

CIRENE "ATENE D'AFRICA" - III

# CIRENE E LA CIRENAICA NELL'ANTICHITA'



«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

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CIRENE  
E LA CIRENAICA  
NELL'ANTICHITÀ

a cura di  
MARIO LUNI

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER



# TERRACOTTA TYPES OF ENTHRONED FEMALES FROM THE EXTRAMURAL SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE AT CYRENE

Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock\*

When Professor Luni invited me to participate in this conference, my original intent was to concentrate on a single terracotta figurine fragment found during the course of the American excavations at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in the Wadi Bel Gadir<sup>1</sup>. However, Professor Luni's hope was that I could present more of an overview of the terracotta figurines from the Extramural Sanctuary in order to see how they would relate to the recently discovered terracottas from the area of the Doric temple in the Wadi Bel Gadir that have been discussed by Claudia Cardinali<sup>2</sup>. While the corpus of terracottas from the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone is much too large and complex for a such a discussion at this time<sup>3</sup>, a focus on the most meaningful class of coroplastic votive, that of the enthroned female of the late 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C., can provide a useful overview. I do this fully understanding that I risk creating a distorted picture when only one class of terracotta votive is examined to the exclusion of all the others found within the same context. However, when one considers the range of classes represented at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, the largest by far is that of the enthroned female, which comprises approximately 70 percent of the

4,500 terracottas excavated to date. Other coroplastic types from the Extramural Sanctuary belonging to the two centuries in question, such as those of standing females, some of whom carry wreaths<sup>4</sup>, bread<sup>5</sup>, silphium<sup>6</sup>, torches<sup>7</sup>, or pigs<sup>8</sup>, kourotrophoi both standing and seated<sup>9</sup>, kanephoroi and hydrophoroi<sup>10</sup>, animal figurines<sup>11</sup>, and miscellaneous votive objects in clay<sup>12</sup>, have been found in such reduced numbers relative to those of the enthroned female so as to render them negligible for this discussion. It is my belief that a focus on the enthroned female in terracotta allows us the broadest possible lens through which to examine the evolution of votive practices within the social ordering of late 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century Cyrene, at least as far as they pertain to the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone.

Before beginning this discussion, it must be emphasized that the picture presented by the terracottas from the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone is still very tentative. The bulk of the coroplastic material already brought to light came only from the middle of the three terraces that comprise the Extramural Sanctuary, referred to by its excavator Donald White as the Middle Sanctuary. Here the terracottas were found in varying concentrations, intermixed with architec-

\* Professor Emerita, State University of New York at New Paltz.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Professor Donald White, who was director of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania's excavations at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in the Wadi Bel Gadir at Cyrene from 1969 until they were suspended in 1981. He graciously invited me to study the terracottas uncovered during his excavations for eventual publication in the series *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, which is in preparation. I am indebted to Ess. Breyek Attiyeh, then Controller of Antiquities at Shahat and to his staff at the Libyan Antiquities Service for the cordial assistance and hospitality extended to me during my stay at Shahat in the summer of 1981. I also would like to express my gratitude to Professor Mario Luni for inviting me to participate in this conference.

<sup>2</sup> C. CARDINALI, *Terrecotte figurate da Cirene*, in *Cirene "Atene d'Africa"*, pp. 125-132.

<sup>3</sup> J. UHLENBROCK, *History, Trade, and the Terracottas*, in *Gifts to the Goddess: Cyrene's Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone* (Expedition 1-2, vol. 34), fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> M. E. MICHELI / A. SANTUCCI, et al, *Il santuario delle Nymphai Chthoniai a Cirene: Il sito e le terrecotte*, Rome 2000, pl. 4, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> UHLENBROCK, *History*, fig. 11 (inv. no. 74-211); D. WHITE, *Excavations in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Fourth Preliminary Report*, LibyaAnt XIII-XIV, 1976-1977, pl. LXXVI, i.

<sup>6</sup> UHLENBROCK, *History*, fig. 14 (inv. no. 78-511); WHITE, *Excavations in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Fifth Preliminary Report*, LibyaAnt 1976-1977, pl. LXXXVI, g (inv. no. 76-375) with wreath.

<sup>7</sup> WHITE, *Fourth Preliminary Report*, pl. LXXVI, h (inv. no. 74-533).

<sup>8</sup> UHLENBROCK, *History*, fig. 13 (inv. no. 79-11); WHITE, *Fourth Preliminary Report*, pl. LXXVI, f (inv. no. 74-243).

<sup>9</sup> UHLENBROCK, *ibid.*, fig. 7 (inv. no. 71-245).

<sup>10</sup> WHITE, *Fourth Preliminary Report*, pl. LXXVI, i and g (inv. nos. 74-194, 74-211).

<sup>11</sup> Animal plastic vases and figurines brought to light to date include those of pigs (UHLENBROCK, *History*, p. 23, fig. 15 (inv. no. 76-410)), turtles, doves, roosters, ducks, geese or swans, hedgehogs, a rabbit, dogs, monkeys, lions, rams, horse heads, bovines, and bovine heads (WHITE, *Fifth Preliminary Report*, pl. LXXXVIII, d (inv. no. 76-476)).

<sup>12</sup> Miscellaneous sculptural objects in clay include reliefs, offering dishes, and models of offering tables. None have been published.





FIG. 1 - Standing female, local, (Inv. 76-853).



FIG. 2 - Standing male, local, (Inv. 78-181).

tural debris and votives of all kinds. Deep level soundings carried out in the backfill of the large retaining wall that supported the eastern half of the Middle Sanctuary yielded a surprisingly rich accumulation of figurines, pottery, and other votives<sup>13</sup>. It is anticipated that further accumulations will be forthcoming once excavation of the Extramural Sanctuary is resumed.

The evidence for the regular and systematic

dedication of mass-produced, figurative votives in terracotta at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone begins around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B. C., although a scattering of imported figurines dating from the early 7<sup>th</sup> to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century also have been found<sup>14</sup>. Two types of locally-produced figurines of mid 6<sup>th</sup>-century style, a standing female and a standing male (Figs. 1, 2), may provide us with the earliest indication we have

<sup>13</sup> WHITE, *Fifth Preliminary Report*, LibyaAnt XIII-XIV, 1976-1977, p. 300 ff.; Id., *Sixth Preliminary Report*, LibyaAnt XV-XVI, 1978-1979, p. 174 ff.

<sup>14</sup> UHLENBROCK, *Terracotta Figurines from the Demeter Sanctuary at Cyrene: Models for Trade*, in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (BAR International Series 236), Oxford 1985, pl. 25,1; UHLENBROCK, *History*, p. 18, figs. 4 and 5.



of serial local production at Cyrene, but there is no evidence for the local production of images of enthroned females before the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. In the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or so, imported figurative perfume vases and related figurines from Miletos and belonging to Higgins' Aphrodite Group began to appear in the markets of Cyrene. Among these were types of enthroned females, both in alabastron and figurine form (Figs. 3, 4)<sup>15</sup>. The presence at Cyrene of these Milesian figured alabastra and figurines resulted in an intensification of local coroplastic production that must have been driven by a desire for more of these Milesian products than what was available in the market. Yet, the enthroned female of the Aphrodite Group does not seem to have been held in particularly



FIG. 3 - Head from an alabastron of an enthroned female, Milesian, (Inv. 77-813).



FIG. 4 - Enthroned female, Milesian (Inv. 76-653).

high esteem as a votive offering, since no local imitations have been uncovered so far. This is in contrast to the many local versions of the siren alabastron, the most popular member of the Aphrodite Group at the Extramural Sanctuary.

Evidence from the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone for the establishment of the motif of the enthroned female within the local coroplastic repertoire at Cyrene emerges only in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century with the sudden appearance of figurines belonging to a stylistic group I have called "The Ugly Family" and whose Sicilian ancestry has already been discussed by me<sup>16</sup>. The

<sup>15</sup> UHLENBROCK, *Models*, p. 300, pl. 25.II:3; UHLENBROCK, *Influssi stranieri nella coroplastica cirenaica in Cirene e la Cirenaica nell'Antichità*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Roma-Frascati 18021 dicembre 1996, Macerata, 2007.

<sup>16</sup> J. P. UHLENBROCK, *The Ugly Family from Sicily: a Coroplastic Conundrum at Cyrene* in *QuadALibia*, 18, 2004, pp. 15-26.





FIG. 5 - A selection of enthroned females belonging to the East Greek Group as set up in the magazines of the American excavations, Cyrene, 1981.

reasons behind the adoption and subsequent reinterpretation of Sicilian prototypes remain obscure, but their appearance may have little cultural significance, given the extensive and complicated trading networks of the Late Archaic period. More compelling is the question of why there was such an apparently sudden interest in the motif of the seated female, as opposed to a standing figure, to the extent that it seems to have become the dominant local type. Unfortunately, this is an issue that cannot be explored here.

This increased demand for inexpensive figurative votives occurs toward the end of a period when at the Extramural Sanctuary more costly dedications had been customary, such as gifts of gold and silver jewelry, gems and seals<sup>17</sup>, perfume in glass and alabaster containers<sup>18</sup>, coins<sup>19</sup>, small bronze sculpture<sup>20</sup>, fine Attic black-figure pottery<sup>21</sup>, and at least one life-size statue of a kore in island marble<sup>22</sup>. It also coincides with a period of major building activity all over Cyrene<sup>23</sup> that

votives at the Extramural Sanctuary suggests the inclusion of worshipers of more modest means in the cult of the two goddesses.

Toward the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, with the introduction of small-scale, imported Corinthian, Attic, and East Greek figurines, Cyrenean coroplasts found new stylistic models for the enthroned female to accompany the by now very rude figurines of the Ugly Family. The Corinthian and Attic models were mechanically reproduced, as well as imitated and reinterpreted<sup>25</sup>, but their popularity at the Extramural Sanctuary seems to have been relatively short-lived.

However, a different story is told by new types of enthroned females coming from the East that appear to have flooded the markets of Cyrene in the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is unclear from which specific center this distinctive production emanated, but clay analyses by the Fitch Laboratory have identified an Ionian origin for the fabric<sup>26</sup>. The presence of this East Greek Group,

included the beginning of a complete overhaul at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone with the eventual construction of 7 independent shrine buildings within the walls of the upper and middle terraces<sup>24</sup>. This intensification of building activity evident all over the city speaks of a greatly increased economic base, and the appearance of numbers of modest terracotta figurines alongside the more prestigious

<sup>17</sup> P. G. WARDEN, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, IV:1, *The Small Finds*, Philadelphia 1990, p. 14 ff.; S. LOWENSTAM, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, III:1, *Scarabs, Inscribed Gems, and Engraved Finger Rings*, Philadelphia 1987, p. 1 ff.

<sup>18</sup> A. OLIVER, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, IV:1, *The Glass*, Philadelphia 1990, p. 89.

<sup>19</sup> T. BUTTREY, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, VI:1, *The Coins*, Philadelphia 1997, p. 3 ff.

<sup>20</sup> WARDEN, *Final Reports*, IV:1, p. 6 ff.

<sup>21</sup> M. B. MOORE, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports*, III:2, *Attic Black Figure and Black Glaze Pottery*, p. 1 ff.

<sup>22</sup> S. KANE, *An Archaic Kore from Cyrene*, in *AJA* 84, 1980, pp. 182-183, pls. 27, 28.

<sup>23</sup> S. APPLEBAUM, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, Leiden 1979, p. 14 ff.; most recently discussed in *Cyrene*, Milan 2000, (N. Bonacasa, S. Ensoli, eds.), *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> D. WHITE, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, Final Reports V, The Site's Architecture, Its First Hundred Years of Development*, Philadelphia 1993, p. 43 ff.

<sup>25</sup> UHLENBROCK, *Influssi stranieri*, forthcoming; UHLENBROCK, *History*, p. 17, fig. 3. See also UHLENBROCK, *Models*, p. 301.

<sup>26</sup> This analysis was conducted at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School of Archaeology by Richard Jones in 1986. His results were communicated to me in a letter, but have not been published.





FIG. 6 - Enthroned female, East Greek, h. 0.010, (Inv. 74-929).

as I prefer to call it, in the markets at Cyrene in itself is not remarkable since it parallels the situation at many Greek sites in the East and on the mainland, where it is ubiquitous in early 5<sup>th</sup> century contexts<sup>27</sup>. What is remarkable is the sheer volume of dedications of these figurines at the Extramural Sanctuary, where they are the most numer-

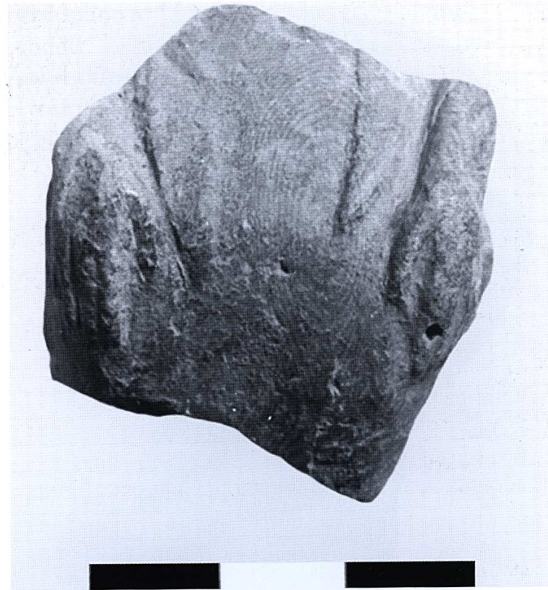


FIG. 7 - Fragment of an enthroned female, East Greek, (uncatalogued).

ous of any group or class of votive terracotta of any date found at the Extramural Sanctuary so far (Fig. 5).

The general scheme of the enthroned female of the East Greek Group is very simple. The figure sits erect on a throne with a backrest and the hands are always placed on the knees, palms down (Fig. 6). The figure also always wears a simple, undetailed garment with a wide, rounded neckline, a himation drawn over the head and shoulders, a stephane, and round-toed shoes. These are elements that, together with the posture and gesture, already are well known from the enthroned female of the Aphrodite Group. Yet, slightly more naturalistic proportions and variations in the arrangement of the drapery over the lap and legs illustrate attempts to give renewed vigor to a motif that by the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century was already some 50 years old. Such variations include points of drapery resting on the lap along the inside of the arms (Fig. 7) or loops of drapery falling over the shins (Fig. 8). Others of these types present modifications on the arrangement of a central pleat that falls between the legs (Fig. 9). Fig. 10 shows one of 13 imported examples that were produced from the same mould series, while

<sup>27</sup> UHLENBROCK, *Influssi stranieri*, forthcoming.





FIG. 8 - Fragment of an enthroned female, East Greek, h. 0.068 (uncatalogued).



FIG. 9 - Fragment of an enthroned female, East Greek, h. 0.065, (uncatalogued).



FIG. 10 - Fragment of an enthroned female, East Greek, (uncatalogued).

another imported figurine (*Fig. 11*) is mould related to a remarkable local production of the type that is documented in at least 90 examples at the Extramural Sanctuary. A complete local figurine from this series (*Fig. 12*) shows a Cyrenean embellishment on the original East Greek scheme with the addition of a polos over the stephane. A review of head types belonging to the enthroned females of the East Greek Group reveals an increasing naturalism that evolved over the course of the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, even though the body type remained effectively unchanged from its Archaic scheme.

The extraordinary numbers of figurines of enthroned females belonging to the East Greek Group overwhelm those of any other category of votive offering at the Extramural Sanctuary of





FIG. 11 - Fragment of an enthroned female, East Greek, h. 0.097 (uncatalogued).

Demeter and Persephone, with the exception of pottery and lamps. This must illustrate changes in patterns of behavior that clearly represent a change in values and therefore concerns from those that are reflected in the dedications of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

While the enthroned female of the East Greek group dominated local production in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Attic Severe Style types of seated and standing peplophoroi began to be incorporated into the local production by the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C.<sup>28</sup>. Once more, it was the seated rather than the standing

peplophoros that was the preferred iconographic scheme. As was the case with the types from the Aphrodite Group and the subsequent East Greek Group, the appearance of types of Attic peplophoroi around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century

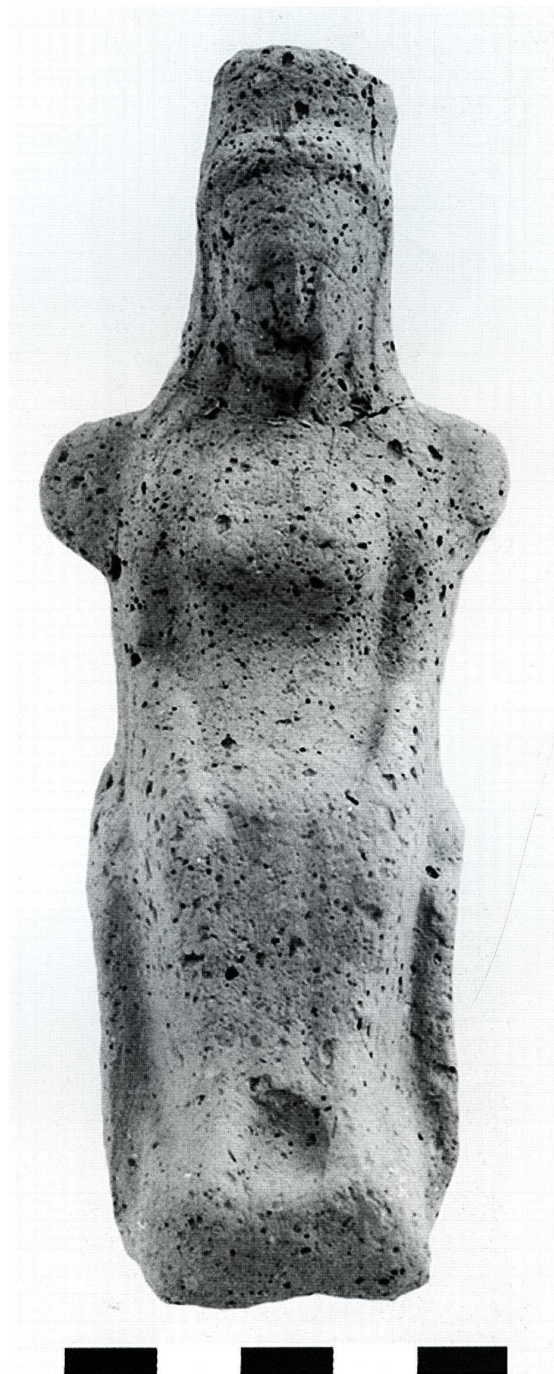


FIG. 12 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.135, (Inv. 69-232).

<sup>28</sup> UHLENBROCK, *Influssi stranieri*, forthcoming.





FIG. 13 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.13, (Inv. 74-438).

is not of a special significance, given their presence in sanctuaries dedicated to a range of divinities at many Greek sites<sup>29</sup>. Again, this was a popular typology widely diffused in the international market and the Cyrenean coroplasts took advan-

tage of these new models and incorporated them into a production that otherwise must have been quite stale. Although at the Extramural Sanctuary the seated peplophoroi are not documented in the numbers we have seen with the enthroned females of the East Greek Group, the varieties in their mould types (*Fig. 13 – Fig. 18*) document a more extensive production than that which is represented by the actual figurines recovered to date.

A later 5<sup>th</sup>-century type of enthroned female



FIG. 14 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.123, (Inv. 69-168 + Inv. 69-183).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.





FIG. 15 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.109, (Inv. 71-174).

wearing a peplos and holding a fruit to her breast (Fig. 19) also may derive from Attic prototypes, although none in terracotta are in evidence thus far. Both stylistically and iconographically it is the partner of an elegant type of standing female from the Extramural Sanctuary who holds a fruit to her breast and a wreath at her side (Fig. 20), and whose wide peplos and ponderation indicate a later 5<sup>th</sup> century date.

Thus we have seen that up to about the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C., if not later, the terracotta figurine representing the enthroned female was the most popular votive at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone. Its production was dependant on typologies that had been developed elsewhere and that through market circulation eventually arrived at Cyrene to be incorporated into the local production. These international

types in circulation were necessarily small in scale for ease of transport and necessarily generic in character so as to appeal to as wide a market audience as possible. There is no evidence to suggest that as types they were specific to Demeter or Persephone, or to any one deity.

The picture presented by the finds from the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone again seems to change abruptly in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century with the again seemingly spontaneous appearance of new types of enthroned females, this time in a much larger scale. Hundreds of fragments of drapery, bases, and heads belonging to types of large enthroned females represent a new, local typology and distinctive style unknown outside of Cyrenaica. There is good evidence to suggest that



FIG. 16 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.129, (Inv. 78-379).





FIG. 17 - Enthroned female, local, h. 0.102, (Inv. 74-205).



FIG. 18 - Fragment of an enthroned female, h. 0.070, (Inv. 71-258).



FIG. 19 - Fragment of an enthroned female, local, h. 0.072, (Inv. 69-74).

some of these types of enthroned females continued in production for at least a hundred years, if not longer.

Although these figurines are very fragmentary because of their large dimensions and thin-walled casts, nevertheless we are able to recognize in more than 40 fragments a well-known type of enthroned female from Cyrene now in the British Museum that I tentatively have called the Phiale Type (Fig. 21)<sup>30</sup>. The quantity of fragments of this type in the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, as well as elsewhere in Cyrenaica<sup>31</sup>, underscores the importance of this image for the region.

<sup>30</sup> R. A. HIGGINS, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London*, 1969, no. 1462; UHLENBROCK, *History*, p. 22, fig. 12b.

<sup>31</sup> P. PENSABENE, *Statuine fittili votive dalla CHORA Cirenea*, in *Cirene e i Libyi*, QuadALibia 12, 1987, p. 114, no. 5 with bibliography.





FIG. 20 - Standing female, local, h. 0.114, (Inv. 74-234).

This fact, as well as its sudden appearance, leads one to ask if this image was related in some way to a new cult statue.

The Phiale Type presents a robust female seated frontally on a high-backed throne with the feet on a footrest; often an umbilicate phiale is at the center of the lap. The figure, invariably squat in proportions and with an oversized head and hands, wears a chiton that spills over the feet, a himation, and thick-soled sandals. The himation, drawn over the polos, falls on either side of the neck, most often hugging the sides of the head. It then falls over the shoulders, covering the upper arms, and appears to cross over the lap in a broad flat panel that reaches to above, or at, the ankles. The arms of the figure rest on the thighs, and the hands either rest on the thighs as well (*Fig. 22*), or actual-



FIG. 21 - Enthroned female with a phiale, local, British Museum 1462.

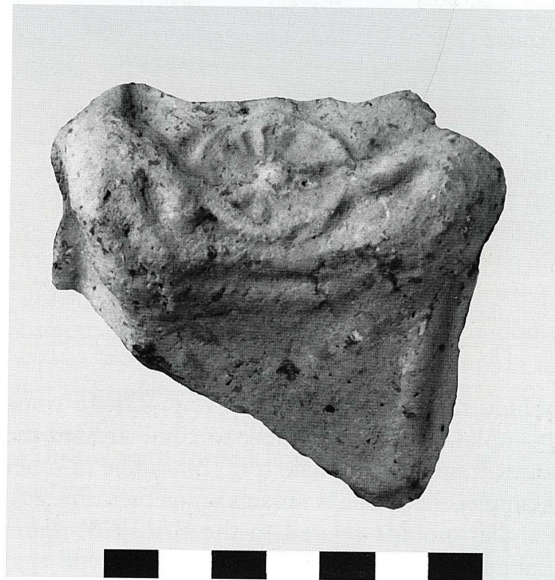


FIG. 22 - Fragment of an enthroned female with a phiale, local, h. 0.080, (Inv. 71-257).



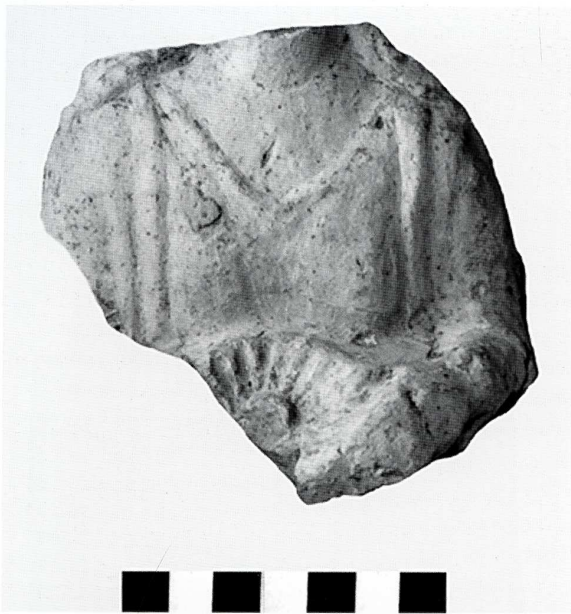


FIG. 23 - Fragment of an enthroned female with a phiale, local, h. 0.100, (Inv. 71-357).



FIG. 24 - Fragment of an enthroned female with a phiale, local, h. 0.070, (Inv. 76-558).

ly hold the phiale on the lap (*Fig. 23*). In some examples, the hands appear to come around the knees framing the phiale (*Fig. 24*), while in other examples the phiale is missing altogether (*Fig. 25*). Parallel moulds related to the British Museum example produced variations on the type that include a higher or wider polos, or one decorated with rosettes (*Fig. 26*).

The large size of these figures clearly must have necessitated special handling in the casting process, as well as in the stacking and firing of the kiln. This gives the impression that they could have been the product of one workshop that specialized



FIG. 25 - Fragment of an enthroned female, local, h. 0.109, (Inv. 74-195).



FIG. 26 - Head from an enthroned female, local, h. 0.085, (Inv. 74-352).





FIG. 27 - Foot fragment from an enthroned female, local, h. 0.066, (Inv. 71-417).



FIG. 28 - Fragment of an enthroned female with a bird, local, h. 0.107, (Inv. 69-178).

in larger figurines. However, heads of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries belonging to enthroned females in this larger scale illustrate such a diversity of facial types as to suggest that there was a considerably wider range of coroplastic production than would be expected from one workshop. Dozens of smaller versions of these types document an extensive serial production of successive generations and parallel moulds that resulted in a significant reduction of size, of quality, and also of legibility of these figurines. This testifies to the strong market demand for images of enthroned females, regardless of quality, that must have been satisfied by many coroplasts working independently over a long period of time.

In fact, the large number of these late 5<sup>th</sup> century types of enthroned females that have indistinct volumes and illegible details as the result of a careless, rapid, and indiscriminate reproduction of already illegible models gives the impression of a market output completely lacking in artistic merit. But the weightiness of this evidence tends to obscure the few examples that have been brought to light thus far that illustrate that the enthroned female as a terracotta votive could be conceived and executed with considerable artistic skill. A fragment of the lower part of a large, enthroned female preserving the left foot and a part of the drapery over the foot and leg on the left side (*Fig. 27*) displays a careful and crisp articulation of drapery folds, while the observant handling of the foot illustrates a high level of competence.

Several fragments of large figurines of enthroned females of different types present intriguing variations on the motif, but unfortunately, not enough is preserved in each case to indicate what the completed figurine may have looked like. One fragment (*Fig. 28*) preserves the right front corner of a cushioned throne of a figurine showing a braceleted arm and hand placed on a dove as if to hold it down onto the cushion. Another (*Fig. 29*) presents a left knee, left hand, and upper left side of a throne, with the hand curved around what appears to be the hindquarters of a small, recumbent animal resting on the lap, possibly a lion. A third fragment (*Fig. 30*) is more difficult to decipher. The front left corner of a throne with turned legs preserves a cushioned seat on which rests a long, tapering form too thin to be an arm.

Two other fragments preserve the upper l. part of the figurine showing a section of the backrest of the throne and the left shoulder, with the left hand





FIG. 29 - Fragment of an enthroned female with a feline, local, h. 0.067, (Inv. 78-638).

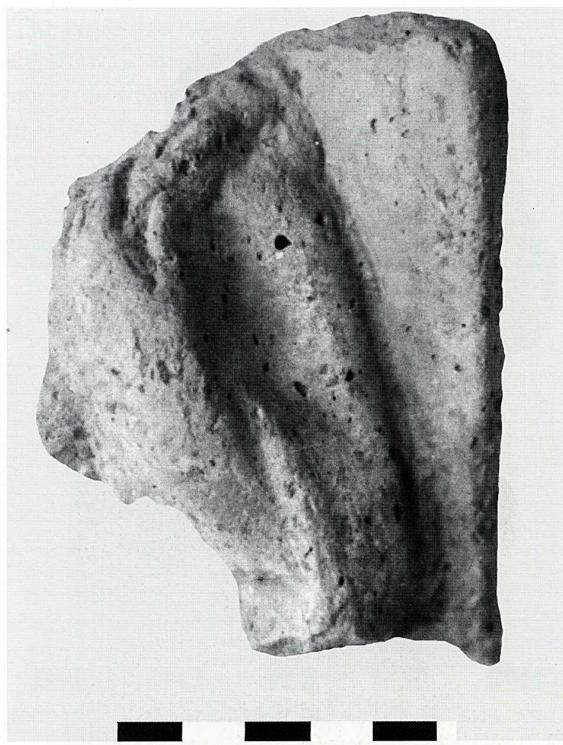


FIG. 31 - Fragment with the hand of an enthroned female, local, h. 0.093, (Inv. 78-789).

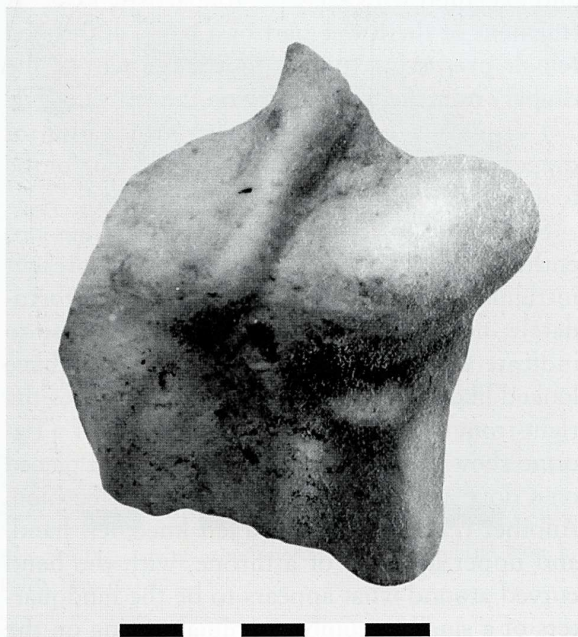


FIG. 30 - Fragment of an enthroned female, local, h. 0.080, (Inv. 78-462).

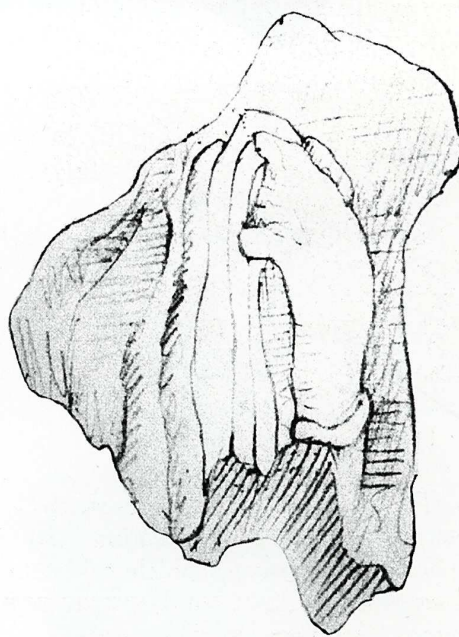


FIG. 32 - Fragment with the hand of an enthroned female, local, 0.069, (Inv. 69-116).

brought to the shoulder in the act of adjusting drapery. In the first fragment (*Fig. 31*), which shows a high and broad backrest, the hand is holding the edge of drapery between the thumb and forefinger in a gesture consistent with that of

the *anakalypsis*. The second fragment (*Fig. 32*) shows a high backrest with vertical and lateral projections at the corner. Thick folds are bunched over the shoulder and appear to be held in place by the left hand of the figure. A related





FIG. 33 - Enthroned female with a phiale, local, h. 0.274, (Inv. 74-237).

example from the Extramural Sanctuary (Fig. 33) presents the same drapery-adjusting gesture of the left hand, but shows the phiale held over the right knee with the right hand, instead of with both hands. Another, smaller figurine in the British Museum exhibits a similar iconographic scheme but with the phiale placed in the center of the lap instead (Fig. 34)<sup>32</sup>.

The apparently spontaneous appearance of these images, many in a significantly larger scale

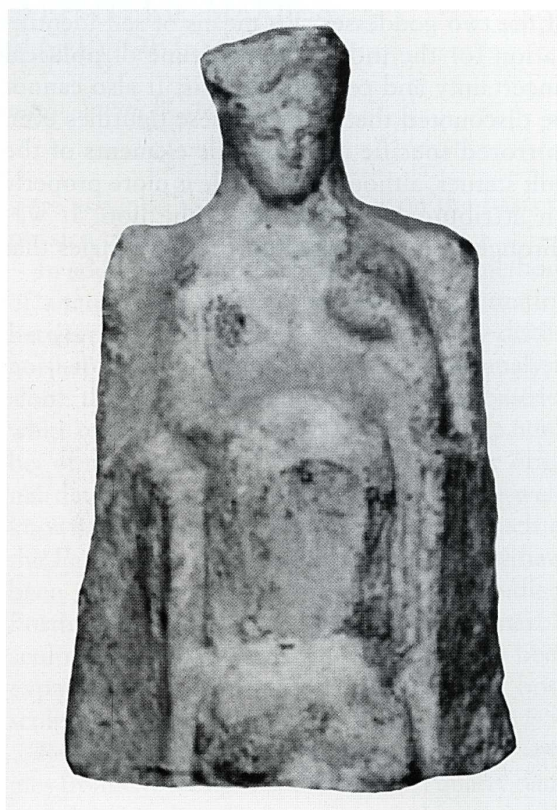


FIG. 34 - Enthroned female with a phiale, local, British Museum 1469.

than was customary and reflecting a strong, local aesthetic, again begs to be interpreted in relation to economic or social change. Given that the earliest examples of these large-scale enthroned females conform to a later 5<sup>th</sup> century style, it is tempting to link this sudden appearance of bigger images, but still in the modest medium of terracotta, with the increased importance of the middle class that resulted from the fall of the Battiad monarchy in 440. A larger religious offering, such as these enthroned females embodied, must have endowed the dedicant with an increased social standing. One can postulate that the strong demand for religious offerings that were conspicuous in their presence, but still relatively economical in their cost, arose out of a strong need to express status for an individual of relatively limited economic means. I believe that these figurines, conceived in a distinctively local style and in a visually impressionable scale, may indeed have reflected the general stylistic character of the cult statues

<sup>32</sup> HIGGINS, *op. cit.*, no. 1469.



of the two goddesses as a means of self-identification for the individual in a time of political uncertainty and communal crisis. It also cannot be discounted that some of these figurines even mirrored specific iconographic elements of the cult statues, although the phiale is more properly an attribute of Cybele, as is the lion. It was through these images of enthroned females that

personal, group, and communal identity could be emphasized in a period during which these identities were being questioned. The rituals at the Extramural Sanctuary served as one of the contexts for the expression of these identities, as the single individual united with the group in the communal adoration of Demeter and Persephone.