

**Cyrene Papers: The Final Report.
Richard Norton's Exploration of the Northern Necropolis
of Cyrene (24 October 1910 – 4 May 1911):
From Archives to Archaeological Contexts**

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Abstract

The rock-cut tombs of Cyrene's Northern Necropolis have survived to the present day in a pitifully ruinous state because of the looting that has taken place since antiquity and because of their frequent re-use as dwellings or stables. An important archive of typewritten reports, photographs, sketches, and correspondence pertaining to this necropolis is preserved principally in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and documents the first officially-sanctioned archaeological excavation at Cyrene. This was conducted by an American archaeological mission lead by Richard Norton from October 1910 to the end of April 1911 and was jointly sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The documents, particularly those that chronicle the excavation of four tombs and their associated finds, represent an important resource for our understanding of the history of the exploration of this necropolis. They not only offer information on individual monuments, but they also illustrate the typological range of artefacts selected for funerary ritual from the late Classical period into the second century AD, but principally during the Hellenistic period. Additionally, the documents reveal particular funerary practices, such as the successive re-use of tombs that took place at least from the late Hellenistic period onwards.

1. Introduction

In 1904 the luxury yacht *Utowana* belonging to the Chicago millionaire Allison V. Armour was cruising the eastern Mediterranean with a party of archaeologists onboard that included Richard Norton, director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, David Hogarth of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Joseph Clark Hoppin, also of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. As the yacht sailed along the coast of Cyrenaica, Hogarth urged Armour to drop anchor so that they could visit the site of the ancient city of Cyrene, well known through nineteenth-century descriptions. During their visit they were profoundly impressed by the tangle of

ruins that represented Cyrene's necropolis, which Norton and Hogarth believed offered great potential for archaeological exploration (Norton 1911b, pl. LXVIII). Five years later, in 1909, Norton was able to return to Cyrene in an official capacity under the auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which had engaged him in 1907 as advisor for western art on the recommendation of Hogarth. Accompanied by the Egyptologist Oric Bates, also of the Museum of Fine Arts, Norton was charged with assessing the areas that could be explored for the advantage of the museum (Uhlenbrock 1999). The following year Francis Kelsey, then president of the Archaeological Institute of America, secured major financial support from German financier and philanthropist James Loeb for a Cyrene expedition that was to be lead by Norton, and from that point onwards the Archaeological Institute of America became co-sponsor of the project. The Institute also entrusted Allison Armour with the task of negotiating with the Ottoman government in Constantinople for a permit to excavate and map the site. Norton then returned to Cyrene for the third time in the spring of 1910 in order to make preliminary preparations for what he believed would be merely the first in a series of archaeological campaigns. He also conducted reconnaissance into the hinterland of Cyrene.

Finally, on October 29, 1910, Norton and a small team of American archaeologists began the first season of archaeological exploration at Cyrene that was sanctioned by the Ottoman government. The team comprised Herbert Fletcher DeCou, epigrapher and bronze specialist, Joseph Clark Hoppin, ceramic specialist, and Charles Densmore Curtis, specialist on terracottas, lamps, and coins, while additional support was provided by Lawrence Mott, photographer, and Arthur Sladden, a physician (Uhlenbrock 1998, 97–8, fig. 1). Work was concluded at the end of April 1911, after six months of intensive archaeological activity, and plans were formulated for a second season of exploration at Cyrene beginning in October of 1912. However, due to complications arising from the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica in 1911 (Santucci 2012; Uhlenbrock 1998, 109–12) the second campaign

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never materialised, and the work carried out by Norton and his team quickly fell into obscurity after Norton's death in 1918.

Since Norton's campaign of 1910–1911 was jointly sponsored by two institutions in Boston, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Archaeological Institute of America, the extensive number of documents that pertain to it are distributed principally between the archives of these institutions. Other important sources of archival material are the University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library at Ann Arbor, the Stone Science Library at Boston University; and the Brown University, Archives and Rare Book Collection (Uhlenbrock 1998; 1999). However, it is the material in the Museum of Fine Arts that holds the greatest interest, since it comprises all of Norton's correspondence and reports pertaining to his work at Cyrene and two photograph albums, along with some 800 negatives, most accompanied by prints, that detail the daily progress of the work and that enable the identification of the complexes that were investigated and a good part of the related finds. The storerooms of the Classical Department of the Museum of Fine Arts also house a discrete group of some 89 terracotta figurines and four ceramics from Norton's excavation (Micheli and Santucci 2000). The documents in question provide precious, although generic, indications of provenience by means of the labels on the backs of the photographs and especially on the paper envelopes in which these negatives and prints were stored (see Appendix II for the complete list).

Norton's monthly reports and notes also detail the problems that beset the mission from the first day of activity. There was difficulty in finding suitable workmen. This was compounded by a general hostility toward the Americans from the local inhabitants, a fact that resulted in a Turkish guard being

supplied to the mission by the local authorities and in the construction of a security fence that surrounded the expedition headquarters. In addition, unrelenting inclement weather often slowed work (Goodchild 1976, 295). Finally, on 11 March 1911, the epigrapher Herbert Flechter DeCou was fatally shot by local instigators anxious to halt the work altogether (Uhlenbrock 1998, note 2). But Norton was resolute, and the day after DeCou's murder archaeological activity resumed. This drive to conduct what was perceived by him as important work, regardless of impediments, was the same that led him to write prior to beginning work at Cyrene: 'There is no money in it; there is endless work and some risk. But the joy of real life among real men makes up for all the hardships and solitude. If any youth wants to find himself, to know whether he is fit to live among and handle men, let him come to Cyrene' (Norton 1911a, 67).

Initially, archaeological activity by the American mission was focused on the western hill of Cyrene, the acropolis of the Greek *apoikia*, following a suggestion made by Hogarth during the 1904 visit. But the results proved to be less fruitful than expected. Even though foundations of buildings that still remain to be identified were brought to light, these were considered inconsequential since they did not belong to a Greek period. More productive was the exploration of an area along the north-western slope of the hill that was brought to Norton's attention by a local tribesman. There Norton uncovered a rock-cut sanctuary now known as the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Nymphs (Micheli and Santucci 2000), whose exploration was carried out over the course of two months. But, at the same time, work also was focused on a section of the Northern Necropolis, the object of this present study (Fig. 1). Eventually, surveys were conducted also along the south slope of the Wadi Bel-Gadir.

A report on the 1910–1911 season of exploration was published in the second *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America*, but it offers only a brief synthesis of the work that was carried out by Norton and his team (Curtis 1911; Hoppin 1911;

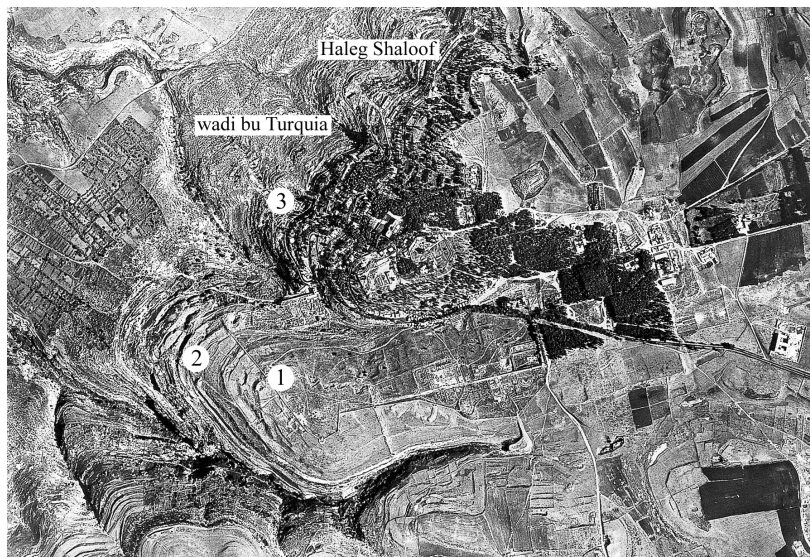
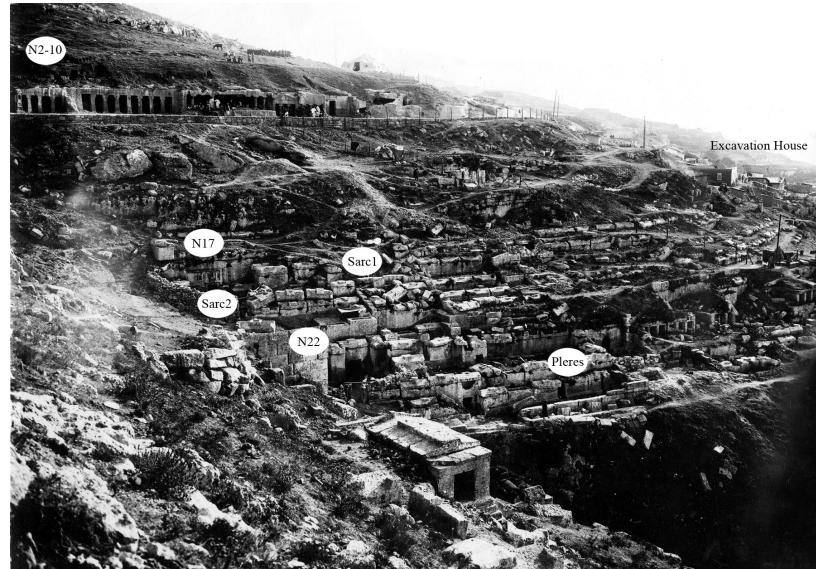


Figure 1. Aerial view of Cyrene with the areas investigated by Norton: (1) Acropolis, (2) Sanctuary of the Nymphai Chthoniai, (3) Northern Necropolis (from Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, fig. p. 40, modified by L. Polidori).

Figure 2. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis, head of Halef Shaloof. The American base camp and the central area of the explorations in 1910–1911 (Macerata, CAS, no inventory number – modified by L. Polidori).



Norton 1911b, 157–61). More recently, Thorn was able to recontextualise Norton's work in the Northern Necropolis in his own study of the cemeteries of Cyrene (Thorn 2005, 47–50). This provides a preliminary framework for further understanding Norton's activities that previously had been completely overlooked in studies of the necropolis by Cassels, Rowe, and Stucchi (Cassels 1955; Rowe 1959; Stucchi 1975; furthermore, Santucci and Thorn 2003). It also is of interest that in a publication that chronicles the archaeological activities of the Archaeological Institute of America Norton's work at Cyrene received only passing mention (Allen 2002). Now, an analysis of the documents in the Museum of Fine Arts enables us precisely to fix the time, the manner, and the dynamics of the exploration and to recover, if only virtually, finds associated with individual monuments.

(A.S. and J.U.)

2. The explorations, the contexts, the monuments

The impressive ruins of the necropolis had already invited documentation and publication by nineteenth-century visitors to Cyrene, such as the Beechey brothers Frederick and Henry (1821–22), Jean Raymond Pacho (1825), and Robert Murdoch Smith and Edwin Porcher (1860–61), all of whom described and sketched the better-preserved and more accessible tombs, especially those along the main paths from Cyrene to al-Beida or to Apollonia across the slope of the Gebel el-Akhdar (for a brief history of these studies, see Thorn 2005, 23–96).

The area of the necropolis chosen by the American mission for exploration, as well as for its base camp, is located along the Halef Shaloof (Fig. 1). The choice of this area could have been influenced by its strategic position adjacent to the house of the local village official, the Moudir, who was the representative of the Ottoman government in the village and the person who was responsible for the safety of the mission's members.

Norton's photographs and reports provide important information for the identification of the areas and individual contexts that were investigated. In addition, the rock-cut inscriptions from the Northern Necropolis that eventually were published by Robinson in 1913 are particularly valuable in pinpointing the specific location of the tombs Norton explored. Finally, a panoramic photograph in the Norton archive, as well as in the *Centro per la documentazione e la ricerca sull'archeologia dell'Africa Settentrionale* (CAS) in Macerata (cf. Ghislanzoni 1915, fig. 53), shows in detail the head of the Halef Shaloof, or Wadi Tahounia, the area that was explored by Norton (Fig. 2). Subjecting the photograph to a high-resolution scan and enlargement further facilitated the identification of the investigated areas and the exact location of the base camp. The importance of this cannot be overstated, since the area has been profoundly altered over the course of the last century (Fig. 3) and has lost all resemblance to its early twentieth-century appearance. As Norton noted, and as one can see in several photographs from the archive, 'the hillside was a mere inexplicable tangle of broken stone, with corners of tombs and sarcophagi showing above the soil and among the bushes' (cf. MFA report 343 and MFA photos 11.560–11.567. Henceforth, reports held at the Museum of Fine Arts are referred to as 'MFA' followed by number; see Appendix II for further information).

The base camp established by the mission initially comprised five tents and a kitchen that was set up in a tomb, still unidentified, but certainly in the area of Cassels' Tombs N241 and N270 (Fig. 4). In time a prefabricated wooden building was erected to the south-east of the house of the Moudir and of the tomb Cassels N241, but not above Tomb N241 as was suggested previously (Thorn 2005, 47; Uhlenbrock



Figure 3. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Recent view of the area investigated by Norton's mission (photo A. Santucci 2009, modified by L. Polidori).

1998, fig. 1). This house served as the mission's living quarters, library, study area, and antiquarium (Fig. 5). Other tombs in the vicinity of the base camp were transformed in succession into service quarters: a photographic laboratory, in the documents referred to as the Photograph Tomb, the Photographic Dark Room, or Tomb 7; a storeroom for finds, perhaps Tomb N270 (Thorn 2005, 50); one that was used as a prison; one for the quartering of horses, called the Stable Tomb and numbered by Norton as Tomb 6; and a surgery for Dr Sladden (see MFA negs 11.650, 11.689). Unfortunately, none of these tombs can be identified with certainty today. Even though Norton used a numerical system to label the tombs, this probably corresponded to the chronological sequence of their explorations and not to any topographical system. Moreover, at a certain point Norton himself crossed out tomb numbers that had been used to label

photographs (e.g. MFA negs 11.645, 11.570), increasing the difficulty of identification. Nevertheless, some of the tombs that were explored by Norton are known with certainty. They include Norton's Tomb 8, later called the Fresco Tomb, which corresponds to Cassels' N22 or Bacchielli's Tomb of the Ludi; Tomb 9, which corresponds to Cassels' N36; Tomb 10, or the 'Pleres Tomb,' which corresponds to Cassels' N422 (see § 2.3); Tomb 14, which corresponds to the tomb on the left of the Sculptured Tomb or Cassels' N17 (see § 2.4).

Exactly when Norton and his team began their exploration of the necropolis is unclear, but we do know that by early November a funerary inscription had been recorded, and by early December, at least, three tombs had been photographed. Norton's intent was to excavate an extensive area near the camp (see reports MFA 264 and 352), along the initial section of the road to Apollonia and along the head of the Haleg Shaloof, particularly toward the east. Norton wrote, 'Two terraces have been completely cleared for about 100 yards from the wady, and enough more has been accomplished to show that both hillsides are



Figure 4. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. American base camp before the erection of the prefabricated excavation house (MFA 11.543).

Figure 5. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. American base camp after the building of the wooden house (MFA 11.549).

completely covered with large sarcophagi, or with carved entrances to rock-cut tombs' (MFA 352) (Figs 6–7). As the work progressed, sections of the necropolis terraces with rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi courts, stairs, and pathways began to return to their original appearance resembling a complex system of streets of tombs. Monuments outside of the Haleg Shaloof area



were also inspected east and west of the camp, principally above and below the road to Apollonia up to the land referred to as 'El Mawy' (Tombs N201–N212: Cassels 1955, figs 3–4, pl. IIIa; Thorn 2005, 50, fig. 14) (Fig. 8).

All the finds that were recovered were transported to the antiquarium of the camp and recorded, although more attention was paid to the inscriptions than to any of the other categories of finds. In fact, only the inscriptions were promptly published (Robinson 1913) and thus furnish us with important information on the dates of their discovery and the locations of the tombs, particularly in the case of inscriptions cut into immovable monuments. Among these were the inscription of Philokrateias, said to be on the stairs above the Fresco Tomb (MFA negs 11.298, 11.594; Robinson

Figure 6. (top left) Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. View of rock-cut tombs during the excavation of Norton's Tomb 9/ Cassels N36 (MFA 11.563).

Figure 7. (bottom left) Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. View of the sarcophagus terrace after the excavation of Norton's Pleres Tomb/Cassel N422 (MFA 11.565).



Figure 8. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The property of El Mawry (MFA 11.560–11.561, modified by L. Polidori).

1913, no. 25) and actually visible on the base of a rock-cut sarcophagus (Figs 9–10), as well as the inscription at the entrance of Norton's Tomb 14 (Robinson 1913, no. 59; *SEG* 9,248). In 2010 this latter, not seen until now, was identified at the bottom of a wall between the entrances of the two tombs designated by Cassels as Tomb N17 (Fig. 11). Consequently Norton's Tomb 14 and the Sculptured Tomb correspond respectively to the left and right part of Cassels' Tomb N17.

Numerous sculptures also were recovered and brought to the antiquarium at base camp (MFA negs 11.385, 11.389, 11.354, 11.360–11.361, 11.399, 11.403–11.404, 11.407, 11.411, 11.417, 11.423, 11.426). In most cases their exact findspots remain unknown, so one cannot determine if they came from the necropolis or from other areas of the ancient city. Moreover, on occasion labels or captions for photographs of these sculptures contradict the information supplied by Norton's reports or by the later catalogues within which these sculptures have been published. For example, Norton mentions the finding of 15 female half-figures (Norton 1911b, 160–61, pls LXXII–LXXIV), but in the catalogue by Beschi some 28 examples are said to come from Norton's excavations, most without context, except for two from the area of Tomb N1 (Beschi 1969–70, nos 17–18, 25, 27–28, 44, 46, 48–49, 51–54, 57, 60, 64, 66–67, 72, 82, 90–91, 99, 100,

113, 125, 133, 147). Norton's published report refers to 'several' portrait-busts, most of them defined by Norton as lacking 'artistic value,' (Norton 1911b, 162) but in Rosenbaum's catalogue of the portrait-sculptures from Cyrenaica she identifies only the portrait-bust published by Norton with a photograph in his preliminary report (Norton 1911b, 162 pl. LXXVIII; Rosenbaum 1960, 114, no. 244). However, one photograph in the archive provides information on the exact find-spot of a sculpture from the south slope of the Wadi Bel-Gadir (Rosenbaum 1960, 89, no. 147). It is a statue of a standing female that now can be confirmed as coming from the extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in the Wadi Bel-Gadir (MFA neg. 11.640). Further, a marble torso representing Artemis (Paribeni 1959, 70, no. 157), until now without provenience, can be confirmed as coming from Zawia, below the terrace wall of the Apollo Sanctuary (MFA negs 11.343, 11.417), while the Nike restored by Stucchi on the Naval Monument in the agora (Ermeti



Figure 9. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The excavation of the Philokrateias Sarcophagus (MFA 11.594).

Figure 10. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Recent view of the Philokrateias Sarcophagus; in the background the tree growing inside the Child's Sarcophagus (photo: A. Santucci 2009).



1982) is described by Norton as coming from a large tomb that he had hoped to excavate in a second campaign (Norton 1911b, 161, pl. LXXV). Further sculptures mentioned by Norton still remain to be identified, such as the 'charming torso of a Nereid [...] found in the wady east of the camp' and may be attributable to Tomb N1 (Norton 1911b, 160; Santucci and Thorn 2003, 194–95).

In general, Norton's reports are vague and undetailed, so that it is not possible to reconstruct some of the contexts investigated. For example, we have no information on Cassels' Tombs N2–N10 that are shown partially covered in hillwash and debris in the illustrations of the late nineteenth century (Thorn 2005, figs 68–9), but that appear completely excavated in Norton's photographs. Further, one of the first tombs that was opened, not identifiable today, was described as having been intact and having yielded remains of bones and late Hellenistic ceramic fragments (MFA s.n.). Another tomb, opened two days later and also not identifiable today, was

generically referred to by the excavators as having the same chronological horizon as the preceding. But in Norton's view these tombs 'possessed practically no interest of any kind,' as Hoppin wrote in a typed letter (29 October 1910) now preserved in the Brown University Library. Later, during the month of March, when the weather improved, exploration of the tombs was intensified, even despite the murder of DeCou, and the results were more fruitful. In the first days of March Tomb 9 (Cassels' N36) was opened and yielded 'several figurines, several hundred pin heads' (MFA 352). The unidentified 'upper tomb' (Norton 1911b, 159) among those above the Moudir's house yielded a Panathenaic amphora (perhaps of the Theophrastos referred to *infra* § 3.1), along

with black-glaze ceramics (MFA 229), two red-figure hydriae, one of which bore a representation of the garden of the Hesperides, many 'pieces' of terracotta, fragments of an alabaster plate, two ivory panels that belonged to a small box, numerous lamps, and a large quantity of undecorated pottery, or common ware (see MFA reports 263–264). No less interesting was a tomb explored on March 3rd (Norton 1911b, 159), but also not identifiable today, that contained '165 vases [...]



Figure 11. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The metrical inscription on the side of the entrance of the Sculptured Tomb/Cassels N17 (photo: A. Santucci 2010).

lamps [...] some [...] figurines.’ At the same time the exploration of the Tahuna-Windmill Tomb was begun, the large circular tomb now known as Tomb N1 and now dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC (Santucci and Thorn 2003. Since the tomb had been explored by DeCou, this must have been before his death on 11 March 1911).

Although most of Norton’s work in the Northern Necropolis remains undefined, the results from four tombs that were explored in March, 1911, are partially or completely preserved so that their contexts now can be studied. On 4 March the Pleres Tomb or Tomb 10 (Cassels’ N422) was opened, as well as the Sculptured Tomb/Cassels’ N17 (respectively see § 2.3–2.4). The Child’s Sarcophagus 1 (see § 2.1) to the west of Cassels’ Tomb N17 was opened on 23 March, and the Second Sarcophagus (see § 2.2) in front of Cassels’ Tomb N17 possibly also toward the end of March. These four contexts will be examined in chronological order.

2.1. The Child’s Sarcophagus, or the First Sarcophagus: from a child deposition to an osteotheca

This burial was opened on 23 March 1911 (Figs 2, 12–13). Norton wrote: ‘It was obviously intended for a child but when we lifted the lid we found carefully packed away inside not only a child’s skeleton but also the bones of six adults. Mixed with the bones were several undecorated but graceful vases and two plain bronze strigils. A good metrical grave inscription was also found’ (MFA 343). The metrical inscription referred to is that of the Sicilian Plauta, which

was written on a marble stele decorated with a garland within which were feminine objects (Robinson 1913, no. 11). Now in the courtyard of the Cyrene Archaeological Museum, it actually does not belong to the Child’s Sarcophagus but rather was found in front of the Fresco Tomb/N22/Tomb of the Ludi.

The burial was made in a typical Cyrenaican rock-cut sarcophagus (fourth–second century BC), which has a rectangular, plain case and a ridge-roof lid with a central plinth and squared acroteria at the corners (cf. Cassels 1953, 10–1; Lagatta 2008; Rowe 1959, 7–10, fig. XIV, pls 5–6, 18–9, 22–3; Thorn 2005, 411–12). The sarcophagus, now destroyed by a tree that has grown inside it (Fig. 10), was created for the primary inhumation of a child, as is indicated not only by its scale evident in the photographs, but also by the surviving lid that measures 1.65 m in length (Thorn 2005, 48 hypothesises a primary cremation burial, contrary to the information in the reports). The burial was disturbed in antiquity, and a photograph (MFA neg. 11.593) testifies to the secondary depositions that are noted in Norton’s report as consisting of the remains of six adults. The bones appear to have been dumped into the sarcophagus all at once when the sarcophagus became a kind of ossuary. This confirms that old graves were emptied in order to provide more space for new burials in accordance with a funerary practice frequently attested elsewhere in burials from at least the late Hellenistic period onwards. The finds reveal a homogeneity of types of grave goods, as well as of chronological range which suggests that they must have belonged to the burial of the child. The assemblage comprises 15 black-glazed wares



Figure 12. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The excavation of the First Sarcophagus, or Child’s Sarcophagus (MFA 11.591, 11.593).

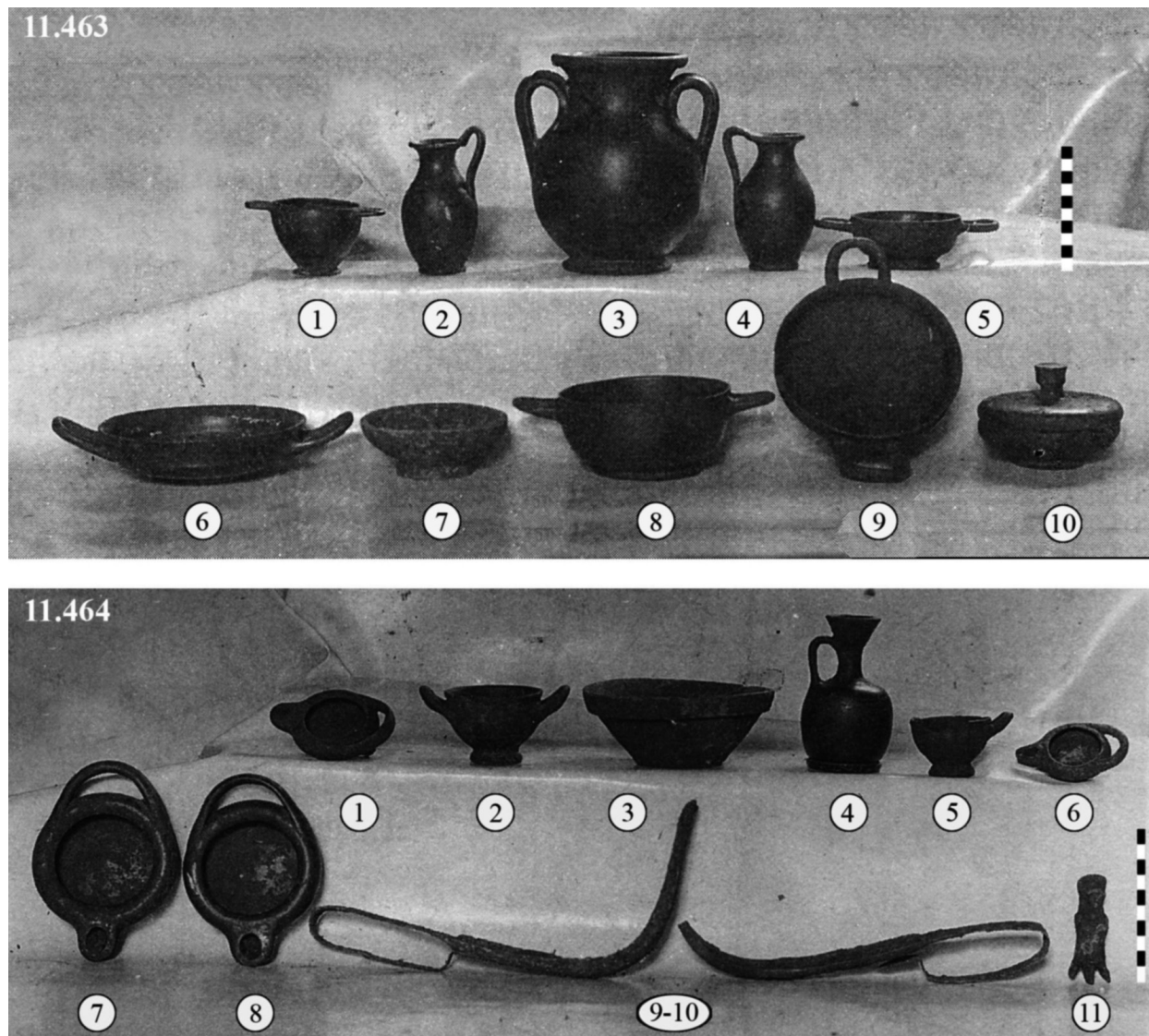


Figure 13. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Child's Sarcophagus (MFA 11.463–11.464, modified by L. Polidori).

(nine vessels and four lamps), three plain wares, one terracotta figurine, and two bronze strigils (see § 4, Appendix I § 3.2, 3.4–6 and Fig. 13). Black-glaze ceramics are recognisable as the 'several undecorated but graceful vases' mentioned by Norton. They are small or miniature in size and are attributable to the fourth century BC. There also was a terracotta jointed 'doll,' undoubtedly a Corinthian import of the fifth to fourth century BC (*infra* § 4). If the 'doll' relates to the young age of the deceased and refers to the sphere of games, then the two strigils could possibly indicate the male gender of the child and allude to the education in the gymnasium that he would have enjoyed, had he lived longer.

The range of artefacts from the child's burial can be compared to other assemblages from the Northern Necropolis at Cyrene, such as that from Sarcophagus N81AC, found intact by Rowe (Thorn 2005,

279–80, figs 412–18, without indication of date). It contained a cremation with ceramics and some jewellery (probably a female burial); further parallels include those from two sarcophagi excavated by Burton Brown (Burton Brown 1948, 148–49, fig. 1 and note 12) that date to the latter half of the fourth century BC (Sarcophagus A: two depositions of young males; Sarcophagus B: one deposition of unspecified sex). It is noteworthy that in these last two burials, as well as in the Child's Sarcophagus, there was only one footless collared bowl (*infra* § 3.4), and this was associated with a set of black-glazed vessels. It is tempting to suggest that the footless collared bowl in these contexts could have had a particular symbolic and/or functional meaning, but occurrences of this combination are too limited at present for any interpretation.

The assemblage from the Child's Sarcophagus can be dated within the fourth century BC.

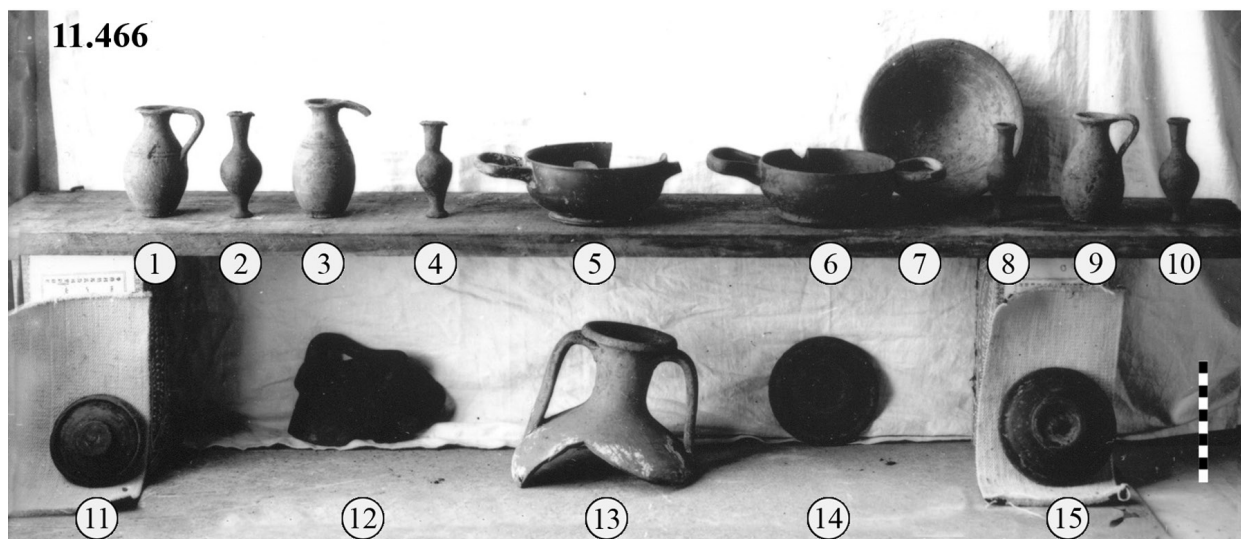


Figure 14. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Second Sarcophagus (MFA 11.465–11.467, modified by L. Polidori).

2.2. *The Second Sarcophagus*

Norton referred to the Second Sarcophagus in a letter of July, 1911, and noted that in it there was ‘one skeleton [...] several undecorated vases [...] one or two with stamped decorations’ (MFA s.n.) (Figs 2, 9, 14). The sarcophagus, currently completely hidden by earth (Fig. 10), belongs to the same typology as the Child’s Sarcophagus discussed above, but it has the standard dimensions for adult burials (an average of 3 m in length).

The photographs (Fig. 14) show that the finds from the sarcophagus were homogeneous and possibly integral with the deposition. The assemblage comprises 31 vases, of which 12 are black-glaze ware and 19 plain ware. It reveals a predilection for closed forms, especially small amphorae. As is suggested by the presence of a lebes, a pyxis, and two hydriai among the grave goods, the sarcophagus contained an adult inhumation, presumably of female gender.

The range of these artefacts is comparable to that from Sarcophagus N83 BI excavated by Rowe in the same Northern Necropolis (Thorn 2005, 259, figs

346–48) and to that from Tomb E at Apollonia that attests to a female burial of c. 350 BC (White and Phillips 1976, 122–24, pls XXI–XXIII).

The contents of the Second Sarcophagus can be dated from the late fourth to the third century BC.

2.3. *The Pleres Tomb/Tomb 10 (N422)*

The Pleres Tomb was opened by Norton on 4 March 1911, and was found to have the inscription ΠΛΗΡ/ ΗΣ cut above the entrance (Robinson 1913, no. 42). This tomb is located immediately below the Fresco Tomb/N22/Tomb of the Ludi (Bacchielli 2000), along a terrace on which are aligned several Hellenistic, rock-cut sarcophagi (Figs 2, 6, 15–16). Contrary to former considerations that linked the Pleres Tomb with Cassels’ Tomb N31 (Thorn 2005, 47; Uhlenbrock 1998, note 47), which also has the inscription ‘*pleres*’ above its doorway, a recent survey of the area enables the definitive identification of Norton’s Pleres Tomb/Tomb 10 with Cassels’ N422 (Fig. 15). The epigraphic formula πλήρης (*scilicet* τάφος) is well attested in the Northern Necropolis (see also

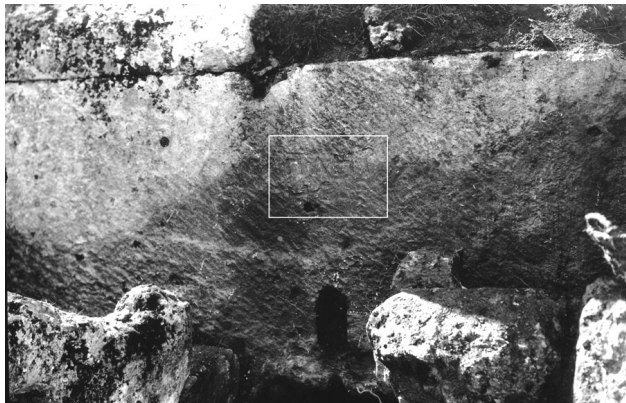


Figure 15. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The inscription on the façade of the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (MFA 11.328 modified by L. Polidori).

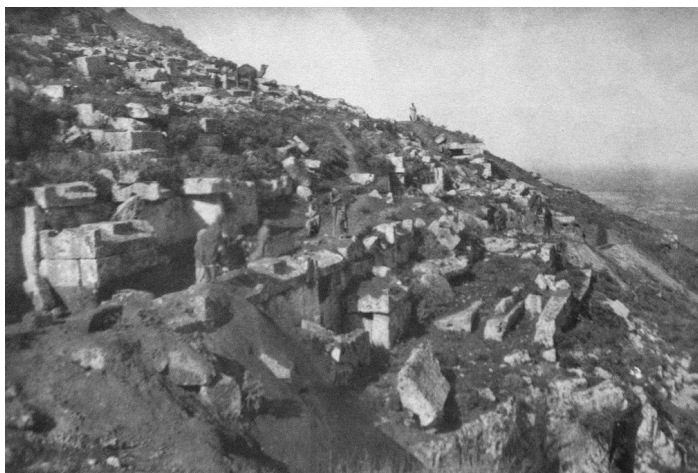


Figure 16. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 during the excavation in 1911 (MFA 11.428) and in a recent view (photo: A. Santucci 2009).

Cassels' Tomb N274). The word indicated that no more space was available for burials, but can also refer to only one coffin (see *CIG* 5180h). While it implicitly forbade additional openings of the tomb, we do not know for what period of time this prohibition could have been considered valid, and therefore respected. Moreover, it is likely that the formula only would have been cut on tombs having multiple burials (Norton 1911b, 158; Cassels 1955, 4) and different owners, since the reference to lack of available space would not seem to make much sense for a family tomb. In *SEG* 9,232 (= *SEG* 16,870), for example, the word πλήρης appears between two different inscriptions, perhaps of the Hellenistic period, in which a common trait of the deceased was a priestly rank (Cassels 1955, 10, note 13).

The façade of the tomb consists of a simple rock wall, lightly smoothed, with a narrow, plain entrance as the only visible feature (Figs 15–16) because two

rock-cut sarcophagi lean against the façade and partially conceal it. This is consistent with an organisation of the architectural space shown by other tombs in the Northern Necropolis, such as Tomb N130 (Thorn 2005, fig. 241). The interior is now full of earth for the better part of its height, but its general plan, articulated into two, sequential rooms, is still evident (Fig. 17). At the entrance chamber there are four longitudinal loculi in the right wall, each for four depositions, and two horizontal sarcophagi in the left wall. In the rear chamber, which is accessible by some ascending steps cut into the rock, there is a longitudinal loculus in each side, and in the back wall is a typical Cyrenaican niche for a Roman portrait-bust. In total, the tomb could have held at least 20 inhumations, and this justifies the considerable quantity of the objects found inside it.

The Pleres Tomb had several burial phases, as did most of the rock-cut tombs of Cyrene, as is evidenced



Figure 17. Cyrene Northern Necropolis. The interior of the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (photos: A. Santucci 2009, modified by L. Polidori).

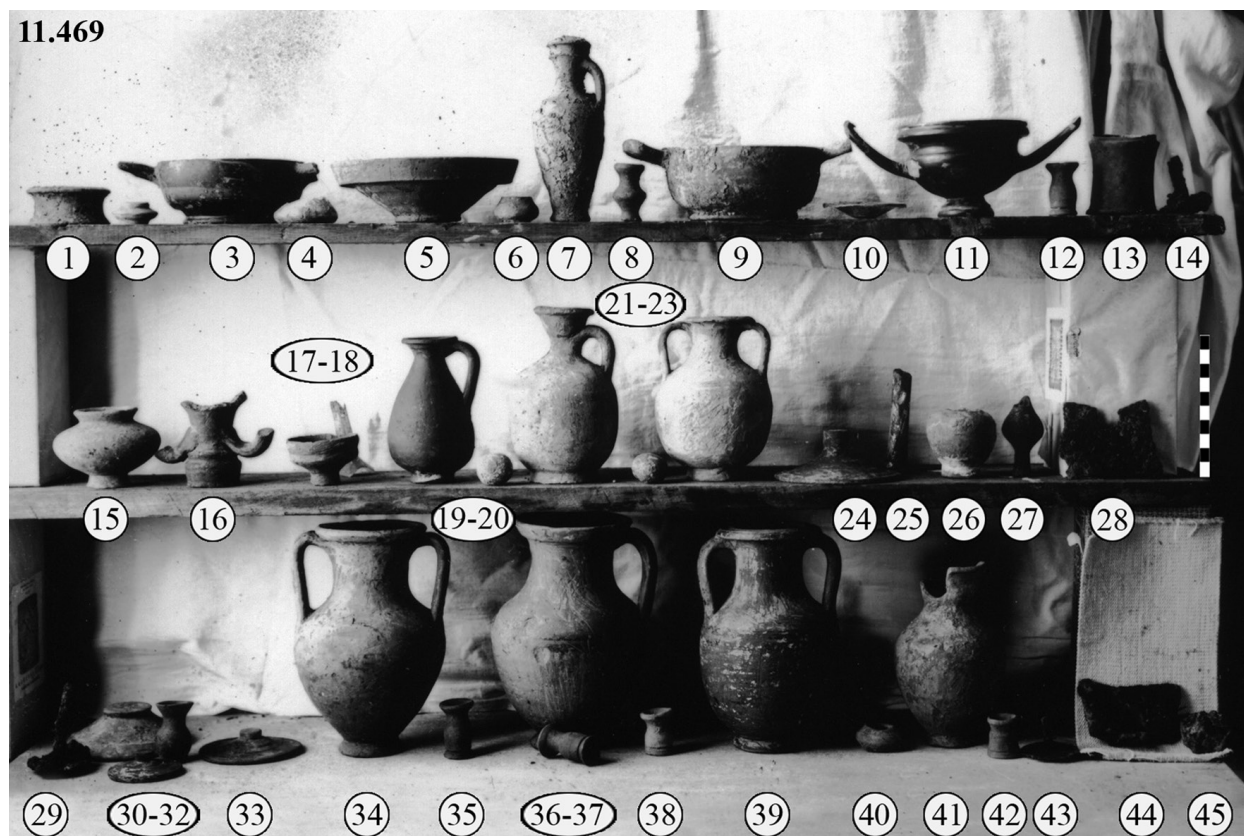
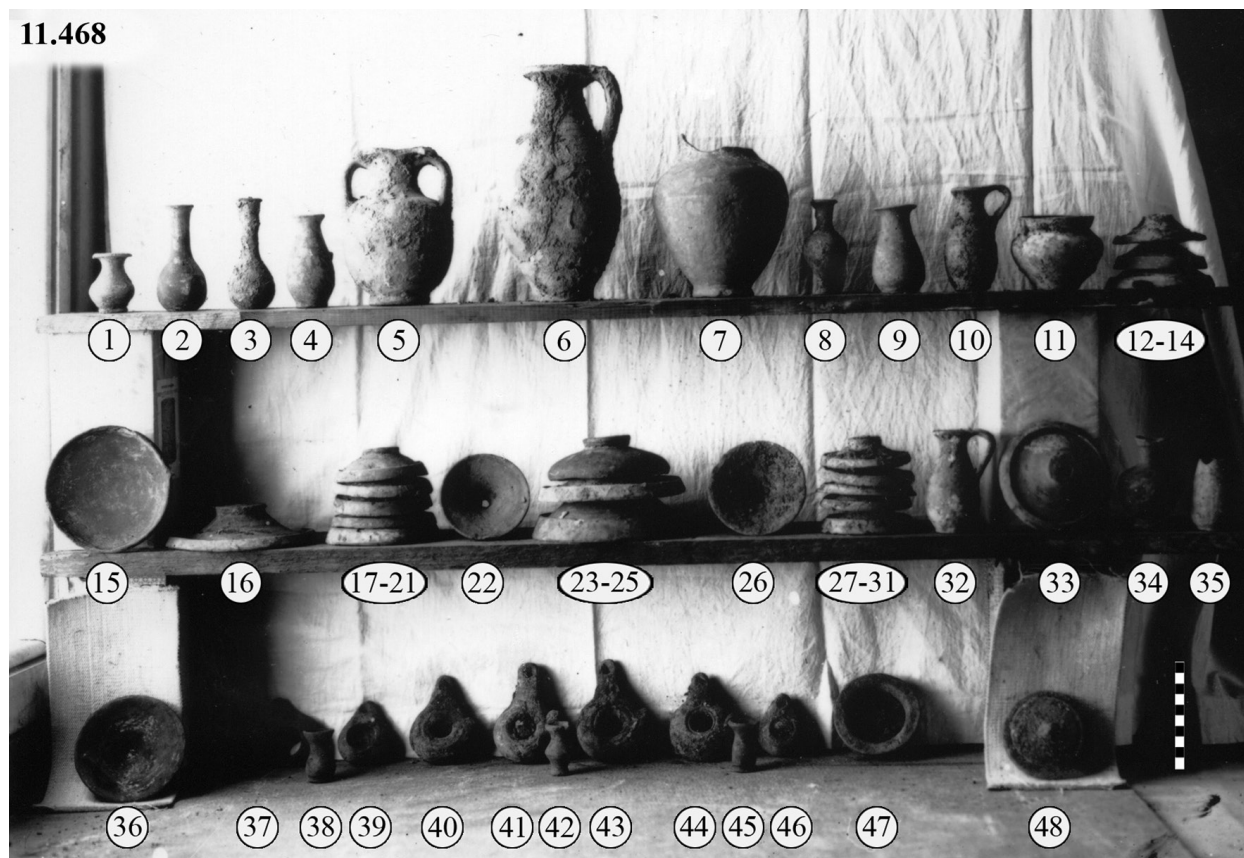


Figure 18. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (MFA 11.468–11.469, modified by L. Polidori).

by Hellenistic loculi, Roman pseudo-sarcophagi, and a niche for one Roman portrait-bust (in general, Cherstich 2008; Thorn 2005). A breaking through

of the dividing walls between the loculi testifies to a modern re-use of the tomb, perhaps as a dwelling or stable, evidently after Norton had explored it.

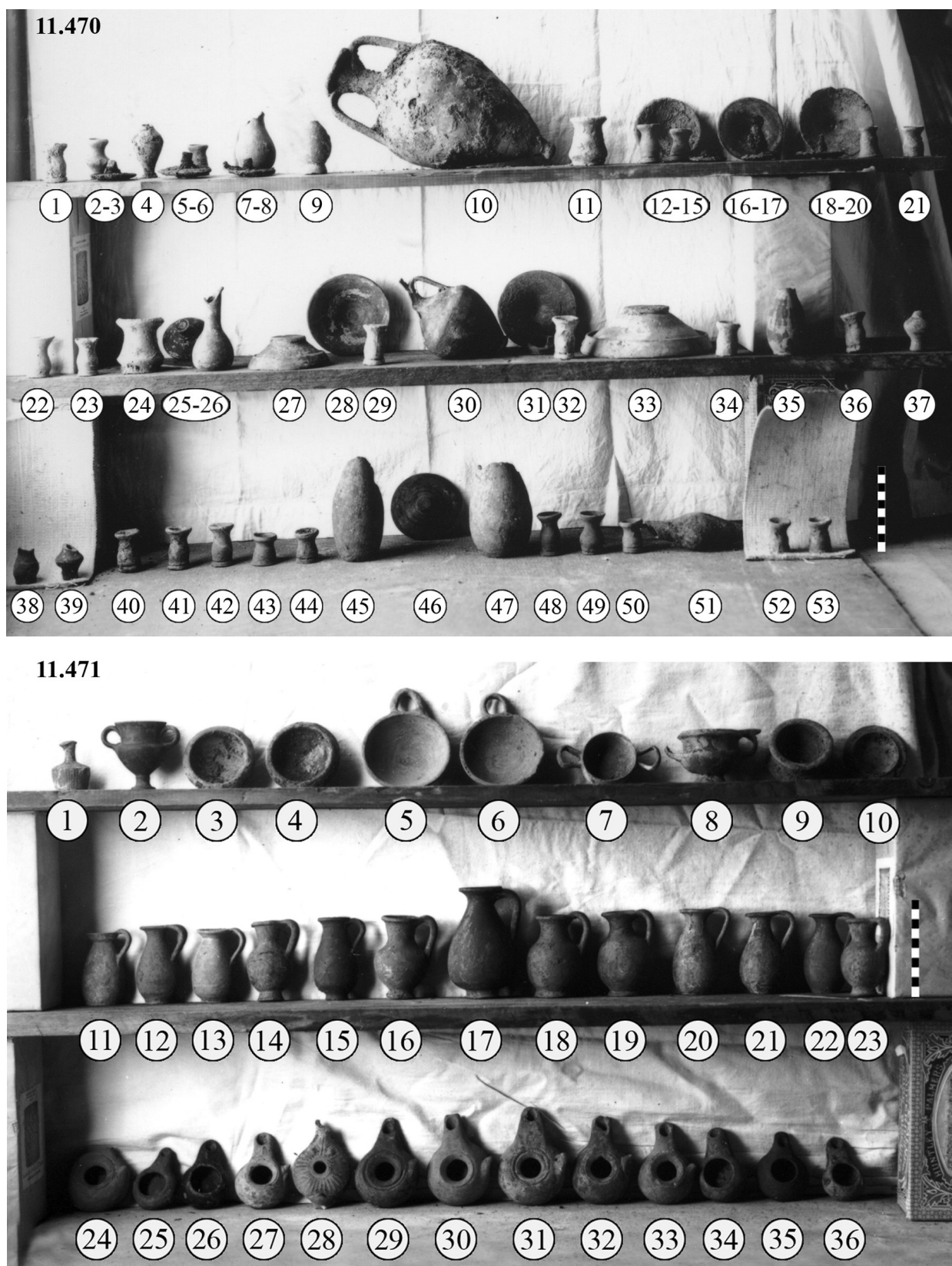


Figure 19. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (MFA 11.470–11.471, modified by L. Polidori).

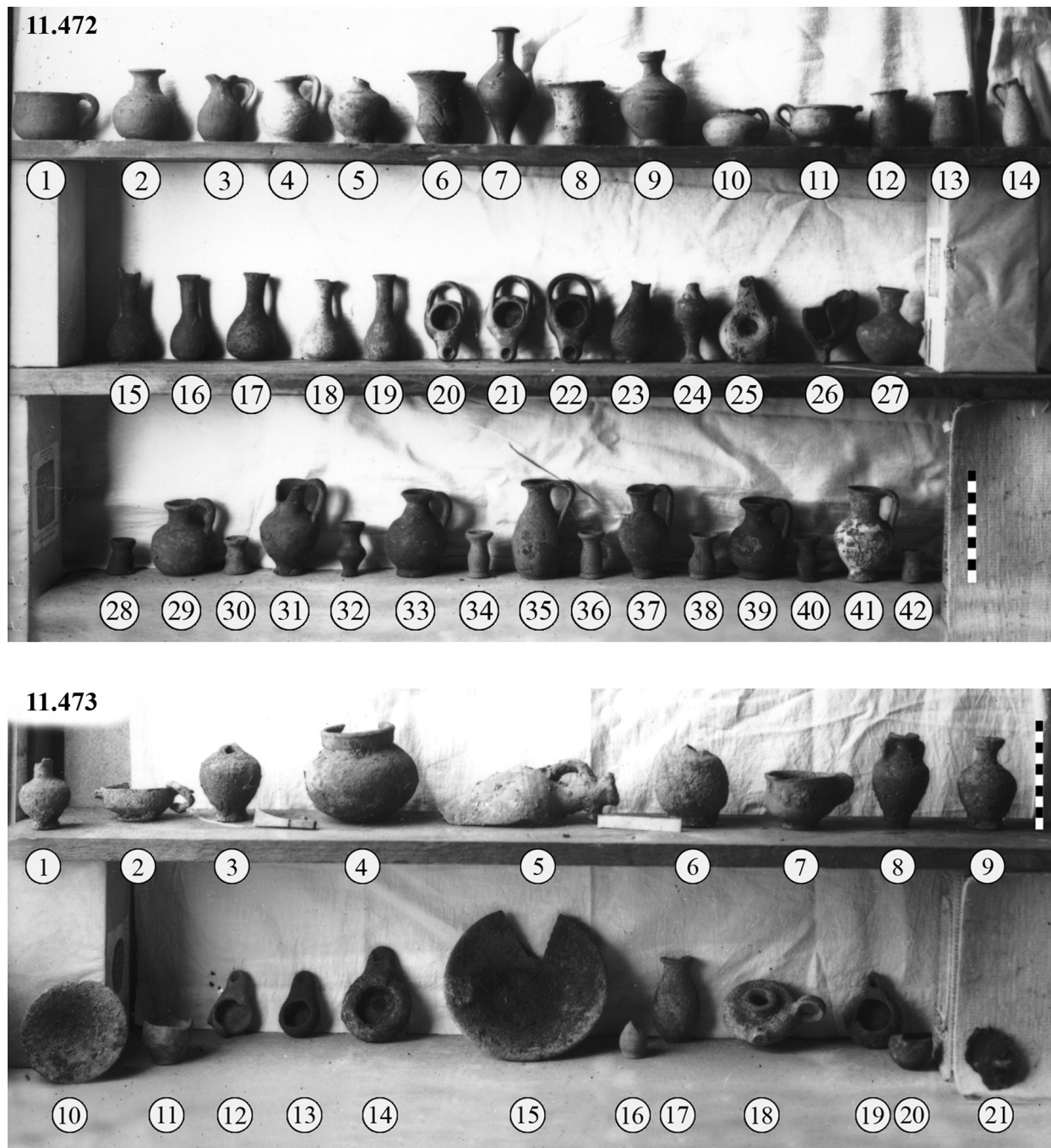


Figure 20. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (MFA 11.472–11.473, modified by L. Polidori).

In Norton's words, the Pleres Tomb yielded 'several terracotta figurines [...] with traces of the original paint, [...] a female figure seated on a box [...] a large number of terracotta heads and fragments; about 200 entire small vases and lamps, and something over 1000 glass pin beads. These last closely resemble beads, but we discovered five with the bronze pin still inserted, and hundreds of broken off pins. Traces of foil show that they were originally covered with gold. Numerous other small antiquities also were found' (MFA 352).

The photographs (Figs 18–21) provide us with a significant indication of the contents of the tomb, even if some of the objects mentioned in the report do not appear to be visible in the photographs, such as the terracotta heads and the glass pin heads (*infra* § 3 and 4). These latter artefacts, belonging to the *ornatus muliebris*, may be considered together with a probable bronze mirror and testify to one or more female depositions (*infra* § 3.5). Finally, the iron nails identifiable among the objects photographed can provide evidence for burials in

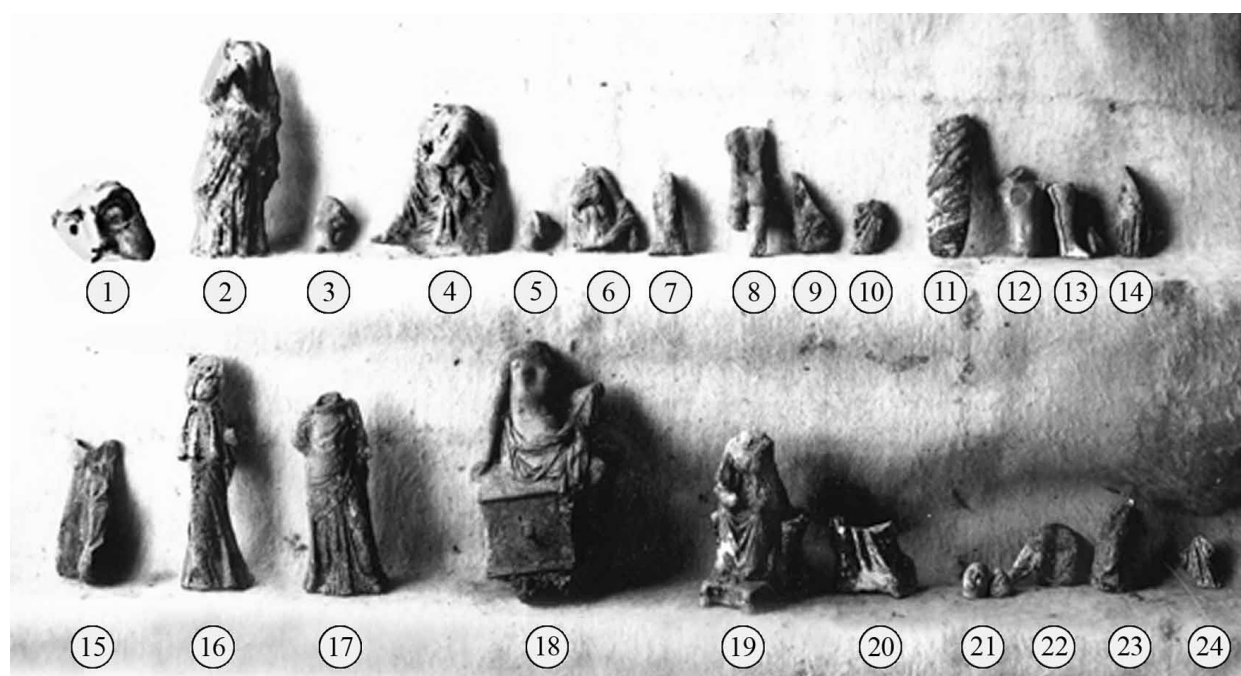


Figure 21. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Terracotta figurines, probably from the Pleres Tomb/Cassels N422 (MFA 11.460, modified by L. Polidori).

wooden coffins (*infra* § 3.5). In the photographs the material is arranged according to typology so that any relationship with individual context or burial is lost (Figs 18–21). The assemblages show black-glazed ware (one or two pieces, three lamps), plain ware (177 vessels, 26 lamps), terracotta figurines (26), metal objects (three possible mirrors), glass (two unguentaria), and few other unidentifiable objects (nine pieces), among them possibly amphora stoppers.

The 245 finds from the Pleres Tomb date from the third century BC to the Early Imperial period and confirm the extended use of the tomb, which also is suggested by the architectural modifications.

2.4. The Sculptured Tomb (N17)

The Sculptured Tomb has been known since the 1800s when Pacho and, a few years later, Smith and Porcher reproduced its elaborate façade (Pacho 1827, pl. 88; Smith and Porcher 1864, 30, fig. 19; Thorn 2005, figs 225, 237, 254). Decorated with relief sculpture, it thus far is unique within the corpus of Cyrenean tombs and is one of the best-known monuments of the Northern Necropolis (Fig. 22). The tomb shares its façade with Norton's Tomb 14, as already noted (Fig. 11), whose interior contained a burial with remains of a skeleton embedded in the earth (MFA neg. 11.582). Norton's Tomb 14 and the Sculptured Tomb, both corresponding to Cassels' Tomb N17, were realised as a single project. Their rock-cut façade has two side pilasters joined by the

same moulding, a pseudo podium in the lower part, and two somewhat asymmetrical entrances of Hellenistic type. Evidently the purchasers intervened with specific requests, so that above the right doorway were sculpted in high relief three typical Cyrenean funerary monuments representing a female half-figure (height 1 m), a pillar stele (h. 0.87 m), and a draped-pillar herm (h. 1 m) (Fig. 22). Each image stands on its own low base above a shared plinth, and on both bases of the female half-figure and the herm there seem to be traces of an inscription, unfortunately completely illegible. The female half-figure, undoubtedly a funerary reference, is of Beschi's type N (with a himation leaving the left breast uncovered), whose marble versions in-the-round can be placed between the second century BC and the Early Imperial age (Beschi 1969–70, 207, 264–66, nos 71–75, 339–40). The stele, having a rectangular form with a plain shaft and simple crown cornice, is comparable to Hellenistic examples in-the-round from the same Northern Necropolis, where however they were differently arranged, as in the Stele-Tombs N380–N383, or stelai in front of tombs (e.g. N55, N183, N192, N197), or on the upper part of the façades (e.g. N258), or on sarcophagi (respectively Thorn 2005, figs 48–56, 220, 256–59, with further references). Two niches are cut into the shaft of the stele decorating the façade of the Sculptured Tomb and were intended for portrait busts, which testify to a Roman intrusion (e.g. Thorn 2005, fig. 296).



Figure 22. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The Sculptured Tomb/Cassels N17 (from Pachó 1827, pl. 88; Smith and Porcher 1864, fig. 19; photo: A. Santucci 2009).

The herm on the façade also reproduces a widespread type of sculpture in the late Hellenistic period, whose best-known examples represent Herakles wearing the lion skin. At Cyrene, for example, this type is attested by the architectural herms of the xystos adjoining the late Ptolemaic gymnasium near the agora (Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000, 100, with further references). Small herms similar to that of the Sculptured Tomb relief also are represented on late Hellenistic funerary and votive stelai from Asia Minor (Wrede 1986, 44–8) and have been interpreted as making an explicit allusion to the palaestra, and

therefore to the male sphere (Couilloud 1974, cat. nos 297–300; Horn 1972, cat. nos 121, 125; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–79, cat. nos 141–49, 161, 256, 646, 730; Vorster 1989, 282). It is likely that the herm relief of the tomb had a similar significance. In general, the herm relief of the Sculptured Tomb is comparable to versions in-the-round from Cyrene, such as the marble herm in the British Museum from the so-called Temple of Aphrodite excavated by Smith and Porcher (Huskinson 1975, 65, no. 119, pl. 46) and a limestone herm from the Northern Necropolis, discovered on 30 June 2010 to the west of Tombs



N19–N20 and now in the store-room of the Antiquities Department next to the Archaeological Museum of Cyrene (Fig. 23). The herm, published here for the first time, is missing its head (h. 1.06 m; squared pillar h. 0.37 × w. 0.23 m) and represents a young male wrapped in a himation, with his right arm brought to his chest and his left arm hanging at his side. This is an iconographic type common to the Greek figurative tradition from the late fifth century BC onwards and is well attested at Cyrene, for example,

Figure 23. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. A newly-discovered draped herm (photo: A. Santucci 2010).



Figure 24. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The naiskos façade of Tomb N258 (photo: A. Santucci 2010).

among the terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of the Nymphai Chthoniai (Micheli and Santucci 2000, 87, particularly type Pn.B.a.I, fig. 12, no. 587 and pl. xxxix). This herm represents the first free-standing example of its iconographic type from the Cyrene necropolis and confirms that all the three tomb reliefs from the Sculptured Tomb were standardised, and cheaper, versions of the more representative Cyrenaican funerary sculptures of the Hellenistic period. Moreover, the combination of all three reliefs can be viewed as a two-dimensional version of the naiskos, or attic recess, carved on the upper part of the Cyrenaican Hellenistic tomb facades containing sculptures similar to these three reliefs (Fig. 24) (cf. also Santucci forthcoming). Finally, the sculpted façade reflects the same decorative taste evident in other Hellenistic tombs at Cyrene, such as the Tomb of the Mnesarchi/N171 of the middle to second half of the third century BC (Bacchielli 1980b, 15; Beschi 1969–70, 181), or the Tomb of the Caryatids/N228 dated to the late Hellenistic period (Bacchielli 1980a; Beschi 1969–70, 207).

façade: *‘non sappiamo quando fu scavata o sterrata [...] Ma anche se la tomba ci fosse giunta intatta, avremmo avuto, con ogni probabilità, elementi cronologici per il suo reimpiego tardo, di età romana, documentato da almeno cinque alloggiamenti per busti-ritratto, che ne hanno deturpato in parte l’aspetto originario.’*¹ (Beschi 1969–70, 206). Now this can be confirmed by the finds in the photographs labelled by Norton as ‘part of the right hand division of the sculptured tomb’ (MFA neg. 11.462), in other words, from the first loculus of the right wall.

The finds include plain ware (24 vessels, seven lamps), terracotta figurines (three), glass (three unguentaria) and possibly a bone hair pin (Fig. 26). This last object is gendered, and therefore indicative of a female burial, while a deposition of a young man could be suggested by the draped herm on the façade.

The materials are heterogeneous and indicate a chronological range from the second century BC to the second century AD.

(A.S.)



Figure 25. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plan and interior view of the Sculptured Tomb/Cassels N17 (from Thorn 2005, fig. 225 modified by L. Polidori; photo: A. Santucci 2009).

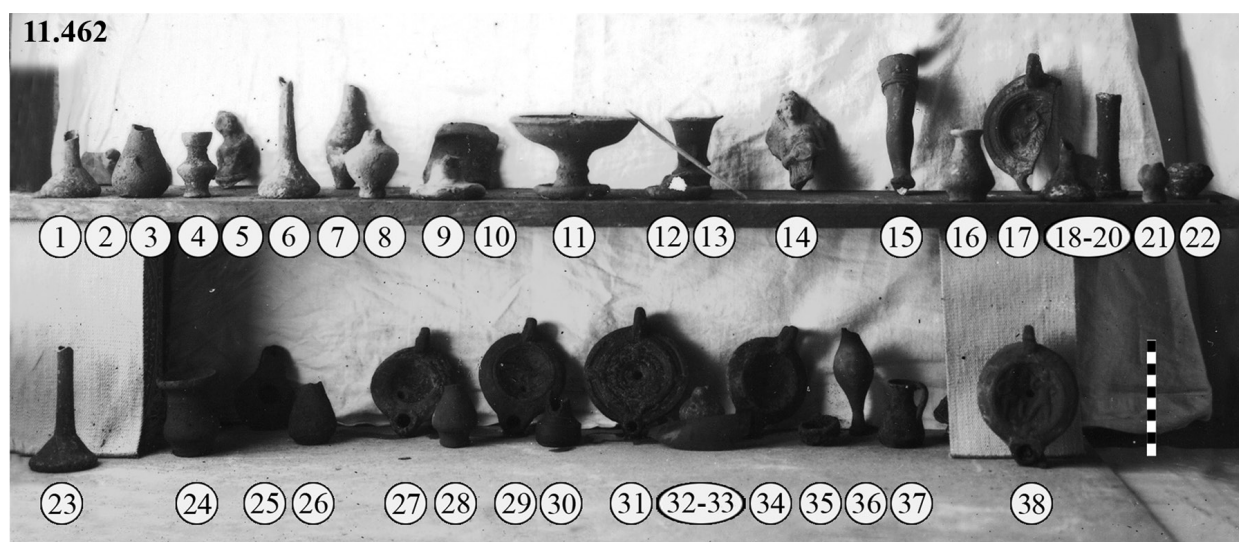


Figure 26. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. The finds from the Sculptured Tomb/Cassels N17 (MFA 11.462 modified by L. Polidori).

3. The finds: pottery, lamps, and miscellaneous

As we have seen, Norton's reports make only general references to the artefacts from the excavated tombs and never document in detail the individual finds. For this reason, the photographic documentation in the archive is an invaluable tool for reconstructing the nature of these artefacts. Digital enlargement of selected photographs has facilitated the distinction of the different classes of pottery production, e.g. black-glaze, painted, plain ware etc. It also was possible to apply a digital metric scale to each photograph so that the dimensions of objects occasionally referred to by Norton were useful in reconstructing the dimensions of other objects shown in the same photograph (*infra* § 4). The resulting data were compared and combined with those concerning the average size of the best-known artefacts. The margin of error for the reconstructed dimensions is limited to between 1 to 2 cm, and in the catalogue (Appendix I) this oscillation is marked by the symbol \pm .

The individual artefacts are numbered directly on the plates that accompany this article. They then are referred to in the text by the inventory number of the specific photograph in which they appear, e.g. MFA neg. 11.463/2 = Fig. 13: no. 11.463/2. For each vessel shape that is believed to be representative of the local production a schematic drawing is supplied for the sake of clarity (Figs 27–35). Each drawing is based on the relative photographic detail printed in a scale of 1:1. In the catalogue the vessels that have corresponding drawings are marked by an asterisk. Only one example from multiple series has been selected and reproduced, and vessels for which frontal views are lacking have been not drawn, as, for example, the

one-handled echinus bowls (Fig. 19: nos 11.471/5–6) or the guttus (Fig. 20: no. 11.473/18). Consequently, the typological plates do not include all the shapes attested by the photographs. Nevertheless, it is believed that they are indicative enough of the range of types that were in use concurrent with the depositions in the Cyrene necropolis during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In any case, it must not be forgotten that we do not have photographic documentation for all the objects, such as in the case of the lamps (*infra* § 3.5) and the terracotta figurines (*infra* § 4).

The photographs are not always useful in recognising the presence or absence of slip or glaze on a vessel's surface, nor can it be determined if some vessels fall into the category of black-glazed ware, as in the case of two kantharoid cups (Fig. 19: nos 11.471/2, 8). In fact, although these two shapes derive from the repertory of Greek, black-glazed ware, they could be imitations made in a local fabric, such as the Hellenistic bolsal or echinus bowls from the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, the colour of which appears matt and shaded in black-and-white photographs (Kenrick 1987, 5–6, nos 39–43, 46, figs 3–4). The question is best appreciated when considering the chromatic contrast of MFA neg. 11.466 (Fig. 14). Finally, various objects are not identifiable because of their fragmentary state or partial view. Nevertheless, of a total of 335 vases, only a few fragments remain completely unidentified.

In the following sections, the materials are discussed briefly in the following order: Attic red-figured ware and Panathenaic amphorae; black-glazed ware; slipped or painted ware; plain ware, including small amphorae; lamps; miscellaneous (metal, glass, bone etc.). A catalogue of the single vessels is provided in

Appendix I. The classification of the vessels is based on their shape, and since the majority of them are small or miniaturised, the diminutive form of their names will not be used.

It is impossible to identify the pottery fabrics from the photographs alone and, consequently, imports cannot be distinguished from local products, as in the case of the carinated lamps (Figs 18–19, 35). Although the production of these lamps can be documented as early as the late fourth century BC in Rhodes, archaeological contexts at Benghazi attest to their appearance in Cyrenaica only after the middle of the third century BC, with local imitations beginning in the late third century BC (Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 163–64).

The chronology of these finds and their relative burials is a complex issue. All the contexts were disturbed, except for that of the Second Sarcophagus (*supra* § 2.2). The pottery can be dated only in the most general of terms, as it is often difficult to distinguish the details of the shapes and fabrics, as already noted. Moreover, some groups of vessels, such as the collared bowls, their lids, or the miniature jugs (Figs 18–19), include a number of variants that have no chronological value (Santucci 2007; Thorn 2005, 641, categories nos 198–200: questionable classification of shapes and types).

3.1 Attic red-figured ware and Panathenaic amphorae

As noted above, no photographic documentation for these vessels has survived, nor has their exact provenience been recorded, but Norton's comments deserve some reflection. He wrote: 'We have found many (sic) of really fine red-figured ware, similar in general character to the product of the Greek potter's wheel, but they exhibit slight differences which lead me to believe that they were made in Cyrene [...] two vases of which, though broken [...] are Pan-Athenaic amphorae of the fourth century BC [...] this class of vase has been found more frequently in the Cyrenaica than in any other region.' (Norton 1911b, 159). He also provided a detailed description of a Panathenaic amphora that records the name of the archon Theophrastos (340–339 BC: Benzt 1998, 175–77; Maffre 2000, 265–66; Maffre 2001a, 1065–74; Luni 2003, 101), which was found so fragmented that it was not possible to restore it *in loco*:

'...though it is impossible to mend it here, it is plain that we have most of it. It bears the name of the archon Theophrastos which occurs, I believe, on others, one of them in the Louvre, the other belonging to Mr. Hoppin. The scene on the reverse is a

chariot race. The discovery of this vase adds, I think, some weight to the theory I have held for some time that there was in the 4th cent. BC a manufacture of this type of vase here at Cyrene or at least in the Cyrenaica. Just as the Aretine vessels imitated the metal vases of Alexandria, or as some of the South Italian potters decorated their vases with medallions copied from coins, so it seems to me that certain points illustrated by the later Pan-Athenaic amphorae suggest that the Cyrenaic potters made replicas of the original jugs' (MFA 229).

The amphora presumably is lost, since it is neither in the Archaeological Museum of Cyrene nor in the Detroit Institute of Arts, as suggested by Luni (1976, 260 no. 4 and note 258; Luni 2003, 101 and note 16). The Detroit amphora inv. 50193, in fact, is from the region of Benghazi and has been attributed to the Asteios Group by Beazley 1956, 412 no. 3). Instead, the other two amphorae mentioned for comparison are identifiable: the first, from Benghazi, is now in the Louvre Museum (Bentz 1998, 175 no. 4079), while the second, from the Hoppin Collection, came from Capua and was bought in the Roman antiquities market (CVA USA 1, 1926, pl. 6.1–2; Bentz, 1998, 176 no. 4085).

Successive finds, particularly from Apollonia, confirm Norton's observation of a particular concentration of Panathenaic amphorae in Cyrenaica (Maffre 2001a; 2001b and 2010: more than 40 examples), but Norton's hypothesis concerning a local production of these is not tenable. In fact, the examples published thus far are Panathenaic prize-amphorae and not pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae. Yet Norton's hypothesis is understandable when viewed within the context of the early studies on pottery production, including those on the Cyrenaican discoveries. For example, in 1890 Studniczka attributed the Laconian kylikes to Cyrenean workshops, an attribution that became known as 'the little heresy' (Faustoferri 1985). Moreover, in 1896 the first volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* that was dedicated to the Louvre collections introduced the 'style Laconian or Cyrénée' with these words: '*le problème posé par ces vases n'est pas encore résolu et [...] il pourrait y avoir eu deux fabriques, l'une en Laconie, l'autre en Cyrénaïque*'² (CVA Louvre 1 1896, pl. 49).

The other red-figured vases found by Norton comprised two red-figured hydriae, one of which had a representation of the Garden of the Hesperides (*supra* § 2). These in all likelihood belonged to the second half of the fourth century BC, since all the published, Attic, red-figured vases from the cemeteries of Cyrene and Apollonia belong to this period, which was a time of economic prosperity for Cyrene.

3.2. *Black-glazed ware and its probable imitation*

The black-glazed vases, including the lamps (*infra* § 3.5), were essentially concentrated in the Child's Sarcophagus and the Second Sarcophagus, the two rock-cut sarcophagi (Figs 13–14). These vessels are small and include 9 closed shapes (one pelike, one lebes, two hydriai, four olpai, one aryballic lekythos), as well as 13 open shapes (two stemless kylikes, one skyphos, six bolsals, one kantharoid-cup, one echinus-bowl, one pyxis, one lekanis). As Norton noted for the assemblage of the Second Sarcophagus, there were 'one or two with stamped decoration.' Hoppin also mentioned stamped ceramics from the necropolis: 'Stamped ware is also common at the four- and the ten-foot levels and as a characteristic local mark shows the silphium plant more or less conventionalised, usually stamped four times as a single motive around the centre of the vase; this variety seems to have been confined to shallow bowls with a low foot' (Hoppin 1911, 164). Even if these details are not visible in the photographs, it is clear that Hoppin was referring to black-glaze kylikes stamped with palmettes, because the silphium is not attested as a decorative motif in black-glaze ware. Similarly, it is not possible to recognise imported products or local imitations. This remains an open question, but some vessels (two skyphoid-cups, one bolsal, two kantharoid-cups) apparently covered by a mat and bad quality engobe probably were local imitations of Greek black-glazed ware (Fig. 13, nos 11.464/2, 5; Fig. 19, nos 11.471/2, 7–8). The shapes are principally comparable to Attic examples and their south Italian derivatives, confirming the trend documented by the black-glazed finds from the necropolis of Apollonia (Maffre 2000, 269; 2001a, 1065–66). They date from the Late Classical to the Early Hellenistic period (Figs 13–14, 18).

In addition to the repertoire of black-glazed ware documented in the photographs, Norton recorded fragments of others. In fact, in the monthly report for February 1, 1911, he wrote of fragments of 'several handsome vases [...] [of] fine black-glaze with ribbed bodies and with wreaths (originally gilt) painted around the necks [...].' The finds were from a tomb just east of the house of the Moudir, now not identifiable. Finally, with the black-glazed ware found by Norton must be included the vases from a small hypogeum at Tomb N1, within which the American mission discovered an assemblage dating to the last quarter of the fourth century BC that comprised a cinerary amphora, a pelike, a one-handled conical cup, an askos, and a lamp. These artefacts also are lost, but they are documented by photographs probably taken by Norton and preserved in

the archive of the Antiquities Department of Cyrene (Santucci and Thorn 2003, particularly 198 and notes 50–1, fig. 9).

3.3. *Painted or slipped ware*

Grouped here are an ovoid pelike and a piriform jug (nos 11.469/19, 39; Figs 18, 27–28) that appear to have a particular covering. It is not possible to recognise whether the covering is painted or slipped, but it is matt and not uniform. The production remains uncertain, although it is probably local.

3.4. *Plain ware and/or banded ware*

The plain ware is concentrated in the later Pleres Tomb/N422 and the Sculptured Tomb/N17. This can be considered local. Generally, these vases appear to have plain surfaces, but in the photographs not all aspects of them are evident. For example, some vessel shapes included in this group also are attested as having painted, reddish-orange or reddish-brown bands marking the shape of the vessels, such as the examples from the Hellenistic votive deposit in Cyrene's agora (Santucci 2007). Certainly, this is the most numerous group of finds, as well as the most varied for vessel shapes. These vases are small or miniature in scale and, as such, are also found in sacred contexts. The group includes seven pelikai, 24 jugs plus 20 smaller versions, 47 unguentaria, 45 cups/bowls with a preponderance of the collared bowls (15) and collared bowls/lids (9), 12 lids plus 13 uncertain pieces, 46 kalathiskoi, two or three thymiatheria, one pyxis, one guttus and eight fragments not identifiable. Also included here are seven small amphorae plus one miniaturised example (Fig. 14: no. 11.466/13 and 11.467/1, 3; Fig. 18, no. 11.469/16; Fig. 19: nos 11.470/10, 30; Fig. 20, no. 11.473/5). Five of them are knobbed and appear to be simplified variants of Rhodian-Cnidian examples (Empereur and Hesnard 1987, pls 2–3, no. 8: 275 BC, and no. 10: 240 BC; Jéfre-mov 1995, 21 and pl. 2, nos 12–14: c. 350–250 BC).

All three vessels document different typologies, recorded individually in the catalogue (Appendix I, § 3.4). The chronological range is from the fourth century BC to the first century AD, but comparanda suggest a prevalence in the third to second centuries BC.

Nearly all of the plain vessels may be considered local because of their morphology. Closed shapes are more numerous, especially the typical small jugs (Appendix I, § 3.4). These must have contained liquids for ritual practices. In the burials they probably shared that function with the unguentaria, although neither of these was exclusive to the funerary sphere, as is suggested by the examples coming from local sanctuaries (Santucci 2007).

3.5. Lamps

The Greek and Roman lamps from Norton's tombs are numerous, as is usual in funerary assemblages, but some examples are new to the typological range attested thus far at Cyrene (Fig. 35). The final report published in 1911 records 'terra cotta lamps of various Greek and Roman types,' (Norton 1911, 159) of which 'About 125 terra cotta lamps were found either entire or fragmentary, and mainly of a Greek period. The Greek lamps are of three types: those with stirrup-shaped handle, with small horn on side and closed top, and with open top. Several of the later Roman types have figures in relief' (Curtis 1911, 167). Unfortunately, only a few of these lamps are present in the photographs (Figs 13, 18–20, 26), and obviously, as already noted for the ceramics, the products of individual centres cannot be identified (Appendix I, § 3.5). Among the Greek lamps can be recognised 15 pertaining to the Howland types 21B–C of the Classical, black-glazed series, dated from the last quarter of the fifth to the early fourth century BC that are very frequent in Cyrenaica, and 18 referable to the Hellenistic series Howland types 25B, 30B–C, 32, plus one fluted lamp comparable with Alexandrian and Cretan examples. The Roman lamps, in total seven examples, conform to Broneer's type 25 (Bailey's types O–P), some of which clearly show a decorated discus-medallion. The subjects recognisable with certainty represent Psyche pouring water from a large vessel, a pair of gladiators fighting, and a garland hanging from a theatrical mask (Figs 26, 35 : nos 11.462/17, 31, 38). They have parallels among Asia Minor and Middle-Italian products from the first half of the first to the first half of the second century AD.

3.6. Miscellaneous (alabaster, glass, metal, ivory, bone etc.)

Particularly incomplete is the information for objects other than pottery or terracottas. Aside from an interesting set of alabaster vessels from the Circular Tomb N1 (Santucci and Thorn 2003, 187, 197–98, fig. 10), the reports record fragments of an alabaster plate from the unidentified 'upper tomb above the Moudir's House' (*supra* § 2). In the Sculptured Tomb/N17 were found four unguentaria probably of glass (Fig. 26: nos 11.462/1, 6, 18, 23). The nature of their neck breaks can indicate a thick, heavy glass, which presumably could have been moulded. The shapes are similar to Isings' type 82/B2, dated from the first to the third century AD, and to De Tommaso's type 35, dated to the middle of the second century AD (Isings 1957, 97–9; De Tommaso 1990, 61, no. 35. See also Weinberg and Stern 2009, 128,

nos 241–43, pl. 22: pieces dated to second century AD). Similar unguentaria were also found in a small deposit at the entrance to a Hellenistic tomb (N192?) in the northern necropolis of Cyrene (Burton Brown 1948, 149, fig. 2; Thorn 2005, 54–5, fig. 45). Nevertheless, ceramic and glass bottles having similar shape occur together in graves from the south necropolis on Samothrace (Dusenbery 1998, 801), a circumstance that poses problems for the identification of the Norton examples.

Among the metal objects there are two strigils (Fig. 13: nos 11.464/9, 10) from the Child's Sarcophagus (cf. Thorn 2005, 594, category 6, particularly no. 798, fig. 366: from Sarcophagus N83 BJ containing four skeletons and an assemblage associated with coins dated 475–375 BC), as well as one circular, and at least one rectangular, mirror (Fig. 14: no. 11.465/13; Fig. 18: nos 11.469/28, 44?; Fig. 20: no. 11.473/21?) (cf. Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 177–83 with a discussion of the rectangular type, produced from the beginning of the Hellenistic era until the first century AD; Thorn 2005, 599 category 18, rectangular plate (sic), no. 1205, fig. 413). No fewer than 10 objects having a stem rising from a circular base (Fig. 18: nos 11.469/14, 29, 43, 45; Fig. 19: nos 11.470/3, 5, 7, 15, 17–18) may be identified as iron nails for wooden coffins similar to those recovered by Rowe in his excavations (Thorn 2005, 599–600 category 21, disk-headed nails, figs 314, 326, 329).

Norton also found two ivory panels that he believed may have covered a wooden box in the already-mentioned 'upper tomb above the house of the Moudir' (*supra* § 2), 'several hundred pin heads,' made of glass or ceramic from Tomb N36 (*supra* § 2), and an unknown number of golden bronze pins with glass balls from the Pleres Tomb/N422 (*supra* § 2.2). A bone hair-pin (*supra* § 2.4) is visible among the objects from the Sculptured Tomb/N17 (Fig. 26: no. 11.462/13).

Finally, there are some uncertain objects. Two spherical forms (Fig. 18: nos 11.469/20 and 22, \pm diam. 2.5 cm) from Tomb N422 might be the beads of a necklace, such as those found in tombs at Tocra (Burton Brown 1948, 152: 'eight small white beads, covered with a powdery gilding', but the dimensions are not recorded) and Benghazi (Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 195, no. 150: 19 gild ceramic beads, diam. 0.6–0.8 cm). Not identifiable remain the vertical and cylindrical objects (\pm pres. h. 8–9 cm, w. 1.5–2.5 cm), one from the Pleres Tomb/N422 and the other from the Sculptured Tomb/N17 (Fig. 18: no. 11.469/25; Fig. 26: no. 11.462/20).

(A.S.)

4. The finds: terracotta figurines

Twenty-eight terracotta figurines and figurine fragments are recorded in three separate photographs reproduced from the field negatives MFA 11.460, 11.462, and 11.464. The largest number of terracottas is shown in MFA 11.460 (Fig. 21), where 24 figurines and figurine fragments are illustrated as coming from the Pleres Tomb/N422, even if the photograph is published with the caption 'Terra-cotta figurines from tombs' (Norton 1911b, pl. LXIX). MFA 11.462 (Fig. 26) shows an ensemble of vessels and three figurine fragments said to come from the right-hand division of the Sculptured Tomb/N17, while MFA 11.464 (Fig. 13) documents the presence of a single figurine among the grave goods recovered from Sarcophagus 1.

While it is clear that these photographs provide precious documentation for the inclusion of coroplastic material within the original contents of these burials and the range of figurine types used as funerary offerings, there is some discrepancy between the numbers of figurines presented in the photographs and those of a written report sent to the Managing Committee of the Cyrene Excavations by Curtis dated 3 April 1911, which concerned the work conducted in the necropolis. In discussing the finds from the Pleres Tomb/Tomb N422 there is mention of 'several terracotta figurines' (MFA 352), even though the photograph MFA 11.460 (Fig. 21) documents 13 figurines, not counting a mask, three heads and seven unidentifiable fragments. Moreover, in the same report Curtis also speaks of 'a large number of terracotta heads and fragments,' a statement that is in contrast to the three heads actually observable in the photograph. One of the figurines of a seated figure from the Pleres Tomb/N422 referred to by Curtis as Pandora (Curtis 1911, 166) is headless in MFA 11.460 (Fig. 21), yet another photograph, unnumbered and possibly taken by Hoppin, shows the Pandora restored with a head, one that is not pictured in MFA 11.460. Moreover, in Norton's Report to the Managing Committee (31 March 1911) there is a careful description of the contents of Sarcophagus 1 (MFA 343), but no mention of the terracotta jointed doll that is prominently displayed in the photograph of the finds (Fig. 13, 11460/11) from the sarcophagus. Then there also is Curtis' mention of Tomb 9 in his April report that 'yielded several good terracotta heads and fragments of figurines.' Unfortunately, photographic documentation for this is missing. It is possible therefore that the photograph MFA 11.460 (Fig. 21) may not document all of the figurine fragments from the Pleres Tomb/N422. Conversely, it also is possible that some of the figurines shown in MFA 11.460 may have come from other tombs, given the casual and imprecise

nature of the work surrounding the discovery of the tombs. In Curtis's brief 1911 report on the terracottas found during the 1911 campaign, the figurines from the tombs are lumped together without any indication of the burial within which they were found (MFA 343). Thus we read about 'some [...figurines...] also from the tombs,' which include, in the following order, the Pandora from MFA 11.460 (Fig. 21) and therefore from the Pleres Tomb/N422, the Psyche pictured in MFA 11.462 (Fig. 26) that shows part of the ensemble from the right hand division of the Sculptured Tomb/N17, two jointed dolls, even though only one is shown in the ensemble from Sarcophagus 1 in MFA 11.464 (Fig. 13), a nude leg with clasped ornament above the knee, again from the right hand division of the Sculptured Tomb/Tomb N17, as well as a bull's head, a bas relief of a horse's head, and several fragments of a goose that are not recognisable in any of the photographs. Also missing photographic documentation are the 'few entire terracotta figurines [...] discovered in the tombs to the east of the house' mentioned by Curtis (MFA 343), nor is there any photographic record of the 'red terracotta mask' noted on the back of the photograph MFA 11.645 as coming from the interior of a tomb that has remained unidentified. Unfortunately, the very general and casual nature of these reports limits their usefulness.

That said, there is still much that is worthy of comment. First of all, the figurines said to come from these three burials at Cyrene are among the relatively few Hellenistic funerary terracottas from Cyrenaica so far that can be associated in any way with co-finds (Dent *et al.* 1976–77, pl. LVI), even if that association may be suspect in some cases. Second, while collectively they comprise a small ensemble, these figurines complement and even augment the typologies of the other major corpora of Hellenistic terracottas from Cyrenaica now in the Louvre Museum (Besques 1992, 23–92, pl. 1–58), the British Museum (Burn and Higgins 2001, nos pls 104–139: 2661–858), and the Archaeological Museum of Madrid (Laumonier 1921, 85–108), as well as the smaller collections in Athens (Martha 1880, 147–53), Leiden (Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 86–9, 528–29), and the recently excavated figurines from Euesperides and Apollonia (I am indebted to Lucilla Burn for sharing with me the files for the figurines from Euesperides and to Jean-Sylvain Caillou for sharing those from the excavations at Apollonia).

Of the identifiable figurines and fragments shown in the Norton photographs, all reproduce, or are variations on, known coroplastic models that were created over a wide chronological spectrum that began

in the fifth century BC and ended as late as the first century AD. The majority, however, are related generically to familiar third century, mainland types that, in most instances, vary in posture, gesture, drapery arrangement, or iconographic element from their mainland counterparts. Whether these variations on standard types were effected by Cyrenaican coroplasts or happened before these types arrived in Cyrenaica is impossible to know.

Given the fact that established types could remain in production for over a century, our figurines are very unreliable chronological indicators for the date of the internments. The figurines from Norton's tombs are either from a chronological spectrum that is too broad to be helpful, except in only the most general of respects, or are too fragmentary or poorly photographed to be useful.

4.1. *Terracotta figurines from Sarcophagus 1*

A single terracotta is documented as accompanying the vases and strigils in Sarcophagus 1 (*supra* § 2.1) (Fig. 13). This is one of the jointed 'dolls' referred to by Curtis in his brief report on the terracottas (Curtis 1911, 166). The 'doll' itself, unmistakably Corinthian, is well preserved, lacking only its articulated limbs. It wears a polos over the hair, which is rolled around the forehead, a convention for Corinthian jointed 'dolls' that made its appearance initially in the early fifth century BC, but that continued in fashion until well into the fourth century BC (Merker 2000, 23).

4.2. *Terracotta figurines from the Pleres Tomb*

By far the most interesting and largest ensemble of terracottas from the Norton tombs is that of the Pleres Tomb/N422 (*supra* § 2.3), if indeed all the figurines, vases, and lamps shown in the photographs actually were found there. These figurines can be dated from the early third to possibly the first century AD. Curtis' so-called Pandora (Fig. 21: no. 11.460/18) is one of the largest of the near complete figurines from the Pleres Tomb/N422 and depicts a partially-draped female figure seated on a gabled and tasselled chest. Her right arm, rigid and placed slightly to the back as it supports the figure on the chest, causes the shoulders to be turned toward the frontal plane. This frontal plane is further emphasised by the left arm, which is draped and slightly up-raised in order to support a lyre. In broad outline this type can be grouped with other examples of a related iconographic scheme from Cyrenaica (Besques 1988, Besques 1992, pl. 29: D4326, D4327; 373, figs 8–9) that also have a similar compression of the figure to

conform to a frontal plane. However, our Pandora varies from these other Cyrenaican versions in the more naturalistic arrangement of the drapery and in the finer articulation of it. This group may ultimately go back to something like a Tanagra figurine in the British Museum (Burn and Higgins 2001, pl. 18: 2097) that presents an identical pose and flattening of the figure to an almost relief-like conception, but shows the figure clothed and seated on a rock, instead of a gabled chest. The motif of the gabled chest used as a seat may have come to Cyrenaica from south Italy, where female figures seated on gabled or flat-topped chests have been found in tombs (Grappler 1997, fig. 133; Winter 1903, pl. 119: 7, pl. 131: 8, 9). A unique feature of our figurine however, is the presence of a lyre that suggests that a muse is the subject.

The standing figures nos 11.460/2 and 17 and the seated figures nos 11.460/4 and 10 (Fig. 21) also belong firmly within the Tanagra tradition and show variant types for which no exact parallels have been recognised outside of Cyrenaica. The type of no. 11.460/17 (Fig. 21) presents a female wearing a chiton and short himation that is pulled around the front of the body, making a cowl around the neck, and slung over the left shoulder enveloping both arms. The right arm is bent and held behind the right hip and the left appears to be retracted with the hand held against the left hip. This may be one of the earliest of these Norton figurines, if its smaller scale, shorter himation, and logically articulated drapery can be taken as criteria for a late fourth- to early third-century BC date. As a type, this figurine clearly belongs within the Tanagra circle of standing, draped women as represented by examples from Boeotia (Besques 1992, pl. 19d: D4267, with the lower edge of himation reversed), Rhodes (Besques 1971, pl. 73: D338 with freer pose and more fluid drapery), Alexandria (Brescia 1930–34, pl. 1:4), Myrina (Burr 1934, pl. XXXI: 77), south Italy (Besques 1986, pl. 28: D3494), and even Cyrene itself (Besques 1992, pl. 20e: D4274, ponderation reversed, pl. 20f: D4275; Burn and Higgins 2001, pls 108–109: 2678–2683), among other places. Yet, our figure differs from each one of these in either the position of the right arm, the weight-bearing leg, the treatment of the himation at the neck, its length, the direction of its folds, or the fall of the chiton over the legs. The fragment no. 11.460/14 may also have come from a type of standing, draped woman not unlike that of no. 11.460/17, as it appears to preserve a section of the lower part of a himation from under which fall the dense folds of a chiton (Fig. 21).

The type of the standing woman 11.460/2 (Fig. 21) is dressed in a high-belted chiton and himation over the shoulders that is pulled diagonally across

the front of the body by the left hand, while the right hand is held at the chest over the himation clutching its rolled edge. This scheme is duplicated in another figurine from a tomb in Cyrene (Burn and Higgins 2001, pl. 106: 2674), that appears to have come from the same mould or mould family. The type itself may have arrived in Cyrenaica from Sicily (Bell 1981, pl. 78: 369a–c; Pugliese Carratelli 1996, p. 746: 367), where several examples from the second century BC have been brought to light, although these all vary in the position of the right hand, which is under, rather than over, the himation and therefore does not clutch its edge. The Sicilian examples, in turn, can be traced back to earlier mainland examples (Besques 1963, pl. 127b: Myr1167; Winter 1903, pl. 47: 6). An interesting variant on our himation-clutching type is found at Kamilari, Crete, in a more rigid and rectilinear style (Egglezou 1988–89, pl. 35, 18–19). The relationship between Cretan and Cyrenaican coroplastic types is a promising topic that merits further investigation. It will be shown below that another type generally associated with Cyrenaica also can be paralleled in Crete.

No. 11.460/6 (Fig. 21) preserves the torso of a woman from left shoulder to abdomen, who wears a sleeveless, high-belted chiton that slips off the right shoulder and falls under the breast, and a himation, the upper part of which forms a roll across the lower abdomen that is then slung over the left arm. As before, this exact type lacks parallels, although individual elements of its iconography are evident, such as the chiton that falls from the right shoulder to below the breast (Besques 1971, pl. 30a: D136), or the himation that forms a roll low across the abdomen to pass over the left forearm (e.g. Besques 1963, pl. 24c: Myr 936, pl. 24d: M75). Our fragment appears to represent an as yet undocumented version in which the left arm is held along the side of the body, rather than bent, and slightly elevated, as is more common. Its elongated proportions again suggest a late date, perhaps toward the end of the second century BC, or even later.

The fragment no. 11.460/11 (Fig. 21) preserves a section of opposing, diagonal, drapery folds that must have come from a figurine of considerable size. A tension is created by the contrasting movement of the folds that is consistent with that found on standing, draped women of the Tanagra tradition of the third century BC. But the apparent enormous scale of the figurine to which this fragment once belonged that is suggested by its size relative to the other figurines in the photograph 11.460 is not at all as typical.

The figurine no. 11.460/19 (Fig. 21) represents a woman in a high-belted chiton sitting on a cushioned

diphros with her feet resting on a footstool supported by lion's feet. She leans forward supporting her upper body on her right elbow that in turn rests on her right knee. Her left shoulder appears to be drawn back giving a slight twist to the torso. This appears to be the smallest of the figurines in the ensemble from the photograph (Fig. 21). The type is generically related to mainland Tanagra examples, but thus far it has no close parallels in the publication record (I am indebted to Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos for discussing the unpublished figurines from the North Eastern Necropolis of Thebes with me). The arrangement of our figure in three-dimensional space is fully realised by the forward lean and slight twist of the shoulders, as well as the forward placement of the right forearm on the right thigh with the elbow turned out slightly. Such an approach to the sculptural arrangement of figural elements in terracottas signals a work whose prototype was probably created in the first half of the third century (cf. an example purportedly from Tanagra, Burn and Higgins 2001, pl. 18: 2098). But the schematic treatment of the drapery folds across the legs suggests a date in the second half of the third century, if not later. A fragment of the knees and legs of another seated woman, this time in a smaller scale no. 11.460/10 (Fig. 21) preserves the same stylisation of drapery folds. Unfortunately, not enough is preserved to indicate the general type with which this fragment can be grouped, or its relationship, if any, to no. 11.460/19.

The seated woman no. 11.460/4 who has crossed legs and who leans forward with her elbows supported by her knees documents a later version of a compositional scheme that already was in the coroplast's repertoire in Athens by c. 310 BC (Rotroff 1990, fig. 17; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, pl. 70: 1, 2). This continued to be produced in many variations until the first century BC or even later. As in the case of our Pandora, no. 11.460/18, the flattening out of the composition of this figure and its adherence to a frontal plane suggests a date in the later third or second century BC. This is supported by the poor quality of the figurine, whose blurred details could suggest a late stage in the derivative production of this type.

Two terracottas, nos 11.460/8 and 12 (Fig. 21), present the back and front torsos respectively of standing, nude figures. In the case of no. 11.460/8 the right leg is preserved to the knee and the left to mid-thigh. The straight contours of this figure, evident in the back view, as well as the muscularity of the buttocks, suggest that a male subject is represented. Male is also the probable gender of the figure represented in fragment no. 11.460/12, at the bottom edge of which are small, raised elements that

are not legible. This may be drapery that just passes over the pubic area. The fleshiness of the abdomen in this fragment suggests that a youth is the subject, in all likelihood an Eros. The treatment of the navel is a noteworthy feature, as it appears to correspond to a narrow, vertical dimple, rather than a round or horizontal one as is customary. In this regard, and in the fleshiness of the abdomen, it is not far from another figurine from Cyrene now in Madrid that is also thought to represent an Eros (Laumonier 1921, pl. III: 1, 2).

While some of the figurines in the ensemble from the Pleres Tomb/N422 in general can be traced back to the orbit of mainland terracottas of the late fourth and third centuries, at least one clearly belongs within the Asia Minor tradition. This is no. 11.460/16 that presents an elongated figure dressed in a high-belted chiton with an overfall hanging to above the thigh (Fig. 21). The right leg is advanced and the drapery folds sweep backwards as if to suggest a body in forward movement. Such a figural convention is best known from representations of flying Nikai of the Phainomeris type from Myrina dated to the later second century BC (Burr 1934, pl. XXX: 73–75; Besques 1963, pl. 85f: Myr164, pl. 85c: Myr165). However, the elongation of the figure, the schematic treatment of the drapery, and especially the emphatic folds that frame the breast are closer to those on a standing female from Myrina dated into the early first century AD (Besques 1963, pl. 24d: M75), suggesting that our figure may be as late.

The theatrical mask (Fig. 21: no. 11.460/1) has no evident parallels among the published corpora of terracottas. It is characterised by oversized, bulging eyes with drilled pupils, a knitted and furrowed brow with upraised eyebrows, a long nose, and full, simply-modelled cheeks. These elements endow the mask with an expression of rage and suggest that a personage from a tragedy is represented.

Other fragments (Fig. 21: nos 11.460/3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 20–24) are more difficult to interpret due to their poor state of preservation and/or lack of distinguishing features. One (Fig. 21: no. 11.460/20) preserves drapery that sweeps outward as it falls to a high, rectangular base, no doubt as a result of postural movement. Another fragment (Fig. 21: no. 11.460/24) comprises fine, taut drapery folds that appear to fan outward onto a small section of preserved base; this also may also have come from the lower part of a female figure. Any more than that cannot be said. As for the isolated heads (Fig. 21 nos 11.460/3, 5, 21) and the single leg (Fig. 21: no. 11.460/13), nothing of significance can be observed. The other pieces (Fig. 21: nos 11.460/7, 9, 15, 22–23) are unintelligible.

4.3. *Terracotta figurines from the Sculptured Tomb*

Three terracottas are documented as coming from the right-hand division of the Sculptured Tomb (*supra* § 2.4). The first is a fragment of a winged Nike (Fig. 26: no. 11.462/14) 9.5 centimetres in height (Curtis 1911, 166). This can be placed within a group of Nikai, winged or wingless, of which several versions are known from Cyrene (Besques 1992, pl. 12b: D4226, pl. 12c: D4228, pl. 12d: D4227, pl. 12e: D4229; Thorn 2005, 664, fig. 30.89 and 700, fig. 345), Tocra (Burn and Higgins 2001, pl. 121: 2741–42), Euesperides (I owe this information to Lucilla Burn), and even Knossos (Sackett 1992, pl. 296: 30). All are frontal and rigid in stance and hold a wreath or a phiale against the abdomen with both hands. Some wear a tunic-like garment with broad sleeves (Besques 1992, pl. 12c: D4228, pl. 12e: D4229). Other Nikai, including ours, wear a chiton. This group of Nikai may have developed out of mainland examples similar to one found in Boeotia (Winter 1903, 185: 7). Our Nike is closest to examples from Tocra in the treatment of the chiton (Burn and Higgins 2001, pl. 121: 2741–42), but differs from these in the broadness of its wings that form an almost relief-like background for the upper part of the figure.

A figurine of a standing, semi-nude female from the Sculptured Tomb/N17 (Fig. 26: no. 11.462/5) also presents a variation on a well-known iconographic scheme. This is marked by an outward thrust of a hip that is so extreme as to necessitate a support for the figure, such as a pillar. This conceit of the leaning figure originally was developed in the fourth century BC, after which it became extremely fashionable. It was quickly taken up by coroplasts around the Greek world, who endlessly varied the posture, position of the arms, and arrangement of the drapery, as the scheme underwent a gradual transformation from the third century BC to the workshops of Roman coroplasts in the second century AD. The extreme outward thrust of the hip of our figurine suggests a date rather late in the development of this scheme within the Cyrenaican repertoire, and the poor quality of the cast may confirm that. It does not seem likely that this figurine can date much before the first century BC, if even that early.

The third fragment coming from the right-hand division of the Sculptured Tomb/N17 is a right leg (Fig. 26: no. 11.462/15) 12 centimetres in height (Curtis 1911, 166) that once belonged to a standing figure of considerable size and of excellent quality. The leg is distinguished by plump, juvenile proportions and the presence of a thigh band in the form of a spiral with opposing snake heads. Such an

ornament is found on the legs of late Hellenistic statuettes of Eroses from Myrina or on those inspired by Myrina types (from Myrina, Besques 1963, pl. 49b: Myr61, pl. 49d: MY87, on free leg; from Delos, Lau-
monier 1956, pl. 54: 514, 520, pl. 55: 546 with serpent thigh band on left leg). But the stocky proportions of this leg are more indicative of a type of standing, child-like Eros known as the Syrian Eros that has been dated to the first half of the first century BC (Besques 1963, pl. 49b: Myr61). Yet this type consistently has thick anklets in addition to the thigh band, so our leg must document yet another version, as there is no indication of the presence of an anklet. The fabric of this leg appears to be much finer than that of any of the other figurines, suggesting that the statuette to which this leg once belonged may have been a product of Asia Minor, if not of Myrina itself. Were that the case, then this fragment could furnish us with an indication of the social level to which the family aspired or belonged, as this Eros must have been a conspicuously expensive offering, not only in its large size and elaborate ornamentation, but also as a valuable import from an eastern coroplastic centre whose products were held in high esteem.

(J.U.)

5. Conclusions

The 'excavation' conducted on the Norton documents represents the first, comprehensive attempt to reconstruct the American explorations in the Northern Necropolis of Cyrene. Since this material has remained unpublished until now, Appendix II has been compiled, listing all the available documents, including the labels and bibliographical references, when relevant.

In this 'virtual excavation' it has been possible not only to recover forgotten tombs and lost finds, but also to identify the monuments explored by Norton, to reconstruct the circumstances of their discovery as precisely as possible, and to re-contextualise the objects, although not the actual assemblages.

The documents in the Norton archive testify to the condition of the tombs at the start of exploration. All but the Second Sarcophagus had been disturbed. The Pleres Tomb/N422 and Sculptured Tomb/N17 had been re-used for new depositions during the Roman period, as is attested by assemblages of objects, and possibly looted in modern times. By contrast, the Child's Sarcophagus, after the primary deposition, was transformed into a kind of osteoteca, when the bones of six adults were dumped into it. We also now can confirm that old burials were successively emptied in order to provide more space for new burials. It is in this context that the meaning of

the '*pleres*' inscription on the façades of tombs can be best understood, as an impediment to the opening of a tomb and for the preservation of depositions, at least for a period of time.

Even if the photographs show only a part of the finds, they appear to be a significant sample, a reliable *pars pro toto*, and a precious source of information, compared to the sketchy reports by Norton. For example, the use of wooden coffins for the burials was never mentioned by Norton, but this is now confirmed by the photographs showing iron nails.

Because of this, Appendix I has been compiled, listing all the artefacts in the photographs that can provide a useful tool for the comparison of ceramic shapes, as it is organised by categories and typologies and supplemented by drawings. Even if the interpretations of the finds that are presented here may be based on very incomplete and vague archaeological data, the actual presence of these finds substantiates trends documented by other Hellenistic assemblages from Cyrene and Apollonia. It also widens the typological range of vessels and facilitates conclusions concerning objects that were selected for funerary ritual. Small and miniaturised shapes, such as jugs, kalathiskoi, biconical unguentaria, and collared-bowls, have been confirmed to be the most common ceramic types used in Cyrenean funerary and sacred contexts throughout the Hellenistic period. However, some differences can be noted among the finds from the Norton tombs relative to those from other, more or less contemporary, contexts at Cyrene. For example, some miniature kalathiskoi (Fig. 19: nos 11.470/11, 24; Fig. 20: nos 11.472/6, 8; Fig. 26: no. 11.462/24), or miniature, carinated bowls (Fig. 18: nos 11.469/2, 6, 40), numerous in the Pleres Tomb assemblages, are absent from Rowe's excavations in the Northern Necropolis. Moreover, the Norton assemblages lack the local, one-handled conical-cup that imitates an Attic black-glazed shape of the second quarter of the fourth century BC (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 776, pl. 31), even though this vessel is well attested in other sacred and funerary contexts at Cyrene from the fourth to the third century BC (Santucci 2007, 704, figs 10a–11a; Thorn 2005, figs 319–20, nos 187b, 200a: black-glazed and figs 365 no. 779, 401 no. 1120: undecorated wares). These differences in shape preferences may not be casual, but their real meaning can only be clarified with a broader spectrum of finds.

The present contribution does not resolve all of the questions related to Norton's explorations in the Northern Necropolis, but it does offer new evidence for the history of archaeology in Cyrenaica at the

beginning of the twentieth century and consolidates our knowledge for eventual future investigations in this necropolis. The information preserved among Norton's documents is all the more precious, given the scarcity of local funerary contexts that have been published thus far, especially those with associated assemblages.

(A.S.)

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particularly, to all the personnel of the Antiquities Department of Shahat who, over the years, have graciously facilitated research at Cyrene. Anna Santucci wishes to thank J. Uhlenbrock for correcting her English text.

Notes

1 'we do not know when it was excavated or cleared [...] But even if the tomb had reached us intact, we would have had, in all likelihood, chronological indicators for its late re-use, in the Roman period, documented by at least five niches for portrait-busts, that have in part disturbed its original façade.'

2 'The problem posed by these vases is not yet resolved and [...] there could have been two productions, one in Laconia and the other in Cyrenaica.'

Appendix I: Catalogue of the pottery

The materials are listed by the figure number, followed by the number of the negative or the photograph and by that of the individual object (e.g. Fig. 13: no. 11.463/3). The asterisk after the number indicates finds that are drawn and included in Figs 27–35. All dimensions between parentheses are reconstructed in centimetres. The symbol \pm marks the oscillation of the reconstruction, possibly between 1–2 centimetres. The length of the lamps corresponds to the body without handle. Three hyphens within parentheses (---) signifies absence of data. As noted above (§ 3), the comparisons of the material are based principally on shape. Consequently it has been decided to note the chronology and manufacture of the objects mentioned and to cite separately the material coming from Cyrenaican contexts.

(A.S.)

§ 3.2. Black-glazed wares and their probable imitations

Closed shapes

Pelike (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/3 (\pm h. 17.5, diam. 13).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Morel 1981, 281, pl. 111 (type 3683a: from Capua, second half 4th century BC).

Lebes with lid (total: 1)

- Fig. 14: nos 11.465/5 (\pm h. 13.5, diam. 11) and 7 (lid: \pm diam. 5).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus.

Cf. Morel 1981, 316, pl. 135 (series 4431: south Italian, 4th–early 3rd century BC; cf. also lid 4431c 1).

Hydria (total: 2)

- Fig. 14: nos 11.465/1 and 11 (\pm h. 17.5, diam. 10).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus.

Cf. Morel 1981, 330, pl. 147 (series 4911, with plain body,

third quarter 4th century BC); Kotitsa 1998, 37 ff., no. 35, pl. 17. For other examples in Cyrenaica: White and Phillips 1976, 123, pl. XXIIId–f (Apollonia, Tomb E: around 350 BC); Thorn 2005, 612–13, category 82, fig. 351, no. 664; Maffre 2006, 227, fig. 11 (= Maffre 2010, fig. 9).

Olpe (total: 4)

- Fig. 13: nos 11.463/2 and 4 (\pm h. 10.5–11).

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, nos 281, 549, 556, pls 13, 24 (late 5th–early 4th century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Elrashedy 2002, 132, no. 79; Thorn 2005, 613, category 85, fig. 355, nos 684–685; Maffre 2010, fig. 9 (assemblages 375–325 BC).

- Fig. 14: no. 11.465/6 (\pm h. 8.5).

Cf. Morel 1981, 337, pl. 155 (type 5151b, late 4th century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 613–14, category 86, fig. 350, no. 659; Maffre 2010, fig. 9 (assemblages 375–325 BC).

- Fig. 14: no. 11.465/9 (\pm h. 11).

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 283, pl. 13 (350–325 BC); particularly for the handle, Rotroff 1997, 296, no. 503, pl. 49 (300–275 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts: Burton Brown 1948, 149, no. 39/47, fig. 1; Maffre 2010, fig. 9 (assemblages 375–325 BC).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus, 2nd Sarcophagus.

Aryballic lekythos (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.464/4 (\pm h. 10).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Morel 1981, 361, pl. 168 (series 5416: south Italian, 4th century BC).

Two-handled cups

Stemless kylix (total: 2)

- Fig. 13: nos 11.463/6 and 9 (\pm h. 5, diam. 16.5).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 267, no. 460 (425 BC); Morel 1981, 301, pl. 124 (series 4271: Attic, from mid-5th

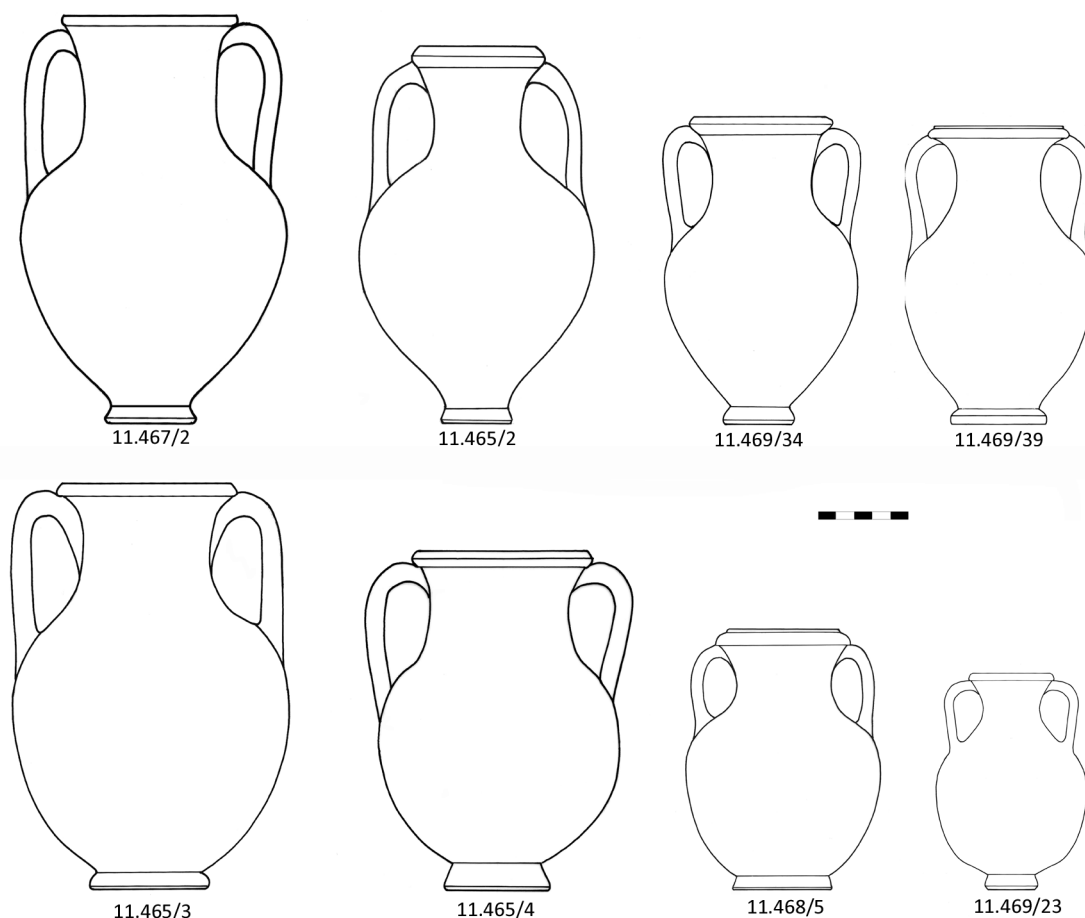


Figure 27. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: *pelikai* (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

century BC onwards, with survivals until first quarter of 4th century BC).

Skypbos (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/1 (\pm h. 7, diam. 8.5).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, nos 220–22, pl. 15 (third quarter 5th century BC); Morel 1981, 305, pl. 126 (series 4311: south Italian imitation of Attic ware, 4th century BC); Rotroff 1997, 379, no. 1400, pl. 107 (300–275 BC). For other Cyrenaican examples, Elrashedy 2002, 74, 126 no. 2, pl. 63.2 (450–425 BC).

Bolsal (total: 6)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/8 (\pm h. 8, diam. 13.5).

Cf. Morel 1981, 291, pl. 117 (type 4122c: south Italian, second half of 5th century BC).

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/5 (\pm h. 6, diam. 9.5); Fig. 18: no. 11.469/3 (\pm h. 8, diam. 13.5).

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 558, pl. 24 (380–350 BC); Morel 1981, 293, pl. 119 (series 4162: Attic, from first half of 4th century BC).

- Fig. 14: no. 11.465/12 (\pm h. 5, diam. 12.5).

Cf. Morel 1981, 290, pl. 117 (type 4115f 1: Etruscan; first quarter 3rd century BC).

- Fig. 14: no. 11.466/5 and 6 (\pm h. 5.5, diam. 11–12).

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 558, pl. 24 (380–350 BC,

with rounded handle); Morel 1981, 292, pl. 118 (series 4151: central Italian examples: early 3rd century BC).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus, 2nd Sarcophagus.

Cf. in general White and Phillips 1976, 123–24, pls XXIIb, XXIVc (Apollonia, Tombs E and 8: around 350 BC); Thorn 2005, 609–10 category 64 and relative figures.

Kantharos-cup (total: 1)

- Fig. 18: no. 11.469/11 (\pm h. 8, diam. 9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 661, pl. 28 (350–325 BC); Morel 1981, 325, pl. 141 (type 4642a, from Lipari, second half 4th century BC).

Various open shaped vases

Echinus-bowl (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/7 (\pm h. 5, diam. 12).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Morel 1981, 225–26, pls 73–74 (series 2787–2788: 3rd–2nd century BC).

Pyxis with lid (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.463/10 (\pm diam. 12).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. for the lid shape, Rotroff 1997, 38, part. nos 1456, pl. 110 (Attic productions, late 4th–early 3rd century BC).

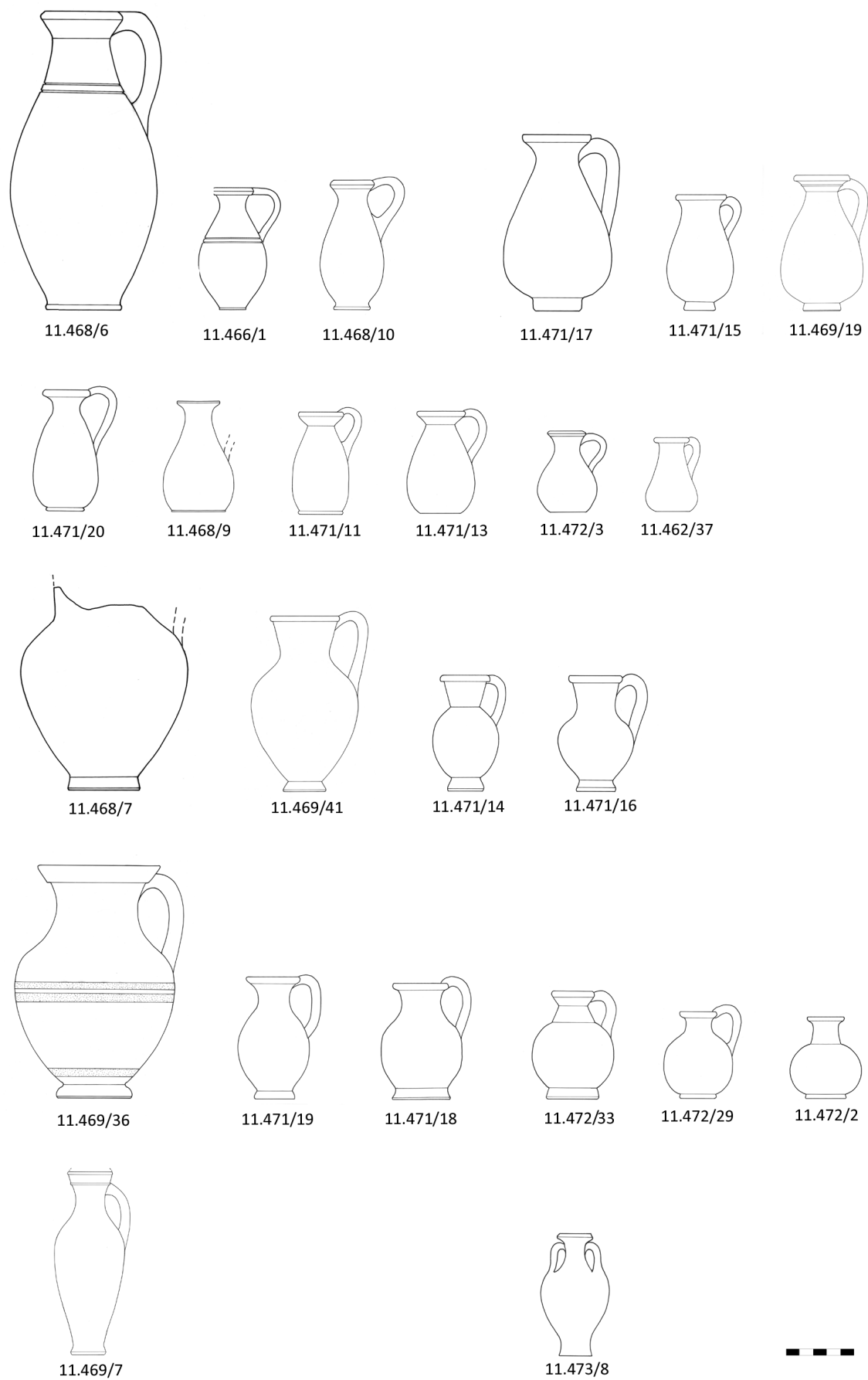


Figure 28. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: small and miniaturised jugs (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

Lekanis with lid (total: 1)

- Fig. 14: no. 11.465/10 (\pm diam. 12.5).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus.

Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, nos 1276–1279, pl. 42 (Attic lids, early 4th century BC); Morel 1981, 297, pl. 121 (type 4242c: south Italian imitation of Attic ware, late 4th century BC). For other examples in Cyrenaica: White and Phillips 1976, 122, 124 pls XXLe, XXIVd (Apollonia, Tombs E and 8, Attic: 375–350 BC); Elrashedy 2002, 138, no. 148, pl. 4.3; Thorn 2005, 616 category 99, fig. 320 (no. 200g).

Imitations of black-glazed wares?*Skypoid-cup* (total: 2)

- Fig. 13: nos 11.464/2 (\pm h. 5, diam. 7) and 5 (\pm h. 3.5, diam. 5).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Burton Brown 1948, 151–152, fig. 2, nos 23/47 (black-glazed, from tombs at Tocra).

Bolsal (total: 1)

- Fig. 19: no. 11.471/7 (\pm diam. 5.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Kantharoid-cup (total: 2)

- Figs 19, 31: no. 11.471/8* (\pm h. 6, diam. 6.5).

Cf. Morel 1981, 250–53, pls 88–89 (species 3150: Etruscanising; 2nd century BC); Rotroff 1997, 246, nos 43–44, pl. 5 (300–250 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 615, category 93, nos 131, 386, figs 313, 334 (Attic kantharoi).

- Figs 19, 31: no. 11.471/2* (\pm h. 7.5, diam. 5).

Cf. generally for kantharoid vessels, Rotroff 1997, 251–254, nos 94–117, pls 10–11 (325–275 BC).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

§ 3.3. Painted or slipped ware*Ovoid pelike* (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 27: no. 11.469/39* (\pm h. 16.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 624, category 119, no. 615, fig. 347; *infra* § 3.4, plain wares (ovoid pelikai).

Piriform jug (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.469/19* (\pm h. 10).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. *infra* § 3.4, plain ware (piriform jug).

§ 3.4. Plain ware and banded ware**Pelikai or table amphorae***Ovoid pelike* (total: 3)

- Figs 14, 27: nos 11.467/2* (\pm h. 22.5), 11.465/2* (\pm h. 21).

- Figs 18, 27: no. 11.469/34* (\pm h. 7).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 637 category 175, no. 873, fig. 373.

Globular pelike (total: 4)

- Figs 14, 28: nos 11.465/3* (\pm h. 22.5) and 4* (\pm h. 19).

- Figs 18, 27: nos 11.468/5* (\pm h. 14.5); 11.469/23* (\pm h. 12).

Contexts: Sarcophagus 2nd, Tomb N422.

Cf. White and Phillips 1976, 123–24, pls XXIIIb, XXIVb (Apollonia, Tombs e and 8) and generally Thorn 2005, 624–25 category 199–201 (painted ware: particularly nos 405, 1094, 1257, figs 335, 397, 420) and 637 category 175 (undecorated ware: nos 114, 682, 874, figs 310, 355, 373).

Jugs*Ovoid jug* (total: 3 + 10 miniature version)

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.468/6* (\pm h. 22); Fig. 19: probably nos 11.470/45 (\pm pres. h. 13) and 47 (\pm pres. h. 11.5).

- Figs 14, 28: nos 11.466/1*, 3 and 9 (\pm h. 9–9.5); Figs 18, 28: nos 11.468/4, 10* and 32 (\pm h. 8–9.5); Fig. 19: probably nos 11.470/35 (\pm pres. h. 8), 11.471/12 (\pm h. 8); Fig. 20: probably no. 11.473/17 (\pm h. 8).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 642 category 202, no. 609, fig. 347; Maffre 2006, 227, fig. 12 (= Maffre 2010, fig. 14: assemblage 375–325 BC); Santucci 2007, 707, figs 13a, 16a.

Piriform jug (narrow disc-foot) (total: 2 or 3)

- Figs 19, 28: nos 11.471/15* (\pm h. 8.5) and 17* (\pm h. 13); Fig. 20: probably no. 11.472/23 (\pm pres. h. 7.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

See *supra* probably black-glazed Fig. 18: no. 11.469/19.

Piriform jug (concave neck) (total: 5)

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.468/9* (\pm h. 8.5); Figs 19, 28: nos 11.471/20*, 21 and 22 (\pm h. 8–9.5); Fig. 20: no. 11.472/35 (\pm h. 9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Piriform, squat jug (total: 2)

- Figs 26, 28: no. 11.462/37* (\pm h. 6); Figs 20, 28: no. 11.472/3* (\pm h. 6).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 642 category 201; Maffre 2006, fig. 12 (= Maffre 2010, fig. 14).

Piriform jug (without neck) (total: 3)

- Figs 19, 28: nos 11.471/11* and 13* (\pm h. 7.5); Fig. 20: no. 11.472/14 (\pm h. 6.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 642 category 202, no. 792, fig. 366.

Globular jug (tapering neck) (total: 2 + 6 model versions)

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.468/7* (\pm pres. h. 15).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 641 category 198, no. 705, fig. 359.

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.469/41* (\pm h. 13).

Cf. Thorn 2005, 641 category 199, no. 666, fig. 352; Santucci 2007, 707, figs 12a, 14a.

- Figs 19, 28: nos 11.471/14*, 16* and 23 (\pm h. 8–8.5); Fig. 20, nos. 11.472/31, 37 and 41 (\pm h. 8–9).

Cf. Riley 1979, 375, nos D1098–1099, fig. 135; Thorn

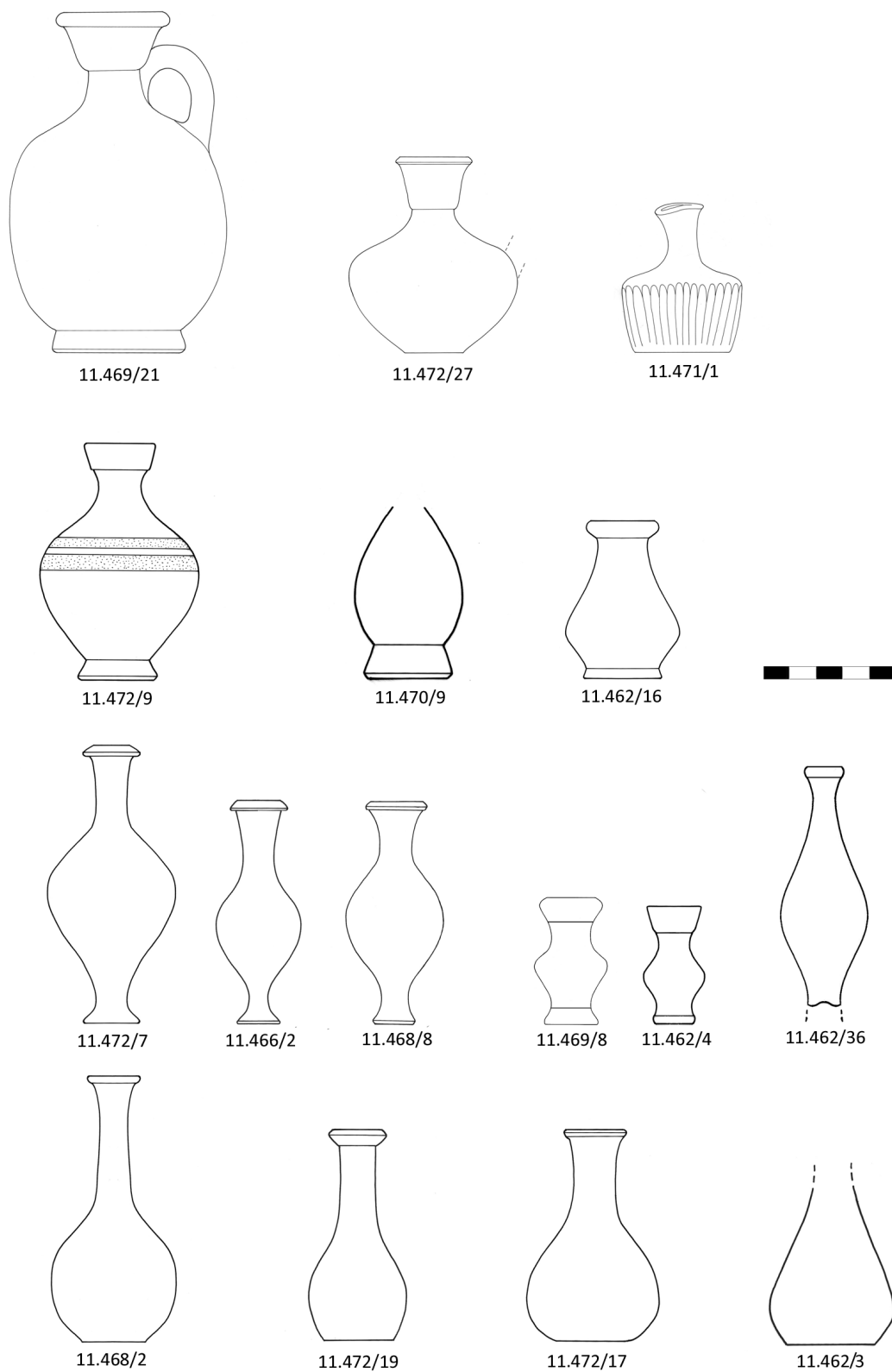


Figure 29. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: lekythoi and unguentaria (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

Figure 30. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: amphorae (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

2005, 641 category 198, no. 632, fig. 348; Maffre 2006, fig. 12 (= Maffre 2010, fig. 14); Santucci 2007, 707, figs 13a–15a.b.

Globular jug (concave neck) (total: 1 + 3/4 model version)

- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.469/36* (\pm h. 17: painted bands).

- Figs 19, 28: nos 11.471/18* and 19* (\pm h. 8.5–9); Fig. 20: nos 11.472/39 (\pm h. 7), probably 11.473/6 (\pm pres. h. 9). Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 641 category 200, no. 865, fig. 372; Maffre 2006, fig. 12 (= Maffre 2010, fig. 14); Menozzi 2006, fig. 25; Santucci 2007, 707, figs 13b, 15c.

Globular, squat jug (various) (total: 5)

- Figs 20, 28: nos 11.472/2*, 4, 29* (\pm h. 5.5–6.5) and 33* (\pm h. 8); Fig. 26: no. 11.462/30 (\pm pres. h. 5).

Contexts: Tombs N422, N17.

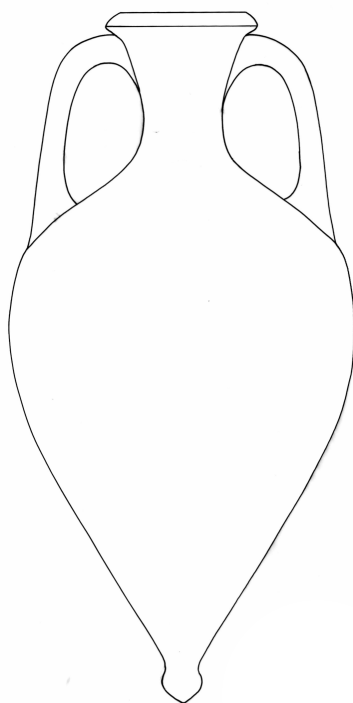
Cf. Thorn 2005, 641 category 198, nos 522, 840, figs 342, 369.

Lekythos-jug (total: 1)

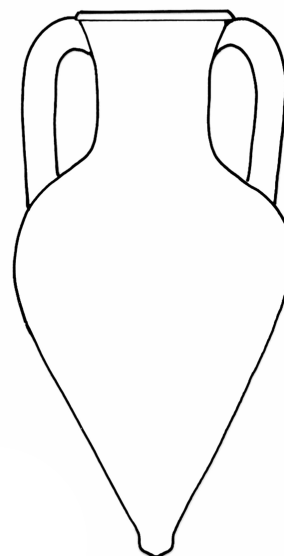
- Figs 18, 28: no. 11.469/7* (\pm h. 13.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

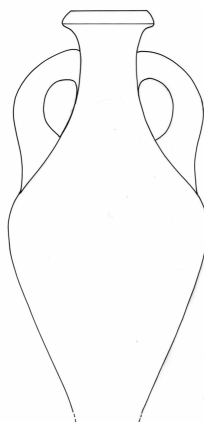
Cf. Rotroff 2003, 185, pl. 141B (lower row, left; from Tomb 21, Hellenistic context).



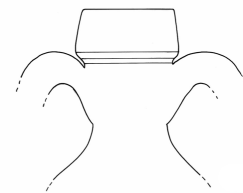
11.470/10



11.467/3



11.473/5



11.469/16



Unguentaria

Spherical lekythos (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 29: no. 11.469/21* (\pm h. 13).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Morel 1981, 363, pl. 170 (type Morel 5425a: first quarter 3rd century BC); Berti 1982, pl. 171,4 (Apulian lekythos, late 4th – 3rd century BC: local imitation of black-glazed ware). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 640 category 196, nos 388, 1322, figs 334, 426.

Squat lekythos (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 29: no. 11.472/27* (\pm h. 7).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 641 category 198, nos 785–787, fig. 365.

Fluted lekythos (total: 1)

- Figs 19, 29: no. 11.471/1* (\pm h. 5.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Morel 1981, 329, pl. 146 (species 4820, especially

related to Sicilian production, 250–225 BC); Colivicchi 2001, 94–95, no. 7.28 (late 3rd–2nd century BC, but without flutes). For Cyrenaican contexts, see CVA Sèvres 1934, pl. 25, nos 16–8 (black-glazed vessels from Benghazi).

Globular unguentarium (total: 9 or 10)

- Fig. 18: nos 11.468/34 (\pm h. 85), 11.469/26 (\pm pres. h. 5.5); Figs 20, 29: nos 11.472/5 (\pm pres. h. 6) and 9* (\pm h. 9: painted bands), 11.473/1, 3 (\pm pres. h. 7–7.5) and 9 (\pm h. 8.5); Fig. 26: no. 11.462/8 and 32 (\pm pres. h. 6).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Forti 1962, 147–149, pls IV, V, X (types I and II, 4th–3rd century BC); Rotroff 1997, 354–355, nos 1163, 1169, pl. 85 (325–300 BC); Camilli 1999, 50–6, pls 1–4 (series A.11.2, A.12.2, A.13.5: 325–275 BC); Hübner 2006, 29, fig. 1a–b; Rotroff 2006, 289, nos 407–408, fig. 62, pl. 52 (325–250 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005,



Figure 31. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: small and miniaturised cups. Drawings A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

627 category 132, no. 1017, fig. 386 (painted ware) and 646 category 218 (undecorated ware), nos 266, 1050, figs 324, 393; Santucci 2007, 701, figs 6b, 7b (red painted bands on shoulders, foot, rim).

Piriform unguentarium (total: 1)

- Figs 19, 29: no. 11.470/9* (\pm pres. h. 6.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. generally Camilli 1999, 116–117, pl. 34 (type B.63.1: 2nd–1st century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts: Thorn 2005, 625–26 category 126 (red painted ware), particularly nos 633–34, fig. 348.

Fusiform unguentarium (globular body) (total: 9)

- Figs 20, 29: no. 11.472/7* (\pm h. 10.5); Figs 14, 29: nos 11.466/2*, 4, 8 and 10 (\pm h. 8–10).

- Figs 18, 29: nos 11.468/8* (\pm h. 8.5), 11.469/27 (\pm pres. h. 6).

- Fig. 19: no. 11.470/4 (\pm pres. h. 6.5).

- Fig. 19: no. 11.470/37 (\pm pres. h. 5).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Camilli 1999, 90–2, pl. 22 (series B.31.1, h. \pm cm 12–24; 3rd–2nd century BC); Rotroff 2006, 289–92, nos 415–37 (Gray unguentarium: categories 2 and 3: 300–170 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 161, no. 73, fig. 9 (from Benghazi: local fusiform unguentarium, type 15c); Thorn 2005, 645–46, category 216,

particularly no. 769, fig. 364; (www.swanseaheritage.net, Dr Sladden donation: unguentarium painted brown).

Fusiform unguentarium (ovoid body) (total: 4)

- Fig. 19: no. 11.470/51 (---); Fig. 20: no. 11.472/24 (\pm pres. h. 8); Figs 26, 29: nos 11.462/7 and 36* (\pm pres. h. 9–10).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Camilli 1999, 66–8, pl. 10 (series A.23.15: 325–250 BC); Rotroff 2006, 292–94, nos 448–70, figs 63–4 (Grey unguentarium: categories 4 and 5, late 3rd–2nd century BC).

Piriform unguentarium (flat base) (total: 11)

- Fig. 19: nos 11.470/8 (---) and 26 (\pm h. 10.5); Figs 20, 29: nos 11.472/17* and 18 (\pm h. 8); Figs 26, 29: nos 11.462/3* and 26 (\pm pres. h. 6.5).

- Figs 18, 29: nos 11.468/2* and 3 (\pm h. 9.5–10); Figs 20, 29: nos 11.472/15, 16 and 19* (\pm h. 8–10).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Camilli 1999, 122–23, pl. 35 (series C.11.3, late 1st century BC – early 1st AD). For Cyrenaican contexts: Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 163–64, types 16a and 16b, fig. 9, nos 76–7 (imported and local unguentaria from Augustan to early Flavian period).

Jug-unguentarium (total: 2)

- Figs 18, 34: no. 11.468/1* (\pm h. 6, diam. 5).

- Figs 26, 29: nos 11.462/16* and 28 (\pm h. 6.5, diam. 5).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Model biconical unguentarium (total: 7)

- Figs 18, 29: nos 11.468/42 (\pm h. 4), 11.469/8* (\pm h. 4.5);
Fig 19: no. 11.470/2, 39 (\pm h. 5); Fig. 20: no. 11.472/32 (\pm h. 5); Figs 26, 29: nos 11.462/4* (\pm h. 5.5) and 21 (---).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Riley 1979, 337, no. D851, fig. 123 (Berenike: dated to Early Imperial period, but compared with Hellenistic shapes).

Amphorae*Knobbed amphora* (total: 5)

- Fig. 14: no. 11.466/13 (\pm pres. h. 14); Figs 19, 30: 11.470/10* (\pm h. 28) and 30 (\pm h. 15).

- Figs 14, 30: nos 11.467/1 (---), 11.467/3* (\pm h. 22).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Cf. Rotroff 2006, 300, nos 530–31, fig. 68 (miniature amphorae: contexts disturbed, but dated to late 2nd–mid 1st century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 637–38, category 177, n. 962, fig. 380 (type of knob) and generally category 178, figs 352, 395.

Ovoid amphora (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 30: no. 11.473/5* (\pm pres. h. 16.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thompson 1934, fig. 100, E126; Smetana-Scherrer 1982, no. 678, pl. 54 (175–150 BC); Rotroff 2006, nos 535–37, fig. 69 (Phoenician amphoriskoi with narrow foot: 225–175 BC).

Amphoriskos (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 30: no. 11.469/16* (fr. including mouth-neck; \pm pres. h. 6.5).

Examples: 1.

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Miniature amphora (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 28: no. 11.473/8* (\pm h. 9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. CVA Sèvres 1934, pl. 25, nos 67–71 (acquisition Vattier de Bourville).

Two-handled cups*Bolsal* (total: 2)

- Figs 18, 31: no. 11.469/9* (\pm h. 5.5, diam. 11).

Cf. Elrashedy 2002, 130, no. 54, pl. 8 (350–320 BC).

- Figs 20, 31: no. 11.473/2* (\pm h. 3, diam. 6.5).

Cf. Elrashedy 2002, 131, no. 56, pl. 7 (late 5th century BC).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

See *supra* § 3.2 black-glazed bolsal; Kenrick 1987, 6,

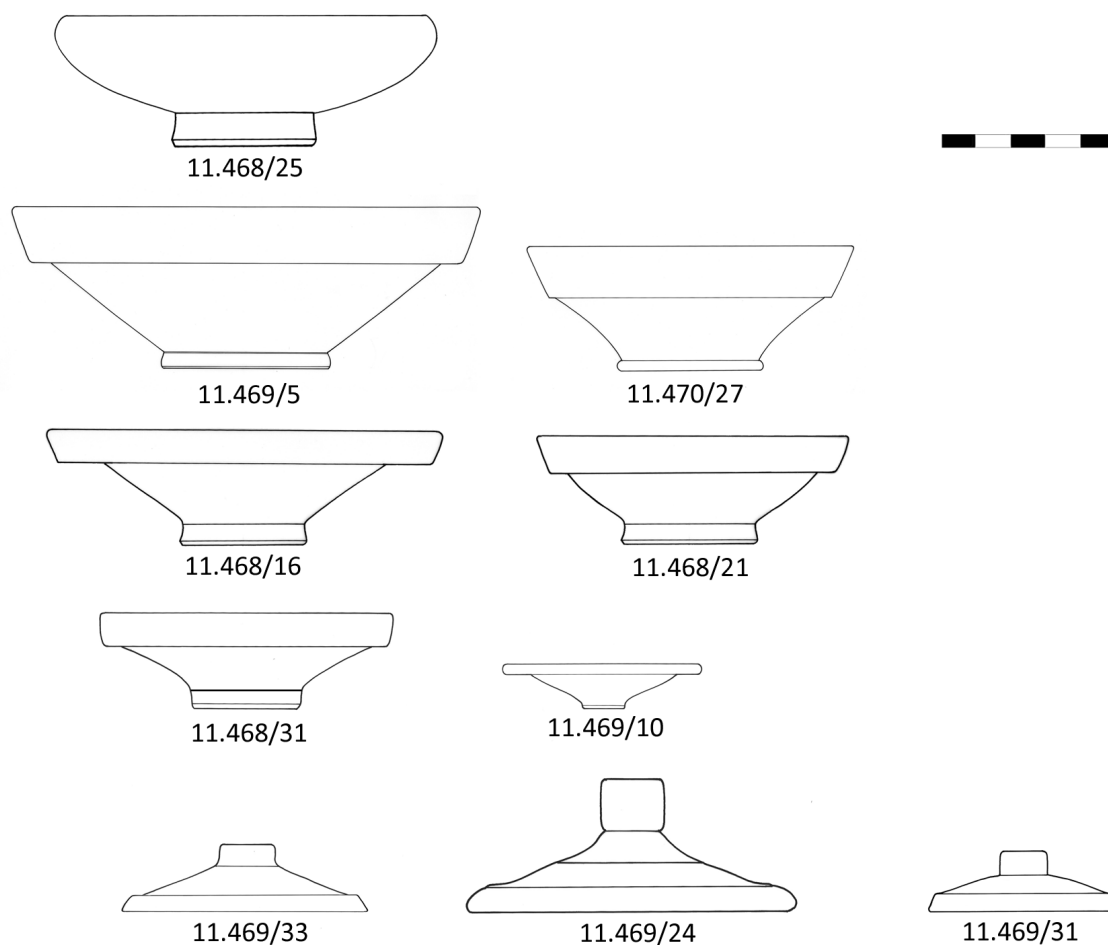


Figure 32. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: small and miniaturised bowls and lids (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

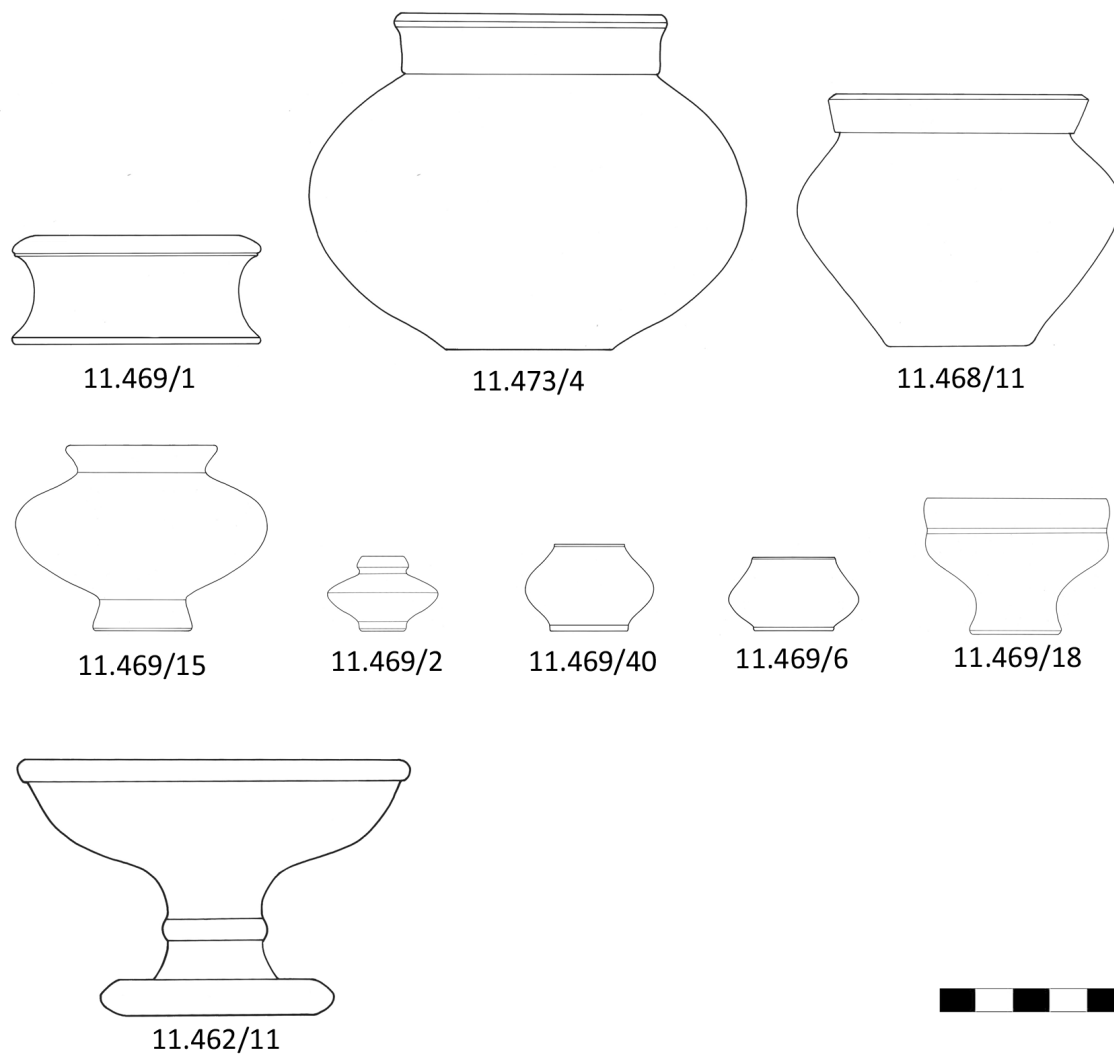


Figure 33. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: various miniaturised vessels (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

no. 46, fig. 4 (local, Hellenistic fine ware, representing 'a loose copy of the Attic bolsal').

Squat cup (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 31: no. 11.472/11* (\pm h. 5.5, diam. 6).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Colivicchi 2001, 93–4, no. 7.21 (funerary context late 3rd–early 2nd century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 643, category 207, part. no. 1055, fig. 393 and possibly Luni and Cardinali 2010, fig. 15.

One-handled cups

Large cup (total: 1)

- Fig. 14: no. 11.466/12 (\pm rec. diam. 15).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus.

Cf. Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 156, no. 45, fig. 9 (small version in local painted bands ware, attesting the same form of the handle).

Echinus-cup (total: 2)

- Fig. 19: nos 11.471/5, 6 (\pm diam. 9–9.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. for examples with red-painted bands: White and Philipps 1976, pl. XXIa (Apollonia, Tomb 5: 4th BC); Dent *et al.* 1976–77, 156, no. 45, fig. 9; Thorn 2005, 626, category 128, figs 410, 413; Santucci 2007, 698, figs 6a–7a.

Carinated cup (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 31: no. 11.473/7* (\pm h. 5, diam. 6,8).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. generically Edwards 1975, no. 197, pls 8, 48 (middle 2nd century BC).

Chytridion (total: 2)

- Figs 20, 31: no. 11.472/1* (\pm h. 4, diam. 6).

Cf. Edwards 1975, no. 779, pls 35, 64 (300 BC); Eiring 2001, 93–4, fig. 3.1/k (300–275 BC); Rotroff 2006, 304, no. 567, fig. 72 (context 175–150 BC). For Cyrenaican context, see Thorn 2005, 639, category 191, no. 139, fig. 314.

- Figs 20, 31: no. 11.472/10* (\pm h. 3.5, diam. 5).

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 386, no. 1476, pl. 111 (325–300 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts: Thorn 2005, 639, category 190, no. 1221, fig. 414.

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Bowls*Echinus-bowl* (total: 1 or 2)

- Figs 18, 32: no. 11.468/25* (\pm h. 4, diam. 11).
- Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 132–33, fig. 9, pl. 33; Edwards 1975, 29–33. For Cyrenaican contexts: Santucci 2007, 701, figs 8a–9a (with red band painted along the rim).
- Fig. 14: probably no. 11.466/15 (\pm diam. 10).
- Cf. for the ring foot, Kenrick 1987, 5, no. 38, fig. 3.
- Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Collared bowl (flat-base) (total: 1)

- Fig. 13: no. 11.464/3 (\pm h. 5, diam. 13).
- Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.
- Cf. various local types produced since the Archaic period, Boardman and Hayes 1966, 147, nos 1585–604, pl. 93; Boardman and Hayes 1973, 69, nos 2317–18, pl. 36; D'Angelo 2010, 109–10.

Collared bowl (total: 14)

- Figs 18, 32: nos 11.468/23–24 (\pm diam. 13–16), 12–14 and 17–21* (\pm diam. 8.5–10), 11.469/5* (\pm diam. 13.5) and 30 (---); Figs 19, 32: nos 11.470/27* (\pm diam. 10) and 33 (\pm diam. 16).
- Contexts: Tomb N422.
- Cf. White and Phillips 1976, 120, pls XXd, XXIIIe–f

(Apollonia, tombs 4, e, 8: 4th century BC); Thorn 2005, 644–45, category 212; Santucci 2007, 704–5, figs 10b, 11b, both attesting multiple series and many variants.

Collared bowl/lid (total: 9)

- Fig. 14: no. 11.466/11 (\pm diam. 8); Figs 18, 32: 11.468/16* (\pm diam. 14), 27–31* and 33 (\pm diam. 8–9.5), 11.469/10* (\pm diam. 14).
- Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.
- Cf. Gill and Gee 1996, 260, no. 69 or 71 (photos published in www.swanseaheritage.net, Dr Sladden donation).

Lids*Cylindrical knob* (total: 9)

- Figs 18, 32: nos 11.469/24* (\pm diam. 9.5), 11.469/31* (\pm diam. 5.5) and 33* (\pm diam. 7); Fig. 19: nos 11.470/25 (---) and 46 (\pm diam. 9).
- Contexts: Tomb N422.

Spherical knob (total: 3)

- Fig. 18: no. 11.468/48 (\pm diam. 8); Fig. 26: nos 11.462/2 and 19 (---).
- Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

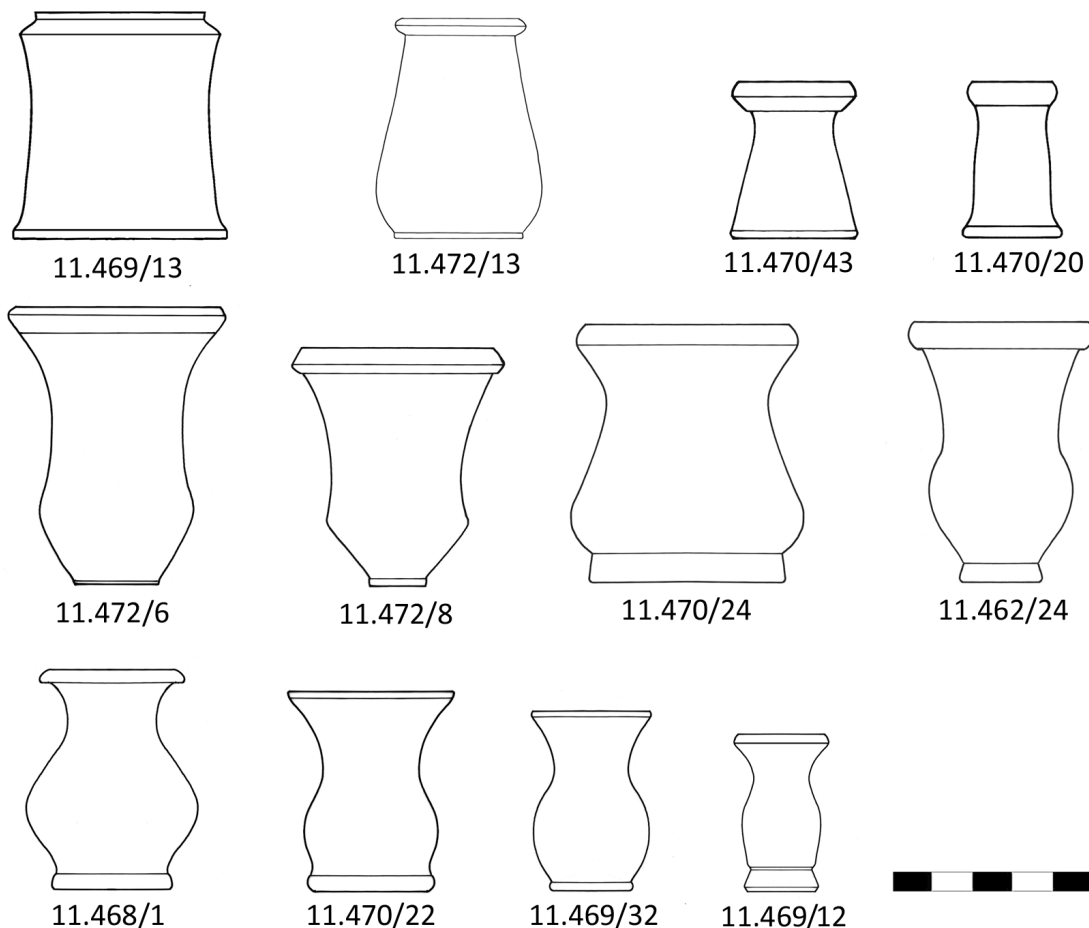
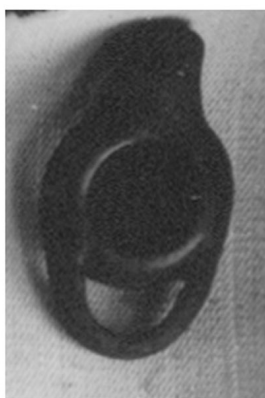


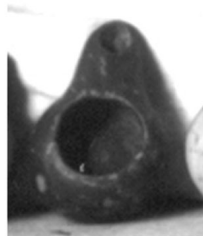
Figure 34. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Plain ware from Norton's excavations: miniaturised kalathiskoi (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).



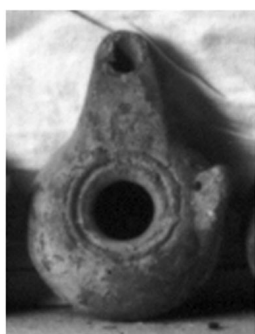
11.464/7



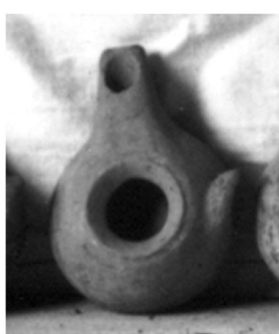
11.465/8



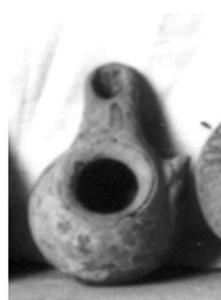
11.471/26



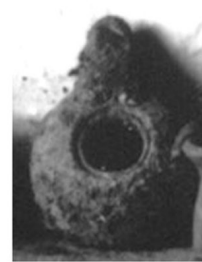
11.471/31



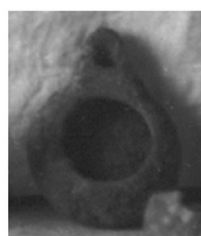
11.471/30



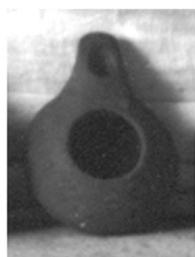
11.471/27



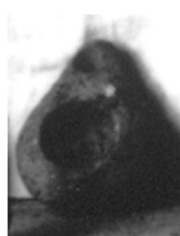
11.468/44



11.473/19



11.471/35



11.468/39



11.471/28



11.462/17



11.462/38



11.462/31



Figure 35. Cyrene, Northern Necropolis. Lamps from Norton's excavations (Drawings: A. Santucci and L. Polidori).

Bowl/lid? (total: 13)

- Fig. 14: nos 11.466/7 (\pm diam. 14), 14 (\pm diam. 9.5); Fig. 18: nos 11.468/15 (\pm diam. 12), 22 (\pm diam. 8.5), 26 (\pm diam. 9), 36 (\pm diam. 11); Fig. 19: nos 11.470/13, 16, 19, 28 and 31 (\pm diam. 8.5–10); Fig. 20: nos 11.473/10 (\pm diam. 10) and 15 (\pm diam. 13.5).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Miscellaneous*Saltcellar* (total: 2 or 4)

- Figs 18, 33: no. 11.469/1* (\pm h. 2.5, diam. 6.8); probably Fig. 19: nos 11.471/3 and 4 (\pm diam. 8.5), 9 and 10 (\pm h. diam. 6.8: saltcellar and lid).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 346, nos 1064–66, pl. 78 (black-glazed wares: 325–315 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Kenrick 1987, 6, nos 48–9, fig. 4 (local Hellenistic fine ware: pyxis late 4th–early 3rd century BC); Thorn 2005, 616 category 98, nos 766–67, fig. 364 (black-glazed ware); for local saltcellars having a carinated shape, Thorn 2005, 645 category 214; Santucci 2007, 701–2, figs 8c–9c.

Globular olla (total: 1)

- Figs 20, 33: no. 11.473/4* (\pm h. 9, diam. 10.5)

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 639 category 191, no. 135, figs 309, 313.

Cyma recta olla (profile resembling a *cyma recta*) (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 33: no. 11.468/11* (\pm h. 7, diam. 9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Squat olla (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 33: no. 11.469/15* (\pm h. 6, diam. 8).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 639 category 191, no. 415, fig. 336.

Biconical bowl (total: 3)

- Figs 18, 33: nos 11.469/2*, 6* and 40* (\pm h. 2–2.5, diam. 3.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 423–24, part. nos 1769–73, fig. 105, pl. 138 ('medicine bottle': late Hellenistic and Roman contexts, with bibliography of other Greek examples). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Menozzi 2006, fig. 25; Santucci 2007, 707, fig. 11c; (photos published in www.swanseaheritage.net Dr Sladden donation); Luni and Cardinali 2010, fig. 11.

Cylindrical bowl (narrow foot) (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 23: no. 11.469/18* (\pm h. 3.5, diam. 5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Thorn 2005, 643 category 209, no. 292, fig. 325 (see also the handled version 643 category 208, nos 240, 344, figs 323, 330).

Kalathiskoi*Carinated kalathiskos* (total: 4)

- Figs 19, 34: nos 11.470/11 and 24* (\pm h. 6–7, diam. 4.5–5.5); Figs 20, 34: nos 11.472/6* and 8* (\pm h. 6–7, diam. 4). Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Edwards 1975, no. 372, pls 14, 51 (Attic, from c. 350 BC;

Corinthian, from last quarter of 3rd century BC); other regional, Hellenistic products, Bozkova 1997, 126–127, pl. 94 b1.

Globular kalathiskos (total: 7 or 9)

- Figs 26, 34: no. 11.462/24* (\pm h. 8, diam. 5).

- Figs 18, 34: nos 11.468/38 (\pm h. 5), 11.469/32* (\pm h. 4.5); Figs 19, 34: nos 11.470/22* (\pm h. 5), probably 38, 48 and 49 (\pm h. 4.5–5); Fig. 20: nos 11.472/38 (\pm h. 4.5), probably 11.473/16 (\pm pres. h. 3.5).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 370, nos 1310, pl. 100 (black-glazed ware; 250–200 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Luni and Cardinali 2010, fig. 12.

Squat globular kalathiskos (total: 23)

- Figs 18, 34: nos 11.468/45 (\pm h. 4.5), 11.469/12*, 35, 37, 38 and 42 (\pm h. 3.5–4.5); Fig. 19: nos 11.470/1, 12, 14, 21, 23, 29, 32, 36, 40–42, 44, 50 and 53 (\pm h. 4–5); Fig. 20: nos 11.472/34, 36 and 40 (\pm h. 4–5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. White and Phillips 1976, 116, pl. XIXa (Apollonia, Tomb 2: 4th–3rd century BC); Thorn 2005, 648–49 category 234, particularly no. 1073, fig. 394; Luni and Cardinali 2010, fig. 14.

Ovoid kalathiskos (total: 2)

- Figs 20, 34: nos 11.472/12 and 13* (\pm h. 5–5.5).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cylindrical kalathiskos (total: 8)

- Figs 19, 34: nos 11.470/6, 43* (\pm h. 4) and 52; Fig. 20: nos 11.472/28, 30 and 42 (\pm h. 3.5–4).

- Figs 19, 34: nos 11.470/20* (\pm h. 4) and 34.

Miscellaneous*Thymiaterion* (total: 2 or 3)

- Figs 26, 33: nos 11.462/9?, 11* (\pm h. 7, diam. 10.5) and 12. Contexts: Tomb N17.

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 382, nos 1431–33, pl. 109 (350–300 BC); see also *exaleiptra* and Apulian vases of late 4th century BC, Kotitsa 1998, 66–7, no. 66, pl. 27.

Pyxis (only body) (total: 1)

- Figs 18, 34: no. 11.469/13* (\pm h. 6).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Rotroff 1997, 363, no. 1249, pl. 93 (black-glazed ware; mid 3rd century BC).

Guttus (total: 1)

- Fig. 20: no. 11.473/18 (\pm diam. 7).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Unidentified shapes

- Fig. 26: no. 11.462/10.

Rimmed fragment of large, open vase.

Contexts: Tomb N17.

- Fig. 18: no. 11.468/47.

Rimmed mouth of large vase (\pm diam. 7).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

- Fig. 18: no. 11.468/35.

Similar to an alabastron?

Contexts: Tomb N422.

- Fig. 18: no. 11.469/4; Fig. 7: nos 11.462/22 and 35.

Lower part of a small jug or small bowl.

Contexts: Tomb N17, N 422.

- Fig. 20: nos 11.473/11 and 20.

Probably small jugs.

Contexts: Tomb N422.

§ 3.6. Lamps

Greek black-glazed lamps

Howland Type 21B (total: 4)

- Figs 13, 35: nos 11.464/1, 6 (\pm l. 6.5–7), 7* and 8 (\pm l. 11).

Contexts: 1st Sarcophagus.

Cf. Howland 1958, 46–7, particularly nos 165, 168, pl. 34 (standard shape, extensively produced between 2nd and 3rd quarter of 5th century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Bailey 1975, 286, no. Q619, pl. 117 (from Benghazi, 425–400 BC); White and Phillips 1976, 120, pl. XXVc, g (Apollonia, Tomb 10: Attic lamp, 480–415 BC; Corinthian miniature lamp, late 5th – early 4th century BC); Thorn 2005, 616 category 101 (with further bibliography).

Howland Type 21C (total: 5)

- Figs 14, 35: no. 11.465/8* (\pm l. 9.5); Fig. 20: nos 11.472/20–22 (\pm l. 5.5–6); 11.473/12 (\pm l. 6.5).

Contexts: 2nd Sarcophagus, Tomb N422.

Cf. Howland 1958, 48, pls 6, 34 (last quarter 5th – early 4th century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Boardman and Hayes 1973, 96–7, nos 2419–2420, fig. 44, pl. 44 (Tocra, Peloponnesian or local production); Bailey 1975, 286–87, nos Q619–625, pl. 117 (particularly nos Q621–622, pl. 117, middle 4th century BC); White and Phillips 1976, 120, pl. XXe (Apollonia, Tomb 4, local imitation of Attic lamps: 375–350 BC) and 122, pl. XXIIa (Apollonia, Tomb E, Attic); Thorn 2005, 617 category 102; Santucci 2007, 712, fig. 17a.

Howland Type 21C (without handle) (total: 6)

- Figs 19, 35: nos 11.471/25, 26*, 34 and 36 (\pm l. 7–8.5); Fig. 20: nos 11.473/13 and 14 (\pm l. 6.5–9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Howland 1958, 48, pls 6, 34 (last quarter 5th – early 4th century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Thorn 2005, 617 category 102, particularly no. 1149, fig. 406.

Greek lamps (plain wares)

Howland types 25B and 32 (Broneer IX–X) (total: 12 or 13)

- Fig. 18: nos 11.468/40, 41, 43 and 44 (\pm l. 8–9.5); Figs 19, 35: nos 11.471/24, 27*, 29, 31*, 32 and 33 (\pm l. 7.5–9.5).

- Figs 19, 35: no. 11.471/30* (\pm l. 10.5); Fig. 20: no. 11.472/25 (\pm l. 8).

- Fig. 26: probably no. 11.462/25 (\pm l. 7.5).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. Howland 1958, 72–77, 99–101 (particularly type 25B prime, Attic: 325–250 BC; type 32, Attic: 275–200 BC); Broneer 1977, 20–23, nos 203–214 (type IX, probably Attic: last quarter 4th – middle of the 3rd century BC), 218–226 (type X, probably Corinthian: 250–175 BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Boardman and Hayes 1973, 96, no. 2418, pl. 44; White and Phillips 1976, 117, pl. XIXc (Apollonia: Tomb 1); Bailey 1985, 31, nos C5–6, pl. 1, 5–6 and 15–7, nos 71–82, pl. 5; Thorn 2005, 647–48 category 225.

Howland types 30B–C (total: 5)

- Fig. 18: nos 11.468/37, 39 and 46 (\pm l. 6); Figs 19, 35: no. 11.471/35* (\pm l. 7.5); Figs 20, 35: no. 11.473/19* (\pm l. 7).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Howland 1958, 97–99, nos 421–423, pl. 41 (type 30B: 350–275 BC; type 30C: second half of 3rd – early 2nd century BC). For Cyrenaican contexts, see Stucchi 1965, 177, 179, pls XXIX 4, XXX 3; Thorn 2005, 647 category 222–23; Santucci 2007, 712, fig. 17b; Luni and Cardinali 2010, fig. 13.

Fluted lamp (total: 1)

- Figs 19, 35: no. 11.471/28* (\pm pres. l. 9).

Contexts: Tomb N422.

Cf. Alexandrian lamps in Bailey 1975, 257, no. Q552 (2nd–1st century BC); Młynarczyk 1997, 72–83, part. nos 129, 131, 142 (types L and M as regard to the form and to the shoulder decoration). See also Cretan lamps from Berenike, in Bailey 1985, 4, nos C7–8, pl. 1, 7–8 (2nd–1st century BC).

Roman lamps

Broneer type XXV (Bailey types O–P) (total: 7)

- Figs 26, 35: no. 11.462/17* (\pm l. 10): Psyche, turned leftward, is pouring water from a large vessel.

Cf. Heres 1972, 51, no. 231, pl. 28 (Micro-Asiatic production, AD 25–50).

- Figs 26, 35: no. 11.462/38* (\pm l. 11): a pair of gladiators fighting, a *Traex* on left and a *Myrmillo* on right.

Cf. Micro-Asiatic lamps, perhaps of Pergamenian production, dating to second half of 1st century AD, Heres 1972, 86, no. 552, pl. 59 (to Berlin museum collections, from Egypt); Heimerl 2001, 114 no. 207, fig. 151, pl. 5 (but with ovulos on shoulders). For Cyrenaican contexts: Bailey 1985, 125, nos 859–862, fig. 8 (local production, context middle of the 3rd century AD); Mikocki 2006, 69, fig. 97 (from *Ptolemais*, without comment).

- Figs 26, 35: no. 11.462/31* (\pm l. 9.5): garland hanging from a theatre mask.

Cf. Heres 1972, 80, no. 497, pl. 53 (Berlin museum collections: middle-imperial Greek lamp); Bailey 1980, 335,

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no. Q1325, pl. 72 (type P, group iii: Middle-Italian lamps, AD 90–130).

- Figs 26, 35: no. 11.462/29 (\pm l. 9): probably bird in middle of medallion.

Cf. White and Phillips 1976, pl. XIXe (Apollonia, Tomb 1: late 1st–early 2nd AD).

- Figs 26, 35: no. 11.462/27 (\pm l. 8): heart-shaped hole and garland on shoulder.

Cf. Heres 1972, 71, no. 428, pl. 46 (Berlin Museum collections: Middle-Imperial lamp).

- Fig. 26: no. 11.462/34 (\pm l. 8), details not legible.

- Fig. 20: no. 11.472/ 26 (fragment).

Contexts: Tombs N17, N422.

Cf. generally Bailey 1980, 292–335, types O–P (well-attested in Greek and North-African Mediterranean contexts: Middle-Imperial period).

Appendix II: Archival documents

This appendix lists Richard Norton's papers, photographs and negatives that document his excavations in the Northern Necropolis of Cyrene. All but two photographs referred to in this study are preserved in the Archive of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, while the two exceptions are in the John Hay Archive at Brown University. The papers also are in the Archive of the Museum of Fine Arts, but copies of most of the material can also be found in the Archive of the Archaeological Institute of America in

Boston. Each photograph in this list, where apposite, is accompanied by references to its publication or to the publication of the individual subject that is pictured. References are also made to the figures in this contribution. All bibliographical references are within round brackets; the transcription of the original label is between single quotes. The original reports do not have inventory numbers: the numbers here used to identify the documents are those that J. Uhlenbrock assigned to the photocopies of the original documents that she has in her possession. (A.S.)

Written reports, all in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) Archive:

| | |
|----------|---|
| MFA 229 | Report of R. Norton to Arthur Fairbanks, 1911/02/01. |
| MFA 263 | Report of R. Norton to Arthur Fairbanks, 1911/03/01. |
| MFA 264 | Report of D. Curtis to the Managing Committee of the Cyrene Expedition, 1911/03/02. |
| MFA 343 | Report of R. Norton to Arthur Fairbanks, 1911/03/31. |
| MFA 352 | Report of D. Curtis to the Managing Committee of the Cyrene Expedition, 1911/04/30. |
| MFA s.n. | Report of R. Norton to Arthur Fairbanks, 1911/07/28. |

Photographic documentation. The negative/photograph numbers were allocated by Norton himself, and although these are held at the MFA, Boston, they are not museum accession numbers. The last two entries refer to Brown University:

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| s.n. | View of the excavation camp near the house of the Moudir. |
| s.n. | View of the back wall of Tomb N22/Tomb of the Ludi. |
| 11.289 | 'From in front a tomb on left of Fresco Tomb, March 22:' stele of Plauta (= Robinson 1913, no. 11). |
| 11.294 | The funerary inscription of Lara (= Robinson 1913, no. 22). |
| 11.298 | The funerary inscription of Philokrateias (= Robinson 1913, no. 25). |
| 11.298[b] | The funerary inscription of Philokrateias (= Robinson 1913, no. 25). |
| 11.326 | 'Inscription on Sarcophagus:' the inscription is not visible. |
| 11.328 | 'Pleres, Tomb #10:' the inscription of Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 15). |
| 11.343 | Three funerary female half-statues (the first one = Beschi 1969–70, no. 33; for the third see no. 11.361); statue of Artemis (cf. 11.417; Paribeni 1959, no. 157); lion (cf nos 11.361, 11.423). |
| 11.[35]4 | Auriga (= Paribeni 1959, no. 460). |
| 11.360 | Fragmentary relief with a scene of battle, probably from a sarcophagus. |
| 11.361 | Funerary female half-statue (cf. 11.343); fragmentary relief representing a female figure seated on an animal or rock-mass; a lion (cf. nos 11.343 and 11.423). |
| 11.385 | Lion head. |
| 11.391 | Fragmentary statue of Dionysus (= Paribeni 1959, no. 323), two small female heads. |

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| 11.399 | Marble female statue, now restored on the Naval Monument in the agora of Cyrene (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXXV; Paribeni 1959, no. 39). |
| 11.403 | Male standing draped statue (= Paribeni 1959, no. 459). |
| 11.404 | Fragmentary statue or high-relief representing the lower part of a male figure with chitoniskos and embades; a palm-tree in the background. |
| 11.407 | One funerary half-figure (= Beschi 1969–70, no. 77), one male standing draped statue (Rosenbaum 1960, no. 117), the Nike of Naval Monument (cf. no. 11.399); statue of a standing female (= Paribeni 1959, no. 40). |
| 11.411 | 'Statue [---]: Nike of the Naval Monument (cf. nos 11.399, 11.407), statue of a standing female (see <i>supra</i> no. 11.407), relief with a draped male figure (cf. no. 11.404). |
| 11.417 | 'Artemis from the wady Zaghouya: marble torso representing Artemis (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXXIV; Paribeni 1959, no. 157; cf. no. 11.343). |
| 11.419 | A calyx-leaves capital from Cyrene (unidentified place). |
| 11.423 | 'brought in to camp, Jan. 1911: lion (cf. no. 11.343). |
| 11.4[26] | Funerary female half-figure; pillar-stele; funerary female half-figure (= Beschi 1969–70, no. 36); slab with vegetal decoration, probably a pilaster capital. |
| 11.428 | View of the excavation of Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 16). |
| 11.460 | Terracotta figurines (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXIX; <i>supra</i> Fig. 21). |
| 11.462 | 'Contents of sculptured tomb, right hand division, terracotta leg, Psyche: the finds from the Tomb N17 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 26). |
| 11.463 | The finds from the First Sarcophagus (= Uhlenbrock 1998, fig. 4; <i>supra</i> Fig. 13). |
| 11.464 | The finds from the First Sarcophagus (= Uhlenbrock 1998, fig. 5; <i>supra</i> Fig. 13). |
| 11.465 | 'Vases from sarcophagus #2, 1 bronze mirror: the finds from the Second Sarcophagus (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 14). |
| 11.466 | 'Vases from sarcophagus #2: the finds from the Second Sarcophagus (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 14). |
| 11.467 | 'Vases from sarcophagus #2: the finds from the Second Sarcophagus (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 14). |
| 11.468 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 18). |
| 11.469 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 18). |
| 11.470 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 19). |
| 11.471 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 19). |
| 11.472 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 20). |
| 11.473 | 'Vases from Pleres Tomb #10: the finds from Tomb N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 20). |
| 11.543 | 'Camp before building of house: the first excavation camp with tents around the house of the Moudir (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 4). |
| 11.549 | 'View from above house looking north-west to Moudir House: view of the excavation camp (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 5). |
| 11.560 | 'Tombs east of Camp: the tombs in El Mawy land (N200–N212), in the area best known as Kinnissiah (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXVII) (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 8). |
| 11.561 | 'Tombs east of Camp: the tombs in El Mawy land (N200–N212), in the area best known as Kinnissiah (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXVII) (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 8). |
| 11.562 | 'Tombs east wady from North East: probably tombs in El Mawy land (N200–N212), in the area best known as Kinnissiah. |
| 11.563 | 'Tombs east of camp: view of the area with the Tombs N36–N39. |
| 11.564 | 'Wady with tombs east of camp before excavation: view of the top of the Haleg Shaloof, between the Tombs N36 and N17 (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXX). |
| 11.565 | 'Tombs east of camp looking west shortly after commencement of excavation: view of the sarcophagus terrace before the excavation of the Pleres Tomb/N422 (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 6). |
| 11.567 | View of the tombs on the eastern slope of the Haleg Shaloof (Tombs N57–N58, N65 are recognisable). |
| 11.569 | 'Entrance to tomb W of camp, on the back is printed 'TAKEN December 19th / DEVELOPED [December] 20th / PRINTED [December] 23rd / SUBJECT tomb no 3: detail view of an unidentified tomb (probably below El Mawy land). |
| 11.570 | On the back is printed 'TAKEN December 21st / DEVELOPED [December] 22nd / PRINTED [December] 23rd / SUBJECT tomb no 5 (Entrance at Arab's feet): general view of an unidentified tomb (probably below El Mawy land). |
| 11.572 | The façade of an unidentified tomb. |
| 11.573 | 'Tombs east of camp: tombs on the eastern slope of the Haleg Shaloof (Tombs N39 and N65 are recognisable). |
| 11.575 | 'Fresco Tomb – Tombs East of camp looking West: the sarcophagus terrace during the excavations with the Tomb N22/ Tomb of the Ludi at the left. |
| 11.577 | On the back is printed 'TAKEN Dec. 25 / DEVELOPED Dec. 31 / PRINTED 23rd / SUBJECT Tombs # 5 or 6 Entrance: view of the façade of an unidentified tomb. |
| 11.580 | 'Above road East of Camp showing tomb: view of the sarcophagus terrace west of the Tombs N23–N27. |

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| 11.582 | 'Small tomb in floor of rear chamber at left-hand division of sculptured tomb:' a burial inside the second chamber of the tomb at the left of Tomb N17. |
| 11.583 | 'Round building from northeast:' Tomb N1 at the beginning of excavation. |
| 11.584 | [illegible caption]: view of the Tombs N1–N10 at the beginning of excavations, from east (= Santucci and Thorn 2003, fig. 1a). |
| 11.585 | 'E. of camp showing work on round building:' view of the Tombs N1–N10 at the beginning of excavations, from west. |
| 11.587 | [unreadable caption]: men at work on Tomb N1 (= Santucci and Thorn 2003, fig. 1b). |
| 11.589 | 'Excavation of the Circular tomb / seated above are dr. Sladden, J. Hoppin and R. Norton, standing below is George the camp servant:' beginning of Tomb N1 excavation. |
| 11.590 | 'Sarcophagus #1 after removing cover:' opening of the small sarcophagus. |
| 11.591 | (1911/mar./23), 'Sarcophagus #1 before opening:' view of the small sarcophagus before its opening (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 12). |
| 11.593 | J.C.H. 18 (1911/mar./23), 'Sarcophagus #1 contents:' the burials inside the sarcophagus (= <i>supra</i> Fig. 12). |
| 11.594 | 'Opening sarcophagus #2:' the opening of the sarcophagus at the right of the façade of Tomb N17 (= Uhlenbrock 1998, fig. 3; = <i>supra</i> Fig. 9). |
| 11.595 | 'Opening sarcophagus #2:' the opening of the sarcophagus at the right of the façade of Tomb N17. |
| 11.596 | J.C.H. 204, 'Sarcophagus #2 in front of sculptured tomb:' the sarcophagus at the right of the façade of Tomb N17. |
| 11.597 | 'Sarcophagus #2:' removing the cover of sarcophagus#2 to the right of the façade of Tomb N17. |
| 11.598 | The opening of Sarcophagus #2 to the right of Tomb N17. |
| 11.599 | J.C.H. 203 (1911/apr./07), 'Opening Sarcophagus #2 in front of sculptured tomb:' the opening of the sarcophagus at the right of the façade of Tomb N17. |
| 11.600 | J.C.H. 23 (1911/Jan/10), 'Tombs on East Hill:' naiskos-tombs. |
| 11.601 | J.C.H. 22 (1911/Jan/10), 'Tombs on East Hill:' naiskos-tombs. |
| 11.602 | (J.C.H. 21 roll neg. 7, 1911/Jan/10), 'Tombs on East Hill:' naiskos-tombs. |
| 11.604 | 'Tombs in the East wady and Sousa road:' the tombs along the Haleg Shaloof and the road to Marsa Sousa before the excavation. |
| 11.618 | 'Tomb just east of east wady:' the Tomb N36 on the eastern slope of the Haleg Shaloof. |
| 11.619 | 'Tombs on east flank of east wady:' Tomb N39 on the eastern slope of the Haleg Shaloof (= Thorn 2005, fig. 32). |
| 11.620 | 'Tombs on east flank of east wady:' Tomb N36 during the excavation of the surrounding area (= Thorn 2005, fig. 32). |
| 11.621 | 'Tombs on east bank of east wady:' Tomb N36 during the excavation of the surrounding area. |
| 11.622 | 'Tombs on east bank of east wady,' in the back is printed '10 H 13 // I.10.11 / Tomb 9 east wady:' Tomb N36 during the excavation. |
| 11.623 | 'Tombs on west side of east wady looking west. After excavation,' on the back is printed '10 H 13 // III.23.11 / Tombs in east wady from Hill looking at <sic> after excavation:' the excavation of the sarcophagus terrace near the top of the Haleg Shaloof (western side). |
| 11.630 | View of the sarcophagus terrace from the south-east after excavation. |
| 11.631 | 'Tombs behind Moudir's House:' the façade of an unidentified tomb. |
| 11.632 | 'Second east wady and Gnessia:' general view of El Mawy land and the Kinnissiah slope. |
| 11.640 | 'View in west wady showing location of several statues:' the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone above the Wady Belgadir during the finding of sculptures, among which a standing female (= Norton 1911b, pl. LXXVII; Rosenbaum 1969, no. 147). |
| [11.640b] | Detail of the preceding. |
| 11.645 | 'Interior of tomb,' on the back is printed 'TAKEN Dec. 17th 1910 / DEVELOPED [Dec.] 18th [1910] / PRINTED January 6th 1911 / Tomb # inv-8 Red terra cotta mask and slab of marble with inscriptions found in tomb of the right:' an unidentified tomb with two double loculi and niches on the back wall. |
| 11.646 | Neg. 21, 'Exterior of painted tomb:' the façade of Tomb N22/Tomb of the Ludi. |
| 11.648 | 'Exterior Dhubha tomb:' the façade of an unidentified tomb. |
| 11.650 | 'Surgery tomb:' the façade of an unidentified tomb with men at work. |
| 11.689 | 'Arab women waiting for the doctor.' |
| 11.711 | The excavation staff, Christmas 1910 (Hoppin, Norton, DeCou, Curtis, Mott, Camilleri, Sladden, Morgan) (= Uhlenbrock 1998, fig. 1). |
| 11.724 | 'Arab tent dr. Sladden & Camilleri:' view of the camp tent with members of the mission and bedouins. |
| s.n. | Brown University, album 2, A, 'Tomb #8 the painted Tomb at Cyrene:' wrong caption, as the front is not of Tomb N22, but of tombs to the east of Tomb N241 (possibly N270 or N265). |
| s.n. | Brown University, album 2, B, 'Dhuba tomb:' the façade of an unidentified tomb (cf. no. 11.648). |

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