QUADERNI
DI ARCHEOLOGIA
DELLA LIBYA

18

ESTRATTO

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER
The Ugly Family from Sicily: a coroplastic conundrum at Cyrene

by JAIMEE P. UHLENBROCK*

Among the over 4,500 terracottas brought to light at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania¹ are some 57 figurines or figurine fragments of local manufacture that, by virtue of their typology and especially their idiosyncratic technique, appear to come together as a group. They are classically late Archaic in style and clearly derive from Sicilian prototypes². So exceptionally poor in quality and so lacking in aesthetic appeal are they that the nickname «the Ugly Family» was given to the group as a whole as a temporary means of distinguishing its members from several other late Archaic figurines of a similar typology, also coming from Sicily. While their physical attributes may suggest that the different members of the Ugly Family deserve no more than a passing mention, their very presence at Cyrene is of considerable importance since, because of their numbers, they illustrate the dependance of the coroplastic industry at Cyrene on that of Sicily during its formative period in the late 6th century B.C.³. However, the specific nature of that dependence and its significance are issues that still remain obscure.

Cyrene’s Ugly Family comprises types that represent an enthroned female, a standing female holding a bird and a wreath, and a seated kourotrophs. They all were uncovered in the middle of three enclosed terraces that made up the Sanctuary. This middle terrace, referred to by its excavator Donald White as the Middle Sanctuary (Fig. 1), is the only one that has been extensively explored thus far, although some of its areas still await excavation. The roughly 4,500 terracotta figurines that have been recovered to date at the Sanctuary were found in varying concentrations intermixed with architectural debris and stones, pottery and lamp fragments, fragments of sculpture, coins, seals and gems, glass, and other small finds in a

* State University of New York at New Paltz
¹ I would like to thank Professor Donald White, Director of the University Museum’s excavations at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, for inviting me to study and to publish the terracotta figurines from his excavations. I also am indebted to Ess. Breyik Attiyeh, Controller of Antiquities at Shabat, and to his staff of the Libyan Antiquities Service for the cordial assistance and hospitality extended to me during the summer of 1981.
² The existence of these Sicilian types at Cyrene has already been briefly noted, see J.P. UHLENBROCK, Influssi stranieri nella coroplastica cirenaica, in Cirene e la Cirenaica nell’antichità. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Roma-Frascati, 18-21 Dicembre 1996, forthcoming. This is a revision of what was expressed in an earlier publication, in which it was held that the seated female type discussed below was influenced directly by East Greek prototypes, see EAD., History, Trade, and the Terracottas, in Gifts to the Goddesses: Cyrene’s Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, Expedition 34, 1-2, 1992, p. 20, fig. 8.
³ R.A. HIGGINS, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, I. Greek: 730-330 B.C., London 1969, no. 1118, is inclined to date the seated females of this Sicilian variety to the early 5th century B.C. or later because of the wing-like extensions to the back of the throne. These he believes reflect Attic conventions known from early fifth-century figurines. In my view, the wing-like projections on the Sicilian thrones could stem from an independent development and are untrustworthy criteria for dating.
Fig. 1 – Plan of the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene.
dense stratum that overlay the Middle Sanctuary. There is no question that further exploration of this area, as well as of the upper and lower terraces, will yield still more material. The ideas presented in this paper, therefore, must be taken as provisional until such time as the remaining areas can be fully investigated.

The members of the Ugly Family were found primarily in two concentrations in the Middle Sanctuary, although they also appeared sporadically in other areas of the terrace. The first, and largest, concentration of 23 figurines occurred at the South-West corner of the retaining walls of the Middle Sanctuary at grid squares D15-17 on the Sanctuary plan. The second concentration of 18 figurines formed part of a massing of votive material of all kinds that was recovered from a deep level sounding at grid squares F13/G13 at the inner face of the imperial retaining wall T10. Evidence indicates that the earth within which this material was buried served as constructional backfill for the architectural renovations that marked the life of the Sanctuary and consequently little is known about the original deposition of these figurines. However, the bulk of the accumulated material presents a chronological homogeneity that suggests that the greater part of the material from grid squares D15-17, at least, belonged to a votive deposit that was relatively undisturbed and that perhaps was pertinent to the nearby structure marked S6 on the plan. Both of these assemblages comprised material coming predominately from the Archaic and Classical periods and represent a part of what is believed to be the greatest chronological concentration of significant portable artefacts recovered from any period in the life of the Sanctuary.

The first and best represented member of the Ugly Family typology, known in at least 28 examples from a single mould family and whose height averages ca. 15 centimeters, represents a female seated erect on a high-backed throne with her hands resting palms down on her knees and her feet placed slightly apart on a footrest (Fig. 2). She wears a vague, undetailed garment that falls to her feet and that has a high, rounded neckline, a himation drawn over her head and falling behind her ears and over her shoulders and upper arms, a stephane or polos over the himation, disk earrings, and round-toed shoes. The top of the back rest of the throne has wing-like projections and the front face of its seat is embellished with protuberances formed by blobs of clay pinched and squeezed into place. The figure is very robust with squat proportions, an oversized head, broad, but rounded and sloping, shoulders, heavy arms, high, full breasts, and thin, markedly tapering legs with undersized feet. Stylistically it is characterized by broad, curving contours and full forms. The breasts comprise a single undifferentiated volume, rather than two independent forms, set high in the torso and, together with the oversized head and broad shoulders, promote a rather top-heavy look for the figure.

Several facial types are known, although all reflect a strong East Greek orientation in the fullness of their modeling. The most common is round with a low, lunette-shaped forehead framed by a thin band of hair; it has long, narrow eyes, a long, thin-bridged nose, a small, smiling mouth with thick lips, and very ample

---

6 D. White, The Extrimural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. The Sites Architecture, Its First Six Hundred Years of Development (Final Reports 5), Philadelphia 1993, p. 44.
7 D. White, Archaic Cyrene and the Cult of Demeter and Persephone, Expedition 17, 4, 1975, p. 12, fig. 2; Id., Fourth preliminary report, p. 277, pl. 75, c; Uhlenbrock, History, Trade, p. 20, fig. 8.
cheeks and chin (Fig. 2). A second has an oval contour and a wide, crescent-shaped mouth (Fig. 3), while a third has a high forehead with full hair and a long, narrow chin (Fig. 4). Most often, however, the features are indistinct due, no doubt, to the fact that these figurines represent a very late phase in the derivative production of the type. Variations on the headdress include the addition of a hand-modeled polos, either low (Fig. 5) or high (Fig. 6), sometimes with a center and two side lobes at the upper edge, or a thickening of the hair over the forehead to a donut-like mass that can project forward over the face (Fig. 7).

The second member of the Ugly Family known in 14 examples from a single mould family is that of a female 17 centimeters high, who stands rigidly with her feet placed slightly apart on a round base (Fig. 8). Her right hand is brought up to her chest, against which she holds a bird facing left; her left hand, held against the left side of her lower abdomen, grasps a wreath. She wears a belted chiton with a barely discernable kolpos and papyphé, a himation over her head and covering her arms, a stephane over the himation, and round-toed shoes. As in the case of the seated figure, the proportions of the standing woman also are squat and the contours rounded, the head is oversized, the shoulders are sloping, and the breasts are high and full, although the figure itself is less robust.

A kourotrophos 15 centimeters in height completes the Ugly Family typology as it is understood so far (Fig. 9). The most represented scheme is that of a figure seated erect on a throne with no back rest indicated; the right arm is bent and brought up to the left breast with the hand open; the left arm, also bent, is brought across the lap and cradles a swaddled infant who faces right; the feet are placed slightly apart on a footrest. The kourotrophos wears a long garment lacking detail and a stephane. One fragment presents an oversized head with a round face, but the features are indistinct. An important variation preserved in a single example shows the right hand down, instead of at the breast, and resting across the ankles of the infant (Fig. 10).

All of the figurines representing these three main types were made in the distinctive, local Cyrenian fabric for the late 6th and 5th century B.C., which is soft and yellowish-buff in color with gritty, black and white inclusions and a grey core. The figurines were made in frontal moulds and were covered with a slab back, while the undersides were always left open. The moulds themselves must have come from a very late stage of derivative production, as the details of anatomy and dress are largely illegible. In many of the examples, the surfaces were wiped when the figurines were in the leather-hard state, a practice that further contributed to the illegibility of the features. This condition may have been mitigated somewhat by the application of painted detail, although no traces of color have been preserved. The surfaces of these figurines are distinguished by a slight sheen and, without exception, are crazed to varying degrees, as if they were subjected to excessively high and rapidly rising temperatures during firing. Indeed, when examining these figurines as a group, one is left with the impression that they may have been part of a single kiln load that misfired. In no other figurines from the Sanctuary among the roughly 4,500 that have been recovered can one encounter this peculiar surface. They are also singularly consistent in their casting technique, which is careless and clumsy, and which resulted in unusally heavy figurines that are unpleasant to hold.

The Ugly Family seems to have entered production at Cyrene towards the end of the 6th century B.C., to judge by the late Archaic character of the types.\(^8\) This may have been only

---

\(^8\) The statement by R.A. Higgins that local coroplast production in Cyrenaica began only towards ca. 470 B.C. is no longer tenable in light of the finds from the Extra-

mural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, see Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas, p. 378.
THE UGLY FAMILY FROM SICILY: A COROPLASTIC CONUNDRUM AT CYRENE

**Fig. 2** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Seated female, UM 73-974.

**Fig. 3** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Head from a seated female, UM 78-350.

**Fig. 4** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Head from a seated female, UM 76-420.

**Fig. 5** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Seated female, UM 74-397.

**Fig. 6** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Head from a seated female, UM 77-71.

**Fig. 7** - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Head from a seated female, UM 77-633.
several decades after imports from Miletos, dated to the second and third quarters of the 6th century B.C.⁹, had begun to furnish refined East Greek models for local imitation. This Milesian ware, whose typology comprises the Aphrodite Group of Reynold Higgins¹⁰, consists of figured perfume vases, figurines, and mask protomai, among other types, which, in contrast to the members of the Ugly Family, are remarkable for their high aesthetic quality and sophisticated double-mould technique, as well as for their fine, dusky-rose or orange, micaceous fabric. Some 200 fragments of these Milesian imports have been brought to light at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone thus far, while over 100 fragments of local imitations attest to their influence.

In fact, the Ugly Family and the Aphrodite Group comprised two successive and distantly-related streams of foreign influence that alone were directly responsible for the rapid development of the coroplast industry at Cyrene by the end of the 6th century B.C. The available evidence indicates that by the end of the third quarter of the 6th century what little that was being produced locally represented an impoverished craft whose proponents had a poor grasp of the technical and artistic processes necessary for the mass production of inexpensive votives in clay. Several coarse, solid, hand-modeled figurines of standing females from the Extramural Sanctuary represent all that is known of the earliest attempts at local production¹¹. When viewed against this background of a limited and hesitant local manufacture, the ostensibly sudden appearance of larger, hollow-cast figurines, such as is represented by the typology of the Aphrodite Group, and, only slightly later, by members of the Ugly Family, seems to indicate a change in religious practice or perhaps in social conditions, the nature of which still remains unclear. In the case of the arrival and subsequent imitation at Cyrene of the Aphrodite Group typology, this phenomenon can be paralleled at sites in Sicily and southern Italy, among other areas of the Greek world, where Milesian imports have been found, sometimes by the hundreds¹², to then be widely reproduced and imitated after the abrupt cessation of this import trade¹³. The situation at Cyrene, then, may be viewed merely as a local occurrence of a more widespread phenomenon. The same cannot be said for the Ugly Family.


¹³ This is eloquently illustrated by the Bitalema stratigraphy, see ORLANDINI, art. cit., p. 16 ff. for the stratigraphical evidence.
Fig. 8 - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Standing female with bird and wreath, UM 74-331.

Fig. 15 - Selinus, Terracotta Figurine. Standing female with bird and wreath (from Gabrici, NSc, fig. 29).

Fig. 9 - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Seated kourotrphos, UM 76-333.

Fig. 10 - Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine. Body fragment from a seated kourotrphos, UM 76-937.

Fig. 16 - Selinus, Terracotta Figurine. Seated kourotrphos (from Gabrici, NSc, fig. 30).
As mentioned above, the typology of the Ugly Family is dependent on Sicilian models, as are three other late Archaic female types, whose scale and technique set them apart\textsuperscript{14}. The suggestion also arises that these Sicilian models may have come from widely separate areas of Sicily, although this suggestion may be invalidated by the eventual publication of the thousands of figurines already uncovered from sites such as Gela, Catania, Grammichele, Francavilla di Sicilia, Syracuse, and Selinus, among many others.

The seated female of the Ugly Family, for example, is a debased version of a seated female type known principally from East Sicilian sites and belongs to what I prefer to call temporarily the «East Sicilian» typology. This itself was developed out of the imported plastic vases and figurines of the Aphrodite Group, but then quickly turned into an independent form of coroplasty expression probably in the last quarter of the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. By the end of that century this typology was in use by Sicilian coroplasts at Catania, Naxos, Francavilla di Sicilia, Leontini, Megara Hyblaea, Eloro, Camarina, Syracuse, and Grammichele, among other centers\textsuperscript{15}. Its widespread diffusion along the eastern coast of Sicily and its hinterland makes it difficult to determine at our present state of knowledge at which coroplastic center or centers it was developed. What is certain is that the production of these East Sicilian figurines and their distribution appears to have been limited to Sicily itself, notwithstanding their sporadic discovery in Sardinia and southern Italy\textsuperscript{16}.

The seated female belonging to this East Sicilian typology presents the iconography of posture, gesture, dress, and robust physical type that has been described for the seated female of the Ugly Family, except that among the better examples from Sicily, as in the case of a figurine from Eloro almost 30 centimeters in height (Fig. 11)\textsuperscript{17}, fine detail distinguishes the facial anatomy and dress. A garment is worn that has a long apoptyagma that ends below the knees, while a papyre falls between the legs; a himation is drawn over a tall polos and stephane combination and descends in widely-spaced, symmetrical fan folds over the shoulders to the elbows, and again along the shins in stacked folds ending in zig-zag edges; other casts of this type preserve remarkably undersized feet in round-toed shoes. The heads belonging to this type are round with full, rounded masses defining the cheeks and chin, and the hair framing the forehead is often in a full mass, either unarticulated, or embelished with parallel waves; it then falls over the breasts to nearly the waist in three waving

\textsuperscript{14} Cyrene Museum: temporary control no. A502, unpublished; UM 77-634, unpublished; UM 76-823.


\textsuperscript{16} A Sicilian figurine of this type now in the British Museum was acquired in Tharros, Sardinia, see HIGGINS, Catalogue, no. 1118. Another example of this East Sicilian type that is now in the Louvre Museum is said to be from Canosa, see S. MOLLARD-BESQUES, Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains I, Paris 1954, no. B532, pl. 48, but this provenance may not be trustworthy since the figurine was acquired on the art market in Rome. An additional head broken from a full figure and said to come from Taranto, ibid., no. B459, also may refer to this type of seated female.

\textsuperscript{17} PELAGATTI, VOZA, Archeologia nella Sicilia, pl. 41, no. 389.
strands each side. This seated type is accompanied by a standing version dressed in a chiton pulled with the left hand to the side and an asymmetrical himation; the right hand holds a bird to the chest. The heads in both the seated and standing types can be identical to one another, although several variations on the most common head type are known. No examples of this standing Sicilian type have been confirmed at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene thus far, although of the four isolated heads belonging to the Ugly Family, one or more may have been once attached to such a standing figure.

The dependence of the seated figures from the Ugly Family on East Sicilian prototypes becomes evident when an intermediary type of seated figure is taken into consideration. This is provided by local, Cyrenean casts of a debased version of the East Sicilian seated female that also were found at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in at least 4 examples from the same mould. Two of these fragments, UM 76-823 (Fig. 12) and UM A418 (Fig. 13), have been combined with the aid of the computer so a more complete picture of the characteristics of the type can be gained (Fig. 14). It is closest to seated females from the East Sicilian typology in its iconographic and stylistic characteristics, as well as in its larger size, aspects that suggest that it could indeed have been an intermediary of sorts between East Sicilian seated females and the members of the Ugly Family, even though there is no mould relationship. However, the type also exhibits an iconographic detail that appears to be more at home among figurines from central and western Sicily that belong to a typology I prefer to call for the moment «West Sicilian».

Taken together, these two fragments present a robust female with an oversized head and broad, but sloping shoulders whose posture, gesture, dress, and general physical characteristics mirror those of the type example from Eloro cited above. The backrest of the throne widens towards the top and was once adorned with a wing-like projection, now missing, at its top left corner. An important aspect of this type, preserved only at the left side, is the flaring, rounded extension at the front edge of the seat. This differs from the clumsily-modeled protuberances of the thrones in the Ugly Family in its clear reference to the structure of the seat that has a pronounced upward flare. Seats of this type are well known among Sicilian figurines of the so-called Athena Lindia variety, as well as others within the West Sicilian typology, whereby a seat with no back is covered by a wide, rounded cushion that projects outward beyond the seat itself, often lending to the seat an upward-flaring contour. It is proposed then that these Cyrene fragments represent a conflation of elements belonging to different typologies, i.e., the East Sicilian seated female and the West Sicilian seat. Such a conflation is documented in Sicily itself in a figurine found at Monte Bubbonia, where an East Sicilian female type sits on a West Sicilian seat. Once this hybridized type became established at Cyrene, it then could have been imitated, with the iconography of the seat misunderstood and its cushion reduced to meaningless, pinched forms.

The other two members of the Ugly Family, the standing kore and the kourostrphos, may also belong within the East Sicilian typology, although no exact parallels are known to me at this time. At present, the standing kore is closest in general pose, attributes, and dress to

---

18 Rizza, Stipe votiva di un santuario, fig. 23, no. 6.
19 This temporary label is used with the understanding that several types characteristic for West Sicilian sites, such as the so-called Athena Lindia types, are also well represented at Gela and Camarina, centers whose geographic positions lie in the more easterly half of the island.
21 Higgins, Catalogue, nos. 1107, 111, 114, 115.
types found at the Malophoros Sanctuary at Selinus (Fig. 15)\(^{23}\), where the headdress is either a stephane or a low, flaring polos. In these West Sicilian examples, the anatomy is clumsily conceived and the details are ill defined, physical aspects that indicate an advanced stage of derivative production and that suggests an archetype that may have originated elsewhere. A standing kore who holds a wreath against her groin with either both hands, or with just the left, is well documented within the East Sicilian typology in large examples of 30 centimeters or more that appear to come from near primary moulds that suggest an East Sicilian origin\(^{24}\). Details of dress differ, however, as in the East Sicilian examples the garment is not a belted tunic but rather has a long apotyrgma that falls to the knees. The type of our kore in the belted tunic, who holds the wreath only with her left hand and a bird to her chest with the right, may simply represent a local, West Sicilian variation of this East Sicilian type. However, in the absence of a full publication of the figurines from sites along the South coast in the more westerly part of Sicily, such a suggestion remains purely hypothetical.

The third member of the Ugly Family, the seated kourothropos, also has no exact parallels that are readily apparent, although this too may change in the light of future publications. There is, however, a seated kourothropos type again found at the Malophoros Sanctuary at Selinus\(^{25}\) (Fig. 16) that presents such striking similarities in its general iconographic scheme to our Ugly Family kourothropos to the extent that one could postulate some kind of causal relationship. The Selinuntine example presents a female seated erect on a high-backed throne cradling a swaddled child on her lap who faces right, while the right arm is lowered with the hand resting on the child’s ankles. In this scheme, the iconography is identical to that of our single variant kourothropos of the Ugly Family noted above (Fig. 10). The absence of an articulated backrest and seat for the throne of our kourothropos and the more diagonal position of the child are the only deviations from the scheme of the kourothropos from Selinus, which also has more rectilinear contours. The facial details of the child in the Selinuntine kourothropos are considerably more legible as well.

While it is clear that not any of the Sicilian figurines discussed could in themselves be mould related to any of the Cyrenean members of the Ugly Family, it is nonetheless evident that they do represent the cultural orbit from which the Cyrenean coroplasts received stimulus. The presence of these Sicilian figurine types at Cyrene raises intriguing questions regarding the significance of this phenomenon, especially since Sicilian figurines appear rarely outside of Sicily in the late 6th century B.C.\(^{26}\). Within Sicily they have been always been found in sanctuaries identified with Demeter and/or Persephone\(^{27}\). Their appearance at Cyrene, therefore, in a sanctuary epigraphically confirmed as belonging to Demeter and Persephone seems eminently suitable. As specifically Sicilian inventions generally unknown outside of the island, could these figurines then be interpreted as reflecting the direct influence of a specifically Sicilian flavor at Cyrene in the religious beliefs and practices relative to Demeter and Persephone as early as the late 6th cen-

\(^{23}\) E. GABRICI, Selinunte. Temenos di Demeter Malophoros alla Gaggera. Relazione preliminare degli scavi eseguiti nel 1915, NSC, 1920, p. 87, fig. 29; M. RIOITTA, Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte: appunti per una discussione storico-religiosa, SicA 59, 1985, p. 73, figs. 18, 19.

\(^{24}\) Catania - RIZZA, Stipe votiva di un santuario, fig. 23, no. 1. See also F. WINTER, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten, III-1, Berlin-Stuttgart 1903, p. 9, who speaks of similar types from Megara Hyblaia.

\(^{25}\) GABRICI, Selinunte. Temenos, p. 88, fig. 30; Id., Il santuario, pl. 75, no. 9.

\(^{26}\) See note 16 above.

\(^{27}\) For a useful review of the literature on Sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone in Sicily see V. HINZ, Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia (Palilia 4), Wiesbaden 1998, pp. 55-167.
**Fig. 11** - **Eloro, Terracotta Figurine.** Seated female, (from Pelagatti-Voza, no. 389).

**Fig. 12** - **Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine.** Body fragment from a seated female, UM 76-823.

**Fig. 13** - **Cyrene, Terracotta Figurine.** Head from a seated female, UM A418.

**Fig. 14** - **Computer Montage, Terracotta Figurine.** Seated female.
tury B.C.? Can one even assume that a pious Cyrenean, preparing to make a dedication at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, would have been aware that in distant Sicily a given terracotta type had been an appropriate offering to the grain goddesses? Alternatively, could the presence of these Sicilian types be taken to indicate the existence of Sicilian immigrants at Cyrene? This type of interpretation is sometimes proposed when pottery belonging to a given ethnicity is found outside of its homeland\textsuperscript{28}. Or is the answer to be found in a more mundane hypothesis?

Before one can understand the significance of this Sicilian element in the Cyrenean coroplast production of the late Archaic period, one difficult question must be asked that, if answerable, could reveal much. It is not a question of why this Sicilian element is at Cyrene, but rather how did it get there? Unfortunately, neither the literary, epigraphic, or archaeological record is of assistance in documenting the activities of Sicilians relative to Cyrene in the late Archaic period, or even of Punic traders, for example, who conceivably could have been the agents for the distribution of Sicilian figurines that, once in the open market, might have been imitated. The proximity of the Phoenician colonies in North Africa to Selinus in particular and to other sites in West Sicily, along with the winds and currents that were favorable for trade routes between these areas\textsuperscript{29}, could lend support to the probability that Sicilian figurines could have arrived at Cyrene via casual trade and that therefore their presence at Cyrene would have no particular significance at all. It is of interest that the closest parallels for both the Ugly Family's standing kore and seated kouroatrophos types come from Selinus and that the Ugly Family's seated female has West Sicilian elements in the throne. It may be that the factors responsible for the presence of a terracotta figurine of a seated female belonging to the East Sicilian typology at Phoenician Tharros in Sardinia\textsuperscript{30} could also have been the same as those responsible for the Ugly Family's appearance at Cyrene. Unfortunately, at this point in our knowledge the answer to the conundrum of Sicilian-inspired terracottas at Cyrene in the late Archaic period still lies buried at Cyrene itself and in the many museum store-rooms in Sicily.

\textsuperscript{28} The practice of identifying the presence of specific ethnic groups on the basis of the pottery found at a given site is discussed by G. Schaus, The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, East Greek and Laconian Pottery (Final Reports 2), Philadelphia 1985, pp. 2-4, 96-105.

\textsuperscript{29} M.G. Fulford, To East and West: the Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity, LibSt 20, 1989, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{30} See note 16 above.

Photo Credits: Figs. 1-10, University Museum Excavations, University of Pennsylvania; Figs. 12, 13, J.P. Uhlenbrock; Fig. 14, computer montage, J.P. Uhlenbrock.