), argues that there is evidence for trade and contact with the Phoenicians during Floor 3, but that Phoenician domination is not attested until the subsequent Floor 2A.[50] Depending on the chronological interpretation, the appearance of masks beginning on Floor 3 can be understood as a continuation of phase I traditions at this site, as revivals of earlier local practice, or as a practice imported by the Phoenicians.

As in phase I, the precise nature of the deities worshiped in the various temples in this period is unclear. While Karageorghis asserts that the worship of Astarte dominated the sacred area in the Iron Age, replacing worship of an earlier goddess, others suggest that either a male deity, such as Eshmun-Melqart, or a divine pair were worshiped at Kition, at least in Temple 1.[51] The first theonym is an inscription on a red-slipped bowl from Floor 3 of Temple 1 that includes the name "Astarte"; on the subsequent Floor 2A, however, two inscriptions suggest the temple is dedicated to Baal.[52] It is generally agreed, based on the votive offerings, that a male divinity was worshiped in Temple 5, the location of most of the phase II masks.[53] In phase I, Temple 5 was larger and contained bovine masks, but in phase II the sanctuary was rebuilt at a smaller scale and contained only anthropomorphic masks; those that can be identified are all male (cat. nos. 72–4, 77).[54] Anthropomorphic mask fragments were also recovered from Temenos B, from Rooms 37 and 37A of Temple 4, from Courtyard C, just south of Temple 1, and from Courtyard A, just outside Temple 5 (cat. nos. 75, 76, 78–80).

In phase II, bucrania masks were used in Temple 1, not in Temple 5. Some 15 cattle skulls were excavated there, some worked, probably so they could be worn as masks as before (cat. no. 81). As noted above, it appears that Temple 1 was dedicated to a goddess (identified during Floor 3 as Astarte), but it is just as likely that a consort deity was also worshiped there.[55] Significantly, Temple 1 is directly linked to the northern metal workshops, providing evidence for the continuation of the association between metallurgy, cult, and masking.[56]

The Mesaoria Plain: Golgoi–Ayios Photios and Athienou-Malloura

On the fertile Mesaoria Plain in central Cyprus, two important extra-urban sanctuaries provide evidence for masking rituals.[57] From Golgoi, three sixth-century limestone statuettes (ca. 21–26 cm) and one life-sized statue representing maskers come from a sanctuary at Ayios Photios.[58] One statuette (fig. 8, left; cat. no. 70) depicts a man wearing a plain, long robe; his right arm is held forward, and in his left hand he holds a lion mask to the side of his head. Another limestone figurine (cat. no. 69), carved only on the front, depicts a figure wearing a bull mask, a robe, and a second garment that creates an elliptical overlap in the front. A cloth is wrapped around its neck and extends down to the chest, where the figure grasps it in both hands; this cloth appears to both secure the mask and disguise its edges. A third limestone statuette is similarly dressed (see fig. 8, center; cat. no. 71); this figure holds the muzzle of a cervid mask with both hands, as if adjusting it. The sanctuary also included a head from a life-sized statue depicting a man holding a helmet-style bull mask above his head, as if taking it off or putting it on (see fig. 8, right; cat. no. 68). The predominately male votives from this shrine suggest a Master of Animals deity, later identified as Apollo, was worshiped here.[59]

From the nearby sanctuary at Athienou-Malloura, nine fragments from under-life-sized terracotta bearded male masks, one unbearded male mask, 12 small fragments from anthropomorphic masks, and six grotesque masks have been excavated to date (fig. 9; cat.

[49] Karageorghis 2005, 92–3, 103, 107–8.
[50] Smith 2009, xviii, 217–19.
[51] Karageorghis 1998 (with references); 2005, 108–9.
[52] Karageorghis 1998, 1; 2003, 10, 75, 96; see also Smith 2009, 146–47.
[53] Karageorghis 2005, 67–8, 93, 109.
[54] Smith 2009, 248.
[55] Karageorghis 1998.
[56] Karageorghis 1985, 272; Kassianidou 2013, 65.
[57] More problematic evidence for masking in the Mesaoria Plain supposedly comes from the urban center of Idalion,

none of it with secure provenance or from scientifc excavation. Ohnefalsch-Richter (1893, 18–19, 25, nos. 36, 37, pl. 198.4) describes a "heap" of masks hanging on a tree and an anthropomorphic mask from a sanctuary.
[58] For problems with the provenance of the Cesnola Golgoi material, see Connelly 1988, 75–8; Counts 2011, 49–50; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 13–17.
[59] For the cult, which included Herakles, Zeus Ammon, Pan, and Apollo, see Hermary and Mertens 2014, 17–18. For the male deities worshiped at Mesaoria sanctuaries, see Counts 2008, 19–23.

FIG. 8. Cypro-Archaic limestone statues and statuettes from Golgoi–Ayios Photios: *left*, statuette of a man holding a lion mask (cat. no. 70); *center*, statuette of a man wearing a stag(?) mask and costume (cat. no. 71) (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY); *right*, life-sized head of a man holding a bull mask above his head (cat. no. 68) (© RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY).

nos. 60–2, 65), making this one of the largest corpora of masks from a single site, aside from Amathus.[60] In addition, two terracotta figurines depicting zoomorphic maskers were dedicated here (cat. nos. 63, 64). One well-preserved figurine depicts a robed figure holding the edge of a helmet-style bull mask with an attached hide cape. A face peers out from beneath the costume (fig. 10). The other figurine is fragmentary but appears to depict a rare criomorphic (i.e., ram form) masked figure. The votive dedications at this large sanctuary, consisting of hundreds of male limestone votaries and male deities (Cypriot Herakles, Apollo, and later Pan), terracotta and limestone chariot groups, and terracotta male figurines and horses indicate that the cult focused primarily on a male deity.[61]

Amathus and Ayia Phylaxis

Amathus, one of the largest new Iron Age urban centers, has more masks than any other site: at least 30 from tombs and another 30 from the acropolis area,

which functioned as the religious, administrative, and industrial center of the city. The nonfunerary masks are found on the acropolis, in a north wall deposit, and from the palace, west terrace area, and sanctuary of Aphrodite. Two fragments from bearded male masks with zoomorphic horns (cat. no. 15, paralleled only by a mask from Tomb 83) and five anthropomorphic masks (cat. nos. 16, 18)—three males, one female, and one undetermined—come from a north wall deposit; 13 anthropomorphic examples (cat. nos. 17, 19, 21), a lion mask (cat. no. 24), and a bull protome (cat. no. 23) come from the area of the west terrace; one anthropomorphic mask (cat. no. 20) comes from between the palace and ramparts; and one grotesque mask was found in the palace (cat. no. 25). These deposits are likely originally from one of the known or unidentified palatial sanctuaries.[62] Two anthropomorphic masks (one likely female), a figurine wearing a bearded male mask, two animal masks, and a fragment of a grotesque mask were dedicated at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (cat. nos. 26–9).

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[60] Averett 2011, 141–42. I thank Michael Toumazou for permission to study and include the unpublished masks from Athienou-Malloura.

[61] For the site, see Toumazou et al. 2011. For the male divinity, see Counts 2008, 19–23; 2009a; 2010.

[62] Hermary 2000, 7.

FIG. 9. Cypro-Archaic masks from Athienou-Malloura: *left*, bearded male mask (cat. no. 60); *center*, grotesque mask fragment (cat. no. 65); *right*, miniature grotesque mask (cat. no. 65) (© Athienou Archaeological Project).

Another masked figure, a limestone statuette, was excavated from the so-called Baetyl Sanctuary (fig. 11; cat. no. 22); it was found in a vertical position on Floor 3 together with a female statue and was perhaps in its original position in the shrine.[63] This statuette depicts a man wearing a long tunic and cape ending in four small tassels and a helmet-style bull mask; he grasps the dewlap of the bull mask with both hands. Like the Golgoi statuettes, this figure clasps the edges of a cape and perhaps a scarf around his neck to secure the mask. The sanctuary also contained a limestone male head wearing a *mitra*, a headdress associated with kings; a sphinx thymiaterion; a centaur relief; and a limestone baetyl.[64] In this same room, excavators found a round structure associated with an ashy deposit and slag; the structure has been interpreted as a metallurgical furnace.[65] A metal workshop within a palace shrine suggests the continuation of a link between industry and religion and the use of masks in these cults.

Amathus is unique in the number of masks deposited in local tombs. At least 30 were placed in the rock-cut tombs of the eastern and western necropoleis (figs. 12, 13; cat. nos. 30–59). Unfortunately, because most were excavated in the 19th century or during later rescue operations, contextual details and osteological data are lacking, and many tombs remain either underpublished or not published at all.[66] This evidence is therefore difficult to interpret. In addition, many of the tombs were reused or disturbed in

FIG. 10. Cypro-Archaic terracotta figurine of a man wearing a bull mask and costume (cat. no. 63) (© Athienou Archaeological Project).

antiquity, rendering association between grave goods and human remains challenging. Although it is tenuous to draw generalizations based on the sporadic publication record of the cemeteries, the tombs with masks tend to also contain ceramic vessels, imports, and other goods.[67]

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[63] Petit 2002, 296.
[64] Hermary 2000, no. 878, 169; Petit 2002, 293–304; Papantoniou 2012, 214.
[65] Petit 2002, 291; Kassianidou 2013, 68.
[66] Iacovou 2002a, 104. The Cyprus Department of Antiq-

uities together with the French School at Athens is undertaking the publication of the tombs excavated in emergency operations.
[67] Janes (2008, 159–248) is helpful for detecting general patterns. For potential inaccuracies in tomb assignments of

Tomb 83 from the eastern necropolis is one of the key tombs for understanding the significance of masks in funerary contexts. This grave included an exceptional number of masks (see fig. 12, center and right; cat. nos. 32–6) found together in a deposit of terracottas that included a bird, a stag, an Egyptian head, a female figurine holding both breasts, an architectural model, a criophoros figurine, a horse-and-rider figurine, a horse-and-chariot group, a model wine cart vessel, a model cart, a terracotta bell, horses, and eight ship models.[68] Additionally, the tomb contained two Attic black-figure vases with figural scenes, an electrum crescent earring, a silver bracelet, two small Egyptian faience eyes, amulets, and a glass alabastron and beads. The chamber tomb appears to be intact, containing four bodies lying on the left side and two earlier inhumations placed on the right, likely pushed aside to accommodate the new burials. The terracotta objects were found lying in a pile close to the wall at the middle of the right portion and can be associated with the two earlier inhumations in this section of the tomb. This tomb contained the largest assemblage of masks from a single funerary context in Cyprus: a terracotta anthropomorphic bearded mask with horns (similar to the example from the Amathus acropolis), a lion mask, a grotesque mask, an anthropomorphic mask fragment with fillet headdress, and a bearded mask.

Another unusual tomb from the eastern necropolis is Tomb 200, the only published tomb with any osteological data. A single inhumation at the back of the chamber was identified as a child based on the size of the skeletal remains. This is one of the few burials directly associated with a large number of personal adornments: a necklace with 15 amulets and two pendants, a bronze ring, two faience beads, 15 bronze bracelets, 34 bronze earrings, a silver earring, 36 shells, two terracotta figurines, and multiple vases.[69] One figurine represents a bull masker who holds the muzzle of the mask with the right hand while the left holds the lower part of the dewlap (see fig. 13, center; cat. no. 38). Tomb 423 from the same necropolis was one of the few that contained cuttings for stelae and poles above the tomb and had architectural embellishments at the entrance. The tomb was reused for multiple inhumations. The primary Cypro-Archaic burial was associated with a high quantity of ceramics, a terracotta bird with a hollow body, two terracotta horse figurines, a horse-and-rider figurine, and a small

FIG. 11. Cypro-Archaic limestone statuette of a man wearing a bull mask and cape, ca. 525–500 B.C.E., Amathus (cat. no. 22) (by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

handmade bearded mask with an added pellet on the forehead (cat. no. 43).[70]

Several other chamber tombs from both the eastern and western necropoleis included terracotta masks or masked figurines. None, however, is exceptional in terms of the grave goods, and none provides osteological data. The objects found in tombs with masks include a single inscription,[71] three types of terracotta female figurines (so-called Astarte figurines, ones holding tambourines, and figures with upraised arms), terracotta animals (bulls, birds, monkeys), other male figurines (horse and riders, chariot groups, flute player), bull and female protomes, a wall bracket, bronze objects (e.g., tweezers, strigils, spatulas), stone beads, amulets, gold jewelry, scarabs, glass vessels, some imported vases, local vessels, astragali, shells, and other masks. None can be associated firmly with a mask or specific burial, and no consistent patterns emerge. The masks tend to come from tombs with more specialized objects, such as imported pottery, jewelry, amulets, household items, shells, and metal objects. In her analysis of these cemeteries, Janes notes that the funerary assemblages rarely contain imported ceramics—less than 5% of the total recovered pottery—and "other goods" such as figurines, scarabs and seals, weapons, and jewelry

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certain objects excavated by the British Museum in the 19th century, see Hermary 1996.

[68] Smith 1900, 111–22, f g. 164. See also Hermary (1996, 17–19) for publication discrepancies.

[69] Tytgat 1989, 129–30; Janes 2008, 224, 241.

[70] For the architecture, layout, and contents of the tomb,

see Nicolaou 1985, 257–72.

[71] Smith 1900, 96, 117. The short inscription appears on a limestone slab and comprises three elements: a personal name ending in "-des," a patronymic ([son] of Phanagoros), and the word "Mytilenaios."

FIG. 12. Cypro-Archaic masks from Amathus tombs: *left*, bearded male mask from Tomb 522 (cat. no. 59); *center*, anthropomorphic mask with horns from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 34), *right*, grotesque mask from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 36) (*left*, E. Averett, by permission of the the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus; *center*, *right* © The Trustees of the British Museum).

FIG. 13. Cypro-Archaic terracotta masked figurines from Amathus: *left*, bull masker from Tomb 289 (cat. no. 39); *center*, bull masker from Tomb 200 (cat. no. 38); *right*, figure wearing bearded male mask from Tomb 557 (cat. no. 44) (by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

are not common in the burial assemblages.[72] Although the number of masks in graves at Amathus is much larger than that at any other cemetery, it is important to note that masks were found in a small percentage of the total graves and do not seem to be a usual part of the tomb deposit. They therefore were probably not a regular part of local funerary ritual. It is not clear why the masks, like other funerary objects, were interred: they could be personal possessions or expressions of religious belief, act as protectors/benefactors for the journey to the afterlife, or indicate social status or identity. The inclusion of this number of masks is unique to the tombs at Amathus; there is only sporadic evidence for this practice elsewhere on the island (although this pattern could change with future excavations). The frequent association between masks and amulets, scarabs, and seals combined with the unusual child burial of Tomb 200 and with protecting figures such as Bes, Ptah, and Astarte suggests that masks may have been placed in the grave as apotropaic devices to protect the deceased on the journey to the afterlife.[73] Because there are no mask types unique to funerary uses, the significance of these examples should be related to their meaning in religious settings.

A nearby bothros at Ayia Phylaxis contained two slightly under-life-sized grotesque terracotta masks with disks on the foreheads (fig. 14; cat. no. 67). One is bearded with a long nose and animal-like ears, while the other appears unbearded, with a grimacing mouth and incised lines on the cheeks.

Kourion

A series of masks and masked figurine groups were dedicated at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates outside Kourion on the southern coast. These objects reference masked rituals that likely took place in the Archaic Precinct.[74] The deity Apollo is named beginning in the fifth century,[75] but earlier votives are consistent with those offered to male divinities on Cyprus, including thousands of terracotta male figurines depicting votaries, horse and riders, chariot groups, centaurs, horses, and bulls.[76] Several terracotta bearded and anthropomorphic male masks supposedly come from the sanctuary (cat. nos. 83–5), and at least 21 depictions of maskers from terracotta groups were excavated (fig. 15; cat. nos. 86–96). The figurines in these groups are small (ca. 10 cm high), and the compositions consist

FIG. 14. Cypro-Archaic grotesque masks from Ayia Phylaxis (cat. no. 67) (by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

of one or more masked figures on rectangular platform bases. The maskers wear anthropomorphic or bull masks and commonly hold the mask edge with both hands. These figurines provide evidence for masked ritual performances that involved multiple participants.

The Paphos Area: Palaepaphos, Rantidi–Lingrin tou Dhiyeni, and Peyia-Maa

A few masks from the Paphos area indicate that masking rituals there occurred at sanctuaries dedicated to both male and female deities. A single anthropomorphic mask fragment (cat. no. 104) comes from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos, and a grotesque mask fragment was found at the nearby sanctuary dedicated to a male deity at Rantidi–Lingrin tou Dhiyeni (cat. no. 107).[77] A bothros from an unidentified sanctuary at Peyia-Maa, just east of Maa-Palaeokastro, yielded a large terracotta figurine depicting an individual wearing a bull mask and cape, as well as a bull protome (cat. nos. 105, 106). The masked figure is distinctive in size (preserved ht. 20.1 cm, the largest terracotta depiction of a masker) and in its early seventh-century date. The bull mask is adorned with two applied disks and crescents that parallel the disks found on a few other masks. The bothros was filled with terracotta dedications, most of them male images—

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[72] Janes 2008, 189, 195.

[73] See the discussion of the protective function of the goods in this tomb in Clèrc 1991, 141–43; Janes 2008, 241.

[74] For the early history of the sanctuary, see Buitron 1986; Buitron-Oliver 1996.

[75] Dietrich 1996, 19, 29. The most common epithet, Hylates,

occurs only in the Hellenistic period.

[76] Young and Young 1955; Buitron-Oliver 1996; Winter 1996.

[77] I thank Bonny Bazemore for permission to include the mask from Lingrin tou Dhiyeni. For this sanctuary, see Bazemore 2000, 2002, 2007.

FIG. 15. Cypro-Archaic terracotta platform groups, Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion: *left*, two views of figurine wearing anthropomorphic mask (cat. no. 88); *right*, bull-masked figurines (cat. no. 93) (by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

including male votaries, warriors, chariot groups, horse and riders, and a Geryon figure, as well as bulls and horses—linking the cult to a male deity.[78] The deposit also included an unpublished anthropomorphic head adorned with ram horns from a terracotta figurine.

Marion

Two sanctuaries in ancient Marion on the Chrysochous Bay provide evidence for masking in the northwest region of the island.[79] The sanctuary at Polis-Peristeries, which flourished during Cypro-Archaic (CA) II, was an urban shrine likely dedicated to a female deity. It was located among houses and workshops in the eastern part of the city.[80] Many votives were left in situ, while others were buried in a large bothros east of the temenos together with industrial debris.[81] The nearby industrial activity included textile production, purple-dye factories, metalworking, and ceramic and coroplastic production.[82] As at some earlier Late Cypriot and Iron Age sanctuaries, there appears to have been a close link between cult and industry at copper-rich Marion. A deposit of slag

(likely votive in nature) combined with a bull skull outside the entrance to this sanctuary links the bull, the metal industry, and cult at this sanctuary and could suggest the presence of a male consort associated with the industry.[83] Three life-sized or just under life-sized male masks and one life-sized grotesque mask were found in the Peristeries sanctuary and bothros (cat. nos. 97, 98). The male examples have cutout eyes and perforation holes behind the ears when the ears are preserved, and two have beards represented by stamped circles. The well-preserved grotesque mask is finely modeled; incised furrows cover the forehead and sides and converge in a "v" at the center of the forehead, and the face features cutout elongated eyes and modeled cheeks.

A second urban sanctuary, in use from CA II to the Cypro-Classical period, was discovered at Polis-Maratheri on a ridge between the inhabited plateaus.[84] Based on votive offerings and later inscriptions, the excavators suggest that this sanctuary was dedicated to a divine pair later associated with Aphrodite, Zeus, and Eros.[85] This sanctuary yielded three anthropomorphic and

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[78] Karageorghis 1989.

[79] I thank Joanna Smith and Nancy Serwint for permission to study the unpublished masks from the Princeton Cyprus Expedition.

[80] Serwint 1991, 217–18; 1992, 391–402; Childs 1997, 40; Smith 1997, 80; Smith et al. 2012, 167–71.

[81] Serwint 1992, 401; Childs 1997, 40; 2008, 66; Smith 1997, 80–90; Smith et al. 2012, 176.

[82] Evidence for metalworking at the Peristeries sanctuary comes from a small amount of slag from the sanctuary proper, slag from the associated bothros, and a deposit of slag and a

bucranium near the entrance of the sanctuary. The bothros also contained other evidence of nearby craft production, including ceramic wasters and hundreds of broken murex shells. Evidence for metalworking also comes from Room 9 of a monumental Archaic building (likely functioning as the palace) 180 m northwest of the sanctuary (Smith 1997, 90–1; Papalexandrou 2006, 233–37; 2008; Kassianidou 2013, 68–9).

[83] Smith 1997, 91.

[84] Childs 2008, 67; Smith et al. 2012, 178–83.

[85] Serwint 1991, 216; 1993, 66; Smith et al. 2012, 171.

four grotesque terracotta mask fragments (cat. nos. 99, 100). The anthropomorphic specimens include an ear with earring, fragments with cutout eyes, incised eyebrows and facial hair represented by stamped circles and U shapes, and a headdress. The grotesque masks are made of coarser clay, are thicker in section, and have cutout eyes, extremely large hooked noses with large gouged nostrils, and furrows in chevron patterns covering the nose and cheeks. One piece preserves a cutout gaping mouth with three vertical incisions for teeth. None of the masks was found in the sanctuary proper. Rather, all come either from an area between the sanctuary and city, together with other votive debris, or from a test trench some distance from the sanctuary.[86]

Ayia Irini

Two bull-masked figurines excavated from the extra-urban sanctuary at Ayia Irini by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were among the first depictions of masked figures found on Cyprus (fig. 16; cat. no. 66). Both are large figures (preserved ht. 16–19 cm) that wear helmet-style bull masks. One figurine is adjusting the mask with the left hand. The well-known display of votive offerings found in situ arranged in a semicircle around the altar included thousands of terracotta statues and figurines, almost all male types—votaries, warriors, chariot groups, and horse and riders, as well as bulls and supernatural figures, such as centaurs and "minotaurs" (with bull bodies and human torsos and heads). This assemblage suggested to the excavators that the sanctuary was dedicated to a male deity associated with war, fertility, and bulls.[87]

Meniko

The Meniko sanctuary contained a miniature protome of a bearded male (cat. no. 101) similar to the Salaminian examples. The other votives, including

FIG. 16. Cypro-Archaic terracotta figurines of bull maskers from Ayia Irini (cat. no. 66) (*left*, E. Averett, by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus; *right*, © Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm).

terracotta men, bulls, horse and riders, a chariot group, and an enthroned deity with ram horns, indicate a male deity associated with Zeus Ammon.[88]

Phase II Masking Patterns

Phase II is characterized by a substantial increase in the amount and distribution of masking evidence (see figs. 1, 3). Like the section on phase I, this section focuses on masks with relatively secure provenances, but there are several anthropomorphic,[89] zoomorphic,[90]

[86] Nancy Serwint, pers. comm. 2012.

[87] Sjöqvist 1932; Törnkvist 1972; Winbladh 2003. See also Beer (2009) for the possible presence of a female divinity.

[88] Karageorghis 1977, 35–6, 67–73. On the enthroned deity, see Counts 2009b.

[89] Unprovenanced examples include 10 bearded and two unbearded male masks: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 22.1931; Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, inv. no. 3747; Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. nos. C714, C135; Larnaca, Pierides Foundation Museum, inv. no. 223; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 72.161; Berlin, Museum für vor- und Frühgeschichte, inv. no. 74/1480; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. nos. P290, P291; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.1478; Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. TC 8388; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. E.1.1970 (Karageorghis 1993b, 108–9, nos. 4, 6; 111–14, nos. 11, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27; f gs. 89, 95; pls. 63.2, 63.4, 64.1,

65.5, 65.6, 66.3, 66.5, 66.6; Brehme et al. 2002, 128, no. 131; Karageorghis and Chamay 2004, 99, nos. 185, 186). One female mask: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. N3319 (Caubet et al. 1992, 58–9, no. 52). Three anthropomorphic masks: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. GR.232.1982; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 965.114.150; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, no inv. no. (Karageorghis 1993b, 114, nos. 24, 27, pl. 67; Karageorghis et al. 1999, 72, no. 131). Three f gurines wearing anthropomorphic masks: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 72.146; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. P296; London, British Museum, inv. no. 1872/8-16/71 (Karageorghis 1995, 54, nos. 2, 4, 5, pl. 27.5–7).

[90] Bull masks: Newark, Newark Museum, inv. no. CY28.210; Nicosia, Pierides Collection, inv. no. CY 267 (Hermary 1986, 164, pl. 34; Karageorghis 1993b, 118–19, f g. 101). The unprovenanced bull protomes are too numerous to list.

and grotesque[91] masks from this period without provenance. By phase II, masks were dispersed throughout the island at both coastal and inland sites and at urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, and they were on occasion interred in graves. Terracotta and limestone figures wearing zoomorphic and anthropomorphic masks offer direct evidence for masked performances in this phase. Some scholars have argued that masks were reintroduced to the island by the Phoenicians in the Iron Age, and Cypriot masks are commonly treated as a subset of Phoenician-Punic traditions.[92] Analysis of Cypriot masks as part of a "Cypro-Phoenician" custom, however, fails to consider local contexts, reception, and cultural adaptation in masking practices in the Levant, Cyprus, Greece, and the Punic world.[93] In fact, Markoe has convincingly argued for a reverse influence; that is, that Cyprus inspired the revival of masks in the Iron Age Levant despite an earlier Canaanite tradition.[94] Masks in these regions are more likely another example of complex cultural exchange, in which selected elements are adopted and adapted to suit local needs and can subsequently influence the source culture.[95] Each region exhibits differences in terms of formal qualities, types, function, and surely meaning.[96] On Cyprus, for example, the prevalence of bull masks is unparalleled in the Levant in both phases.[97]

The few Cypro-Geometric examples and the overall consistency of types suggest that masked ceremonies on the island continued from phase I. This was not, however, a static tradition: phase II witnessed an increase in masks across the island, perhaps related to the evolution of the city-kingdoms. Phase II masks are primarily found at sanctuaries dedicated to male deities (Salamis, Athienou-Malloura, Golgoi, Kition Temple 5, Kourion, Rantidi–Lingrin tou Dhiyeni, Peyia-Maa, Polis-Maratheri, and perhaps Polis-Peristeries, Ayia Irini, and Meniko). The cultic iconography at these sanctuaries consists of male and bovine imagery, including terracotta votaries, warriors, chariot groups,

horse and riders, horse figurines, and bull figurines. Masks are not exclusive to male sanctuaries, however, and have been found at goddess sanctuaries (Amathus, Palaepaphos, and Polis-Peristeries), which often contain not only female but also bull iconography.[98] Nevertheless, masks are more prevalent at sanctuaries of male deities. Of the masks that can be clearly identified as male or female, the number of male masks greatly exceeds the number of female examples—approximately 86% of phase I masks with identifiable gender and 90% of phase II masks with identifiable gender.

There is some evidence that industry (ceramic, textile, and metallurgical) continued to be associated with sanctuaries in Iron Age Cyprus, maintaining or reviving an earlier Late Cypriot tradition. Several sanctuaries (Amathus, Kition, Palaepaphos, Rantidi, Polis-Peristeries) with masked rituals are also associated with industrial activity, either within the temenos or nearby, or are rich in metal finds that highlight the importance of copper in the production of votive offerings (Apollo Hylates at Kourion).[99] At Marion, industrial debris was found in the Peristeries sanctuary, not far from a monumental building interpreted as a possible palace. At Amathus, the palace housed metallurgical and other workshops, and there was likely also industry associated with the Aphrodite sanctuary.[100] It is possible that masks were used in some sanctuaries for the display of power by the kings or elites in control of metal production, who continued to exploit religion to legitimate their power as in the Late Cypriot period.[101]

Sanctuaries with masks also contained theriomorphic imagery. At Athienou-Malloura, divine theriomorphic figures are common: "Zeus Ammon" (combining the bearded male god with ram features), Bes (anthropomorphic, feline, and at times horned), "Cypriot Herakles" (with the headdress and skin of a lion), and later Pan (part shepherd, part goat).[102] At Golgoi, figures of Cypriot Herakles, Bes, Zeus Ammon, and later Pan are associated with the cult.[103] The Meniko sanctuary

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[91] Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. nos. C134, 1953/XI-18/1; London, British Museum, inv. no. 1855.11–1.29 (Karageorghis 1993b, 115–17, nos. 29–31, f gs. 99, 100, pl. 67).

[92] Karageorghis 1996a, 819; see also Culican 1975–1976, 65.

[93] For critiques of the "Cypro-Phoenician" concept, see Schreiber 2003, xx–xxii; Iacovou 2004, 61–2.

[94] Markoe 1990, 14–16. See also Culican (1975–1976) and Karageorghis (1993b, 108) for dating problems. Many of the Phoenician masks are unprovenanced or from limited soundings.

[95] Counts 2008, 23.

[96] For Levantine anthropomorphic and grotesque masks, see Culican 1975–1976, 55–64; Stern 1976; Ciasca 1988; Kletter 2007.

[97] The only examples are a seventh-century terracotta f gurine of a bull masker from Sidon (Contenau 1920, 314, f g. 102/1) and an eighth-century bucranium mask from Megid-

do (May 1935, 23, pl. 19). There is no evidence of an earlier bull-masking tradition; contra O'Bryhim 1999, 11.

[98] Hermary and Masson 1990, 203–4.

[99] For the most recent overview, see Kassianidou 2013.

[100] For the link between Hathor, royalty, and the metal industry at Amathus, see Hermary 2000, 113–14; Petit 2002, 292 n. 19; Kassianidou 2005, 132–33; Fourrier and Hermary 2006, 112; Carbillet 2011; Papantoniou 2012, 219–20.

[101] Knapp 1986; Kassianidou 2005; Peltenburg 2007, 390.

[102] Assigning theonyms to Cypriot divinities is notoriously problematic; conventional names are used here for convenience. For the Master of Animals motif at Mesaoria sanctuaries, see Counts and Toumazou 2006; Counts 2008, 2010.

[103] Karageorghis 2000, nos. 344, 354, 412, 423 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nos. 74.51.2560–2561, 74.51.2586–2587); Hermary and Mertens 2014, 17–19.

was likely dedicated to Zeus Ammon, while figures of Bes and Hathor abound at Amathus.[104] The bothros at Peyia-Maa contained a triple-bodied Geryon figure associated with Cypriot Herakles, as well as an anthropomorphic head with ram horns. The Ayia Irini sanctuary contained several centaurs and "minotaurs," some of which are hermaphroditic, and centaurs were also prevalent at the Apollo Hylates sanctuary at Kourion.

New in phase II was the appearance of masks and masked figurines in graves. The limited number of funerary masks overall and the concentration of this practice at Amathus indicate that that this custom was not island wide. It is not clear why this practice occurred more consistently at Amathus: were masking practices or funerary customs at Amathus different from those at other sites? Is our evidence skewed as a result of the excavation record? Are there influences from Levantine funerary rituals? The prevalence of masks in the Amathus necropoleis might be due to the high distinction in personal identities that can be detected in the funerary assemblages, as noted by Janes, who suggests that the assemblages reflect individuals' memberships in small, restricted groups.[105] The masks could have referenced a social position in life, a religious belief, or an invocation of a deity, or they could have served as personal apotropaic devices.

There is only one possible contemporaneous textual reference to masked rituals: a fifth-century Phoenician inscription on a limestone tablet from Kition records accounts associated with the building and commemoration of the Temple of Astarte during the month of Etanim. Line 16 on side A and line 10 on side B record "dogs" (*klbm*) and "lions" (*grm*) receiving temple payment for services.[106] Although these animal references are unclear, it is possible that they refer to temple ministrants wearing animal costumes associated with one or both of the cults mentioned in the inscription: Astarte or the Kitian god Mukol.[107]

There are additional representations of masked figures in Iron Age iconography. A gold plaque from Amathus depicts two heraldic male figures, each wearing long pleated garments and touching a tree with one hand. One wears a conical headdress, while the second wears a horned animal mask covering his eyes and forehead.[108] This representation of a horned headdress most closely resembles three masks from Amathus (cat. nos. 15, 34) that depict a bearded male wearing a horned headdress. Furthermore, several Iron Age stamp seals depict hybrid figures. While some do not correspond to the masks (fish-men and hawk-headed figures), others depict tauromorphic and criomorphic maskers that do closely resemble the zoomorphic masks of this phase (fig. 17).[109]

There are also numerous depictions of disembodied heads in Iron Age Cypriot art that might also reference masks. Glass, serpentine, and terracotta head pendants and head seals depicting bearded males and grotesques (some with horns) circulated widely in the Phoenician sphere from the sixth to the fourth centuries; some resemble the mask types.[110] The pendants likely had an apotropaic function because of their amulet form and are commonly interpreted as depictions of demons and/or deities. There is also a series of CA I Pictorial Style vases painted with disembodied front-facing heads and faces—some of which resemble the bearded male and grotesque masks— and profile heads that may represent masked figures wearing horned helmets.[111]

PHASE III: THE END OF THE TRADITION

Beginning in the late Cypro-Classical period, there is a dramatic decline in masking evidence: only three sites have yielded masks. A bearded male mask was found in a late fourth-century deposit at Kition-Kathari (cat. no. 125). At Amathus, a fourth-century naturalistic anthropomorphic mask and a grotesque mask were found in the palace (cat. nos. 122, 123). A Hellenistic limestone statue of a man carrying a bull's head in his hand, likely referencing a helmet-style bull mask, comes from a sanctuary at Golgoi (fig. 18; cat. no. 124). Additionally, some of the limestone "temple-boy" statues, a popular dedication at sanctuaries in the fourth and third centuries, wear grotesque, lion, or bearded-male head pendants on ornate necklaces.[112] The face pendants resemble earlier grotesque masks and are linked to the earlier tradition of head amulets and pendants.

In addition to these representations, there are later literary references that perhaps allude to masks, but

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[104] Petit 2004; Counts 2009b; Carbillet 2011; Papantoniou 2012, 265; Tassignon 2013.

[105] Janes 2008, 339–40.

[106] Peckham 1968, 306, 317.

[107] Peckham 1968, 317 n. 1.

[108] Kapera 1981, 109, nos. 4–6, pls. 14, 16.

[109] Reyes 2001, 88, no. 135, f g. 158; 172, no. 441, f g. 448. Especially close to these depictions is a limestone statue representing a human wearing a bull mask (Newark, Newark Museum, inv. no. CY 28.210); see also Hermary 1986, 164, pl. 34.

[110] Culican 1976; Stern 1976, 116–18; Tatton-Brown 1981; Given 1991, 91–2; Reyes 2001, 34–40.

[111] Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1979, 29–34, no. SX.1–4; Louca 1999, 205; Karageorghis 2000, 94, no. 152; Sørensen 2013.

[112] Hermary 1989, no. 114; Beer 1994, pls. 1–3, 8–11, 13–16, 19–23, 26–8, 36–8, 47, 59, 84; Laff neur 1994; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 202, cat. no. 254.

FIG. 17. Details from a Cypro-Archaic serpentine cubical seal from Erimi, showing two male figures flanking a date palm; a Master of Animals scene; a bull-masked figure wearing a long garment and carrying a scepter(?); a ram-masked figure in a short dress; and a human figure at the base (Reyes 2001, fig. 448; courtesy A. Reyes).

none explicitly describes a masking ritual. Ovid's *Meta-morphoses* (10.219–37) includes the only extant version of the myth of the Cerastae, the inhabitants of Amathus who were transformed into bulls by Aphrodite as punishment for sacrificing humans to Zeus. O'Bryhim relates this story to Late Antique descriptions of the Cerastae as a historical priesthood in Salamis and to earlier masks, reconstructing an older historical tradition of bull-masked priests who practiced a Semitic custom of human sacrifice.[113] The lack of contemporary archaeological evidence for zoomorphic masking in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, the controversial evidence for human sacrifice in Phoenician and Punic cultures,[114] and the methodological problem of projecting external literary evidence several centuries earlier make this hypothesis problematic.[115] Instead, it is more likely that at best these late sources reflect cultural memories of defunct zoomorphic masking rituals whose details had been forgotten and obscured.

Another non-Cypriot late source, Lucian's *De Syria dea* (55, 67–8) from the second century C.E., describes a festivalgoer who, in preparation for a festival in the Syrian sanctuary at Hierapolis, shaves his head and eyebrows before sacrificing a sheep. After the sacrifice, he kneels on the fleece and lifts up the animal's feet and head against his head, then prays that the sacrifice is well received. The donning of the animal's parts physically links the worshiper with the animal and, by extension, with the deity; presumably this process heightens

FIG. 18. Limestone statue of a man holding a bull's-head mask, late fourth to early third century B.C.E., Golgoi–Ayios Photios (cat. no. 124) (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY).

communication between mortal and divine, making prayers more efficacious. Lucian's story indicates

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[113] O'Bryhim 1999, 4–5. This relationship was f rst suggested in Hermary 1979; see also Graf 1985, 415–16; Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 83.

[114] For recent overviews, see Ribichini 2008; Budin 2011,

234–40.

[115] See Bamberger (1974, 276–80) and Hughes (1991, 71–138) for the methodological problems of using myth to reconstruct social realities.

that the worshipers attempted to conflate their identity with that of the sacrificed animal, using the animal much as they would have used masks in ritual performance. However tempting it is to use this passage to understand earlier Cypriot masks, it is a source from a different time, place, and culture, and (more problematically) the historicity of the text in general and of this passage in particular is questionable.[116]

As evidence for traditional Cypriot masking rituals disappears from the material record, there is a concurrent rise in Greek-style theatrical masks. This phenomenon is surely a result of the importation of Greek dramatic and comedic performances, which began in earnest as Cyprus was subsumed within the Ptolemaic empire.[117] Cypriot kings served as *choregoi* for the staging of plays to commemorate Alexander's victory over Egypt, and there is evidence for actors, theater unions, and theatrical writers. This interest in Greek theater is related to the appearance of terracotta figurines wearing Greek-style theatrical character masks beginning in the fourth century and to the first permanent theaters (Kourion, Kition, Salamis, and Nea Paphos) in the Ptolemaic period.[118] This popularity suggests that traditional Cypriot masks used in religious ceremonies fell out of use during the fourth century and were replaced in the Hellenistic period by Greek-style masks and civic-oriented performances.

PLAYING THE PART: RECONSTRUCTING CYPRIOT MASKED CEREMONIES

The Setting and Performance

This study has demonstrated that in Cyprus masks are primarily found in religious settings and were used in masking ceremonies beginning at least as early as LC III and lasting until the end of the city-kingdoms. The few examples from metallurgical workshops and tombs likely also had a connection with ritual mask use. Masks were predominantly found in sanctuaries dedicated to male deities in both phases I and II, but it was rare for sanctuaries to be devoted exclusively to a single deity. Thus, several cults may have involved the worship of a divine pair or of multiple divinities. The widespread distribution of a limited number of mask types among several cult sites strongly suggests that masks were not exclusive to a specific cult or deity. Many of the sanctuaries with masks, however, are large or wealthy and are located either in the territories

outside the kingdom capitals or in the urban center. Both sanctuary types were key elements in defining the territorial boundaries of the autonomous kingdoms and in displaying royal power.[119] It is likely that masked rituals had a powerful political function in these strategic religious centers where authorities used ritual performances to legitimize and display their power.

Reconstructing the details of the ceremonies is not possible given the lack of literary and textual evidence, but some aspects can be ascertained from the material record. The preserved masker figurines (whether individual figures or groups on platforms) consistently depict static, standing figures; the only motion represented is the gesture of the hands held to the mask in various poses, representing the act of masking. They offer no evidence that masking was part of a dramatic reenactment or involved dance or song (although this cannot be ruled out). Unique to Cyprus is the coroplasts' consistent emphasis on the act of masking by depicting participants donning, adjusting, or removing the mask and costume—gestures that draw attention to the point of transition between the masker and mask. Rather than creating an inert depiction of a costumed and transformed figure, the coroplast emphatically illustrated and captured the act of transformation as the masker physically dons the ritual costume.

The Performers: Masks, Theriomorphs, and Kings

Most Cypriot masks represent bearded men or bovines. Although gender is not overtly emphasized, all masked figurines, with the exception of the Lapithos figurine (cat. no. 12), appear to represent male maskers wearing long robes. The figurines lack breasts or the elaborate dress and jewelry common on female figures. Moreover, most anthropomorphic masks depict bearded males. Based on the dominance of the male masks and figurines, we can postulate that masks were worn primarily by males. The uneven male to female gender ratio mentioned above underscores the unrelenting emphasis on maleness in the masks, the wearers, and the association with male deities.[120]

The other dominant type is the bull. This animal had enjoyed a privileged place in Cypriot society and religion since the Early Bronze Age.[121] Bovine masks, in the form of modified bucrania, terracotta masks and protomes, or bull-masked figurines, are found at sanctuaries dedicated to male deities in phase I

[116] Lightfoot 2003, 514–23.

[117] Several scholars have identif ed a general "western shift" during this period (Papantoniou 2013; Satraki 2013, 139).

[118] Nicolaou 1989; Green and Stennett 2002; Green 2007; Gordon 2012, 247–49.

[119] Fourrier 2007, 111–24; 2013; Papantoniou 2012, 90–116; Satraki 2013.

[120] The association of masks with men is widespread in the ethnographic record as well; in many cultures, only males are allowed to make and wear masks (Pernet 1992, 147–57).

[121] Sjöqvist 1932, 319–20; Karageorghis 1971; Hermary 1979; Yon 1980a, 100–1; Monloup 1984, 100; Rice 1998, 237–48; Hadjisavvas 2003; Steel 2004, 203–5.

at Enkomi and Kition and in phase II at Amathus, Athienou-Malloura, Ayia Irini, Golgoi–Ayios Photios, Kition-Kathari, Kourion, Ormidhia, Peyia-Maa, and Salamis. Three male masks wear bovine horns (cat. nos. 15, 34), imagery likely connected to the horned headdress worn by the Late Cypriot Ingot God and Horned God statues and found on at least one Cypro-Archaic vase and on the Iron Age seal mentioned above. The wearing of a horned mask, whether a helmet-style bull mask or a male mask with horns, connected the wearer with a deity and a powerful animal closely linked to that divinity.

Cypriot masks should be considered within the broader context of theriomorphic imagery on Cyprus and beyond. The association of zoomorphic traits with divinity, mythical heroes, and power has a long history in the Near East, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. Counts has correlated the Master of Animals motif and theriomorphic imagery with elite expression and legitimization of sacred royal power on Cyprus—imagery perhaps even created by the Cypriot kings themselves.[122] Theriomorphic iconography emphasizes supernatural control and mastery over the natural world and was extended by those in power to reflect their sociopolitical and economic control. The presence of horns, animal skins, tails, or other animal features, which signal hybridity and metamorphosis, visually communicates the supernatural nature of the figure, whether it is a heroic, divine, or demonic being who bridges thresholds (mortal-divine, civilized-natural). It is not surprising that such images were appropriated by kings in the Near East, Egypt, and the Mediterranean as expressions of power based on religious authority and the ability to communicate between worlds.[123] On Cyprus, the performance of masked rituals was almost certainly enacted by those in power (priests, elites, and in some cases even kings) as an expression of royal or elite authority to those in attendance.[124] These enactments showcased the participants' connection to the divine world by physically transforming the actors into incarnations of powerful gods or divine attendants through dramatic reenactments of mythic metamorphoses.

This hypothesis is supported by the number of masks that were found in important sanctuaries associated with royal and elite use. The Amathus Baetyl Sanctuary, located in the palace itself, contained images associated with royalty, including the limestone male head wearing a *mitra*.[125] Hermary and Petit have argued that the priest-king of Amathus wore a bull mask (like the limestone bull-masked statue found in this shrine) as an incarnation of the horned god Bes during rituals honoring the local goddess.[126] It is likely that the king of Amathus wore masks, but the link with a goddess and Bes is only one possibility. Bull masks are common at sanctuaries dedicated to male deities, so perhaps these rituals included the king as a bull incarnate or a supernatural bull-headed ministrant as depicted on the seals. Similarly, masks also occur at other urban sites closely linked to the palace or royal/political authority in phases I and II at Enkomi, Kition-Kathari, Palaepaphos, and Marion.

This association is not, however, exclusive to urban shrines. The importance of extra-urban sanctuaries for defining territorial boundaries and substantiating royal power is well established; many of these shrines are large and wealthy, with signs of elite and perhaps royal patronage. A Cypro-Archaic over-life-sized statue from a sanctuary at Golgoi depicts a bearded male wearing an elaborate conical helmet, atop of which sits a bull protome.[127] This bull adornment could be an allusion to a bull mask, which would identify this elite male (perhaps even a king based on the quality and elaboration of the helmet) as a participant in the masking ceremonies. A later statue from this sanctuary depicts a man holding a large protome-style bull mask (see fig. 18; cat. no. 124) inscribed with alphabetic graffiti that included the name "Pyntagoras." This name is linked to the earlier royal house of Salamis and, depending on the date of the statue, could indicate that this is a royal depiction.[128]

The Kition inscription and glyptic record further indicate that masks were worn either by the king himself or by priests acting as religious attendants in performative rituals involving animal sacrifice or libation. The transformative power of the mask imbued

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[122] Counts 2008, 7; 2010, 143–46.

[123] Fischer 1987, 14–16.

[124] The use of masked events to highlight and defne power dynamics is not limited to Cyprus and the ancient world but was used at several early modern European royal courts as well. E.g., in Tudor England Henry VIII used masking games at court to establish his royal identity, while Charles VI of France likewise engaged in masked games (Twycross and Carpenter 2002, 143–50).

[125] The *mitra* is associated with the headdress described by

Herodotus (1.195, 7.90) as worn by Cypriot kings; see also Young and Young 1955, 200–1; Hermary 2000, no. 847; Petit 2002, 304–5; Papantoniou 2012, 240; Satraki 2013, 132.

[126] Hermary 1979; 2000, 133; Petit 1996, 109; 2004, 68–9.

[127] Karageorghis 2000, 109–10, no. 172; Satraki 2013, 130, fg. 5. This statue also bears a rare inscription: "of the Paphian Goddess."

[128] Hermary 2001; Papantoniou 2012, 278; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 198–200, no. 251.

the wearer with a magical power, which was further accentuated in some cases by its zoomorphic qualities. The motif of hybrid or animal figures as supernatural ministrants has a long history in the repertoires of religious iconography in the Near East and eastern Mediterranean. Hybrid creatures often serve as divine attendants, mediating between the divine and mortal worlds, or as apotropaic demons, not as principal divinities.[129] This is not merely an artistic theme. Near Eastern texts document the wearing of ritual animal costumes and masks in religious ceremonies in which the role of attendant is performed by a priest, elite man, or king. The use of zoomorphic traits for cult servants performing ritual actions (such as pouring libations, bringing offerings, or carrying animal sacrifices) removes the scene from the everyday realm and lends animal potency to the performed action. In addition, the supernatural quality of the hybrid figures performing anthropomorphic acts provides protection to the performers.[130] The bearded masks perhaps represent a deity, but it is more likely they depict a different type of distinguished figure, such as a cultural hero, a mythic ancestor, a secular and/or religious authority, or even an amalgam of these.[131] Unlike the Late Bronze Age glyptic representations, none of the Iron Age iconography provides firm evidence for the function of masked attendants. The glyptic and figurine repertoire does not show any masked figure carrying an attribute, a libation vessel, or a sacrificial animal as do some of the earlier examples. Masked figures are, however, closely associated with divinities and other sacred symbols, such as bucrania and sacred trees; they seem to serve as ministrants or perhaps as intermediary figures between the sacred and profane realms during ritual ceremonies.

While grotesque demons also can play the role of cult attendant, the limited distribution of grotesque masks on Cyprus argues for a different function. They are found in workshops and reused contexts in phase I; in phase II, they are found in the Amathus palace, as well as at the sanctuaries at Amathus, Athienou-

Malloura, Ayia Phylaxis, Rantidi, and Marion and in a few graves at Amathus. There is no stylistic uniformity, and it is likely that there are a variety of demons or monsters represented in mask form.[132] Although furrowed grotesque heads and faces from the Near East and Mediterranean are commonly labeled "Humbaba" masks, the identity of these faces is more complex.[133] On Cyprus there is another divine figure often depicted with a large, round, grotesquely grimacing face; this deity is frequently imaged as a disembodied head or face that seems inspired by the Egyptian god Bes.[134] Even though there are formal similarities between the Cypriot, Egyptian, and Near Eastern depictions of Bes and Humbaba, the Cypriot examples are unique. In light of the complexity of assigning a theonym or mythical identity to the grotesque masks, it is best to view them as part of the tradition of iconographic borrowing, the hybridization of various images of demons and monsters from various cultures combined to create a new form suitable for Cypriot society.[135] The more limited numbers of the Cypriot groteque masks suggest that they may have functioned differently from other masks. That no masked figurine wears a grotesque mask might also suggest that they were not worn in the same religious performances and that these demonic faces may instead have functioned as talismans.

CONCLUSIONS: THE PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITY

Masking is a performative act. Whether the act of assuming another identity is physically enacted or implied by the wearing of a costume, masks signal above all a temporary transformation of social identity and are used around the world to mark transitions.[136] Masks have a religious/magical value as paraphernalia in religious ceremonies and apotropaic rituals, but they also play a social role by identifying maskers with high-profile ritual performances. Thus, individuals or groups became associated with divinities as attendant figures in rituals, which in turn provided these maskers with divine protection and the power and characteristics of the deity. Through their active role in

[129] On Minoan, Mycenaean, Anatolian, and Assyrian rituals, see Cook 1894; Fischer 1987; Mellink 1987; Reiner 1987.

[130] Mellink (1987, esp. 67) provides an overview of the artistic and textual references; see also Porada 1947, 74–80. For Aegean iconography, see Cook 1894; Mellink 1987, 71.

[131] The presence of a forehead pellet marks several of the masks as exceptional f gures. The exact meaning of the forehead appliqué is debated, but it is commonly interpreted as a sign of potency (Culican 1975–1976, 68; Carter 1987, 365 n. 40).

[132] On the ubiquity of demons and monsters in the Near East and Egypt, where it is diff cult to match literary descriptions with extant artistic evidence, see Wilson 1975; Fischer

1987; Reiner 1987.

[133] Caubet and Courtois 1975, 46; Culican 1975–1976, 67; Karageorghis 1985, 172, 186. Most scholars use the term even though they acknowledge the complexity of identifying these images (e.g., Carter 1987, 360–66; Nys 1995, 23–5).

[134] Courtois et al. 1986, 166; Carter 1987, 364; Nys 1995, 24–5; Counts and Toumazou 2006. The most thorough discussion of Bes on Cyprus remains Wilson 1975.

[135] Nys 1995, 23–5; Webb 1999, 220.

[136] Napier 1986, 16. Pollock (1995, 582) considers "masking to be an aspect of the semiotics of identity, that is, one of a variety of means for signaling identity, or changes in identity."

ephemeral performances, masks thus become visual manifestations of rituals that affirm existing power structures.[137] As multimedia public events, religious ceremonies established and confirmed social structures through the use of monumental architecture, sacred space, and symbolic objects. Paramount to these performances, however, were the people themselves, as both participants and as spectators.[138] This leads to three essential questions: whom or what did the masks represent, who wore the masks, and what were the social meanings of masked ceremonies? Scholars have focused primarily on the first question but have yet to reach a consensus, largely because of a lack of textual evidence. Ultimately, I would argue that what the masks represent is secondary to the more critical questions of who wore the masks and why. The second question, addressed above, helps reconstruct the social and historical significance of masked rituals. Masks were not merely a part of an ephemeral ritual that occurred in religious settings; they bestowed a new social identity to the wearer that lasted beyond the ceremony. Probably very few of the masks under study here were actually worn, given their size and design. They instead were physical testimonials of masked rituals, destined to be dedicated to a deity or placed in a tomb to commemorate and memorialize the event. The overall small numbers of masks in general, however, suggests that this was not a common votive offering but a more special gift.

A consideration of ethnographic data on masked rituals can provide a catalyst for alternate ways of interpreting masks from Cyprus; it is important, however, to keep in mind the dangers of universal (often evolutionist) interpretations of masks across cultures.[139] Masks are used in a wide variety of rituals around the world, most relating to transitions and transformations: in rites of passage, in rituals involving alternate states, in exorcisms, in ceremonies commemorating the dead or ancestors, in dramatic performances with mythical figures, as apotropaic devices, in seasonal celebrations, and even to represent time, specific events, or cosmological views.[140] Access to masks—their creation, wear/use, display, storage, and disposal/deposition—is often carefully regulated, regularly restricted to select religious and/or ruling groups, families, or even individuals, and commonly further restricted to men. Thus, exclusive masked rituals regularly involve the exploitation, overtly or covertly, of a significant degree of power.[141]

Both the contexts and the dominant types of Cypriot masks fit patterns of masked initiation rites into so-called secret societies, which are now understood to be restricted social groups and not necessarily covert.[142] The idea that masks were used in initiation rites has been proposed before.[143] Picard, based on limited and misunderstood evidence, first suggested that Punic (and Cypriot) masks were used in child initiation rites at sanctuaries of Apollo-Reshef-Mikal for induction into religious guilds.[144] More recently, Nys has proposed an initiatory function for Late Cypriot masks. She argues—primarily on the basis of the small size of the masks—that they were used in children's initiation rites.[145] The present survey of Cypriot masks has revealed no convincing link between masks and children: masks are not consistently found in adolescent graves; there are no figural depictions of children wearing masks; none of the masks represents a child; and the cults with masks were not especially concerned with children. Moreover, since most masks were small votive versions of worn masks, size is not a reliable indication of the size or age of the wearer. The apotropaic nature of some masks, however, would make them appropriate symbols for vulnerable groups, including children, which elucidates the presence of masks in Tomb 200 at Amathus and the use of head amulets on later temple-boy statues. It thus appears that masks

[137] Anthropological studies of festivals, performances, and public events have related these public spectacles to the generation and negotiation of political cohesion. For studies dealing with the visual expression of power plays in various premodern cultures, see DeMarrais et al. 1996; Bergmann and Kondoleon 1999; Inomata and Coben 2006. On masks as agents in social control and cohesion, see Pernet 1992, 79.

[138] Inomata and Coben 2006, 30.

[139] Pernet 1992, 1–22; see also Pollock 1995.

[140] Napier 1986, 16–23. Overall, masked rituals are multivalent and "often play a pedagogical role . . . they are a remarkable audio-visual means of teaching about what this world is, and what it means to live in this world" (Pernet 1992, 78).

[141] Tonkin 1979; Napier 1986, 16. See also Bamberger (1974, 269–76) for examples of masks as symbols of secret knowledge and power.

[142] See, e.g., Bamberger 1974 (on Fuegian and other South American male ceremonies); Pernet 1992, 136–57. Pernet dismantles the universal nature of these rituals, which are often thought to always involve masks, ritual terror, and violence. The general concept of secret societies, which may use masks as a unifying and secret element, is still valid.

[143] An initiatory function for Greek masks has been suggested in Jameson 1990, 220; Langdon 2007; 2008, 74–6, 114–17. For a critical view of initiation rites in Greece, see Graf 2003.

[144] Picard's (1965–1966, 113) cross-cultural comparisons, from Cyprus to Greece to Carthage, are problematic, as is her incorrect emphasis on masks with child burials to support her theory (89). For a critique of Picard, see Culican 1975–1976, 75.

[145] Nys 1995. This argument was countered by Karageorghis (1996b) based on the dominance of bearded, mature types, which would not be appropriate for children's initiation ceremonies.

could function as apotropaic devices, especially for the protection of children. This use, however, does not apply to all masks.

Initiation into so-called secret societies is another rite of passage in which select members of society join restricted social, religious, or political organizations (often supported by myth).[146] Extensive ethnographic evidence from South America provides case studies for understanding masked ceremonies of this kind, where masked rituals are cultural manifestations of social authority. These dramatic performances often frighten or coerce other groups into accepting the established social order and cultural laws and behaviors by excluding certain groups from knowledge related to the manufacture of masks, myths surrounding their use, and details of the dances and ceremonies themselves.[147]

The Cypriot masks could have been used in a similar way, although this hypothesis remains conjectural because of the lack of textual evidence. The masks may have been worn in initiation ceremonies restricted to certain social or religious groups, perhaps even ceremonies involving the kings (or priest-kings) of the autonomous city-kingdoms, as argued above. Mask use was limited, and the symbolism was closely linked to cults used by those in power (at urban centers in the Late Cypriot period, in the city-kingdoms in the Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Classical periods, and in key extra-urban shrines that likely helped define political boundaries). Additionally, the evidence for masking ceremonies on Cyprus is concentrated in two key periods—LC IIIA and again in the Cypro-Archaic period —both characterized by competition among elite groups, competition among polities, and shifting power dynamics.[148] It is at such transitional periods when elites, in competition to usurp, expand, or maintain power, would visually highlight and legitimate their authority.[149] Secret societies thrive at times of social change precisely because they reaffirm the ideologies of those in power while at the same time weakening ties that are potentially threatening to the political structure, such as familial/clan bonds. Secret societies forge new links and unions that cut across family, clan,

age, class, religious, or other ties; differences between groups are often intentionally minimized to emphasize the solidarity of the new group.[150]

Masks thus likely functioned as a unifying element supported by mythical-religious ideology. Although we cannot reconstruct the subjects of the masks or precisely what was reenacted or performed while wearing them, we can ascertain that masks served as visual symbols manipulated and displayed by groups competing for power in the Late Cypriot period and in the age of the city-kingdoms. When this regional and local competition ended, as Cyprus was subsumed within various empires with strict uniform rule over the island, the use of traditional masks ceased as well.

DEPARTMENTS OF FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS
  AND CLASSICAL AND NEAR EASTERN STUDIES
CREIGHTON UNIVERSITY
2500 CALIFORNIA PLAZA
OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68178
ERINAVERETT@CREIGHTON.EDU

Appendix: Catalogue of Masks and Masked Figures from Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Cyprus

The following catalogue includes masks with relatively secure provenances. The masks are arranged alphabetically by site and organized by type (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and grotesque). All are terracotta unless otherwise stated.

PHASE I: LATE CYPRIOT TO CG II

Enkomi
Catalogue Number: 1 (see fig. 4).
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. nos. 49, 50, 16.53 (fourth has none).
Description: Three bearded male masks and one anthropomorphic mask, LC III.

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[146] On the link between myth and social roles, see Bamberger 1974, 276–80.

[147] Bamberger 1974, 272.

[148] LC IIIA was a turbulent time that followed a f oruit in the previous period (Iacovou 1989; Voskos and Knapp 2008, 673). The Iron Age city-kingdoms were also constantly in f ux (Iacovou 2002b, 2013).

[149] DeMarrais et al. (1996, 16) assert that ideology is the source of social power and needs to be given visual form to become an effective tool for exerting centralized authority to a broader population. Concluding that any society has hetero-

geneous sets of ideas and beliefs, they argue that those wanting power must control ideologies that support their rule: "Giving an ideology concrete, physical form in events, symbolic objects, monuments, and writing systems is instrumental to its institutionalization. . . . The costs of materializing ideology restrict access to this form of power" (DeMarrais et al. 1996, 31; see also Satraki 2013).

[150] Pernet 1992, 136–37. See also Keswani (2004, 159–60) on the detachment from ancestral groups and new contexts for displaying social status and wealth in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Dimensions: Restored diam. 16.0 cm (Cyprus Museum inv. no. 49); ht. 6.7–10.5 cm (others).
Findspot: Quarters 4E and 5E, metallurgical workshops.
References: Caubet and Courtois 1975, 44–5; Courtois 1982b; 1984, 76–8, 82, nos. 759, 760, 773, 781, fig. 27.4–6, pls. 24, 25; Courtois et al. 1986, 165–66, pl. 29.8, 29.9; Carter 1987, 366–69, fig. 15; Markoe 1990, 15, fig. 3; Karageroghis 1993a, 33–4, nos. 1, 3, pl. 19.7; Nys 1995, 20; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77.

Catalogue Number: 2.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 2875/4, trays 61, 70/1.
Description: Three bearded male mask fragments, LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.3–11.7 cm.
Findspot: Area III (disturbed level, destruction layer IIIB, and unspecified).
References: Dikaios 1969–1971, 2:745, 3:pl. 146/5 (identified as hanging bracket); Karageorghis 1993a, 33, no. 4, pl. 20.2; 2011b, 21–2, 5.2–4; Nys 1995, 20; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77.

Catalogue Number: 3.
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1897,0401.1443 (reregistered as 1926,0324.2).
Description: Fragmentary male mask, LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.1 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Walters 1903, 16, cat. no. A105; Karageorghis 1990, 10–11, pl. 20.3; 1993a, 33, no. 5, pl. 20.3; Nys 1995, 20; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77.

Catalogue Number: 4.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. nos. 93, 245.
Description: Two miniature female protome masks, LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.0–7.7 cm.
Findspot: Open court west of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.
References: Courtois 1971, 335, figs. 147, 149; 1984, 76, no. 758, 82, fig. 27.1, pl. 11.2; Karageorghis 1993a, 34, nos. 10, 11, figs. 18, 19; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77.

Catalogue Number: 5.
Inventory Number: None.
Description: Worked bucrania (an unspecified number of the 100 excavated skulls were worked), LC III, bone (counted as 10 in fig. 1).
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Quarter 5E, Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Sol III.
References: Courtois 1971, 183–86, 278, figs. 3, 78, 128; Ducos 1971, 363–66 (does not note working); Kara-

georghis 1971, 262–63; 1976, 102–5; 1996b; Courtois et al. 1986, 33, 165–66; Nys 1995, 26–7; Webb 1999, 110–13.

Catalogue Number: 6 (see fig. 4).
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. nos. A.71.1, 5887/2, 761/A.
Description: Three grotesque mask fragments (one with horns), LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.5–14.3 cm.
Findspot: Stratified layer at the bottom of a wall of an échoppe; Area I, unstratified surface layer on a street in the area of the Horned God sanctuary; and unknown.
References: Dikaios 1969–1971, 2:779, no. 5887.2, 3: pl. 149.17 (incorrectly photographed); Lagarce and Lagarce 1973, 349–54, figs. 1, 2; Carter 1987, 363–64, figs. 9, 10; Karageorghis 1993a, 33–4, nos. 6, 7, pls. 20.4, 20.5; 2011b, 21–2, nos. 5.1, 5.5; Nys 1995, 23–5.

Catalogue Number: 7 (see fig. 4).
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 16.52.
Description: Miniature grotesque mask, LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.1 cm.
Findspot: Street 4, Quarter 5E.
References: Courtois 1984, 77, no. 772, fig. 27.3, pl. 8.10; Karageorghis 1993a, 34, no. 9, pl. 20.6; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77.

Kition-Kathari
Catalogue Number: 8.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. 5481.
Description: Male mask with mustache fragment, CG I.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.9 cm.
Findspot: Temenos A/Room 16, between Floors II and I.
References: Karageorghis 1985, 193, 205; 1988, 65–6, pl. 6; Karageorghis and Demas 1985, pl. 162; Carter 1987, 366 n. 50, 371 n. 75; Nys 1995, 20; Smith 2009, 62–3, 121–22, fig. 4.1.

Catalogue Number: 9 (see fig. 5).
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. nos. 3809, 4148.
Description: Two bearded male masks, CG I.
Dimensions: Restored ht. 13.0 and 16.3 cm.
Findspot: Bothros 20 (material from Floor I, Temple 5).
References: Karageorghis 1985, 210–12, 240; 1988, 65–6, pl. 6.1–4; 1993a, 69–70, nos. 1, 2, pl. 31; Karageorghis and Demas 1985, pls. 176, 233; Carter 1987, 366, figs. 13, 14; Webb 1999, 83, 219–22, fig. 77; Smith 2009, 120–22, fig. 4.2.

Catalogue Number: 10 (see fig. 5).
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, trays 6, 7, A–C, E–G (the rest are unlabeled).

Description: Worked bucrania (an unspecified number of the 10 excavated skulls were worked), LC III, bone (counted as five in fig. 1).
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Six *Bos* skulls from Floor IIIA, Room 12, northern workshops; four *Bos* skulls and several horn cores from Floor II, Room 58, Temple 5.
References: Nys 1995, 26; Karageorghis 1996b; Smith 2009, 103–4, fig. 3.15. Temple 5: Karageorghis 1985, 106, 169, 244, 256, 260; Karageorghis and Demas 1985, pls. 94.2, 156; Nobis 1985, 422–23, pl. A; 2000, 122, pl. 33.1. Room 12, northern workshops: Karageorghis 1985, 105–6; Karageorghis and Demas 1985, plan 28; Nobis 1985, 422–23, pl. A; David Reese, pers. comm. 2013.

Catalogue Number: 11.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 553.
Description: Grotesque mask with horns, LC III.
Dimensions: Ht. 15.9 cm (restored).
Findspot: Floor II, Room 12, metal workshops.
References: Wilson 1975, 93; Karageorghis 1985, 172, 186, fig. 2; 1988, 66 n. 9; 1993a, 34, no. 8, pl. 20.7; Karageorghis and Demas 1985, no. 553, pls. 149, 214; Carter 1987, 364; Nys 1995, 23–5; Webb 1999, 74–6, 219–22, fig. 77; Smith 2009, 147–48, fig. 4.21 (unrestored).

Lapithos
Catalogue Number: 12 (see fig. 6).
Inventory Number: Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, inv. no. L.419.1.
Description: Female figurine wearing zoomorphic mask(?), CG I.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.8 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 419, Kastros cemetery.
References: Gjerstad 1934, 234, no. 1, pl. 49.5; Karageorghis et al. 1977, 39, pl. 23.1; Given 1991, 203, no. 98; Karageorghis 1993a, 59–60, no. 6; Karageorghis et al. 2003, 204, no. 233.

Toumba tou Skourou
Catalogue Number: 13.
Inventory Number: Unknown.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, LC III or CG.
Dimensions: Ht. 6 cm.
Findspot: Disturbed context outside site proper.
References: Vermeule and Wolsky 1979, 54, pl. 4.4; 1990, 155, cat. no. TC 2; 350–51; pl. 135; Nys 1995, 22.

Catalogue Number: 14.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. BI 38.
Description: Worked bucranium, LC III or Cypro-Geometric, bone.

Dimensions: Wdth. between horn tips 27 cm.
Findspot: Disturbed context, outside north terrace.
References: Vermeule and Wolsky 1971–1974, fig. 29; 1990, 150, 390–91, fig. 9; Nys 1995, 26–7.

PHASE II: CG III TO CC I

Amathus: City
Catalogue Number: 15.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. AM 3078 (01.17.3), AM 3154 (01.23).
Description: Bearded and horned mask and horn from similar mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.5 cm (more complete example).
Findspot: North Wall deposit.
Reference: Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 81–2, nos. 35, 36.

Catalogue Number: 16.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. AM 2600 (90.58.48), AM 2651 (96.50.26), AM 3073 (01.11), 90.58.209.
Description: Three bearded and one anthropomorphic mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.0–11.7 cm.
Findspot: North Wall deposit.
References: Hermary 2000, 79, nos. 506, 507, pl. 32; Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 81, nos. 32, 34.

Catalogue Number: 17.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. LM 282 Tc22, AM 320 (76.1767.3), 77.1016.126, AM 528 (77.1009.3).
Description: Three bearded and one unbearded male mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.8–9.0 cm.
Findspot: West Terrace.
References: Karageorghis 1993b, 114, no. 26, pl. 67.2; Hermary 2000, 80–1, nos. 520–23, pls. 34, 35.

Catalogue Number: 18.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AM 2654 (96.50.29).
Description: Female mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.5 cm.
Findspot: North Wall deposit.
Reference: Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 81, no. 33.

Catalogue Number: 19.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. LM 282 Tc 18.
Description: Female mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8.5 cm.
Findspot: West Terrace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 80, no. 516.

Catalogue Number: 20.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. 821.25.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, Cypro-
Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5 cm.
Findspot: Between palace and ramparts.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 79, no. 508.

Catalogue Number: 21.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. nos. LM 282 Tc 14, LM 282 Tc 15,
LM 282 Tc 19, LM 282 Tc 20, LM 282 Tc 21, 76.1793,
77.1012, 90.2000.
Description: Eight anthropomorphic masks fragments
(one possibly female), Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 3.60–12.85 cm.
Findspot: West Terrace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 79–81, nos. 512–15, 517–19,
524, pls. 33–5.

Catalogue Number: 22 (see fig. 11).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. AM 11.
Description: Statuette of man wearing bull mask and
cape, 525–500 B.C.E., limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 38 cm.
Findspot: Palace "Baetyl Sanctuary."
References: Hermary 1979, 734, figs. 6, 7; 1989; 1994,
122, pl. 34c; 2000, 133, no. 877, pl. 71; Given 1991, 200,
no. 29; Aupert 2000, 25–6, fig. 13; Petit 2002, 295, fig.
11; Papantoniou 2012, 213–14, fig. 29.

Catalogue Number: 23.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. 76.1769.
Description: Bull mask protome, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8.2 cm.
Findspot: West Terrace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 81, no. 528, pl. 35.

Catalogue Number: 24.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. AM 538 (77.1016).
Description: Lion mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8.5 cm.
Findspot: West Terrace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 81, no. 529, pl. 35.

Catalogue Number: 25.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. 88.206.
Description: Grotesque mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic
to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.8 cm.

Findspot: Palace Square MY 309.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 79, no. 509, pl. 32.

Amathus: Sanctuary of Aphrodite
Catalogue Number: 26.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Ar-
chaeological Museum, inv. nos. AM 379 (76.1601.2),
87.81.314.
Description: Two anthropomorphic (one likely female)
mask fragments, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.9–6.2 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary of Aphrodite.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 81, no. 525, 527.

Catalogue Number: 27.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. AM 1566 (87.537.24).
Description: Figurine head wearing bearded male mask,
Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 3.5 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary of Aphrodite.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 41, no. 199, pl. 15.

Catalogue Number: 28.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. nos. 82.77.77, 92.11.23.
Description: Two zoomorphic mask fragments (one
likely bull), Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.3–9.7 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary of Aphrodite.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 81–2, nos. 530, 531, pl. 35.

Catalogue Number: 29.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. AM 696 (81.131.30).
Description: Grotesque mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.2 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary of Aphrodite.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 81, no. 526, pl. 35.

Amathus: Eastern and Western Necropoleis
Catalogue Number: 30.
Inventory Number: Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, inv.
no. A.9:106.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask with disks (fe-
male?), CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.8 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 9, eastern necropolis.
References: Gjerstad et al. 1935, 60–1, no. 106, pl. 17;
Given 1991, 199, no. 9; Karageorghis et al. 2003, no. 259.

Catalogue Number: 31.
Inventory Number: None.
Description: Mask.
Dimensions: Unknown.

Findspot: Tomb 43, eastern necropolis.
References: Smith 1900, 117, 96; Given 1991, 199, no. 1; Hermary 1996, 18.

Catalogue Number: 32.
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.204.
Description: Male mask fragment, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.1 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 83, eastern necropolis.
References: Smith 1900, 31, cat. no. A173; Walters 1903, 31, cat. no. A173; Culican 1975–1976, 64, fig. 19; Given 1991, 199, no. 5; Hermary 1996, 18–19.

Catalogue Number: 33.
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.79.
Description: Bearded male mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.6 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 83, eastern necropolis.
References: Walters 1903, 32, cat. no. A175; Given 1991, 88–90, 199, no. 6; Karageorghis 1993b, 111–12, no. 12, pl. 65.1.

Catalogue Number: 34 (see fig. 12).
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.202.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask with horns, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.5 cm (including horn).
Findspot: Tomb 83, eastern necropolis.
References: Smith 1900, 112, fig. 164, no. 5; Walters 1903, 31, cat. no. A174; Karageorghis 1990, 9–10, no. 3, pl. 3.1; 1993b, 117, no. 33, pl. 68.1; Given 1991, 88–90, 199, no. 3; Hermary 1996, 18–19.

Catalogue Number: 35.
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.178.
Description: Lion mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Lgth. 12.7 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 83, eastern necropolis.
References: Smith 1900, 111–12, fig. 164, no. 4; Walters 1903, cat. no. A178; Karageorghis 1990, 6–9, pl. 1.2; 1993b, 118, no. 35, pl. 68.3; Given 1991, 88–90, 199, no. 2; Hermary 1996, 18–19.

Catalogue Number: 36 (see fig. 12).
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.189.
Description: Grotesque mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 17.5 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 83, eastern necropolis.
References: Smith 1900, 112–13, fig. 164, no. 14; Walters 1903, 27, cat. no. A148; Culican 1976, 21–4; Hermary

1986, 111, no. 34; 1996, 18–19; Karageorghis 1990, 3–6, pl. 1.1; 1993b, 117, no. 32, pl. 67.7; Given 1991, 88–90, 199, no. 4.

Catalogue Number: 37.
Inventory Number: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1894,1101.293.
Description: Bearded male mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.8 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 95, eastern necropolis.
References: Walters 1903, 32, cat. no. A176; Given 1991, 199, no. 7; Karageorghis 1993b, 113, no. 18, pl. 66.1; Hermary 1996, 18–19.

Catalogue Number: 38 (see fig. 13).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T200, no. 1.
Description: Figurine wearing bull mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 13.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 200, eastern necropolis.
References: Sophocleous 1985, pl. 4/1; Karageorghis 1987b, 3, no. 5, pl. 2.5; 1995, 55, no. 1, fig. 31, pl. 27.9; 2006, 161, fig. 156; Tytgat 1989, 129–30; Given 1991, 88, 199, no. 11; Janes 2008, 224, 241.

Catalogue Number: 39 (see fig. 13).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T289, no. 6.
Description: Figurine wearing bull mask, Cypro-Archaic to CC I.
Dimensions: Ht. 14.8 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 289, eastern necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 3, no. 6, pl. 2.6; 1995, 55, no. 2; pl. 27.10; Given 1991, 199, no. 14.

Catalogue Number: 40.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T.294/55.
Description: Bearded male mask, CA II–CC I.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.4 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 294, eastern necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 12, no. 142, 30, fig. 18, pl. 29; 1993b, 111, no. 8, fig. 92, pl. 64.5.

Catalogue Number: 41.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T.297/1.
Description: Bearded male mask, CA II–CC I.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 297, eastern necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 12, no. 143, pl. 29; 1993b, 108–9, no. 37, fig. 88, pl. 63.3.

Catalogue Number: 42.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-

logical Museum, inv. no. T.297/19.
Description: Bull protome, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 297, eastern necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 12, no. 147, pl. 30;
1993b, 119, no. 37, fig. 102, pl. 68.5.

Catalogue Number: 43.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T.423.
Description: Bearded male mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 10 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 423, eastern necropolis.
Reference: Nicolaou 1985, 266, no. 132, pl. 50.96.

Catalogue Number: 44 (see fig. 13).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T. 557, no. 15.
Description: Figurine of human wearing bearded male
mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 13.4 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 557, eastern necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1995, 54, no. 3, fig. 30, pl.
27.8; 2006, 161, fig. 155, no. 40.

Catalogue Number: 45.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. LM 2284, T. 871/48.
Description: Male protome mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Tomb 871, eastern necropolis.
Reference: Flourentzos 2010, 90–1, fig. 152.

Catalogue Number: 46.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. LM 2284, T. 871/47.
Description: Female protome mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Tomb 871, eastern necropolis.
Reference: Flourentzos 2010, 90–1, fig. 151.

Catalogue Number: 47.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. LM 2284, T. 871/74.
Description: Bull mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Tomb 871, eastern necropolis.
Reference: Flourentzos 2010, 90–1, fig. 154.

Catalogue Number: 48.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. LM 2284, T. 871/69.
Description: Wolf(?) mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Tomb 871, eastern necropolis.

Reference: Flourentzos 2010, 90–1, fig. 153.

Catalogue Number: 49.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T184/2.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask with two rows of
disks on neck (female?), CA II to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.1 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 184, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 140, fig. 17, pl.
28; Given 1991, 199, no. 10.

Catalogue Number: 50.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T199/98.
Description: Female mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 199, western necropolis.
Reference: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 145, fig. 20,
pl. 29.

Catalogue Number: 51.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T219/93.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, Cypro-
Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 219, western necropolis.
Reference: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 146, pl. 29.

Catalogue Number: 52.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T272/26-1.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, Cypro-
Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.3 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 272, western necropolis.
Reference: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 141, pl. 28.

Catalogue Number: 53.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T347/41.
Description: Zoomorphic mask with anthropomorphic
features, CA I.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 347, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 144, pl. 29.144,
fig. 19; 1993b, 117, no. 34, pl. 68.2.

Catalogue Number: 54.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeo-
logical Museum, inv. no. T347/48.
Description: Bull protome mask, CA I.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 347, western necropolis.

References: Karageorghis 1987a, 12, no. 148, pl. 30.148; 1993b, 119, no. 38, fig. 103, pl.69.1.

Catalogue Number: 55.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T438/28.
Description: Bull protome mask, CA I.
Dimensions: Ht. 7 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 438, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 698, fig. 52; 1993b, 119, no. 39.

Catalogue Number: 56.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T470.
Description: Female protome mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.2 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 470, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 707, fig. 107; Given 1991, 200, no. 22.

Catalogue Number: 57.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T480/27.
Description: Bearded male mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.3 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 480, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 707, fig. 110; 1993b, 109–11, no. 7, fig. 91, pl. 64.2.

Catalogue Number: 58.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T504/39.
Description: Bearded male mask, CA II–CC I.
Dimensions: Ht. 7 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 504, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 710, fig. 111; 1993b, 109, no. 5, fig. 90, pl. 63.5.

Catalogue Number: 59 (see fig. 12).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. T522/68.
Description: Bearded male mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 12.1 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 522, western necropolis.
References: Karageorghis 1987b, 719, fig. 177; 1993b, 108, fig. 87, pl. 63.1; Given 1991, 200, no. 25.

Athienou-Malloura
Catalogue Number: 60 (see fig. 9).
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. nos. AAP-AM-1651, 2683, 2891, 3289, 3377, 3436, 3440, 3776, 4631.
Description: Nine bearded male mask fragments, Cypro-Archaic.

Dimensions: Ht. 3.80–7.14 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 61.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. AAP-AM-1460.
Description: Unbearded male mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.8 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 62.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. nos. AAP-AM-742, 920, 946, 1269, 1442, 1500, 2209, 3830, 3375, 3579, 3723, 3800.
Description: 12 anthropomorphic mask fragments, Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 3.1–8.7 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 63 (see fig. 10).
Inventory Number: Athienou, Kallinikeio Municipal Museum of Athienou, inv. no. AAP-AM-1170.
Description: Figurine of human wearing bull mask and cape, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.9 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
Reference: Averett 2011, 141–42, fig. 10.14.

Catalogue Number: 64.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. AAP-AM-3341.
Description: Figurine of human with criomorphic head, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.1 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
Reference: Averett 2011, 141–42.

Catalogue Number: 65 (see fig. 9).
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. nos. AAP-AM-1280, 2093, 2232, 3080, 3314, 4013.
Description: Five grotesque mask fragments and one miniature grotesque protome, Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 1.60–8.96 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary
Reference: Averett 2011, 141–42.

Ayia Irini
Catalogue Number: 66 (see fig. 16).
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 2170; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, inv. no. A.I.809.

Description: Two figurines of humans wearing bull masks and capes, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 19.5 and 16.5 cm. Estimated reconstructed height of the second is 50 cm.
Findspot: Extra-urban sanctuary.
References: Sjöqvist 1932, 344–47, fig. 11; Gjerstad 1948, 697, 789, no. 809, pl. 233.8; Dikaios 1961, 86, no. 8; Karageorghis 1971, 262, figs. 2, 3; 1995, 55, no. 3, 57, pl. 28.1; Hermary 1979, 737, no. 4; Karageorghis et al. 2003, 162, no. 187.

Ayia Phylaxis
Catalogue Number: 67 (see fig. 14).
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 14/3, 14/4.
Description: Two grotesque masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 11.0 and 13.7 cm.
Findspot: Bothros.
References: Karageorghis 1987a, 30 n. 91, figs. 21, 22; 1993b, 111, nos. 9, 10, figs. 93, 94, pl. 64.6, 64.33.

Golgoi–Ayios Photios: Sanctuary
Catalogue Number: 68 (see fig. 8).
Inventory Number: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AM 2758.
Description: Bearded male head wearing bull mask, from life-sized statue, ca. 530–520 B.C.E., limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 43.5 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Caubet 1979, 23, fig. 39; Hermary 1979, 735, no. 2, figs. 8, 9; 1986, 164–65, fig. 1; 1989, 291, no. 588; Yon 1980a, 101, fig. 3; Sophocleous 1985, 18, no. 1, pl. 3/7; Caubet et al. 1992, 140–41, no. 167.

Catalogue Number: 69.
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2515.
Description: Statuette of man wearing bull mask and cape, 575–550 B.C.E., limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 21.4 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: di Cesnola 1885, pl. 24, no. 57; Myres 1914, no. 1029; Hermary 1979, 734, no. 1; 1986, 164 n. 6; Sophocleous 1985, 18, no. 2, pl. 3.8; Given 1991, 200, no. 37; Karageorghis 2000, 131, no. 194; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 196, no. 247.

Catalogue Number: 70 (see fig. 8).
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2505.
Description: Statuette of man holding lion mask, late sixth century, limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 23.8 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: di Cesnola 1885, pl. 57.381; Myres 1914,

no. 1031; Hermary 1979, 735; Given 1991, 200, no. 39; Karageorghis 2000, 131, no. 196; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 198, no. 250.

Catalogue Number: 71 (see fig. 8).
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 4.51.2538.
Description: Statuette of man wearing stag(?) mask, sixth century, limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 25.7 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: di Cesnola 1885, pl. 24, no. 59; Myres 1914, no. 1030; Sophocleous 1985, 19, no. 4, pl. 4.2; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 196–97, no. 248.

Kition-Kathari (Area II)
Catalogue Number: 72.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 1B.
Description: Five bearded male mask fragments, CG III to Cypro-Archaic (counted as one mask in fig. 1).
Dimensions: Ht. 11.2 cm (largest fragment).
Findspot: Temple 5, Room 45A, Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 23; 2003, 42, no. 1, 60; 2005, 68; Smith 2009, 121.

Catalogue Number: 73.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. 4159.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, CG IIII to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 24 cm (restored).
Findspot: Bothros 13A, Floor 3 (material from Temple 5).
References: Karageorghis 1988, 65–6, pl. 6.5, 6.6; 1993a, 92, no. 1, pl. 41, no. 4; 1999, pls. 19, 135; 2003, 43; 2005, 94–6; Webb 1999, 219–22, fig. 77; Smith 2009, 121, 198–99.

Catalogue Number: 74.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 23.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.5 cm.
Findspot: Bothros 21, Floor 3 (material from Temple 5).
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 21; 2003, 46, no. 23, 61; Smith 2009, 121, 210.

Catalogue Number: 75.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 17.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.9 cm.

Findspot: Bothros 9A, Floor 3, material from Temenos B.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 17; 2003, 38, no. 17, 59; Smith 2009, 121, 210.

Catalogue Number: 76.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 41.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Courtyard A, Floor 2A.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 40; 2003, 87, no. 41; Smith 2009, 121.

Catalogue Number: 77.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 1A.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.7 cm.
Findspot: Temple 5, Room 45A, Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 23; 2003, 42, no. 1, 60; Smith 2009, 121.

Catalogue Number: 78.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. 3683F.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.3 cm.
Findspot: Rooms 37 and 37A, Temple 4, Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 137; 2003, 38, no. 3683F; 49; 52; Smith 2009, 121.

Catalogue Number: 79.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, Tray 68.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.6 cm.
Findspot: Courtyard A (street), Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 23; 2003, 49, 52; Smith 2009, 121.

Catalogue Number: 80.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, tray 43.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CG III to Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.6 cm.
Findspot: Courtyard C, Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pls. 23, 137; 2003, 52, nos. 43, 62.

Catalogue Number: 81.

Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, none.
Description: Worked bucrania, 850–707 B.C.E., bone (an unspecified number of the 15 excavated *Bos* skulls and horn cores were worked; counted as five in fig. 1).
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Temple 1, Floor 3.
References: Karageorghis 1971, 262–63; 1976, 102–5, figs. 80, 81, pls. 79–81; 1996b; 1999, pl. 24.3; 2004, pl. 18; 2005, 95, pl. 24.3; Hermary 1979, 739; Nys 1995, 26–7; Nobis 2000, 122–24, pl. 32.4; Smith 2009, 103–4l; David Reese, pers. comm. 2013.

Catalogue Number: 82.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. 4756.
Description: Bull protome, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 7 cm.
Findspot: Room 53, between Floors 2A and 2.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 52; 2003, 101, 105.

Kourion: Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates
Catalogue Number: 83.
Inventory Number: None.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
References: Young and Young 1955, no. 384, pl. 6; Karageorghis 1993b, 112.

Catalogue Number: 84.
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nos. 74.51.1480, 74.51.1699, 74.51.1700 (fourth now missing).
Description: Four bearded male masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.2–13.7 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: di Cesnola 1894, pls. 26.212–14, 26.216; Myres 1914, no. 2133; Picard 1965–1966, 46, fig. 44, pl. 13; Karageorghis 1993b, 112, nos. 13–15; 114, no. 28; pl. 65.2–4; 2000, 146, no. 222.

Catalogue Number: 85.
Inventory Number: Turin, Museo di Antichità di Torino, inv. no. 5088 (42).
Description: Anthropomorphic mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 14 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: Bisi 1969, 35, fig. 4; Karageorghis 1993b, 114, no. 25.

Catalogue Number: 86.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. no. T1351.

Description: Figurine fragment of figure wearing male bearded mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.6 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
References: Young and Young 1955, 41, no. 824, pl. 11.

Catalogue Number: 87.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. nos. T1345, T13558.
Description: Platform group with one figure (of four originally) wearing anthropomorphic mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.05 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
Reference: Young and Young 1955, 40–1, no. 815, pl. 11.

Catalogue Number: 88 (see fig. 15).
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. no. T1342.
Description: Platform group with figure holding anthropomorphic mask, attachment for second figure, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 12.2 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
References: Young and Young 1955, no. 816, pl. 11; Karageorghis 1995, 136, fig. 89.

Catalogue Number: 89.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. nos. T1172, T1352.
Description: Two fragmentary figures with anthropomorphic masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 2.5 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
References: Young and Young 1955, 41, no. 823, pl. 11; Winter 1996, 94, no. 211, fig. 70.10a, b.

Catalogue Number: 90.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. no. VTC 943.
Description: Figurine arm with anthropomorphic mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Votive deposit.
References: Winter 1996, 132, no. 2711.

Catalogue Number: 91.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. no. T2198.
Description: Figurine head wearing bull mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.1 cm.
Findspot: West of temple, archaic fill.
Reference: Young and Young 1955, 41, no. 829 (not identified as bull mask).

Catalogue Number: 92.
Inventory Number: None.
Description: Three miniature bull masks, Cypro-Archaic(?).
Dimensions: Unknown.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill, votive deposit, and south building.
References: Young and Young 1955, 45, nos. 949–51, pl. 14; Karageorghis 1993b, 119.

Catalogue Number: 93 (see fig. 15).
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. nos. T1674, T1774A.
Description: Restored platform group fragment with two figures wearing bull masks and third figure (now missing), Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.25 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
References: Young and Young 1955, 40–1, nos. 814, 825; Karageorghis 1971, 262, fig. 5; 1995, 136, fig. 90; Hermary 1979, 737, no. 5, fig. 11.

Catalogue Number: 94.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. no. C.H.R.R.90.
Description: Figurine wearing bull mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 8 cm.
Findspot: Unknown.
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 95.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. nos. T1344, T1358, T1675.
Description: Three figurine heads wearing bull masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.0–5.3 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill.
Reference: Young and Young 1955, 41, nos. 826–28, pl. 11.

Catalogue Number: 96.
Inventory Number: Episkopi, Local Kourion Museum, inv. nos. T1291A–C, T1359, T1676, T2258.
Description: Six bull masks from masked figurines, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 2.8–7.0 cm.
Findspot: Archaic Precinct fill and disturbed fill from east building complex.
Reference: Young and Young 1955, 41, nos. 834–39, pl. 11.

Marion
Catalogue Number: 97.
Inventory Number: Princeton University Polis Excavation, inv. nos. R13296/TC 5446, R11597/TC 4663,

R28673/TC 10357.
Description: Two bearded fragments and one male mask fragment, sixth century.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.00–12.25 cm.
Findspot: Polis-Peristeries sanctuary (BD7).
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 98.
Inventory Number: Polis Chrysochous, Local Museum of Marion-Arsinoe, inv. no. R15940/TC 7467.
Description: Grotesque mask fragment, sixth century.
Dimensions: Ht. 13.2 cm.
Findspot: Polis-Peristeries sanctuary (BD7).
References: Given 1991, 203, no. 102; Serwint 2012, no. 80.

Catalogue Number: 99.
Inventory Number: Princeton University Polis Excavation, inv. nos. R14882/TC 6321, R14611.1–2/TC 6087.102, R802/TC 14.
Description: Three anthropomorphic mask fragments, Cypro-Archaic to CC I.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.00–12.94 cm.
Findspot: Polis-Maratheri sanctuary (A.H9) or associated with it.
References: None.

Catalogue Number: 100.
Inventory Number: Princeton University Polis Excavation, inv. nos. R14605/TC 6081, R1635/TC 96, R14766/TC 6223, R14926/TC 6360.
Description: Four grotesque mask fragments, Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.5–9.6 cm.
Findspot: Polis-Maratheri Sanctuary (A.H9).
References: None.

Meniko: Sanctuary of Zeus Ammon
Catalogue Number: 101.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. Meniko 8.
Description: Bearded male mask, 600–550 B.C.E.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.2 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary.
References: Karageorghis 1977, 26, pl. 6.8; 1993b, 113, no. 20, pl. 66.4.

Ormidhia
Catalogue Number: 102.
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.1608.
Description: Figurine depicting man holding an anthropomorphic mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 16.2 cm.
Findspot: Unspecified tomb.

References: di Cesnola 1894, pl. 8.60; Myres 1914, no. 2040; Picard 1965–1966, 46, fig. 45, pl. 23; Karageorghis 1995, 54, no. 1, fig. 29; 2000, 147, no. 226; 2006, 160, fig. 154; Hadjicosti 2001.

Catalogue Number: 103.
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.1619.
Description: Figurine depicting man wearing bull mask, CA I.
Dimensions: Ht. 12.9 cm.
Findspot: Unspecified tomb.
References: di Cesnola 1894, pl. 27.217; Myres 1914, 340, no. 2046; Hermary 1979, 737, no. 6; Karageorghis 1995, 56, no. 5, pl. 28.3; 2000, 147, no. 225; Hadjicosti 2001.

Palaepaphos: Sanctuary of Aphrodite
Catalogue Number: 104.
Inventory Number: Kouklia, Local Museum of Palaepaphos, inv. no. TA 4971.
Description: Anthropomorphic mask fragment, fifth century.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.2 cm.
Findspot: North of north hall of Heiligtum II, intact Roman layer.
Reference: Leibundgut Wieland 2011, 65, no. 908; 182; pl. 17.

Peyia-Maa
Catalogue Number: 105.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 43.
Description: Figurine depicting a human wearing bull mask, CA I.
Dimensions: Ht. 20.1 cm.
Findspot: Bothros.
References: Karageorghis 1989; 1995, 55–6, no. 4, pl. 28.2; Given 1991, 203, no. 104.

Catalogue Number: 106.
Inventory Number: Paphos, Paphos District Museum, inv. no. 1691/8.
Description: Bull protome mask.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.2 cm.
Findspot: Bothros.
Reference: Karageorghis 1995, 56, fig. 32.

Rantidi–Lingrin tou Dhiyeni
Catalogue Number: 107.
Inventory Number: Kouklia, Local Museum of Palaepaphos, inv. no. 283.
Description: Grotesque mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 3.4 cm.
Findspot: Disturbed levels, sanctuary.
References: None.

Salamis
Catalogue Number: 108.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. Sal. 7059 (Tc 2135).
Description: Bearded male mask, CG III.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.4 cm.
Findspot: Urban sanctuary.
References: Karageorghis 1970a, no. 607, pl. 47; 1993a, 70; Calvet 1976, 148–49, no. 2, pl. 21.5; Given 1991, 204, no. 133.

Catalogue Number: 109.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. l–TNV.Sal. 1023 (Sc 29).
Description: Bearded male protome mask, Cypro-Archaic, limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.5 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Calvet 1976, 143–48, no. 1, pl. 20; Given 1991, 204, no. 132.

Catalogue Number: 110.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. 7766 (Tc 2256).
Description: Bearded male protome mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.4 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Calvet 1976, 150, no. 7, pl. 22:5; Given 1991, 204, no. 134.

Catalogue Number: 111.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. TNV.Sal. 2351 (Tc 830), 4282 (Tc 1545).
Description: Two male protome masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.0–7.6 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Calvet 1976, 150, nos. 2, 5, pl. 22; Monloup 1984, 189–90, nos. 681, 682, pl. 34; Given 1991, 203–4, nos. 128, 129.

Catalogue Number: 112.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. Sal. 3467 (Tc 1006), Sal. 5031 (Tc 1918).
Description: Two female protome masks, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.4–7.8 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Calvet 1976, 150, nos. 4, 6, pl. 22; Monloup 1984, 190, nos. 683, 684, pl. 34; Given 1991, 204, nos. 130, 131.

Catalogue Number: 113.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission,

University of Lyon, inv. no. 7812 (Tc 2268).
Description: Protome mask fragment, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.3 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Calvet 1976, 150, no. 8, pl. 22.8; Given 1991, 204, no. 135.

Catalogue Number: 114.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. Sal. 5822 (Tc 2078).
Description: Bull protome, CG I.
Dimensions: Ht. 8.6 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Yon 1980b, 76–7, fig. 3; Monloup 1984, 102–3, no. 429, pl. 22.

Catalogue Number: 115.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. Sal. 3436 (Tc 992), Sal. 4071 (Tc 1393), Sal. 4178 (1474), Sal. 4024 (Tc 1353), Sal. 3981 (Tc 1320), Sal. 4179 (Tc 1475), Sal. 4600 (Tc 1704), Sal. 4013 (Tc 1344), Sal. 3450 (Tc 996).
Description: Nine bull protomes, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.5–10.0 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Monloup 1984, 101–2, nos. 412, 416, 417, 419–21, 423, 424, 426, pl. 22; Given 1991, 203, nos. 109–25; Karageorghis 1993b, 119, no. 40, fig. 104.

Catalogue Number: 116.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. Sal. 1070 (Tc 152), Sal. 5175 (Tc 2003), Sal. 2809 (Tc 928).
Description: Three bull protomes, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.1–8.0 cm.
Findspot: Campanopetra (sanctuary)
References: Yon 1980a, 101, fig. 4; Monloup 1984, 101, nos. 413, 414, 418, pl. 22.414; Given 1991, 109–25; Karageroghis 1993b, 119, no. 41, fig. 105.

Catalogue Number: 117.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. Sal. 13, Sal. 3585 (Tc 1051), Sal. 1949 (Tc 520), Sal. 1901 (Tc 495), Sal. 3590 (Tc 1056), Sal. 3586 (Tc 1052) (seventh has none).
Description: Seven bull protomes, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 4.5–8.5 cm.
Findspot: Unspecified location and surface finds from Cellarka cemetery.
References: Karageorghis 1970a, 211, 220, nos. 13, 271, pls. 43.13, 47.271, 198.13; 1993b, 119, no. 42, fig. 106, pl. 69.3; Monloup 1984, 101–2, nos. 415, 422, 425, 427, 428, pl. 22; Given 1991, 203, nos. 107, 108.

Catalogue Number: 118.

Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. no. 3715.
Description: Horse or lion protome mask, Cypro-Archaic.
Dimensions: Ht. 10.3 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Monloup 1984, 103, no. 430, pl. 22; Given 1991, 203, no. 127; Karageorghis 1993b, 118, no. 36, pl. 68.4.

Catalogue Number: 119.
Inventory Number: French Archaeological Mission, University of Lyon, inv. nos. Sal. 2167 (Tc 674), Sal. 4122 (Tc 1430), Sal. 4127 (Tc 1435).
Description: Three seated figurines wearing zoomorphic masks(?), Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical.
Dimensions: Ht. 5.9–8.1 cm.
Findspot: Rampart area (debris from sanctuary).
References: Monloup 1984, 105–6, nos. 431–33, pl. 23; Karageorghis 1995, 18, nos. 10, 13, figs. 12–14, pl. 9.

Catalogue Number: 120.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. Tomb 85A, no. 12.
Description: Figurine wearing zoomorphic mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.5 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 85A, Cellarka cemetery.
References: Karageorghis 1970a, 131, no. 12, pl. 167; 1995, 57, fig. 34; Given 1991, 203, no. 105.

Catalogue Number: 121.
Inventory Number: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. Tomb 51, no. 51.
Description: Figurine wearing zoomorphic mask, CA II.
Dimensions: Ht. 9 cm.
Findspot: Tomb 51, Cellarka cemetery.
References: Karageorghis 1970a, 78, no. 51, pl. 129; 1995, 18, no. 11, pl. 9.3.

PHASE III: CC II TO HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Amathus
Catalogue Number: 122.
Inventory Number: Limassol, Limassol District Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AM 2588 (93.11.6).
Description: Anthropomorphic mask, fourth century.
Dimensions: Ht. 7.2 cm.
Findspot: Palace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 79, no. 511, pl. 32.

Catalogue Number: 123.
Inventory Number: Limassol, District Museum, inv. no. AM 2502 (92.236.1).
Description: Grotesque mask, fourth century.
Dimensions: Ht. 6.2 cm.
Findspot: Palace.
Reference: Hermary 2000, 79, no. 510, pl. 32.

Golgoi–Ayios Photios
Catalogue Number: 124 (see fig. 18).
Inventory Number: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2463.
Description: Over-life-sized statue of man holding bull's head, late fourth to mid third century, limestone.
Dimensions: Ht. 170.2 cm.
Findspot: Sanctuary.
References: di Cesnola 1877, pl. 13; 1885, no. 914, pl. 123; Hermary 1979, 735–37, no. 3, fig. 10; 1986, 165, pl. 34; 2001; Laurens and Louka 1987, 26; Connelly 1988, 80, pl. 31, fig. 115; Given 1991, 204, no. 137; O'Bryhim 1999, 6–7, pl. 2; Karageorghis 2000, 248–49, no. 403; Papantoniou 2012, 278–79, fig. 72; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 198–200, no. 251.

Kition-Kathari (Area II)
Catalogue Number: 125.
Inventory Number: Larnaca, Larnaca District Museum, inv. no. 4240.
Description: Bearded male mask fragment, 350–312 B.C.E.
Dimensions: Ht. 9.7 cm.
Findspot: Bothros 18, Floor 1.
References: Karageorghis 1999, pl. 92; 2003, 151, no. 4240.

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Mercury on the Esquiline: A Reconsideration of a Local Shrine Restored by Augustus

MARGARET M. ANDREWS AND HARRIET I. FLOWER

In this article, we present a reexamination of a shrine to Mercury preserved in situ in the basement of the apartment building at Via San Martino ai Monti 8, part of the ancient Clivus Suburanus, on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. A new campaign of documentation has yielded many new insights about the character, chronological development, and historical importance of this local shrine. We analyze the date and appearance of the republican shrine and consider the extensive changes that Augustus made when he restored it with money donated to him by the people of Rome on 1 January 10 B.C.E. The original interpretation of the monument as a compital shrine made after its excavation in 1888 is no longer tenable; rather, the monument is our only in situ example of an Augustan New Year's dedication. The new analysis of the archaeological evidence for this particular shrine, considered within the broader context of other known examples of Augustus' New Year's monuments, not only highlights its unique aspects but also demonstrates what Augustus' intentions for these monuments were and the dynamics of imperial interaction at such a local level. It provides a much better understanding of a distinctly Augustan group of monuments than does the literary evidence alone.*

INTRODUCTION

In 1888, during Rome's rapid development of the Esquiline Hill to accommodate the growing population of Italy's new capital city, an ancient monument was discovered along Via San Martino ai Monti, the ancient Clivus Suburanus (fig. 1). It was found during the construction of the apartment house at Via San Martino ai Monti 8 and remains in situ and accessible in the basement of the 19th-century building. The structure consists of a tall, square travertine monument with a large podium extending to the south of it. On top of this podium and close to the travertine monument stands a small base in white marble that bears an inscription recording a dedication by Augustus to Mercury, put up sometime in or soon after 10 B.C.E. (figs. 2, 3). As was typical for many of the numerous finds uncovered during this time, Gatti quickly published a brief report, which appeared in the *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* of 1888; a more interpretive piece followed in the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* later that same year.[1] Gatti identified the monument as a shrine consisting of a compital altar built on the site of an archaic shrine of the Argei—Varro's sixth shrine in the

[1] Gatti 1888a, 1888b.

FIG. 1. Plan of the area of the Esquiline in Rome, showing the location of the apartment building at Via San Martino
ai Monti 8 and, in the inset, the location of the Mercury monument within the building.

Esquiline region—that Augustus then subsequently renovated as part of his program to reorganize the urban space and systematize compital worship within Rome's *vici*.[2] With very few exceptions, Gatti's interpretation has been adopted, and the shrine is commonly considered to be the only extant and in situ example of a compital shrine from the ancient city.[3]

Despite its accessibility, good state of preservation, and acknowledged distinctiveness among Rome's surviving neighborhood monuments, the structure has received no thorough reexamination or reanalysis since Gatti's original articles well over a century ago. Presented here, therefore, is a more comprehensive description of the remains that are currently visible in the basement of the apartment complex. The informa-

tion is based on a noninvasive campaign of examination and documentation undertaken in 2011 and 2012 (fig. 4).[4] This reexamination has yielded many new insights about the character, chronological development, and historical importance of the dedication to Mercury in both its republican and Augustan phases. In this article, we analyze the date and original appearance of the republican monument and consider the extensive changes that were made when Augustus restored this site by adding his own dedication for Mercury with money donated to him by the people of Rome on 1 January 10 B.C.E. The new analysis of the archaeological evidence for this particular site, considered within the broader context of Augustus' initiatives paid for with New Year's monies, clearly demonstrates

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[2] For the 27 sacraria (shrines of the Argei) in Rome, see Varro, *Ling.* 5.45–54; *New Pauly, Antiquity,* 1:1058–59, s.v. "Argei" (Versnel). Ovid (*Fast.* 3.791) records an annual procession on 16–17 March; he also reports that on 14 May, 27 straw dolls were thrown in the Tiber by the Vestals with the pontif ces (Ov., *Fast.* 5.621–62).

[3] See, e.g., Haselberger 2002, 95; Coarelli 2007, 193; Claridge 2010, 335–36; Marroni 2010, 164. Exceptions include De Angeli 2001; Leone and Palombi 2008, 422–23.

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[4] In addition to observations made on-site, data both from the original publication and from the original graphic documentation currently kept in the Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma at the Palazzo Altemps (G. Gatti, no. 167/4, Pratiche di Tutela, 1892) have been incorporated to recover the condition of the monument at the time of its excavation.

FIG. 2. The Mercury monument at the time of its excavation in 1888 (Gatti 1888a, pl. 12).

that Gatti's original interpretation of the monument as a compital shrine (a crossroads shrine dedicated to the Lares Compitales) is no longer tenable. His identification of the site of one of the original shrines of the Argei is equally hypothetical, since it is no more than an inference based on the fact that there was such an archaic shrine somewhere in this general area of the city.[5] More importantly, the present reconsideration of the evidence brings necessary and overdue attention to certain unique aspects of the monument and their implications for Augustus' group of New Year's dedications as a whole.

REPUBLICAN PHASE

The earliest element of the complex is the tall, square travertine feature on the northern side (fig. 5). The lower portion of the monument is a low base measuring 1.83 m on each side and topped by a large cyma recta molding, while the upper portion measures approximately 1.75 m on each side. The interior of the monument is hollow, with the square void at the center measuring approximately 75 cm on each side. Though currently extant to a height of slightly more

FIG. 3. The current state of the monument in the basement of Via San Martino ai Monti 8. The column drum on top of the podium is not in situ and was placed on top of the podium at some point after its excavation from the surrounding area.

than 2 m, archival documentation and the excavation photograph published by Gatti show that one more

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[5] Evidence for the cult of the Argei is scanty, and there is no known connection between the Argei and Mercury. Ovid's (*Fast.* 5.603–92) transition from the 14 May ritual involving the straw effigies to Mercury's birthday on 15 May might suggest a connection between the two, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.38) actually places the casting of the effigies during the rites of the Argei on the 15th itself, but neither ancient author makes an explicit association.

White marble

Travertine

Tufo Lionato (Aniene)

Pavement preparation

Augustan rubble masonry

Indeterminate fill

Reconstruction from archival documentation

Modern construction

Modern debris

0   1   2   3   4   5 m

N
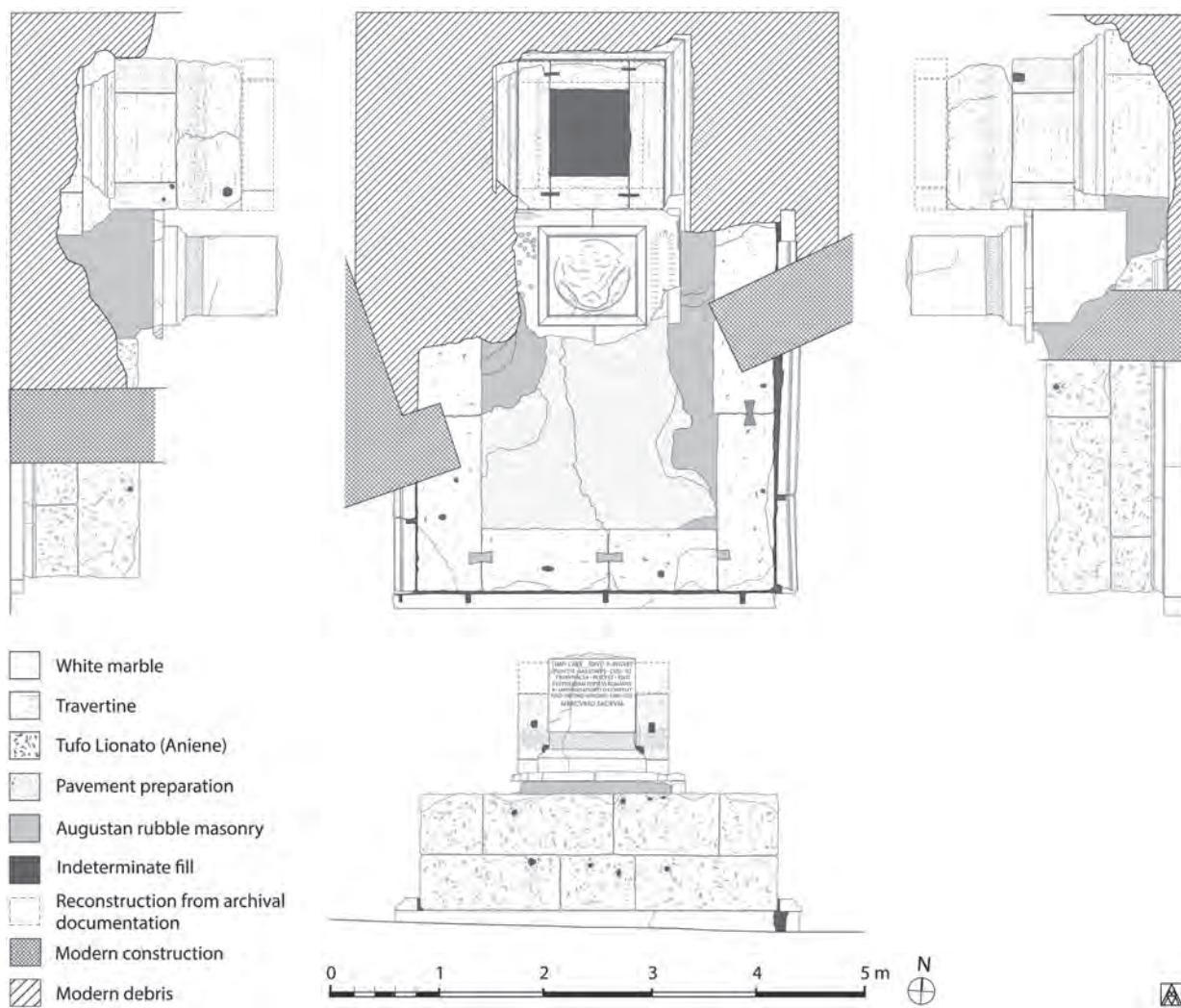
FIG. 4. Plan and elevations of the monument in its current state.

course of blocks, now missing, stood on top of the monument at the time of excavation.[6] These blocks were only half as tall and half as thick as the lower two courses. The height of the travertine monument, therefore, reached approximately 2.5 m when it was originally excavated. The reduced dimensions of the now-missing upper course suggest that these blocks were not structural, serving only to frame an object that was placed within the center of the monument, and that the original height of the base terminated with them.

Gatti believed that the podium extending to the south of the monument also belonged to the earliest phase, or at least that an earlier podium preceded it—a hypothesis consistent with his idea that the travertine monument was a compital altar.[7] It is important

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[6] G. Gatti, no. 167/4, Pratiche di Tutela, 1892, Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica, Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.

[7] Gatti 1888b, 224: "Il monumento, conservato nella sua quasi integrità, sorge sopra un'area pubblica che conserva ancora l'antico selciato. Si compone di una grande ara in travertino, dinanzi alla quale è un ampio suggesto, costruito con grandi massi rettangolari di tufa. Nell'età augustea questo podio fu rivestito di lastre di marmo; e conservata religiosa-

mente la parte più antica, fra esso e l'ara compitale venne aggiunta una base marmorea, sulla quale fu dedicata una statua di Mercurio"; Gatti 1888a, 225–26: "Dietro il basamento sul quale è eretto il cippo augusteo, vedesi tuttora in piedi una parte di edif cio, d'età repubblicana, con religiosa cura dagli antichi stessi conservata. È una costruzione a grandi blocchi di travertino, in forma di eminente ara quadrata, con alto zoccolo rozzamente sagomato; il quale in parte venne tagliato, quando il monumento fu risarcito nell'anno 744 e decorato di

to test this hypothesis, since it was the basis of Gatti's interpretation and is still commonly repeated.[8] Upon reexamination, it is now clear that, contrary to Gatti's reconstruction, the travertine monument was originally a freestanding square statue base and that the entire podium extending to the south postdates the original structure. The strongest evidence for this phasing is found at the southwestern corner of the travertine monument, where some of the rubble of the adjacent podium core has been removed, likely during the 19th-century excavations. Here, it is apparent that the base and the molding of the travertine monument continue along its southern face and that the concrete core of the podium to the south of it was later simply laid against and on top of it (fig. 6). The evidence therefore indicates that the podium to the south of the travertine monument was a later addition and that the original form of the travertine monument was a freestanding, square structure.

In support of reconstructing a freestanding structure are four horizontally aligned holes, each approximately 12 cm², visible on the southern face of the monument, just above the lower edge of the current uppermost course. Several interpretations are possible for these holes. They may have served as beam holes for a small pitched awning on the southern side of the monument, or they may represent clamp holes, possibly working in conjunction with a corresponding series of holes below, but now concealed behind, the Augustan base that stands to the south. Since there is no scar above the holes where an awning would have met the face of the monument—a feature to be expected on soft travertine—it seems most likely that the holes were indeed for clamps. They would have supported a plaque located slightly above eye level and measuring nearly 1 m wide. It probably bore a

FIG. 5. Travertine base of the Mercury monument, view from the southwest. The column drum on top of the monument is not in situ and was placed there at some point after its excavation from the surrounding area.

simple inscription in the republican style, recording the dedicant(s) (fig. 7).[9] The location of the clamp

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marmi. Tale vetusta costruzione apparisce pure nell'interno del piedistallo, sul quale ergesi la base sacra a Mercurio: talchè chiaramente si discerne appartenere questa parte, costruita in travertino, ad un monumento anteriore; il quale si componeva soltanto di una grande ara eretta all'aperto sopra un crocicohio, ed avente d'innanzi a sè un largo basamento di massi di tufa."

[8] Supra n. 3. De Angeli (2001, 195–96) largely follows Gatti in reconstructing a podium to the south of the travertine monument prior to Augustus, but he curiously imagines it as a separate element. He imagines that Augustus constructed a podium between the two and dedicated the marble base on top of it, applying marble revetment both to it and to the older podium at the same time. His hypothesis directly contradicts the clear evidence that the northern limit of the tuff podium extends beyond the southern limit of the travertine monument. Haselberger (2002, 95) follows Gatti precisely, as do Leone and Palombi 2008, 421. Coarelli (2007, 193) uniquely describes the travertine monument as having been built against the tuff podium on which the Augustan base stands,

though he admits that the relationship between the various parts of the monument is unclear. Claridge (2010, 335–36) describes the monument only brief y, focusing more on its interpretation.

[9] Examples of other, albeit smaller, republican dedications on statue bases include *ILS* 3833 (*ILLRP* 36), 3834 (*ILLRP* 35), 3422 (*ILLRP* 123), 3794 (*ILLRP* 157); *ILLRP* 247. For an overview of Latin epigraphy, see Cooley 2012. On epigraphy and religion, see Rives 2001. The best introduction to sacred inscriptions remains Calabi Limentani 1991, 159–76. Note esp. the inscription from Castrum Novum in Etruria (*CIL* 11 3572; *ILS* 3227; Calabi Limentani 1991, 164, no. 3): "Apollini | sacrum | L. Statilius | Primus de sua p(ecunia) p(osuit) || hanc aram vetustate | labefactatam | L. Statilius | Pollio de sua p(ecunia) et | renovavit et restituit." In this restoration, Pollio has carefully preserved the name of his relative Primus, who f rst dedicated an altar to Apollo in this place. For a catalogue and discussion of imperial statue bases, see Højte 2005. On decorated bases dedicated to deities in Italy, see Schraudolph 1993.

FIG. 6. View from the west, showing how the concrete core of the podium supporting the Augustan base (*upper right*) abuts the southern face of the travertine monument (*left*).

FIG. 7. Reconstruction of the original appearance of the travertine monument in the Republican period. The size and appearance of the statue are entirely hypothetical.

holes indicates that, like the later Augustan base, the travertine monument faced south.

The date of the construction of the travertine monument is not easy to determine, since Gatti did not report any datable material from the excavation. The use of travertine, however, suggests a terminus post quem in the second century B.C.E.[10] The profile of the molding between the base and the elevation may point to a more specific date toward the end of the second century or in the early first century B.C.E. The use of the cyma recta for crown and base moldings became common in Rome and Italy in the mid second century B.C.E. as a borrowing from Greek and Hellenistic architecture, and it persisted as the most common form on imperial monuments. Similarities with the Temple of Veiovis on the Capitoline Hill and the Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium, both datable to the first decades of the first century B.C.E., suggest a date in the later second century B.C.E. or the first two decades of the first century B.C.E., but probably not after 80 B.C.E.[11]

As a freestanding square structure 2 m wide on each side and almost 2.5 m tall, the monument has no known parallels and provides interesting evidence

for a monumental dedication in the Republican period. The original interpretation of the monument as an altar is no longer tenable now that it is clear that the podium on the southern side was part of the later Augustan restoration. Rather, its freestanding state, the square recess or mortise within the top of it, and the presence of a plaque on one side indicate that it originally served as a large statue base, a function also suggested by Augustus' later dedication of a new statue and base. The form of the base is unprecedented. No surface treatment, such as a coating of stucco or marble revetment, on top of the dressed travertine has survived or was recorded in the original publication, and the base appears to have lacked certain decorative details, such as a crown molding, that we would expect to find on such sizable monumental structures. Considering its size, the base probably

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[10] Its use was particularly common in the late second and early f rst centuries B.C.E., but it continued to appear as common building stone well into the Imperial period (Jackson and Marra 2006, 426–29; Coarelli 2007, 539–40).

[11] Meritt 2000, 181–85, pls. 58.8, 58.9. For the Temple of

Veiovis on the Capitoline, see *LTUR* 5:99–100, s.v. "Veiovis, aedes (in Capitolio)" (Albertoni). For the Temple of Juno Sospita, see *LTUR* 3:128–29, s.v. "Iuno Sospita (in foro Holitorio), aedes" (Coarelli).

supported a statue that was over-life-sized, and Augustus' later dedication to Mercury strongly suggests that the travertine monument was sacred to the same deity. It is impossible to know whether the statue was newly made in Rome for this base or was acquired or looted from elsewhere. Given the dimensions of the square mortise inset in the top of the base, it was most probably made of stone rather than bronze. This evidence suggests a Hellenistic (or Hellenistic-style) statue of Mercury; it may have been an older statue imported from the Hellenistic East or one ordered from a Greek artist on special commission for this Roman context and newly made in Rome.[12] It makes sense to date the statue and its large base, which may have been situated in the surroundings of the piazza, to the turn of the first century B.C.E., when Rome was a center for all things Hellenistic.[13]

Since the Cispian and its slopes were largely residential throughout antiquity, the broader topographical context of the original monument during the Republican period is somewhat obscure. In general, the Subura and eastern hills, particularly the Viminal and the Vicus Patricius, show development with atrium houses, presumably by elites, during the first century B.C.E., but evidence for the southern side of the Cispian along the Clivus Suburanus is not as clear.[14] The Forum Esquilinum, an open commercial space, lay approximately 250 m to the east, just inside the Porta Esquilina.[15] As Mercury was commonly associated with commerce, trade, and profit, the location along the main thoroughfare and near, if not adjacent to, the Forum Esquilinum would have been an appropriate setting for a large statue depicting this god. As a relatively large freestanding monument, however, the statue base may have stood within a piazza that was probably contiguous with the Clivus Suburanus, which ran just south of the monument.[16]

Gatti's report of paving stones surrounding the monument confirms this possible reconstruction (see fig. 2, lower right).[17] He gave no indication of the extent of the pavement, but Lanciani included it on his *Forma Urbis Romae* as a pavement surrounding the structure around its southern side and, notably, extending behind it to the northeast (fig. 8).[18] In addition to the pavement, Gatti reported finding several brick structures to the east of the monument. Though their plan and location are also unclear from Gatti's publication, Lanciani depicted them as facing west onto the area of pavement that extends northeast behind the monument. Together, the rooms and the pavement appear to form the southern terminus of a street extending north from the Clivus Suburanus and up the slopes of the Cispian.
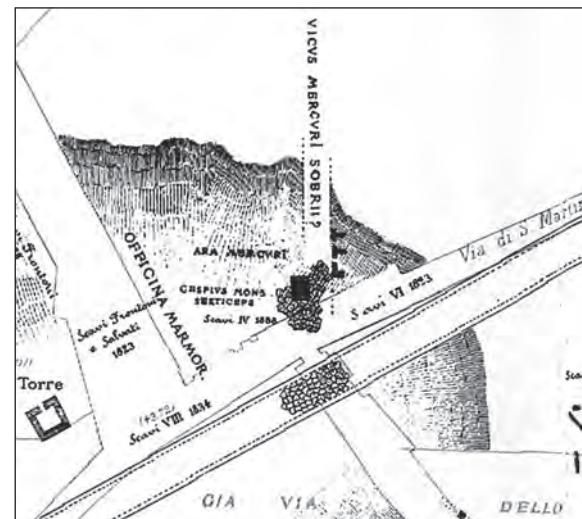
FIG. 8. Area of the shrine of Mercury (Lanciani 1990, pl. 23).

[12] Cf., e.g., the over-life-sized statue of the goddess Fortuna commissioned by Q. Lutatius Catulus (consul 102 B.C.E.) for his Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei on the Campus Martius in the 90s. The temple is identif ed as Temple B in the Largo Argentina (*LTUR* 2:269–70, s.v. "Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes" [Gros]; see esp. f g. 37 for the Severan Marble Plan). Coarelli and Sauron (1978, 724) have attributed this statue to Skopas Minor. For booty in Rome, see Welch (2006) for domestic settings and Östenberg (2009, 79–90) for the triumph and general displays. For a general discussion of statues in Roman culture, see Stewart 2003.

[13] See Cicero (*Arch.* 5) on the fashion for Hellenism ca. 102 B.C.E. See McDonnell (2006, 264) for context and discussion. In addition to the potentially eastern origins of the statue of Mercury itself, Hellenistic decorative themes have been recognized in the famous house of the Odyssey frescoes, which was located relatively close on the northwestern slopes of the Cispian Hill (Coarelli 1998, 25–6).

[14] On this phenomenon, see Andrews 2014.

[15] *LTUR* 2:298, s.v. "Forum Esquilinum" (Coarelli); Haselberger 2002, 133; cf. App., *B.Civ.* 1.58; *CIL* 6 1662, 2223, 9179, 9180, 31888.

[16] Gatti (1888b, 225) also mentioned architectural elements among the f nds, and two travertine column drums are still extant at the site. The larger drum is 81 cm in diameter and 40 cm tall, while the smaller drum is 94 cm tall, with an upper diameter of 79 cm and a lower diameter of 81 cm. The f utes of the drums, which preserve a thin layer of stucco, are of the Ionic or Corinthian type, but there are only 20 f utes, which was the standard number for Doric columns (Vitr., *De arch.* 3.5.14; 4.3.9). The size of the column(s) to which these two drums belonged precludes a relationship with either the travertine monument or the later Augustan base and podium, which show no indications of having had a superstructure.

[17] Gatti 1888b, 224.

[18] Lanciani 1990, pl. 23.

Gatti tentatively identified this street as the Vicus Sobrius.[19] According to Festus, this street got its name either because no *tabernae* or *cauponae* were located on it or from the presence of a statue of Mercury to which libations only of milk were given.[20] Neither Festus' *Glossaria Latina* nor the two known inscriptions for businessmen who practiced here provide information about its location within the city.[21] Palombi and Leone, however, have recently bolstered Gatti's identification by pointing out that the cult of Mercury Sobrius is attested outside of Rome only in the formerly Carthaginian and Punic territories of North Africa. Moreover, Varro reports that a Vicus Africus was located somewhere on the Esquiline and that it derived its name from the African (i.e., Carthaginian) hostages from the Punic Wars that were kept in its vicinity. From the combined evidence, Palombi and Leone propose that an African quarter indeed existed on the Esquiline and that the travertine monument dedicated to Mercury Sobrius on Via San Martino ai Monti was associated with it.[22] The combination of evidence is tempting; however, it is still highly circumstantial and ultimately inconclusive. Varro's own doubt about the etiology of Vicus Africus as a name is seemingly betrayed by his use of the passive voice; furthermore, it is hardly clear that the paved area to the northeast of the base was the terminus of a street and not simply a piazza.

The fate of the original statue is unclear. Augustus' dedication of a new statue base immediately in front of the older travertine one suggests that the original statue had been lost or irreparably damaged before the dedication. The proximity to the Forum Esquilinum is perhaps significant in this regard, since Appian records it as the location of the first battle between Marius and Sulla upon the latter's invasion of the city in 88 B.C.E. According to Appian, Sulla had taken control of both the Porta Esquilina and the Colline Gate, farther north on top of the Quirinal Hill, and invaded the city through these gates with the remainder of his troops. Marius and his forces proceeded to the Forum Esquilinum, where they were eventually routed when Sulla sent his men down the Clivus Suburanus to close in on Marius' troops from behind. The skirmish consumed the entire neighborhood. Appian describes

how residents who supported Marius threw objects from the roofs of their houses at the Sullan forces and how Marius had to call on more of these residents to help toward the end of the battle, when his troops were being overwhelmed.[23] It is possible that the Mercury statue and shrine sustained damage during this conflict, but any connection of course remains speculative. It is in any case certain that the original statue was not reused by Augustus, since it and its plinth could not have fitted onto the new Augustan base.[24]

The current thorough reexamination of the travertine monument indicates that it was originally a free-standing statue base, most probably for an imposing statue of Mercury dedicated by a private individual and put up along the Clivus Suburanus, perhaps within a small piazza, in the late second or very early first century B.C.E. Though Mercury's statue on the Esquiline would have been a notable monument in its original republican form, there is no evidence for a connection to a *compitum* or a shrine of the Argei, and its existence appears rather to have reflected the largely residential and commercial nature of the surrounding Subura and Esquiline during this period.

AUGUSTAN REDEDICATION

Since it is now clear that the republican monument consisted only of the travertine base with its statue of Mercury, it is now also evident that Augustus' New Year's dedication and renovation in or soon after 10 B.C.E. was much more extensive than previously imagined. As our only extant example of a New Year's dedication still in situ, the site provides the only archaeological evidence for a class of monuments that is otherwise attested only in descriptions by Suetonius and Cassius Dio, since Augustus chose to omit them from his own *Res Gestae*. The configuration of the Augustan additions and their relationship with the earlier travertine monument reveal the dynamics of the renovation and an overall impression of what Augustus intended to accomplish through it.

Instead of a simple refurbishment of or addition to an earlier podium and altar, as has been argued until now, this renovation entailed the dedication of a new marble base for Mercury and the construction of the

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[19] Gatti 1888a, 233–35.

[20] Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 382; Gatti 1888a, 234–35; see also *LTUR* 5:190, s.v. "Vicus Sobrius" (Palombi); Palmer 1997; Leone and Palombi 2008, 416–21.

[21] *CIL* 6 9483, 9714. Palmer (1997, 80–103) discusses the evidence for the Vicus Sobrius and posits a cult of a Punic Mercury, who received an offering of milk, in the Forum Holitorium.

[22] Varro, *Ling.* 5.159: "Esquiliis vicus Africus quod ibi obsides ex Africa bello Punico dicuntur custoditi"; *LTUR* 5:151,

s.v. "Vicus Africus" (Palombi); Leone and Palombi 2008, 421–24.

[23] App., *B Civ.* 1.58.

[24] For a famous example of a reused statue base, see the Augustan recarving of the inscription for the late second-century statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, from the Portico of Octavia (*CIL* 6 10043, 31610; *ILS* 68; *ILLRP* 336; Coarelli 1978; Kajava 1989; Flower 2002). Cornelia's base measures 0.83 m high x 1.18 m wide x 1.37 m deep.

entire tuff podium, presumably intended for religious ritual or activity. The tuff podium extends southward from and on axis with the travertine monument. The full length of the southern side stretches 3.34 m, while both the eastern and western sides are interrupted by a modern basement wall built obliquely to the orientation of the podium. The outer surfaces show two courses of Anio tuff reaching 1.2 m in height, while the core of the podium is filled with rubble masonry. The mortar of this rubble appears bright pink with a heavy concentration of unwashed red pozzolana. Red pozzolana of this density (such that the overall color of the mortar tends toward a bright pink or red) is characteristic of Augustan mortar, indicating that the podium as a whole was constructed during the Augustan period.[25] The tuff blocks that contain the concrete core are only roughly hewn, with hammer and pick marks still clearly discernible, and are secured with dovetail clamps (fig. 9). The podium was faced with a revetment of white marble, likely Luna, which rested on a white marble cyma reversa base molding measuring 10 cm tall and 16 cm deep. This molding preserves holes in its upper surface that likely housed metal clamps or dowels to secure the marble revetment above it. A single slab of this revetment, measuring 11 cm thick, is preserved along the eastern side of the podium below the Augustan base.

A thin plaster layer on top of this rubble is all that remains of the preparation for a marble pavement that lay on top of the podium. The only surviving elements of this upper pavement itself are two partially preserved marble paving slabs 9 cm thick still extant under the marble base. The surface of the western slab features a game board of the mancala type, showing a scattering of 15 small, circular indentations ranging 3–5 cm in diameter and measuring no more than 1 cm deep.[26] To the north of these, several lines running east–west are roughly incised into the pavement, the southernmost extending straight west from the northwestern corner of the base to the broken western edge of the slab. Three more are clustered together approximately 3 cm to the north, extending from the broken western edge no farther east than the edge of the base. Such lines are

common features of mancala game boards (fig. 10).[27] On the eastern slab, a large, shallow depression (depth ca. 2–3 cm) is found centered on the exposed surface between the base and the edge of the slab. It becomes shallower and rounds out on its northern edge, ending just south of the northern edge of the base. A small circular depression similar to those of the game board on the western slab is visible on both the northern and the southern sides of the depression, suggesting that this feature was likely also a game board (see fig. 4).

According to Gatti's report and the archived graphic documentation, at the time of excavation there was a set of steps leading up to the podium from the surrounding pavement to the north, just below the marble base on the western side.[28] The steps are no longer visible under the modern rubble. It can be assumed that a similar staircase led up to the podium on the eastern side, where the revetment is preserved, and it seems that people would have sat along these staircases to use the game boards on each side of the marble base (fig. 11).

The new Augustan statue base, made entirely of white marble and labeled with the princeps' dedication to Mercury, stands at the center of the northern side of the tuff podium and presently extends above the older travertine monument by approximately 16 cm. It totals slightly more than 1 m in height, and it measures 73 cm on its eastern and western sides and 82 cm on its northern and southern sides. The lower 20 cm is composed of a base topped by a simple cyma reversa molding. The southern face of the base features an inscription of seven lines commemorating Augustus' dedication to Mercury funded by the annual New Year's free-will gift (*stips*) collected in 10 B.C.E. (fig. 12). The text is in good condition and reads as follows:[29]

Imp(erator) Caes[ar] Divi f(ilius) August(us),
pontifex maximus, co(n)s(ul) XI,
tribunicia potest(ate) XIIII,
ex stipe quam populus Romanus,
K Ianuariis apsenti ei contulit,
Iullo Antonio Africano Fabio co(n)s(ulibus),
Mercurio sacrum

[25] For the heavy use of red pozzolana in Augustan concrete, see Van Deman 1912, 391–92; Blake 1947, 333–38; Lancaster 2005, 56.

[26] Roman game boards and their typology have been much discussed by scholars (e.g., Salza Prina Ricotti 1995; Triflò 2011).

[27] Mancala-type game boards were used in a game that depended on the movement of pieces from depression to depression, largely without the use of dice. This type of play has been classifed as a game of skill (*agon*), as opposed to a game of chance (*alea*), to which dice games belonged (Caillois 1967, 30–4; Salza Prina Ricotti 1995, 73–108; Mulvin and

Sidebotham 2004, 605–8; Triflò 2011, 319–21, 325–31). For studies specifcally on game boards in public locations, see Ballu 1902; Boeswillwald et al. 1905, 19–21, 27–32; Thédenat 1923, 216–21; Bendala Galán 1973; Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004; Triflò 2011, 325–31.

[28] Gatti 1888a, 225; G. Gatti, no. 167/4, Pratiche di Tutela, 1892, Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica, Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.

[29] *CIL* 6 30974 (*ILS* 92; Lott 2004, no. 2). The elevation of the southern face recorded in the archived original graphic documentation incorrectly assigns the base to Augustus' 12th consulship.

FIG. 9. Composite photograph of the southern face of the Augustan podium.

The inscription begins only approximately 2 cm from the upper edge of the base and extends 41 cm down the base. The letters of Augustus' name are approximately 5 cm high. The height of the letters decreases in each line as one reads down the inscription, markedly so after the titulature of the emperor, so that the height of the consular date is only 2.5 cm. The letters bearing the dedication to Mercury, however, return to a height of approximately 5 cm. The lettering of this inscription and its overall style reflect the classical grace and symmetry characteristic of Augustan epigraphy.[30] The emperor's titles and appearance in the opening lines stress his role as pious dedicator and official patron. The careful record of the exact date and source of the funds that paid for the new shrine both made the dedication to Mercury appear official and memorialized the annual and ritual gift exchange between the princeps and the people of Rome.[31] In this sense, locals who passed by and read any of the New Year's inscriptions might feel a sense of partnership if they also had contributed to the *stips*. Ultimately, however, it is Augustus who appears as the generous benefactor to and leader of the community.

To judge from the size of the Augustan base, this new statue would have been significantly smaller than the original travertine one. The contrast would have been easily visible as a result of the juxtaposition of the two bases, but the Augustan base interestingly rises just slightly higher than the original height of the travertine base. The rather plain appearance of Augustus' base, which curiously lacks a crown molding, may have

FIG. 10. The mancala-type game board located on the paving slab to the west of the Augustan statue base.

been intended to mirror the appearance of the travertine monument, which also lacked one, while the reduced dimensions of the new Mercury statue make sense in light of Suetonius' description (*Aug.* 57.1) of these gifts as being made of very expensive materials. Augustus' new base was therefore a smaller but more precious version of the earlier monument, thus emphasizing the continuity of the cult and Augustus' role in improving it.

Augustan patronage was not entirely new to this area of the city. Farther down the Clivus Suburanus, about 150 m west of the Mercury shrine, work on the monumental Porticus Liviae had begun in 12 B.C.E., after Vedius Pollio bequeathed his expansive property

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[30] Alföldy (1991) provides the classic discussion of Augustan epigraphy.

[31] For *sacer* (meaning "holy") indicating a shrine or con-

secrated area, see Cagnat 1914, 252–57; Rüpke 2007, 8, 21, 181–85.
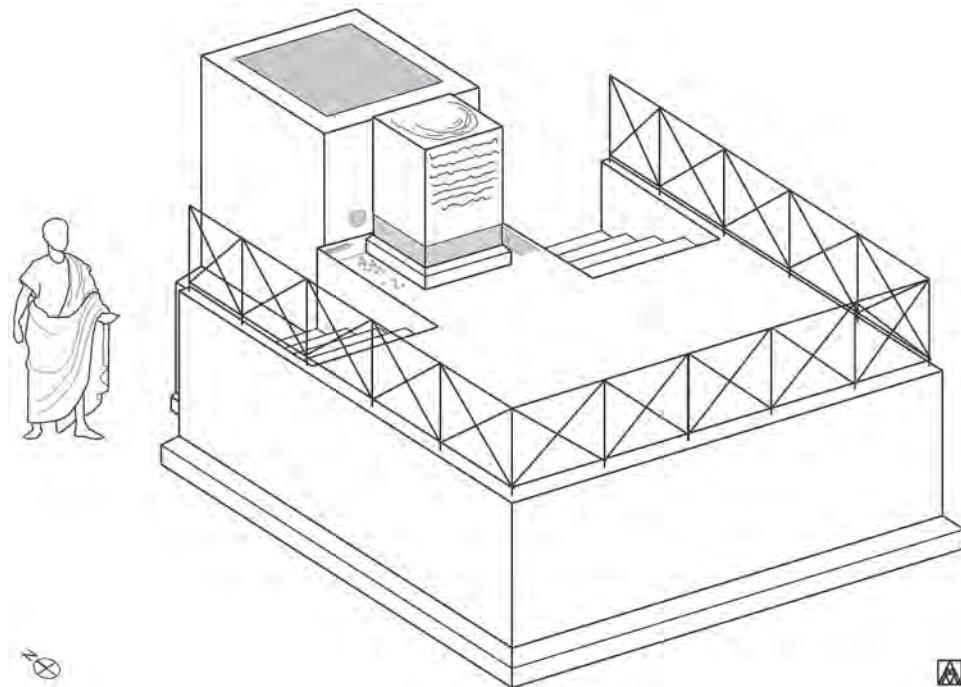
FIG. 11. Reconstruction of the monument after the Augustan interventions, as seen from the southwest.

in this area to the emperor upon his death in 15 B.C.E. (fig. 13[1]).[32] But the small, local shrine to Mercury at the top of the hill probably came to Augustus' attention when work was being carried out on the Anio Vetus during the following year (11 B.C.E.).[33] The Anio Vetus, with its notoriously insalubrious water, entered the city through the Porta Esquilina. Rodriguez-Almeida has convincingly associated the construction of the Lacus Orphei, a monumental fountain located almost immediately across the Clivus Suburanus from the shrine to Mercury, with the refurbishing of this aqueduct and has proposed that the Lacus Orphei served as an imposing terminus for it (see fig. 13[2]).[34] Indeed, a travertine cippus found among the debris near the Mercury shrine suggests that Augustus was interested in renovating the whole area beyond just the monument itself. The inscription commemorated Augustus' return of an area measuring approximately 42 x 21 m (144 x 72 Roman ft.) from private hands to the public.[35] A second cippus similar to the first was found in the excavation of a later structure near San Martino ai Monti, slightly more than 50 m to the south.[36] Neither cippus was found in situ, so it is diffi-
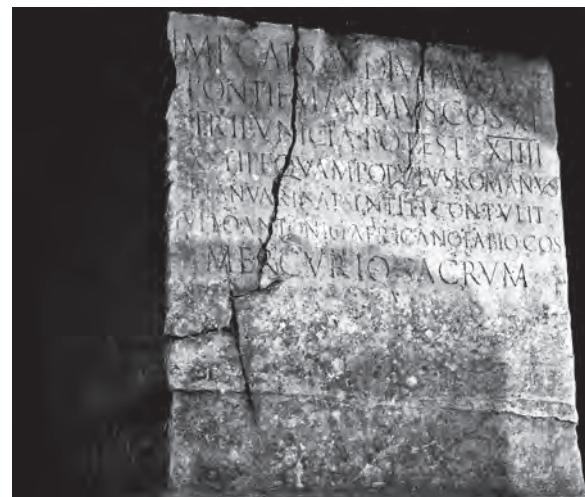
FIG. 12. The southern, inscribed face of the Augustan statue base.

cult to draw firm conclusions about the kind of boundary they delimited or the total size and precise original location of each, but they do attest to Augustus'

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[32] For the Porticus Liviae, see *LTUR* 4:127–29, s.v. "Porticus Liviae" (Panella); Panella 1987.

[33] *CIL* 6 1243; Evans 1994, 78.

[34] Frontin., *Aq.* 21; Rodriguez-Almeida 1983, 111–13. For

the low quality of the water that Anio Vetus carried, see Frontin., *Aq.* 90–1.

[35] *CIL* 6 31572.

[36] Lanciani 1893, 28–9.
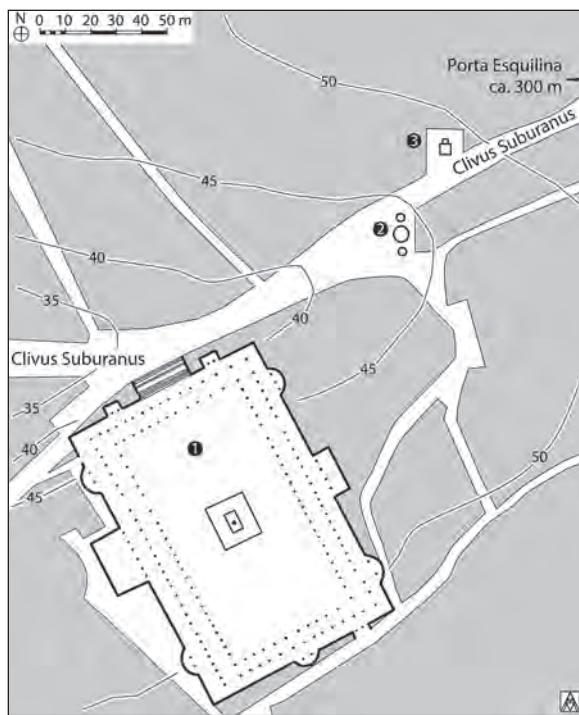
FIG. 13. Plan of the ancient upper Clivus Suburanus, showing the location of Augustan projects: *1*, Porticus Liviae, 12 B.C.E.; *2*, Lacus Orphei, 11 B.C.E.; *3*, shrine to Mercury, 10 B.C.E.

interest in improving the conditions of the general area, particularly when considered with the Porticus Liviae and the Lacus Orphei.[37]

Whatever Augustus' original plans for this finely made new shrine to Mercury, several details interestingly suggest that the project was never completed, despite that he would remain princeps more than 20 years after the *stips* of 10 B.C.E. The bottom 16 cm of each side of the base have been shallowly chiseled back no more than 1 cm. The rather smooth point chiseling seems to indicate that this was a zone to which something was meant to be applied rather than a zone from which something was cut away or removed. Furthermore, no clamp holes are evident for whatever might have been attached. Most tellingly, however, the top of the base shows unfinished preparation for a round

and deep mortise meant to receive the tenon or plinth that would have supported the statue of Mercury (fig. 14; see also fig. 4). A circular incision in the top of the base is only partially hollowed out in the southern half. In the southeastern and southwestern corners, the incision has been carved as deep as 4 cm. The northern half of the mortise, however, still contains material that has not been removed and shows an irregularly carved, convex surface protruding from the upper surface of the base. This is clearly material that was meant to be removed to complete the circular mortise, but simply never was. The top of the base, even in its unfinished state, confirms that the base was designed to support a statue, not a brazier or other feature.

It is a matter for speculation how quickly work would have proceeded after 1 January 10 B.C.E., even given that new statues were commissioned by Augustus from New Year's funds on an annual basis. The inscription was presumably carved and put in place sometime before 2 B.C.E., when one of the consuls in the dating formula, Iullus Antonius, was disgraced and soon committed suicide.[38] It is in any case clear that the Mercury project stalled very close to its completion. The podium had been finished and the statue base, with its dedicatory inscription, installed. The unfinished items were the most expensive and the most technically challenging to make. The shallow inlay on the statue base may have been of colored marble, perhaps to match parts of the precious statue itself. That the base was installed before the top was finished raises the distinct possibility that it was not made by the same workshop that had been commissioned to make the statue. Rather, the top of the base remained unfinished; it was apparently designed to be cut in situ to match the insert of the statue, the product of a highly skilled workshop in the employ of the princeps. But the statue never arrived. It is striking that the only intact base for one of Augustus' prestigious New Year's dedications should be unfinished. As an unfinished imperial dedication, the Augustan phase of the Esquiline shrine to Mercury is unique.[39]

In conclusion, Augustus decided to undertake the restoration of an existing and perhaps century-old statue of Mercury while leaving the original travertine statue base carefully preserved. This resulted in an

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[37] Gatti 1888a, 237–38; 1888b, 225. For some speculation on the signif cance of the cippus, see Lott 2004, 76–8.

[38] Iullus Antonius (born 43 B.C.E., praetor 13 B.C.E., proconsul of Asia 7/6 B.C.E.[?]) was the second son of Antony and Fulvia (RE 2:2584–85, s.v. "Antonius, Iullus"; *PIR²* 1:153–54, no. 800, s.v. "Iullus Antonius"). His disgrace was associated with the fall of Julia, the daughter of Augustus. For discussion, see Fantham 2006; Flower 2006, 163, 325 n. 12. His consular

colleague was Africanus Fabius Maximus (*PIR²* 3:102–3, no. 46, s.v. "Africanus Fabius Maximus").

[39] The base of the *Res Gestae* monument in Sozopolis shows a similar state of incompletion; one of the cuttings for a statue of an imperial family member is unf nished, and the statues were never installed, but the monument is a dedication to the imperial household, not an imperially funded project (Rose 1997, 170).
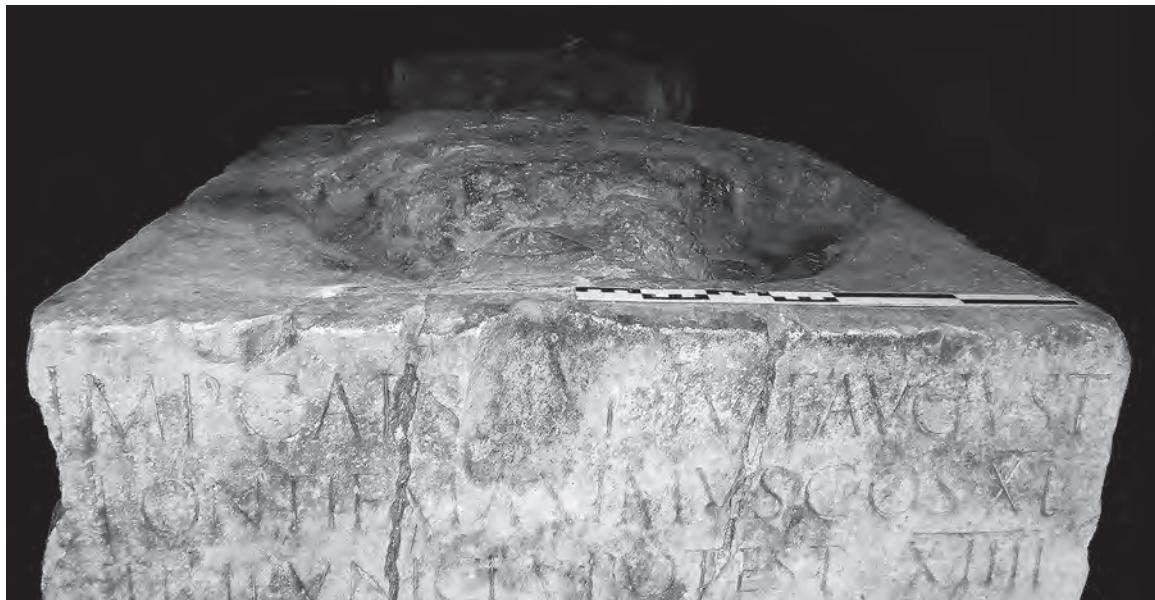
FIG. 14. Detail of the upper surface of the Augustan base for the statue of Mercury, view from the south. Note the smooth, concave surface on the southern (near) half of the upper surface and the rough, convex mass of marble on the northern (far) half, where material has not been removed to complete the mortise.

unusual and striking juxtaposition. While the Augustan restoration maintained the southern orientation of the original site, the new statue base was made of marble instead of travertine and was installed on top of a podium flanked by two small staircases. Augustus created a smaller version of the earlier monument, but it was intended to be made of more valuable materials. The construction of the podium meant that only the Augustan base was functional as a locus for ritual or votive offerings, even though the republican base was still an integral part of the monument as a whole. The juxtaposition of the new statue base with the old one is unparalleled and somewhat clumsy, but it stressed both the religious value of the original site as well as Augustus' role in reviving it with the citizens' New Year's donations. Augustus, however, never finished his renovations, since the precious statue of Mercury and the final decorations for the base were apparently never added. The game boards on either side of the statue base, however, indicate that the podium was finished and in use for at least informal activity even without the statue of Mercury. Consequently, it is impossible to know whether any religious rituals in honor of Mercury were ever performed on the Augustan podium. The reasons for the unfinished state

of the monument will have to remain unknown, but it significantly nuances our impression of Augustus' prolific building program and gives us important new insights into the dynamics of imperial interaction with local monuments at its finest resolution.

AUGUSTUS' NEW YEAR'S DEDICATIONS IN ROME

However unique the monument is in its own right, the shrine to Mercury on the Esquiline was not an isolated or individual donation by the princeps. Rather, its inscription indicates that it was part of a well-known series of statues of deities that Augustus dedicated throughout the city, funded by the money he received from ordinary citizens on 1 January every year.[40] This series of statues is attested both by literary sources and by five inscriptions, three of which survive complete and two of which survive only in fragments. Consequently, a (re)consideration of the dedication to Mercury needs to take into account its specific and typically Augustan context—namely, that of a familiar type of New Year's statue placed in a local neighborhood in Rome.

Suetonius (*Aug.* 57.1) tells us of two locations in Rome where citizens would make monetary donations to celebrate and express their relationship with Augustus in an annual ritual:[41]

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[40] For the New Year's dedications, see Meslin 1970, 31–4; Panciera 1980, 205–6; De Angeli 2001; Tarpin 2002, 108–9;

Lott 2004, 73–80, 115.

[41] See Louis (2010, 394–95) for commentary.

Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quotannis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque.

Every year, all classes (of citizens) tossed an offering (*stips*) into the Lacus Curtius (in the Roman Forum) to mark a vow for his (Augustus') good health and safety. In the same way, on the 1st of January (they donated) a gift (*strena*) on the Capitol, even when he was away. From these collected funds he acquired very valuable statues of the gods and dedicated them in the local neighborhoods, for example Apollo Sandalarius and Jupiter Tragoedus and others.

While the first attested custom was an annual vow for the princeps' health represented by the throwing of a coin (*stips*) into the Lacus Curtius in the Forum on an unspecified day, the second example cited by Suetonius is directly connected with 1 January. This offering, which he calls *strena*, was a contribution brought to the Capitol on New Year's Day and offered to Augustus even when he was not in Rome for this holiday. As an echo of the gift exchange that was usually practiced between family members to mark the New Year, ordinary people seem to have given a very modest monetary gift to Augustus on 1 January. This gesture directly expressed their special and personal relationship with Augustus. He, in turn, used this money to dedicate exceptionally expensive statues of deities in the local neighborhoods of the city. Suetonius' wording echoes the epigraphic texts that carefully record which year's contributions were used for each statue and whether Augustus had been away from the city on that particular New Year's day. This wording suggests a personal quality attributed to the gift, which is somehow envisaged as being handed to Augustus himself, if he were present. The loyalty of the people is emphasized by the fact that they make the offering even when the princeps is absent. In the surviving inscriptions, the New Year's gift is called *stips*, which indicates that the Latin terms were probably interchangeable, just as both rituals may have taken place on 1 January. The term *vicatim*, meaning "by *vicus*," is traditional in Latin. It is used to describe distributions organized centrally but given out locally to reach the population throughout the city.[42]

Writing about a century after Suetonius, Cassius Dio (54.35.2) also seems to refer to a New Year's contribution in a notice under the year 11 B.C.E.:[43]

ἐπειδή τε ἀργύριον αὖθις ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Ὑγιείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτι καὶ Ὁμονοίας Εἰρήνης τε ἔστησεν. ἀεί τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ που κατέβαλλον αὐτό, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ προσιόντες οἱ μὲν πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἔλαττον ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ ὃς προσθεὶς ἂν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλέον ἀντεδίδου, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest.

Cassius Dio traces the development of the New Year's gift exchange to money that the people would give to Augustus so that he could erect statues of himself. According to this version, Augustus preferred to use such contributions (augmented by matching grants he himself provided) for statues of the gods instead. Eventually, this gift exchange was regularized as a New Year's custom, although the chronology of this process remains typically vague in Cassius Dio's account.

It is notable that the examples of statues cited by Suetonius and Cassius Dio provide two lists of rather different deities, neither of which is matched by any of the surviving inscriptions. Each writer probably saw some of these dedications in situ, and each account provides some points of contact with the epigraphic evidence we have. Many different types of deities may have had shrines renewed or perhaps even built from scratch. However, the custom of the New Year's donations fell out of practice soon after Augustus' death, even in the Julio-Claudian period, and would not, therefore, have been part of the annual practices in

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[42] Livy (30.26.6) uses the term *vicatim* when he mentions the local distribution of cheap grain from Spain organized by the curule aediles in 202 B.C.E. For a similar event described with the alternative phrase *per vicos*, cf. Livy 25.2.8. The word is attested in the historian L. Cornelius Sisenna's book 3 (Chassignet 2004, 200, no. F15; see also Non. 182L; *FRHist* 26, F 21 [with commentary by Briscoe]; Beck and Walter 2004, no. F15), which was written before 67 B.C.E., as well as in Cic., *Att.*

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4.3.2; *Dom.* 129; *Sest.* 34. Suetonius (*Aug.* 40.2, 43.1; *Iul.* 41.3) also uses the word. There is, however, no explicit connection between this adverb and the compital shrines or the religious functions of the *vicomagistri*, either before or after the urban reforms of Augustus.

[43] *LTUR* 3:91–2, s.v. "Ianus, Concordiae, Salus, Pax, statuae et ara" (Palombi).

Rome in either the second or the third century C.E., when Suetonius and Cassius Dio were writing.[44]

The whole history of Augustus' self-presentation in Rome is relevant for understanding the relationship fostered by the *stips/strena* gifts. Octavian's particular relationship with the inhabitants of Rome was quickly established after the Ides of March 44 B.C.E., when he was the one to pay out the legacies to individual citizens left in Julius Caesar's will.[45] Throughout the 30s B.C.E., Octavian cultivated Romans in Rome and Italy while he was developing his position of pre-eminence. His situation changed significantly in the mid 30s with the death of Sextus Pompeius and the retirement of Lepidus from politics.[46] A fragmentary inscription from 33 B.C.E., the year when his closest associate, Agrippa, was aedile, seems to attest a local restoration in the Vicus Salutaris.[47] In that year, Octavian and Agrippa courted Romans, especially in the city, just as the triumviral powers were expiring and the stage was being set for a clash between Antony and the young Caesar. In 32 B.C.E., many in Italy took a personal oath of allegiance to Octavian.[48] Similarly, after Octavian's victory at Actium, the splendid triple triumph celebrated over three days in August 29 B.C.E. saw local festivities throughout the city.[49] Suetonius suggests that Augustus himself sometimes attended and enjoyed modest spectacles in the city's neighborhoods.[50] Meanwhile, shrines and temples of many kinds were restored both before and after Actium. There is therefore good evidence for a reciprocal relationship cultivated by Octavian with ordinary Romans in the city over many years, starting before he accepted the name Augustus in January 27 B.C.E.

In its present state, the evidence suggests that the dedication to Mercury on the Esquiline is the earliest extant *stips* gift as well as the only one still in situ. The others are to Vulcan (from the gift in 9 B.C.E. in the Roman Forum), an unknown deity (from the gift in 8 B.C.E. near the Arch of Septimius Severus), the Lares Publici (from the gift in 4 B.C.E. by the Arch of Titus),

and another unknown god (from the gift in 10 C.E. from the Via della Greca, perhaps near Santa Maria in Cosmedin), all presumably found at or near their original locations (fig. 15). Each of these inscriptions features very similar wording in comparable lettering on white marble, presumably Luna in every case. Those for Vulcan and the Lares Publici survive on slabs that have been cut off the front of the bases; Mercury's text is the only one to survive on its complete base.

The dedication to Vulcan is on a much larger scale and indicates a restoration (and enhancement?) of the famous Volcanal, one of Rome's oldest and most central shrines:[51]

> Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius) Augustus,
> pontifex maximus,
> imp(erator) XIII, co(n)sul XI, trib(unicia potest(ate) XV,
> ex stipe quam populus Romanus
> anno novo apsenti contulit
> Nerone Claudio Druso
> T. Quinctio Crispino co(n)s(ulibus),
> Volcano

This inscription, although on a more imposing scale, mimics the format of the Mercury text in putting the princeps' name at the top in larger letters, matched by the name of the deity in similar lettering at the bottom. These texts do not contain many abbreviations, as some other official Latin texts do. This presentation would have made the basic message stand out more clearly for those with only rudimentary reading skills.

By contrast, the base in honor of the Lares Publici is more equivalent in size and type to the one for Mercury on the Esquiline.[52]

> Laribus Publicis sacrum,
> Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus,
> pontifex maximus,
> tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XVIII,
> ex stipe quam populus Romanus e[i],
> contulit K. Ianuar(io) apsenti
> Calvisio Sabino L. Passieno Rufo co(n)s(ulibus)

[44] Suet., *Tib.* 34.4; Louis 2010, 397. The custom was abolished by Tiberius, restored by Gaius, and abolished again by Claudius.

[45] For politics in the city after the Ides of March, see Gotter 1996; Osgood 2006, 31–41; Galinsky 2012, 15.

[46] See Welch's (2012) incisive new reading of the 30s B.C.E.

[47] *CIL* 6 40319 (restorations by Alföldy), 31270; *ILLRP* 434; *ILS* 128; Lott 2004, no. 1 (Rome, Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. 4076); see also *LTUR* 1:285–86, s.v. "Clivus Salutis" (Coarelli); 4:229–30, s.v. "Salus, aedes" (Coarelli); Haselberger 2002, 96, s.v. "Compitum: Vicus Salutis" (Dumser).

[48] For the oath of allegiance, see Augustus' *Res Gestae* 25.2; Cooley 2009, 215–16. The New Year's gifts can also be read as tokens of allegiance and were offered on the day when sol-

diers renewed their annual oath of allegiance to Augustus.

[49] For discussion, see Gurval 1985, 19–85; Osgood 2006, 384–85, 390–96.

[50] Suet., *Aug.* 45.2.

[51] Discovered in 1548, the dedication is in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 2596) (*CIL* 6 457, 30771; *ILS* 93; Camodeca and Solin 2000, no. 11; Lott 2004, no. 3). For the Volcanal, see *LTUR* 5:209–11, s.v. "Volcanal" (Coarelli), which describes the dedication as a statue base and connects it with a restoration after a (very recent) f re in 9 B.C.E.

[52] The dedication to the Lares Publici is also in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 2606) (*CIL* 6 456, 30770; *ILS* 99; Camodeca and Solin 2000, no. 10; Lott 2004, no. 16).

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·F·AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX·MAXIMVS
IMP·XIII·COS·XI·TRIB·POTEST·XV
EX·STIPE·QVAM·POPVLVS·ROMANVS
ANNO·NOVO·APSENTI·CONTVLIT
NERONE·CLAVDIO·DRVSO COS
T·QVINCTIO · CRISPINO
VOLCANO

CIL 6 457

LARIBVS·PVBLICIS·SACR
IMP · CAESAR · AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS
TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·XVIII
EX·STIPE·QVAM·POPVLVS·E
CONTVLIT·K·IANVAR·APSENTI
CALVISIO·SABINO·L·PASSIENO·RVFO·CO

CIL 6 456

IMP· CAES DIVI· F·AVGVST·
PONTIF·MAXIMVS·COS·XI
TRIBVNICIA·POTEST·XIIII
EX STIPE QVAM POPVLVS ROMANVS
K·IANVARIIS APSENTI EI CONTVLIT
IVLIO·ANTONIO·AFRICANO·FABIO·COS
MERCVRIO SACRVM

CIL 6 30974

0   20   40   60   80   100 cm

FIG. 15. Extant inscriptions from the Augustan series of New Year's dedications.

In this case the gods appear first but in slightly smaller letters. The dedications to Mercury, to Vulcan, and to the Lares Publici are obviously part of a series but are not strictly identical, which suggests some individual initiative in each case, depending on the official in charge, the character of each shrine, and the amount to be spent on the individual dedication in question.[53] Both these other complete New Year's dedications were found in much more central locations than Mercury's shrine, despite that they were funded subsequently (fig. 16). It is difficult to identify a distinct pattern in how deities were chosen for this honor and in what order of possible need or recognized merit. Recent fire damage to the Volcanal immediately before Augustus' dedication, however, suggests need as one possible criterion, while the proximity of Mercury's shrine to other Augustan projects suggests simple convenience as another. Given Augustus' earlier role in the city, however, there is every reason to imagine that this gift exchange had an established history. In other words, although Cassius Dio records the New Years' gifts in his description of events in 11 B.C.E., Augustus' involvement in the *vici* is epigraphi-

cally attested as early as 33 B.C.E., when Agrippa was aedile. The latest attested gift shows that the custom continued to the end of Augustus' life. It may, therefore, have been practiced over a period of almost 50 years. Even if only one statue was dedicated from each year's contributions, the custom would have resulted in many impressive statues throughout the city. We can catch only a glimpse of a few bases, particularly since these local dedications are not mentioned by Augustus himself in his *Res Gestae*.

All these local statues were dedicated by Augustus in his own name (appearing in the nominative) and are carefully labeled according to the *stips* of the year used to pay for each one. Strictly speaking, therefore, the consular dates on the inscriptions refer to the *stips* in question, not to the actual date when each statue was put up, which could have been some time later. These inscriptions do not record the matching funds mentioned by Cassius Dio.[54] The three extant examples do not feature a local cult title, such as those for the two deities cited by Suetonius as typical (Apollo Sandalarius and Jupiter Tragoedus), nor do they honor the types of divine qualities mentioned by Cassius Dio.[55]

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[53] Unfortunately, the texts of the remaining two inscriptions are in such a fragmentary and bad condition that they add little to the overall picture. They are *CIL* 6 458, 30772 (Panciera 1980, 205–6; Lott 2004, no. 4) of 8 B.C.E. from the Sacra Via near the Arch of Septimius Severus and *AÉpigr* 1980, 56 (Panciera 1980, 205–6, no. 10; Lott 2004, no. 29) of 10 C.E. from somewhere on the Via della Greca, which Panciera (1980) places near Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

[54] It is possible that Augustus may have been modest about his matching funds or that he wanted to make the *stips* fund

seem richer to create an impression of greater popularity. Alternatively, Cassius Dio may simply be wrong that the princeps added funds of his own to underwrite these statues.

[55] It was the fact that Suetonius cited two examples of deities with epithets that led Gatti (1888a, 234–35) to wonder whether Mercury on the Esquiline may have also had an epithet and to propose that it may have been "Sobrius." Meanwhile, Cassius Dio, in the same way as the inscriptions, mentions only the epithet "publicus."
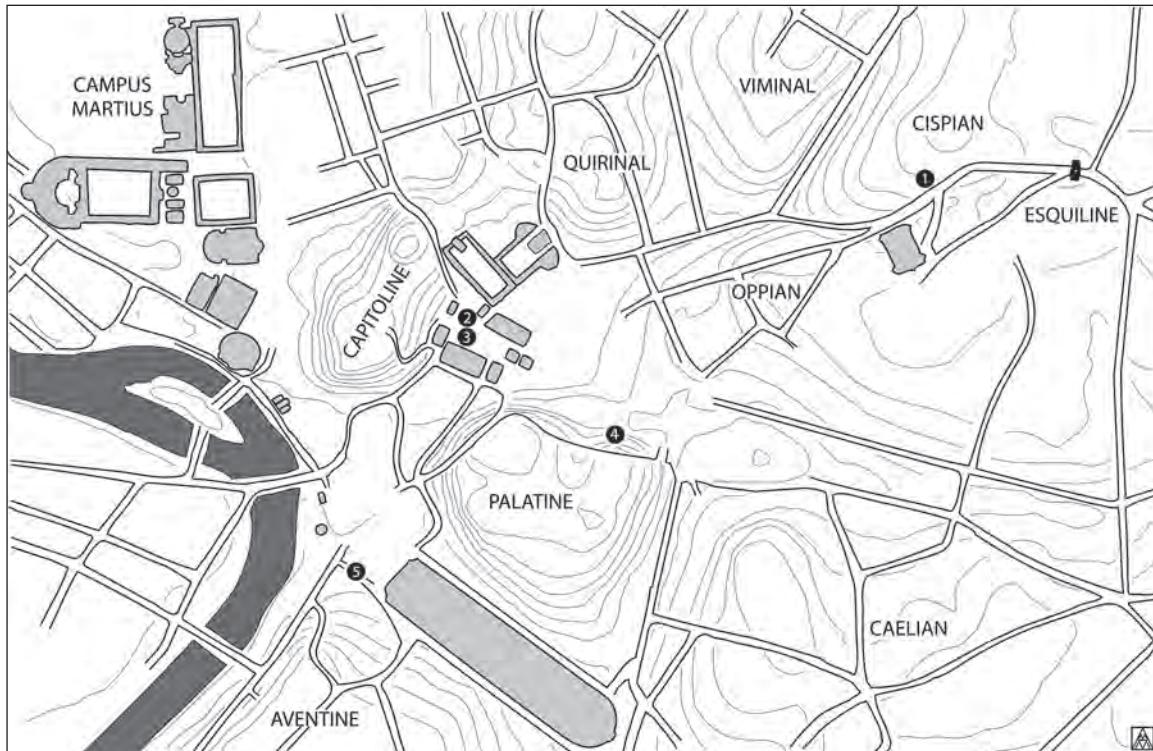
FIG. 16. Plan of Rome, showing locations of the extant New Year's dedications: *1*, Mercury, 10 B.C.E. (*CIL* 6 30974); *2*, Vulcan, 9 B.C.E. (*CIL* 6 457); *3*, unknown deity, 8 B.C.E. (*CIL* 6 458); *4*, Lares Publici, 4 B.C.E. (*CIL* 6 456); *5*, unknown deity, 10 C.E. (Panciera 1980).

The classic style of the lettering and official phrasing of the texts recalls Augustus' dedications in the context of state cults. Two attested examples, "Salus Publica" and the "Lares Publici," seem to be distinguished as deities connected with the community as a whole rather than with a particular locality, ethnicity, or group. Vulcan and Mercury both seem to have received statues that were carefully presented as restorations of existing, venerable cult sites. This stress on the rebuilding of traditional religion was consistently at the heart of the princeps' self-presentation; it predates his taking the name Augustus in 27 B.C.E. and, therefore, also his becoming pontifex maximus in 12 B.C.E.

In this historical context, it is not easy to find an obvious or simple explanation for the failure to complete the religious monument dedicated to Mercury in Augustus' name. The princeps' whole image, both in his lifetime and in its reception by posterity, has depended on his ability to achieve many things, not least his spectacular rebuilding of the city of Rome as the magnificent capital of a Mediterranean empire. At the same time, his role as patron of the city's population was central to what it meant for him to describe himself as princeps (leading citizen). Among the few possible explanations for the failure to complete the project, a shortage of funds seems the least likely. Augustus could certainly have afforded the statue and would have wanted the shrine to be complete. It is possible that the artisan making the statue was unable to complete the original order. Whatever the reason (illness? death? legal troubles?), the ultimate failure should probably be ascribed to the central administrator(s) in charge of seeing the project to completion, with the attendant dispersal of the *stips* funds to cover the costs.

Since the commissioning of the monument took place before the reform of local districts by Augustus in 7 B.C.E., it does not seem likely that the official in question was a local one.[56] Nor does the monument compare well with altars and dedications made by their

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[56] For a discussion of the cult of the Lares Augusti, see Coarelli 1988, 2007; Beard et al. 1998, 1:184–86; Scheid 2001, 102–4; Gradel 2002, 116–28; Tarpin 2002, 137–63; Fraschetti 2005, 224–28; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 275–90, 301.

magistrates, the *vicomagistri*, whose energy and drive after the urban redistricting is attested by numerous inscriptions from new altars and dedications of various kinds, particularly at the *compita* rededicated to the cult of Lares Augusti. The style and execution of these monuments is quite unlike that of the surviving texts from the New Year's dedications. All of them, some with inscriptions, were commissioned and paid for by the *vicomagistri* themselves, and none of them is dedicated to, for, or by Augustus.[57] Meanwhile, none of the New Year's inscriptions mentions a neighborhood (*vicus*) or *vicomagistri*, and none of the known examples were statues of gods with the epithet "augustus."[58] In this context, the shrine to Mercury, regardless of its unfinished state, was most probably not a local project in the charge of a *vicomagister*.

Once the inscription had been put up in Augustus' name, it would have been difficult for anyone else to complete the shrine through an individual or local community initiative, at least in Augustus' lifetime. These *stips* dedications formed a special class of ambitious monuments, often entailing renovations, in local settings. They were beyond the resources of most ordinary neighborhoods in the city and were designed to memorialize the princeps' generosity, taste, and special relationship with the inhabitants of Rome, expressed by the *stips* gifts on each New Year's day. By the time of Augustus' death, people had evidently become used to the monument in its present state.

There is also no evidence—historical or material— for associating the known New Year's statues with compital shrines, the cult of the Lares Compitales (lares of the crossroads), or any other gods (whether individually or in groups).[59] There is no reason to argue that the Volcanal in the Roman Forum was a compital shrine; the Lares Publici were distinguished by their epithet from the Lares Compitales. Nor is there anything to indicate that the statues were directly associated with state temples (*aedes*) or even with small cult buildings (*aediculae*), such as the one excavated at the

Compitum Acilii in the 1930s.[60] Rather, Mercury and Vulcan and the Lares Publici were probably worshiped at small, open-air shrines (sacella) that were distinct from *compita* and that were a traditional feature of the Roman religious landscape, both in town and in the countryside.[61] While forming a class of their own (a consecrated open space with an altar and sometimes also a statue), such shrines differed considerably in size and character from one another, built at different times in varying urban contexts. Thus, a balance needs to be sought between stressing their similarity within an identifiable group of statues paid for by New Year's gifts and exploring the unique character of each site, a place chosen for restoration by Augustus.

CONCLUSIONS

There is every reason to see the monument discovered in situ on Via San Martino ai Monti in 1888 as a local shrine simply and consistently dedicated to Mercury, but in two rather different incarnations that were separated from each other by about a century. The hasty original publication of this monument, which was discovered by chance during the construction of the apartment house now above it, was influenced by a variety of preconceptions and did not do justice to the complexity and individuality of the archaeological evidence. Fortunately, the decision was made to leave the site accessible in the basement. Despite the somewhat cramped conditions around the monument, it is still possible to examine it closely, and as a result of a careful reexamination, we now have some sounder conclusions about its development.

The sizable travertine base, with its imposing statue of Mercury that would have towered over passersby, was surely as much of a novelty around the turn of the first century B.C.E. as the later Augustan podium and marble base were designed to be ca. 10 B.C.E. Both monuments were sacred to the same god, who was familiar to Romans and popular in the local neighborhoods.[62] The size of the original monument would

[57] See Lott (2004) for a detailed and thorough discussion. Lott's main focus is on the political and social organization of Rome's neighborhoods rather than on their religious life.

[58] The epithet "augustus" was sometimes given locally to gods other than the Lares Augusti at the *compita* (Lott 2004, 102–3, 147, nos. 5, 13, 19, 21, 24, 34, 35, 54). Nos. 6 and 17 (which date to 7 B.C.E. and 3–2 B.C.E., respectively) are for Mercurius Augustus.

[59] De Angeli (2001) attributes the compital interpretation of these dedications to Theodor Mommsen. This view is shared by Gatti 1888a, 1888b; Panciera 1980, 205–7; Haselberger 2002, 96; Stek 2009, 205; Claridge 2010, 335–37; Louis 2010, 396–97. Coarelli (*LTUR* 5:209–11, s.v. "Volcanal") argues against this view. See Laurence (2007, 39–61) for *compita* and *vici* in Pompeii.

[60] For the Compitum Acilii, see *LTUR* 1:314–15, s.v. "Compitum Acilii" (Pisani Sartorio); Dondin-Payre 1987; Lott 2004, nos. 12, 27.

[61] For sacella in Rome, see Verrius Flaccus (Festus 422.15–17L); see also *LTUR* 5:209–11, s.v. "Volcanal" (Coarelli); Menichetti 2005; Rüpke 2007, 184–85. Stek (2009) discusses the archaeological evidence for such rural shrines in detail.

[62] For examples of dedicatory inscriptions for Mercury from the Republican period, see *ILLRP* 229 (*ILS* 3190), 231, 232 (*ILS* 3188), 233 (*ILS* 3189). None of these, however, came from Rome, and only *ILLRP* 232 (*ILS* 3188) was likely affixed to a dedication; cf. *ILS* 3194–206 (which are of imperial date). Mercury's common association with commerce is evident through the frequent depiction of him holding a money bag (*LIMC* 6:500–54, s.v. "Mercurius" [Simon and Bauchhenss]).

have been very unusual for a dedication by a local *vicus* or neighborhood guild at the turn of the first century B.C.E. There is no way of knowing whether Mercury had been worshiped on this same spot before the republican base was put up.[63] Nevertheless, since Mercury was associated with trade and profit by merchants and shopkeepers, his presence here, not too far from the commercial zone of the Forum Esquilinum, is fitting, and the Subura was in general a well-established quarter with varied housing, businesses, and shops.[64] The donor may have lived or had a business near the shrine and may have set it up on land adjacent to his property, partly to advertise his success and piety. By 10 B.C.E., however, the statue seems to have suffered significant damage or been lost, whether recently or some time before.

The prominence of this republican shrine is shown by the fact that Augustus (or his advisers) chose to restore it at about the same time as the ancient Volcanal in the Roman Forum and before what was probably an old, traditional cult to the Lares Publici on the Sacra Via. As in its original construction, a significant amount of money was spent, this time funds donated by the people of Rome to Augustus on 1 January 10 B.C.E. If the princeps contributed his own matching gift, according to Cassius Dio's account, he did not choose to record any contribution in his own name but instead suggested that all the funds originated with the people of Rome. The new shrine was even more prominent, since it featured a podium for ritual and was completely faced in white marble, and it likely complemented the new and monumental Lacus Orphei nearby. The new inscription was probably longer than the republican one had been, and it clearly identified the base as part of the well-known series of fine statues of gods erected in local contexts every year by Augustus throughout the city. The Augustan shrine was carefully positioned abutting the original statue base so that continuity and change could easily be seen and appreciated. The configuration of bases—one a miniature but more precious version of the other—and the addition of the podium served to highlight the religious rituals associated with Mercury. The god appeared not with a local or ethnic epithet but as a state god being duly honored by the pontifex maximus, who was also Rome's leading citizen.

What is most striking is that the expensive and carefully designed shrine was never completed and that no statue was placed on the Augustan base in antiquity. Without the presence of a statue, the fine new podium may never have been used for an offering. Although the podium itself was finished and used by those who played at the game boards above the two flights of steps, the precious new statue and other elements of decoration for the base were never put in place. It seems that Mercury was doubly unlucky here within about 100 years. His first statue did not last, and his second one never materialized, even from Augustus himself (or rather those working for him), although the inscription in the princeps' name was installed and remained easily legible. In this sense, Mercury's shrine not only sheds light on local religion in Rome in general but also remains a unique example of unfulfilled potential in a strikingly individual context.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE
    MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
3405 WOODLAND WALK
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104
MAANDREW@SAS.UPENN.EDU

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
141 EAST PYNE
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08544
HFLOWER@PRINCETON.EDU

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[63] Combet Farnaux (1980) provides a thorough discussion of Mercury and the Romans; see also *LTUR* 5:190, s.v. "Vicus Sobrius" (Palombi); Leone and Palombi 2008.

[64] *LTUR* 4:379–83, s.v. "Subura" (Welch); Andrews 2014.

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Stasis and Change in Roman Domestic Space: The *Alae* of Pompeii's Regio VI

ELISABETTA COVA

Includes Supplementary Content on AJA Online

This article investigates the space of the *alae* within the atrium houses of Pompeii. It reviews ancient and modern references and presents as a case study the *alae* of Pompeii's Regio VI. Following several seasons of architectural survey in Pompeii and drawing on newly published archaeological evidence from this region, data concerning the distribution, number, placement, and architectural features of the *alae* are presented. Modifications to the *alae*, such as the addition of storage installations, staircases, and lofts, are documented, suggesting a possible shift to more independent spaces that served specific functions associated with household activities. On the one hand, such modifications emphasize the versatility of Roman domestic space and provide glimpses into the disruption of domestic and urban life in Pompeii in the decades that preceded the 79 C.E. eruption. On the other hand, they may also serve as potential indices of broader socioeconomic changes in the Late Republic and Early Empire.*

INTRODUCTION

Already in the 19th century, comparisons between the preserved remains of Pompeian houses and the descriptions provided by Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem* led to a *communis opinio* in scholarship of an "ideal plan" of the Roman house—a plan that remains standard in most surveys of Roman domestic architecture today (fig. 1). The plan also included labels for each room, which were linked with specific functions based on Vitruvius and other references from ancient texts. Recent studies have challenged the validity of the traditional terminology associated with the atrium house and the uncritical use of the ancient written sources to define domestic spaces and their function(s).[1] While there is convenience and utility to the established

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[1] Allison 1997a, 1997b, 2001a, 2004a; Leach 1997; Nevett 1997; 2010, 89–118.
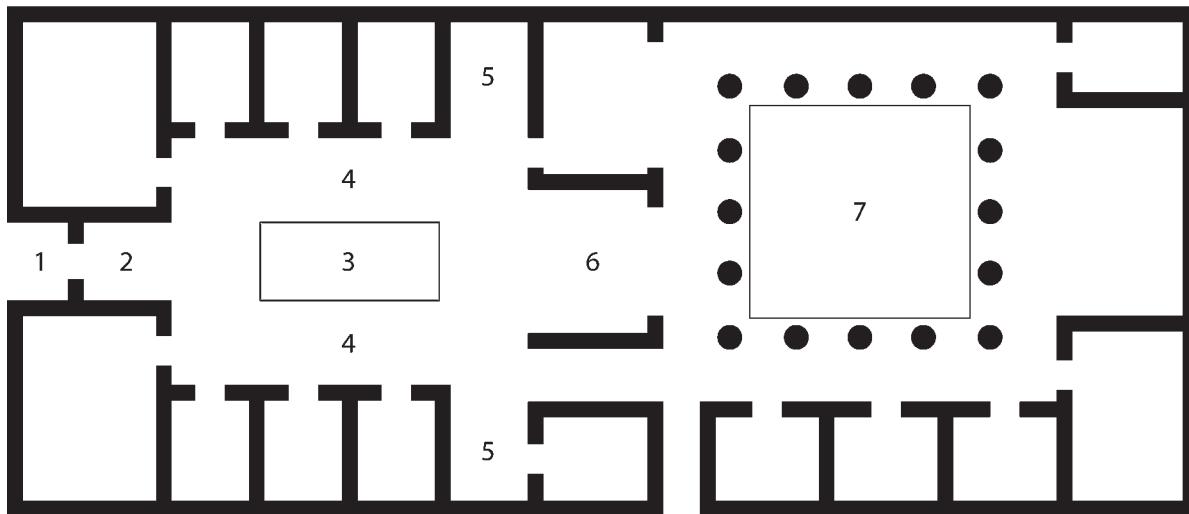
FIG. 1. Ideal plan of a Roman atrium house: *1*, vestibulum; *2*, fauces; *3*, impluvium; *4*, atrium; *5*, *alae*; *6*, tablinum; *7*, peristylium (drawing by A. Cova).

nomenclature used to refer to certain rooms or areas, new approaches to Roman houses based on spatial analysis and artifact distribution have revealed the more flexible and multifunctional nature of Roman domestic spaces.[2] The result has been a complete upheaval of older, once standard, accounts of Roman domestic architecture, which has paved the way for new studies that can both complement and advance this dialogue.

In the midst of this wave of scholarship on Roman houses, various parts of the house, such as those spaces identified with the atrium, peristyle, and cubiculum, have been discussed at length.[3] In each case, scholars have recognized the value in focusing on somewhat standardized and recurring architectural features within Roman domestic spaces while avoiding overly deterministic methods of analysis in considering the relationship between a particular "defined" space and practice. Likewise, an effort has been made to explore the diverse array of activities that were dispersed throughout the house, calling into question a strict relationship between terminology, form, and function in Roman domestic space.[4]

Perhaps as a result of their relative ambiguity with respect to the layout of the atrium house, the so-called *alae* (or wings), traditionally defined as a pair of

symmetrical rooms opened onto either side of the atrium (see fig. 1), have been largely overlooked. When describing the spatial organization of the Roman house, scholars have tended to reference the *alae* only within larger discussions of the atrium without considering evidence that these spaces could also act as independent, multifunctional activity areas. A notable exception is Allison's treatment of these spaces as a separate category, which she terms "open-fronted rooms off the sides of front halls."[5] It is possible that the *alae* and atrium were conceived as a single space; as such, they likely shared some of the same functions— for example, serving as reception and display spaces associated with the activities of the *dominus*, activities amply described in ancient sources. Nevertheless, the facts that the size, number, and positioning of the *alae* vary and, more importantly, that some *alae* later underwent significant architectural modifications suggest that a new approach is needed.

This article considers the *alae* as reflections of the fluid relationship between domestic space, daily activities, and social behavior. Following several seasons of architectural survey in Pompeii's Regio VI and drawing on newly published archaeological data from this region, the *alae* of Regio VI are presented as a case study. Data concerning their distribution, number, placement,

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[2] Allison 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2004a, 2006, 2007b; Berry 1997a, 1997b, 2007; Nevett 2010.

[3] Dwyer 1991; Dickmann 1997; Riggsby 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1997; George 1998.

[4] Allison (2004a) has become the standard reference for

this approach. The author provides a detailed analysis of the material remains from a sample of 30 Pompeian houses and discusses the distribution of activities and their relationship to various spaces within the Roman house.

[5] Allison 2004a, 51–4, 77–8.

and architectural features are presented to emphasize the extent of variability against the backdrop of traditional definitions; likewise, documented modifications to the original space are described. These observations are then evaluated within the broader context of Roman household activities to consider a more complete (and more nuanced) interpretation of *alae* as indices of the relationship between architectural space, its related activities, and social practice.

THE *ALAE* FROM ANCIENT TESTIMONIA TO MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

Before presenting the data from Regio VI, it is necessary to trace briefly the development of *alae* as spaces "defined" architecturally by the archaeological evidence of Early Roman houses and terminologically in ancient sources and modern scholarly treatments. As noted above, the traditional terminology associated with the Roman house, based largely on ancient written sources, should be used with great caution. The need for a more critical use of the literary sources, and Vitruvius in particular, when defining domestic spaces and their activities has been vigorously argued by Allison and highlighted by Leach's analysis of the "vocabulary" of the Roman house in the ancient written sources.[6] As Allison has suggested, although a general correspondence between the spatial layout of Pompeian houses and the descriptions in the literary sources is apparent, "the application of textual nomenclature to spaces in excavated houses is more a convenient categorization system for modern scholars than a reliable guide to the activities that took place therein."[7] Once it has been recognized that functions cannot be assumed from terms, those terms can still be used as modern conventions within studies on Roman domestic space and activities.[8] As opposed to other terms commonly employed to describe spaces in the Roman house, such as "cubiculum," "tablinum," or "triclinium," which imply function rather than location, the term "ala" possesses a degree of neutrality

that complements the findings of this study and is therefore retained. It is with these caveats in mind that we can now turn to the archaeological evidence for *ala(-e)* in early atrium houses.

Early Atrium Houses

Archaeologically, any discussion of the *alae* must first begin with the debates surrounding the origin and development of the atrium house—a topic that has been the focus of several recent publications.[9] These studies consider the Etruscan antecedents of the atrium house plan, and of the atrium in particular, as already suggested by ancient authors (Varro, *Ling.* 5.161; Vitr., *De arch.* 6.3.1). Early examples of the cruciform plan of the fauces-atrium-*alae*-tablinum sequence are attested in houses at Marzabotto (dated to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E.), at Regae (dated to after 525 B.C.E.), and possibly on the Palatine in Rome.[10] The weight of the evidence suggests that lateral expansions of a central court appear to have been an original component of the atrium house as early as the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E. Imitations of this house plan with central court are also visible in contemporary Etruscan funerary architecture.[11] Carafa has identified archaic Rome, under the Etruscan kings, as a potential site for the introduction of this house plan.[12] It is still debated whether the atrium plan was a widespread Italic type of house or typically Roman.[13] Sewell believes that by the late fourth or early third century B.C.E. Rome served as a mediator in the diffusion of the atrium house design and suggests that the passage in Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7.7) where the atrium house is described as an expression of the *Italico more*, distinct from the Greek custom, should be considered more carefully.[14] It is possible that by the time of Vitruvius in the later first century B.C.E., the atrium plan had already spread from Rome to the rest of Italy and was thus considered Italic.[15] Based primarily on literary sources and the limited archaeological remains, Sewell argues that the atrium house plan became a

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[6] Allison 1992; Leach 1997.

[7] Allison 2007a, 271.

[8] Ellis 2008, 453.

[9] Carafa 2000; Gros 2001, 30–8; Wallace-Hadrill 2007; Sewell 2010, 122–36; Jolivet 2011.

[10] Marzabotto: Mansuelli 1963, 60–1, f gs. 3, 6; Regae: Tortorici 1981; Colonna 1986, 462–63; Rome: Carandini and Carafa 2000. Jolivet (2011, 68–72), who has examined evidence for early examples of the atrium house plan (which he calls "*domus à cauaedium*"), raises questions regarding the reconstruction of the remains at Rome as antecedents to atrium houses with cruciform plans; similar caveats are noted in Mormann 2001; Wiseman 2008, 271–92; Sewell 2010, 124–25. Jolivet (2011, 72–3) also challenges the interpretation of the

house at Regae as an early version of the atrium plan and questions its relevance for any discussion of the development of this plan, although the presence of the central court with lateral extensions in the mode of later *alae* seems clear.

[11] Colonna 1986; see also Jolivet 2011, 214–32.

[12] Carafa 2000, 274.

[13] Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 279–80, 285; Sewell 2010, 135–36.

[14] Sewell 2010, 135.

[15] Sewell (2010, 315) argues that the atrium house can be found in an Italic context but can never be disassociated from evidence of Roman presence or inf uence. Moreover, he thinks there is a lack of evidence for independent Italic traditions in domestic architecture.

standardized design for houses of the Roman upper class by the third century B.C.E., at a time when the Romans were establishing colonies in central Italy and needed effective and flexible house designs that also reflected property classes.[16] Pesando had already argued that the implementation of this house design in the colonies should be interpreted as an index of the Romanization of the local ruling elite.[17] Atrium houses have been brought to light in Roman colonies, such as Fregellae, Cosa, and, a little later, Paestum.[18] At Fregellae, the earliest atrium house dates to the late fourth century B.C.E., while at Cosa the House of Diana dates to the early second century B.C.E.[19] The large, atrium-style elite houses in the colonies during this time were located around the forum, perhaps an indication of their semipublic function linked to the patronage system (e.g., Cosa [online fig. 1 on AJA Online]).[20] In his discussion of the diffusion of the atrium house plan, Jolivet concludes that the evidence for houses with this plan is limited to the Italian peninsula and, in particular, to central Italy. In contrast to Pesando and Sewell, Jolivet argues that the limited diffusion of this type prevents its association with the larger process of Romanization, preferring an Etruscan origin of the house plan with local variations within central Italy.[21]

While the debate concerning the origin and diffusion of the atrium plan continues, the archaeological evidence clearly documents the *alae* as essential features of the atrium house's cruciform design in Italy by the Middle Republic. In Pompeii, atrium houses similar in layout to those discussed above also date to this period, referred to as the Samnite period. The date of the earliest Pompeian houses has been much debated. The Casa del Chirurgo (VI.1.10) was once considered the earliest house excavated in Pompeii and dated to the fourth century B.C.E.; recent investigations by the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii have suggested a foundation date not earlier than the end of the third century B.C.E. based on numismatic

evidence.[22] Stratigraphic excavations carried out by the Progetto Regio VI have concluded that the northwest sector of Pompeii was occupied by the sixth century B.C.E., as suggested by various *pappamonte* walls and associated deposits discovered there and dated to the Archaic period.[23] This early evidence of occupation is followed by a break in the archaeological record from the second half of the fifth to the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. Coarelli suggests that it could have been associated with a scaling down of the inhabited settlement to the area known as the Altstadt, which, with this new interpretation, would represent not the initial but a later phase of the urban development of Pompeii.[24] A reoccupation of the northwest sector (and possibly of the entire town) followed in the late fourth and the third centuries B.C.E. Evidence for domestic structures reveals renewed building activity during that time. Most of the houses of Regio VI date to the late Samnite period (second to early first century B.C.E.), although stratigraphic excavations below some of these structures have revealed a third-century B.C.E. phase.[25] These third-century remains often belong to atrium houses (e.g., Protocasa del Centauro [VI.9.3] and Protocasa del Granduca Michele [VI.5.5]), which were later covered by a deep filling and rebuilt in the late Samnite period. Moreover, the standing structures of several houses have been dated to the third century B.C.E., such as the Casa degli Scienziati (VI.14.43), which dates even earlier, to the late fourth century B.C.E.; the Casa del Naviglio (VI.10.11), which dates to the first half of the third century B.C.E.; and the Casa del Chirurgo (VI.1.10), which dates to the end of the third century B.C.E.[26] They share almost identical plans, including atrium, *alae*, and tablinum, and, according to Coarelli and Pesando, they followed a common model that was "no other than the contemporary grand domus of the Roman elite, such as the house that belonged to the family of Scipio Africanus, constructed in the third

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[16] Sewell 2010, 128.

[17] Pesando 1997, 275–305; 2008. Pesando (2008, 160–61) extends the argument of Romanization to funerary architecture in his analysis of the adoption of the atrium plan in the Ipogeo dei Volumni in Perugia.

[18] Bruno and Scott 1993; Pesando 1997, 275–305; Coarelli and Monti 1998; Torelli 1999; Fentress 2003; Bragantini et al. 2008.

[19] Fregellae: Coarelli and Monti 1998, 64–5; contra Pesando 2008, 160 ("inizio III secolo"). Cosa: Fentress 2003. The left *ala* of the House of Diana is described as "shortened to insert a room f oored in beaten earth that was probably intended for storage" (Fentress 2003, 17).

[20] Pesando 2008, 159–60; Sewell 2010, 137–65.

[21] Jolivet 2011, 144.

[22] Jones and Robinson 2004, 109; Jones 2008, 141. For the earlier date, see Maiuri 1930. A full report of the Anglo-American Project's results has not yet appeared.

[23] Coarelli 2008, 174–75; Coarelli and Pesando 2011, 40–6.

[24] See Coarelli and Pesando (2011, 46–8) on this new interpretation of the Altstadt and discussion of the f fth-century B.C.E. "hiatus." The most recent overview of the theories on the urban development of Pompeii (and the forum, in particular) can be found in Ball and Dobbins 2013.

[25] Coarelli 2008; Pesando 2010, 11–14; Coarelli and Pesando 2011, 51–3.

[26] Casa degli Scienziati: De Hann et al. 2005; Peterse and de Waele 2005. Casa del Naviglio: Cassetta and Costantino 2006. Casa del Chirurgo: Jones and Robinson 2004, 109; Jones 2008, 141.

century near the Roman Forum and later covered by the Basilica Sempronia."[27] In the end, the question of why we see atrium houses in Samnite Pompeii already in the late fourth and third centuries B.C.E. is difficult to explain. It is possible that the expansion of Roman influence in the area of the Bay of Naples, especially after the Samnite Wars, and the inclusion of Pompeii among the *civitates foederatae* of Rome in the third century B.C.E. served as the impetus.[28]

From Ancient Sources to Modern Treatments

Vitruvius' (*De arch.* 6.3.4–6) treatise is the only ancient source to describe the *alae* in the context of domestic architecture and, likewise, the only one to name them as such. While describing the various parts of the Roman house, Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.4) specifies their number, location, and dimensions. According to Vitruvius, there should be two *alae*, one on the right of the atrium and one on the left; their width should be proportional to the atrium's length; and their height should be the same as their width.[29] Vitruvius' information is thus limited to indications of suitable dimensions but lacks, as his descriptions often do, any mention of the activities that took place there. Nevertheless, a few paragraphs later Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.3.6) provides another reference to the *alae*: "Imagines ita alte cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum sint constitutae" (Let the portraits of the ancestors with their ornaments be placed at a height equal to the width of the *alae*).[30] This passage led Mau to interpret the *alae* as the place where the *imagines maiorum* (ancestors' portraits) were displayed.[31] Such an interpretation is problematic, since the passage suggests only the height at which the *imagines* should be displayed (i.e., equal to the width of the *alae*) and does not explicitly

place them within the *alae* themselves.[32] While theoretically the *imagines* could have been displayed in the *alae*, such a hypothesis is not at the moment sufficiently supported by archaeological evidence.[33]

Given the information provided by Vitruvius, in the ideal plan of the Roman house first proposed by Mau (e.g., fig. 1) the *alae* are represented as spaces completely open along their width and situated symmetrically along the sides of the atrium in the back, before the opening of the tablinum.[34] However, already in the 19th century Mau noticed the more varied and complex nature of these spaces as they appear in the archaeological evidence of Pompeii.[35] Not only did Mau acknowledge that the *alae* could be located along the sides of the atrium in the middle or front (and not just in the back near the tablinum), he also noted that their number, dimensions, and even their relationship with the atrium could vary. As for their function, Mau uncritically accepted the writings of Vitruvius as evidence for the presence of the *imagines maiorum* but also suggested that the *alae* could have been used as dining rooms, wardrobes (*Schränke*), pantries, or places for lararia. According to Mau, they seemed to serve "no definite purpose, but were a survival from a previous period, in which they responded to different conditions of life."[36]

While the *alae* have not received individual attention in scholarship, they have been included in general discussions on the atrium house. During the latter part of the 20th century, some scholars attempted to test Vitruvius' prescriptions against the archaeological evidence.[37] Hallier noted that the relationship Vitruvius prescribes between the width of the *alae* and the length of the atrium is maintained in Pompeian houses where the atrium's length is not more than 60 feet; atria longer

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[27] Coarelli and Pesando 2011, 51. On the similar plans of these houses, see Peterse and de Waele 2005.

[28] See the comments in Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 285; see also Coarelli 2008, 175; Coarelli and Pesando 2011, 48–9.

[29] Corso and Romano (in Gros 1997, 915–18 nn. 106–11) provide a detailed discussion of the passage within an architectural context.

[30] Two variants, *item alte* and *ita alte,* occur in the textual tradition of this passage. The translation of the passage is not affected by either choice.

[31] Mau 1899, 252.

[32] Allison 2004a, 167. Richardson (1988, 388) says that according to Vitruvius the ancestors' funeral masks were placed "on a cornice around the atrium at a height equal to the width of the opening to the tablinum." For the same interpretation, see Leach 2004, 291 n. 37. Flower (1996, 206) suggests that the *imagines* were displayed in the atrium but that a family with many *imagines* may have also used the space of the *alae* for the purpose of display. Clarke (1991, 6 n. 10) interprets the passage as indicating that the *imagines* were hung in the atrium

and suggests that, given the lack of archaeological evidence, the cult of the ancestors was probably performed on portable altars. Kastenmeier (2007, 46) suggests that if the *imagines* were indeed kept in the *alae*, the later use of the *alae* for storage may be related to their earlier function as "ritual" places for the safekeeping of the *imagines*.

[33] The only potential candidates for *imagines* found in Pompeii do not come from an *ala* but were found in a niche with an altar located in a small exedra that opened onto the back of the portico of the House of the Menander (see Maiuri 1933, 98–106, f gs. 47–9; Allison 2006, 85–6, 309–10).

[34] Vitruvius, however, does not specify the exact location of the *alae* on the side of the atrium or whether they typically had doors.

[35] *RE* 1:1223–24, s.v. "Ala"; Mau 1899, 252–53.

[36] Mau 1899, 252.

[37] E.g., Geertman (1984a, 1984b) argued that Vitruvius' prescription of a numeric system of proportions was derived from an arithmetic translation of geometric formulas, which made it more accessible to his readers; see also Hallier 1987.

than 60 feet are rarely attested in Pompeii.[38] Tamm criticized other scholars' use of Vitruvius' treatise to interpret Pompeian houses, arguing that the houses chosen to illustrate Vitruvius' plan were built when Pompeii was still a Samnite town and therefore could not be considered examples of Roman houses, much less the houses that Vitruvius had in mind.[39] Testing the Vitruvian canon, she first surveyed the houses of Pompeii and then reviewed the evidence from Rome, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa. Tamm concluded that Vitruvius did not describe Roman houses, since "true" Roman houses built in the Late Republic to Early Empire in Rome, Italy, and the provinces did not follow Vitruvius' prescriptions. The *alae* feature prominently in Tamm's work, since their variation from the Vitruvian canon (or even their complete absence in many houses) corroborated her idea that Vitruvius' *alae* were not those lateral spaces that typically were located before the tablinum in Pompeian houses; instead, in her opinion, Vitruvius was referring to the two rooms usually found beside the tablinum to the right and left. She writes, "the parts of some Pompeian houses called *alae* need not in fact have anything to do with Vitruvius' *alae*."[40] Although Tamm cautioned against the use of Vitruvius to study Pompeian houses, her criticism nonetheless relied on a strict reading of Vitruvius' text and an expectation of a correspondence between ancient texts and archaeological evidence.

In the last 25 years, studies on the Roman house have taken different approaches and have produced new interpretations that emphasize the social and cultural aspects of domestic space, as well as the variety of the archaeological evidence available to interpret these dimensions.[41] In his reading of the social dynamics of the Roman atrium house, Wallace-Hadrill treated the *alae* as expansions of the atrium that together with atrium and tablinum were functional to the *salutatio* in houses of the upper class.[42] He implicitly included them among those spaces that Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.1) defines as *loca communia cum extraneis* (rooms that we share with outsiders), those "public" spaces of the house not needed by common men.

Pesando, in his publication on Pompeian houses and society between the third and first centuries B.C.E., references the multifunctional nature of the *alae* but also considers their architectural and functional correspondence with the exedra, suggesting that the *alae* were used as reception spaces (for clients), antechambers to the rooms next to them (more often to the triclinium), and spaces for the storage and display of valuables.[43] Dickmann, in his analysis of the use of space in Pompeian atrium houses, only briefly mentions the *alae* when discussing Vitruvius' terminology for Roman domestic spaces, noting that the use of the term in this context was limited to Vitruvius; otherwise, he assumes their dependence on the atrium and thus does not discuss the *alae* as distinct units.[44] More recently, Allison has explored the activities carried out within Pompeian houses by studying the finds in a sample of 30 houses.[45] Allison rejects the use of Vitruvian labels for the rooms in her study and suggests a different terminology. As noted above, the *alae* fall into a category that she calls "open-fronted areas off the sides of front halls."[46] Allison records the presence in these rooms of storage fixtures and containers, lamps, caskets (small boxes/chests for valuable things), and building material. She ultimately interprets the *alae* as used for domestic storage, at least at the time of the eruption. Kastenmeier, in her study of the spaces associated with household activities in Pompeian houses, also discusses the connection between *alae* and storage in a section devoted to that topic.[47] The implications of these more recent studies are contextualized more fully below, following the presentation of the survey data.

THE *ALAE* OF POMPEII'S REGIO VI: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CASE STUDY

Documenting the Alae: A Note on Methodology

This case study focuses on the *alae* of Pompeian houses in Regio VI, where 48 houses with one or more *alae* were identified (fig. 2).[48] Regio VI was chosen because of its residential character, its place among the earliest areas of residential building during Pompeii's

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[38] Hallier 1987, 200–5. Corso and Romano (in Gros 1997, 918 n. 110) suggest that Vitruvius was probably referring to standard proportions that had already been established.

[39] Tamm 1973.

[40] Tamm 1973, 55, 60.

[41] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 1994, 1997; De Albentiis 1990a; Clarke 1991; Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995; Pesando 1997; Zanker 1998; Dickmann 1999; Ellis 2000; Allison 2001a (overview of recent studies and approaches), 2004a; Hales 2003; Bowes 2010.

[42] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 1994.

[43] Pesando 1997, 105 n. 251.

[44] Dickmann 1999, 38–9.

[45] Allison 2004a.

[46] Allison 2004a, 77–8, 167.

[47] Kastenmeier 2007, 46–8. See also Budde's (1940) discussion of movable furniture and mention of the conversion of *alae* into cupboards/pantries.

[48] This case study is the starting point of a larger project that encompasses the entire excavated area of the site as well as the evidence for houses with *alae* found elsewhere in Italy (e.g., Herculaneum, Cosa, Rome, Fregellae, and Paestum).
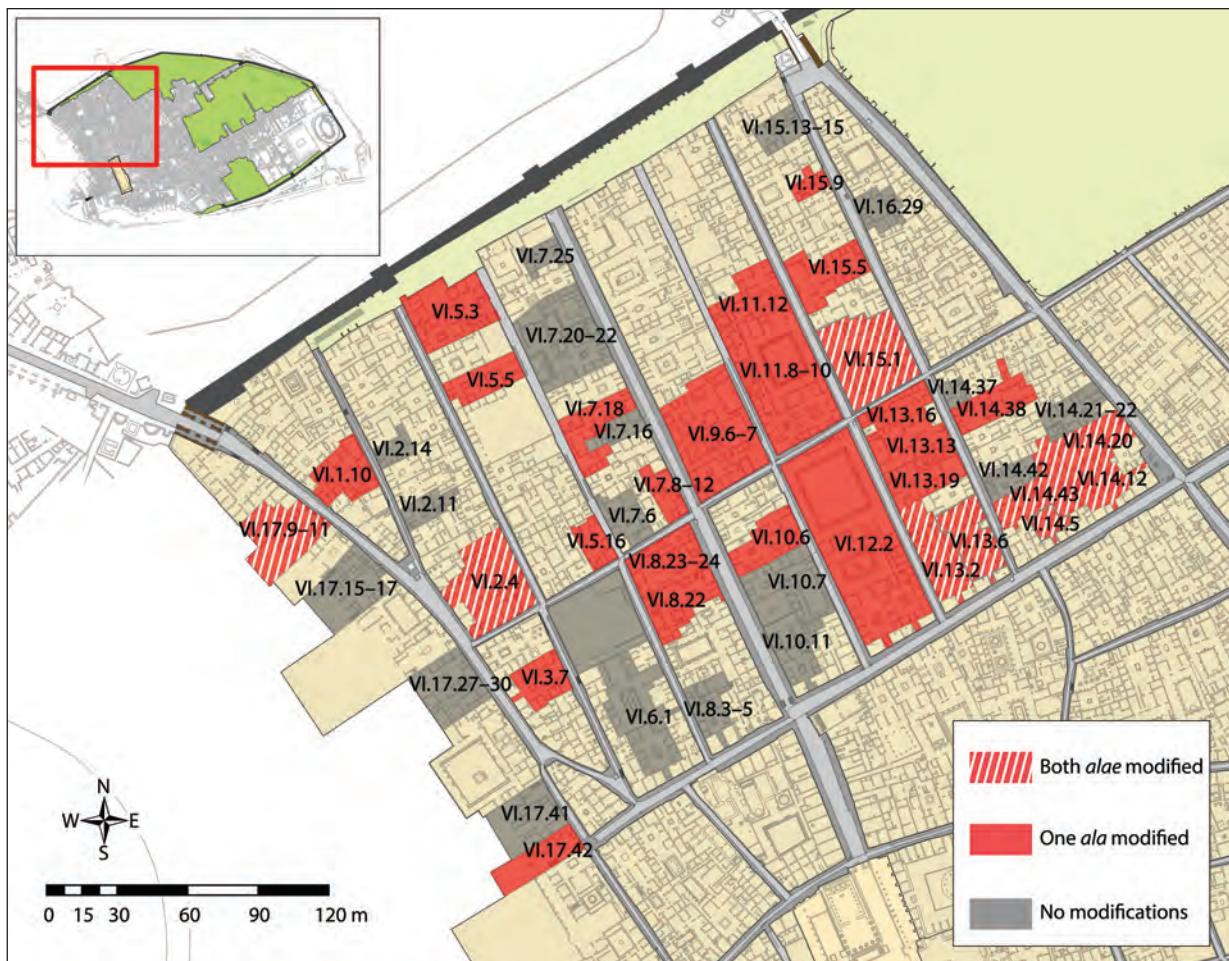
FIG. 2. Plan of Regio VI in Pompeii, showing houses with both modified and unmodified *alae* (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

urban development, and the opportunity it consequently provides to study changes in domestic space over time.[49] Moreover, Regio VI has recently been the subject of intense scientific explorations and scholarly publications that have enhanced our understanding of the occupation phases of this area.[50] The initial data set of houses discussed here was gathered by consulting plans and descriptions (e.g., architectural features, wall and floor decoration) of the houses of Regio VI found in secondary literature. This phase of research was complemented by three seasons of systematic architectural survey at Pompeii designed to document architectural features and decoration (when preserved) in the *alae* of the houses selected for the study. Attempts to consider movable objects and furniture recovered in the *alae* were for the most part unsuccessful because of the paucity of information provided in the accounts of early excavations of Pompeii and the lack of objects recovered in more recent investigations.

The choice of Regio VI posed some limitations with respect to both the availability and the quality of the data. Since this region was one of the first areas of Pompeii to be unearthed, primarily in the late 18th and

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[49] On the development and spatial arrangement of Regio VI, see Schoonhoven 2006. On its residential character, see esp. Schoonhoven 2006, 174–88.

[50] For the Progetto Regio VI, see Coarelli 2005, 2008; Coarel-

li and Pesando 2006; Zaccaria Ruggiu and Maratini 2008; Vezár-Bass and Oriolo 2009; Pesando 2010. For the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii, see Jones and Robinson 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Jones 2008.

19th centuries, the documentation of these early investigations is at best incomplete; in other cases, early techniques of excavation and inadequate methodology compromised irrevocably the amount and quality of the information gathered, especially for specific finds, movable objects, and organic material.[51] Moreover, most insulae have suffered from the especially long exposure to the elements, which has greatly affected the preservation of the structures, their features, and their decoration. Finally, limited access to houses in the field, a few of which were totally inaccessible, prohibited full documentation of features.

Anyone who has worked at Pompeii immediately recognizes the inherent difficulties in taking measurements and documenting features within houses. While the state of preservation allows scholars to create full ground plans of many of the houses, the combination of both ancient and modern restoration works complicates many of the details of individual spaces. For this survey, measurements were taken of the *alae* as well as individual features observed within them. In some cases, these measurements are, by necessity, approximations because of the irregularity of surfaces and conditions of preservation. Common obstacles include varying levels of preserved plaster on walls, modern consolidation efforts, vegetation, and the impact of long exposure, as well as the buildup of debris from more recent times.

Certain limitations should also be mentioned with regard to chronology and the dating of various modifications observed in the *alae*. Observations documented below are based on existing archaeological evidence and recorded features and are complemented, when possible, by more recent excavation reports. In most cases, these data suggest that such modifications were undertaken subsequent to the *alae*'s original construction; examples include masonry works that overlie mosaic floors, holes that disrupt painted decoration on walls, added thresholds, and secondary wall constructions abutting the walls of an *ala*. On the one hand, the relative chronological phasing of recorded features with respect to the life of the house can usually be established. On the other hand, absolute dates and refined chronological phasing for houses in Pompeii is more difficult and, in general, I have avoided attempting to date changes to a specific period unless corroborating evidence permits it.

While the conventional terminology applied to certain spaces within the Roman house creates a rather static correlation between definition and perceived function, it is nevertheless essential to classify the *alae* in terms of their architectural form and repeated features. The term "ala" is used here to refer to distinct spaces commonly associated with the plan of atrium-style houses that exhibit the following characteristics: (1) they are located off the sides of the atrium, most often in the back but also in the middle or front; (2) they number one or two; and (3) with the passing exception of short extensions of the wall ends, they are completely open to the atrium along their width—that is, they have no doors or other features that would limit free-flowing access. The only doors leading from the *alae* directly onto the atrium are the result of later transformations of that space, and, in general, the various modifications discussed in this article are associated with later constructions and/or restorations that redefine or disrupt the characteristics presented above. As expected (and, as noted earlier), scale and proportion vary and thus do not always conform to Vitruvius' prescriptions for the dimensions of this space in relation to the rest of the house. Not surprisingly, while there are some observable patterns, the number and position of *alae* are inconsistent, once again reinforcing the dynamic nature of domestic space and the need to resist adherence to strict, standardized, or monolithic definitions.

The Results of the Survey

Of the 102 houses identified by Eschebach in Regio VI, almost half (n=48) present at least one *ala*. The *alae* total 79 in all.[52] Because three of the house plans display more than one atrium (i.e., Casa del Fauno [VI.12.2], Casa del Labirinto [VI.11.10], and Casa della Fontana Piccola [VI.8.23–4]), data concerning the location and frequency are necessarily based on the total number of atria (i.e., 51 atria from the 48 houses identified with *alae*) and not the total number of houses. Most *alae* (65 of the 79 documented *alae*), whether single or double, are located at the far end of the atrium. Of the remaining *alae*, four were located at the front of the atrium; eight were located in the center; and two occupy the entire depth of the atrium. The occurrence of two *alae* in an atrium is slightly more frequent (28 of 51 atria) than the presence of one *ala*. When two *alae* are present, they are located at the back of the atrium with only two exceptions: House VI.11.12, where the *alae* take up the entire length of the atrium, and Casa del Fauno (VI.12.2), where the

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[51] Allison (1992; 2004a, 30–4) discusses the nature and limitations of the early documentary sources and posteruption disturbance.

[52] For the number of houses in Regio VI, see Eschebach

1993, 457, 465. In the case of those houses in the Insula Occidentalis that are entirely or partially no longer visible, I have relied on the description provided by Eschebach.

two *alae* on the tetrastyle atrium oppose each other at the center. Single *alae* can be located in the back, front, or center position.

A little more than half of the *alae* (40 of the 79 documented *alae*) show no signs of architectural modification or additional features (see fig. 2). Several large, early atrium houses are among those that display unmodified *alae*, including the Casa di Pansa (VI.6.1) (online figs. 2, 3) and Casa del Naviglio (VI.10.11). In these plans, the space of the *ala(e)* is enclosed on three sides but extends open and unimpeded onto the atrium.

Among the *alae* surveyed, almost half (39 of 79) have documented evidence of modifications to incorporate new features, such as built-in cupboards, thresholds and wall extensions, wall cupboards, shelves/racks, lofts, staircases, and passageways. Table 1 records the feature types documented for each of the 39 *alae* with modifications. It should be noted that in some cases, more than one feature is present (e.g., both shelves and a staircase built into an *ala*, or a doorway closed off before a built-in cupboard was installed); in these cases, each feature is recorded separately in the statistics. Each feature type is documented below as a distinct category. For each type, a brief introduction notes the frequency of occurrences within the survey sample, in addition to outlining the primary physical remains associated with that particular feature. The introduction is followed by a selection of houses with *alae* that exhibit the feature type. Each example is presented with measurements, a detailed description and discussion of the *ala* and its documented features, an interpretive analysis that also takes into consideration previous interpretations, and a discussion of chronology.

Built-In Cupboards. This feature has been assigned to five, possibly eight, of the 39 *alae* documented with modifications (see table 1). Observable, physical remains associated with this feature include low masonry walls built into the *ala*, usually along its three walls and across the front. In some cases, holes of varying number and position are visible on the walls at heights ranging from about 1 to 2 m from the floor. In addition to these structural modifications, the absence of wall decoration (i.e., the presence of only plaster) or the retention of an earlier style of wall decoration pro-

vides secondary supporting evidence for this feature. Four examples are described below: Accademia di Musica (VI.3.7), Casa di Adone Ferito (VI.7.18), Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI.17.Ins.Occ.42), and Casa dei Dioscuri (VI.9.6) (fig. 3).

The Accademia di Musica (VI.3.7) has a single *ala* along the south side of the atrium at the back (fig. 4). The room measures 2.43 m wide x 4.23 m deep. The walls of the *ala* are constructed in *opus incertum*, and the ends of the side walls are reinforced by courses of brick-sized Nocera tuff blocks.[53] The walls, which present traces of modern consolidation, are preserved up to the height of the second floor, where holes for joists are visible. Plaster remains partially preserved on all three walls; likewise, an *opus signinum* mosaic floor with black and white tesserae is still visible. The entire southern (back) half of the *ala* is occupied by a low stone masonry structure; the depth of the structure from its front to the back of the *ala* is 2.40 m. The four sides of the structure consist of thin, low walls about 0.15 m wide x 0.30 m high; these walls are made of small limestone blocks and are plastered and painted on the interior. They run along the south wall of the *ala* and the southern portions of the *ala*'s eastern and western walls. The front of the structure (i.e., its north side) consists of six reused tuff blocks that create two steps; the top step incorporates a fragmentary Latin inscription with six letters partially preserved (online fig. 4). Two holes are visible on the western side of the *ala* at a height of 2.08 m from the top of the built structure, aligned in the southwest corner and the middle of the wall. A corresponding hole in the southeast corner of the east wall of the *ala* is preserved at the same height, while modern restoration in the middle of the east wall perhaps obscures a hole that would have corresponded to that on the east.

Fiorelli interpreted the features described above as fixtures for an *armarium promptuarium*, or a storage cupboard used for clothes.[54] According to Fiorelli, the low walls represented the foundation of an elevated cupboard; wooden planks would have then been placed on top of the masonry base to form the bottom of the cabinet, elevating it above the floor—a common strategy in storage areas and granaries to protect contents from the humidity of the ground.[55] The

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[53] De Albentiis 1990b, 107–8.

[54] Fiorelli 1875, 92–3: "Questa mostra l'atrio tuscanico con impluvium nel mezzo f ancheggiato da quattro cubicoli e un'ala, ove altri credettero di ravvisare un bagno, ma che a me sembra l'imbasamento di un armadio di legno. Stanno difatti nei muri laterali quattro fori per *repagula*, che ne abbracciavano tutta quanta l'ampiezza e sulla parete di fronte le vestigia di due assi verticali anche di legno, ognuna a modo di

replum per obliterare le unioni delle tavole, onde n'era composto il fondo: di talchè tutto parmi costituisse un *armarium promptuarium*, spartito in due contiguazioni, l'una superiore e sollevata dal pavimento per le vesti, l'altra inferiore e depressa a guisa di arca, costruita in fabbrica per preservare gli abiti dall'umidità del suolo."

[55] Rickman 1971, 215–26; Bell 1988, 321–24; Adam 1989, 196.

TABLE 1. List of *alae* with documented modifications by feature type.

Alae with Documented Modifications	Built-In Cupboards	Closed-Off Rooms	Niches	Racks/ Shelves	Lofts	Stair-cases	Doors/ Passageways	Misc.
VI.1.10 (Chirurgo), right	–	–	x	–	–	–	?	–
VI.2.4 (Sallustio), right	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–
VI.2.4 (Sallustio), left	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.3.7 (Accademia di Musica)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.5.3 (Nettuno)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.5.5 (Granduca Michele)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.5.16, right	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.7.8–12 (Bottega del Profumiere), right	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.7.18 (Adone Ferito)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.8.22 (Fontana Grande), left	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
VI.8.23–4 (Fontana Piccola)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.9.6 (Dioscuri)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
VI.10.6, left	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x
VI.11.10 (Labirinto), left	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–
VI.11.12, left	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–
VI.12.2 (Fauno), Tuscan atrium, left	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.13.2 (Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro), left	–	x	–	–	x	?	x	–
VI.13.2 (Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro), right	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x
VI.13.6 (Forno di Ferro), left	–	–	–	–	?	x	x	–
VI.13.6, (Forno di Ferro) right	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.13.13, right	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–
VI.13.16, right	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
VI.13.19 (Pompeius Axiochus), left	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.14.5 (Cinque Consolati), left	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–
VI.14.5 (Cinque Consolati), right	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–
VI.14.12, left	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	?
VI.14.12, right	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.14.20 (Orfeo), right	x	–	–	–	–	–	x	x
VI.14.20 (Orfeo), left	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
VI.14.38	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
VI.14.43 (Scienziati), right	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.14.43 (Scienziati), left	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.15.1 (Vettii), left	?	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.15.1 (Vettii), right	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
VI.15.5 (Pupius Rufus), left	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–
VI.15.9 (Doppio Impluvio)	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–
VI.17.Ins.Occ.9–11, right	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI.17.Ins.Occ.9–11, left	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–
VI.17.Ins.Occ.42 (Bracciale d'Oro)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
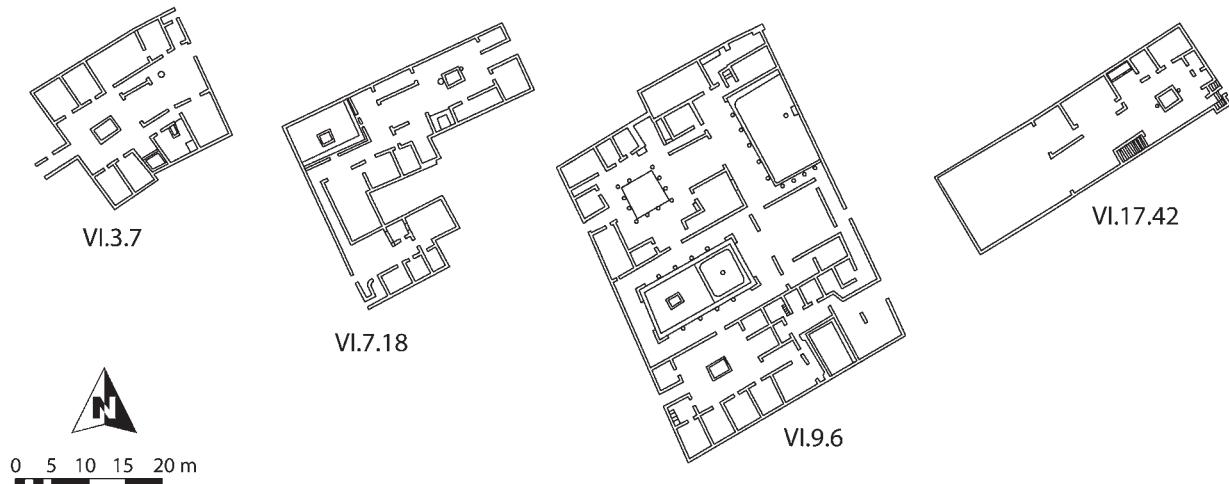
FIG. 3. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include built-in cupboards (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

presence of holes in the west and east walls suggests that the wooden frame of the cupboard was anchored into the *ala*. Fiorelli's reference to two vertical wooden boards against the *ala*'s south wall would seem to confirm the original wooden structure of the cupboard.[56] Elsewhere I have offered a possible reconstruction of this cupboard based on the visible modifications to the *ala* and the features of smaller, movable cupboards from Pompeii and Herculaneum.[57]

The low masonry structure that serves as the base of the cupboard was built directly over the *opus signinum* mosaic floor, which De Albentiis dates to the first century B.C.E., and it thus provides a terminus post quem for construction.[58] This relative date is supported by the Latin inscription incorporated into the structure. The inscription reads "D·D·FAC·C" and can be assigned to a public building erected by decree of the town councilors (D[*ecreto*] D[*ecurionum*]) after the foundation of the Roman colony in Pompeii in 80 B.C.E. The circumstances under which the stone became available for reuse are unknown, although if, as De Albentiis suggests, the earthquake of 62 C.E. destroyed the original building, this would further refine the chronology of this particular feature.[59]

The Casa di Adone Ferito (VI.7.18) has a single *ala* at the back of the atrium along its south side; there are no rooms along the north side of the atrium (fig. 5).

FIG. 4. Accademia di Musica (VI.3.7), Pompeii, *ala* with masonry base and step.

[56] Fiorelli 1875, 93.

[57] Cova 2013, 378, f g. 3. For a description of freestanding cupboards (armaria), see Croom 2007, 124–32; De Carolis 2007, 132–140. On wooden cupboards from Herculaneum, see Mols 1999, 55–62, 130–32, cat. nos. 35–40.

[58] De Albentiis 1990b, 92.

[59] De Albentiis 1990b, 93.

FIG. 5. Casa di Adone Ferito (VI.7.18), Pompeii, view of the *ala* with masonry base and brick jambs.

The *ala* measures 3.10 m wide x 2.09 m deep. The walls of the *ala* are constructed in *opus incertum*, with traces of plaster (with paint?) on the south and east walls. A U-shaped, low foundation of stone and mortar, which is about 0.30 m high, occupies most of the *ala*'s space (online fig. 5). The foundation runs across the front and along the east and west walls, up to the back wall of the *ala*, creating a hollow, central space (depth 1.36 m x wdth. 1.53 m). The construction directly overlies a Second Style *cocciopesto* floor with travertine chips, which is still visible in the center.[60] The foundation extends about 1.90 m from the back of the *ala* to its front; it is faced with bricks, originally plastered and painted, along the side facing out onto the atrium. The low walls that make up this foundation are approximately 0.45 m wide along the sides with a maximum width of about 0.50 m along the front, including the brickwork. A lip, created by a slightly projecting lower course of bricks, runs along the front (see online fig. 5). The open front of the *ala* is partially blocked by two brick wall extensions built against its side walls; the extensions measure approximately 0.26 m deep and have a width of approximately 0.31 m on the west and 0.38 m

on the east, partially enclosing the front. There are no holes visible on the preserved portion of the walls.

The U-shaped foundation would have served as a base for elevating the floor of a built-in cupboard similar to the one conjectured for the Accademia di Musica. The wall extensions, which likely served as jambs for wooden doors to close off the cupboard from the atrium, offer an interesting variation. The presence of doors is in fact suggested also by the lip running along the front of the brick facing, which would have accommodated them once they were closed. The lack of holes, which could have been used to anchor a cupboard (as postulated for the Accademia di Musica), suggests that the walls of the *ala* may have served as the side/back walls of the cupboard. Without the evidence of holes, we cannot reconstruct built-in shelving within the *ala*; however, some type of independent shelving unit could have been placed inside.

The installation of the cupboard clearly postdates the original construction of the *ala*, since its U-shaped foundation was built on the earlier Second Style floor. Likewise, the wall extensions in *opus latericium* visibly abut the side of the *ala* and suggest they are subsequent

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[60] Bragantini et al. 1983, 150; Sampaolo 1993, 404.

modifications. Sampaolo suggests an early first-century C.E. date for these modifications, given that at that time other parts of the house had been modified and redecorated in Third Style.[61] Nevertheless, it is difficult to move beyond a relative date without more corroborating evidence.

The only *ala* of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI.9.6), which measures 2.95 m wide x 3.37 m deep, is located in the back of the atrium on the north side (online fig. 6). The *ala*'s walls, built in *opus incertum* and *opus africanum*, preserve portions of painted decoration that is no longer legible but was previously identified by Overbeck and Mau as a simple Second Style wall painting imitating marble paneling.[62] Likewise, the *ala*'s antae, which frame the opening onto the atrium, now display only traces of the First Style painted decoration of white and red stucco.[63] A low wall (ht. ca. 0.33–0.34 m x wdth. ca. 0.18 m) made of small, irregular blocks of Sarno stone and tuff stretches along the back and side walls. Approximately 2.96 m deep from the front of the *ala*, it preserves evidence of (painted?) plaster. The wall directly overlies a *cocciopesto* floor now covered by a layer of pebbles. Unlike the previous examples, the low wall does not continue across the front of the *ala*. A single hole is preserved in the upper portion of the *ala*'s back wall, near the northeast corner. On the *ala*'s west wall near the south corner, a small door was walled; its original threshold is still visible in the adjacent cubiculum. An arca base made of lava stone was uncovered against the *ala*'s east wall, but it is no longer visible.[64] A second, larger arca base found against the north atrium wall between the opening of the *ala* and the door of the adjacent room is still in situ.[65] Limestone blocks at the back of the *ala*, which do not seem to represent a collapse, were likely placed there in more modern times.

Overbeck and Mau considered the Second Style wall decoration in the *ala* (which they saw as anachronistic in light of the Fourth Style decoration in the rest of the house) as evidence for the presence of a large cupboard that took up the entire width of the *ala* and

covered the walls up to a considerable height.[66] They do not mention the low foundation wall built within the *ala*; however, since this construction has been documented as a common element of built-in cupboards, their interpretation perhaps assumes its presence. This *ala* exhibits characteristics similar to those of the *alae* with built-in cupboards discussed above. Nevertheless, the absence of a low wall across the front of the *ala* represents a rather significant variation. To consider the low wall along the back and the side walls of the *ala* as the base for a large built-in cupboard, we should imagine an additional construction, perhaps wooden and thus no longer extant, across the width of the *ala*. Richardson suggested instead that several cupboards lined the walls of the *ala*; although he does not mention it, we should assume that they also would have been resting on top of the elevated floor supported by the low foundation wall.[67] Hollow, cylindrical bone elements (commonly used for hinges) found in the *ala* confirm the presence of cabinets or cupboards.[68] The absence of holes on the walls (with the exception of the single hole mentioned earlier), which would have anchored a large built-in cupboard to the *ala* or indicated its internal shelving, could make Richardson's suggestion of multiple smaller cupboards more plausible. In light of the nearby arcae and the possibility that the *ala* contained cupboards, Richardson imagined the *ala* as an office where the owner ran his business and where documents and archives were kept.[69] However, there is no sufficient evidence to support such a detailed reconstruction.

That the low foundation wall rests on top of the original *cocciopesto* floor indicates that this feature was added subsequently to the building of the *ala* and the paving of the *ala*'s floor. Moreover, Overbeck and Mau's earlier classification of the wall decoration as Second Style provides a terminus post quem for the installation of the cupboard(s).[70]

The final plan of the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI.17.Ins.Occ.42) consisted of three levels resting on the western city walls. The level accessible from the

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[61] Sampaolo 1993, 399.

[62] Mau 1882, 258; Overbeck and Mau 1884, 336–37.

[63] For a description of the *ala* and its features, see also Richardson 1955, 25–6, 97.

[64] The arca was discovered on 19 July 1828, just a few days after a larger one was brought to light in the atrium against the wall that separates the opening of the *ala* and the door of the adjacent cubiculum. Fiorelli 1862, 214–15: "A 19 detto si discoprì un'altra cassa simile all'antecedente, ma più piccola e meno elegante, e vi si raccolse fra molti pezzi di guernizioni di bronzo e di ferro, una serratura col semplice lucchetto, un bassorilievo rappresentante un cane appiattato nel fondo della mentovata cassa ed un busto di una divinità forse di una Fortuna, che aveva in custodia lo scrigno, e che doveva essere

situata nel mezzo del suo coverchio nella parte interna"; see also Overbeck and Mau 1884, 336; Richardson 1955, 17.

[65] Fiorelli 1862, 214.

[66] Mau 1882, 258; Overbeck and Mau 1884, 336–37.

[67] Richardson 1955, 26.

[68] Fiorelli 1862, 216–17: "Nella stanza prossima alla picciola cassa mentovata, in un terreno tuttosmosso e ricercato, si raccolsero de' tubi d'osso forati." For the identif cation of hollow, cylindrical bone objects as parts of hinges for furniture, see Overbeck and Mau 1884, 425; Mols 1999, 107–9, f g. 29; Allison 2004a, 52; 2006, 30.

[69] Richardson 1955, 26.

[70] Supra n. 66.

Vico del Farmacista displays a large atrium devoid of tablinum or rooms along its south side. A single *ala* approximately 3.26 m wide x 3.70 m deep is located at the end of the north side of the atrium. The walls, built in *opus incertum*, have been partly restored. A massive Sarno block sits upright in the center of the *ala*. Preserved portions of painted plaster wall decoration in Third Style, as well as a well-preserved mosaic floor with mosaic threshold, also in Third Style, are visible.[71] A low masonry structure along all three sides and across the *ala* occupies its entire width and measures approximately 1.30 m deep to the back of the *ala* (fig. 6). The front and back low walls of the built-in structure vary in thickness; the back wall measures approximately 0.10 m wide x 0.25 m high, while the front wall is slightly thicker at approximately 0.26 m wide x 0.27–29 m high. Only traces remain of the structure along the side walls of the *ala*.

The structure built into the *ala* was previously described as a "podio" (platform), a "Brüstung" (parapet), or even a bed.[72] More recently, Ciardiello has provided a different interpretation of the space. She states that it was originally used as a *cubiculum* before being turned into an *ala* (in a phase she dates to the end of the first century B.C.E. based on the wall decoration); she suggests that in a third phase the *ala* was used as an *apotheca* with the addition of a cupboard supported by a masonry base.[73] The evidence that Ciardiello provides to support the interpretation of the space as being initially used as a *cubiculum* (i.e., a room with a bed) is not compelling: she comments on the particular arrangement of the mosaic floor decoration (without specifying what aspect of the decoration would suggest the presence of a bed) and mentions that a step marked the original space of a bed (although it is unclear whether this "step" should be identified with the low wall of the base that runs across the width of the *ala*). Her statement that the room was then "trasformato in ala" is similarly perplexing, since it is unclear what feature might define the space as such.

Only a relative date for the installation of the feature can be determined with any confidence, based on its relationship to decoration found in the *ala*. The base sits directly on top of a Third Style mosaic floor and

FIG. 6. Casa del Bracciale D'Oro (VI.17.Ins.Occ.42), Pompeii, *ala* with masonry base.

partially covers Third Style wall decorations, thus providing a terminus post quem of the late first century B.C.E. for its construction. Ciardiello has attempted to refine this date even further by suggesting that the feature should be dated to the first century C.E. based on the presence of two distinct phases of Third Style wall decoration.[74]

Closed-Off Rooms. In some cases, the *ala* includes architectural features that render it as a more firmly demarcated space closed off from the atrium. This modification is most often characterized by masonry walls built across the front of the *ala* and framing a door. In some cases, a threshold is added. Five *alae* from four houses provide evidence for this type of modification (see table 1): examples come from the Bottega del Profumiere (VI.7.8–12) and House VI.13.13 (fig. 7).

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[71] Sampaolo 1996, 57.

[72] For "podio," see Sampaolo 1993, 57–8. Eschebach (1993, 239) refers to it as a parapet. While describing the Third Style mosaic f oor as being "coperto nel lato N dallo scalino dell'alcova sovrapposto," Bragantini et al. (1986, 8–9) imply that the structure at the back of the *ala* was a bed—a suggestion followed by Sampaolo (1993, 44), who states that the *ala* was turned into a *cubiculum*.

[73] Ciardiello 2006, 71–2.

[74] Ciardiello (2006, 97) has argued that the Third Style decoration of the walls was painted at different times: the north and east walls display an early Third Style decoration ("a candelabri"), while the west wall presents a different design, which belongs to the full Third Style. Ciardiello concludes that the cupboard was added at the same time as the decoration of the west wall, probably in the early f rst century C.E.
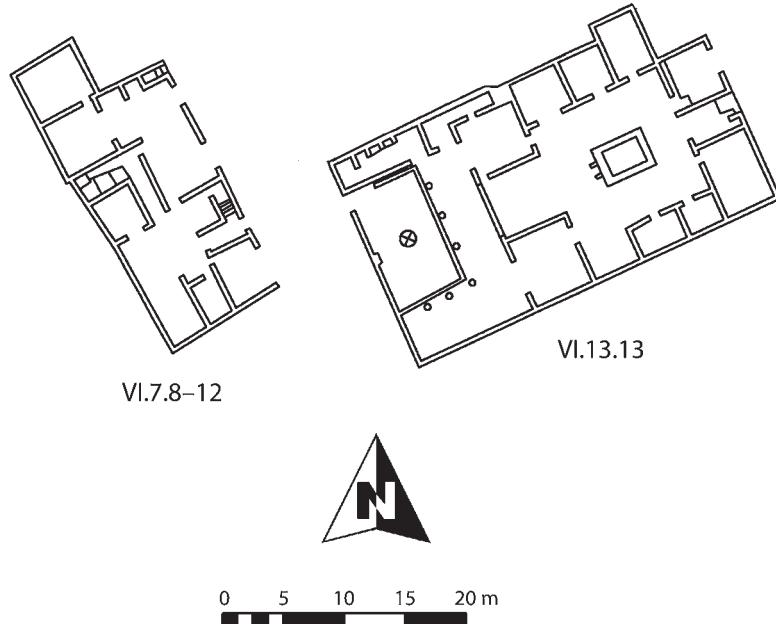
FIG. 7. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include closed-off rooms (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

The Bottega del Profumiere (VI.7.8–12), which, despite the name, seems to have combined living quarters and a carpenter's shop and workshop, has two *alae* at the back of the atrium. Both *alae* have walls in *opus incertum* and show signs of modern consolidation (esp. the upper portion of the right *ala*'s back wall). Second Style wall decoration was documented in the left *ala* (wdth. 3.28 m x depth 3.96 m), which shows no evidence of modification.[75] In the right *ala*, which is irregularly shaped (depth 3.38 m, with varying widths in the front [3.22 m] and back [3.84 m]), a window is open in the back wall, and the opening onto the atrium is partially closed by two wall extensions and a door (a threshold is not visible) (online fig. 7). The preserved wall extension that abuts the *ala*'s west wall (which is also the atrium's back wall) is 0.94 m wide x 0.25 m deep; it was built in *opus incertum* and seems to have been heavily restored in modern times. What is left of the eastern extension measures 0.63 m wide on the side along the atrium and 0.26 m deep. It was built in *opus vittatum mixtum* with alternating rows of bricks and tuff/limestone blocks. On this extension, traces of painted plaster that continue from the east extension onto the side wall of the *ala* show that the *ala* was repainted after it was closed off from the atrium.

That the extensions abut the east and west walls of the *ala* and present different techniques and materials suggests that they were built subsequent to the *ala*'s original construction; however, it is not possible to provide a more specific date.

House VI.13.13 has two *alae* positioned opposite each other at the back of the atrium. The left *ala* on the south side of the atrium shows no modifications. The right *ala*, which is 3.77 m wide x 3.26 m deep, has walls in *opus incertum*. The wall extensions, which partially close the opening onto the atrium and frame a threshold (lgth. 2.41 m), are constructed in *opus vittatum mixtum* and measure approximately 0.70 m wide x 0.40 m deep (fig. 8). The threshold is made of two reused thresholds, one in lava stone (wdth. 1.47 m x depth ca. 0.37 m) and the other in limestone (wdth. 0.66 m x ca. depth 0.36 m); the threshold has a carved, horizontal lip running across its length, which acts as a doorstop and indicates that the double doors (squared fittings for the cardines are visible on both ends) opened into the *ala* from the atrium. Small, circular cuts in the middle of the new threshold mark the spots where the vertical bars of the locking mechanism would be inserted. The reused thresholds also show marks from their previous uses, including circular

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[75] Bragantini 1993, 394, f g. 4.

FIG. 8. House VI.13.13, Pompeii, view of the right *ala*, which is closed off by jambs in *opus vittatum mixtum* and a door with a threshold. Note the holes for shelving along the side and back walls.

fittings for cardines. Two small slabs of lava stone, which are partially covered by the wall extensions, were placed on either side of the threshold. On the back (north, opposite the threshold) and side walls of the *ala*, at least two rows of holes are visible, in regular alignment, at heights of approximately 1.10–1.17 m and 1.88–1.93 m, respectively. There are a total of 15 holes preserved. On the north wall, the lowest row is made up of four holes; the top row is no longer preserved because of modern restoration (online fig. 8). On the west wall, there are two rows of three holes, while on the east wall three holes are preserved on the bottom row and two on the top. All three walls were covered with white plaster (still partially visible); horizontal grooves impressed into the plaster are visible

at the height of the holes on the bottom row. Along the bottom of the north wall, there is a low, narrow, poorly preserved masonry construction that runs for a length of about 1.20 m and measures only 0.06 m deep, sloping toward the east.

The consistent order and number of holes as well as their systematic alignment indicate that they anchored bearers for a shelving system in at least two rows—a conclusion supported by the presence of impressed grooves left in the plaster at the height of the lowest shelf, which indicate its original positioning. In 1879, Viola suggested that the *ala* may have been used as a library, reporting that the room preserved "banchi, ove erano fissati armadi di legno, ciò che fa congetturare che forse fu adibita a *bibliotheca*."[76] However, the discovery of five amphoras in this room suggests that it was used as a pantry for food storage, including perhaps wine.[77]

The wall extensions in *opus vittatum mixtum* and the presence of a threshold—a feature normally absent from *alae* and, in this case, clearly made from a mix of reused stones—establish a relative date for these modifications subsequent to the *ala*'s construction. While Gobbo contends that this construction can be dated to a restoration phase after the earthquake of 62 C.E., there is nothing that prohibits it from being earlier since its presence is linked to the modification of the *ala* and is not a response to the need for structural restoration.[78]

Niches. In one example, the Casa del Chirurgo (VI.1.10), a niche within the wall of the *ala* creates a recessed space. In the south (back) wall of the right *ala*, which measures 2.73 m wide x 3.10 m deep, a rectangular niche at 0.25 m above the surface of the *ala*'s floor measures approximately 0.70–0.72 m wide x 1.80 m high (fig. 9). The depth of the recessed area is approximately 0.24–0.27 m. Evidence for both plaster and paint is preserved in the bottom half of the niche, and the bottom ledge is "paved" with irregular clay fragments. The niche has been heavily restored in modern times. Although there is no preserved evidence for shelves, it is possible that the niche was used as a small cupboard. Recessed wall spaces like this are common in Pompeian houses, such as those examples documented by Allison, where she includes cupboards as a possible function.[79]

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[76] Viola 1879, 18; Sampaolo 1994a, 184, f g. 14.

[77] Gobbo 2009, 345–46. Although Gobbo describes the "lip" running along the base of the north wall as a "zoccolo per la posa di una struttura lignea" (base for a wooden structure) associated with the pantry, it is diff cult to understand how this might have worked.

[78] Gobbo 2009, 374–75.

[79] Allison 2004a, 43–8. Allison documents evidence of shelving and, possibly, furniture f ttings associated with various utilitarian domestic items in conjunction with several examples of this type of niche.

FIG. 9. Casa del Chirurgo (VI.1.10), Pompeii, right *ala* with door and niche in the south wall.

Racks and Shelves. Observable remains of this feature type include holes in regular alignment inserted into one or more walls of the *ala*. This feature type is documented in three examples (see table 1). Two examples (Casa del Labirinto [VI.11.10] and House VI.14.12) are described below (fig. 10). This particular feature type is combined with others in two instances: a staircase (in House VI.14.12) and a threshold with wall extensions (in House VI.13.13).

Two *alae* are present in the Casa del Labirinto (VI.11.10), at the back of the tetrastyle atrium. In the left *ala* (wdth. 3.12 m x depth 3.89 m), the walls are constructed in *opus incertum* with large Sarno blocks at the wall ends. Remains of plaster are visible on the south and west walls; likewise, remains of a *cocciopesto* floor (probably decorated with white tesserae in a meander design around the border as seen in the other *ala*) are also preserved. Moreover, a large (wdth. 2.65 m) window (0.85 m from the floor) in the west wall overlooks the Tuscan atrium. The remains of a "screen" in *opus*

incertum (wdth. 1.53 m x ht. 0.98 m), heavily consolidated in modern times, on top of the windowsill partially closes its opening (online fig. 9). In the south wall, two rows of four holes are visible at heights of about 1.70 m and 2.30 m from the floor, respectively (fig. 11).

Overbeck and Mau thought the *ala* had been turned into a cupboard (*Schrank*) or storage place (*Vorratskammer*), although they did not describe its features.[80] More recently, Strocka has also noted the use of the space for storage, referencing holes for shelves.[81]

The preserved holes described above can be interpreted as anchorage points for bearers used to support shelves or a rack, based on their regular arrangement and their relatively similar size. However, the height of the first row (1.70 m) above the floor is more characteristic of a rack hung on the wall for storage and out of the way than of shelves, which would have been more difficult to reach at this height. For example, in three shops in Herculaneum, similar racks (used for amphoras) published by Mols provide comparanda.[82] In these

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[80] Overbeck and Mau 1884, 344.
[81] Strocka 1991, 32.
[82] Mols 1999, 62; cat. no. 31, figs. 148, 149 (Insula VI.6); cat.

no. 32, figs. 150, 151 (Insula VI.12); cat. no. 33, figs. 152, 153 (Insula Orientalis II.9).
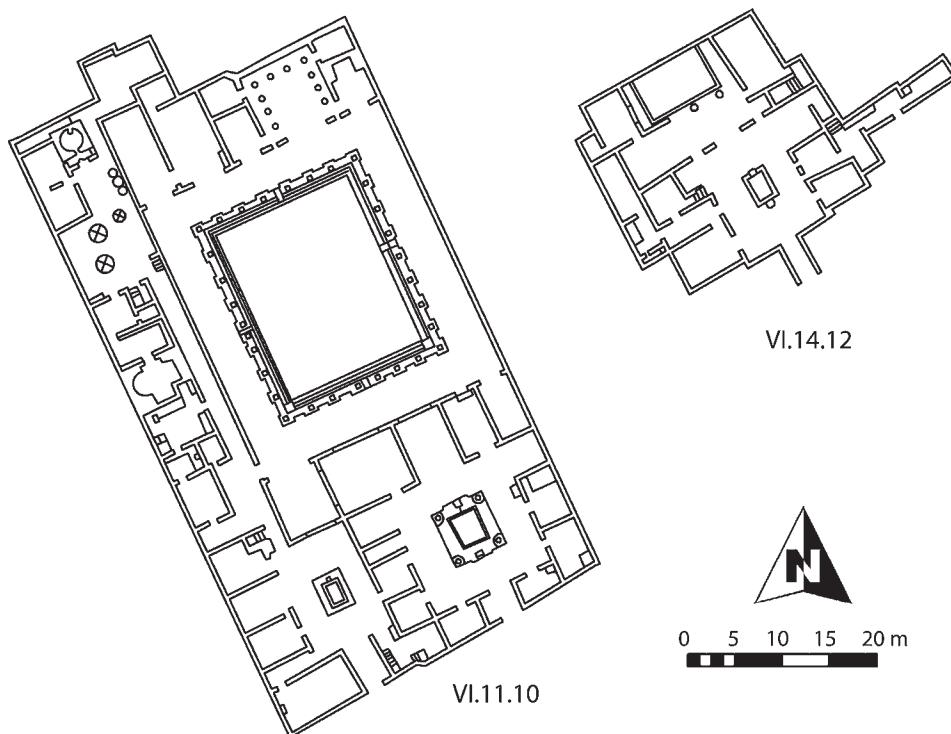
FIG. 10. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include racks/shelves (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

cases, the relative height of the rack's support system is comparable, ranging from approximately 1.80 m to 2.95 m. In the Casa del Labirinto, the holes would thus represent places where the bearers that supported the rack were inserted at two levels, as in the restored example from the shop of the Casa di Nettuno e Anfitrite (Herculaneum, Insula V.6).[83] Note, too, that the rack could have also been supported further if uprights were affixed to a ceiling joist.

Overbeck and Mau dated the use of the *ala* for storage to the last phase of the house. Strocka, too, dates this modification to the end of the house's occupation at the same time as the partial closing of the window in the west wall.[84] Although it is difficult to provide a precise date for the construction of the rack in this *ala*, it seems plausible that the *ala*'s transformation into storage space may have been contemporary with the addition of the window's masonry screen. The screen would have blocked the view across the two atria, which was perhaps deemed no longer desirable.

In House VI.14.12, there are two *alae* located at the back of the atrium; both have documented modifications. In the right *ala* (wdth. 3.50 m x depth 3.56 m), a door cut in the back wall gave access to a room behind it.[85] The left *ala* measures 3.60 m wide x 1.75 m deep (fig. 12). The walls of this *ala*, like the rest of the house, are constructed in *opus incertum* and show some modern consolidation; traces of painted plaster are visible in the northwest corner and along the base of the walls. Six holes of similar shape and size are preserved on the back (west) wall, arranged in three rows: a row of two holes at 0.76 m from the floor, one hole at 1.22 m, and a row of three holes at about 1.69 m. Another hole is visible in the north wall at 1.69 m from the floor. More holes may have been present originally and may now be concealed by modern wall restoration. Additionally, in the same *ala*, three steps of a stone staircase (wdth. ca. 0.90 m) made of a mix of Sarno stone, tuff blocks, and cobbles run east–west against the south wall.

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[83] Mols 1999, cat. no. 31, f gs. 148, 149; see also Maiuri 1958, 402–403; Croom 2007, 137; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 80–81.

[84] Strocka 1991, 31, 88; see also Kastenmeier 2007, 46–8.
[85] Peris Bulighin 2006, 127.

FIG. 11. Casa del Labirinto (VI.11.10), Pompeii, left *ala* on the Corinthian atrium, detail of south wall with holes for shelves.

FIG. 12. House VI.14.12, Pompeii, left *ala* with staircase and holes for shelves.

The regular arrangement of the holes on the back wall is consistent with a system to support shelves. It is likely that three rows of three bearers per row were inserted into the holes, fitted into the back of horizontal rails and possibly two (or three) uprights that were fixed into the ground. The bearers would have thus supported three rows of shelves. The hole on the adjacent north wall would have received the top rail to help anchor and stabilize the framework of the shelves. The shelves in this *ala* may have been similar to those discovered in a shop in Herculaneum (Insula V.12).[86] The relationship of the shelves to the staircase is difficult to ascertain since the staircase is only partially preserved.

Fiorelli suggested that the room behind the *ala*, which he called a "cubicolo," occupied part of the original space of the *ala*.[87] If the *ala* was indeed resized and if the back wall was rebuilt closer to the atrium, the staircase and the shelving system would represent later features added to the *ala*. The resizing of this *ala* would also account for its smaller size compared with the corresponding *ala* to the east (i.e., its depth is roughly half of that of the east *ala*). Unfortunately, there is no visible evidence at present to support Fiorelli's observation.

Lofts. This feature type is documented in three or possibly four *alae* in Regio VI (see table 1). Observable characteristics include rows of large, rectangular sockets aligned high on the walls of the *ala* (which are clearly not for the support of an upper floor) as well as impressions left by the feature in wall plaster. Examples from the Casa di Pupius Rufus (VI.15.5) and Casa del Doppio Impluvio (VI.15.9) are described below (fig. 13).

Two *alae* are located at the back of the atrium in the Casa di Pupius Rufus (VI.15.5). The right *ala* shows no signs of modification. The left *ala* measures 3.42 m wide x 3.16 m deep; the *ala*'s west and south walls are in *opus incertum* with substantial remains of a First Style decoration, while the east wall, built in *opus vittatum mixtum* (with bricks and tuff), displays remains of simple plaster. The First Style floor decoration, which is no longer visible, was *cocciopesto* with rows of white tesserae and a central meander design; a mosaic threshold with diamond patterns separated the *ala* from the atrium.[88] In the west wall, five sockets in a row are visible at a height of approximately 2.25–2.29 m (fig. 14). The first and the last are smaller than the

other three; a small hole in the west wall is located below the northernmost socket at a height of 1.09 m. Immediately above the line of sockets, a distinct groove disrupts the First Style wall decoration.

The row of sockets in the west wall is consistent with the original presence of a loft installed into the space of the *ala*.[89] Likewise, the groove running along the western wall represents an impression left by the original wooden planks of the loft's floor. Five joists would have been set into the sockets to support the loft's wooden floor. It is not clear how long the joists were—that is, whether the loft extended across the whole width of the *ala* or occupied only its western part. In fact, the upper portion of the east wall, where corresponding sockets for the joists would have been, is missing. If the loft occupied only a part of the *ala*, the joists would have rested on a horizontal support affixed to two upright vertical posts. The hole set into the west wall at a lower level could have been used for a smaller support that would have been attached to one of the vertical posts and would have further anchored the loft to the wall. It is possible that this lower support framed wooden panels that closed the exposed side of the space under the loft, as in the reconstructed example from the shop in the Casa di Nettuno e Anfitrite in Herculaneum (Insula V.6).[90] The loft would have been accessed via a movable ladder or through a wooden staircase built against the loft's floor—an interpretation based again on evidence from Herculaneum, such as the restored example from a shop in Insula Orientalis II.9.[91]

The wall decoration in the First Style on the west and south walls of the left *ala* provides only a terminus post quem for the construction of the loft that at present cannot be more precisely dated. In this *ala*, as well as in the rest of the house, there is clear evidence of restoration works that were either completed or ongoing at the time of the eruption. The east wall of this *ala* had been restored in *opus vittatum* and covered with plaster only, while restoration works in the same building technique are also visible in the atrium and the southeast corner of the right *ala*. Moreover, at the time of the eruption the walls of the atrium were only plastered, probably awaiting a new decoration. A pile of pozzolana, raw material used in restoration works, was found by excavators in the *ala*; more restoration material (crushed bricks used for *cocciopesto* floors) was found in another room on the same side of the

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[86] Maiuri 1958, 252, fig. 199; Mols 1999, cat. no. 34, figs. 154, 155; Croom 2007, 137. For a reconstruction drawing of the shelves based on the example from Herculaneum, see Cova 2013, 383, fig. 12.

[87] Fiorelli 1875, 428.

[88] Bragantini et al. 1983, 324; Sampaolo 1994b, 587, figs.

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13, 14.

[89] For a possible reconstruction drawing of this loft, see Cova 2013, 384, fig. 14.

[90] Maiuri 1958, 402–3; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 80–1.

[91] Adam 1989, 203–4, figs. 480, 481; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 276, 277.
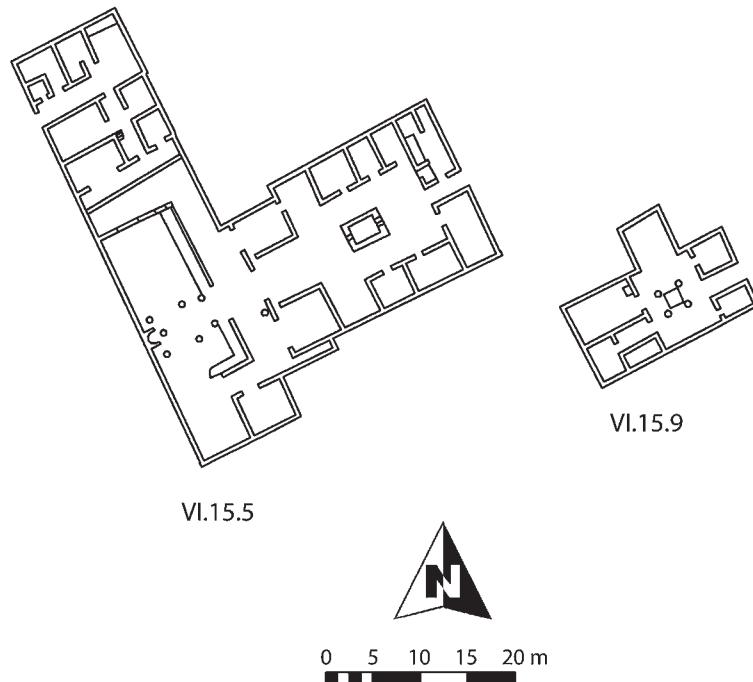
FIG. 13. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include lofts (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

atrium.[92] Allison has noted that the presence of pozzolana in the *ala* suggests that the room had "gone out of habitual use."[93]

The only *ala* of the Casa del Doppio Impluvio (VI.15.9), which measures 3.32 m wide x 3.98 m deep, is also the only room located along the north side of the house's tetrastyle atrium (fig. 15). The house has a second floor above the four sides of the atrium and around the compluvium, which was accessed by a staircase located in the atrium. The *ala*'s walls in *opus incertum* preserve portions of white plaster in the upper half and a black background decoration in the lower half identified by Schefold as Fourth Style.[94] The floor decoration in *opus signinum* with white marble fragments documented by Sampaolo is now covered by vegetation.[95] In the back (north) wall of the *ala*, there are eight large rectangular sockets (wdth. ca. 0.16 m x ht. ca. 0.37 m) similar to those in the Casa di Pupius Rufus (VI.15.5), although in this case they are lined with ceramic tiles.[96] The sockets are aligned at a height of about 3.30 m from the floor. On the east

FIG. 14. Casa di Pupius Rufus (VI.15.5), Pompeii, detail of sockets for loft in north wall of left *ala*; horizontal groove left by wooden planks is visible.

wall at roughly the same height as the sockets on the north wall, an opening of similar size, but not lined

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[92] Sogliano 1897, 22. On building materials left in *alae*, see Allison 2004a, 77–8. See also Anderson's (2011, 77–81) discussion of VI.15.5.

[93] Allison 2004b.

[94] Schefold 1957, 152.

[95] Sampaolo 1994c, 688–89.

[96] Adam (1989, 197) discusses the use of ceramic inside of supporting sockets to insulate wooden joists.

FIG. 15. Casa del Doppio Impluvio (VI.15.9), Pompeii, *ala* with sockets for loft in north wall.

with tiles, corresponds to a row of sockets on the other side of the wall (where there was a shop) and is likely the result of a partial collapse.

As in the Casa di Pupius Rufus, joists that supported the wooden floor of a loft would have been set into the sockets in the north wall. The loft took up the entire width of the *ala,* but its depth is uncertain. It is likely that it did not occupy the entire depth of the *ala,* since no sockets are documented above the *ala*'s lintel (which is, however, a modern replacement). Vertical posts set into the *ala*'s floor (traces of which cannot be identified because of the poor state of the floor's preservation) would have supported the loft, which would have been accessed via a ladder.

It is difficult to offer a precise date for the installation of the loft. The Fourth Style wall decoration noted by Schefold provides a terminus post quem for the loft, the sockets of which cut into the plastered wall.

Staircases. Observable physical remains of staircases include stone steps preserved to different heights, as well as masonry bases that served as platforms to

anchor the strings for wooden stairs that are no longer preserved. In some cases, holes in the wall may indicate the presence of supports for the staircase at higher levels; in other cases (although not in this sample) grooves left in the plaster may show the incline of the strings.[97] This feature has been documented in three, possibly five *alae* from Regio VI (see table 1). In two cases, the remains of the staircases are no longer visible but were documented in 19th-century reports.[98] The three preserved examples (House VI.13.16, Casa del Forno di Ferro [VI.13.6], and House VI.14.12) are discussed below (fig. 16).

House VI.13.16 features two *alae* positioned opposite each other at the back of the atrium. The left *ala* (wdth. 2.42 m x depth 1.40 m) is rather shallow and does not show any signs of modification. The right *ala* measures 2.26 m wide x 2.52 m deep; its north and east walls are built in *opus incertum* (fig. 17). The southern end of the east wall is reinforced by blocks of tuff and limestone. In the west wall, different construction techniques are visible: *opus vittatum mixtum*

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[97] On wooden staircases, see Adam 1989, 200–4.

[98] On the left *ala* of VI.13.2, see Fiorelli 1875, 422; see also

Eschebach 1993, 203; Loccardi 2009, 45–6. On the left ala of VI.17.Ins.Occ.17.9–11, see Eschebach 1993, 235.
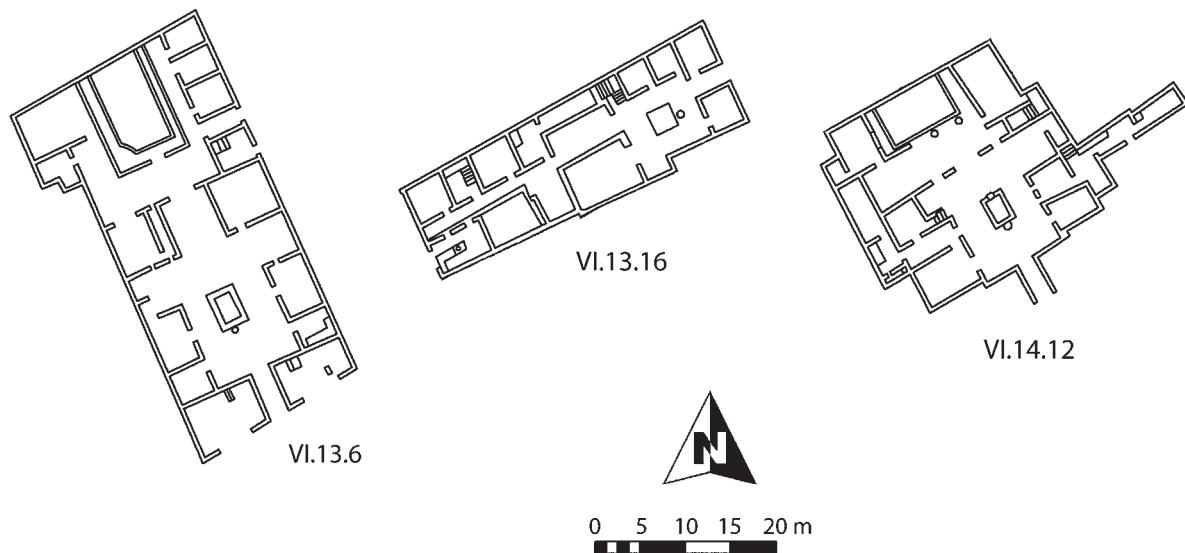
FIG. 16. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include stairs (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

in the southern part, tuff blocks in the northern part, and *opus incertum* in between and in the upper portion of the wall. The west wall (depth 1.40 m) does not extend to the back of the *ala*. All three walls display remains of simple plaster and have been consolidated in modern times. This *ala* is occupied by 12 steps supported by a fill of *opus incertum* underneath and originally plastered. Three blocks in limestone and two in lava, approximately 1.05 m wide, run south–north for a depth of 2.57 m from the front of the *ala* to the back wall. After a narrow landing, seven more lava steps, approximately 1.14 m wide, proceed east–west along the back wall to an upper floor. Zanier notes the presence of grooves for hinges on some of the steps, which indicate that the steps were reused.[99] The maximum preserved height of the staircase from the floor of the *ala* is 3.20 m.

An opening in the northern part of the west wall of the *ala* gave access to a corridor west of the *ala* prior to the construction of the stairs. Since the construction of the staircase blocked access to the corridor, it can be inferred that the staircase represents a later modification added after the construction of the *ala*. A more refined chronology is suggested by Zanier, who dates the atrium sector of this house to a major reconstruction phase in the Augustan period. She further suggests that the staircase was added later, possibly after

FIG. 17. House VI.13.16, Pompeii, right *ala* with stone staircase.

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[99] Zanier 2009, 413.

62 C.E., at a time when another staircase, which originally gave access to the upper floor, was damaged.[100]

In the Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI.13.6), the left *ala* measures 3.90 m wide x 3.46 m deep (fig. 18). The walls are constructed in *opus incertum* with Sarno blocks at the wall ends framing the opening onto the atrium. Remains of plaster are visible on the south wall. A door (wdth. 0.90 m x ht. 2.27 m x depth 0.40 m) in the back (west) wall of the *ala* is partially blocked by the remains of a fill in *opus incertum*. A smaller door (wdth. 0.84 m x ht. 1.57 m x depth 0.40 m) is visible in the southwest corner of the south wall. A low wall in *opus incertum* measuring approximately 0.66 m high, 1.25 m long, and 0.28 m deep rests perpendicularly against the fill of the door in the back wall. A hole in the western portion of the upper north wall is visible at approximately 2.60 m from the floor.[101]

The low wall built against the filled door in the back wall has been interpreted as supporting a wooden staircase that ran north–south against the *ala*'s back wall.[102] The low wall acted as a pedestal supporting the wooden strings of the stairs. Given that the surface of the pedestal (which is now heavily restored) would have been relatively high as an initial step for the staircase, it is likely that it originally had at least one other approach step.[103] The hole in the north wall may have been one of several anchoring the wooden staircase; unfortunately, the eastern part of this wall is not preserved. It is possible that the staircase gave access to a mezzanine or loft.

A relative date for the staircase base can be ascertained by considering its relationship to the door in the back wall, which Lipizer and Loccardi date to the Augustan period (late first century B.C.E. to early first century C.E.) based on a sondage carried out in 2005.[104] At some point later, the door was walled in *opus incertum*, and subsequently the staircase was built. Lipizer and Loccardi suggest that the door was closed off ca. 40 C.E., citing the Third Style wall decoration on the back wall of the adjacent *ala* in House VI.13.2 that covered the blocked door. Moreover, traces of the *ala*'s floor decoration in *lavapesta* and white tesserae were dated by a sondage to the latest phase of the house (post-62 C.E.), which would likely indicate a terminus post quem for the construction of the staircase.[105]

The staircase built into the left *ala* of House VI.14.12 was briefly mentioned in the discussion of shelves installed in the same *ala* (see fig. 12). As noted above, a total of three steps are preserved. They are constructed in a mix of Sarno stone, tuff blocks, and cobbles and measure about 0.85–0.90 m wide, with a low "parapet" running along the north side of the staircase. The steps run east–west against the south wall and likely continued west above the room behind the *ala*; the lack of additional preserved steps in stone suggests that the missing steps were probably made of wood. As noted above, the back wall of the *ala* may represent a resizing of the *ala*; if so, the construction of the staircase would be contemporary with this project.

Doors Opened to Other Spaces. This is the most common type of feature found in the *alae* of Regio VI, documented in 15, possibly 20, of the 39 *alae* with modifications (see table 1). In these cases, a door was cut into one of the *ala*'s walls, which provided passage to other zones of the house (e.g., adjacent rooms around the atrium, the garden/peristyle area, a secondary atrium) or even neighboring houses. While such a feature is easily documented with respect to its form and function, it is very difficult to date it. A relative chronology can often be established with respect to the construction of the *ala* (e.g., openings that disrupted painted plaster decoration or were associated with later architectural phases of a house); however, it should be acknowledged that the chronological resolution, in general, is not very great. Examples of *alae* that exhibit this feature type are found in the Casa di Sallustio (VI.2.4), Casa del Granduca Michele (VI.5.5), Casa del Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro (VI.13.2), and Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI.13.6) (fig. 19).

The Casa di Sallustio (VI.2.4) was damaged during World War II and has been extensively reconstructed. Two *alae* are located at the back of the atrium. The left *ala* measures 3.83 m wide x 3.37 m deep; a decorative pilaster with Corinthian capital is visible on the left side of the opening to the atrium (fig. 20). The walls preserve excellent examples of First Style decoration. A large window (wdth. ca. 2.42 m x ht. ca. 2.83 m) in the north wall of the *ala* was likely part of the original construction, since a First Style cornice frames it. This window, which begins approximately 1.02 m above the floor, originally provided a view onto the north side of the garden.[106] Later occupants transformed the window into a door by removing part of the wall beneath the windowsill, cutting through the First Style

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[100] Zanier 2009, 401, 412–13.

[101] Lipizer and Loccardi 2009, 116.

[102] Fiorelli (1875, 425) describes it as a "base di scala su cui poggiava una gradinata di legno"; see also Eschebach 1993, 204.

[103] Cf., e.g., the staircase in the corridor that leads from the Tuscan atrium to the second peristyle in the Casa del Fauno (VI.12.2) (Adam 1989, 201–3).

[104] Lipizer and Loccardi 2009, 116, 145–46.

[105] Lipizer and Loccardi 2009, 133.

[106] Laidlaw 1985, 118–19, f gs. 25, 26; 125–27.

FIG. 18. Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI.13.6), Pompeii, left *ala* with door communicating with House VI.13.2, including the base of the staircase; the hole for the loft in the north wall is indicated with an arrow.

wall decoration, and adding two steps. This door provided access to a room that had been added behind it and to a staircase for a second floor.

That the opening of the door in the back of the *ala* was a later modification is confirmed by the fact that it disrupts the First Style wall decoration and reconfigures the window. A terminus post quem for the door is suggested by the fact that its opening may have been prompted by the construction of the rooms along the north side of the house, which Laidlaw suggests were added in the mid first century C.E., based on her excavations.[107]

The Casa del Granduca Michele (VI.5.5) has a single *ala* along the south side of the atrium, which measures 2.80 m wide x 2.74 m deep (fig. 21). The walls are constructed in *opus incertum* with large limestone blocks and some plaster preserved; at least two layers of *cocciopesto* floors are visible. There was a window in the

south wall of the *ala*, which was blocked by the time of the eruption. The east wall was almost completely removed to provide direct access to the peristyle. This passageway is 2.17 m wide, framed on either side by construction in *opus latericium*, which forms jambs (online fig. 10). On the south side of the passageway, the *opus latericium* jamb is built directly against the back wall of the *ala*. The opening of this passage should be interpreted as a subsequent modification to the *ala*. A later date may be deduced from the construction technique (*opus latericium*) and building material of the jambs, which differ from the rest of the *ala*.[108]

The door linking the right *ala* of Casa del Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro (VI.13.2) and the left *ala* of Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI.13.6) has already been discussed above. This door has an unusual pitched lintel formed by two limestone blocks (see fig. 18). The north jamb of the door is also made of limestone blocks. As noted

[107] Laidlaw 1985, 125; 1993, 227.
[108] D'Auria (2010, 53) suggests that the *opus latericium* construction could be contemporary with other restoration

works in the house that she dates to after the earthquake of 62 C.E.
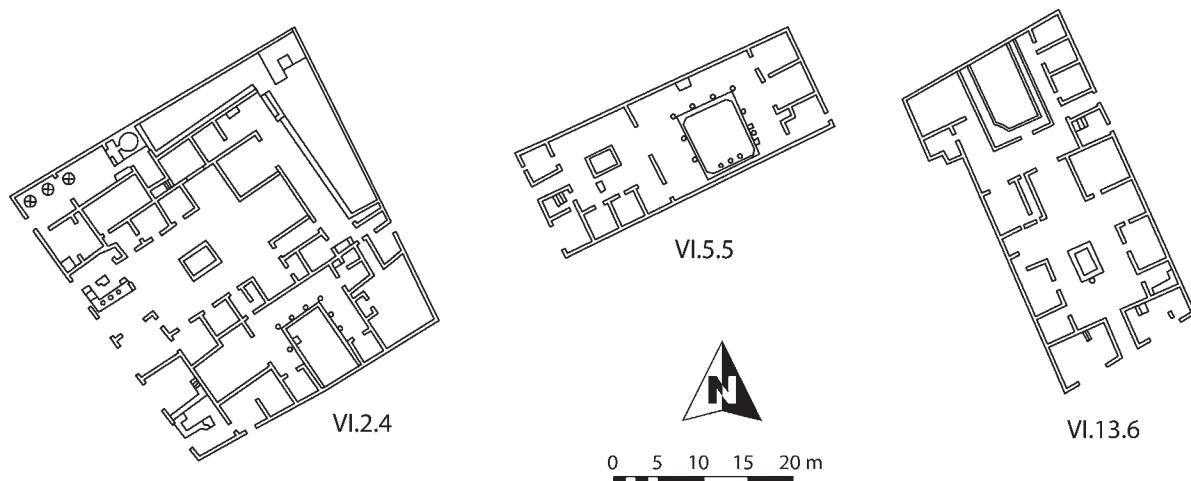
FIG. 19. Plans of houses discussed in text with *alae* modified to include doors/passageways opened to other spaces (courtesy E. Poehler, Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project).

above, stratigraphic excavation by Lipizer and Loccardi provides a date for the opening of the door in the early first century C.E.[109] Since, as discussed above, the door was subsequently walled and the staircase was built against it in the last phase of the house, the communication between the two houses was relatively short-lived. The filling of the door collapsed or was removed, probably during the excavation of the two houses in the 19th century. Another small door in the south wall of the left *ala* of House VI.13.6, which allows communication between the *ala* and the adjacent room, can also be assigned to a later construction phase based on the excavation of its foundation, which reveals that it was opened subsequent to the original construction of the *ala*'s wall.[110]

CONCLUSION: WHAT MODIFICATIONS TO THE *ALAE* CAN TELL US

From the survey and subsequent analysis of the houses with *alae* in Regio VI, it is clear that by the time of the eruption the open, free-flowing space of some *alae* had been modified to incorporate cupboards, shelves, lofts, stairs, doors, and other new modifications. Two major categories of modifications emerge: (1) installations for storage and (2) transitional spaces that provide access to other parts of the house. These two trends—storage and transition—share a common goal of using space in response to fundamental household needs. Feature types that are associated with storage include built-in cupboards, niches, racks/shelves, and lofts, which are also considered in this category,

FIG. 20. Casa di Sallustio (VI.2.4), Pompeii, left *ala* with passageway to rooms behind it.

since their use for storage has been suggested in both commercial and domestic contexts.[111] The *alae* were

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[109] Lipizer and Loccardi 2009, 116, 145–46; see also supra n. 104.

[110] Lipizer and Loccardi 2009, 146, pl. 37.
[111] On lofts, see Allison 2004a, 78, 82; Kastenmeier 2007, 46.

FIG. 21. Casa del Granduca Michele (VI.5.5), Pompeii, view of the *ala* across the atrium with large opening in the east wall; the jambs are reinforced in *opus latericium*.

transformed into transitional spaces by the addition of stairs, which provided access to upper floors, and doors or passageways, which led to other rooms or connected to adjacent houses. It is difficult to assign specific dates to these transformations. While the surviving perimeter walls of the *alae* are usually dated to the initial layout of the house, in most cases the evidence suggests that architectural modifications to the *alae* documented here took place subsequent to the first construction phase of the house. As observed above, these modifications can generally be dated to the Late Republic and Early Empire (first century B.C.E. to 79 C.E.) based on their relationship to the existing architecture and both wall and floor decoration, in some cases coinciding with phases of reconstruction and renovation.

Storage in the Alae

For obvious reasons, space set aside for storage was an essential part of household organization in Pompeii. Ancient sources use a variety of terms to describe

storage spaces in the house but are often ambiguous about their location, form, and even contents.[112] While domestic storage might be considered something associated with service areas and, therefore, out of plain sight, recent scholarship has emphasized its widespread nature in the Roman house. In her study of Pompeian households, Allison has documented the presence of storage throughout the house from the atrium sector to the peristyle.[113] Storage there is suggested by the remains of movable furniture, such as cupboards and chests (e.g., hinges and locks or even plaster casts), as well as modifications to the space, such as those observed here (e.g., niches, holes for shelving).[114] Nevett also noted that the evidence for storage is ubiquitous throughout the house, remarking that storage fixtures or furniture were not considered something that should be hidden away but that their display and use in a diverse array of spaces were the norm in Pompeian houses (at least by the time of the eruption).[115]

A particular connection between *alae* and domestic storage has been highlighted by both Allison and

[112] Kastenmeier 2007, 44.
[113] Allison 2004a, 65–70, 87–90; see also Allison 1993, 4–7; 2007a, 347.

[114] E.g., Allison 2004a, 51–4.
[115] Nevett 2010, 110–13.

Kastenmeier. Allison observed that evidence for storage features was common in the *alae* that she studied as part of her survey.[116] In her treatment of storage spaces in Pompeian houses, Kastenmeier pointed out the presence of "armadi a muro" (built-in cupboards), especially in the *alae*.[117] The data presented here suggest storage functions for at least 12, possibly 17, of 39 *alae* with documented modifications and thus support these previous observations.[118] The appropriation of these lateral expansions of the atrium for storage complements Allison's observations on the prevalence of storage furniture in the atrium sector. In the *alae* of Regio VI, built-in cupboards represent the most common documented feature associated with storage. Their method of construction, which often featured a low masonry base to elevate the floor of the cupboard, allowed for the storage of a wide variety of objects, from food and other organic materials (e.g., fabrics) to domestic utensils. Furthermore, since they could have been fitted with doors with locking mechanisms, more valuable items could have been placed inside for safekeeping. Whereas built-in cupboards appropriated the majority of the *ala*'s space, open shelves and racks allowed for additional features (e.g., a staircase in House VI.14.12). Finally, lofts created elevated storage without disrupting the flow of traffic or nature of activities below.

The Alae as Transitional Spaces

The second general trend in function that emerges from the analysis of the data is the common occurrence of stairs and doors in *alae*. These features granted increased access to other parts of the house (e.g., the opening in the *ala* of the Casa del Granduca Michele or the small door in the south wall of the left *ala* of House VI.13.6). In some cases, modifications were necessitated by expansions and additions to the house (e.g., the opening in the left *ala* in the Casa di Sallustio). Such modifications significantly altered the *ala* and limited household activities that could take place in it, since the creation of transitional passageways to an adjacent room or to a second floor would have increased traffic and consequently disrupted other activities.

The addition of a staircase in the *ala* was a practical solution for conveying traffic to upper floors, and the space of the *ala* must have been deemed both appropriate and available for this use. Moreover, the location

and depth of the *ala* allowed for the stairs to remain relatively hidden from the atrium but still easily accessible. In a similar fashion, the *alae* provided a suitable option for doorways as needs changed within the house with respect to access to other spaces. However, while simple passageways potentially increased and redirected traffic, facilitating movement within the house, they could have also limited and controlled this same movement when doors were closed. This phenomenon characterizes another related feature type documented in *alae*: the creation of a door framed by walls and marked by a threshold that created a physical separation between the *ala* and the atrium (e.g., the right *ala* of House VI.13.13). This modification would have been designed to control and limit movement to and from the space of the *ala*. It is also conceivable that screens or curtains allowed the *alae* to be closed off from the atrium, since the presence of doors, which led directly from *alae* to adjacent rooms that could be accessed also from the atrium, suggest a desire to move between two spaces without being seen (e.g., door in the south wall of the left *ala* of House VI.13.6).[119]

Prior to transformations like the ones documented here, the *alae* served as open spaces directly accessible from the atrium and offered endless possibilities for occupation and use. It would be difficult, if not overly simplistic, to assign specific functions to the *alae* absent any direct evidence. Once modified, however, the relative versatility of the *alae* would have been jeopardized by the installation of built-in features such as cupboards, shelves, and stairs or the opening and closing of doors, which represented reconfigurations of space and traffic flow within the house.

The precise motivations behind modifications to the *alae* are difficult to discern, and it would be unwise to seek a single interpretation. It is possible that, at least in a few cases, some changes were in response to problems caused by the seismic activities that occurred in the years before the eruption. The resultant structural damage from earthquakes necessitated a wide range of responses by homeowners, from restoration of existing architecture to the consolidation of household space, since some areas would have been rendered inaccessible because of collapse or fear of future collapse. Certain features incorporated into *alae* could thus be viewed as practical solutions necessitated by the challenges of households in disarray—for example,

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[116] Allison 2004a, 77–8, 107.

[117] Kastenmeier 2007, 46–8.

[118] Among the *alae* with possible storage functions, I have included also the left *ala* of the Casa del Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro (VI.13.2). Although the material evidence for this modification is no longer preserved, Fiorelli (1875, 422) reported this *ala* as having been turned into a storage closet; he did not,

however, provide any description of its features.

[119] On boundaries created by doors and passageways, see Lauritsen 2011, 2012. On "degrees of accessibility" in the Roman house, see Dickmann 2011. Lauritsen (2012, 102) mentions possible evidence for curtains closing the opening of the *ala* in the Casa di Trebius Valens (III.2.1).

the installation of new areas to store food or other household items, if former service areas were inaccessible or unusable, or new points of access to other parts of the house, if doors and corridors were blocked or in danger of collapse. This type of scenario can be postulated in several examples:

1. The built-in cupboard in the *ala* of the Accademia di Musica, which was probably installed after the earthquake, since the presence of a reused inscribed block from a public building in its base may have been a consequence of earthquake damage.

2. The door in the *ala* of the Casa del Granduca Michele, where a restored wall provided a new point of access to the back of the house (presumably because the original passage was blocked, damaged, or unavailable).

3. The staircase in the right *ala* of House VI.13.16, which, according to Zanier, likely replaced an earlier staircase to the upper floor that was damaged.

While these examples may provide evidence that some modifications were precipitated by seismic activity, such an interpretation cannot be applied uncritically across the spectrum of changes documented here. In fact, Nevett has argued that changes in the use of certain spaces in Pompeian houses could be more logically interpreted as expected and necessary adaptations to domestic space over time.[120] If so, we should expand our interpretative framework and consider different impulses that could have prompted changes in the use of the *alae*. More specifically, if we consider the analysis of domestic space and activities as a relevant and potentially significant index of broader trends in Roman society, the socioeconomic climate in Pompeii during the Late Republic to Early Empire could represent another possible avenue for interpreting transformations to the *alae* and their potential impact on the use of space in the house. By considering the composition and multiple layers of Pompeian societal structure at the time of many of the transformations in the *alae* documented here (i.e., from the first century

B.C.E. to the eruption in 79 C.E.), we may attempt to answer two critical questions posed by these transformations: who modified the *alae*, and why?

Interpretations of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Pompeii, coupled with references to ancient literature and comparative material from other places, have provided contrasting images of Pompeian society. This is especially true with respect to social demographics. Until the late 1980s and the work of scholars such as Henrik Mouritsen, the picture of Pompeian society painted by Maiuri dominated Pompeian studies.[121] The straight line Maiuri drew between a perceived increase in commercial activities controlled by large houses and the decline of the local elite following a takeover by freedmen and businessmen after the earthquake of 62 C.E. has proven untenable.[122] It is now accepted that the involvement of the elite in business and trade was quite the norm in the Late Republic and Early Empire.[123] Moreover, the notion of the freedmen's dominance of Pompeian society and economy has been challenged as erroneously based on the freedmen's ubiquitous presence in the epigraphic record.[124] Mouritsen's argument for a strong economic and social dependence of freedmen on their ex-masters weakens even further the theory of a crisis of the elite caused by the "rise" of the freedmen.[125] Social mobility in Pompeii (and other Italian towns, such Ostia and Puteoli) in the Early Empire continued to be controlled by the elite through the incorporation of new wealthy families into their ranks.[126] Members of these new families could have been descendants of freedmen or more generally part of that section of society, which has been identified by Mayer as a "commercial urban middle class" emerging "below the level of the socioeconomic elite" from the first century B.C.E.[127] According to Mayer, this Roman "middle class" had access to the same material culture and social customs of the elite but created "distinctly middle-class modes of art," which reflected different tastes and moral values rather than simply imitating those of the upper class.[128] Wallace-Hadrill instead has addressed the idea

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[120] Nevett 2010, 113.

[121] Maiuri 1942, esp. 216–17; Castrén 1975; Raper 1977, 1979.

[122] For a detailed rebuttal of Maiuri's ideas, see Wallace-Hadrill 1991; 1994, 118–42; see also Mouritsen 1997, 2001.

[123] See esp. D'Arms 1981, 48–71; Mouritsen 2011, 208–12.

[124] Mouritsen 1997, 2001, 2011. With regard to the use of the epigraphic evidence to determine the social composition of Pompeian households, Allison (2001b) argues for a more contextualized interpretation of the epigraphic material and suggests that the Greek presence in southern Italy should be taken into account when identifying freedmen in Pompeian inscriptions. In contrast with Mouritsen's interpretation, Verboven (2012) has recently argued for the numerical promi-

nence of freedmen in Roman Italy as well as the crucial role they played in Roman economy.

[125] Mouritsen 2001, 11; 2011, 206–47.

[126] Mouritsen 1997, 77–8. As a consequence of this shift upward, according to Jongman (2007, 512–13), members of the nonelite were "socially pressured into adopting the modes of behavior of those in power."

[127] Mayer 2012, 215.

[128] Mayer 2012, 214–16. His interpretation is in contrast with the more widespread view that sees the nonelite as imitating the culture of the elite to better present themselves socially and in some cases to be accepted within the upper class (e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 165–74; Jongman 2007, 512–13; Laurence 2007, 142).

of a "redefined elite" in the context of a "social and cultural revolution" of the Early Empire, arguing that the "extraordinary social transformation of at least some of the cities of Roman Italy, conspicuously attested on the Bay of Naples, which enables the rich freedman to gain social prestige, for instance as an Augustalis, cannot be disentangled from the transformation of material culture observable in those cities."[129]

In light of this dynamic socioeconomic and cultural milieu in cities such as Pompeii, it would not be surprising to find an equally dynamic and evolving domestic environment, which would include access to the atrium house as a shared material and visual expression of status. Changes in the configuration and use of domestic space, including the *alae*, may thus be part of Wallace-Hadrill's "transformation of material culture." It is impossible to associate transformations of the *alae* with particular homeowners, much less their social standing. Still, the data presented here reflect rather simple yet strategic responses by homeowners who, regardless of whether they were part of an established elite or "newcomers," no longer viewed the spatial relationship between the *alae* and the rest of the atrium sector in the same way. This does not mean that the domus-based social rituals, which ancient sources link so clearly with public and political functions, had ceased; to the contrary, they, too, were part of the larger shifting dynamics, which may have caused some areas of the house to be exploited in new ways.[130] For example, colonnaded gardens often preserve evidence for displays of wealth and provisions for entertainment.[131] Wallace-Hadrill, Dickmann, and others have suggested that the more formal rituals of social contact attested in the atrium may have assumed more informal modes (e.g., dinner and drinking parties) and shifted to the peristyle, although the evidence for this shift, such as the prevalence of dining and entertainment rooms and elaborate wall decorations in the peristyle area, is admittedly circumstantial.[132] Nevertheless, the atrium persisted in the houses of Pompeii mainly because it was a flexible space that could be adapted to different needs.[133] With respect to the *alae*, some residents of Regio VI may have no longer needed these spaces in the same way or for the same purpose.

It is within this socioeconomic and cultural context that the changes in the use of domestic space in the houses of Pompeii may be interpreted as expressions of a nascent "middle class" or more inclusive elite group. Members of this new group in some cases had direct access to older, upper-class houses through ownership, while in other cases they chose to adopt the atrium house design and adapt it to new needs. While the *alae* were included among those spaces functional to social rituals of reception and display and also to a range of household activities tied to the plan and organization of the atrium house, it is likely that over time they were no longer necessary to owners in the same capacity. Consequently, the *alae*'s versatile open space was then free to assume more specific and practical functions before eventually disappearing altogether in the plan of Roman houses.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND
   LITERATURE/CLASSICS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MILWAUKEE
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53201
COVAE@UWM.EDU

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[129] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 37.

[130] On patronage in the Early Empire, see also Saller 1982.

[131] See, e.g., George 1998; Allison 2004a, 84–90, 92–4.

[132] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 51–2; 2007, 287; Dickmann 1997.

On the diversified access and the reception functions of the peristyle in the Casa del Labirinto and the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, see Anguissola 2010, 2012.

[133] Allison 2004a, 65–70; Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 289.

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Characterizing Roman Artifacts to Investigate Gendered Practices in Contexts Without Sexed Bodies

PENELOPE M. ALLISON

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This article concerns the characterization of Roman artifacts so that they can play a greater role in gendered approaches to Roman sites—sites that constitute lived spaces but lack actual references to sexed bodies. It commences with a brief discussion on gendered approaches in the two main strands of Roman archaeology—classical and provincial. Within the differing frameworks of the wider disciplines of classics and archaeology, both strands focus on contexts with sexed bodies—burials, figurative representation, and inscriptions. The discussion serves as a background for more integrated and more interrogative approaches to relationships between Roman artifacts and gendered practices, approaches that aim to develop interpretative tools for investigating social practice in contexts where no representational or biologically sexed bodies are evident. Three types of artifacts—brooches, glass bottles, and needles—are used to demonstrate how differing degrees of gender associations of artifacts and artifact assemblages can provide insights into gender relationships in settlement contexts. These insights in turn contribute to better understandings of gendered sociospatial practices across the Roman world.*

INTRODUCTION

Hill observed that the "quality of [Roman archaeological] data to address gender issues is considerably greater than for any prehistoric periods, and as good, sometimes better, than much medieval evidence."[1] However, gender, as a sociocultural construct with "constantly negotiated relationships" constituted in historically specific ways, is not inherent in archaeological data.[2] In the geographically and chronologically diverse Roman world, where social status and ethnicity (i.e., slave, freed, free, citizen, *peregrine*) often played more significant roles in social hierarchies and socioeconomic practices than did biological sex, gender as a defining characteristic of identity and practice is problematic.[3] Categories of material from the Roman world cannot be assumed to have always carried a particular status or gender value without detailed consideration of the assumptions involved.[4]

That said, we are often well informed about certain gender associations through textual, epigraphical, and representational evidence and through burial remains found in vastly different regions and periods throughout the

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Roman world. These types of evidence provide some of the "rules" different groups within that world had about how material culture might be gendered.[5] Thus, feminist and gender archaeology across the Roman world has focused on evidence for gendered identities as represented in these contexts. However, exploration of gendered identities and practices at Roman archaeological sites that lack these types of evidence is limited.

This article is concerned with characterizing Roman artifacts so that remains from lived spaces can be used to greater effect for insights into the presence, roles, and identities of women within these spaces.[6] Certain types of artifacts found during the excavation of Early Roman imperial sites, notably military bases, provide case studies; these studies can be used to demonstrate how material-cultural approaches to the wealth of artifactual evidence from across the Roman world can inform investigations of gendered practices at sites that lack evidence for sexed bodies and where interpretation of the "rules" of social practice has traditionally been rather androcentric. I propose that artifact characterization with differing levels of gendered associations can help decode such material evidence.[7] While I acknowledge the existence of changing and differing gender identities across the Roman world, I argue that any apparent consistencies of gendered practices in artifact use across that world have important ramifications for understanding how sociocultural practices spread.[8]

APPROACHES TO GENDER IN ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The broader disciplines of archaeology and classical studies have quite well-developed bodies of theory and practice in their approaches to women and gender. Roman archaeology has been rather slow to engage with these approaches. Added to this slowness are extant boundaries between approaches within Roman archaeology. Its division into two different, although increasingly converging,[9] strands—classical and provincial—has resulted in different pathways for engagement with the material record and with feminist and gender theory.[10] Past approaches to artifacts, and the labor involved in collecting, analyzing and reanalyzing this wealth of remains, have also been major obstacles inhibiting Roman scholars from developing more theorized, interdisciplinary approaches to interpreting artifacts and gendered practices. The range of approaches, these boundaries, and these disciplinary histories all provide significant challenges for more integrated material-cultural approaches in feminist and gender research across Roman archaeology.[11]

In classical Roman archaeology, with its focus on Italy and the center of the Roman world, feminist and gender research is framed by the concerns of its sister disciplines of classical studies and art history.[12] The emphases of feminist Roman social history on elite women's public roles and power relationships, and on their families and households, provide the context for much of classical archaeology's approach to gender.[13] Rather than use archaeological methodologies to analyze material remains, classical Roman archaeology employs essentially art historical approaches to visual representation, to investigate gender perception in the Roman world through the sculpted portraits of real women as well as mythological women in mosaics and wall paintings.[14] Despite close links with the wider classics discipline, Roman archaeological contributions

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[5] Díaz-Andreu 2005, 23.

[6] Women's place continues to be an important line of inquiry for feminist Roman archaeology (e.g., Baker 2003; Revell 2010; see also Spencer-Wood 2006, 301).

[7] Díaz-Andreu 2005, 37–9, 42.

[8] See Allason-Jones (2011, xiv) on the "core" of artifact types across the Roman world.

[9] Eckardt 2010, 7.

[10] These two strands and their different approaches have not always been evident to scholars outside Roman archaeology, however (see, e.g., Spencer-Wood 2006; Tomášková 2006, 22).

[11] Baker 2003.

[12] See, e.g., studies such as Skinner 1987; Rabinowitz 1993; Archer et al. 1994; Ward 1996; Wyke 1998.

[13] For public roles, see, e.g., Abbott 1909, 41–99; Gardner 1986, 233–55; Setälä et al. 2002; Dixon 2007; Gregorio Navarro 2013. For families and households, see, e.g., Saller 1984; Rawson 1986, 1991, 2011; Dixon 1988, 1992; Dettenhofer 1996; Rawson and Weaver 1997; Milnor 2005; Treggiari 2005; see also Hemelrijk 1999; Barrett 2002. Hemelrijk (2012, 479)

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argues that these concerns are framed by the moralizing approaches of the ancient authors. More theorized gendered approaches are found in Greek social history and archaeology (e.g., Foxhall and Salmon 1998) and in the better-documented Late Roman and Early Christian periods (e.g., Cooper 2007; Osiek 2008) rather than the Republican and Imperial periods. E.g., Foxhall and Neher's (2013) only chapter on the Roman world is on the later Christian empire (i.e., Cooper 2013). Also, historical studies on the complexity of gendered sexuality in Rome have had little impact on Roman archaeology (see, e.g., Hallett and Skinner 1997; Parker 1997; Montserrat 2000; Wyke 2002; Skinner 2005).

[14] E.g., Brown 1993; Davies 1997; Harlow 2004; see also Montserrat 2000, 166–75. For real women, see, e.g., Kampen 1981, 1982; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 2000; Hemelrijk 2004, 2008, 2012; Alexandridis 2010; Heyn 2010; Wood 2010. For mythological women, see, e.g., Berg 2010; Carucci 2010. Interestingly, my paper on a database of Pompeian house contents read at the 92nd Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (San Francisco, 1990) was included in a section called "Roman Art in Context" (Allison 1991).

to feminist classical literature have been notably limited compared with those of the Greek world.[15] Indeed, many Roman social historians have been reticent to acknowledge the role that material culture more broadly can play in gendered approaches, arguing that for the classical world "gender issues are not always apparent in the physical record"[16] because "ancient women . . . left behind so few traces of themselves."[17] Such reticence is based on entrenched assumptions of the implicit masculinity of Roman material remains.

In contrast, the discipline of Roman archaeology in peripheral regions of the empire has engaged differently with feminist and gender approaches to material culture. Here it is more closely allied with the wider discipline of archaeology than with classical studies or art history.[18] Feminist and gender archaeology in the northwest provinces in particular is aligned more strongly with Anglo-American and Scandinavian prehistory.[19] A continued focus on women and "remedial and corrective" concerns in the broader archaeological discipline has influenced provincial Roman archaeology.[20] Gendered practices in Roman provincial archaeology have mainly been investigated in funerary contexts, particularly where actual human bodies can be osteologically sexed and have associated burial furnishings that can throw light on gendered artifacts, identities, and practices.[21] A problem for such investigations in prehistory is that they often employ double standards and draw on cultural biases. Roman archaeology's recourse to documentary sources means that such double standards can to some extent be minimized.[22] However, the use of many written sources—which tend to present elite male voices from the Roman center—in the less well-documented provinces

is often analogical. As Spencer-Wood argued, much scholarship in Roman archaeology, both classical and provincial, can also be considered ungendered in its assumptions about the normative behavior represented by such sources.[23] A good example to demonstrate how artifacts from other parts and periods of the Roman world can indeed be used to document alternative gendering is Cool's analysis of male-sexed skeletal remains wearing jet jewelry from the third-century C.E. Roman-British town of Catterick.[24] Cool identified one of the skeletons as that of a priest of Cybele. While jet jewelry was considered a female attribute and male jewelry wearing was frowned upon in imperial Roman society, men in the provinces, particularly in Iberia, Africa, and the eastern provinces, did wear jewelry, and male dress became more elaborate in the later empire.[25] The ready availability of jet in northern Britain may also have contributed to its different gender significance in this context. This example underscores the pitfalls involved in assuming direct and unproblematic correspondence between artifacts, gender, and status identities, and between burial and lived practices across the Roman world.[26]

While feminist and gender studies in Roman classical archaeology in the 1990s focused on elite women and were separated from the more material-cultural approaches in provincial Roman archaeology, this situation is changing.[27] For example, there has been an increasing interest in figurative representations, notably on grave monuments, of differing social groups and of family relationships in peripheral regions of the Roman world. Such studies have concerned the social conditions revealed through these depictions, their expressions of gendered identities and practices,

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[15] See, e.g., Rabinowitz and Richlin 1993; Cornell and Lomas 1997; Feichtinger and Wöhrle 2002; Skinner 2005; cf. Birk 2010. For Greek archaeological contributions, see, e.g., Kehrberg 1982; Hitchcock 1997; Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons 1997; Osborne 1998; Stafford 1998. It is therefore unsurprising that Spencer-Wood's survey (2006, 296, 315–16, 318–19) of third-wave feminist studies in classical archaeology focused on art historical studies of Greek art.

[16] Wallace-Hadrill 1996, 112.

[17] Milnor 2005, viii.

[18] Trigger 2006, 216; see also Baker 2003, 140.

[19] For discussion, see Díaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen 1997; Díaz-Andreu 2005, 17.

[20] Díaz-Andreu 2005; see also Stig Sørensen 2000; Hamilton et al. 2007; Nelson 2007. For Roman archaeology, see Revell 2010. Spencer-Wood (2011, 3) contrasted feminist prehistory with feminist historical archaeology to argue for a dichotomous relationship with a male prehistory and a female historical archaeology. This representation excludes archaeologies of the Greek and Roman world that have long been more pluralist, if essentially less feminist or gendered (see, e.g., Cohen and Sharp Joukowsky 2004; see also Claassen 2006; Dixon

2007 [for bibliography]).

[21] Stig Sørensen 2006, 28. For archaeology generally, see, e.g., Johnsson et al. 2000; Rautman and Talalay 2000. For Roman archaeology, see, e.g., Cool and Baxter 2005; Cool 2010, esp. 29–36.

[22] Díaz-Andreu 2005, 37–9; see also Hadley 2004; Pohl 2004.

[23] Spencer-Wood 2006, 297–99.

[24] Cool 2002, esp. 29–30.

[25] For jet as a female attribute, see Plin., *HN* 36.141–42. For discussions on male adornment, see Allason-Jones 1995, 25–6; 2012, 473; Matthews 2000, 13; Harlow 2004.

[26] Pearce 2010, esp. 84–5; see also Cool 2011, 299–312. For further discussion, see Allason-Jones 1995, 2009, 2012, 471–73.

[27] Whitehouse (1998) did not include any Roman studies because, she argued, few of the works from the 1990s are "explicitly archaeological studies" (1). There were no contributions from the classical world in Bacus et al. (1993), let alone from Roman archaeology; see also Zarmati 1994. The only chapters on the Roman world in Moore and Scott (1997) concern analyses of documentary sources (e.g., Harlow 1997).

and their symbolic significance.[28] However, much of this research might still be considered empirical and ungendered given that it regards funerary reliefs as akin to photography and subsumes women in terms of the *familia*.[29]

Studies of nonliterary written evidence have played a more significant role in bridging the disciplinary boundaries between Roman social history and archaeology and the two strands of Roman archaeology, and also in broadening feminist and gender approaches to encompass the wider roles of women from different social groups across Roman society.[30] The written voices represented in many inscriptions, however, are often still official voices idealizing social relations.[31] Other types of nonliterary written evidence—graffiti, military diplomas, curse tablets, and the wooden tablets from Vindolanda and Vindonissa—give greater insights into other voices, especially of lower-status women.[32]

In summary, while approaches to gender across Roman archaeology are converging, they are still reliant on the sexed bodies as represented in the sources. These sources, with the exception of some nonliterary texts, concern mainly the symbolic gendering of identity and practice. To date, few studies of gender in Roman archaeology have attempted to investigate contexts of actual practice that lack such sexed bodies. Despite Brown's comment two decades ago on the importance of linking "[a]rtifacts such as loomweights and particular kinds of toiletries, clothing, jewelry, vases . . . to patterns of female behavior,"[33] and despite general acknowledgement that artifacts associated with sexed bodies inform gendered identities, material-cultural approaches to actual gendered practice are still largely missing from Roman classical archaeology.[34] Spencer-Wood argued that the few studies that have taken critically gendered approaches to artifacts in lived contexts (e.g., in household archaeology) have been ungendered and nonfeminist readings of this material.[35]

GENDERED APPROACHES TO ROMAN ARTIFACTS AND LIVED SPACES

Hunter's comment that "artifact research has endured a complicated relationship with the broader field of Roman studies" applies particularly to feminist and gendered approaches to Roman artifacts.[36] Many Roman archaeologists have ostensibly circumvented the concerns of feminist and gender archaeologies by investigating other types of identities, particularly ethnicity and status, and concepts of acculturation and imperialism.[37] As noted above, a major concern for gender archaeology has been the assumed maleness of many Roman archaeological remains. This assumption stems in part from a somewhat circular approach to the producers of mainly architectural or structural remains rather than a consideration for the users of these spaces and for other types of material culture as keys to understanding social practices in these contexts.[38]

As also outlined above, the main material sources used by feminist archaeologists to develop insights into the hidden voices across the Roman world are representational, epigraphical, and funerary. This evidence for sexed bodies and for associated material culture has rarely been used, in any systematic manner, to facilitate investigation of gendered practices within lived space. However, such evidence can be interrogated for a more critically gendered characterization of Roman artifacts and of artifact assemblages. These characterizations, in turn, can assist in more gendered approaches to how people throughout the Roman world played out their lives.

Past studies that have explored the gender associations of artifacts in the sexed context discussed above have focused on artifacts associated with dress.[39] Burials that lack osteological analyses to sex the skeletal remains have been gendered according to dress items within the grave assemblages.[40] Böhme-Schönberger's and Martin-Kilcher's examinations of grave assemblages

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[28] E.g., Boatwright 2005; George 2005; Carroll 2013a, 2013b, (forthcoming). The earlier studies by Kampen (1981, 1982) are exceptions.

[29] Swift 2011, 202. For discussion, see Spencer-Wood 2006, 300, 312.

[30] See esp. Allason-Jones 1989, 1999; Revell 2010; D'Ambra 2012; see also Treggiari 1976; Bagnall and Frier 1994; Bagnall 2006.

[31] See, e.g., Shumka 2008, 183.

[32] Speidel 1996; see also Allason-Jones 2012, 471–72.

[33] Brown 1993, 258.

[34] For gendered artifacts associated with sexed bodies, see Cool 2011. For more material approaches in Roman classical archaeology, see Berg (2010) on artifacts associated with Venus in Pompeian wall paintings as representations of the *mundus muliebris* (a coherent group of women's toilet items) and as female attributes of virtue and femininity.

[35] Spencer-Wood 2006, 298, 312. However, she misrepresents how material and textual evidence informs understandings of Roman household space; cf. Allison 2007.

[36] Hunter 2012, 431. E.g., only two chapters in Allason-Jones' (2011) work on artifacts in Roman Britain discuss artifacts and gendered identifcations: Swift (2011) on personal ornament and Cool (2011) on funerary contexts.

[37] E.g., Mattingly 2004; Eckardt 2010; Hales and Hodos 2010. For discussion and critique, see van Driel-Murray 2003, 2008; Gardner 2007, 32; Pitts 2007, esp. 693, 696–97, 709; Mattingly 2010, 94–123; Hemelrijk 2012, 485. Pitts (2007, 708) admits his article concerns status and not gender.

[38] For discussion, see Allison 2001; van Driel-Murray 2008, 82; Allason-Jones 2012, 473.

[39] E.g., Swift 2011, 203.

[40] See, e.g., Effros 2004. For discussion, see, e.g., Gardner 2007, 230.

in Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy have used brooches, jewelry, and other supposed gendered attributes to sex the burials.[41] Such studies might be considered empirical and ungendered readings of these material remains.[42] However, as is discussed below, their combined results demonstrate consistent patterns of gender associations that constitute a useful body of data for understanding gendered practices within these burial contexts and also across these regions; they can inform the interpretation of gendered practices in lived contexts in these regions or in other parts of the Roman world.

Dress-related artifacts have indeed been used to identify gendered practices in some lived contexts that lack sexed bodies. Van Driel-Murray used the size ranges of leather shoes found in Early Imperial military bases to argue for the presence of women and children inside soldiers' barracks.[43] Her studies have instigated a call for a radical revision of our perspectives on Roman military bases as lived space and have set an agenda for more critical and systematic approaches to Roman artifacts and gendered identities and practices in such lived contexts.[44] In these military contexts, in particular, too much emphasis has been placed on documentary sources and structural remains as keys to understanding social identity and practice at the expense of artifactual evidence.[45] Because women and families are largely missing from written evidence on the Roman military life, such sites have been considered hypermasculine, and noncombatant personnel are largely assumed to have been absent from inside the fort walls.[46] However, detailed and systematic analyses of artifacts from such military sites show that this was not the case.[47]

Military studies may have been the slowest among Roman studies to confront their "historical patriarchal ideolog[ies]," and Stig Sørensen's criticism of archaeology more broadly for its intellectual baggage applies to the approach of Roman military studies to material remains.[48] Investigations of these military sites, as assumed masculine spaces, have the potential to lead the field in more material-cultural approaches to gendered sociospatial practice in Roman archaeology. Gendered perspectives of military sites, as contexts that essentially lack actual bodies, require more material-

cultural approaches than do many other branches of classical studies and much of Roman archaeology. Studies of Roman military life can draw on a wide range of textual, epigraphical, and representational sources that potentially provide the "rules" of social practice. These sources indeed provide evidence for social diversity in this sphere, but they are not generally concerned with the mundane and routine activities of the various nonmilitary members of these communities, including women and children.[49] Such activities are documented by the artifacts left at these and other types of lived sites.[50]

I argue that interpretative links can be found between artifacts and gender in contexts with sexed bodies and that such artifact types can be systematically analyzed, characterized, and used critically as tools for investigating gendered identities and practices within archaeological contexts that lack such bodies.[51]

GENDERED CHARACTERIZATIONS OF ARTIFACT
TYPES AND GENDERED SPACE

While van Driel-Murray called for more holistic approaches to artifacts as gender attributes for investigating social identity, a cautious approach is needed to mitigate the risk of stereotyping gender identities and practices across the Roman world.[52] The following discussion demonstrates how more systematic and integrated approaches to all types of evidence, especially from contexts with sexed bodies, can be used to ascribe levels of gender characterization to certain Roman artifact types, such that they and their assemblages can provide insights into gendered sociospatial practices in lived contexts that lack bodies. The examples chosen are specific artifact types whose gender characterizations are by no means precise and assured, and they concern both gendered identities and practices, "being" and "doing" gender.[53] That is, one item of dress, one associated with personal hygiene, and one associated with cloth-working activities are used to demonstrate how interrogative approaches to various types of evidence can ascribe gendered characterizations to artifact types. The examples chosen are all potentially associated with women and are found inside Early Imperial military bases. They demonstrate a range of levels of gender association, from the more probable

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[41] E.g., Böhme-Schönberger 1985, 1995; Martin-Kilcher 1993, 2000.

[42] Spencer-Wood 2006, 295; 2011, 3–4.

[43] van Driel-Murray 1994, 1995, 1997.

[44] See, e.g., James 2006, 34; Gardner 2007, 230.

[45] For discussion of similar approaches to domestic space, see Allison 2001.

[46] On the "ideology of hypermasculinity," see Spencer-Wood 2006, 320.

[47] Allison et al. 2005; Allison 2006b, 2006c, 2008a, 2012, 2103.

[48] Stig Sørensen 2000, 75; Spencer-Wood 2006, 321.

[49] Phang 2001; 2011, 131–33.

[50] Gardner 2007, 200.

[51] Stig Sørensen 2006, 28–31.

[52] van Driel-Murray 1997, 55. For discussions on stereotyping, see Diaz-Andreu 2005, 17, 27; Gardner 2007, esp. 80, 84, 202, 204, 229–31.

[53] Moore 1999; see also Allison 2006b, 5–7.

female dress items to artifacts that document activities that tend to be associated with women but by no means are exclusively so.

Artifacts Probably Associated with Women's Dress: Thistle-Shaped Brooches (Distelfibeln)

While there are distinctive and well-known gender- and status-related attributes of traditional Roman dress, many scholars have cautioned against the gender stereotyping of various dress-related artifacts. In the western provinces, especially in contexts dating to the Early Empire, the most common dress items found archaeologically are metal brooches. The presence of specific brooch types in military contexts has traditionally been used to argue that these were types worn by Roman soldiers.[54] However, such an argument gives precedence to preconceived assumptions about who occupied these military bases over specific evidence for how different types of brooches would have been worn by different status and gender groups.[55]

Brooches were part of both male and female dress in much of pre-Roman Europe and were adopted and adapted during the Roman period.[56] Our understandings of the different ways in which various brooch forms were worn play an important role in ascribing their gender associations. For example, high-bowed brooches were used to fasten coarse and thick material such as overgarments and so were likely to have been worn by both men and women.[57] Flatter brooches were for thinner fabrics, such as in women's undergarments. Roman soldiers also wore certain brooches as insignia, and women wore them as jewelry.[58] While these observations provide general rules, assigning brooch types exclusively to women or men, or to soldiers or civilians, is problematic.[59]

Current understandings of how specific brooch types would have been worn, by whom, and in what context have been developed through a combination of detailed typological analyses of brooch forms and how they functioned; analyses of burial assemblages; and analyses of brooches in figural representations.[60] For example, depictions of women on grave monuments indicate that, at least in the German provinces, women's dress required three or more brooches: a pair

of high-bowed brooches at the shoulders, a flatter one fastening undergarments, and possibly further decorative brooches as jewelry.[61] A frequently cited example is the grave monument of Blussus and his wife, Menimane, from Mainz-Weisenau. Dated to the Tiberian-Claudian period, the sculpture represents Menimane wearing at least three brooches in this manner.[62]

Burial assemblages have played a large part in many gender characterizations of these brooches, although these assemblages are often from burials lacking sexed skeletal remains because they were dug without appropriate analyses of the skeletal evidence. Nevertheless, studies of these numerous and rich grave assemblages conducted over more than 50 years have argued that distinctive assemblages can be used to identify male and female burials. For example, assemblages from the pre-Roman Rhine region and from northern Italy demonstrate that women wore brooches in greater numbers than did men and that this pattern continued into the Roman period.[63] In Schankweiler, near Trier, more than half of the 20 or so graves of the late Augustan to the early Flavian period identified as female had two or three brooches, and four graves had three to six brooches.[64] While different brooch types do not seem sex-specific within the indigenous milieu, these burial assemblages indicate that, by the Augustan period, a distinction had developed such that some types of brooches and ways of wearing them were indicative of status and sex.[65] These distinctions have been used to demonstrate gender, age, and regional identity for later periods in Gaul, in the Danube region, and in Roman Britain.[66]

Of significance here is the combination of available representational and funerary evidence that can be interrogated to establish differently gendered dress that, in broad terms, ranges across regions and periods but arose during Roman occupation. My concern is how such sex-specific associations can be used to characterize specific brooch types according to gender so that this characterization can in turn be used to identify gendered behavior and, more specifically, the gendered use of space. A useful example, which also illustrates changing attitudes to brooches as gender attributes in both antiquity and modern scholarship,

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[54] E.g., Swift 2011, 213.
[55] Swift 2011, 212.
[56] Böhme-Schönberger 1995.
[57] Gechter 1979, 77.
[58] Böhme-Schönberger 1995, 4.
[59] Allason-Jones 1995, 23–5.
[60] E.g., Böhme 1972; Ettlinger 1973; Riha 1979, 1994; see also Böhme-Schönberger 2008, esp. 141 n. 8; Carroll 2013b.
[61] Martin-Kilcher 1993; see also Riha 1979, 41.

[62] Ludwig 1988, 198; Böhme-Schönberger 1995. For further references, see Allison 2013, 71–7.
[63] Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217; 2008, 142; Martin-Kilcher 2003, 281.
[64] Ludwig 1988, 197.
[65] Martin-Kilcher 1993; 1998, esp. 224–27; Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217; 2008, 143.
[66] Gaul and Danube: Effros 2004. Roman Britain: Eckardt 2005, 141.

is the so-called *Distelfibel,* or thistle-shaped brooch.[67] This brooch type (fig. 1), its use, and the contexts in which it has been found have been extensively studied by Böhme-Schönberger.[68] She describes the type as a massive, heavy brooch with a ribbed semicircular bow that had a large shield decorated with curved and incised pressed sheet metal. She noted that until the late 1970s these brooches were thought to have been worn by Roman soldiers because they were found inside military forts.[69] However, Gechter observed that *Distelfibeln* represented less than 5% of brooches found inside military fortifications, while in oppida (i.e., local settlements) double that percentage was found.[70] He argued that this distribution suggests this was a civilian, and quite possibly a distinctively female, fastener.

This brooch type has also been recorded in numerous pre-Roman graves. On the basis of their assemblages, Böhme-Schönberger identified examples of a single *Distelfibel* in each of only two pre-Roman Late La Tène "male" graves. She identified two or three examples in each of a further four "male" graves in free Germany dated to the Early Imperial period but seemingly outside the Roman milieu.[71] She analyzed reports on Early Imperial burials in France, Germany, Switzerland, Britain, and Denmark and noted that most *Distelfibeln* occurred in burials with female assemblages.[72] For example, a pair of *Distelfibeln* was recorded in Roman-period Grave 76 in Schankweiler, which Ludwig identified as a women's grave.[73] Martin-Kilcher also frequently recorded *Distelfibeln* in association with women's assemblages in Early Imperial burials in the Alpine region.[74] Böhme-Schönberger identified as *Distelfibeln* the brooches on the overgarments of two women depicted on Tiberian-Claudian grave monuments at Ingelheim am Rhein and the pair Menimane wore at her shoulders in the representation on her grave monument.[75] She therefore argued that *Distelfibeln* may not have been gender differentiated in their indigenous milieu but that they became typical women's brooches in the Augustan period.[76] She argued that inside the western provinces *Distelfibeln* were predominantly part of women's dress but continued to be worn by men from free Germany.

The gendered characterization of these thistle-shaped brooches is based on grave assemblages, representational evidence, and, in the case of Gechter's
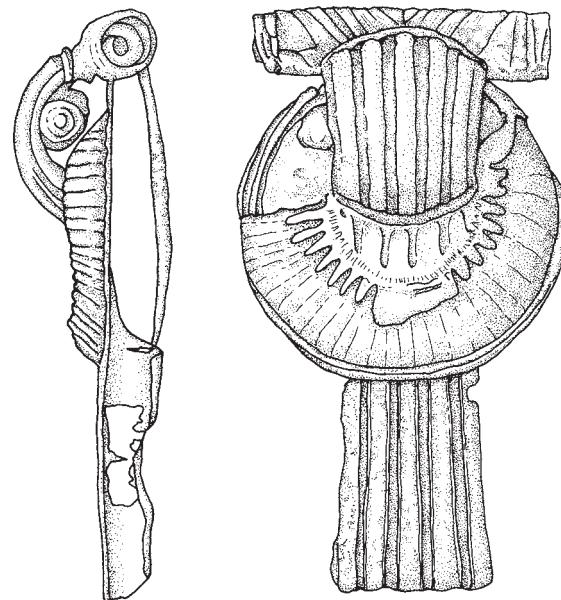
FIG. 1. *Distelfibel* from Badenheim, length 44 mm (drawing by D. Miles-Williams; after Böhme-Schönberger 2008, fig. 1, no. 6).

study, an assumption of a dichotomous male military space and female civilian space.[77] Nevertheless, the combined weight of all these studies—involving close study of the actual artifacts as well as synthetic analyses of quantity and distribution and covering half a century of data collection and analysis—presents a strong argument that this particular brooch type can indeed be gendered predominantly female in most Roman-period contexts within the northwest provinces.[78] Consistency can be found in rich Roman-period burial assemblages such that, even without sexed skeletal evidence, it is possible to suggest gender attribution that is supported by figurative representation.

While there are exceptions, there is therefore strong evidence for *Distelfibeln* as female attributes. This is not to say that this brooch type is a definite female attribute but rather that female is the most prominent gender association for these brooches. Their presence in lived spaces can therefore be used to explore gendered sociospatial practices. While Gechter's quantitative study showed lower percentages of these brooches in military

[67] Almgren 1897, no. 240; see also Böhme-Schönberger 1998, pl. 11.

[68] E.g., Böhme-Schönberger 1995, 2002, 2008.

[69] Böhme-Schönberger 2008, 140, 143.

[70] Gechter 1979, 77.

[71] Böhme-Schönberger 2008, 145.

[72] For references, see Böhme-Schönberger 2008, esp. 142–44.

[73] Ludwig 1988, 197–200.

[74] Martin-Kilcher 1993, esp. f gs. 5, 7–9.

[75] Böhme-Schönberger 1995, 4–5, 9.

[76] Böhme-Schönberger 2002; 2008, 142–43.

[77] Supra n. 70.

[78] Allason-Jones (2012, 474) also advocates close artifact study; see also Becker 2006.

contexts than in settlement sites, it is significant that they are not excluded from the former. Provided the taphonomic conditions permit, their presence, associations, and distribution within such contexts can highlight, for example, female participation in particular activities within military bases. Any associated artifacts attributable to women's dress and activities may serve to confirm this and negate an association here with men from free Germany.[79] So a *Distelfibel* reported from the east gateway of the first-century legionary fortress Vetera I in the lower Rhine region, and the association of this brooch with other potentially female-related items—an Almgren 16 brooch, an unguentarium, two hairpins, and a bone disk that was probably either a bead or a spindlewhorl—can be used as evidence for the association of women with the street life of this fortress.[80]

This brooch type may also have been an age and status attribute.[81] Menimane was the wife of a wealthy provincial shipowner who could afford a large Roman-style grave monument.[82] Many *Distelfibeln* were found in rich burials, suggesting that this brooch type was a symbol of high status. This characterization might be used to argue that at least one of the women associated with street life inside the Vetera I fortress was not necessarily a tradesperson or prostitute but may have been a high-status local woman. Thus, this brooch and its associated assemblage in this lived context are potentially useful for investigating interactions between local people and the Roman military.

Artifacts Possibly Associated with Women's Toilet Activities: Perfume Bottles

Perceptions of female beauty in the Roman world, derived from written sources and artistic representations, indicate that artifacts associated with personal hygiene, health, and beauty often served as female attributes, especially of elite women.[83] Care of the body and bodily adornment were seen to "soften Roman citizens," and toilet activities served to "display the adorned female body."[84] While toilet items appear to be inappropriate symbolic attributes for Roman men, this does not mean that men did not use them. For example, while mirrors and combs were named as part of a woman's toilet set and were used to symbolize femininity in Roman art, men no doubt used these items.[85] Allason-Jones argued that a nail cleaner and tweezers found in the lived space of the turrets on Hadrian's Wall would have been used by soldiers stationed there.[86] While her argument, like Gechter's, was based on assumptions about who used the space, it warns of the problems of associating all personal hygiene items with female activities.[87] That is, the symbolic association of toilet activities with female beauty does not necessarily represent actual practice.[88]

Indeed, many toilet items found in excavations, such as spatulas, probes, and tweezers, could equally have been medical implements and so cannot be easily gendered.[89] Furthermore, the use of the term "medicamentum" for both cosmetics and medicaments points to a lack of differentiation in the Roman world between these substances and, by extension, to a lack of distinction between medical and cosmetic activities.[90] This also applies to equipment associated with these activities.

There is, however, one type of artifact that seems more specifically associated with women's toilet activities, and therefore its presence in lived spaces in excavated Roman sites is potentially significant in terms of gendered practice. This is the small ceramic and glass bottle (fig. 2), which is widely considered to have been used as a container for cosmetics and perfumed oils. Long, narrow bottles (see fig. 2a–d), frequently called "unguentaria" or "balsamaria" (both terms invented by archaeologists), are found across the Roman world.[91] Squatter and rounder bottles (see fig. 2e), often referred to as aryballoi by modern scholars, are frequently found associated with bathhouses and are used by scholars to reconstruct toilet sets.[92] Examples of these types of bottles, particularly long, narrow ones,

[79] Böhme-Schönberger 2008, 145.

[80] For the Almgren 16 brooch, see Hanel 1995, cat. no. B50. For Almgren brooch types, see Almgren 1897; see also Böhme 1972; Böhme-Schönberger 1998. For discussion on context, see Allison 2013, esp. 147.

[81] E.g., Swift (2011, 207) argued that younger women wore more jewelry than older women.

[82] Böhme-Schönberger 1995, 2.

[83] See, e.g., Swift 2011, 206–8.

[84] Wyke 1994, 143. See also Berg (2010) on women's toilet in Pompeian wall painting.

[85] Varro, *Ling.* 5.129; see also Wyke 1994, 138; Shumka 2008, esp. 117; Berg 2010, 290–91.

[86] Allason-Jones 1988.

[87] Allason-Jones 1995, 27–8.

[88] For discussion, see Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 25–41.

[89] Jackson 1988, esp. 56–85; Baker 2004, 41–3; Allison 2006a, 383–84; 2009, 25–7.

[90] Stewart 2007, 12.

[91] de Tommaso 1990, esp. 19 n. 1, 21–2; Price 2005, 179–80; Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 37. For unguentaria, see, e.g., Isings 1957, 24; Kunina 1997 (glossary); Fleming 1999, 4, pls. 2, 3. For balsamaria, see, e.g., Martin-Kilcher 1998; Fecher 2010, 9.

[92] For aryballoi, see, e.g., Zanier 1992, cat. no. F43; see also Allison 2006a, 18. On their association with baths, see Cool 2004, 366. For a reconstructed toilet set, see Jackson 2011, pl. 49.
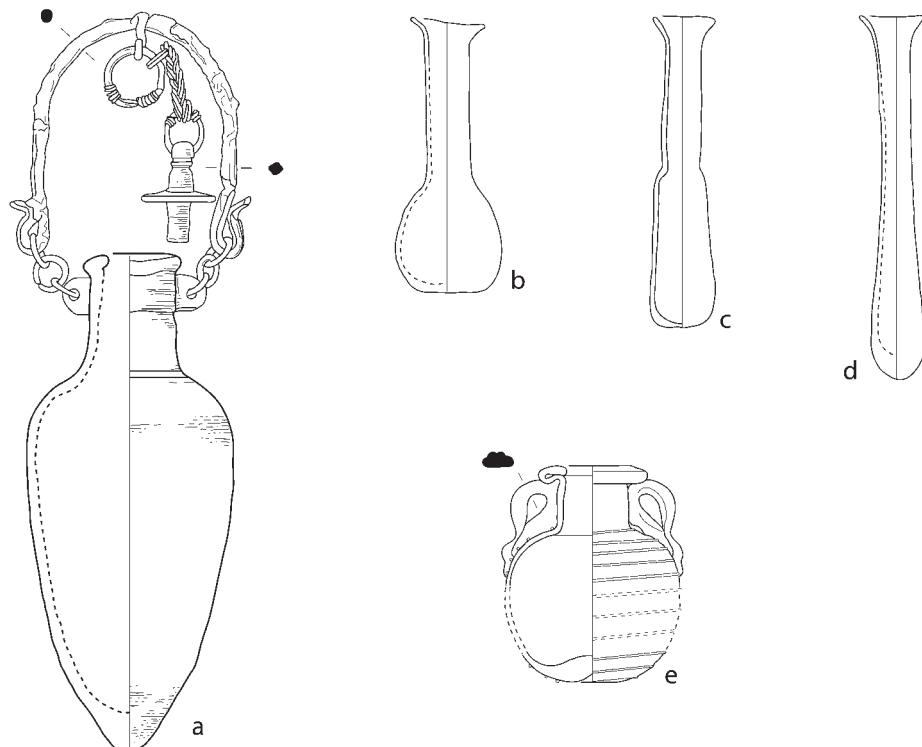
FIG. 2. Small glass bottles: *a*, from House I.10.1, Pompeii (after Allison 2006a, cat. no. 27); *b*, from House I.10.2–3, Pompeii (after Allison 2006a, cat. no. 121); *c*, from the Casa del Fabbro, Pompeii (after Allison 2006a, cat. no. 1046); *d*, from the Casa del Menandro, Pompeii (after Allison 2006a, cat. no. 728); *e*, from Ellingen (after Zanier 1992, cat. no. F43) (drawing by D. Miles-Williams).

are represented in Roman art as parts of cosmetic sets but are also found in association with medical equipment, concurring with the lack of distinction between cosmetics and medical remedies.[93]

Because of their presumed use as perfume and cosmetic bottles, however, these small glass bottles are considered to have been predominantly used by women in their toilet.[94] Perfume and perfume bottles are listed in the *Digesta* as part of the *mundus muliebris*.[95] Again, though, an exclusive association of perfumed oils, and therefore perfume bottles, with women is not substantiated. Despite attention to male grooming being considered a vice in Roman society, in Rome elite men used perfumed oils after the bath, and perfumed oils could be used for anointing military regalia and

statues of deities.[96] Berg noted that perfume bottles are rarely depicted among the vessels considered symbolic of women's toilet in Pompeian paintings but that the vessels associated with women's bathing in these paintings are predominantly Greek types.[97] This is no doubt because these paintings are usually copies of Greek originals, representing subjects of Greek mythology and probably Greek practice. Indeed, likely perfume bottles are represented in what appear to be *mundi muliebri* on two second-century women's grave markers from Italy and in a first-century votive relief from Boeotia.[98]

The picture of these bottles and their contents as symbolically female attributes is further enhanced by burial evidence, although again not as an exclusive

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[93] For references to artistic representation, see Allison 2006a, 23; 2007, 346; 2013, 100–1. For association with medical equipment, see Künzl 1983, 88–9, f g. 66; 93–4, f g. 74; Jackson 1986, 157–58; 1988, esp. 74; Price 2005, 180. Many of the bottles associated with medical equipment tend to be relatively large.

[94] See, e.g., Stig Sørensen 2000, 141.
[95] *Dig.* 34.2.25.
[96] For references, see Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 26–7.
[97] Berg 2010, 297.
[98] Eckardt and Crummy 2008, f g. 5; Shumka 2008, 178–80, f gs. 8.1–4.

association. Martin-Kilcher studied more than 350 artifacts in the grave assemblages from the Late Republican and Early Imperial cemeteries in the region of Lake Maggiore, Locarno.[99] Analyses of these graves lacked sexing of the skeletal remains. However, on the basis of repeated combinations of what she argued were gender-specific artifacts in these assemblages (e.g., she considered spindlewhorls, gold and silver jewelry, brooch types, and mirrors to be female attributes, and weapons, esp. swords and lances, to be male attributes), Martin-Kilcher identified some 68 female and some 75 male burials.[100] None of the earliest burials at Ornavasso–San Bernardo (dating to the second century B.C.E.) obviously included blown-glass so-called balsamaria, or indeed ceramic so-called unguentaria, but these types of bottles (in ceramic or glass) did occur in 28 of the 48 burials at this site identified as female, and in 12 out of the 40 male burials.[101] Thus, there is a strong pattern differentiation between the two types of assemblages; the small bottles tend to be female attributes, although they are not exclusively so. Glass balsamaria are viewed as a Mediterranean element introduced into this Alpine region, Raetia, and the German provinces during the Early Empire, and predominantly in female graves.[102] These bottles are therefore also associated with changing sociocultural and grooming practices in this region during the Early Empire.

Fecher studied the graves from the Flur "Kapellenösch" cemetery at Rottweil, in southern Germany, which date between ca. 70 and 200 C.E.[103] Analyses of these graves did include sexing of skeletal remains. Twenty-five of the graves each had up to eight ceramic and glass bottles, most of which were primary grave goods. Only one bottle occurred in a grave with definite male skeletal remains: Grave 694. The other approximately 36–45 bottles were all in graves likely to have had women's burials (10 graves); in graves with juveniles (six graves); or in graves of adults of indeterminate sex (eight graves).[104] The sexing of the skeletal remains from the Rottweil graves renders the gender associations of these bottles more convincing than the gender ascriptions made in Martin-Kilcher's study. Together, though, these two studies indicate a greater propensity, at least in Early Imperial burials in southern Germany and northern Italy, for these small bottles and their contents to be more female than male attributes. Further evidence that these types of bottles were associated with female grave goods and female burials in this and other parts of the Roman world has also been noted, and Swift observed their association with the burials of wealthy women in Roman Britain.[105] Cool reported "unguent bottles" or "bath bottles" (aryballoi) from the third-century graves at Brougham; the former were used as grave goods, and the latter were associated with the cremation process.[106] This shows the widespread and continued use of these bottles and their association with burial practices, but unfortunately there is insufficient information on the sexing of the Brougham burials.

Thus, the combined literary, representational, and burial evidence, including burials with and without sexed bodies, presents a strong case that the small bottles found in archaeological contexts could be used for cosmetics and perfumes and that long, narrow unguentaria or balsamaria in particular have some female associations, at least in Italy and southern Germany during the Early Empire. While this gender attribution is by no means certain for all occurrences of these bottles across the Roman world, the combined evidence makes their characterization as predominantly female a good basis from which to interrogate gendered practices in other contexts that lack bodies but include such bottles. For example, three small, narrow bottles were found with two spindles, a bone (cosmetic?) spoon, and a small pot in Room 2 in the Casa del Fabbro in Pompeii.[107] The association of the bottles with these other artifacts implies the use of this room for women's activities of cloth working and personal hygiene, or at least for the storage of such material. This assemblage therefore potentially identifies this room as a women's space and marks it out from the more prolific evidence for industrial, and more masculine, activities at the rear of this house.[108]

Another Pompeian example concerns Shop I.10.2–3, which was probably a shop for dispensing food.[109] Four small glass bottles, a larger one, and a small flask (possibly an aryballos) were found together in one corner

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[99] Martin-Kilcher 1998.

[100] Martin-Kilcher 1998, f gs. 6, 9.

[101] Martin-Kilcher 1998, 216. On the chronology of Roman blown glass, see Stern 1999. On the chronology and function of ceramic unguentaria, see Anderson-Stojanović 1987.

[102] Martin-Kilcher 1998, 211; see also Fasold and Witteyer 2001, 302; Schürger 2001.

[103] Fecher 2010.

[104] Allison 2013, table 5.3.

[105] E.g., at Wederath-Belginum, a bottle found in a possible young girl's burial apparently contained a cosmetic substance (Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 27). For this association in Roman Britain, see Swift 2011, 208.

[106] Cool 2004, 365–66, 370.

[107] Allison 2006a, cat. nos. 1043–49; 2008b, cat. nos. 1043–49.

[108] Allison 2006a, 342–45.

[109] Allison 2006a, 297.

of a room behind the shop, and further small bottles were recorded in associated disturbed deposits.[110] A graffito on the shop wall has been used to identify the owner as "Coponia," who had a maid called "Iris."[111] This is a rather unusual instance of epigraphical evidence for sexed bodies in a lived context. Laurence counted this shop among the so-called *popinae* in Pompeii and suggested that prostitution was likely to have taken place there.[112] As discussed above, such bottles could be used for cosmetics and medicines. It is interesting to contemplate whether their relative abundance here indicates that beauty and health care, perhaps in association with sex, were dispensed from this shop as well as food.

Substantial remains of at least seven glass bottles were found within the second-century auxiliary fort at Ellingen, near Weißenberg.[113] These were among some 65 artifacts recorded inside this fort that were potentially associated with women, along with the skeletal remains of at least five, and up to 11, neonates.[114] The bottles were mainly found in the same parts of this fort as other remains associated with women, including in the soldiers' barracks.[115] They can therefore be used to support the argument for women's presence in these residences.

Thus, these types of bottles and their spatial distribution and associations with lived contexts can be used to interrogate, or to substantiate, the gender attributions of other artifacts in such assemblages. They can also be used to investigate how women's activities were integrated into domestic, commercial, and military spaces and may change our perspectives on gendered sociospatial practices in the Roman world. When these bottles occur in military contexts, particularly in the barracks of auxiliary soldiers, as at Ellingen, they are undoubtedly associated with Roman concepts of beauty, personal hygiene, and health, in contexts that were probably the domiciles of indigenous soldiers and their families. These bottles therefore provide insights into the spread of such practices among the provinces and possibly the place of local women in this

adoption and spread. The examples presented here are admittedly limited but constitute useful data for investigating further comparable examples.

Artifacts Associated with Less Gender-Specific Cloth Working: Needles and Needlework

Numerous bone and metal needles have been recorded on Roman sites (fig. 3); many were likely to have been used in cloth production and maintenance, although arguably not all.[116] For example, some of the larger standard iron needles with stout stems, found in archaeological contexts and ranging from approximately 110 to 200 mm in length, could have been used as packing needles.[117] Large standard metal needles (lgth. ca. 150 mm) could have been used in surgery, and cruder bone needles may have been used for netting or weaving (see fig. 3a).[118] Needles may also have been used for hair arranging and thus could have been part of the *mundus muliebris*.[119] Thus, smaller standard needles from archaeological contexts—which occur in both bone and metal and range in length from approximately 50 to 135 mm—are likely to have been for sewing but could also have been used for medical activities.[120] While there is considerable written, representational, and burial evidence that cloth working was predominantly a female task in the Roman world, this applies most particularly to spinning rather than to sewing and needlework.[121] In the written sources, the only potential reference identifying sewers as female is the use of the word "vesticiae," presumably meaning "clothes makers."[122] Certainly, in imperial households during the Early Empire, male *vestifici* and *sarcinatores* (clothes menders) were recorded.[123]

Needles are difficult to depict on sculptural representation and were infrequent burial goods.[124] No needles were reported in the burial assemblages studied by Martin-Kilcher. The only Rottweil grave (Grave 162) that contained a needle (lgth. 51 mm) was likely to have been the burial of an adult female.[125] Cool recorded two iron needles in the third-century cemetery at Brougham, one from the funeral pyre of a young

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[110] Allison 2006a, cat. nos. 59–63, 104, 105, 121, 122. There is a lack of evidence to support an earlier suggestion that these bottles may have been used for food essences and condiments (Allison 2006a, 297, 376–77).

[111] Ling 1997, 42; Allison 2006a, 297.

[112] Laurence 1994, 78–87.

[113] Allison 2013, 257–58.

[114] Allison 2006c, f g. 42; 2013, 263, 266–68. For the data sets, see the downloads for Ellingen in Allison 2012.

[115] Allison 2013, 270.

[116] For needles used in cloth working, see, e.g., Crummy 1983, 61.

[117] Manning 1985, 35–7.

[118] On needles for surgery, see Jackson 1994a, 204–5, nos. A14, A15; Jackson 1994b, 176–77. On needles for netting or weaving, see Crummy 1983, 65–7; Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, 61–5, cat. nos. 2.260–62.

[119] Shumka 2008, 182.

[120] Allison 2006a, 23, 32–3; Shumka 2008, 182.

[121] Dixon 2007, 117–25; Roth 2007, 59, 89–118. For further discussion and references, see Allison 2007, 348–49; 2009, 18–19; 2013, 93–5.

[122] See, e.g., Dixon 2000–2001, 8.

[123] Treggiari 1976, 84–5.

[124] On sculptural representation, see Shumka 2008, 182.

[125] Fecher 2010, 2:70.
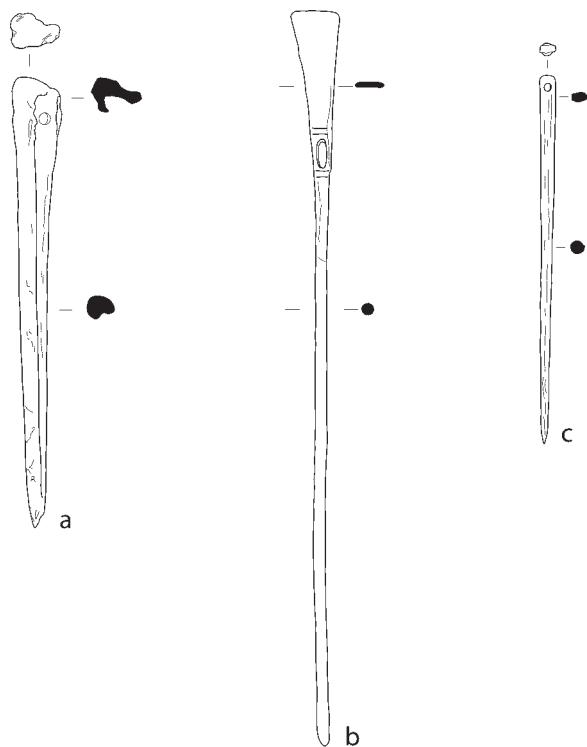
FIG. 3. Bone needles: *a*, from South Shields (after Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, cat. no. 2.260); *b*, from Colchester (after Crummy 1983, cat. no. 1976); *c*, from South Shields (after Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, cat. no. 2.278) (drawing by D. Miles-Williams).

person, but noted the paucity of needles in Romano-British burials.[126] Of some 50 bronze and bone needles recorded at Catterick, none would appear to have been found in burial contexts.[127] Only four iron needles were recorded in the fourth-century graves at Lank-hills, in Graves 152, 184, 351, and 435.[128] Only one of these graves, Grave 351, had evidence of material that could potentially be gendered female, although none had male gendered items, such as crossbow brooches or any belt fittings.[129] These burial contexts hint that needles were female attributes but were not strongly gendered, at least symbolically.

Contexts that lack bodies ostensibly provide more information on the actual gendered use of needles than do sexed contexts on the symbolic gendering of

needles and needlework. The discovery of a bronze needle (lgth. 67 mm) within the turrets of Hadrian's Wall was used by Allason-Jones to highlight that soldiers were probably responsible for the mending and upkeep of their clothing.[130] However, as noted above, her argument was based on assumptions about the masculinity of the context. It is conceivable that women frequented these towers, perhaps illicitly, but their presence cannot be argued convincingly based on this evidence alone.

In the Lucanian villa at San Giovanni di Ruoti, four of the eight bronze and bone needles from period 3B contexts (dated ca. 460–545 C.E.) are from the area of Corridor 43, which led to the bath complex.[131] Loom-weights and possibly spindlewhorls were also promi-nent in this area, as were items of jewelry and a bone comb.[132] This artifact assemblage implies that women congregated and worked cloth in this open and light corridor area. The needles add weight to this identi-fication of gendered sociospatial practice but do not carry sufficient gender characterization on their own to lead to such an identification.

Of the 16 standard bone and bronze needles re-corded in the Insula of the Menander in Pompeii, which range in preserved length from 50 to 118 mm, at least 11 were recorded in assemblages that appear to be of women's items. One bone needle (preserved lgth. 85 mm) was found associated with a possible spindle and gaming pieces in Room 1 of the Casa del Menandro. One bone needle (lgth. 118 mm) was re-corded with jewelry and personal-hygiene equipment in a cupboard in the atrium of the Casa del Fabbro. One bone needle and six bronze needles (lgths. 50–70 mm) were recorded in Room 5 of the Casa del Fab-bro along with a small glass unguentarium and what was probably a bone spindle. And one bronze needle (lgth. 56 mm) was recorded in what appears to have been a storeroom, Room 12 in House I.8.10, along with a range of material including jewelry, gaming pieces, an ear cleaner, a warp beater, and five bone implements that may have been spindles.[133] A further bronze needle associated with a glass balsamarium in Room 36 in the Casa del Menandro is noteworthy but inconclusive.[134] While the needle in Room 12 in House I.10.8 was probably in storage with other cloth-working items, the one in the cupboard in the atrium of the Casa del Fabbro might be identified more securely as part of a *mundus muliebris*. Those in Room

[126] Cool 2004, 393.
[127] Cool 2002, 55, 111, 127, 135, 181, 194–96.
[128] Clarke 1979, 249.
[129] Clarke 1979, 299 (bead necklace), 307 (bracelet), 316 (two hairpins).
[130] Allason-Jones 1988, 203, no. 2; 220; 1995, 28.
[131] Simpson 1997, 34–5, plan 9.

[132] Simpson 1997, 13 (table 6).
[133] Allison 2006a, cat. nos. 141–45, 1120–27, 1151–54, 1717–31, respectively; see also Allison 2008b, cat. nos. 141–45, 1120–27, 1151–54, 1717–31.
[134] Allison 2006a, cat. nos. 676, 677; 2008b, cat. nos. 676, 677.

5 of the same house and in Room 1 of the Casa del Menandro are parts of assemblages that suggest these spaces were associated with women. If this was the case, then at least two of the rooms in the Casa del Fabbro would have had relatively strong female associations, a finding that could be used, along with the evidence from the villa at San Giovanni di Ruoti, in more critical approaches to gendered space in Roman houses.

While there is a prominent association of these needles with potential women's space in these domestic contexts in Italy, and interestingly with gaming, needles alone are not useful for identifying gendered sociospatial practices.[135] Bronze needles also occur in less female assemblages in Pompeian houses: four bronze needles (lgths. 78–93 mm) were recorded in a large assemblage in the garden portico of the Casa del Fabbro, which included measuring and woodworking equipment.[136] In the same assemblage, one bronze needle (lgth. 110 mm) was found in a concretion of what appears to be medical or toilet equipment.[137] There is no essential difference in the size and types of needles between those found in the portico of the Casa del Fabbro and those in the potential women's assemblages, with the exception of bone needles among the latter. This sample of domestic contexts is admittedly small, but it suggests a stronger female gendering of bone needles, which might confirm the main association of bone needles with sewing cloth and perhaps hair arranging.[138] Bronze needles of standard type and size also seem to have a strong association with women and cloth working, but they had a greater range of less specifically gendered uses.[139]

Comparable needles have been recorded within Roman military bases. Some 29 bone and 12 bronze needles were recorded from the fort at South Shields, although without precise contexts.[140] In the fort at Ellingen, at least four bronze needles and remains of up to another six bone and eight bronze needles or pins were recorded.[141] These were found predominantly with residential buildings, Buildings B, C, and F, and tended to be associated with other female artifacts.[142] Vegetius considered that anyone involved in cloth working was an unsuitable recruit for military life, and weavers were reportedly banned from the army by law.[143] However, this prohibition may not have applied to sewing and mending.[144] In the Pompeian domestic contexts, more masculine assemblages provide evidence for the wider use of needles but not necessarily how or by whom. It is certainly noteworthy that the fort at Ellingen, which had considerable evidence for the presence of women, also had relatively large numbers of possible needles, both in bone and bronze.[145]

The current evidence at these sites, and in sexed contexts, indicates that needles and their related activities had female associations but that they were less specifically gendered than the other two artifact types discussed here. Needles are, therefore, less useful for identifying gendered space and practice, but at the same time their inclusion in assemblages with other potentially female-related artifacts can support the identification of a location of female-related activities.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This article showcases some of the rich body of artifactual evidence from sexed and unsexed contexts that can be rigorously analyzed for a more material-cultural and gendered approach to social behavior in the Roman world. It also highlights the universality of certain types of artifacts across the Roman world that can be used more critically to investigate gendered roles in the spread of Roman cultural practices. And it demonstrates that the investigation of artifact assemblages is important for better understandings of gendered sociospatial practices.

More specifically, I argue that the consideration of different levels of gendered characterization for particular artifact types constitutes a useful interpretive tool for investigating how gender was played out in lived space in the Roman world. These three types of artifacts have uncertain gender associations. Nevertheless, they illustrate how symbolically gendered artifacts from contexts with sexed bodies can be used as a basis for more holistic investigations of actual gendered practice in lived spaces that lack such sexed bodies.

[135] For association with gaming, see Cool and Baxter 2002, 370; Allison 2013, 321–35.

[136] Allison 2006a, cat. nos. 1298, 1299, 1338, 1339; see also Allison 2008b, cat. nos. 1298, 1299, 1338, 1339.

[137] Allison 2006a, cat. no. 1326; see also Allison 2008b, cat. no. 1326.

[138] Cool (2004, 393) suggested that bone and metal needles were used differently.

[139] E.g., for women as medical practitioners, see Baker 2004, 45; Allison 2009, 25–7.

[140] Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, 65–9, cat. nos. 2.262–88 (bone); 176–78, cat. nos. 3.493–504 (bronze).

[141] Zanier 1992, cat. nos. B140–43. See also those found at Vetera I (Hanel 1995, cat. nos. B271–75) in the street and central market area; in Forts I and II at Rottweil (Franke 2003, cat. nos. 195, 838, 948, 1136, 1208); and in the fort at Oberstimm (von Schönberger 1978, cat. nos. B541–45).

[142] See the interactive map of Ellingen in Allison 2012 (plots ECO5 ["cloth-working?/toilet?," "dress?/cloth-working?," "dress?cloth-working?/toilet?"], EGEN01).

[143] Veg., *Mil.* 1.7; Milner 2001, 7 n. 6.

[144] Allason-Jones 1995, 28.

[145] Allison 2013, 266–68.

They also demonstrate that relationships between symbolic and actual practices need to be treated with caution. In rare instances, sexed evidence is associated with lived space, as in the graffiti in Shop I.10.2–3 in Pompeii and as can be argued from the evidence of infant burials at Ellingen.[146] Such instances provide more substantiated information on gendered sociospatial practices. In other instances, artifact assemblages in lived spaces can help us develop a better understanding of how particular artifacts may have been used and gendered and also why they might not carry symbolic gendered characteristics.

Becker argued, contra van Driel-Murray, that we need to "focus on small finds which have definite gendered associations and which exclude any exceptional usage."[147] None of these artifact types has an exclusive, or assured, gender characterization. It is doubtful that any Roman artifacts can be "definitely gendered" or that we will ever be able to exclude exceptional usage. However, more systematic and interrogative approaches to a range of different types of contexts and to analyses of particular artifact types can help identify consistent patterns of gender association. Of importance are repeated patterns of association across a number of contexts, regions, and periods. Such continuity of practice, both symbolic and actual, can serve as a basis for artifact characterization for the further exploration of gender associations, gendered practices, and gendered use of space, as well as for exploring changing gender associations and practices across different social contexts and regions. These characterizations can be used to critically examine often androcentric approaches to lived space and to how different gender and status groups interacted with material culture.[148] The inclusion of gendered perspectives in debates such as those surrounding "romanization" and "imperialism" can add critically important dimensions to our understandings of these processes. Such gendered characterizations of artifacts can also be used for more pluralist interpretative approaches to artifact assemblages. These assemblages may then be used as signifiers of gendered practices across a range of contexts and a range of types of people.[149] The aim of this study is, as stated by Roth in her volume on agricultural slavery, "not to seal particular types of evidence but to feed gender into our understanding of past societies."[150] The processes presented might be considered to represent very positivist approaches to

what Allason-Jones refers to in the title of a 1995 essay as "'sexing' small finds."[151] Again, the evident patterns of habitual practice in this material and its contexts are important here, rather than how individual items might be sexed anecdotally. The associated activities and modes of dress are used to make "interpretative links between objects and social roles and identities."[152] The gender characterizations I have attempted here are sensitive to the specific contexts but not dictated by past attitudes to context function.

While these examples of artifact types illustrate some of the wealth of Roman artifactual data that can potentially be gendered, they also illustrate their often inconsistent and compromised collection and analyses. In Roman archaeology, we are often analyzing data collected in the past using quite different methods with very different research questions. The long and complex history of Roman archaeology and its disciplinary alliances has led to an unevenness in data quality as well as in engagement with feminist and gender theory. However, the above discussion demonstrates that previous studies, which have attempted to "sex" artifacts without the benefit of specifically sexed bodies, are still useful and should not be dismissed out of hand. Such studies often help substantiate recent investigations that have dealt with sex and gender more critically. Rather than throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater, it is important to reexamine the full range of evidence as well as past interpretations of this evidence. Irrespective of exceptional cases, the resulting gender characterizations can be used for more nuanced, less androcentric, approaches to interpreting the use contexts of these artifacts, their assemblages, and the activities with which they are associated. As in the case of military bases, such an approach can be used to identify potential gender associations that "search less for certainty than for multiple plausible scenarios."[153]

Much of the above argument and the gender characterizations discussed may seem self-evident and traditional. This is true, in part. However, I argue that archaeologists have recently felt constrained from using such characterizations because of the risk of seeming to stereotype gendered practice. They have often felt restricted from exploring gendered practices through the interrogation of artifacts and the archaeological record because of the lack of explicit and secure evidence for gendered behavior. However,

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146 For discussion and references, see Allison 2013, 261–65.
147 Becker 2006, 37; van Driel-Murray 1997, 55.
148 See, e.g., Gardner 2007, 82.
149 Cf. Gardner 2007, 82, 89.

150 Roth 2007, 58.
151 Allason-Jones 1995.
152 Stig Sørensen 2006, 28–9.
153 Tomášková 2006, 25.

feminist material-cultural approaches, especially to the interpretation of artifacts, combined with critical, interrogative analyses of textual, epigraphical, figurative, and burial evidence where sexed bodies are present, can be employed to explore gendered associations. While many gender characterizations of artifacts may be shown to be incorrect, through further study they can form a useful first step for developing gender-based analyses in Roman archaeology, especially in contexts were no actual sexed bodies are present.

The examples discussed here have been investigated through published material, often published within quite different and traditional scholarly frameworks. Allason-Jones stressed the need for careful and critical approaches to such artifact catalogues, which have not always published all artifactual evidence and its contexts.[154] She reiterated Bishop's emphasis on the need to "feel comfortable about the taphonomy"[155] and stressed the desirability of the firsthand study of artifacts and artifact assemblages. Allason-Jones' comments and the analyses in this article highlight the need for more rigorous, more holistic, and more contextualized cataloguing of artifacts and also for more detailed publication that considers artifact consumption as well as production.[156] Especially appropriate for the publication of excavated artifacts are online, open access data resources that give scholars much greater access to such material[157] and also reduce the need for selectivity due to the expense of paper publication. Better taphonomic information in more recent excavations is certainly helping develop more contextualized approaches to artifacts and artifact distribution. Unfortunately, there are many Roman-period sites from which the available information is less precise and less fully presented but from which better-preserved artifacts and artifact assemblages have often been excavated. Particularly relevant here are artifacts from rapidly abandoned military sites, and of course Pompeii, where the types of artifacts discussed above could often have been lost or abandoned in their place of use. Again, such contexts and such material do not provide ideal data, but the extensiveness of such material and its availability for study mean that quantitative comparisons for consistent patterns of practice can often compensate, at least in part, for taphonomic uncertainties.

Finally, this article aims to present approaches, analytical tools, and some case studies that can help increase "conversations between social and material

traces of the past."[158] It also aims to exemplify how more integrated approaches to Roman artifacts and their gender associations can make a greater contribution to the fast-moving field of gender studies related to the ancient world. At the same time, it highlights the complexity of these data and of their investigation. Stig Sørensen asked whether Roman archaeology can contribute to how we investigate gender more broadly or whether it merely uses principles from other branches of archaeology and the social sciences.[159] The interrogative processes outlined in this article, based on a wealth of data with good historical specificity, can contribute to greater understandings of the histories of various gendered practices that are relatively free of undue stereotyping.

SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT
    HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER
UNIVERSITY ROAD
LEICESTER LE1 7RH
UNITED KINGDOM
PMA9@LE.AC.UK

Works Cited

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[154] Allason-Jones 2012, 474.
[155] Bishop 2011, 115.
[156] Allison 1997; Cool 2007, 54.

[157] See, e.g., Allison 2008b, 2012.
[158] Tomášková 2006, 20.
[159] Stig Sørensen 2006, 30.

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A Preliminary Report on a Coastal and Underwater Survey in the Area of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

RALPH K. PEDERSEN

In March 2012, Philipps-Universität Marburg conducted a 12-day survey along a section of the Red Sea coast of Saudi Arabia reaching from Rabigh in the north to al-Shoaiba in the south. As the beginning of a five-year archaeological project, this preliminary venture sought to define the logistical situation and to discover any sites of archaeological importance that may exist within the zone. The survey included the search for and the examination of harbor sites, as well as shipwrecks. Sites of antiquity and the Early Islamic period were of particular interest. The results of the survey included the discovery of a harbor and a shipwreck of the late third or the fourth century that contained Roman amphoras, among other objects.*

INTRODUCTION

With the signing of a five-year agreement with the Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities (SCTA), a team of archaeologists and other specialists from Philipps-Universität Marburg conducted a two-week preliminary survey along the central coast of Saudi Arabia.[1] The region, which reaches from Rabigh south to al-Shoaiba,[2] a distance of some 200 km, has been little explored. There have been few archaeological investigations along this coast and certainly none under the sea. The preliminary survey examined select areas at the extremities of the research zone and several underwater locations off the coast of Jeddah in the Eliza Shoals. The goals were to ascertain the logistics for a long-term investigation and to make preliminary discoveries that could demonstrate the research potential of the area.

THE STATE OF NAUTICAL AND COASTAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Coastal archaeology and nautical archaeology in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are in their infancy. There have apparently been few archaeological underwater investigations prior to the survey in 2012. There have, however,

[1] The team included the author as principal investigator; Rupert A. Brandmeier, project manager; Gerd Knepel, dive master; Jesper Wangen, doctoral student and ceramics specialist; and Winfried Held, university administrator. The project was joined by personnel from the SCTA, including Ammar Abdul Karem Alsewan, Ibrahim O. Aldhwyan, Abdullah S. Al-Haiti, Mahdi K. Alqarni, Fares Mohammed Hamzi, and Khalaf Jalawi Al Hamad.
[2] Al-Shoaiba has varying spellings (as do other sites mentioned in this article), including but not limited to "al-Shu'ayba" and "Shuaiba" (Awari and Mullah 2010).

been some terrestrial coastal examinations, primarily north of the research area (fig. 1).[3]

Few harbors of the ancient Red Sea coast of what is now Saudi Arabia are mentioned in classical literature; scholars debate the locations of those that are mentioned, such as Iotabê, which may be equated with Tiran Island at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba.[4] Another northern ancient harbor whose location is unknown is Leuke Kome, the primary port of the Nabataeans.[5] This port has been placed anywhere from Khuraybah to Yanbu.[6] The former is a strong candidate, lying as it does at the head of the Red Sea and on the land route to Petra.[7] Musil, writing in the early 20th century, may have made the first archaeological observations concerning the location of this port at Khuraybah.[8]

South from Khuraybah is al-Wedjh, which has been recognized since at least the 19th century as the "Egra" of Strabo (16.4.24), although there seems to be no archaeological evidence that supports this identification.[9] The name of the port is related to the inland city of Hegra (el-Hijr). It may have been a usual practice to call a port after its accompanying city.[10] In considering whether al-Wedjh (also spelled "el-Wijh") was the site of the seaport of el-Hijr, Burton, who excavated at Midian in the 1870s, stated that "El-Wijh is still the main, indeed the only, harbour in South Midian; and, during our stay there, a large caravan brought goods . . . from the upper Wady Hamz."[11] Al-Wedjh is also a leading candidate for the location of Leuke Kome because of its location opposite Myos Hormos.[12]

Farther south are a series of harbors that were surveyed in the late 1970s or early 1980s.[13] These contained artifacts of Nabataean and Islamic origin along with such features as coral-block foundations.[14] These harbors include al-Hawra, which Burton equates with Leuke Kome and at which some archaeological trenches were dug in the early 1980s;[15] Bar Antar, located on a small inlet north of al-Wedjh and containing many artifacts and coral-built buildings; and al-Sawrah, located between Bar Antar and Khuraybah and containing

FIG. 1. A map of the Red Sea, showing key sites mentioned in the text.

coral-built walls, beads, iron slag, lithics, glass, bronze objects, and Nabataean pottery.[16] Also found along this coast were the Early Islamic harbors of the pilgrimage routes. These include the previously mentioned al-Hawra; al-Dogm, located north of Umm Lejj; and al-Jār at the Bay of Buraykah, where sondages were made in the early 1980s and in 2002.[17] Al-Jār, located on both an island and the mainland, is the former port for Medina and contains "several buildings and

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[3] South of the survey zone, most research has been done in the Farasān Islands. Investigations there have centered on paleocoastlines (Bailey et al. 2007); ethnographic research, during which a stone anchor was found at Wadi Matar (Cooper and Zazzaro 2012, 408); and epigraphy (de Procé and Phillips 2010).

[4] The geography and marine conditions argue against this determination (Mayerson 1992, 3; 1995).

[5] Nappo 2010.

[6] Nappo (2010) believes al-Wedjh has a better claim based in large part on an analysis of the sailing distances in Strabo and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

[7] Sidebotham 1986, 125–26; Tomber 2004, 396.

[8] Musil 1926. Ingraham et al. (1981) conducted some exca-

vations at nearby Aynunah in the early 1980s, but the harbor area appears to have received little attention.

[9] Nappo (2010, 340–42) places Egra at the inland city of Mada'in Saleh (ancient Hegra), despite what Strabo records. Additionally, Sprenger (1875, 38) suggests ancient Egra was in the vicinity of Rabigh.

[10] Burton 1879; Musil 1926, 299.

[11] Burton 1879, 107.

[12] Durand 2012, 88.

[13] Al-Mughannam et al. 1983.

[14] Ingraham et al. 1981, 78.

[15] Power 2012, 139.

[16] Ingraham et al. 1981.

[17] Damgaard 2011, 169–71.

a wall with traces of wells and conduits leading to still intact water basins."[18] It played a crucial role in the aftermath of the famine of 634/5 when, after the Islamic conquest of Egypt, grain and supplies began to be brought from Egypt through Clysma to Medina via al-Jār.[19] Apparently, ships of the international trade, including those from China, visited al-Jār over the next few centuries; the harbor continued to be the entrepôt for Egyptian grain until it was overtaken in importance by Jeddah and Yanbu.[20]

Farther south is Yanbu with its *sharm* (narrow inlet or passage) and bay. This may be the location of Charmuthas, said by Agatharchides to be the best harbor on the coast. Agatharchides (quoted in Diod. Sic. 3.44.7–8) also noted its similarity to Carthage with its narrow entrance and central round island. Others, however, place Leuke Kome at Yanbu, with Charmuthas lying farther south,[21] such as at the lagoon Khor al-Kharrar near Rabigh.[22] Charmuthas is further associated with a triple-temple complex whose location remains undetermined.[23] Nevertheless, Yanbu contains one of the area's more ancient cultural horizons. Hand axes of the Middle Acheulean tradition have been found on its shore, indicating its long attractiveness for coastal dwellers if not seafarers.[24]

Several shipwrecks are known along the northwestern coast. These have been found by sport divers—thus, they are highly vulnerable to looting. One wreck, dating seemingly to the 18th century, was featured in the 2009 BBC program "The Frankincense Trail" and has subsequently been severely robbed.[25] The wrecks along the northwestern coast might be indicative of the volume of sea travel there. The area is, however, the zone most frequented by sport divers, which may account for the relative preponderance of shipwrecks in the region and the lack of known wrecks in other places less frequented by divers.

SAILING ROUTES AND CONDITIONS

Our knowledge of the sailing routes along the Red Sea Arabian coast in antiquity is limited. In the Medieval era, Ahmad Ibn Majid, the famed navigator, recorded the navigational practices for the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, but of the Red Sea and the areas north of the southern Red Sea he, and others of his ilk, had little knowledge.[26] Nevertheless, Ibn Majid noted five routes: two were coastal routes between land and reefs along either side of the sea; one was the central deepwater route; and the last two involved hopping along the islands on both the Arabian and African sides.

The lack of detailed knowledge of the sailing routes is perhaps due to the linear nature of the Red Sea, which required little navigation aside from north–south reckoning, and to the desire of captains to stay in the middle of the sea to avoid the "treacherous banks and reefs near the coast."[27] Even in Strabo's (16.4.2) time, those banks were known to be sandy and barren. It is possible that most traffic crossed from the Nabataean region to Africa, as suggested by Nabataean graffiti in Egypt's Eastern Desert near Myos Hormos.[28] Perhaps sailors preferred to sail the more frequented routes and the relatively more settled shores of Africa before recrossing to Arabia Felix. The anonymous author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes the situation of the Arabian coast south of the Nabataean lands thus (the harbor referenced in the first line is Leuke Kome):[29]

Immediately after this harbor begins the country of Arabia, extending lengthwise far down the Erythraean Sea. . . . The coastal area is, similarly, marked by clusters of the mean huts of the Ichthyophagoi, while the area inland has villages and pasturages inhabited by people, speaking two languages, who are vicious: they plunder any who stray from a course down the middle and fall among them, and they enslave any who are rescued by them from shipwreck. . . . In fact, to set a course along the coast of Arabia is altogether risky, since the region with its lack of harbors offers poor anchorage, is foul with rocky stretches, cannot be approached because of cliffs, and is fearsome in every respect. This is why, when sailing down the sea, we set a course for Arabia down the middle and put on extra speed as far as Katakekaumene ["burnt"] Island.

Clearly, in at least the Roman period ships that were engaged in international trade ran the risk of notorious raiders hiding along the shores of the central Arabian coast. Little is known of these people beyond the scant knowledge imparted by the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. The pirates appear to belong to disparate

[18] Al-Mughannam et al. 1983, 46–8.

[19] Hitti 1916, 340–41; Dietrich 1965, 454; Mayerson 1995, 34.

[20] Power 2012, 139.

[21] Ingraham et al. 1981, 77–8.

[22] Nalesini 2012, 79 n. 8.

[23] Nalesini 2012, 79.

[24] Zarins et al. 1982, 35–6.

[25] Information about the looting has been provided by sources in Jeddah.

[26] Tolmacheva 1980, 189.

[27] Tibbetts 1961, 323.

[28] Durand 2012, 87.

[29] *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 20 (translated by Casson 1989, 63 [brackets original]).

groups, unable to be controlled or to be absorbed into the neighboring Nabataean and Sabaean cultures. As Casson states, the coast had "no central authority, being inhabited by primitive fisherfolk and herdsmen; the latter eked out their meager livelihood with the profitable returns from piracy."[30] The coastal people were quite adept at their calling, and according to Pliny (*HN* 6.101) they posed a problem grave enough to require the arming of Red Sea ships with archers.

Avoiding the central Arabian coast was therefore a priority—stray too close and risk capture or death. The character of the area may be responsible for the strategic choices made by Aelius Gallus, who, in 26/5 B.C.E., attempted to conquer south Arabia. Arriving at Leuke Kome with a fleet of 130 transports and 80 warships, Gallus eschewed both his ships and more southerly ports that would have minimized "the grueling overland"[31] six-month march down the peninsula (Strabo 16.4.23–4).[32] While it was the norm for Roman armies to survive off the resources of the areas they were passing through,[33] perhaps his choice of avoiding a faster sea route was due to the lack of serviceable or friendly harbors, as well as the uncertainties of the availability of supplies along the Arabian coast. Gallus' attempt was, as is well known, futile—he stopped just a few days short of his goal.[34] On the retreat, he and his legions exited Arabia at Egra (Strabo 16.4.24) after a northward 60-day march through a series of inland towns,[35] bypassing the inhospitable coast.

Although the central Arabian coast was shunned as environmentally hazardous and as home to pirates and may also have been lacking in resources, the danger posed by the reefs, while real, may not have been as detrimental to seafaring as the ancient authors would have us believe.[36] The African side of the sea has been sailed since at least the third millennium B.C.E., when the earliest recorded Egyptian expeditions to Punt took place.[37] The occurrence of early seafaring endeavors is particularly important for understanding the con-

ditions of the Arabian side, as the two shores of the Red Sea present similar sailing and geographic conditions. A network of reefs along both the African and Arabian coasts blocks access to the land in many places and prevents watercraft from reaching the shore.[38] Harbors occur at breaks in the reef network, particularly at, but perhaps not limited to, wadi mouths and *sharms*.[39] Indeed, several harbors occur on both sides of the Red Sea at roughly the same latitude, at least in the northern half of the sea. The previously mentioned Egra lies opposite Myos Hormos, where Gallus landed his troops (Strabo 16.4.24). Likewise, Jeddah is opposite Suakin, and Yanbu lies across from Berenice. In the south, the twinning of the Dahlak Archipelago on the western side with the Farasān island group on the eastern side is readily apparent—they occur at similar latitudes, and each contains one major island and many smaller ones. This accident of twin geography perhaps supported east–west sailing from the earliest times.[40]

While the reef networks along the Red Sea coasts are a hazard, coastal routes existed, as Ibn Majid noted.[41] Obviously, the Arabian pirates mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* sailed these waters. They would at least have used the passageways between shore and reef for traveling between local settlements,[42] perhaps engaging in cabotage, the local commerce that moved many of the goods of the ancient world.[43] Inshore sailing differed from open-water travel, as it required little navigational aid beyond landmarks and the knowledge of danger zones.[44] There is no reason ancient seafarers—pirate or otherwise—could not have sailed the coast and maintained some form of harborage to service craft, crews, and commerce. Determining where they did so is a main focus of this archaeological survey.

THE SURVEY ALONG THE CENTRAL COAST

Kennedy and Bishop's recent analysis of images on Google Earth reveals a vast number of inland archaeological sites east of Jeddah,[45] but the coastal

[30] Casson 1989, 46.

[31] Sidebotham 1986, 121–22.

[32] Jameson 1968, 76–7; Sidebotham 1986, 120.

[33] Sidebotham 1986, 122, 127.

[34] Gallus reached Yemen at Athrula, which an inscription "obliquely conf rms" as modern Barakish (Sidebotham 1986, 126).

[35] Sidebotham 1986, 120.

[36] Villiers (1961, 251–52) sailed up the Arabian coast in a traditional Arabian craft, and while the reefs posed a danger by day and prevented night sailing, the trip was made without incident thanks to the captain and crew who knew the reefs well.

[37] Boivin et al. 2010, 261. The evidence of such expeditions is aptly illustrated by the f ndings at Mersa Gawasis (Ward and Zazzaro 2010; Ward 2012).

[38] Ingraham et al. 1981, 63.

[39] Murray and Warmington 1967, 25.

[40] Evidence of early sea crossings between the shores of the southern reaches of the sea is seen in the movement of obsidian from Africa to Arabia in the third millennium B.C.E. (Fattovich 2012, 39).

[41] Tibbetts 1961, 325.

[42] Villiers (1961, 251) notes watercraft called *sambuks* sailing the coastal channel between reefs and mainland, including "two from Massawah one morning, in the inside passage off Midi: they were beating down to Aden and came the inside way for its f at sea. They know the reefs."

[43] Hohlfelder and Vann 2000, 126.

[44] Tibbetts 1961, 63.

[45] Kennedy and Bishop 2011.

area has received little attention. In comparison with the northwest coast, the Jeddah region is surprisingly free of known ancient harbors. This is not to say that the region is unsuitable geographically for ships and shipping. The Rabigh *sharm* and the Khor al-Kharrar lagoon just to the north make fine anchorages, as does Sharm Abhur and the bay at Jeddah itself.

The inland waterway around Jeddah, located between the mainland and outlying Eliza Shoals and extending north to Rabigh and south to al-Shoaiba, creates a conduit for local sea traffic. Additionally, the southern end of Eliza Shoals is directly west of Jeddah's Sharm Abhur, providing opportunity for open-water ships to skirt the shoals on the seaward side and access the shore at Sharm Abhur or Jeddah—the first major access points south of Rabigh. As such, Jeddah and its vicinity represent a juncture of the differing sailing routes, with implications for harbors, both formal and informal, and for shipwrecks of archaeological importance. The absence of archaeological maritime data for the area, therefore, may be due to the scant archaeological research in the region.

Rabigh/Khor Al-Kharrar

The area of Rabigh contains a *sharm*, now a major industrial sector, and the lagoon Khor al-Kharrar, which stretches approximately 20 km along the coast.[46] Between *sharm* and lagoon, the beachfront is typical of the Arabian coast, lined with fossil coral shelves of ancient shorelines. On the seafront near the southern area of the lagoon, the fossil coral gives way to a shanty-lined sandy beach that is used by fishermen as an informal harbor, despite that it has little natural protection from the elements. It is a strand where boats can be drawn onto the sand in inclement weather, and the shanties are inhabited only when fishing occurs. Perhaps drawing boats onto the strand is an ancient practice as well as a modern one. If this is the case, then there may be few expectations of finding any permanent harbor structures. Nevertheless, preliminary exploration along the southern edge of the lagoon resulted in the discovery of a jetty constructed of rough coral pieces (fig. 2).

The jetty is approximately 24 m long x 2 m wide and has a low profile. It is elevated approximately 30 cm above the surrounding sand. The outer end of the jetty lies in the damp sand of the tidal flats that characterize the area.[47] The flats stretch toward the water for perhaps another 20 m beyond the jetty's end. The area is extremely shallow, although depths within the

FIG. 2. Two views of the jetty at Khor al-Kharrar: *top*, the jetty, looking north into the lagoon, from the high ground near the middens and fireplaces (R. Pedersen); *bottom*, the jetty from the edge of the lagoon (the rise in the background on the right is the high ground where the middens and fireplaces are located) (G. Knepel).

lagoon can reach 8 m.[48] The true interface between land and water is difficult to discern, as its location is variable based on wind and water conditions. The jetty is nevertheless now unserviceable, as it cannot be reached by boat, nor can the structure be used for fishing. Thus, the jetty must have been constructed in a period of deeper water conditions along the southern edge of the lagoon. Sediment studies show that deposits in the southern sections of the lagoon are finer than those in the north and are due to flash flooding in the rainy season, but the rate of deposition is not known.[49] There were no artifacts associated with the jetty, which would have aided in the dating of the

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[46] Al-Washmi 1999, 71.
[47] Al-Washmi 1999, 71. Sediment deposits in the southern reaches of the lagoon are predominately due to f ash f ooding

(Al-Washmi 1999, 85).
[48] Abu-Shanab et al. 1999.
[49] Al-Washmi 1999, 76, 85.

structure. As the team was conducting a preliminary walking survey of the area, no digging was done. The digging of a sondage adjacent to the jetty may reveal artifacts, such as pottery discards from boats and general activity, as well as the depth of the construction. This remains for future investigation.

At the landward end of the jetty is a small rise of about 3 m. On top of this are a few mollusk-shell middens. All the middens are small, approximately 1 m across, and none protrudes above the surrounding sand. A small arc of coral pieces was arranged around the western edge of the midden closest to the jetty. The other two middens display no such arrangement. Two fireplaces were also found on the rise (fig. 3). These consisted of oval, flat black stones approximately 10 cm across. Informants within our Saudi contingent stated that people used to heat such rocks in fires and then cook meat, fish, or shellfish on the hot stones. As with the jetty, there were no artifacts associated with either the middens or the fireplaces, and therefore the dates of these features could not be determined.

Clearly, the jetty was built to allow access from the land to deeper water for the receiving of boats, most likely local fishing craft, as perhaps indicated by the shell middens. The middens are apparently related to the jetty, as none was found elsewhere in the general area. Whether the jetty, middens, and fireplaces predate modern activities is a question that can be answered only by more extensive investigation.

Al-Shoaiba, Ancient Port of Mecca

Al-Shoaiba was the harbor for Mecca in pre-Islamic and Early Islamic times until Jeddah rose to prominence.[50] Although it appears to have had no formal development, al-Shoaiba "accommodated some kind of ship-berthing and loading/off-loading activity . . . [as] one of the very few places along the western Arabian coast which could have accommodated such activity."[51] It served to bring foreign goods to Mecca, which was only 85 km away, and to send Mecca-area products, such as leather and horn-based goods, into the maritime network linking Mecca to the southern Red Sea cultures, such as the Aksumite kingdom.[52] Indeed, al-Shoaiba was the place from which the early Muslims fleeing persecution sailed for refuge in the

FIG. 3. A midden of mollusk shells on the rise behind the jetty at Khor al-Kharrar, with a low semicircle of coral pieces on its western edge (J. Wangen).

Aksumite lands, and even later a force was launched from there to repel hostile ships.[53]

Al-Shoaiba is a shallow lagoonal complex consisting of Khawr ash Shaibah al Masdudah in the north and Khawr ash Shaibah al Maftuhah in the south.[54] The complex, which reaches more than 13 km north–south and a maximum of 2.5 km wide, is prone to siltation by aeolian deposits and waterborne sediments carried through two channels linking the lagoons to the sea.[55] Mangrove trees, now endangered,[56] stand along its shores in places. The groves may have contributed to the shallowness of the lagoon via the deposition of decaying matter.[57] The eastern shores of the lagoons are shallow and indistinct, as at Khor al-Kharrar, with tidal flats extending to the east. Deeper areas occur near the inlets.

Work at al-Shoaiba concentrated on a brief walking survey along the two inlets. How easily the area could be accessed—that is, whether ships were able to sail into the lagoon—was an important question. Both inlets are deep (the southern one can reach a depth of 6 m)[58] and wide enough to permit the transit of watercraft, but the shallowness of the lagoons would have prevented larger boats from penetrating far into them. Perhaps ancient ships either simply moored alongside the inlets, as do the modern fishing craft, or were drawn onto the beach (fig. 4). The walking

[50] Jandora 1995, 334. It is unknown when Jeddah was founded and al-Shoaiba abandoned. One late story attributes the events to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān in 647 C.E. (Hawting 1984, 321).

[51] Jandora 1995, 334. The Arabic term used in conjunction with harbors such as al-Shoaiba is *sāḥil*, which has been translated as either "port" or the more vague "coastal entrepôt for inland commerce" (Wansbrough 1970, 92).

[52] Jandora 1995, 335, 341, 343.

[53] Hawting 1984, 319.

[54] Rasul et al. 2013. "Khawr" is an alternate spelling for "Khor" as in "Khor al-Kharrar."

[55] Al-Washmi 2003, 9.

[56] Awari and Mullah 2010.

[57] Biagi and Nisbet 2006, 222.

[58] Al-Washmi 2003, 7.

FIG. 4. The modern harbor at al-Shoaiba, southern inlet (W. Held).

survey along each inlet at al-Shoaiba revealed no ancient detritus, such as the broken pottery expected in a harbor site, or signs of ancient use. However, the southern sides of each inlet were not examined, as they were inaccessible. The mangrove stands within the lagoon and their exploitation for wood were likely determining factors in the selection of places such as al-Shoaiba.[59] Thus, if watercraft accessed the lagoon, they would likely have stayed in the vicinity of the inlets and accessed the mangrove wood via small boats.[60]

Given al-Shoaiba's maritime role, it is not surprising that some accounts relate the loss of a Byzantine or Aksumite ship there in the late sixth or early seventh century. The timbers from the ship were subsequently used to rebuild the Ka'ba.[61] This wreck has not been found, although two other shipwrecks at al-Shoaiba are known to exist. One of these is said by unnamed local sources to contain large "jars" of unknown type,

several of which are said to have been removed by divers for household and garden decoration. The other is the so-called Silver Coin Wreck. This site has long been the target of sport divers, and in the 1990s several thousand 13th-century coins were removed from the wreck and brought to Key West, Florida. The coins were subsequently advertised on the Internet, which brought them to the attention of Saudi and international authorities. After a series of negotiations, the coins were returned to Saudi Arabia in 2006,[62] and in 2011–2012 they were on display in the National Museum of Saudi Arabia in Riyadh. The location of the wreck is presently unknown.

Eliza Shoals

The Eliza Shoals lie northwest of Jeddah. This is a vast, shallow area of reefs and coral heads interspersed with lagoons, which are in places less than 0.5 m deep.

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[59] Biagi and Nisbet 2006, 221.

[60] There is some question whether the lagoonal location is actually ancient al-Shoaiba, as the current identif cation seems to have entered western scholarship only in the mid 19th century. In his study of ancient Arabian geography, Sprenger (1875, 39–40) identif ed al-Shoaiba as Ptolemy's Kentos Kome (κέντος κώμη) and placed it at the lagoon only after viewing British Admiralty charts, which did not contain the name "al-Shoaiba" or any variant for the area (Hawting 1984, 325). Additionally, Muslim scholars of the Early Islamic

period apparently "had no real knowledge" of al-Shoaiba beyond "meager details" contained in stories (Hawting 1984, 325). See Hawting (1984) for a fuller discourse on the identif cation question.

[61] Hawting 1984, 318; Peters 1994, 48; Glassé and Smith 2003, 245. Some versions of the story place the wrecking at Jeddah, but the location of al-Shoaiba is better attested in Hawting 1984, 320.

[62] According to information at the exhibition in the National Museum of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, March 2012.

No islands occur, as the reef and coral heads barely break the surface. Between the shoals and the mainland is a deep trench. According to British Admiralty charts, a short coral shelf adjacent to the land quickly plunges to depths of more than 700 m, forming a channel between the mainland and the shoals. A short shelf surrounds the shoals on the channel side as well as on their seaward edge. This seaward shelf forms at the bases of the reefs, about 10 m beneath the surface, and generally descends to depths of 30 m or more before dropping into the abyss of the Red Sea.

It is possible for modern small boats and yachts to navigate in between the reefs in calm weather, but this would be hazardous without the aid of engines. Given the vagaries of winds, only a foolhardy sailor would take anything larger than a small fishing vessel over the shoals. Thus, ancient sea traffic would have been confined to the intercoastal channel and to skirting the seaward side of the reef. Long-distance vessels would have approached the area rarely, keeping to the middle of the sea for safety from the reefs and from raiders. It was thus expected that shipwrecks in the area would represent local coastal craft, seagoing ships heading to the Jeddah area for trade or replenishment of water or victuals, the occasional ship running before a storm for the safety of a harbor, or a ship blown inward toward the shoals. With these geographic and maritime parameters in mind, the survey began an underwater search at selected areas of the shoals—that is, in those areas believed more likely to pose a hazard to ancient ships. Our effort was rewarded on the second day with the discovery of a shipwreck.

The team first found the top of an amphora lying along the base of a reef. It then discovered several encrusted rectangular blocks of undetermined stone type, a large amphora sherd concreted into the reef, and another amphora, of a different type than the first, cemented into the seafloor matrix of sand and dead coral. This assemblage, while small, led the team to the hypothesis that this was a shipwreck site. The area stretching out from the reef is a level expanse of dead coral and sand that runs along the base of the reef until dropping off into deeper water, a typical seascape of the area.

The amphora top was raised for diagnostic purposes. It consisted of the mouth, the neck, a handle, and part of the shoulder of a large amphora (fig. 5). The mouth was funnel-shaped, and the remaining handle arched out high on the shoulder and apparently joined the neck below the funnel mouth, as best as could be seen through the overlying encrustation.
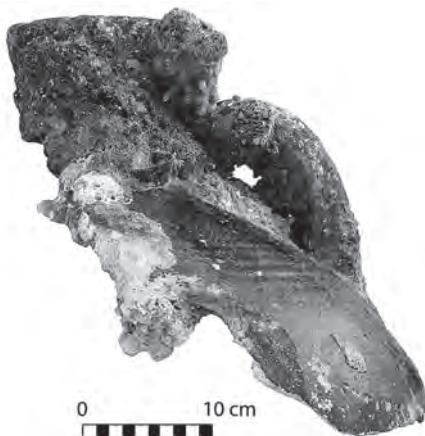

FIG. 5. The top of a large amphora believed to be of the Dressel 24 Similis D type. The piece was sent to the National Museum of Saudi Arabia in Riyadh for cleaning and conservation (R. Brandmeier).

There were nine or 10 bands of rilling on the shoulder, although the exact number was difficult to discern because of the vessel's uncleaned state. The fabric was red brown when wet. There was no covering slip, and no stamps or graffiti were visible. The interior surface exhibited wheel marks, and no coating was seen. It is likely the Dressel 24 Similis D type, a precursor to the Late Roman 2 amphora. Dating to the late third or the fourth century, it is noted for its funnel mouth, arching handles, and shoulder bands.[63] Dressel 24 Similis D and other Similis types have been identified as Greek-made containers for olive oil based on some examples in Dacia and Rome that are marked with the *dipinto* "oleum."[64]

A body sherd of a vessel was found nearby concreted into the reef. As this sherd had the same fabric thickness and type as the amphora top, it is possible that it belonged to the same vessel. No other fragments of this container were found, but given the coral growth and the coral death that leaves an abundance of rubble on the seafloor, it is likely that additional fragments have been covered by or incorporated into the reef. A few meters away from the amphora top, another amphora was found buried in the seabed. Enough overburden was cleared away to reveal the remains of the neck and a section of the body. The foot could not be exposed. The overburden's upper section consisted of loose sand and dead coral, while deeper down, perhaps at 10 cm, the coral matrix became hard and compact, making further manual clearing impossible.

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[63] Kaan Senol, pers. comm. 2012; Opait 2007, 632–33.

[64] Opait 2007, 633.

Nevertheless, some information about the vessel could be gleaned. Its undecorated fabric was dark brown when wet. The neck was broken and reduced to remnants around the body join. A stub of a handle sat high on the shoulder, and the stub of the upper join sits at the base of the neck or just below it. Perhaps the most important feature of the amphora was a hole, approximately 1 cm in diameter, low in the neck (fig. 6). Amphoras could be reused and even modified through the punching or drilling of holes, although creating such holes through fired ceramics typically damages the surrounding fabric, chipping off pieces and even forming a "crater" around the hole.[65] These holes could be abraded with rasps and files to smooth them.[66] Close examination of the amphora on the wreck site, however, revealed that the external surface of the hole was smooth and regular, and the surrounding surface and edges showed none of the damage that postfiring modification would produce. Therefore the hole may have been produced before firing and is probably a secondary fermentation lock. Examples of fermentation locks are found in amphora necks or stoppers at several Egyptian sites, such as Tutankhamun's tomb, the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, and Medum.[67] The locks provided an escape for gases produced by the wine-fermentation process either when it was not completed in larger vats before transference to smaller storage vessels or when environmental conditions, such as movement or temperature, created renewed fermentation. Lucas and Harris explain:[68]

> The closing of the jars as soon as possible was essential, since if the wine had been left exposed to the air, another kind of fermentation (the acetous fermentation) caused by a minute organism (*Mycoderma aceti*), always present in the air, would have taken place, which would have converted the alcohol into acetic acid and the wine would have become vinegar. The jars, however, were not all sealed hermetically at this stage, since in some instances slow fermentation was still going on, in which case a small hole was drilled in the neck of the jar, or made in the stopper . . . to provide a way of escape for the carbon dioxide being given off in small amount, and, when the fermentation was finished, this hole was sometimes "stopped with a wisp of straw" and sometimes closed with clay and sealed.

FIG. 6. The hole in the neck of an amphora found in a shipwreck in the Eliza Shoals.

While Butcher and Opait note that in general wine amphoras were often designed with a long neck to accommodate the expanding gases produced by continuing fermentation,[69] many of those in Egypt from various periods have a small hole in the neck.[70] The practice is illustrated in a mural of the wine-making process in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Khaemweset.[71] James sees evidence even earlier in Old Kingdom wine making:[72]

> [As] there is good evidence to suggest that when a jar was sealed a vent was left open for the escape of final fermentation gases, it should follow that it was common practice to pour wine into storage jars in the expectation that fermentation would be completed in the jar, or at least some allowance should be made for the possibility of secondary fermentation.

These holes could often be sealed with clay.[73]

Such a lock or vent was particularly needed when young wine was to be shipped, as the continuing fermentation process and the gassing off of carbonic anhydride[74] accelerated as a result of the movement incurred in transport as well as the heat. Indeed, fanning

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[65] A good example of drilling or puncture damage around a hole is seen in the neck of a Type AE7/LR7 Egyptian amphora (inv. no. P3012) in the Alexandria Graeco-Roman Museum. See the entry for Type AE7 in the Alexandrian Centre for Amphora Studies database (www.amphoralex.org/amphores/AE/AmphoresAE7.php).
[66] Peña 2007, 122–23.
[67] Winlock and Crum 1926, 79; Carter 1934, 148–49; Lucas

and Harris 1962, 19.
[68] Lucas and Harris 1962, 19.
[69] Butcher 2003, 173; Opait 2010, 154.
[70] Opait 2010, 154.
[71] Estreicher 2006, 20.
[72] James 1996, 207.
[73] McGovern 2003, 129; Estreicher 2006, 20.
[74] Guasch Jané 2008, 21.

wine-filled amphoras to reduce their temperature seems to have been an Egyptian practice.[75] Thus, precautions were taken to allow amphoras to breathe, whether on the relatively calm Nile or on the rougher sea.[76] As there is little evidence of locks in amphora necks from the northern shores of the Mediterranean—although the phenomenon of continued fermentation and its associated problems was known to the Romans[77]—it appears that the feature may be a southern Mediterranean, specifically Egyptian, one. Locks may have been included in some amphoras with relatively short necks because of factors in wine production and transport in hotter climates.[78]

CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary survey revealed a former harbor for local craft in Khor al-Kharrar and located what is likely a shipwreck. The finding of the wreck site raises important questions about the maritime activities along the central Red Sea coast of Saudi Arabia. Was the ship a stray, lost and running before a storm, only to be wrecked near an inhospitable coast? Or was it a ship intending to make landfall in Sharm Abhur or in the bay now home to Jeddah? The latter scenario suggests the existence of a settlement in the vicinity in the period—yet none is known for certain from either literature or archaeology.

Only the most basic inferences can be made about the nature of the site. We cannot yet say definitely whether the amphoras were carrying wine or olive oil, as it is possible that the amphoras were being reused. Amphoras were of course frequently reused or recycled at their terminal consumption point.[79] They could also be reused for transport of goods on ships.[80] As there is as yet no additional evidence for such wine transport at the site, we can only tentatively suggest that the evidence of the amphora points to the transport of wine in the late third or the fourth century. If wine, particularly young wine, was indeed one of the cargoes on the wreck, then an origin for the commodity

should be expected to be close to the Red Sea region. An Egyptian source is a probability; along with the Nile Delta, the area of Egypt near the Red Sea was a wine-production center.[81] The inclusion of the secondary fermentation lock supports the hypothesis of a Romano-Egyptian origin. Likewise, it is cautiously suggested that the Dressel 24 Similis D amphora is evidence for the shipping of olive oil down the Red Sea coast of the Arabian Peninsula.

Locating the main body of the shipwreck will be a priority for future surveys; at present, it is not known where the bulk of the ship rests. The ship may have struck the reef and drifted along its face, spilling cargo as it sank and ultimately settling far from the reef. It is also possible that it lies underneath the field of dead coral. Indeed, two of the three excavated shipwrecks in the Red Sea exhibit this type of site formation, in which only a portion of the artifacts are in the surface matrix and the bulk of the site is buried under coral. Raban describes the Ottoman-period shipwreck at Sharm el-Sheikh excavated in the 1960s:[82]

A curious feature of the situation was a thin layer of sand at the bottom of the sea and just underneath it, a hard, rocky crust about 20 to 30 centimeters thick. . . . This crust served as a layer insulating the remains of the ship. On top of the crust only some decayed beams of the ship remained . . . and quite a number of pottery vessels.

A similar situation was found on the wreck at Black Assarca Island, where a layer of sand and sherds covered a stratum of coral, under which were amphoras.[83]

ARCHÄOLOGISCHES SEMINAR
PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG
BIEGENSTRASSE 11
35032 MARBURG
GERMANY
RKPEDERSEN@YAHOO.COM

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[75] Murray 2000, 590.

[76] McGovern 2003, 129.

[77] Varro, *Rust.* 1.13.6: "Illic laudabatur villa, si habebat culinam rusticam bonam, praesepis laxas, cellam vinariam et oleariam ad modum agri aptam et pavimento proclivi in lacum, quod saepe, ubi conditum novum vinum, orcae in Hispania fervore musti ruptae neque non dolea in Italia." Heslin (2011) states that wine transported on dolia-bearing ships was expected to finish fermentation en route to market and that the failure of dolia under pressure from fermentation was a hazard and even contributed to the loss of one ship.

[78] Not all wine amphoras from southern climes contained a lock. Only about half of those from the Monastery of Epiphanius had locks, and only some wine amphoras found in the Monastery of Baramus in the Wadi Natrun contained the fea-

ture. In juxtaposition, none of the Byzantine-period Aqaba amphoras shipped to Aksum, Yemen, and beyond is known to contain a lock, either in the neck or in the stopper (Lucas and Harris 1962, 19; Konstantinidou 2010, 952). For various examples of Aqaba amphoras (also known as Ayla-Axum amphoras), see Sidebotham et al. 1989, fig. 17, no. 4; Sedov 1992, 113; 2006, 87, 95–6; Pedersen 2000, 5, fig. 3; 2008, 83, fig. 5; Raith et al. 2013.

[79] Konstantinidou 2010, 952.

[80] See, e.g., Van Doorninck 1989.

[81] Estreicher 2006, 18.

[82] Raban 1971, 147.

[83] Pedersen 2008, 82. Additionally, it should be noted that no such coral layer was reported for recently examined Roman wreck sites in Egyptian waters (Blue et al. 2012).

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTE

Distinguishing Between Rouletting and Chattering on Ancient Mediterranean Pottery

JAYE MCKENZIE-CLARK

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Although the various techniques used in ceramic production are obvious to those who work with clay professionally, they are not always recognized by archaeologists. A surface decoration commonly found on Greek and Roman fine wares, including Attic and Campanian Black Gloss, Thin-Walled Ware, Eastern Sigillata, Italian Sigillata, African Red Slip Ware, and Vesuvian Sigillata, is usually called rouletting, but I argue that in most cases the pattern is achieved by another technique known as chattering. Although some archaeologists are aware of the difference between the two procedures, there is ongoing confusion in the identification and use of these terms. This note discusses both decorative methods in an attempt to identify the diagnostic features that may help archaeologists differentiate between the two.*

INTRODUCTION

The technique of chattering has a long history, and yet only a very few archaeologists have identified this method of decoration.[1] Sparkes and Talcott indicate that this technique is present on black-slipped Greek pottery from the second decade of the fourth century B.C.E.,[2] although Kenrick suggests it was used as early as the fifth century B.C.E.[3] Chattering was certainly well used by Roman potters, especially on wares that were produced on a large scale, such as Italian Sigillata and African Red Slip Ware, and the technique is found on African Red Slip Ware dating as late as the seventh century C.E. Indeed, chattering is still used by potters today. To assist archaeologists in the identification of rouletting and chattering, this note examines the techniques from a potter's perspective: I describe in detail the resulting patterns generated by both methods and the tools and processes used to create them. I also investigate the incidence of such decoration on Campanian Black Gloss, Italian Sigillata, and Vesuvian Sigillata[4] from pre-79 C.E. contexts at Pompeii and look at examples of these decorative techniques on Greek and Roman pottery housed in the Museum of Ancient Cultures at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia.

The first decoration discussed in this note, commonly called rouletting, is found on the floors of Greek and Roman open forms as well as on the

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* All f gures are my own.
[1] See, e.g., Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 30; Begley 1986, 48; 1988, 435; Cook 1997, 203–4.
[2] Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 30.
[3] Kenrick 1990, 148.
[4] McKenzie-Clark 2012. Vesuvian Sigillata is a class of sigillata that is composed of two fabrics. The f rst relates to a type of pottery called Produzione A (Soricelli 1987, 74), Tripolitanian Sigillata/Campanian Orange Sigillata (Kenrick 1985, 283–302; 1996, 43), or Imitation Sigillata (Hayes 1976, 75); the second is pottery made from a similar fabric that has not been documented previously.

external upper walls and rims of Roman vessels. It is characterized by one or more concentric bands of patterning that consist of a series of multiple fine lines. These lines generally run at right angles across the pattern, and the depth of the decoration varies from a deep indentation to a slight feather-like disruption of the surface. On Greek vessels this decoration commonly covers the surface in an unbounded band, while on Roman pottery such decoration is usually associated with grooves on either side of the pattern.

Roulette decoration is achieved with a tool called a roulette, which consists of a patterned wheel that turns on an axle.[5] When pressed into contact with a rotating vessel, the patterned edge of the wheel revolves, leaving a continuous band of decoration in the clay. The roulette wheel displaces rather than removes the clay. To avoid overriding or smudging the design, the potter usually removes the tool from the surface when the vessel has turned through 360°. This timing requires skill and experience. Modern roulette tools vary widely in construction and are made from a variety of materials, including fired clay, metal, and plastic. Some have handles while others are rolled across the clay by hand. It is likely that tools of similar design were used in antiquity and were constructed of comparable materials—with the exception, of course, of plastic.

Roulette decoration is regular and uniform; the design takes up the full width of the band, and the pattern does not overlap. The pattern typically found on Roman vessels indicates that they were made with roulettes with raised, rounded edges and a pattern of regularly spaced ribs running at right angles across the roulette head. The shallow U-shaped grooves on either side of the band are made by the edge of the tool. The uniform execution of the patterns suggests that they were made by roulettes with handles, which allow the potter to control and maintain constant pressure on the clay surface. The time at which this decoration is applied is critical: if the clay is too wet, it will adhere to the wheel and the resulting pattern will be blurred and unclear; if the clay is too dry, the design will not be transferred. Consequently, rouletting is usually applied to soft leather-hard clay so that the imprint of the design registers clearly on the surface. Therefore, the newly thrown vessel would have been removed from the wheel head to dry slightly; once the clay was in a soft leather-hard state, it could be recentered on the wheel for decoration.

To facilitate an efficient work flow, potters may have thrown large open vessels on a bat, a stiff disk of material attached to the wheel head. Once complete, the form and bat would be removed from the wheel together, thus preventing warping and distortion of the vessel. The bat and vessel could then be easily recentered for decoration. Although some clays can be trimmed at this stage, it is more usual to allow the vessel to dry until it is leather hard; it is then inverted, recentered, and trimmed to form the foot. Rouletting is not generally suitable for use on vessel walls. Considerable pressure is needed to ensure the pattern is imprinted in the clay, and the walls of even soft leather-hard vessels will easily be distorted if such pressure is applied. In contrast, vessel floors are not distorted; they are supported by the wheel head below. As a result, rouletting is best suited for embellishing the floors of open vessels, such as plates and platters. In addition, the extent of pattern coverage using the rouletting technique is limited by the width of the roulette tool and the straight profile of the tool's decorated face: rouletting is therefore not used to decorate large areas of curved surfaces.

Chattering, in contrast, is achieved with a completely different tool made from supple, springy metal. The tool edge is held at an angle against the vessel surface and is allowed to shudder over the clay as the vessel rotates. By moving the tool across the surface as the form revolves, the potter can decorate large areas rapidly. Differences in texture can be achieved by altering the speed of the wheel and the pressure applied to the tool against the vessel surface. Holding the tool at varying distances from the cutting edge or changing the angle at which it touches the surface will also alter the appearance of the decoration. Similarly, the finished look of the decoration is affected by the fineness of the clay. More delicate, detailed patterns are possible with fine-bodied clay than with coarse fabrics.

The technique of chattering is identified by a series of clearly defined, shallow, triangular-shaped incisions with characteristic straight edges terminating in narrowed extremities, which are caused by the metal tool digging into the clay surface at an angle. The decoration is built up over many rotations of the wheel, and the resulting pattern clearly shows the overlapping rows of decoration created with each turn of the vessel (fig. 1). Chattering is often found within inscribed lines, especially on Roman Italian Sigillata plates. These lines are characterized by sharp V-shaped incisions that are made with a cutting tool at the time of decoration. Invariably, the chattered decoration goes beyond the grooves and does not fill the space between the grooves uniformly (fig. 2).

The amount of moisture in the clay also affects the pattern and dictates whether the tool merely displaces or removes surface clay. On soft leather-hard clay, the

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[5] Rice 1987, 145.

FIG. 1. Chattered decoration on an Attic kotyle (Sydney, Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University, inv. no. MU 1037). The overlapping lines of triangular-shaped patterning are caused by the continued rotation of the vessel during decoration.

FIG. 2. Chattered decoration on an Italian Sigillata plate (Sydney, Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University, inv. no. MU 3805). The decoration extends beyond the line of the inner incised groove and is not distributed evenly within the band of decoration.

tool will dig heavily into the surface, chipping wedges of clay from the vessel and producing a deep textured pattern. This method is sometimes confused with the "cut-glass" technique, which is created with a U- or V-shaped tool.[6] For example, Peacock describes and illustrates a vessel decorated using the "cut-glass" technique.[7] The large area, shape, and even distribution of the pattern indicate that this vessel is more likely to have been decorated by chattering when the clay was in a soft leather-hard state. In such instances, vessels were purposely thrown with thick walls. The vessels were then allowed to dry only slightly to a soft leather-hard state before being recentered on the wheel for decoration. The depth of the resulting chattered pattern is a direct result of the softness of the clay, which allows the chattering tool to dig more deeply into surface, thereby removing divots of clay from the surface and reducing the thickness of the vessel wall. On stiff leather-hard clay, the tool merely skims the surface, leaving indentations that resemble a very shallow feather-like pattern.

Chattering can be used to decorate the floors of open vessels, such as dishes, plates, and platters (fig. 3), as well as rims and external walls of cups, dishes, and bowls. This technique exerts relatively little pressure on the clay surface; consequently, chattering can be used to decorate walls of vessels without the risk of

FIG. 3. Chattered decoration on the curved floor of an African Red Slip Ware plate (Sydney, Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University, inv. no. MU 4510). The decoration is asymmetrically placed because the vessel was not centered accurately on the wheel head prior to decoration.

distortion or collapse. Therefore, chattering has many advantages over rouletting: it is easier and quicker to execute; it requires less skill on the part of the potter;

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[6] Johns 1971, 13.

[7] Peacock 1982, 57, pl. 19.

and the extent of pattern coverage, even on convex surfaces, is unlimited.

Whereas modern potters can use chattering on wet clay because electric wheels rotate at very high speeds, ancient potters would have needed to leave thrown vessels to dry before applying this decoration. Clay dries at different rates according to atmospheric temperature, humidity, and exposure to drafts, and the variation in the chattered decoration one sees in ancient vessels may have been either intentional or purely accidental. In some cases, the vessel may have dried rapidly to a stiff leather-hard state, and when it was decorated the dryness of the clay would have produced the fine feather-like texture evident on some pieces of Italian Sigillata. Ancient potters may have intentionally replicated this random pattern by manipulating the time of decoration.

Modern potters use a variety of tools for chattering. Two common tools are a thin, rectangular piece of flexible metal and a long, narrow strip of metal that is curved at one end and has a straight handle at the other. The rectangular tool is simply held at an angle against the clay surface. The handled tool, in contrast, is grasped firmly in two hands, and the curved end with sharpened edge is placed at an angle against a rotating leather-hard vessel, which is fixed securely to the wheel head. The handle of the tool is held parallel to the revolving surface rather than at right angles, and the curved cutting edge is moved across the surface of the vessel, creating the characteristic pattern. If held at the correct angle, the metal tool will hit the clay surface and begin to vibrate. The pressure applied by the potter and the length and flexibility of the tool set up a rhythmic movement that makes the cutting edge dig into the clay as the tool shudders across the surface. It is highly likely that ancient potters also used flexible metal tools to create this pattern. A strigil (fig. 4, top), for example, could easily have been used as a chattering tool; made from thin, flexible metal, it closely mimics modern chattering tools (see fig. 4, bottom) in terms of size and flexibility. A strigil that was perhaps no longer used for its original purpose would require little modification to make it suitable for this new use.

Although rouletting and chattering are produced by very different methods, the finished decorations are sometimes deceptively similar in appearance. It is usually necessary to view such decoration under a magnifying lens or microscope to differentiate the two methods. Key elements identify each technique. Roulette decoration consists of parallel lines of uniform thickness, while chattered decoration consists of wedge-shaped incisions or indentations in the clay. Rouletting produces a regular pattern of consistent width that runs the full circumference of the vessel without overlapping. Chattered decoration does not align at the inner and outer edges of the decorated band and does not cover the area uniformly; this is because the pattern is created in more than one pass over the surface, leaving a series of overlapping rows. Roulette decoration is achieved with a patterned wheel that on Roman pottery usually leaves characteristic shallow grooves on either side of the decoration. The study of pottery from Pompeii indicates that where grooves are present in combination with chattered decoration, they were inscribed before the decoration was added. On ancient pottery, these inscribed grooves may have acted as guides for the placement of the decoration or may have been used to imitate roulette decoration. Close examination of these grooves can often help distinguish between the two techniques. Shallow, rounded grooves usually indicate rouletting, whereas V-shaped, angular grooves suggest chattering. Similarly, if the decoration is bounded by grooves and the pattern extends beyond the lines, the decoration was created by chattering.

Begley has suggested that Greek pottery more often displays chattering, while Roman wares were usually decorated by rouletting.[8] The evidence from Pompeii suggests, however, that this was not the case. Roulette and chattered decorations are found on both pre-Roman and Roman slipped tableware in assemblages from various pre-79 C.E. contexts at Pompeii. Both techniques have been identified on Campanian Black Gloss, Italian Sigillata, and Vesuvian Sigillata. Examination of all examples indicates that both decorative techniques were applied when the clay of the vessels was in a leather-hard or stiff leather-hard state. Rouletting and chattering were not identified on any other class of slipped tableware within the contexts studied. Analysis of the 414 diagnostic vessels of Campanian Black Gloss found in the House of the Surgeon (Regio VI.1.10) reveals that Campanian Black Gloss potters used chattering almost exclusively: chattering is found on 13 vessels, whereas rouletting is found on only one.

Examination of Italian and Vesuvian Sigillata diagnostic vessels from Regiones VI.1, VI.5, and I.9 shows a similar pattern.[9] Only two examples of rouletting

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8 Begley 1986, 48.
9 Regio VI.1: House of the Vestals (VI.1.7), House of the Surgeon (VI.1.10), Bar of Acisculus (VI.1.17), and Bar of Phoebus (VI.1.18). Regio VI.5: House of the Wild Boar (VI.5.10),

House of the Flowers (VI.5.9–19), and House of the Etruscan Column (VI.5.17–18). Regio I.9: House of Amarantus (I.9, 12.2), Bar of Amarantus (I.9, 11.5).

FIG. 4. A copper strigil (Sydney, Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University, inv. no. MU 3740) (*top*) and a modern-day chattering tool made from a strip of industrial metal from a packing crate (*bottom*). The flexibility and strength of a strigil would make it an ideal tool for applying chattered decoration.

were found on 580 Italian Sigillata vessels, whereas chattering was identified on 71 diagnostic sherds. Correspondingly, only three examples of roulette decoration were found on 505 Vesuvian Sigillata sherds, while chattering was identified on 17 vessels (table 1). Rouletting is found only on the floors of plates or platters on these three classes of pottery, whereas chattering is found on the floors of Campanian Black Gloss, Italian Sigillata, and Vesuvian Sigillata as well as on external surfaces of Italian Sigillata. This technique is not found externally on Campanian Black Gloss or Vesuvian Sigillata vessels. The results of this study show that Italian Sigillata workshops made greater use of both these decorative techniques than did Vesuvian Sigillata and Campanian Black Gloss manufacturing centers. It is also apparent that potters who produced Vesuvian Sigillata employed rouletting more frequently than did potters who made Campanian Black Gloss and Italian Sigillata.

While it has been suggested that this type of decoration was used to prevent vessels sticking to one another when stacked in the kiln during firing,[10] the slip used to coat black-gloss and sigillata pottery contains no glass-forming components. In ordinary circumstances, therefore, slipped vessels can touch without the risk of adhering to one another. It is only when the kiln is overfired that slipped vessels will fuse together.[11] The decorative techniques of rouletting and chattering may have served a functional purpose related to the mass production of these wares. The manufacture of a limited number of vessel types of uniform dimensions enables potters to manufacture large numbers of vessels efficiently while at the same time allowing workshops to estimate clay quantities accurately and to use storage space economically. In addition, the manufacture of standardized vessels ensures that kilns are stacked efficiently and to maximum capacity, reducing the likelihood of wasted space within the kiln chamber, which is costly in terms of fuel consumption. The resulting pottery will also be easier to transport to market because open forms can be stacked one inside the other. When pottery is stacked in this way, there is a risk that the foot of one vessel will rub and abrade the floor surface of the vessel below. The resulting abrasion would be very noticeable on vessels with glossy surfaces.

Analysis of Italian Sigillata and Campanian Black Gloss open vessel forms at Pompeii reveals that bands of rouletting and chattering are commonly in line with the foot. The use of decoration on the floors of

[10] Kenrick 1990, 148.

[11] Martin 1997.

TABLE 1. Incidence of roulette and chattered decoration found on Campanian Black Gloss, Italian Sigillata, and Vesuvian Sigillata from pre-79 C.E. contexts at Pompeii (Regiones VI.1, VI.5, and I.9).

	Campanian Black Gloss	Italian Sigillata	Vesuvian Sigillata
All sherds			
Total no. of diagnostic	414	580	505
Total no. of decorated	14	73	20
% decorated	3.4	12.6	4.0
Sherds with rouletting			
No.	1	2	3
% of total diagnostic	0.2	0.3	0.6
% of total decorated	7.1	2.7	15.0
Sherds with chattering			
No.	13	71	17
% of total diagnostic	3.1	12.2	3.4
% of total decorated	92.9	97.3	85.0

Note: Numbers are based on rim and base diagnostic sherds.

mass-produced open vessels therefore may have been an attempt to disguise signs of abrasion in these areas, to break up the surface so that any imperfections introduced during transport would be less noticeable. Correspondingly, chattered decoration is often found on jutting rims and external walls of Roman vessels. This decoration may have served the same purpose—to disguise minor damage.

Surface imperfections caused by the manufacturing process are also apparent in the Pompeian pottery, especially Italian Sigillata and Vesuvian Sigillata. Rough surface areas are caused when inclusions in the clay are brought to the surface during the throwing process, and small craters and scarring commonly occur during the trimming process, when inclusions in the clay are dragged across the leather-hard surface. Normally, defects such as these would be corrected by consolidating and smoothing the clay after the vessel is trimmed. In the case of mass-produced vessels, however, this is time-consuming and often impractical. Furthermore, although the vessels are coated in slip, the slip will not always mask these blemishes.

While chattered and rouletted decoration were used to great effect to enhance the aesthetic appearance of slipped tableware, it is also likely that these techniques were employed for practical reasons: to disguise wear in areas exposed to high levels of abrasion, to hide surface flaws, and to camouflage manufacturing mishaps. Nevertheless, both techniques enabled pottery

to be decorated easily and quickly, a major factor when producing a financially viable product.

In conclusion, it is apparent that ceramic workshops in pre-Roman and Roman times made use of both rouletted and chattered decoration. Analysis of Campanian Black Gloss, Italian Sigillata, and Vesuvian Sigillata assemblages from Pompeii indicates that the use of chattering was more common than rouletting in each class of pottery.

There are several possible reasons for this phenomenon. Potters may have preferred chattering because it could be used on the external walls of vessels, whereas rouletting was restricted to floor surfaces. Chattering also offered potters more flexibility in terms of the timing of the application of decoration: unlike rouletting, which was best applied when the clay was in a soft leather-hard state, chattering could be applied to vessels whose clay had a wide range of moisture content—an advantage in a busy ceramic workshop. In addition, chattering also gave potters a greater range of decorative effects than rouletting.

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT HISTORY
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
SYDNEY NSW 2109
AUSTRALIA
JAYE.MCKENZIE-CLARK@MQ.EDU.AU

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