

**Herakles on the Edge: How do objects depicting the figure  
of Herakles inform our understanding of artistic choices  
and identity during the expansion of the Roman Empire?**

**Appendices**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Leicester**

**by**

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## **Appendix A: Dossier of Historical Sources**

All abbreviations according to Oxford Classical Dictionary, as noted on p. ix of the main body of the thesis.

### **Herakles on Sicily**

Diodorus Siculus: IV.22-24, 30. Account of Herakles' life IV.8-39.

Epicharmus *Busiris*.

Stesichorus *Geryoneis*, *Kerberos*, *Kyknos*.

### **Theatre on Sicily**

Plato *Lams* 659c

## **Sites featured in the gazetteer (370-170BC)**

### **Adrano**

#### **Agrigentum**

Polybius I. 17. 5-18; II. 7

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 5; VI, 2, 9

### **Catania**

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 2; VI, 2, 3; VI, 2, 4; VI, 2, 6 (cf DS 34.2.5ff)

### **Cefalù**

#### **Centuripe**

Polybius 1.9.3

Strabo VI, 2, 4

### **Cossyra**

ps-Skylax 111.2-3

Strabo VI, 2, 11

### **Gela**

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 5; VI, 2, 6

### **Halaesa**

### **Himera**

Polybius I. 24

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 6; VI, 2,

### **Iaitas**

### **Leontinoi**

Livy 24.21

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 7

### **Lipari**

Appian I, 63; VI 16, 5

Aristotle *Meteorologica* II 8 18.

Cicero *In Verr* III 37, 85.

Diodorus Siculus XIV.56; XIV. 93 XX.101.

Eutropus II, 20, 2

Flor. 1, 18, 11

Frontinus *Strat* IV, 1, 31; IV, 22, 30.

Liv *Per* 17

Oros IV, 7, 9; IV, 9.

Polienus VII, 10; VIII, 20.

Polyaeunus I, 39.

Polybius I. 21; 24-5; 39.

ps-Skylax 13.4

Strabo VI, 2, 10-11

Valerius Maximus II, 7, 4; VI, 6, 2

Zonara VIII, 12, 14.

### **Megara Hyblaea**

Strabo VI, 2, 2

### **Modica**

### **Morgantina**

Diodorus Siculus XI. 78.1; XIV. 78, 6-7, 78.95 XIX.6.2-3; XXXVI.34-5

Cicero in Verr II. 2. 103

Livy XXIV.36.10, 38.4, 39.10; XXVI.21.12-17;

Pliny

Strabo VI, 2, 4

### **Palermo**

Polybius I. 21; 24; 38-40

Strabo VI, 2, 6

### **Palici**

Strabo VI, 2, 9

### **Parthenicum**

### **Selinunte**

Diodorus Siculus: XII. 82, XIII. 43-59, 63, 75, 111, 114; XIV. 1, 88; XXII. 10; XXIII. 21; XXIV. 1

Polybius I. 39; 41-48 not mentioned by name.

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 6; VI, 2, 9

(On the foundation: Herodotus V. 46; Thucydides VI.4-6)

## **Solunto**

## **Syracuse**

Polybius I. 16, 41

ps-Skylax 13.3

Strabo VI, 2, 2; VI, 2, 4

## **On Sicily**

### **Polybius**

I.10; 1.13; 1.16; 1.20; 42.

### **ps-Skylax**

7; 13.2; 114.

### **Strabo**

VI, 2,1; VI, 2, 2; VI, 2, 5; VI, 2, 6 ‘; VI, 2, 7.

## **Account of excavations at Lipari**

Report on Ancient Objects Discovered on Lipari in 1879 written by Gregorio Cav.

Raimondo Granata, Inspector of Excavations and Monuments at Messina.

Published with permission of Culture and Sport Glasgow (Glasgow Museums).

“Lipari, chief of the Aeolian islands, whose foundation is lost in the darkness of the mythology of the god Aeolus, of Liparus and others, and which was built, so far as one knows, by the Gnidians in 617 BC, and where Hannibal was stationed while (P<sup>er</sup>Theron) was victorious in Messina, is very ancient ground rich in precious remains, notably of the Greeks, Etruscans, Carthaginians and Romans – their venerable works. The Greeks called it the island of Ephestiades, Homer called it Plote, and Pliny called it Meligone, on account of the sweetness of its Moscato wine, which rivals honey. We cannot doubt that it was great and very populous, from the relics of antiquity that still exist there. And so Lipari is land scattered over with so many precious remains that the archaeologist can carry out there almost endless experiments and researches. Such is the Diana district (Plate 1a, No. 1), owned by Signor Sclarici, and which may be called the Necropolis of Lipari. In fact, not far from the city, have been discovered 20 tombs of Greek structure, and a number remain to be uncovered, given the assistance of the Government, which is exceedingly favourable to the progress of such science. From these tombs have been excavated the objects we described, discovered on Sig. Sclarici’s land, and which have been distributed as well as possible among collections.

Vases Twenty, in terracotta, which from their shape, glaze and figures may be judged to belong to the period of the Greek colonies in Sicily. Four of them particularly are distinguished by the fineness of the clay of which they are composed, by the beauty of the glaze, by their elegance of shape, and especially by the taste of the painting, which allows us to perceive the style and manner of an excellent school.

The first vase (Plate 3a, No. 1), of black glaze with red figures, 58 cm high and 73 in diameter, on one side of its “belly” presents three figures: in the middle a woman of divine aspect (Ceres), with white face, neck and hands, with garlanded head and ringlets down to her shoulders, with garments falling to her feet, in her right hand a cornucopia full of the things that grow under her influence, and on her left a little basket of flowers among green ears of corn. She is between two satyrs, that on the right in full face, with white beard and



hands, completely naked and in attitude of surprise; the one on the left with a cloak as far as the knees, and long stick shaped like a crozier in his hand. On the other side of the “belly” (Plate 3a, No. 2) two figures wrapped in ample cloaks stand, with sad looks, among [sic] a broken column, placed as a monument to loved ashes; while a Greek decoration surrounds the base of the vase with double black handles. Within the funerary urn there was a lamp.

On the second vase, glazed red, height 68 cm, diameter 88 cm, on one side only, under a garland of flowers, is presented a bearded head painted in simple contours, with, opposite, in Greek letter, ARPATOS (Plate 3a, No. 2). The third vase is of black glaze with Greek decoration across the “belly”, height 37 cm, diameter 63 cm. In it, besides the cinerary (urn) [sic] (No. 3), were also the objects numbered 2, 4 and 5. The fourth is larger, with dark grey glaze, without figures and ornament, 63 cm in height and 134 in diameter. It is remarkable both for size and shape, although inferior from point of view of ornament to the preceding. There are sixteen other vases, among which that with two handles and a lid (Plate 5a, No. 6) deserves comment; it (either the vase or the lid) is of black glaze with a figure of a woman in red, probably a Greek queen seated on a stone throne.

Tear Bottles. Among the many tear bottles of terra cotta, I must mention two, with a handle of exquisite beauty. The first is of black glaze with a red figure, a Genius with great outspread wings, of elegant form and chaste design, which makes us understand the stupendous art of the Greeks in such works, when besides the figure the folded garment leaves nothing to be desired to the eye of the intelligent beholder, who also admires the grace of the work in its elegant form.

Greek decoration surrounds it, so as to make an exquisite whole; height 21 cm, diameter 24 (Plate 6a, no. 6). It is a pity that the inexperienced hands of the workers have damaged it so that it only stands upright with difficulty. The other, not inferior in beauty, is entire. On the “belly” it shows the slender figure of a woman, in folded Greek dress, in a stately attitude, blowing two pipes and turning towards a curtain which seems to contain within some idol, which has already disappeared under the rough hands of the workers, or else through time which, in spite of us, dissolves all things. Nevertheless, from the curtain and the still visible fragments of drawing, it is not difficult to have an idea of it. This tear bottle, as much on account of the figure as of the beautiful decorations which adorn it, the fineness of the material and the gaiety of the dark brown glaze, merits the attention of

minds accustomed to appreciate the noble productions of the flower of Greek beauty. Its height is 35 cm, its diameter 34.

Small masks. There are 17 of finest terra cotta, some with blackish, others with red glaze, of various form and size, with open eyes and gaping mouth, as if crying and lamenting. They were around the cinerary vases, together with three masks with eyes and mouth closed, representing the dead person (Plate 5a, nos 17, 23 & 24).

Statuettes. Four especially attract the attention of the archaeologists who beholds on account of the fineness and grace of the workmanship in execution. Two of them, 36 cm high (Plate 5, nos 31 & 32), are of women of graceful form in Greek dress shoeing their limbs, with breast and arms bare, with a divine expression on the face and head garlanded flowers or ribbons, which the Greek ladies called cyclades. The other two, 12 cm high (Plate 4a, nos 40 & 42), in particular one of a cloaked lady (42), in the draperies and folds show a surprising majesty.

Idols. Twelve, if we count the best in terra cotta, (Plate 7a) some mutilated and others entire, with blackish and whitish glaze; two in particular attract attention, which are in a strange attitude of grief (Plate 5a, nos 5 & 6).

Plates. Not a few are reduced to fragments through the inexperience of the workmen; there are only fifty entire, of various dimensions, of good clay and black and red glaze; some have decoration of some worth (Plate 4a, 10, 19 & 27).

Bowls. There are ten entire ones, of various size, with handles, some glazed black, others red, with small design in the bottom (Pl. 4a, 12, 16, 23, 32; Pl. 5a, 11; and Pl. 6a, 8, 11).

Small cinerary vases. In particular four of terra cotta with black glaze, 8 and 14 cm high, 15 and 24 cm in diameter, with corresponding lids, are found to be full of human ash, as they were taken out of the vases where they lay together with the images, tear bottles,

ointment vessels and lamps (Plate 4a, 14, 33, 39). As for the other fourteen, they do not contain ash, since the workmen, in excavating them, emptied it out, not recognising it for what it was (Plate 5a, 1 & 2). Plate 4a, 37, presents a vase with cinerary urn of a dead girl (No. 39) near which there were two swans of terra cotta, two gold earrings, an entwined serpent and a ring.

Lamps. There are 26 of terra cotta with a single light in the form of an eye, alluding, according to the ancient Greeks, to the soul which is the light of the body, symbolised by the lamp. Four have red glaze and twenty-two black, without ornament but of beautiful form and the best clay.

Urns. A funeral urn of terra cotta, ?? tortoiseshell coloured one meter 87 cm in length, 70 cm broad and 45 in depth, lacking a lid on account of the workmen having broken it during excavation; we can only observe, from a piece surviving by chance, its shape like a trunk. Within, according to the statement of the landlord, Signor Sclarici, there was an entire man's skeleton, clothed, from which anyone acquainted with archaeological study can deduce that, when was thoughtlessly left to the influence of light, it changed to ash and finally to gas. From the fact that other urns have been smashed by the ignorance of the labourers, it seems certain that, hoping to find a money treasure inside, they broke into them with all haste. With regard to fragments of urns and vases and similar remains, the proprietor has several chests full, to the grief of scientists who, searching inside them would have obtained better data for prehistoric research (Plate 4a, 20, 25). It present two pieces of ???s of very beautiful vases, one of which presents the head of a Greek queen, crowned with a lamina of metal at the root of the hair above an exquisitely beautiful forehead.

Fictile Vases and other terracotta objects. Such as cooking pots, balsamaria, guttatoria, ointment vessels – found in quantity in the tombs, and only a few noted at random, as can be seen in Plate 4a, 5a and 6a; besides three large vases with handles, without colour or ornament, 62 cm high, 112 in diameter, and a tear vessel of similar structure, perhaps for the use of poor people, who often put the bones of two, three, or even four people into one (Plate 8a).

Hard stones. A quadrangular stone, 8cm by 4, found in a tomb, shows white scratches and veins like delicate cuts produced by a chisel, but, looking closer, the eye perceives that nature alone has produced this appearance (Plate 6a, 3). A piece of verde antico, 9 cm by 5, is valuable (No. 2), as is a smaller piece, marbled with white and with gold specks similar to lapis lazuli (No. 1).

Flint instruments. Plate 5a presents 19, although a greater number were lost in the excavations owing to the ignorance of those in charge; among them may be noted a pestle (No. 22), various axes, adzes and knives, two of which, although damaged at the tip, resemble similar instruments of stone and are surprisingly sharp (Nos 8 & 9). If these excavations are continued with that attention which is necessary, many working tools and utensils of the Stone Age will adorn our museums, and Sicily may boast the origins of post-diluvial antiquity.

Gravestones. Three, with Greek inscriptions, of hard local black stone, have been found beside the tombs (Plate 5a, 1 & 2). They were standing upright in front of some funerary vases; but the proprietor, having forgotten the exact site, does not know to which they belonged.

Small columns. Two of local black stone, as above; one is 1.70 metres high, 85 cm in diameter together with the capital; the other has a quadrangular base with a part of the stem of the column, the rest being broken, 38 cm high, 88 in diameter. These columns were discovered at the foot of the funereal urn (Plate 6a, 6), lying on the ground. And besides another tomb was a capital broken in half of saligno marble. (Saligno means wither “which sweats in wet weather” or “containing salt crystals”).

Medals. One bronze medallion, diameter cm 52, hanging from a sort of buckle, perhaps in order to be suspended as an amulet. It is so oxidised that one cannot discern any trace of the half bust which it seems to contain (Plate 7a, 3): and a small terra cotta medal, figuring a mortuary head garlanded with flowers (Plate 6a).

Coins. Seven small bronze coins, pink and so oxidised that it is impossible to distinguish anything (Plate 6a). However, from their uniformity they can be judged to be the type of small coin which was placed in the mouth of corpses, to serve as a fee to Charon.

Golden objects. Five rings, or rather bracelets, of purest gold, without any ornament; two rings, on one of which is engraved a figurine, on the other a bird; a pair of dangling earrings of beautiful shape; and a snake for use as a pin (Plate 6a, 4). In the same plate is figured a terracotta earring; its pair is missing and broken into pieces.

Iron and Copper. A few iron spoons, oxidised and broken at the edges; a large nail like a small hammer; and similar implements entirely perished, as for example, some small sheets of copper, so worn and broken that one cannot tell their use. On Plate 7a can also be seen two balsam-vessels or alabaster (Nos 1 & 2), the second without its cork and a small part of the handle, which were placed at the foot (sic) as they were broken in taking them out of the tomb. Other small vessels or similar material but of better shape and value were carelessly so shattered that they cannot be photographed. Nor must I omit to say that large collection of big mollusc shells was found beside some tombs and in one marine shell was found the complete shell of a hen's egg, which I found to be almost complete, although mostly destroyed by the hasty non-experts (Plate 7a, next to balsam-vessel No. 1). Whence it is clear that the Greeks, among the food put out for provision for the dead, used hens' eggs, among the portions of rice on small plates, which, stuck together with protoxide of calcium and black earth, it was easy for me to detect in the exposed tomb, experimentally searched by me.

Glass, charcoal and leaves. Among the remains of various pots presented to us by the proprietor, we found small pieces of ampullae of white glass, forming part of domestic utensils placed in the tombs beside the corpses on a layer of leaves; these remnants of ampullae were fused and stuck together with charcoal and other unknown substances from the funeral pyres, even when the Greeks continued the use of burial. Besides, in the vases which did not contain ashes, but wine, milk, oil and perfumes, poured over the dead body at the funeral, I found in some which were well covered leaves of olive and myrtle, in addition to the flowers and leaves which were placed beside the urns.

Human Bones. Both inside and outside the tombs the proprietor made a good collection from which one can detect the petrified bones of gigantic creatures, miserably returned to earth. These and other remains, of which I confine myself only to a brief account, were the objects which I examined in a room of the proprietor, Sig. Sclarici, and which were so numerous as to constitute a small museum. Now it is to be hoped that the Royal Government, in view of a necropolis to be unearthed, with a certain treasure of precious finds, will not delay in undertaking excavations, while for my part I volunteer every effort likely to obtain splendid results, guaranteed by experiment in a small area, which, on account of a lack of skill, has not been sufficiently investigated, as far as the primitive level which lie remains of the very ancient edifice, perhaps dedicated to Diana, after whom the district is still called.

Meanwhile, together with the Sub-Commission and the Secretary of the Prefecture, Sig. Francesco Enea d'Omago, I have visited the site of the unearthed tombs, on the land of Sig. Sclarici in the Diana district, and I beg to report as follows: The area is not far from the town and is approached by a lane called Diana on Sig. Sclarici's farm (Plate 1a, 1 Via Diana; 2 area on Sclarici's farm; 3 Sclarici's farm; 4 Remains of the ancient buildings; 5 Boundary of Sclarici's land and State land (Demanio; 6 State farm; 7 locality where the tombs were discovered; 8 Experimental investigation carried out by the Inspector at the building traditionally believed to be the temple of Diana, the name being not inappropriate as it is still preserved in the district opposite to and parallel with the building. The land where the twenty tombs were discovered, and the majority of the objects described, has been ploughed up over about 360 square metres and is planted with young lemon trees.

I examined the lie of the ground, the remnants of very old manufacture scattered over the ground on neighbouring sites, and the structure of the building or temple; this, with two others of similar form, with vault and niches within according to the usage of the ancient Greeks, one about 50 meters and the other 5 meters from the first, or from the place of excavation, forms a triangle in the middle of a convenient flat piece of ground now partly covered over with earth about three metres (?deep ?wide). By following dry stone walls it was easy for me to deduce, I will say with certainty, that here was the Necropolis of Lipari,

in the shade of small temples dedicated to the rustic Diana. Thus, certain that the line of the tombs lay along the Sclarici property and that of the State (Demanio), which stands at the end of the former, half closing it (Plate 2a 1 Sclarici property; 2 State property). In fulfilment of orders received and with full agreement of the owner I undertook an experimental dig beside the boundary with the State property on the south side, near the excavation carried out by Sclarici. After about eight hours labour, with only three men, I got the earth out to the depth of two metres and found nothing positive, except a few human bones and a number of pieces of terracotta vases of the same type as those described. When evening came I put off further work till the morrow.

Since I was due to leave with the steamer on the 16<sup>th</sup>, after eight days on this mission, including the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> when I was delayed at Milazzo by a hurricane, the next day I resumed excavations at a lower site opposite the building, still closer to the State property, and with good result: after seven hours of labour we uncovered a tomb made without mortar and with cut black local stone, so big that a man could not (word omitted), similar to the others unearthed by Sig. Sclarici, 1.20 metres long by 6 cm, with a cover composed of two great slabs of the same stone, (with) one of terracotta in the middle. Taking the cover off the tomb, we found inside that it was full of rich black earth, with fragments of bones and a number of remains of terra cotta vessels. It was the grave of a poor person, similar ones, as the proprietor tells me, having been found among the tombs of the rich. Although another tomb was seen to lie below the one uncovered, when evening came we had to abandon the task, recommending to the Proprietor that it should be continued under the careful supervision of the Mayor, Sig. Cavaliere Filippo de Pasquale.

I returned to Messina together with the Honourable Sub-Commission and its secretary, Sig. Enea d'Omago, who excelled in his kindnesses and help given to the Sub-Commission during our stay. I am particularly grateful to the photographer, Sig. Ledru, who carried out the photography work even beyond what was agreed upon. I have the honour to conclude my report by requesting the Minister of Public Instruction, that diligent investigator and conservator of the antiquities of the Kingdom, to undertake with all speed the excavation of the Necropolis of Lipari and extract the precious treasures of old remains, especially since the proprietor, Sig. Sclarici is in agreement, and, by a fortunate coincidence that,

outside his farm, the lands are the property of the Demanio and, at the beginning of December, when the tax falls due, they return to Government control.

Messina 29 November 1879, the inspector Sig. Gregorio Cav. Raymondo Granata

Presented to the Commission on 29 November 1879. Forwarded to the minister 30 of that month with ???

This copy conforms to the original, [written at] Messina 29 November 1879 ???



## Appendix B: Gazetteer of Objects bearing Representations of Herakles

### Object Type by Century

#### Fourth Century Objects:

There are no examples of the following object types dating to the fourth century: Altar, Antefix, Bench, Mould, Oscillum, Protome, Ring, Statue, Sword Pommel.

Figurine	Ad2, G2, G4, L4, L5, L6, L7, L8, L9, L11, L12, L16, L17, L18, L19, L23, L24, L25, L26, L27, L28, L29, L32, MH1, Pal1, Sy4, Sy5.
Mask	L3, L10, L20, L21, L21.
Mirror	L2.
Scarab	P4, P5, Sy3, Sy10, Sy11, Sy12.
Sealing	Hal1.
Statuette	P12, P20, P22, P31.
Vessel	Ad1, Ag4, Cam1, Cat2, Cef1, Cen1, G1, H1, L1, L30, Le1, P2, Sy7.

#### Third Century Objects:

There are no examples of the following object types dating to the third century: Altar, Bench, Mirror.

Antefix	G6.
Figurine	M1, M3.
Mask	M4, M5.
Mould	Ag2&3, Ag5.
Oscillum	G3.
Protome	M2.
Ring	Sic1.
Scarab	Sy2, Sy6.
Sealing	Sel1-Sel42, Sel44-Sel460.
Statue	Sel43.
Statuette	Ma1, P1, P33, P6, P9, Sy1.
Sword Pommel	G5.
Vessel	Ag1, L14, M6, M7, M8, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14.

### **Second-First Century Objects:**

There are no examples of the following object types dating to the second-first centuries:

Antefix, Bench, Figurine, Mask, Mirror, Mould, Oscillum, Protome, Ring, Scarab, Sealing, Sword Pommel.

Altar	Sol1, Sol2.
Statue	Cos1.
Statuette	Cat3, Mod1.
Vessel	M9, M15, M16, MI1, MI2.

### **Hellenistic Objects**

There are no examples of the following object types dating to the Hellenistic period: Altar,

Antefix, Bench, Figurine, Mask, Mirror, Mould, Oscillum, Protome, Ring, Scarab, Sealing, Sword Pommel.

Statue	Par1.
Statuette	Cat4.
Vessel	L13.

## **Material Type by Century**

### **Fourth Century Materials:**

There are no examples of objects made from the following materials dated to the fourth century: limestone, marble.

Bronze	L2, P12.
Carnelian	P5, Sy3, Sy10, Sy11, Sy12.
Chalcedony	P4.
Clay	Ad1, Ad2, Ag4, Cam1, Cat2, Cef1, Cen1, G1, G2, G4, H1, L1, L3-L32, MH1, P2, P22, P31, Sy4, Sy5, Sy7.
Lead	Hal1, Pal1.

### **Third Century Materials:**

There are no examples of objects made from the following materials dated to the third century: chalcedony, lead, limestone.

Bronze	G5, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P33, Sic1
Carnelian	Sy2, Sy6
Clay	Ag1, Ag2&3, Ag5, G3G6, L14, M1-M8, M10-M14, Sel1-Sel460
Marble	Sy1

### **Second-First Century Materials:**

There are no examples of objects made from the following materials dated to the second-first centuries: carnelian, chalcedony, marble.

Bronze	Cat3, Mod1.
Clay	M9, M15, M16, MI1, MI2, Sol1, Sol2.
Lead	Cos1.
Limestone	Ag6.

**Hellenistic Materials:**

There are no examples of objects made from the following materials dated to the Hellenistic period: carnelian, chalcedony, limestone, marble.

Bronze	Cat4.
Clay	L13.
Lead	Par1.

## **Representation Type by Century**

### **Fourth Century Representations**

There are no examples of the following representations dating to the fourth century: club, inscription.

Alone	L11, L12, P12, P20, P22, P31, Sy10, Sy12.
Head	Hal1.
Labour Narrative	Cef1, L2, P4, P5, Sy7, Sy11.
Other Narrative	Ag4, Cat2, G1, H1, L1, L29, L30, P2.
Theatre	Ad1, Ad2, Cam1, Cen1, G2, G4, L3-L9, L10, L16-L28, L31, Le1, MH1, Pal1, Sy4, Sy5.

### **Third Century Representations**

Alone	Ag5, M1, M6, M7, M8, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P33, Sel13-Sel35, Sel43, Sy1,
Club	Sel7-Sel12, Sel36-Sel42, Sel157-Sel159, Sel161-432, Sel443-Sel459
Head	G6, L14, M2, M12, M13, M14
Inscription	G3, G5
Labour Narrative	Ag2&3, Sel460, Sic1, Sy2, Sy6
Other Narrative	Ag1, Sel1-6, Sel44-Sel156, Sel160
Theatre	M3, M4, M5, M10, M11,

### **Second-First Century Representations**

There are no examples of the following representations dating to the second-first centuries: head, labour narrative, other narrative, theatre.

Alone	Cat3, Cos1, M15, M16, MI1, MI2, Mod1, Sol1, Sol2
Club	M9
Inscription	Ag6

## **Hellenistic Representations**

There are no examples of the following representations dating to the Hellenistic period:  
club, inscription, labour narrative, other narrative, theatre.

Alone	Cat4, Par1
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Head	L13
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## Ad1



LCS I, pl. 237

**Object Reference:** Ad1

**Find Context:** Adrano

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** this group's vases are found in e and s/e Sicily, with some examples from Calabria and Spina. No other examples of Herakles have been found on olpai from Sicily.

**Other examples of representation:** H's face cf 2 phylax vases. Decoration on the borders cf Le1: white-bordered ivy leaves, berry clusters on obverse rim/ laurel on reverse; egg band around handle zone.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Other examples of deities at site:** no information

**Object type:** Vessel

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** The object is preserved intact. It measures 32cm in height.

**Description:**

All figures are rendered in realistic fashion, with details added with paint (black for parts of the body, otherwise white).

Pose: The figure is lying on the ground on his back, leaning on his left arm and with his right hand raised up. He is smiling.

Appearance: High hairline, with lines on his brow, full beard and moustache, all of which suggest middle age or later. This is belied by the careful rendering of aspirational musculature on the torso and legs.

Hair: Short, dark, curly hair, with a high hairline.

Dress: The figure is naked.

Weapons: He holds a club, drawn in white paint, with the tips of the fingers of his left hand. A strap drawn in white paint crossing from his right shoulder to left torso suggests a quiver.

Accessories: There is a painted white band around the forehead of the figure, which hangs down to his shoulder on the left side, with a loop by the left ear. At both ears small sprays of foliage stick up. Under and around the figure's left arm is an area of white paint, both ends of which curve around and end in three points. This may be a lionskin.

Companions: Immediately above the figure is a female figure, wearing a chiton, with her hair tied up in white-painted bands. She has white-painted bracelets on her wrists and holds 2 parallel sticks (aulos?) in her left hand and a torch in her right, which is painted over the top border of the image. She faces another figure who appears with arms and shoulders over a door. This figure has white hair and wrinkles, straps of a chiton are visible over her right shoulder; she also wears a white-painted bracelet and pours a white-painted liquid from a jug over the figure lying down. To her right stands another female figure (with bracelet), whose dark hair is covered by a white-painted snood, wearing a chiton and holding a stringed instrument; her left hand behind the instrument appears badly rendered and out-of-proportion. Her right hand holds a long branch with foliage on the end (thyrsus?), painted white. Between this figure and the first woman, unclear on the photographs, is another figure (need another image) holding out a right hand, at the end of which is a winding white line (snake? fillet?).

None of the figures are wearing masks; there is no evidence of any boots.

n.b. *LIMC* description says there are 2 satyrs and 2 maenads, as well as old woman.

Background/ Field: The image takes up the belly of the vase, from the shoulder at the level of the one handle to just above the base. The ground is black. Above the image the rim of the vessel is black, with the narrow neck left as fired, with repeated vertical painted black lines spaced evenly, but clumsily rendered to a thin black line horizontally, but



slightly listing right to left. Under this is a black painted area filled with repeated rosettes and hearts/ inverted hearts, over egg-and-darts top border of the image.

There are bunches of grapes and leaves, in various colours, behind the head of the first woman. The old woman leans on a door (?), with two lines of repeated circles at top and middle, two white-outlined rectangles in the left pane, and lines suggesting an opening down the middle.

Other images: the image takes up the whole of the belly of the vase.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: The figure is presumed to be Herakles because of the club (and lionskin?). The row of posts supporting a platform is thought to be the local phlyax stage. *LIMC* does illustrate the representation but shows this as a complete frieze as it appears in *RM* and Benndorf too, rather than showing the whole object, the focus is thus on the relevant image. *RM* is concerned with the vase as an illustration of props and stage furniture, comparing it to satyr plays.

JLA – these are ‘real’ figures, not masked actors. I can see no evidence that this is on a stage, except for the small ‘door’ which could be stage furniture. Herakles lies on the floor and his gesture suggests happy drunkenness; his face looks a little like a satyr’s. This needs a specific story to understand the context. The jug which the old woman pours is the same shape as the object itself.

Some elements are irregular or out of proportion (neck decoration, some hands), however the rendering of the musculature and dress folds are carefully and neatly conveyed.

Appearance/ form of object: Abundant use of colour (white, yellow, blue, pink) to pick out details such as clothing, H’s club, fillets and added decoration; this may reflect the influence of monumental, free and mural painting. Most monumental vases from this group used the calyx krater shape, following traditions of Paestan vase painting, the olpe is a less common shape.

JLA: The fact that the image takes up the whole of the belly of the vase and has no obvious start/stop point suggests that it was meant to be viewed/ used in the round. The handle is on the opposite side from Herakles. His upraised hand draws down the viewer’s eye to him from the centre of the image; the three female characters’ poses frame this.

Production inc. choice of material: Attributed on drawing style, not provenience, to the Lentini-Manfria Group, sub-group the Adrano Group of the Monumental Vases by Trendall. These may have been produced in Syracuse/Lentini/ Gela. Clay of this group described as ‘grey-buff, pale, with a deep pink wash added’.

**Function:** the use of the same shape of vase in the design might suggest the function of the object itself

**Date:** this group's vases are dated c. 330 on stylistic grounds and comparison with forms in Attica, also coins from the reign of Timoleon.

**Inv. No.:** Hermitage 2079

**Refs:**

LIMC Herakles 3227

Benndorf, O. (1869) *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder* Berlin, Verlag I. Guttentag, pl. 44

Gorbunova, X. & Saverkina, I. (1975) *Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Hermitage*, 72.

Jahn, *Philologus* 27, (1868), 19ff.

Messerschmidt, F. (1932) *Bühnenbild und Vasenmalerei* in RM 47 127, fig 2.

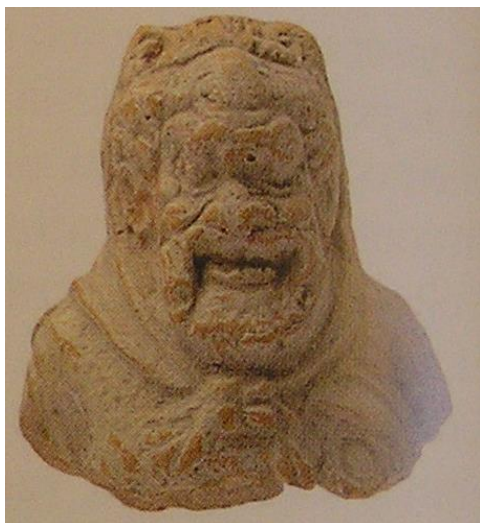
Sachs, *Die Musik der Antike* 23 Abb. 31

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, Clarendon: 598, 604, no. 237

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Grey-buff pale clay selected/ prepared in Campania in Syracuse/ Gela/ Leontinoi	Vessel/ slave	Object/ Trendall <i>LCS</i> : 581  Trendall JHS 60: 107 Trendall: 577	Is the clay local? Compare Ad2.
Shape created on wheel, hardened overnight, shape refined olpe, 31.7 cm c. 330-325	Vessel/ slave  Commissioner	Object Noble 2-14  Gorbunova: 72 Trendall 604 coins	Who chooses shape? Does this define its use?
Vessel turned, handle added, vase cut from wheel	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object Noble 2-14	
Design sketched in charcoal/ lead Black paint applied with reserved areas Details of design added with fine brushes in dilute glaze; no lettering	Painter/ Commissioner Adrano Group of Lentini- Manfria Group	Object  Trendall: 604  Noble 2-14	Are potter/ painter the same person? Who designs scene; at what stage? No theatre found. Is final detail agreed before firing? Whence paints? Other images on Manfria Grp: women, Eros, satyr.
Vessel dried and fired	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object; Noble 2-14	
Colour (yellow, white, blue, pink) added	Painter	Object Trendall: 604	
Vessel offered for sale	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object	Commissioned or off the peg?
Vessel bought	Buyer – commissioner? slave? other?	Context	How much, by whom, with what else?
Vessel used for pouring wine at symposium	Owner Slave at Banquet	Object Athenian function	ADT no comments on function – further study. How does size affect this?
Vessel deposited in tomb in Adrano in Etna	Family/ associates of deceased	Assumed  Messerschmidt 126 Benndorf: 91	WHERE?
Vessel excavated before 1867	Unknown	Assumed from Benndorf: 91	No details found.
Vessel acquired by local townsman Placido Canfarelli as part of coll. of local objects	Finder/ Canfarelli	Benndorf: 91	What else was displayed?
Vessel auctioned in Rome, 1867	Canfarelli/ auctioneers	Benndorf 91	With what else, for how much?
Acquired by Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1894	Auctioneers/ Academy staff	Gorbunova: 72	How was it displayed?
Vessel acquired by Hermitage Museum	Academy/ Museum staff	Gorbunova: 72	How was it displayed? Why absent from current website but in Gorbunova?

catalogued as 2079/ W1065			
Vessel published 1869 as Sicilian vase 1932 as example of theatre scenery 1965 in vase catalogue as Adrano Group 1975 as museum highlight 1990 as myth character: H & Olympians: satyrs	Benndorf Messerschmidt  Trendall/ Clarendon Gorbunova/ Hermitage LIMC	Publication: idealised image Publication Publication: b/w photo Publication: colour photo Publication: strip image	NB colonial background
Vessel displayed in museum	Museum staff	Gorbunova: 72	No info on display available.

## Ad2



*V. Chillemi (2012) in M. Ursino (ed.) Da Evarco a Messalla  
Catalogo della mostra, 266.*

**Object Reference:** Ad2

**Find Context:** Capo da Buglio, Adrano

**Found with:** not recorded

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** orange clay (Munsell 5YR 7/6).

**Preservation:** The figure is preserved intact from the head to halfway down the chest. 5.4cm (roughly the same size as MH1).

### **Description:**

Pose: the figure faces frontally, with both shoulders level; no obvious evidence of pose from what remains, although left arm may be more relaxed/ open as it seems slightly raised. Broad shoulders.

Appearance: the head has careful moulding, with symmetrical indentations at the back and in the centre of the crown. Moulding extends to a raised ridge over the centre of his forehead, framing the temples. The eyebrows appear bushy and centralised in a frown, over wide eyes and a flat nose, with a handlebar moustache (nb earlier archaic terracotta head *Chillemi* (2012): 237-8) and beard under the chin. The teeth are evident in an open mouth.

Hair: no hair is obvious; it appears to be covered.

Dress: the figure's head is covered. There are catenary folds on the right shoulder, less obvious on the left, although it is grooved. There is a knot with extra sections protruding underneath the figure's chin. It is unclear whether there is any other drapery, although an indentation over the left pectoral may suggest this.

Weapons: no weapon has survived.

Accessories: nothing obvious survives; the figure may be wearing a mask which includes teeth.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: none

Other images: none

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification with Herakles rests on the head covering and knotted drapery being understood as the lionskin. This can be identified from the symmetrical indentations at the back representing the lion's ears, the combed area between as fur, slotted lines below that as the eyes and the holes at the crown as the nostrils. The knotted drapery would represent the paws. This would correspond with other representations such as MH1 and L6-8, although the catenary folds recall L4. The eyes are slightly oversized, suggesting a mask, such as Webster's type J, however this is the only example noted of teeth, which may suggest a 'real' figure, rather than a masked one.

Appearance/ form of object: the fact that the object is made from a single mould suggests that it was not moulded at the back, like the Lipari examples, and was designed for frontal viewing/ display. Features of the teeth and moustache are found on examples from Adrano in earlier periods, perhaps a local tradition.

Production inc. choice of material: made from a single mould, hollow inside. There is evidence of red and purple colouring at the ears and mouth.

Function: association with the theatre unclear. No details of the find-context recorded.

**Date**: last decades CIV: 330-300.

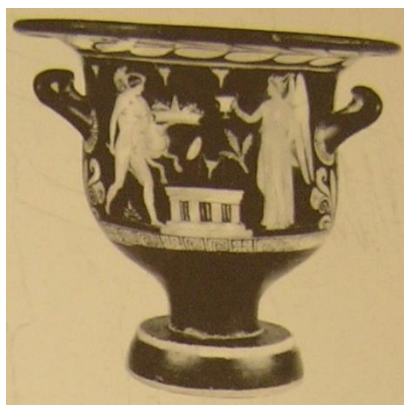
**Inv. No.:** 43 (ex. 2352)

**Refs:**

- Chillemi, V. (2012) in M. Ursino (ed.) *Da Evarco a Messalla Catalogo della mostra*, Palermo, Assesore beni culturali dell' identità Siciliana: 265-6.  
Lamagna, A. (2002). Terracotte di argomento teatrale da Adrano. *Sicilia Archeologica* 98: 221-246.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles with lionskin, handlebar moustache	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	object Lamagna: 225 object	Image made from life. Char. features, cf archaic eg with moustache. Teeth striking.
Single mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Lamagna: 225	How/ where was this stored?
Orange clay prepared, chosen Munsell 5YR 7/6	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object Chillemi: 268 Lamagna: 227	Is this local clay? Why choose clay not another material?
Clay placed in mould 5.4 cm head/ shoulders	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object Chillemi: 268	Seems large in comp with full figure at c. 6cm Lipari.
Moulds finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH 108	Clear features, suggests newly-made mould.
Figurine fired hollow final decades CIV	Mould-maker, slave?	Lamagna: 225 Lamagna: 227	Date of mould or firing? Any evidence for production at Adrano?
Figurine painted in white slip, red/ violet for ears/ mouth	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object  Chillemi: 266	How were the colours decided? Where did they come from?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	<i>MTL</i> : 18	Did this happen as Lipari?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Was it bought or given as a gift? Sold as one item or part of a job lot? Where are moulds found?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Identity of acquirer: slave, free, gender, age, mourner, supplicant?
Figurine kept/ used top only remains for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object  Lamagna: 225	How/ where used/ kept? Evidence for suspension?
Figurine deposited in Adrano at Contrada Buglio only half survives	local? worshipper by same person?	Object Context: Chillemi: 268 Lamagna: 226	No details of context. Chance find at the edge of the city, so necropolis? Circs of breakage?
Figurine excavated	local/ archaeologist	no info	No others from Buglio
Figurine acquired by Museo Reg di Adrano given inv no 3252	finder museum staff: Sopr di Catania	Lamagna: 227	Details of process? Is it displayed and how?
Figurine filled with plaster, iron support inserted	museum staff	Lamagna: 227	Assumes upright display in pre-depositional life.
Figurine published as clay theatrical object as museum exhib piece	Lamagna/ Sic Arch Chillemi/ Ursino	Lamagna 221-246 Chillemi: 266	Group of objects, article named as LBB.

## Ag1



*Agrigento Museo Civico p. 111*



**Object Reference:** Ag1

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Ag4, Sy7, Cam1, Cat2, P2. 32/ 160 vessels by this painter are bell kraters.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** satyr, Dionysos and Pan, maenad and Dionysos, satyrs and Pan by this painter.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact. No measurement is given by any author.

### **Description:**

All figures are rendered in realistic fashion, with details added with paint (black for parts of the body, otherwise white). The museum catalogue description mentions white and yellow overpainting

Pose: The figure is striding forward, right side on, holding a circular tray/ basket of objects on the flat of his left hand. His right hand is by his side, holding a club. His weight is on his front, left leg; the right is raised in mid-stride. The figure has a neutral expression.

Appearance: Short hair and clean shaven, with a long, straight nose. This and perhaps less defined torso and legs may suggest a youth.

Hair: Short, dark, curly hair surrounded by a wreath.



Dress: The figure is naked, apart from a lionskin knotted at the throat and lying over the left shoulder and forearm. The head and paws resemble a lion, but the central part has folds more like fabric, with no markings. The head lies back, behind, rather than covering, the head.

Weapons: The figure carries a slim club in his right hand; the club is half plain and half shaped. It is less knobby than most other examples.

Accessories: There is a wreath (laurel?) of leaves around the figure's forehead. He holds a large, circular basket/ tray, which appears to have 2 cherry tarts and a kulfi on it, along with various spots. The basket is rimmed at top and base.

Companions: Opposite the figure is a female figure, wearing an off-the-shoulder chiton, a snood or helmet with semi-circular loop, and long, feathered wings. She holds up a double-handled kantharos over the altar and a small jug/ olpe at her side in her left hand. Her weight is on her left leg, the right bent; she is stationary.

Background/ Field: The image takes up the majority of the belly of the vase. Underneath the rim are repeated, large leaves, going the opposite direction to the ones on H's wreath, with a line separating this from the main image. The ground is black. Underneath the image, as the vase starts to curve towards the base is a repeated meander line. The rest is black, apart from an area at the top of the base?

There are three triangular shaped objects at the top of the image, two between the heads of the two figures; these appear to be bucrania. Another appears suspended over the altar between the two figures, with spots forming a curved line from the corners of the short side. Next to this is a bowl on its side and three-leafed branch. The ground line is dotted. There is a sprig of foliage between Herakles' legs. At the feet of the two figures is an object with sections that resembles architecture in its stepped nature and triglyph-like elements of decoration. There are palmettes underneath the handles.

Other images: 2 youths in conversation, representations found elsewhere by this painter.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: The male figure is presumed to be Herakles from the club and lionskin; the female figure is taken to be Nike due to her wings. The explanation of the incident is the two figures sacrificing at an altar. Although described and pictured in the 1964 Agrigento museum catalogue, this does not appear in the 2006 guide.

Appearance/ form of object: both the form and the reverse image are common to a number of vases given a provenance of Apulia on their painter and clay source.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made, figure vessel, attributed to the Varrese Painter, from Apulia. Without a find-context, it is unclear whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post-deposition.

Function: the form of the vessel is understood as a mixing bowl for water and wine at the symposium from Athenian precedents. Other examples of this type are found in grave contexts.

**Date:** c. 300

**Inv. No.:** Agrigento Mus Reg R 180

**Refs:**

Griffo & Zirretta (1964) *Il Museo civico di Agrigento : un secolo dopo la sua fondazione*. Palermo: Editoriale Ibis 111  
LIMC (1990) *Herakles* 1345.  
Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. (1982). *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*. Oxford, Clarendon: 345, no. 61.

## Ag2&3



R.M. 12 (1897), taf. XI.

**Object Reference:** Ag2&3

**Find Context:** no information

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** none

**Other examples of representation:** Cef1, Sel460, Sic1. 5 lions, 1 bull, 1 boar from Greece.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** Mould (for a helmet cheekpiece).

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** The object appears to have been preserved intact, with some wear of relief figures.

**Description:** all figures are rendered in realistic fashion. There are two scenes on the same object.

Pose: Left-hand scene: the figure is leaning over to his left side, revealing an idealised torso. His left leg is extended beyond the right, with the weight on the left knee.

Right-hand scene: the figure is leaning on his right, bent leg to strike a backhand blow with his right arm which crosses his lower face and throat. His left arm hangs away from his left side for balance; his left leg is straight. The pose reveals an aspirational torso, front-on to the viewer.

Appearance: Both figures are really too worn to comment on the details of the figure's appearance, although the aspirational moulding on torso and legs is evident. He appears to have short hair, perhaps a beard.

Hair: Probably short; details are indistinct.

Dress: Both figures are naked. It is unclear whether the left-hand figure is wearing a lionskin. A deeper area on the forehead and raised areas along the left arm of the right-hand figure may suggest a lionskin.

Weapons: I can see no evidence of a weapon on the left-hand figure. The pose of the right-hand figure and slight raised areas either side of his right hand suggest that an object was being used to strike his adversary with force.

Accessories: None visible on either figure.

Companions: The figure on the left wrestles a compact, powerful animal, lifting it slightly off the ground. There is a thin raised line behind the waist of this figure, which extends onto the background; the anatomical positioning of this does not indicate that it is part of the animal. The right-hand figure strikes a larger, four-legged animal with horns from behind, as it collapses onto bent front legs.

Background/ Field: Both scenes are placed on the same raised groundline. Filling the space above the head of the right-hand animal is a rectangular raised area, with hints of more modelled space beneath. There is no other detail or decoration.

Other images: none survive.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: The human figures appear to be identical in appearance. The identification of Herakles is derived from the physique of the human figure and his appearance in combat with two of the animals understood from the 12 Labours, as represented in the standard Dodekathlos versions (Olympia, Sunium), a boar (JLA) and a bull. LIMC appears to list these as two separate objects/representations (1815, 2314). It describes 1815 as "*Herakles bends over the lion, holding it around the neck and pressing its head to its chest. The lion usually claws Herakles' leg*" (LIMC V: 20-21, no. 1815); I assume this is the left-hand representation. 2314 is listed as "*Herakles attacks bull with club. Bull (head indistinct) crouches to left, behind it Herakles swings club across his body, lionskin on left arm*" (LIMC V: 60, no. 2314); I assume this is the right-hand representation.

Appearance/ form of object: is this the actual mould, or the cast or squeeze of a mould? Decorated helmets are known from the ancient Mediterranean.

Production inc. choice of material: clay mould for a helmet cheek-piece. The existence of a mould would suggest the production of bronze moulded goods on Sicily. 'Artistic' bronze production is denied on Sicily by scholarship; under which heading does this fall?

Function: the object is recorded as a mould and compared in *LIMC* with a helmet cheekpiece mould. Moulds for other objects are recorded from the central sacnataury at Agrigento.

**Date**: Dated on stylistic grounds to CIV-III.

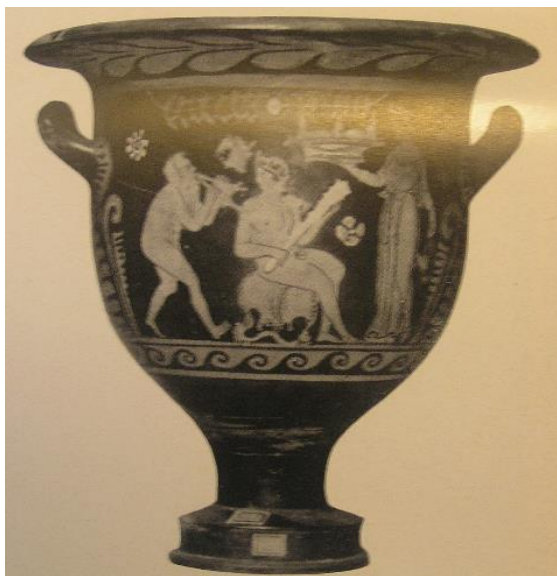
**Inv. No.**: no number listed, held by Agrigento Mus. Reg.

**Refs:**

*LIMC* V (1990): 1815 & 2314.

Rizzo, G.E. (1897) *Forme Fittili Agrigentine*. *RM* (12), pl.11;

## Ag4



LCS I pl. 198, 1.

**Object Reference:** Ag4

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** 150 vases by or close to APZ Painter, generally showing Oscan warriors, draped youths, individual seated women. 1 Amazonomachy, otherwise no other mythological themes.

**Other examples of representation:** Sy7, Cam1, Cat2, P2, Ag1.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, measuring 36.5cm in height.

**Description:** the figures are rendered realistically.

Pose: the figure is seated with his legs to the viewer's right, his torso shown frontally and his head to the viewer's left. His legs are crossed below the knees and the feet are flat on the ground. Both arms are lowered, the right holding a long, knobby object; the right supporting the top of this.

Appearance: no beard. The figure has a relatively small head to the breadth of his shoulders. Details of the torso's musculature are added in dilute glaze. The thighs are more solid than the arms and lower legs would suggest.

Hair: short, under a decoration.

Dress: naked. His head is surrounded by a decorative crown.

Weapons: he taps a long, knobbly object in his left hand.

Accessories: he is seated on a stool from which decoration with the form of animal paws descends.

Companions: to his left a standing draped female, whose hair is covered by an elaborate radial headdress. She holds a very large tray of food on her outstretched right hand; in her left hand she holds another object. To his right a naked old man, with white beard and thinning hair, with a v-shaped object held to his lips as he walks forward.

Background/ Field: decorative features fill otherwise black space; two vertical floral designs define the left and right edges by the handles. To differing rosettes fill space behind or between characters and there is symmetrical design of leaves and buds joined by a circle at the top of the image.

Other images: the image on the reverse depicts three draped youths. The images are bordered by repeating florals and wave patterns.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the very large club (cf L1) he holds, the muscular physique and the lionskin on which he sits. The large basket on a flat hand held by the female figure recalls Ag1. 3 draped youths on the reverse is a common image on vases of this shape. The large olive leaves under the rim are found on other Apulian vases (e.g. Omphale vase). Schauenburg suggests that vases from southern Italy allow an understanding of women's life in the ancient world, then gives a list of deities.

Appearance/ form of object: the object is described as a bell krater, less common than calyx kraters for Sicilian potters.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made figured vessel, attributed to the APZ Painter, from Cumae in Campania.

Function: bell kraters are usually described as mixing bowls for water and wine on Athenian evidence. The lack of find-spot for this object makes attributing function problematic.

**Date:** c. 330-320BC, on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** R207 (also Giudice Coll 630)

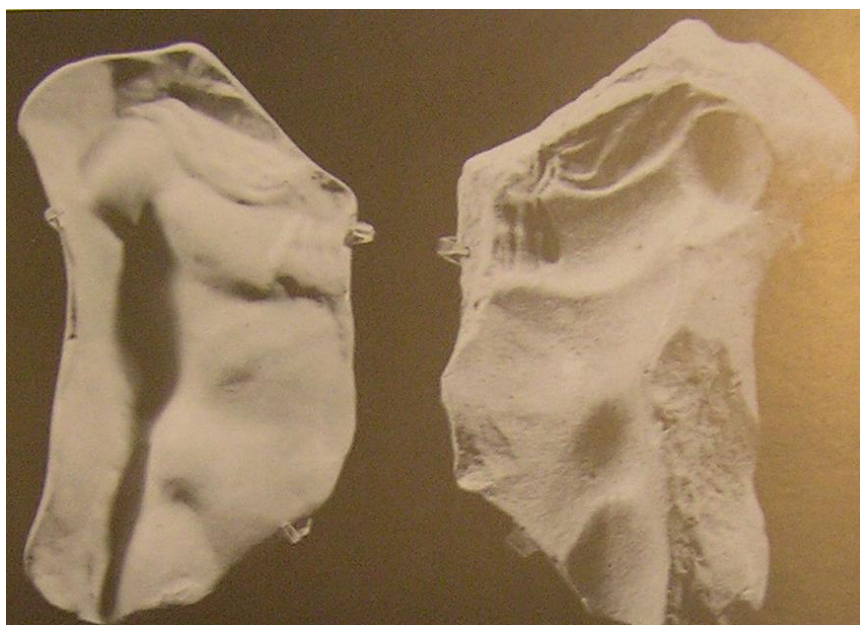
**Refs:**

LIMC Supplement 3225;

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, Clarendon: 505, no. 480 pl. 198,1;

Schauenburg, (1961). Gottergeliebte auf unteritalischen Vasen. *AuA* 10, 1961, pl21, 39;

## Ag5



de Miro, E. (2000). *Agrigento I.1 I Santuari Urbani*. Rome, L'Erma di Breschneider, tav CXVI

**Object Reference:** Ag5

**Find Context:** urban sanctuary of Demeter-Kore or chthonic deities, Agrigento, 1953-5 excavations

**Found with:** other moulds were found in the sanctuary complex dating from the archaic to Roman periods.

**Other examples of object:** Ag2&3

**Other examples of representation:** Sel43

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore

**Object type:** Mould for a statue

**Material:** Clay (yellow)

**Preservation:** The right shoulder and most of the right side of the torso and upper right thigh are preserved. 4.6cm in height.

**Description:** The figure is rendered in realistic fashion, with some blank space around the mould remaining.

Pose: upright figure, facing frontally; his right arm appears to stop just under the shoulder.

Appearance: naked with a moulded, muscular physique and emphasised crease at the groin, giving a youthful appearance. No head remains to comment on details of the face.

Hair: the head does not survive, but there is a suggestion of shoulder length moulding with curls.



Dress: naked, with repeating moulded undulations around the throat, particularly clear on the reverse image, where four deep indentations hang down at the centre of the torso.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none survive.

Background/ Field: plain field surrounding the body.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the cross-paws of the lionskin at the neck of a powerful torso, as found on Sel43. This is slightly larger (8 mm) than the Selinunte example.

Appearance/ form of object: it is unclear whether the back of the figure was also moulded.

Production inc. choice of material: does a mould suggest that this is a one-off, or designed for repeated use? Several other moulds found at Agrigento. This should suggest a bronze-working (or at least metal-working) area, which would either contradict the idea of no bronze on Sicily or suggest an import/recycling industry.

Function: creation of a statue.

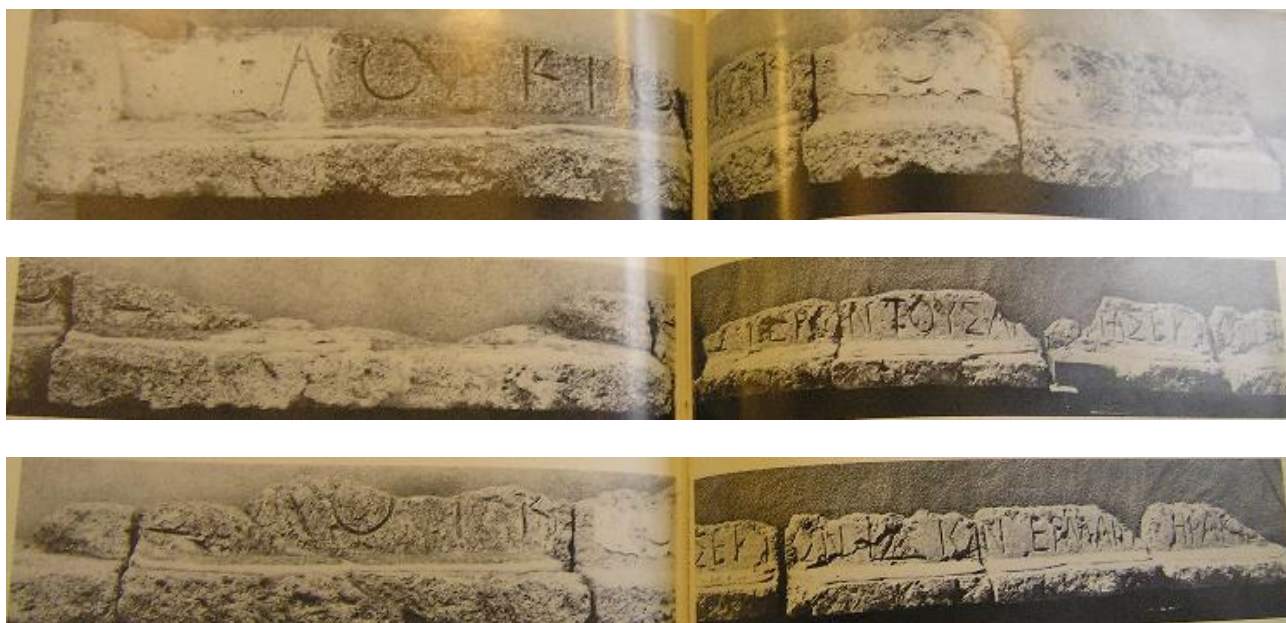
**Date**: CIII.

**Inv. No.**: AG 8973, Agr I.1 1550, tav CXVI

**Refs:**

de Miro, E. (2000). *Agrigento I.1 I Santuari Urbani*. Rome, L'Erma di Breschneider, 269.

## Ag6



*Akragas Graeca de Waele: 38-9 taf 8-9*

**Object Reference:** Ag6

**Find Context:** gymnasium, Agrigentum

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** none

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hermes (sic – not Mercury as at Delos or in the *forum boarium*, Rome).

**Object type:** inscribed bench, with stepped rim below inscription.

**Material:** limestone

**Preservation:** inscription reads

Λουκιος [—]σ Λουκιου Πο[...] ο [—]ωτερων τους α[...]τας εκ των ιδιων Ερμα  
ι και Ηρακλε[ι]:

Lucius, son of Lucius Po[...]o the from the private individuals to Hermes and Herakles

No size is recorded.

**Description:** no image recorded, inscription only. Lettering for donor appears more widely spaced and larger than regularly-spaced details of those to whom it is dedicated. Spaces have been left between individual words and the bottom of each letter is carefully aligned. Narrow rendering of later words. Α has downward arrow in the cross-bar. Attic sigma. Bottom stroke of kappa does not reach bottom line.

Pose: n/a

Appearance: n/a

Hair: n/a

Dress: n/a

Weapons: n/a

Accessories: n/a

Companions: Hermes.

Background/ Field: lettering appears against a plain ground.

Other images

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles' name is written in Greek script, carefully rendered. The name of the dedicator appears to be Roman, identified in addition to 'private citizens', however the names of the deities appear in their Greek forms, suggesting sympathy with local inhabitants or a lack of attention on the part of the donor to the draft of the inscription he agreed.

Appearance/ form of object: the bench takes up the side of one wall in the Agrigento Museum courtyard. The inscription would be covered when in use.

Production inc. choice of material: carved limestone, not found on other examples in this data-set.

Function: seating in a building used by male citizens.

**Date:** Roman

**Inv. No. :** no number given Museo Nazionale Agrigento.

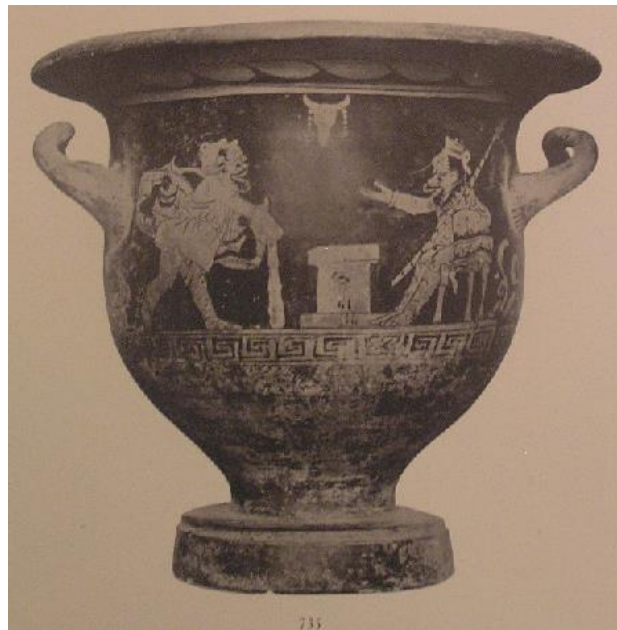
**Refs:**

*Akragas Graeca* de Waele: 38-9 taf 8-9

## Cam1



Libertini tav. LXXXIII



**Object Reference:** Cam1

**Find Context:** Camarina (Rizzo), Girgenti – Agrigento (Dennis)

**Found with:** no information.

**Other examples of object:** Sy7, Cat2, P2, Ag1, Ag4.

**Other examples of representation:** metope from temple C at Selinunte.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** only an illustration of one image from the krater has been viewed (above).

The image includes details of a repeated pattern underneath the image. 27.4 x 31 cm

**Description:** the figures are rendered realistically in terms of their form; however, their faces are exaggerated.

Pose: upright figure strides forward with left leg advanced and right heel raised, with weight on the club held by the tip in the extended left hand. The head is upright and facing forwards. He carries a curving object on his left side.

Appearance: bearded, with open mouth. Clothing obscures the torso, but the curves of the extended right arm suggest a muscular physique or padding to express one.

Hair: short under a covering.

Dress: the figure wears a covering on his head, which features an open mouth and ears. He wears a tunic, girdled at the waist and appearing tight on the arms down to his wrist.

His legs are covered to the ankles with curves suggesting baggy folds. There is a circle between his legs and two appendages. His feet are bare.

Weapons: a long, curving object in the right hand. The object on his right shoulder curves upwards at the end.

Accessories: two objects slung over his shoulder, with repeating narrow lines and black, human-shaped small characters contained within. The left-hand character has his arms outstretched and seems to hold a fold of the figure's tunic.

Companions: opposite the figure is a seated male figure, with both feet flat on the floor and his right arm outstretched. He wears a rectangular head covering with point at the ends and in the middle. His face has exaggerated features, especially the nose, and his hairline is receding. He holds a long straight object in his left hand, which leans on the side of his chair. His clothing also covers him to wrist and ankle.

Background/ Field: the illustration shows a plain background, with the exception of the right corner, where there are curving patterns. In the centre of the top of the image is a triangular shape, surmounted by a curve, with repeating circles hanging from it. Directly underneath is a rectangular object, with wider levels at top and bottom, decorated with three parallel lines down the centre, two of which extend outwards at the bottom.

Underneath the groundline is a repeating Greek key motif.

Other images: two young men meeting at a stele

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: listed in *LIMC* under the Kerkopes, not under Herakles. The exaggerated features of the faces, along with elements of the costume such as leggings, are understood to depict theatrical masked characters. The shape at the top of the image is understood as a bucrania with garland; the rectangular shape underneath as an altar. The figure is understood to be a theatrical representation of Herakles from the lionskin and club which he bears. Only the image of Herakles and the Kerkopes, not the full object, appears in Bieber and this as a line drawing.

Appearance/ form of object: described as a bell krater.

Production inc. choice of material: described as Apulian Red Figure and attributed on stylistic grounds to the McDaniel Painter by Trendall. Rizzo thought it 'Italian fabric from Satricula workshop'.

Function: bell kraters are usually considered to be used as a mixing bowl for wine and water. The link with the theatre is not clear.

**Date**: considered to date to c. 370 on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** Catania MB 4232 (L375) (1770: Libertini)

**Refs:**

*LIMC* Kerkopes 23

Bieber, M. (1961) *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton, Princeton UP: 133, fig. 486.

Dennis, G. & Murray, J. (1864). *A Handbook for Travellers in Sicily*. London, John Murray: 405.

Libertini, G. (1932) *Il Guido Biscari* 175 tav LXXXIII

Rizzo, GM (1900) Vaso Campano con scena fliacica R.M. (15) 260-269.

Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. (1982). *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*. Oxford, Clarendon: 100 no. 250; 1967

Trendall, A. D. (1959). *Phlyax Vases*. BICS Supplement 8, London, ICS: 24, no. 24.

(1967). *Phylax Vases* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. BICS Supplement 19, London, ICS: 31 no. 25;



Bieber fig. 486

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Reddish clay selected/ prepared in Campanian workshop at Satricula in Apulian workshop	Painter/ slave	Object, Libertini: 175 Rizzo: 269  Trendall RV: 100	Clay attributed subjectively. Both imply trade network.
Shape created on wheel, hardened overnight, shape refined bell krater, 27.4 x 31 cm c. 370/ 350	Painter/ slave  Commissioner	Object Noble 2-14 Libertini: 175; Trendall 99-100 Trendall 99 style/ Libertini comp.	Who chooses shape? Does this define use?
Vessel turned, foot and handles added, vase cut from wheel	Painter/ painter/ slave	Object Noble 2-14	
Design sketched in charcoal/ lead Black paint applied with reserved areas Details of design added with fine brushes in dilute glaze no lettering added laurel leaf decoration at rim	Painter/ Commissioner  McDaniel Painter	Object Object Noble 2-14  Object/ Trendall: 100	Are potter/ painter the same? Who designs the theme? How relevant to Sicilian theatre if created in Italy? Is it painted from life? No theatre at Camarina.
Vessel dried and fired	Painter/ painter/ slave	Object; Noble 2-14	
Vessel offered for sale	Painter/ painter/ slave	Object	
Vessel bought	Buyer – commissioner? slave? trader?	Context	At what stage does pot move from Italy to Camarina? For how much? With what else?
Vessel used as mixing bowl	Owner Slave at banquet	Athenian function	Assumes Athenian understanding.
Vessel deposited in tomb? in Camarina	Family/ associates of deceased	Libertini: 175	How big is tomb compared to size of vessel? How was it displayed/ used?
Vessel found	Unknown	Assumed from Rizzo: 268	
Vessel acquired by Prince Biscari before 1847	Finder/ Biscari	Libertini: 175/ assumed from Panofka	No details of circumstances.
Vessel catalogued as inv. 1770 or 735	Museum staff Libertini	Libertini: 175	Dennis doubts its quality.
Vessel published 1847 as vase 1900/32 as phlyax vase  varr. as theatrical vase  1961 as Greek drama	Panofka Rizzo, RM/ Libertini Bieber/ Salis/ Reisch/ Romagnoli	Publication Publication/ b w photograph Publication: front only shown	Terminology already in use.

1978 in vase catalogue 1991 as myth character: Kerkopes	Bieber/ Princeton UP Trendall/ Clarendon LIMC	Publication: cropped line drawing Publication: colour photo Publication	Line drawing of selected image only.
Vessel displayed in museum against wall	Museum staff	Dennis: 405	As only one image described.



## Cat2



*Il Guido Biscari* tav. LXXVI

**Object Reference:** Cat2

**Find Context:** Museo Civico, Catania, no deposition context known.

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** Sy7, Cam1, P2, Ag1, Ag4.

**Other examples of representation:** L1.

**Other examples of deities on object:** satyr, Dionysos and Pan, maenad and Dionysos, satyrs and Pan.

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** yellowish clay.

**Preservation:** the object is fragmentary and has been reconstructed. It measures 26 cm or 31 cm in height with a diameter of 30 cm.

**Description:** The figures are rendered realistically.

Pose: upright in  $\frac{3}{4}$  view, knees slightly bent, right arm outstretched holding weapon.

Appearance: beardless, young, stance is unthreatening, despite the weapon.

Hair: short, curly, dark.

Dress: naked, no lionskin apparent.

Weapons: a club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: woman identified as Deianeira riding a figure identified as Nessos.

Background/ Field: a palm tree appears on the right-hand side.

Other images: two cloaked figures facing one another.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised from the club which he holds. Literary accounts, notably Sophokles' *Trachiniae*, identify the representation as the rescue of Deianeaira from the centaur Nessos. Contrary to Libertini's identifications based on Aristophanes and Igninos of the Eurytion story, the figure appears under the theme 'Héraclès-Nessos-Déjanire' which appears first in the Nessos entry; the sub-theme 'H attacks Nessos with a club' (my trans.). This is only of only four examples noted where Herakles attacks from the right. The attack with a club rather than a sword is common on Etruscan-Italian examples. Details of Herakles' appearance are lacking since the focus is on Nessos.

Appearance/ form of object: the shape is described as a bell krater, found more frequently in Italy than on Sicily, where the calyx krater was more popular with local potters.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made, figured vessel made from local clay. The object is ascribed to Lucanian production on stylistic grounds and is listed under the sub-heading Etruscan and Italian vases in *LIMC*.

Function: bell kraters are understood to have been used for mixing wine and water. The lack of context makes understanding of its function problematic.

**Date:** c. 350-330 on stylistic grounds (*LIMC*), Libertini places it earlier from 450.

**Inv. No.:** Mus. Civ. Catania 701.

**Refs:**

Diéz De Velasco, F. (1992) in *LIMC* VI Nessos 842: 71.

G Libertini (1930) *Il Museo Biscari* 166, fig 76.

Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*, Oxford, OUP: 28, no. 193.

### Cat3



Libertini tav. 44

**Object Reference:** Cat3

**Find Context:** Museo Civico, Catania, no deposition context known.

**Found with:** no information available.

**Other examples of object:** Cat4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P22, P31, P33

**Other examples of representation:** none from Sicily.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1). 22 other examples of Herakles in bronze from the Biscari collection.

**Object type:** statuette.

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the description suggests that the object is intact, although the club is lost.

**Description:** no image available for viewing, the description derives from *LIMC* 908.

Pose: the figure stands upright, looking downwards at his right hand holding his penis while he urinates. The left hand is flung to the side. The legs are slightly apart and slightly bent at the knees.

Appearance: muscular physique, with broad shoulders. The beard gives the figure an older appearance.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked, a moulded area over the left shoulder may represent a lionskin.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the muscular appearance, perhaps the lionskin seen on his left shoulder.

Appearance/ form of object: this is the only extant example of this pose from Sicily, although *LIMC* lists examples from elsewhere. The figure is free-standing and appears to have been designed to be displayed in the round.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made. Some suggestion that an old mould was used by the lack of gap between the right arm and the torso and at the top of the legs.

Function: unknown.

**Date**: 'not earlier than CII' (*LIMC* 908)

**Inv. No.**: Mus. Civ. Catania 230

**Refs:**

*LIMC* IV (1988): Herakles 908

G Libertini (1930) *Il Museo Biscari* I 90-1, 230, pl. 44

## Cat4



Libertini tav. 45

**Object Reference:** Cat4

**Find Context:** unknown, in collection of the Museo Civile in Catania

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1). 22 other examples of Herakles in bronze from the Biscari collection.

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact and measures 6.1 cm in height.

**Description:**

Pose: standing frontal, weight on right leg, right hand on club, left hand outstretched holding round objects.

Appearance: a child

Hair: short, curly.

Dress: naked, the triangular moulding on the head might suggest a head covering of some kind.

Weapons: club

Accessories: apples

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

### **Interpretation**

Representation: despite the club and the moulded features on the head, which are identified as a lionskin in *LIMC*, this appears in the Biscari catalogue not identified as Herakles, and under 'Eroti e Putti'. Libertini does not identify the objects held in the left hand, described as apples in *LIMC*, presumably due to the association with the 12<sup>th</sup> Labour.

Appearance/ form of object: the figurine stands on a base almost half as high as the figure itself, which resembles a statue plinth. There is a large hole in the front of the plinth. It is not clear whether the object was moulded at the back. This differs in form from the slighter examples in the Palermo Museum collection, which are often attributed to Italian workmanship.

Production inc. choice of material: bronze, mould-made statuette. No suggestion is made of the production site of this object, but scholarship does not consider there to have been artistic bronze-working on Sicily (cf Mod1).

Function: display.

**Date:** 'Hellenistic'

**Inv. No.:** Mus. Civ. Cat 341

### **Refs:**

*LIMC* V(1990) no. 1243

Libertini, G. *Il Museo Biscari* 93, 242, pl. 45

## Cef1



**Object Reference:** Cef1

**Find Context:** tomb in Cefalù necropolis

**Found with:** black glazed cooking vessels, uncoloured patera.

**Other examples of object:** none.

**Other examples of representation:** Ag2&3, Cef1, Sel460, Sic1.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the vessel appears to have been reconstructed from fragments with a gap left in the the top of the moulded area. The outer surface of the object is worn in several places. On the back of the object there appears to be the broken remains of a handle. The object measures 8.4 cm high, on a base of 8.9 x 5.4 cm.

### **Description:**

Pose: the figure is crouched on the back of an animal, with both legs bent astride it. His head is pressed against the back of the animal's head, turned to the right. His left arm is doubled around the animal's neck; the right arm is not preserved.

Appearance: no beard. The torso of the figure is hidden by the animal's back or not preserved; the moulding on the back and thighs suggests a slim, muscled physique.

Hair: short with indentations suggesting curls. A circular object surrounds the crown.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a lion, crouching, and with tongue out as his head is forced upwards. Details of the mane are evident beside the figure's cheek and under his arm. The front paws are extended, with individual claws defined; the back legs are bent in such a way as to suggest the animal is struggling to rise.

Background/ Field: the animal is shown on a flatbottomed base, which is moulded to suggest a rocky floor.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the powerful physique and opponent identify the figure as Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, the first Labour, and the one most frequently represented in this data-set. The wrestling pose recalls those seen on human scenes from figured vase painting.

Appearance/ form of object: the head of Herakles appears to function as the spout of the vessel.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, black-glazed pottery, corresponding to other pottery found in the same tomb.

Function: the design of the vessel would suggest its use for drinking; its position in a tomb its role as a grave gift.

**Date:** 350-300 on stylistic grounds.

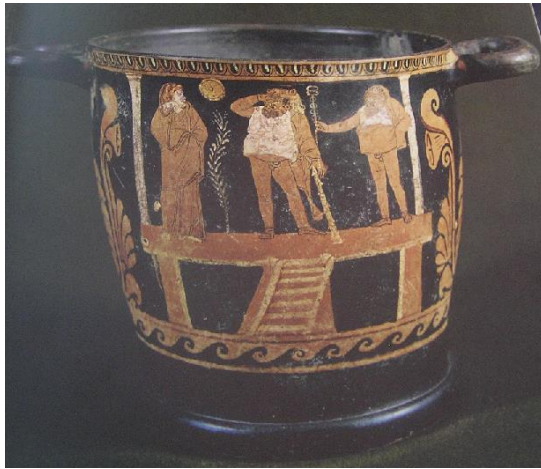
**Inv. No.:** HA 2453 Cefalù Museum

**Refs:**

Tullio, A. (2008): *Cefalù: la necropoli ellenistica*. Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider: 35-6, 117-119, 194.



## Cen1



La Scala tav. 48



La Scala tav. 49

**Object Reference:** Cen1

**Find Context:** Centuripe necropolis

**Found with:** other 'vasellame minore' ('lesser' i.e. value, or 'smaller?') of the same period and material.

**Other examples of object:** G1

**Other examples of representation:** none, but cf. Le1, L29-30.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** Vessel.

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, measuring 22.3 cm in height x 22.7 cm diameter (*LCS*) or 32.3 cm in height (*Rizzo*).

**Description:** the figure is represented in a realistic fashion, except for the exaggerated facial features.

Pose: the figure stands upright with his right hand to his forehead and left arm resting on a long, straight object at his left hip. His left leg and foot point outward, while the right faces forward and is foreshortened.

Appearance: bearded and clothed, with exaggerated features of forehead and chin.

Hair: perhaps receding under a covering.

Dress: a triangular-shaped feature covers the top of the head, with a mass of white painted curls falling to the shoulders. The left arm is covered by fabric with two appendages falling to almost ankle-length. The right arm features a line drawn across the wrist. The torso is covered by a sleeveless tunic, painted in white, which stops at the waist with a curving base. The legs are covered to the ankles in an unpainted fabric.

Weapons: at the left hip is a long, straight knobbly object, painted in white.

Accessories: none.

Companions: to the figure's left is a fully-draped figure in female dress and shoulder length curling hair, who holds her garment from within at her chest. Both arms are covered. Her face is damaged, but the angle of her shoulders suggests that she faced the central figure, with the slightly-dipped left shoulder suggesting that she was inclined away from him. The borders of her garment had coloured borders. To the figure's right is a male figure, smaller than the central one, with exaggerated features to his face, particularly the forehead. He holds out his right arm, which bears a straight object surrounded circles and surmounted by a symmetrical shape, so that the object is at the central figure's back. This figure also wears a waist-length sleeveless white tunic but covered at the arms and belly by other drapery. His legs are covered to the ankles but show exaggerated genitalia.

Background/ Field: the characters stand on a rectangular feature, with long, straight architectural features framing them. Repeated painted lines on an angle rise from the base of the image to the rectangle. There are two smaller rectangles either side of this. To the right of the central figure is a long decoration resembling foliage, above which is a circle. Underneath the image there is a repeated wave pattern underneath a groundline. Framing the image are curving florals. The ground is painted black.

Other images: seated woman with diadem, opposite standing woman offering her a vessel of gifts. On the lid (badly restored) a Dionysiac scene of a woman on a couch with Eros at her feet, 5 maenads and a satyr (Rizzo: 261).

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles, as on Le1, is recognised by the lionskin which hangs from his shoulders and is worn as a cap. The padded costume and exaggerated features indicate a theatrical comic character. This object is listed in *LIMC* under the section 'Herakles with women', further specified as being those whom he did not marry, thus the section is 'devoted to the scenes of his encounters with anonymous women, for some of whom identifications have been or may be proposed'. The introduction notes the 'deflowering' of the 50 daughters of Thespis as an 'exploit', reflecting the Palatine Anthology's description of this as the 13<sup>th</sup> Labour. These scenes with women appear under the subtitle 'Herakles in various non-narrative roles' and are ordered by the pose of the woman, with dates and periods mixed together. This is not listed under theatrical representations and is not illustrated. The reader is directed to a Sicilian phylax vase in Lentini, Aleos 4\* = Augé 6, which casts doubt on the identification of the woman as Alkestis.

Appearance/ form of object: skyphoid pyxis, a favourite shape for Manfria Group.

Production inc. choice of material: associated with the Manfria Painter because of the provenience by Trendall, making use of local clay. The designation also rests on the representation of the stage (see above) as a phlyax scene, as well as the decoration of egg/dart patterning and added white/ yellow paint. The surviving vases of the Manfria Group were found in the hills, 7 miles west of Gela, along with coins dating to 338-310.

Function: the skyphos is usually described as a drinking cup; a 22.3cm high cup would hold a larger amount of wine than a modern glass. The association with the theatre is unclear.

**Date**: c. 330 on stylistic grounds, 338-310 on associated finds.

**Inv. No.**: Milan Theatre Scala 12; Trendall Archive 298.

**Refs:**

Bieber, M. (1961). *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton, Princeton UP: 489

La Scala: Musei e Galleria di Milano (1975) *Museo Teatrale alla Scala Tomo 1*, 27 tav 48-9

LIMC V (1990): *Herakles* no. 1538 (*Alkestis* 69)

Orlandini, P. (1957). Tipologia e cronologia del materiale archeologico di Gela dalla nuova Fondazione di Timoleonte all'età di Ierone II. *Arch. Cl.* IX: 61

Rizzo, GM (1900) *Vaso Campano con scena siliacica* R.M. (15) 260-269.

Schauenberg (1959/60) R.M. (102/3) 57-76

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, Clarendon: 595, no. 68, pl. 231,1.

Trendall, A. D. (1959). *Phlyax Vases*. BICS Supplement 8, London, ICS: 41-2, no. 89

(1967). *Phylax Vases* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. BICS Supplement 19, London, ICS: 57-8, no. 95.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay selected/ prepared Local to Manfredia	Potter/ slave	Object Trendall <i>LCS</i> : 595	What evidence for link to Centuripe?
Shape created on wheel, hardened overnight, shape refined skyphos, 22.3 x 22.7 cm c. 340	Potter/ slave  Commissioner	Object Noble 2-14 Trendall: 598-9 Coins 338-310: Orlandini	Who chooses shape?  V. large for personal cup
Vessel turned, foot and handles added, vase cut from wheel	Potter/ painter/ slave	Object Noble 2-14	
Design sketched in charcoal/ lead Black paint applied with reserved areas Details of design added with fine brushes in dilute glaze; no lettering	Painter/ Commissioner Assoc. with Manfredia Painter	Object  Trendall: 595	Are potter/ painter the same person? Where are they? Who designs scene, at what stage? Is it from life? No theatre at Centuripe.
Vessel dried and fired	Potter/ painter/ slave	Object, Noble 2- 14	Evidence for Manfredia Ptr firing at Mangiatoia.
Vessel offered for sale in workshop at Mangiatoia with other skyphoi & calyx kraters, Campanian imports with 338-310 coins	Potter/ painter/ slave	Object Orlandini: 61/ comparison Panvini 1996: 115 Trendall: 592	Commissioned or produced? Why import and produce?  Whence coins?
Vessel bought	Buyer – commissioner? slave? other?	Context	Was it bought for use, commissioned, intended to be given as a gift?
Vessel used as drinking cup	Owner Banqueter	Athenian function	Assumes Athenian rules apply.
Vessel deposited in tomb	Family/ associates of deceased	Assumed	Found in necropolis, but no further details.
Vessel excavated before 1900	Unknown	Assumed from Rizzo: 260	
Vessel acquired by antiquary Derio Pappalardo Viewed by Rizzo with lid 1900	Finder/ Pappalardo	Rizzo: 260	If it's in Catania, why not in Biscari Collection? Where did lid go?
Acquired by Sambon Collection before 1911	Pappalardo/ Sambon's representative	Trendall: 595	How much? How displayed?
Vessel acquired by La Scala Museum 1911 as No. 12	Victor Emmanuel III/ Italian govt/ Museum staff	La Scala: 11	Displayed against wall. What are numbers 11, 13?
Vessel published 1900 as Campanian phlyax vase 1959 as theatrical vase 1961 as Greek drama 1965 in vase catalogue 1975 as Italian theatrical vase	Rizzo/ RM Trendall/ ICS Bieber/ Princeton UP Trendall/ Clarendon La Scala LIMC	Publication Publication: unillustrated Publication: front only Publication: unillustrated	'Deflowering' considered an 'exploit'.

1990 as myth character: encounters with anonymous women		Publication: colour photo Publication	
Vessel displayed in museum without lid	Museum staff	La Scala: 27, tav 48/9	

## Cos1



Schafer (2015), abb. 78

**Object Reference:** Cos1

**Find Context:** sanctuary.

**Found with:** terracotta head of a woman, male terracotta figure, situla used in the Isis cult.

Temple decoration in tufa.

**Other examples of object:** none

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6; Sel41-2, Sel44-156; Sel433-442.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Astarte-Isis, Isis.

**Object type:** statue

**Material:** lead

**Preservation:** only the tip survives. No size recorded.

**Description:** club only survives.

Pose: n/a.

Appearance: blunt-ended, straight object with knobs, which have a triangular groove underneath each one.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: the object appears to represent a club.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none survive.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the object is recognised as Herakles' club by the knobs dotting its surface. No further details of the statue it belonged to have been found, although the excavators draw comparison with the Herakles group from the altar at Pergamon.

Appearance/ form of object: this club is consistent with the representations usually found, cf Sel41-2 for a more vicious version.

Production inc. choice of material: moulded from a cast. No lead occurs on the island, suggesting the raw material at least was imported.

Function: understood by the excavators as part of a cult statue to Herakes-Melqart.

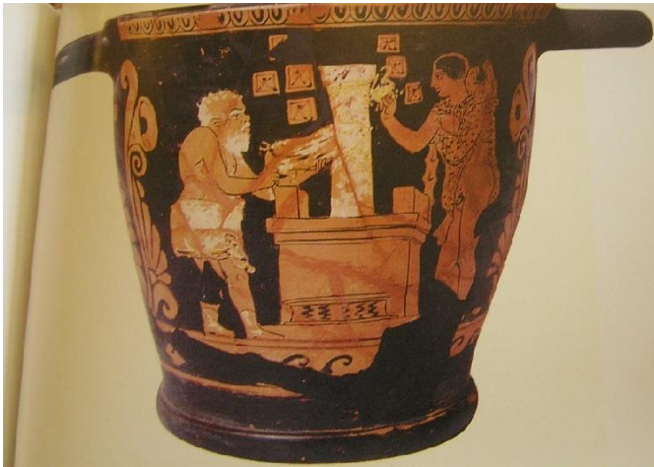
**Date**: 225-150

**Inv. No.**: 13491 (PN 07 ACR I, US 2252)

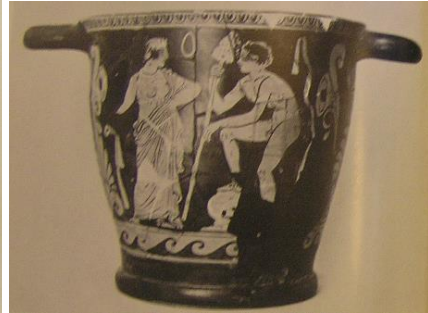
**Refs:**

Schafer, T et al (2015): 2, *Die Ergebnisse der Grabungen auf der Akropolis von Pantelleria: S. Teresa: Der Sakralbereich*. Rahden, Leidorf: 808-809.

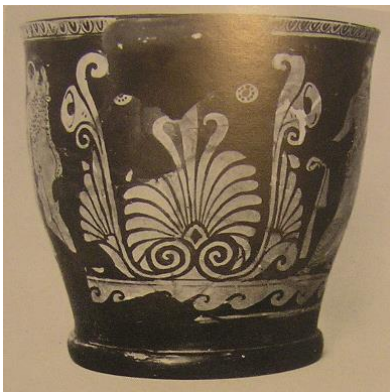
## G1



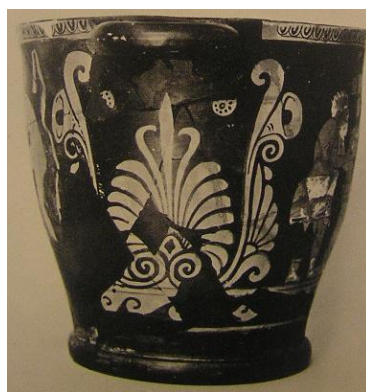
Panvini tav. 57



Calderone tav LVI



Calderone tav LVIII



**Object Reference:** G1

**Find Context:** Gela acropolis

**Found with:**

**Other examples of object:** Cen1

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the vessel has been recomposed from fragments to a height of 26.3cm. The legs of the figure do not survive. There is no indication of a lid.

**Description:**

Pose: figure standing with left side to viewer, weight on left hip, in front of square object with right arm raised, holding a vessel. The left arm crosses the chest and holds the tip of a long, knobby object under the right armpit. His gaze is straight ahead.



Appearance: no beard, some suggestion of toning of the upper torso.

Hair: short, perhaps a faint line around the forehead.

Dress: upper torso wrapped in animal-print skin, which covers the left arm and hangs down the back. At the back of the head is an animal's head.

Weapons: long, knobbly object.

Accessories: vessel with prominent handles.

Companions: short, heavier-set figure with grey, thinning hair and beard, mirroring the movement of Herakles, dressed in a white kilt. He holds an oval object in his outstretched hands.

Background/ Field: Altar & box, white stele, 7 black figure pinakes/ votive plaques on the wall behind. Egg-and-dart border at the top of the vessel and waves below the figures, acting as a groundline. Curling leaves separate the two images.

Other images: Half-draped woman with fillet, young satyr bending forward, holding long thin object with a triangular shape at the top. The woman's left arm crosses her chest and she leans backwards, with a long streamer in her r hand. A loop and another streamer fill the ground behind.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by his club and lionskin. The object appears under the section listing Herakles in non-narrative roles, specifically 'Herakles at sacrifice' in the "Greek" section where there is further specification of Herakles with sacrificed animals or with spitted meat, along with other objects of various dates, periods and provenances. It is unillustrated. There is no mention of the theatre in the description. The entry states that such scenes may show Herakles sacrificing to Zeus or being worshipped himself, but the entry's author prefers the former theory, noting that he is more likely to be the recipient in a Roman context. The entry is followed by a list of literary sources. Calderone attributed this to a lost Sophoklean satyr play.

Appearance/ form of object: described as Sicilian red figure skyphos. There is no suggestion that the lid usually associated with this form was found with it.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made figured vessel, attributed by Trendall to the Painter of the Lugano Pyxis, with whom L1's painter is closely associated.

Function: a skyphos is usually described as a drinking cup for wine. A cup measuring 26.3cm would hold rather more wine than a modern glass.

**Date**: LIMC c. 340-330; Trendall 340-320; Kokalos report 350-325.

**Inv. No.**: Gela, Museo Archeologico.

**Refs:**

- Calderone, A. (1977). Echi del teatro satiresco sofocleo su un skyphos proveniente di Gela. *Arch. Cl.* (29): 267-76.
- Kokalos 22-23 (2) (1976-7) pl. 238 figs 3a, b.
- LIMC V. Herakles* (1990) 779 no. 1339
- Panvini, R. (1996). *ΓΕΛΑΣ. Storia e archeologia dell' antica Gela*. Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale.
- Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Supplement 3*. London, ICS, 274, 46c.

## G2



MAL fig. 266

**Object Reference:** G2

**Find Context:** Butera Fontanacalda

**Found with:** G4, 12 other 'phlyax' figurines, Hellenistic fluted vase with grafitto 'Polystephanos'

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G4, Sy4-5, MH1. M1?

**Other examples of representation:** AT 27a-c

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Other examples of deities at site:** Polystephanos

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** pale, red, local clay

**Preservation:** Almost all of the object is preserved, although the bottom of the figure from the ankles downward is missing. Some damage to the top of the head. 9cm high.

**Description:**

**Pose:** The figure stands with straight legs, right hand on his hip, as though leaning on a support underneath. His left arm is also at his waist and appears to be resting on something. The figure looks directly forward and perhaps slightly downwards (cf Sy4).

**Appearance:** the head has a large mass at the forehead (see below), with staring eyes over a damaged nose. The mouth is a long oval space, extending far wider than a realistic mouth would, similar in shape (but straighter) to Sy4. There is no obvious beard.

**Hair:** the hair is short, as there is no detail around the jaws or neck. The bulbous mass on top of the head is damaged but see below.

**Dress:** The fact that the mass on top of the head is broader than the face, as well as the curve around the right ear, suggests that a head-dress of some sort is present, perhaps the lionskin, which would explain crossed lumps on the chest as its paws. Repeating scored lines on the left shoulder suggest a fabric or covering of some kind, with a buckle underneath the chin. A flat area hanging from the right-hand side, with suggestions of indentations over the right shoulder suggests a cloak. An indentation over the top of the stomach makes the area of the belly appear padded. The figure wears a looped phallos.

Weapons: there is faint evidence of two parallel lines running underneath the right hand of the figure downward. The buckled strap over the chest may support a bow and quiver. A curved shape running upwards from the left hand recalls the shape of a bow.

Accessories: mask, phallos.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is understood to be wearing comic or phlyax costume from the evidence of the padded tunic, looped phallos and mask. The identification as Herakles comes from the understanding of moulded features over the head as a lionskin, and the vertical lines under the right hand as a club. The mask type is associated with Webster's mask type J.

Appearance/ form of object: no evidence of the back of the object, created from a mould with the lionskin feature crushed as it was withdrawn. Webster placed this as Sicilian initially, but later as an AT27 type. Brea comments on the more grotesque features of Geloan figurines in comparison to Syracusan ones.

Production inc. choice of material: the clay is described as local to Manfria by the excavators but noted as having an Attic finish by Webster.

Function: association with theatre unclear, votive dedication at a rural sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-300BC *TTB* notes find context as 'Timoleontic'. AT27 would put it 375-350, or at least the mould.

**Inv. No.:** 6348

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L. (2002). *Terracotte teatrali e buffonesche della Sicilia orientale e centrale*. Palermo, M. Grispo, 72, fig. 57

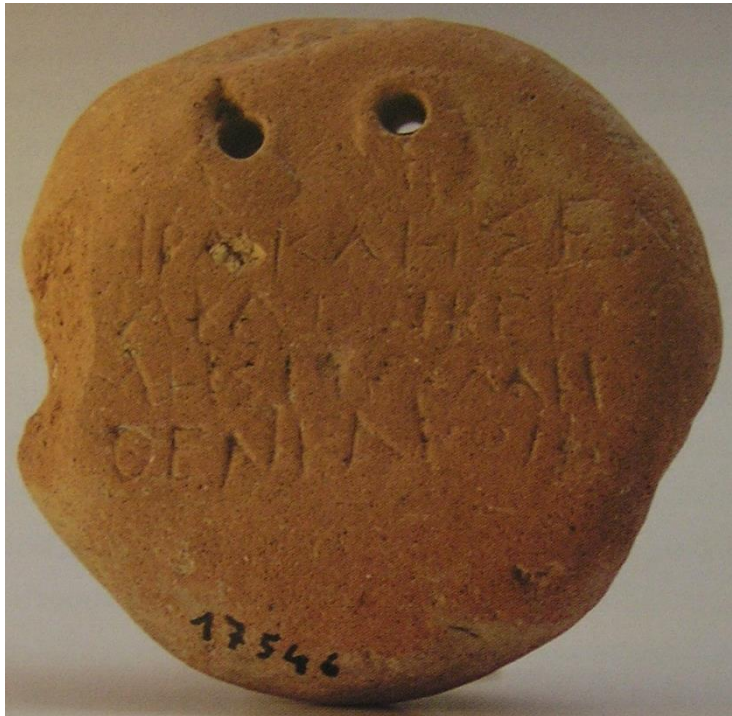
Adamesteanu, D. *MAL* XLIV (1958) col 643; #30 fig 266

Webster, TBL *MMCII* 57; *MMCI* 71: AT27d.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type clothed as comic/phlyax	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object Webster AT27d, LBB: 72 Webster AT27d DA: 643	Made from life? Which gesture chosen, why? Is image agreed by anyone? cf Le1, Sy4
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ excavated moulds Webster AT27d	Local moulds found If Attic mould, cf above How many moulds from 1 play, time-scale?
Pale red clay prepared, chosen from Manfria	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ DA: 643	Why clay, not lead vel. sim? If local clay, how Attic finish?
Clay placed in mould 6cm to calf	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object DA: 643	How does size inform function?
Moulds finished, combined, removed carelessly	Mould-maker, family, slave?	RH: 108  LBB: 72	One mould or two? What is the back – how does this affect use, display?
Figurine fired 375-50 Timoleontic period	Mould-maker, slave?	RH: 108 Style Webster AT27d Context DA: 643, LBB 71	Where? In Butera? NB Evidence for moulds at Butera. Discrepancy in dating.
Figurine painted in white slip, 'Attic finish' colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Comparison/ RH: 108 Webster AT27d No description	What colours were used? Where were they sourced?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Comparison with Lipari, LBB/ MC: 18	Was this the case at Gela too?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	How/ where did this take place? What is the relationship with the theatre. NB timescales for production if several characters from same play created.
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Why make this choice? How was it transported to sale?
Figurine kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object	How/ where used, displayed? What else is displayed?
Figurine deposited at Butera Fontanacalda Polystephanos sanctuary with 12 other figurines	local? worshipper by same person?	DA: 642 Griffo: 24 DA: 643	Hinterland of Gela, nr Manfria, rural sanctuary identified from grafitto.

Figurine excavated 1957	Orlandini/ Adamesteanu	DA: 643	post-1946, should be regional museum; MAL national publ.
Figurine acquired by Museo di Gela inv. no. 6348	Orlandini/ Adamesteanu museum staff	LBB: 72 LBB: 72	
Figurine published as object in context	Adamesteanu/ Mon Ant	DA: 642-3	Noted for relationship with Manfria Painter, theatrical assoc.
as theatrical object	Webster/ ICS; LBB	MMC II: 57, MMC III: 71; LBB 71-2	Function? 'Vibrant Geloan art' LBB.
Figurine displayed	museum staff	LBB: 72	How/ where displayed?

### G3



Lyons et al: fig. 70

**Object Reference:** G3

**Find Context:** Contrada San Ippolito-Predio Mattina, Gela.

**Found with:** ceramics and statuettes of CIII

**Other examples of object:** none

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** oscillum

**Material:** terracotta

**Preservation:** the object is almost entirely intact, although there is damage to the left side as viewed above. There are two holes in the top of the object. An inscription was added in antiquity by scratching into the terracotta (see below). The number 17546 appears in black ink at the bottom edge. 8cm diameter, 2.7cm thick.

**Description:**

Pose: n/a

Appearance: inscription scratched into centre of disc in four lines, capitalised, even lines written straight across field with no gaps between words, nor emphasis on Herakles. The bottom line is slightly curved. ΕΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΕΝ/ΘΑ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ/ΜΗΣΙΤΩ ΜΗ/ΘΕΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ

Hair: n/a

Dress: n/a

Weapons: n/a

Accessories: n/a

Companions: none mentioned

Background/ Field: plain, unpainted terracotta with two holes through the object.

Other images: Gorgon mask on reverse.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Mondo translation “Herakles lives here, may no evil enter”. No published image of the Gorgon image on the reverse of the object, which might give clues to matrix production. The combination of Herakles and a Gorgon suggests a need to reinforce the power of the moulded antefix.

Appearance/ form of object: the additional inscription to the existing apotropaic image, along with the holes drilled through the object so that it could be suspended to show both sides, suggest both powers were called upon.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from local clay.

Function: it is suggested that the holes were suspension holes and that the object was apotropaic.

**Date:** early CIII

**Inv. No.:** Gela, Museo Archeologico Regionale 17546.

**Refs:**

- Mondo, A caption to di Cesare, M. (2013) Greek Myth and Religion in the Sicilian Context. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 70.
- Panvini, R. (1998) *Gela, Il Museo Archeologico: Catalogo*. Caltanissetta, 134



## G4



TTB fig. 56

**Object Reference:** G4

**Find Context:** Butera Fontanacalda

**Found with:** G2, 12 other 'phlyax' figurines

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G4, Sy4-5, MH1. M1

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Other examples of deities at site:** Polystephanos.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** Pale, red, local clay, Manfria.

**Preservation:** The left foot has broken off, as well as areas on the left side of the object. Traces of white colour on the beard and the dead animal. 9.5 cm.

### **Description:**

Pose: the figure is shown in relief, with his body front on to the viewer as he walks to the left. His left leg is bent as though mid-stride. The left shoulder is higher than the right shoulder and the head is at an angle to the body, inclining to the left shoulder. He may be climbing, although there appears to be damage to the left foot, which makes it difficult to see where the foot lies.

Appearance: the figure wears a pointed hat, with short hair appearing at the temples, and a beard. In comparison to G2/ Sy4, the face appears to be rendered realistically and does

not resemble a mask. The beard and thinning hair give the figure a more mature appearance. The figure appears to have pronounced, but in no way defined, pectorals and a curving belly.

Hair: no obvious hair on the forehead, but a moulded mass on the right temple suggests hair.

Dress: the figure wears a pointed, rounded hat, with an indentation towards its base unless the top bit is part of the backing clay? Over his left shoulder are two moulded areas with indentations, and a longer moulded area hanging down to the figure's knees. A smaller moulded area hangs between the figure's legs. The figure appears to be naked.

Weapons: there is no obvious weapon.

Accessories: pointed hat, lionskin.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: the figure appears on a plain background; a raised area to the right of the figure is impossible to interpret.

Other images: none.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification as Herakles derives from the understanding of the moulded areas to the figure's left as the head and front paws of a lionskin, but there is no other identifier. The lack of weapons, when considered with the less than aspirational physique and the unusual pointed hat, may mean that this is simply a man carrying a lion. Brea proposes the Nemean Lion labour in comic costume, with a caveat (below).

Appearance/ form of object: While this object is counted as a comic terracotta in *TTB*, it is not listed by Webster (although G2, with which it was published, is), suggesting he considered it to be a different class of object. No evidence of the back of the object, although the extra surrounding clay suggests it had a flat back.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, from a tired matrix, in local clay to Manfredonia.

Function: association with theatre unclear, votive dedication at a rural sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-300BC.

**Inv. No.:** 6347

### **Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L. (2002). *Terracotte teatrali e buffonesche della Sicilia orientale e centrale*. Palermo, M. Grispo, 72, fig. 56

Adamesteanu, D. *MAL* XLIV (1958) col 643; #30 fig 266

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles clothed as comic/phlyax	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?	Object DA: 644 LBB: 72	Is it a figurine? Is it comic? Which gesture chosen, why? Is image agreed by anyone? cf Le1, Sy4
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ excavated moulds	Local moulds found
Pale red clay prepared, chosen from Manfria	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ DA: 644	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in tired mould 9.5 cm	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ LBB 72 DA: 644/ LBB: 72	How does size inform function? Tired suggests other were created it from it.
Moulds finished, combined, removed carelessly	Mould-maker, family, slave?	RH: 108 LBB: 72	One mould or two? What is the back – how does this affect use, display?
Figurine fired 350-300 Timoleontic period	Mould-maker, slave?	RH: 108 LBB: 71 Context DA: 644	Where? In Butera? NB Evidence for moulds at Butera.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Comparison/ RH: 108 DA: 644	White noted on beard/ animal. Where were they sourced?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Comparison with Lipari, LBB/ MC: 18	Was this the case at Gela too?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	How/ where did this take place? What is the relationship with the theatre, if any? NB timescales for production if several characters from same play created.
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Why make this choice? How was it transported to sale?
Figurine kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object	How/ where used, displayed? What else is displayed?
Figurine deposited at Butera Fontanacalda Polystephanos sanctuary with 12 other figurines	local? worshipper by same person?	DA: 644 Griffo: 24 DA: 643	Hinterland of Gela, nr Manfria, rural sanctuary identified from grafitto.
Figurine excavated 1957	Orlandini/ Adamesteanu	DA: 643	post-1946, should be regional museum; MAL national publ.
Figurine acquired by Museo di Gela inv. no. 6347	Orlandini/ Adamesteanu museum staff	LBB: 72  LBB: 72	
Figurine published as object in context	Adamesteanu/ Mon Ant	DA: 642-3	Noted for relationship with Manfria Painter, theatrical assoc. Why not in Webster?

as theatrical object	; LBB	LBB 71-2	Function? 'Vibrant Geloan art' LBB.
Figurine displayed	museum staff	LBB: 72	How/ where displayed?

## G5



Not. Scav. 65 (1960): 212-216, fig. 6

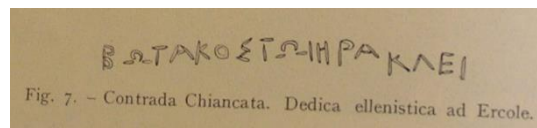


fig. 7

**Object Reference:** G5

**Find Context:** Contrada Chiancata, Gela.

**Found with:** uncontextualized find

**Other examples of object:** none

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** inscribed sword pommel.

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** only the handle remains of the cylindrical object; the letters of the inscription added in antiquity are on the whole clear to read. The object is 4cm high and 2.5cm in diameter.

**Description:** the object is cylindrical, with a curved top and two lines scored immediately underneath this. The remaining section is plain, with the inscription detailed below added.

Pose: n/a.

Appearance: inscription scored in two lines around the cylinder, sloping down slightly to the right. The capital letters are well-formed when featuring straight lines, but the instrument has juddered on the curves of beta and omega. The letters are to be of consistent size and spacing, with no emphasis on Herakles' name, which does not start under the initial letter of the first word. The cross-stroke of alpha is straight; the lower diagonal of kappa is longer than the upper. -ei dative ending.

ΒΩΤΑΚΟΣΤΩΙΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ. There is no indication in the excavation report of where the first line ends.

Hair n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: the object is itself part of a weapon.

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: none mentioned.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the inscription is understood as the name of the owner of the sword, Botakos, dedicating his weapon to Herakles. The lettering is dated by comparison of the length of the strokes with other examples to the late CIV- early CIII by Orlandini. The only other examples of this name come from Greece, raising the question of whether the owner was Greek, and therefore what he was doing in Gela. Herakles here is understood as Greek, rather than Carthaginian or Roman.

Appearance/ form of object: the shape and size of the object suggests it was the handle of a very small object, suggested to be a club or sword pommel by Orlandini. The suggestion of a club may not have occurred without the presence of Herakles' name. Fixtures supporting a suspension ring suggest that the object was suspended at some point, perhaps as a dedication when this inscription was added? The object has been personalised by the addition of the inscription to Herakles by Botakos.

Production inc. choice of material: cast bronze? Secondary sources state that there was no bronze casting on Sicily but see Ag2&3 for evidence of a mould for armour.

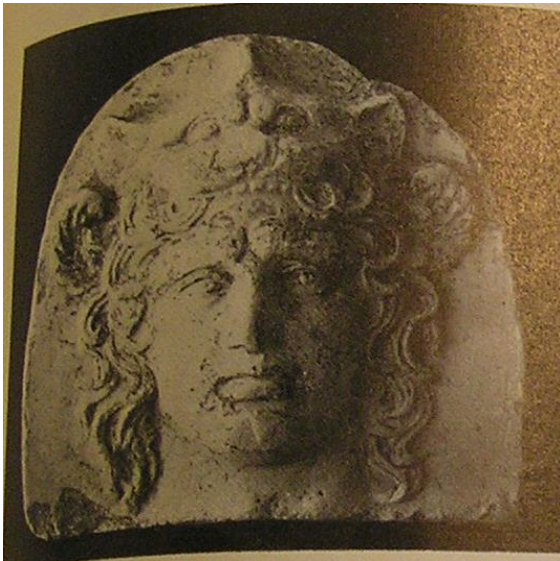
Function: pommel for a weapon that was suspended, perhaps as a votive offering. The use of words, not an image of Herakles, suggests the importance of the identity of the donor. Orlandini suggests the presence of a Herakles cult at Gela from this object, although there is no physical evidence for this.

**Date**: CIV-III from lettering evidence. The area is understood to have been destroyed c. 282.

**Inv. No.**: unknown

**Refs:**

Orlandini, P. *NotScav* 65 (1960): 212-216  
Orlandini, P. (1957) Kokalos III, 96-7



*NdS* 65 (1960) 171

**Object Reference:** G6

**Find Context:** Casa Bottega, residential quarter of Capo Soprano, Gela.

**Found with:** evidence of a small factory or workshop.

**Other examples of object:** numerous antefixes found at Gela

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** antefix

**Material:** local yellow clay (terracotta)

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with some damage to the bottom left corner. There are few traces of colour. It measures 20.7cm in height x 21.5cm in width, 6.5cm depth.

**Description:**

Pose: head only, the figure faces straight in front.

Appearance: no beard, youthful appearance; the mouth is slightly turned down at the ends. There are two curled mouldings which come to a point on either side of the head parallel with the top of the forehead.

Hair: curly hair reaching to the bottom of the neck.

Dress: the head is covered by a moulded feature, which shows two circles underneath a triangular central point with semi-circular features at the other two corners. There is a further round moulding in the centre between the two circles.

Weapons: none shown.

Accessories: none shown.

Companions: none shown

Background/ Field: none shown.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the moulded features on the figure's head are interpreted as the ears, eyes and snout of a lion, thus the lionskin which elsewhere sufficient to identify Herakles. This figure has been identified variously as; Herakles, Omphale, Medusa, Perseus (in which case the mouldings at the side of the head are wings), and Artemis Bendis, the "most common interpretation" (Mondo, 2013, 157). Heads showing a lionskin and horns may also be interpreted as Alexander the Great.

Appearance/ form of object: the form of the lionskin is comparable with other examples from this data-set, e.g L13. The antefix has a straight bottom edge with curved top, perhaps suggesting it was designed for the end of tiled roof.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from local clay. Mondo notes that the object or its mould came from Taranto.

Function: antefix, decoration for a building. Miles (2013, 157) refers to this object as evidence for Sicilian merchants being able to afford élite houses comparable to other Hellenistic centres.

**Date**: 310-282

**Inv. No.:** Museo Archeologico Regionale, Gela, inv. 8843.

**Refs:**

- Mondo A. caption to Miles, M. (2013) Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 157.
- Orlandini, P. & Adamsteanu, D. (1960) Gela: Nuovi scavi *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 14 (1960) 65, 171
- Arch Class* IX (1957) 160-1, 171, fig 9a
- Panvini, R. (1998) *Gela: Il Museo Archeologico: Catalogo*, Caltanissetta, 139 B



## H1



LCS Suppl I, 98, 46 figs 3-4;

**Object Reference:** H1

**Find Context:** unknown.

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** L1, Le1.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with some superficial damage to the rim and the handles. No size recorded.

**Description:** all figures are depicted in realistic fashion.

Pose: the figure is upright, walking towards the right of the image following two other figures, with left foot flat on the floor and the right heel raised. His head leans back slightly. In his left arm, outstretched to the front, he carries a large vessel and his right arm is bent to the shoulder on which a long straight object rests.

Appearance: no beard and large eyes. Thin black lines pick out details of developed musculature on the torso, arms and legs. The figure's left foot appears to be very long.

Hair: short and curly, with one lock curling onto the right cheek.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: a long, straight object.

Accessories: a vessel with small base and narrow neck above (of the same design as the object on which it is depicted), widening at the centre from which handles appear, and to a straight decorated rim.

Companions: one female figure, immediately in front, wearing a sleeveless dress which falls to her feet, with thin lines showing folds of drapery and movement of her body. She has curly hair tied in a small pony tail, and walks forward with both arms outstretched, bearing a circular object in her left hand and an indistinct oval object in her right. In front of her on the ground is a bird in profile, facing towards her, and a male figure with bushy tail, erect penis, snub nose and short hair, who carries a long straight branch with foliage at the top.

Background/ Field: plain black, with one line running around the bottom of the rim, and a spiralling pattern between the two left-hand figures. Underneath, on the level of the vessel's handles, is a repeating wave design, which continues on the other side of the vessel.

Other images: three figures, all male and wearing shoulder length clothing that reaches to their feet, revealing the right shoulder and details of the torso, stand with open mouths and short curly hair. Their clothing appears to have identical borders. The left-hand figure wears his drapery with a fold flung across the right shoulder, as he faces the central character who holds a long thin object with round foliage at the top in his outstretched right hand; his left foot is raised but appears unrealistic. The right-hand figure wears a band in his hair and tucks his right hand into the top of his drapery, while holding the garment from the inside with his left. Plain black ground.

### **Interpretation**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club which he brandishes and the powerful physique. He is shown along with a woman identified as a maenad, and a male figure with tail, a satyr, and a goose. On the reverse stand three male figures in long drapery. Maenads and satyrs may be associated with the theatre, specifically satyr plays. This object is not included in the theatre representations since Herakles is not depicted with a mask or theatrical costume. The figures on the reverse have led to an attribution to the Himera Group.

Appearance/ form of object: calyx krater.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made figured vessel, attributed to the Himera Group by Trendall, produced in Himera within the Carthaginian eparchy at this period. No place of production noted in *LIMC*.

**Function:** calyx kraters are understood to have been used for mixing wine and water at the symposium by comparison with Athenian examples. The lack of find-context makes function problematic. Its appearance in an auction catalogue suggests its post-depositional use as art for display.

**Date:** 400-370 on stylistic grounds by Trendall

**Inv. No.:** unknown, appears in auction catalogue 1971 as lot 291.

**Refs:**

LIMC V Herakles (1990): no. 3226 where incorrect auction catalogue number cited.

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Supplement 3*. London, ICS: 98, no. 46.

Christie's 31 May 1979 #291, pl. 54. NB Noted as lot 271 in LIMC.

C.Ede (1979) *Greek Pottery from South Italy*, 7 no. 6.

## Hal1



Manganaro fig. 170

**Object Reference:** Hal1

**Find Context:** no information

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** Sel1-460; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** bronze coin from Halaesa

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Object type:** Sealing.

**Material:** Lead.

**Preservation:** The object has one circular image on one face preserved intact; there are two broken edges on either side of this, therefore it is possible that the object featured other images. The sealing measures 1.6 x 1.2 x 0.4cm. There are small holes running through the centre of the clay. Manganaro notes an anti-clockwise word 'Α <Λ> ΑΙΣΑ' under the head on the image.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in a realistic fashion in relief, with only the head depicted.

**Pose:** the figure is shown in profile, facing right, with his gaze fixed straight ahead.

Appearance: no beard; the profile emphasises the features of the nose and chin. The eye is larger than reality with a downward slant.

Hair: short under a covering.

Dress: only the head is depicted; this is covered with moulding showing curved features above the figure's ears, and repeated lines along the back of the head resembling hair. On top of the head are further moulded features, resembling the eyes, jaw and snout of a big cat.

Weapons: none shown.

Accessories: none shown.

Companions: none shown.

Background/ Field: plain, circular impression.

Other images: on the reverse, a standing figure holding a lance or a thyrsus.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the head covering with the features of the head of a big cat is understood as Herakles' lionskin. The curved feature over the ears may depict the Ammon horn associated with Alexander the Great, as seen on Mod1.

Appearance/ form of object: the fact that the sealing had images on both sides suggests that it was suspended on thread as a medallion, rather than applied to the parchment/ tablet it sealed.

Production inc. choice of material: the circular impression and relief of the image suggest that this could have been made by striking a coin die into lead. The correspondence of the image with a coin from Halaesa (ΑΙΑΙΣΑ/ ΑΛΑΙΣΑ?) would suggest that it was created by someone with access to an official die and to a supply of lead. Manganaro considers it to be the official seal of Halaesa, representing a 'diplomatic' function.

Function: security sealing for a civic document, Manganaro suggests a chancellery document, comparing it to an example from Syracuse in a private collection showing a Pegasus of the type found on Agathoklean coinage.

**Date**: 400-200.

**Inv. No.**: unknown

### **Refs:**

Manganaro, G. (1999). *Sikelika: studi di antichità e di epigrafia della Sicilia greca*. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali: 77.

Facella, A. (2006) *Alesa Arconide: ricerche su un'antica città della Sicilia tirrenica*. [Pisa, Italy]: Edizioni della Normale: 318-20

L1



*ML XL: fig. 53, tav. XXX*

**Object Reference:** L1

**Find Context:** Tomb 658, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** cover of figured vessel, black glazed lamp, bronze strigil.

**Other examples of object:** Lc1, H1.

**Other examples of representation:** Cat2

**Other examples of deities at site:**

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with some wear to the black paint on the handles and base. A crack runs along the bottom of the image on the reverse side. It is 49cm in height.

**Description:** all the figures are rendered in realistic fashion. A repeating egg and dart border over a Greek key and wave motifs form a border below the scenes on both sides.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with both feet flat on the floor, presenting his body to the viewer, but with his head turned to the left in profile. His right arm is extended across his body with hand reaching towards a figure seated to his left; his left arm is at his side, covered.

Appearance: no beard. Dilute lines pick out details of musculature on the figure's torso and legs, suggesting a powerful physique. His shoulders appear wider than his hips.

Hair: short and curly.

Dress: the figure is naked, except for a covering on his left arm which resembles the skin of a big cat in shape, colouring and texture. A narrow band surrounds his hair.

Weapons: a long, knobbly object is placed in front of the figure, reaching almost to shoulder-height.

Accessories: none.

Companions: To the left of the figure are (l-r) one standing (unlabelled) and two seated figures, one of the seated figures is shown above the other. To the right are two further seated figures, one above the other. The standing figure on the far left has short curly hair and a long garment; the hands are held upwards by the shoulders. The higher seated figure (NIKH) is female, with her garments only covering her from the waist downwards and with a multi-coloured pair of wings extending from the centre of her back. She has long curly hair, with a white strip tied around her forehead from which smaller white marks repeatedly extend. She holds a similar object in her hands at her lap, at which her gaze is directed. Below her is seated a clothed female (DEIANEIRA), with dark curly hair bound up in a similar fashion and small ringlets at her fringe and ears. Her garment has a patterned border, which she holds up at her left shoulder with her left hand. The right hand holds three oval objects in a pile. She is seated on a stool with three carved legs, and her feet are placed in front of her on a footstool. She faces forwards. All women appear to be young.

Both the male figures seated on the right are shown wearing garments with patterned borders from the waist downwards. The higher figure, Acheloios, appears young, with short curly hair, around which a strip is tied, with an extra feature at the front. He holds up his left hand behind him and reaches forward towards Herakles with his right, fingers splayed. The lower figure, Oineus, has grey, receding hair and beard. He leans upon his left hand, while the right arm is extended forwards.

Background/ Field: labels in Greek script over the head of characters read ΝΙΚΗ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ, ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ, ΟΙΝΕΥΣ, ΔΕΑΝΕΑΙΡΑ, on the reverse ΘΑΛΙΑ, ΣΙΜΟΣ.

Other images: on the reverse of the vessel three figures are shown on a plain black ground, two labelled as indicated above. The left-hand figure, Thalia, stands with bent knees and both hands in front of her with fingers splayed about two white sticks. She is clothed in transparent material reaching to her ankles, but showing the top of her chest and shoulders, and there are repeated white dots around her throat. Her hair appears short under a covering, with details in white paint added at the forehead. Her face is in profile. In the centre of the image a figure, Simos, stands on one leg, with both arms outstretched and splayed palms; his head is inclined to the right and downwards. He has grey curly hair at the temples, but is otherwise bald, and has a grey moustache and beard. The figure is shown naked, with short white lines covering his body except for the hands and his feet which are shown with white and red calf-length boots. Around his back is some drapery. A tail is visible between his legs. To the right of the image is a standing figure, naked, with a tail, who has his back to the other figures, but looks over his shoulder at them. He has exaggerated, pointed ears, a high forehead and black thick hair, with a black moustache and beard. In his raised left hand he holds a long object surmounted by a pine-cone shape; his right hand covers his genitals.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised from the knobbly, rather long, club which he holds, the lionskin hanging over his left arm and his muscular physique. The representation is compared, in a 1500+ word description in the excavation report, with Sophokles' play, *Trachiniae*, from CV Athens. There was no permanent theatre on Lipari.

Appearance/ form of object: this shape is described as a calyx krater, elsewhere associated with use as a mixing bowl for wine and water.

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made figured vessel. No description of the clay in the excavation report. The object is described as Sicilian Red Figure and associated by Trendall with the Painter of the Lugano Pyxis, perhaps the Adrastus Group, with whom



G1 is closely associated. He notes that it would have made 'an admirable poster for the play', despite the fact that no masks or theatrical costume is in evidence here.

Function: see above for typical description of the shape's function; the findspot here suggests that the object was used as a grave-good.

**Date**: mid-CIV, the grave is dated 350-340.

**Inv. No.**: 9341D

**Refs:**

LIMC IV (1988) *Herakles* 1682, *Acheloos* 259a;

Bernabo Brea, L. & Cavalier, M (1999). *Meligunis Lipara XI (1). Gli scavi nella necropolis greca e romana di Lipari nell' area del terreno vescovile*. Palermo, Publiscula: 78-80.

Bernabo Brea, L. & Cavalier, M. (1977) *Il Castello di Lipari e di Museo Arch Eoliano*. Palermo, S. F. Flaccovio: 52-3, 124.

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Supplement 3*. London, ICS: 98, no. 46f.

## L2



Lyons et. al fig. 42



M.L. XII tav. CCXLVI

**Object Reference:** L2

**Find Context:** Tomb 1328, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** red figure lekanis

**Other examples of object:** two mirrors with relief-figure handles found in 300-250 graves in Lipari (showing a mourning woman and seated erotes).

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** mirror.

**Material:** bronze.

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, including the suspension ring at the top; there is some discolouration to the surface of the mirror, which is no longer reflective. 37cm long, 18cm diameter.

**Description:**

Pose: the figure stands upright with his head inclined to his left shoulder and gaze downward. His left arm is hidden by the other figure; his right is bent back at the elbow

and raised as if to strike, over his shoulder. The muscled torso is twisted to the figure's right, with the weight on the bent right knee and straight left leg.

Appearance: no beard, moulded torso and limbs, showing muscled physique.

Hair: short in a straight fringe.

Dress: naked except for crossed element at the neck and over shoulders, and long dappled object between the figure's legs.

Weapons: none obvious, although the clenched right fist may have held something.

Accessories: none.

Companions: naked female figure wearing only boots; a swirl of drapery passes around her left knee. She is shown with her back to the male figure, falling against him, with her right hand on his left thigh, and her left arm flung up. Her right knee almost touches the ground and her left foot appears to be slipping on the heel. The gaze is downwards, with her chin on her chest. A horse rears behind her.

Background/ Field: two long, thin elements with protrusions stand at either side of the image, a wavy groundline runs behind the two characters' feet.

Other images: none. At the bottom of the disc, behind the male figure's head, runs a border with repeated egg-and-dart decoration.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the crossed element at the neck with its 'tail' shown between the male figure's legs is understood as a lionskin, thus identifying Herakles. The naked female figure with cropped hair wearing boots is understood as an Amazon from the fighting posture of the two figures. Spigo is cautious about identifying the woman as Queen Hippolyte.

Appearance/ form of object: "all three examples find precise iconographic and stylistic parallels in Italiote figurative art, offering clear proof of the close relationship between fourth-century Lipari and the artistic trends of southern Italy" (Spigo, 2013, 73). The mirror has a suspension ring at the top and is unmodeled on the reverse.

Production inc. choice of material: cast in bronze. According to scholarship there was no artistic bronze-making on Sicily. This object is attributed to Etruscan workmanship.

Function: mirror used as a grave good.

**Date**: 325-300.

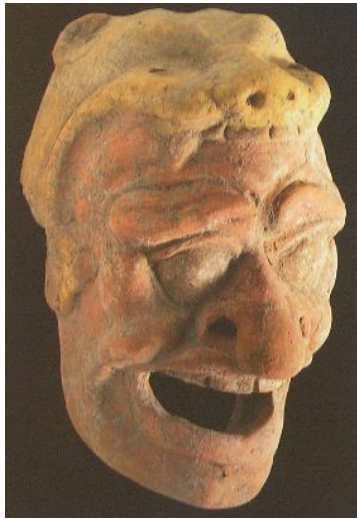
**Inv. No.:** Museo Archeologico Regionale Luigi Bernabò Brea, inv 6921.

### **Refs:**

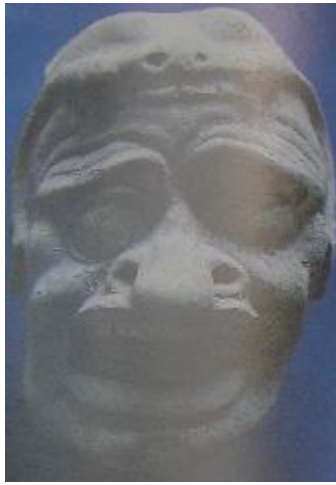
Bernabò Brea, L. & Cavalier, M. (2003). *Meligunis Lipara XII Le iscrizioni lapidarie greche e latine delle isole eolie*. Palermo : Publiscola: 547-8

- Spigo, U caption to di Cesare, M. (2013) Greek Myth and Religion in the Sicilian Context. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 73.
- Vanaria, M.G. (2003) Specchi bronzi con manico decorato a rilievi dal Museo di Lipari. In Bacci & Martinelli (eds.) *Studi classici in onore di L. Bernabò Brea*, Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato Regionale dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione 91-101.

### L3



Lyons et al fig. 61



MPT tav G fig. 1



MPT tav G fig. 2

#### **Object Reference:** L3

**Find Context:** Tomb 1986, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Small stone sarcophagus with stone sides and covering slab, inside the skeleton of a baby on gravel, holding a gold ring depicting Dionysos. The object was found south of the sarcophagus, to the south west were three vessels.

**Found with:** large clay mask of Hades, small red figure calyx krater showing on one side a satyr's head and on the other a woman's head between two palmettes. Stamnos, black figure vessels.

**Other examples of object:** L10, L20-22, M4-5.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hades

**Object type:** mask

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact and retains its original colour. 15cm height x 13.5cm width

#### **Description:**

Pose: head only, looks straight in front

Appearance: no beard, open mouth showing a row of even top teeth (none below), pronounced wrinkles and large nose, wide eyes.

Hair: none shown under covering.

Dress: head covered by moulded object with two raised semi-circular curves, a triangular shape at the front with two holes, over a row of rectangular shapes next to longer pointed shapes.

Weapons: n/a

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: n/a

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the object on the head of the mask is understood as a lionskin and thus identifies the mask as Herakles. The pronounced features are interpreted as indicating a comic mask. The excavators and subsequent scholars have taken the presence of a mask of Hades from the same grave context as indicating that the masks derive from a 'lost' comedy featuring the two characters in the Underworld. The Hades mask wears a wolfskin, strengthening the association between the two masks.

Appearance/ form of object: the difference between the lionskin and the face is emphasised by the surviving paint. The top teeth are shown, not obvious on other examples. The front view emphasises the wide nose. Only the back of the mask is not moulded for display. No suspension hole. Under life-size.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, with local kaolin glaze.

Function: grave goods. The association with the theatre is unclear; no theatre has been found at Lipari.

**Date**: 340-330

**Inv. No.**: Museo Archeologico Regionale Luigi Bernabò Brea, inv. 14584.

**Refs:**

Bernabò Breà, L. with Cavalier, M. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terrecotte lipariensi*, Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider: 59, figs 49-50.

Schwarzmaier, A. (2012) *Die Masken aus der Nekropole von Lipari* Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag 57, 81.

Spigo, U caption to Bosher, K. (2013) *Infinite Variety: Ancient Greek Drama in Sicily*. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 111.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles in l'skin mask J type, large nose, upper teeth under life-size	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?	Object <i>M.L.</i> V: 45  Object Object, <i>M.L.</i> V: 45	Lionskin and head made in 2 parts. Is it from life? Agreed beforehand? cf external traditions.
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, comp.	New mould? How many made together?
Pinkish red clay prepared, chosen from n coast Sicily	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 17	Why clay, not another material? Trade route open.
Clay placed in mould 15 x 13.5 cm	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ comp. U.S.: 111	2 moulds required. Is it flat at rear cf L22?
Moulds finished, eyeballs added freehand, combined,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, <i>MTL</i> : 18	Is this from life?
Mask fired 340-330	Mould-maker, slave?	Object US: 111	Date of mould or of firing? cf pottery date
Mask painted in white slip, orange, red colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	All versions painted the same? Colours better preserved: tomb
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 18	
Mask offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Was it sold with the Hades mask? Made to order? Where are moulds found: sold at production site?
Mask acquired not figurine, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	No gilt, as other tomb examples. Why not a vase showing 2 actors?
Mask kept/ used for frontal/ side viewing	Acquirer	Object	Too small for use. Lack of back suggests forward display. Weight?
Mask deposited outside sarcophagus of tomb 1986 of baby with ring with small vessel & Hades mask	local? worshipper by same person? family of baby	Context: <i>ML</i> V: 45  Context: <i>ML</i> V: 45 Context: <i>ML</i> V: 45 Context: <i>ML</i> V: 45	How were goods selected. Why would a baby need a mask of those characters? Buried complete, not smashed.
Mask excavated given inv. no 14584	LBB/ MC	<i>ML</i> V: 45 US: 111	Inv no not in <i>ML</i> V. Cons no to Hades mask.
Mask curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	US: 111	How displayed?
Mask published in exc rpt as theatrical object as necropolis object	LBB/ MC: LBB, Spigo/ Getty AS/ DAI	<i>ML</i> V: 45 MPT: 59, US: 111 AS: 57, 81.	Frogs/ lost comedy. No function discussed Why that image?
Mask displayed with Hades mask 'Btwn Greece & Rome'	museum staff Getty staff	US: 111	How displayed at Lip? Displayed with Hades mask, no mention of tomb contents.

## L4



MPT fig. 107b

**Object Reference:** L4

**Find Context:** Trench XXII (MLII: 302), XXIII (MTL: 73), XXIII, III (MTL: 304), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Foundation of large altar to Demeter-Kore, built 350-300.

**Found with:** 101 masks, 159 figurines (80 types), 1 mould, 'other fourth century material'.

**Other examples of object:** L5-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** cf *MTL* E1, L5, L18-19, L23-24

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** one piece, missing most of the area below the waist, apart from the central downward v-shape. The left side of the figure beyond the body is missing. Some damage to the back. 7.7cm high.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with head(s) tilted to the left. His right hand is on his hip; the left is damaged and unclear. He is looking to his left, downwards.

Appearance: full, curly beard and moustache. His eyes are wide-set, and his nose is flat and rather bashed, although it is unclear whether this is due to post-production damage or deliberate artistic choice. He wears a moustache and beard, giving a mature appearance to the figure.



Hair: the figure's hair is covered by the headgear and would therefore appear to be short.

Dress: the figure's head is covered by moulded features resembling the head, ears, eyes and a nose of a big cat, leaving creases at the shoulders. There are some mouldings under the chin. The tunic is indented under the pectorals and shows a curved belly. There is a looped moulding between his legs and horizontal indentations on his legs and arms.

Weapons: *contra* Webster (*MMCIII*: 139), there is no evidence of a club, or any other weapon (compare L19).

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: none

Other images: none

**Interpretation**: Identified with Webster's mask J:

Representation: the figure is understood to be a comic character by the looped phallos, padded tunic and mask. Indentations on the arms and legs suggest that the figure is supposed to be wearing close-fitting costume. The moulded features on the headgear are interpreted as a lionskin, whose long tail recalls Le1, and stance recalls G2 (hence the supposition of a club's presence); the eye of faith, when taken with L19's evidence (but see comments there on production) may see crossed paws under the chin. These additions lead to an identification with Herakles.

Appearance/ form of object: considered to be the same type as L5 by Webster, although one of two versions. This head appears to be more inclined to the left than L5, although the head only of L5 remains. Webster compares this to AT27, AT27d (G2) and ST11/12 (L6/L7-9); there is some resemblance in pose to G2, and in the squat proportions to L7-9, but this is a different representation to either type. This raises the question of why the head is slanted in this 'frozen' pose.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 3148 (MTL), 3348 (MPT). E1a in LBB system.

**Refs**:

- Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 73: E1a.  
*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302 B110a, pl. CLV, 3.  
Breà, L.B. (1958) *Kokalos* 4: 137, tav. 51, fig 12.

(2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. 104.  
Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology  
Monograph 25, Oxbow. no. 540  
Webster, TBL: *MMCII* ST17: 58, 89; *MMCI* ST 10: 139

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with tilted head & lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST10/17 Object	as L5, 18-19, 23-4. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/ L7. Gesture, pose, lack of club specific to play?
Mould created with clay in angle of bent arm	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17 Object	How (long) stored? Lower quality, cf G4?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 7.7 cm head to knees E1 re-made mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 73 MLII: 302/ MPT: 104	How does size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context, MLII: 158	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin Some colour on belly
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLII: 158	3 Herakles types in same context, hundreds of others. How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used to legs only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MTL tav. 71/ MLII tav CLV, 3.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar	local? worshipper	MLII: 158, MTL: 304 Context	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies

with scores of other figurines broken in sacred ritual	by same person?	Context MPT: 104	community effort. How visible?
Figurine excavated 1955 in trench XXII/XXIII/ XXIII, III given inv. no 3148/ 3348	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML II: 158/ Kok. IV ML II 158/ MTL: 73 MTL: 304 MTL: 73/ MPT: 104	Which details are correct? L5 has a consecutive inv. no. MTL has 3348 twice.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt in Lipari article as theatrical object of middle comedy as Herakles in classical Greece	LBB LBB/ Palermo Uni LBB MC/ Sagep Webster/ ICS RV/ Oxford	MLII: 158 Kok IV: 119-144 MTL: 302 E1a MMC ST10/ 17 RV no. 540	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Historical sketch. Assumes Athenian influence As above, globalised coll. Single eg, not in LIMC.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L5



M.L. II: pl. CLXV, 4.

**Object Reference:** L5

**Find Context:** Trench XXIII, III, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Foundation of large altar to Demeter-Kore, built 350-300.

**Found with:** 101 masks, 159 figurines (80 types), 1 mould, 'other fourth century material'.

**Other examples of object:** L5-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Other examples of representation:** cf MTL E1, L4, L18-19, L23-24

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** only the front part of the head preserved, 4 cm high. Details rather abraded.

**Description:**

Pose: head only preserved, impossible to determine whether the head is angled in the same way as L4.

Appearance: the features of the figure are indistinct. There is no idea of hair. Eyes are almond-shape and appear narrower and more slanted than L4. The nose is wide, with indentations underneath to suggest a moustache. The moulded area underneath the mouth seems to give clear evidence for a beard.

Hair: not at all obvious; covered by a larger mass with suggestions of two moulded areas over the forehead.

Dress: none of the body is preserved. The moulded area over the forehead suggests some headgear is worn.

Weapons: none preserved.

Accessories: none preserved.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: Identified with Webster's mask J:

Representation: the identification with Webster's J mask-type, as well as the understanding of the object as the same type as L4, have led to the identification with Herakles. The two moulded features on the head of the object are understood to be a lionskin, although the obvious nostrils of L4 are not evident.

Appearance/ form of object: while the nose and lower face correspond to L4, the eyes appear to narrower and slanted towards the nose; the closest parallel here is L18.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 3149

**Refs:**

- Brea, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 73: E1b.  
*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302 B110b, pl. CLXV, 4; 293ff.  
Brea, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. 104.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with tilted head & lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MLII: 302 from Webster ST10/17 Object	as L4, 18-19, 23-4. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/ L7. Gesture, pose, specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 4 cm head E1 re-made mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 73 MLII: 302/ MPT: 104	How doe size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context, MLII: 158	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin No descr of colours, b/w
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLII: 158	3 Herakles types in same context, hundreds of others. How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used to legs only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MTL tav. 71/ MLII tav CLV, 3.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar with scores of other figurines broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MLII: 158, MTL: 304 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies community effort. How visible?

Figurine excavated 1955 in trench XXIII/ XXIII, III given inv. no 3149	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML II: 158 MTL: 73 MTL: 304 MTL: 73/ MPT: 104	Which details are correct? L4 has previous inv. no.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt as theatrical object	LBB LBB MC/ Sagep	Not in Webster. MLII: 158 MTL: 302 E1b	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumes Athenian influence
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?



## L6



M.L. II: pl. CLXV, 2.

**Object Reference:** L6

**Find Context:** Trench XXII (MLII: 302), XXIII (MTL: 73), XXIII, III (MTL: 304), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Foundation of large altar to Demeter-Kore, built 350-300.

**Found with:** 101 masks, 159 figurines (80 types), 1 mould, 'other fourth century material'.

**Other examples of object:** L5-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.  
Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L16, L28.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the figurine is very worn and missing its feet and head. 5.1cm.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with straight (rather slim) legs. A moulded area on the left hip suggests his left hand rests there. There is little clear evidence of detail on the right side; *MMC* and *ML II/ MTL* all suggest that the right hand holds a grounded club. The head of the figure is not preserved, but neither shoulder is dipped, suggesting that the head is straight.

Appearance: no head remaining.

Hair: no head remaining.

Dress: a v-shaped indentation, above an area of indentations with a knotted appearance, at the throat of the figure can be seen. The area to the left has parallel raised grooves. Over the left upper arm there are areas of repeated moulding to the wrist and an outline hanging

behind and outside the left leg of the figure. The belly appears to be slightly curved, with an indented line at its apex, under which there are three moulded areas between his legs. There is no evidence of horizontal indentations on his legs.

Weapons: a club is seen by one cataloguer.

Accessories: no obvious evidence.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the association with Herakles derives from the mouldings at the throat and on the left arm, which are understood to be the lionskin of Herakles. A badly damaged area to the right of the figure where there is a stippling effect has been understood as the hero's club. The moulded area underneath the belly is taken to be a comic phallos, in conjunction with the padded belly seen in other comic figurines, e.g. L4, L7-9, G2. The straight indented line, which appears to run through the tip of the phallos, may be compared with representations on vase paintings of athletes tying their foreskin before athletic events. Webster and therefore Vollkommer list this before L7 types, perhaps indicating relative 'closeness' to Athenian prototypes.

Appearance/ form of object: this is a different type to L4/5, with differing pose. All Lipari examples were created with unmoulded backs in a single mould.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 3141

### **Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 74: E3a.  
*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302 B112, pl. CLXV, 2.

Breà, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. 105.

Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 25, Oxbow. no. 541

Webster, TBL.; *MMCH* ST 11: 139

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin crossed on chest, as cape, grounded club	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST11 Object	as L16, 28. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/L7. Gesture, pose, specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 5.1 cm neck to ankles E3 mould.	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MLII: 302/ MPT: 104	How does size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 3 examples of E3 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST11 Context, MLII: 158	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin No descr of colours, b/w
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLII: 158	3 Herakles types in same context, hundreds of others. How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used neck to ankles only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MLII tav CXLV, 2.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar with scores of other figurines broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MLII: 158, MTL: 304 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies community effort. How visible?

Figurine excavated 1955 in trench XXIII, III given inv. no 3141	LBB/ MC cataloguer	ML II: 158/ Kok. IV MTL: 74/ MTL: 304 MTL: 73/ MPT: 104	Which details are correct? L5 has a consecutive inv. no. Close to L4/5 in inv nos.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt as theatrical object of middle comedy as Herakles in classical Greece	LBB LBB MC/ Sagep Webster/ ICS RV/ Oxford	MLII: 158 MTL: 302 E3a MMC ST11 RV no. 541	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumes Athenian influence As above, globalised coll. Single eg, not in LIMC.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L7



MPT fig. 108

**Object Reference:** L7

**Find Context:** Trench XVII, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 31 figurines of 29 types, 9 masks no further detail given on other finds.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-24, L26-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L8-9, L17, L25-7.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the figurine survives intact to the ankles, although its surface is abraded. 6.9cm high. There are traces of white slip.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. His legs are together and his weight evenly distributed, although the right leg may be slightly bent. The bottom and sides of the figure are bashed and details of his arms are unclear.

Appearance: The figure wears a full beard and moustache; eyebrows slant down to the centre over wide eyes and a flat nose (from wear or deliberate?), and the corners of the mouth slant downwards. The whole impression is that of a grumpy person.

Hair: the figure's head is covered with a moulded layer that covers the temples and the centre of the forehead, with two indentations on the line of the figure's eyes. Any hair appears to be short.

Dress: the figure's head appears to have extra covering from the moulded areas on its head. There are symmetrical, identical mouldings over the shoulders and pouches at the pectoral muscles. The moulded area to the figure's right is unclear, but there are three

repeated vertical lines of drapery hanging from the level of his left hip. The belly is curved and makes it difficult to distinguish any mouldings underneath it, although there is a suggestion of a v-shape at the top of the legs. There is no evidence of indentations on the legs.

Weapons: there is some moulding to the right of the figure's right leg. Comparison with L8 and L17 may suggest a fist above this.

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: Identified with Webster's mask J, MTL type E2:

Representation: the figure is understood to be Herakles from the identification of the moulding on the head/temples as a lionskin, with the two indentations its eyes and the vertical drapery to its left perhaps part of the claws/ leg by comparison with L17. The moulded details at the right hip would therefore be considered a club, as on examples G2, MH1 and L6. The exaggerated grumpiness of the expression suggesting a mask and the padded belly suggest a comic character. The relative size of the head to the rest of the body also suggest a mask.

Appearance/ form of object: this figure shares some similarities with L4 in details of the dress (shape of lion's head, drapery at shoulders, lack of crossed paws), although it does not appear to share the baggy tights. It is considered by both excavators and Webster to be of the same type (E2), perhaps even the same mould (L7-8 are 6mm apart in height), as L8, L9 and L17. The head appears larger proportionally than L4 and biggest of all the examples so far collected. All Lipari types were moulded at the front only, with a smooth back. This example has a base.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 3150

**Refs**:

- Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 74: E2a.  
*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302 B111a, pl. CLXV, 7.  
Breà, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma.

105.

Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology  
Monograph 25, Oxbow. no. 542

Webster, TBL: *MMCII* ST17: 58, 89; *MMCI* ST 10: 139

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, straight head	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST12a/ 35 Object	as L8-9, 17, 25-7. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play? MMC 'further from Attic'
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 6.9 cm intact E2 re-made mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MTL: 74/ MPT: 104	How doe size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST12a/35 Comp with Lipari egs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production. No context.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin Some colour on head
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	31 figs, 9 masks in context. Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MTL tav. 71/ MLII tav CXLV, 7. Object base.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar with scores of other figurines	local? worshipper by same person?	MLII: 158, MTL: 304 Context Context	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies community effort. How visible?



broken in sacred ritual		MPT: 104	
Figurine excavated 1953 from trench XVII/i with 31 figurines, 9 masks given inv. no 3150	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML II: 90 ML II 90/ MPT: 106 MTL: 74/ MPT: 106	Which details are correct? L8-9 consecutive inv. no. No discussion of context in ML II for trench XVII.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt as theatrical object of middle comedy as Herakles in classical Greece	LBB LBB MC/ Sagep Webster/ ICS RV/ Oxford	MLII: 158 MTL: 302 E2a MMC ST12a/35 RV no. 542	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumes Athenian influence As above, globalised coll. Single eg, not in LIMC.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L8



M.L. II: pl. CLXV, 5.

**Object Reference:** L8

**Find Context:** Trench XXII (MLII: 302), XXIII (MTL: 73), XXIII, III (MTL: 304), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Foundation of large altar to Demeter-Kore, built 350-300.

**Found with:** 101 masks, 159 figurines (80 types), 1 mould, 'other fourth century material'.

**Other examples of object:** L4-7, L9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L7, L9, L17, L25-7.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the figure is intact, but the surface is very worn. His feet are damaged. 6.3cm high.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. His legs are straight with weight evenly balanced, although the right leg may be slightly bent. His features and clothing are damaged.

Appearance: the head appears larger than proportion to the rest of the body and covered by moulded areas. The head is damaged, but the length of the area underneath the mouth suggests the presence of a beard. Lines around the eyes appear to slope down towards a nose that is now too damaged to make out. A v-shape above the mouth suggests it sloped downwards. The shape and features recall elements of L7 and L17. His right arm is straight down to his waist, with a broader moulding suggesting a fist at the hip. The belly is curved, with no moulding underneath, although there are signs of damage.

Hair: no hair is obvious, covered by extra moulding at the top.

Dress: the figure appears to have a covering on his head that continues down the left side of his head and over his left shoulder. A straight area at the left hip can be compared to L7.

Weapons: there is no clear evidence of a weapon, but there is a straight object to the right of his right leg topped by the moulding at the right hip.

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: Identified with Webster's mask J, MTL type E2:

Representation: much of the evidence for identification is based upon comparison with L7 and L17, which the figure seems to resemble. This would suggest a mask with head covering that indicates Herakles' lionskin hanging down on the left side (shown more clearly on L17) and a grumpy expression. The curve of the belly and identical features of the stance contribute to this identification with a comic actor in a Herakles mask, although there is no evidence of a phallos, looped or otherwise. This figure's right arm appears to hold a straight feature at his side, which has been understood as the club.

Appearance/ form of object: this figure is considered by both excavators and Webster to be of the same type (E2), perhaps even the same mould (L7-8 are 6mm apart in height), as L7, L9 and L17. See L7 for discussion. All Lipari figurines were moulded only at the front. This example has a base, as L7.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish, although this examples appears darker from the photograph. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.:** 3151

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 74: E2b.

*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302

B111b, pl. CLXV, 5; 293ff.

Breà, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. 105.

Webster, TBL: *MMCII* ST35:95; *MMCI* ST 12b: 140

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, straight head	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST12b/ 35 Object	as L7, 9, 17, 25-7. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play? MMC 'further from Attic'
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim? Why does this clay appear darker?
Clay placed in half mould 6.3 cm intact E2 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MTL: 74/ MPT: 104	How doe size inform function? 6 mm smaller than mould-mates. How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST12b/35 Comp with Lipari egs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production. No context.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin Traces of colour
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	80 fig types, 101 masks in context. Mould also found. Is the same play comm? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MLII tav CXLV, 5. Object base.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar	local?	MLII: 158, MTL: 304	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/

with scores of other figurines broken in sacred ritual	worshipper by same person?	Context Context MPT: 104	altar implies community effort. How visible? Diff context to L7, same L9
Figurine excavated 1955 from trench XXIII with 159 figurines, 101 masks, 1 mould given inv. no 3151	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML II: 90 ML II 90/ MPT: 106  MTL: 74/ MPT: 106	L7, 9 consecutive inv. no. Why have these survived intact where others haven't? Is a mould a votive too or evidence of production?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published as theatrical object of middle comedy	LBB MC/ Sagep Webster/ ICS	MTL: 302 E2a MMC ST12a/35	No discussion of function. Assumes Athenian influence As above, globalised coll.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L9



M.L. II: pl. CLXV, 6.

**Object Reference:** L9

**Find Context:** Trench XXII (MLII: 302), XXIII (MTL: 73), XXIII, III (MTL: 304), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Foundation of large altar to Demeter-Kore, built 350-300.

**Found with:** 101 masks, 159 figurines (80 types), 1 mould, 'other fourth century material'.

**Other examples of object:** L4-8, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L7-8, L17, L25-7.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the figurine is intact, although there is no area below the knees and the surface is worn. Suggestions of paint remain. 5cm high.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. The shoulders appear level, so without the evidence of the lower legs, it would seem to stand with weight evenly balanced. The right arm hangs straight down to the waist; the left side is too bashed to identify the arm.

Appearance: the head is covered over the forehead, temples and ears with an area that reaches a conical peak, under which no hair is visible. Eyes, nose and mouth are damaged, but the eyes appear to be round under slanted brows. It is impossible to tell how flat the

nose was originally; a roughly triangular area remains over an indentation on the right side for the mouth. It is now impossible to establish the original shape of the mouth. Fuller moulding underneath may suggest a beard.

Hair: none visible.

Dress: the figure's head is covered by something which falls behind the head and to the left of the figure. There are two probably identical mouldings over the pectorals ending in c-shapes; more distinct than on L7-8 and not surviving on L17. The belly is curved with the area below too bashed for comment. No details to the figure's left can be made out.

Weapons: none visible; comparison with L7-8 & 17 suggest the right arm holds the top of a club, as understood by excavators and Webster.

Accessories: the over-sized head may be a mask.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: Identified with Webster's mask J, *MTL* type E2:

Representation: much of the evidence for identification is based upon comparison with L7/8 and L17, which the figure seems to resemble, although the pointed cap appears higher on this example. Thus, the head covering would be Herakles' lionskin, and the pronounced features of the face and over-sized head with the curved belly would suggest a comic actor. The figure is too damaged to assess whether there was a phallos. The c-shaped endings to the area over the pectorals could be the claws of the lionskin, but this would leave unclear the vertical drapery/ loop on the left-hand side of L7-8/ L17.

Appearance/ form of object: this figure is considered by both excavators and Webster to be of the same type (E2), perhaps even the same mould as L7-8 and L17. See L7 for discussion. This example, lacking the area below the knees but with a higher point to the head, measures 5cm; L7-8 measure 6.9 and 6.3cm respectively (no measurement for L17). All Lipari examples are moulded at the front only.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 3152

**Refs**:



- Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 74: E2c.  
*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 302  
B111c, pl. CLXV, 6; 293ff.
- Breà, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma.  
105.
- Webster, TBL: *MMCII* ST35: 95; *MMCIH* ST 12c: 140

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, straight head	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST12c/ 35 Object	as L7-8, 17, 25-7. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play? MMC 'further from Attic'
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 5 cm to knees E2 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MTL: 74/ MPT: 104	How doe size inform function? Slightly pointier head? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST12c/35 Context: MLII: 293	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin Some colour on head
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	159 figs, 101 masks in context, also a mould. Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MTL tav. 71/ MLII tav CXLV, 6.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited at Demeter-Kore altar with scores of other figurines broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MLII: 158, MTL: 304 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies community effort. How visible?
Figurine excavated 1955 from trench XXIII, III	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML II: 90 ML II 90/ MPT: 106	Which details are correct? L7-8 consecutive inv. no. Is the mould a votive too?

with 159 figurines, 101 masks, 1 mould given inv. no 3152		MTL: 74/ MPT: 106	Cons. inv no L7-8.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt as theatrical object of middle comedy	LBB LBB MC/ Sagep Webster/ ICS	MLII: 158 MTL: 302 E2c MMC ST12c/35	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumes Athenian influence As above, globalised coll.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L10



M.L.II: Pl. No. CXLIX, 3.

**Object Reference:** L10

**Find Context:** Trench IX, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** L12; 15 figurines (13 types), 9 masks (8 types).

**Other examples of object:** L3, L20-22, M4-M5.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hades

**Object type:** mask

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object has been reconstructed from two joining fragments, showing the sides of the head and hair, but has the nose and lower central area of the face missing. It measures 8.9 x 9.3cm.

**Description:** The figure is rendered with exaggerated realistic features. Only the head is depicted.

Pose: only the head is preserved; the gaze is at the viewer, in front of the object.

Appearance: the lower part of the face has not been preserved. The eyes are wide and exaggerated in size. The excavation report describes the eyebrows as raised.

Hair: appears to be short under a covering with moulded features resembling the head of a big cat.

Dress: head covering.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the interpretation of the moulded features on the head as a lionskin identifies the mask as that of Herakles. This example is not discussed in *MTL*, and the A4 type number allotted to it in the excavation report was taken over by a mask of Oedipus in *MTL*. Why was it omitted?

Appearance/ form of object: it is unclear why the mask is designated as tragic or satyr (listing in *M.L.II*) when the lower part of the face is not preserved; the mouth is used as an identifier on other examples. The raised eyebrows may explain this identification. This mask lacks the more realistic appearance of the tragic masks of Herakles, L20-22. It was well under life size. All Lipari examples have unmoulded backs.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Offering in a votive ditch, with a non-theatrical figurine of Herakles.

**Date**: 360-340 (ML); 300-250 (AS: 229).

**Inv. No.**: 3070

**Refs:**

- Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M (1965) *Mel. Lip II La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo. 299 A4; Pl. No. CXLIX, 3.  
Schwarzmaier, A. (2012). *Die Masken aus der Nekropole von Lipari*. Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag: 229.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask A4 with lionskin, satyr/ tragic under life-size	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site <i>M.L. II: 299</i> Object Object/ <i>M.L. II: 299</i>	Local production. Who decided? Why does A4 go? Does it relate to a production? Why not in MMC/ MNC?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object,	Is this a new or re-used mould?
Pinkish-red clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	<i>MTL: 17</i>	Local production with clay imported from north coast – needs safe seas
Clay placed in mould 8.9 x 9.3 cm	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object <i>M.L. II: 299</i>	What happens to type A4? 2/3rds size of L3
Moulds finished, combined,	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Was it a single mould?
Mask fired 360-340 300-250	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	Object: RH: 108 <i>M.L. II: 299</i> AS: 229	Evidence for kilns at site. How long curated? Gap mould/ use/ deposition?
Mask painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object	No colours survive. Where did colours come from, were all painted the same?
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	<i>MTL: 18</i>	
Mask offered for sale no suspension hole cut	Mould-maker/ coroplast Slave? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? At sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? Diff process for tomb/ votive ditch?
Mask acquired of tragic/ satyr Herakles	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Was it used elsewhere before votive at sanctuary? What is relationship to theatre/ festival?
Mask kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object	Flatter and more frontal than L3. Weight?
Mask deposited in trench IX with L12, 15 figurines, 9 masks broken in sacred ritual	sanctuary staff local? worshipper  group of owners	Context, <i>M.L. II: 299</i> <i>M.L. II: 303</i>  <i>MPT: 104</i>	Tomb area, so how does this cf to L3 in the timb? L12 omitted from <i>MTL</i> list, what else?! Group decision to end use of object.
Mask excavated 1950 catalogued 3070 2 pieces fitted together	LBB/ MC staff	<i>ML II: 299.</i> AS: 229	Why does it disappear from theatrical publications?

Mask published in excavation report as necropolis mask	LBB/MC/ Flaccovio AS/ DAI Rome	<i>ML</i> II: 299. AS: 229	Do satyr masks get less attention because fewer texts remain?
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*M.L. II: Pl. CCI, 3*

**Object Reference:** L11

**Find Context:** tomb 409, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** Monte Rosa rock sarcophagus. Inside this: figured vessels of named painters, gold ring. Outside: black glazed vessels, lamp, terracotta mask mould H4.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L12.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine



**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the figurine is complete, with the exception of a diagonal line from the top of the right eye to a point parallel with the bottom of the nose to the left of the face. The surface is worn. The object is 9.6cm high.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the figure is seated, with its head inclined to the right and downwards. The arms are held at the sides, with hands gripping a section near the end of a long tube that coils around the right arm and left leg of the figure.

Appearance: the figure appears to lack muscle definition and has a curving belly. The excavation catalogue describes him as a baby. There is no beard, but the rest of the face is too damaged to comment on its appearance.

Hair: the head is damaged, but there is no hair showing at the shoulders.

Dress: the figure is naked.

Weapons: none shown.

Accessories: none shown.

Companions: two long tubes coiling around the figure.

Background/ Field: moulding behind the figure and under his feet suggests a seat and the ground.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Gnathia style used to suggest date.

Representation: the identification with Herakles rests on the coils as the snakes which Herakles strangled when he was a child. The snakes are often described as entering his cradle, but the figure here appears to be seated.

Appearance/ form of object: the figure does not resemble theatrical examples in its nakedness, nor the narrative evocation of the snakes and the seated pose.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from pinkish-red clay from the north Sicilian coast, covered with a local kaolin glaze. Comparison with other Lipari examples suggests that this was unmoulded on its reverse and therefore viewed frontally.

Function: the object was found in a grave, suggesting that this was a grave-good.

**Date:** 340-300 or post-282 on stylistic grounds of associated pottery.

**Inv. No.:** not recorded in the excavation catalogue.

**Refs:**

*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo: 317 F5, Pl. No. CCI, 3.

## L12



*ML* II: pl. CCII, 6.

**Object Reference:** L12

**Find Context:** Trench IX, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** L10, 15 figurines (13 types), 9 masks (8 types).

**Other examples of object:** L4-8, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** only the head, down to the level of the lips, of the object remains. The top of the piece is worn. The object measures 4.1cm in height.

**Description:** the object is rendered in realistic fashion. Head of a young Herakles, no beard, with the lion skin on his head.

Pose: only the head is preserved; this appears to be angled to the right, with the eyes looking down.

Appearance: although the bottom part of the face is not preserved, there is no sign of a beard and the figure is recorded without a beard in the excavation catalogue description (*ML* II: 317). There are deep furrows on the forehead and under the eyes.

Hair: appears short under a covering.

Dress: head only preserved. This is covered to the same height again as the head by a moulded feature, which includes a triangular protuberance over the figure's forehead, and indentations above and to the side of this. There is a curved moulding at the right temple.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none survive.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the mouldings on the head of the figure are taken to be the nose, eyes and ears of a lion, thus Herakles is represented by the lionskin.

Appearance/ form of object: grouped under 'non-theatrical terracottas' in *M.L.* II and displayed this currently in the Museo Eoliano according to tourist internet photographs.

Production inc. choice of material: the head alone measures 4.1cm, which suggests that if given realistic proportions, this figure was originally quite large when compared with mainly complete theatrical examples L4-7, which are typically around 7cm in height.

Function: the object was found in a votive ditch with a number of theatrical terracotta figurines.

**Date**: 340-300

**Inv. No.**: not stated in the excavation catalogue.

**Refs:**

*Mel. Lip II* (1965) *La Necropoli Greca e Romana nella Contrada Diana*. SF Flaccovio, Palermo: 317 F6, pl. No. CCII, 6.

## L13



*M.L. II: Pl. CCIV, 6.*

**Object Reference:** L13

**Find Context:** specific provenance not recorded within the Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** not recorded.

**Other examples of object:** M2

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** ornament for a vessel.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** the image appears complete but lost from the vessel it adorned. The object measures 5 x 4.6cm.

**Description:** The figure is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the head faces forward.

Appearance: the face wears a thick moustache and luxurious curling beard. All sections of the eyes, including the iris, are rendered by deep grooves.

Hair: unclear under a covering.

Dress: the head only is depicted, covered by a moulding with features recalling the eyes, ears, nose and mouth of a big cat.

Weapons: n/a.

Accessories n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: repeated lines fading into plain background on the top right; otherwise the ground is plain.

Other images: none recorded.

**Interpretation:** listed under ‘non-theatrical terracottas’ in *M.L.* II.

Representation: Herakles is recognised from the rather squashed-looking lionskin on the top of his head. The details of his beard here are particularly luxuriant and carefully rendered.

Appearance/ form of object: the excavators describe this as a ‘mask of Herakles’, rather than a head; this would place it in the same type of object as M10-14.

Production inc. choice of material: moulded decoration for a larger vessel. No details even of the type of vessel on which this might appear.

Function: it is not clear from which part of the vessel this object would have originated.

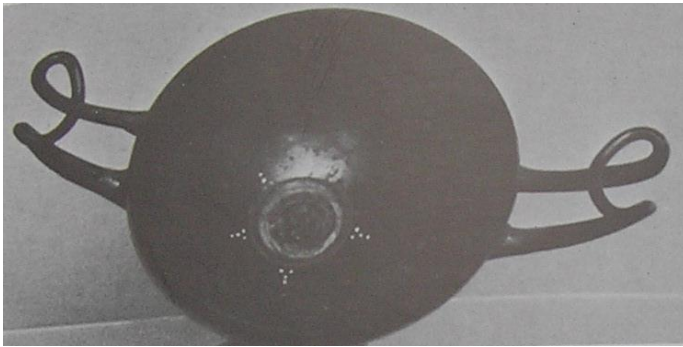
**Date:** none ascribed; the necropolis was used until the 251 destruction by Rome, although there are some graves dating to later than this.

**Inv. No.:** not recorded in the excavation catalogue.

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L & Cavalier, M. (1965). *Meliginis Lipára II. La necropolis greca e romana nella Contrada Diana*. Palermo: 318 G1, Pl. No. CCIV, 6.

## L14



*M.L. V: Pls 45-6, 48*

### **Object Reference:** L14

**Find Context:** Tomb 1885, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari. Stone sarcophagus with sides and monolithic head showing a slight expansion to the base, covered with three flat squared slabs.

**Found with:** Outside the sarcophagus around the south end was a group of polychrome vases and mass of clay covered by a fragment of rooftile containing assemblage of black glaze vases. The sarcophagus contained a skeleton on a bed of gravel, alongside which was a small lekane, an alabastron, golden ring and iron strigil (see below).

**Other examples of object:** medallion moulding found on M10-14 on black glaze pottery, also from same tomb and tombs 1886 and 2210 at Lipari.

**Other examples of representation:** M14; Hal1, Mod1.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** clay with black glaze.

**Preservation:** the whole object has been preserved intact, in good condition. It measures 7 x 10.7cm.

**Description:** only the head is depicted, rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the head faces forward.

Appearance: no beard. There are two bulbous pieces of moulding underneath the figure's ears.

Hair: appears to be short underneath a covering.

Dress: the head is covered by moulded features and further back repeated thin strokes suggesting the mane of an animal.

Weapons: n/a.

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: the head is shown in a round field, with evenly spaced circles around it.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** hemispherical black glaze kylix with moulded medallion on base  
(comment)

Representation: the representation as Herakles rests on the interpretation of the moulded head covering as a lionskin. The two bulbous mouldings underneath the ears recall the Ammon horn representation found on Hal1 and Mod1, recalling portraits of Alexander the Great as Herakles; would this image be recognised as Herakles or Alexander?

Appearance/ form of object: the moulding could only be seen when the cup was turned upside down. The size of this bowl is comparable with the clay moulded hemispherical bowls from Morgantina. The shape of this vessel was widespread during this period, examples are found as far east as the Crimea.

Production inc. choice of material: the black glaze and moulded medallion, along with the triangular dotted decoration recall M10-14.

Function: the vessel is described as a kylix, usually ascribed a drinking function. Its place in tomb 1885 suggests that this was a grave-good. The position of the figure on the bottom of the vessel may suggest that this view was seen in a votive context as the

contents of the vessel were turned out, especially since the vessel's elaborate handles make storage on its rim seem impossible.

**Date:** 300-250

**Inv. No.:** 14030

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L & Cavalier, M. (1991). *Meligunis Lipára V. Scavi nella necropolis greca di Lipari*. Rome  
Pubblicazioni del Museo eoliano di Lipari: 6 Pl. No. 45-6, 48.



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## L16



M.L. VII: Pl. LXXIII, 1.

**Object Reference:** L16

**Find Context:** Scattered votive offerings in the area of zone A, the votive ditches of the proto-Hellenistic era in the area of the Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 4 sacred terracottas, 14 masks of 8 types, 11 male comic figurines (8 types), 22 female (14 types), 3 musicians (2 types), terracotta flowers, early Tanagra figurines. 1 large naked female statue. Some masks, 2 figurines from later New Comedy types.

**Other examples of object:** L4-6, L7-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Pal1, Ad2.

**Other examples of representation:** L6, L28

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** only the bottom half of the figurine is extant (waist downwards), the surface is worn. 4.5 cm high. Old mould.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure's lower torso and legs appear straight on to the viewer, with the hips level and no obvious bend at the knee. It is difficult to judge the width of the legs. There is a small moulding curving at the right hip.

Appearance: no head remains.

Hair: no head remains.

Dress: the covering of the legs is unclear. There is a moulded area curving from left hip to the left knee. The belly appears curved with no markings on it. There is no evidence of a phallos.

Weapons: none obvious. A long, straight object with some mouldings runs down by the side of the right leg.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: *MTL* type E3.

Representation: the justification for 'sulking' by the excavators is unclear. The identification with Herakles and the E3 type (see L6, L28) may be based on the curved belly of a comic actor, with the straight object to the right identified as a club and the curving moulding at the left side the tail of a lionskin. There is no indication of a phallos, although the example is much damaged. There are no indentations on the legs, as for type E1, and the legs are straight, unlike E2. The 'tail' appears to me to be in a different place on L6 and this may be a different type of representation.

Appearance/ form of object: very damaged, but displays a base, as seen on L7-8, suggesting upright display, and clearer evidence of the flat, unmoulded back of the Lipari examples.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 275-250 (LBB/ MC).

**Inv. No.**: 13414

**Refs**:

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1994) *Mel Lip VII: Scavo XXXVI in proprietà Zagami* (1975-1984), Accademia Nazionale di Scenia Lettere e Arte, Palermo. 116, E3, pl. LXXIII, 1

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles grounded club	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLVII: 116 Object	as L6, 28. Image made from life? Agreed? Gesture, pose, specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 4.5 cm waist to ankles	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MLVII: 116	How does size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished Re-used after many years?	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	3 examples of E3 mould, L6 dated 50+ years earlier.
Figurine fired 350-325 275-250	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST11 Context, MLVII: 116	Later dating based on find with mask and New Comedy types.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin No descr of colours, b/w
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLVII: 116	Sacred terracottas also found. How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used waist down only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object MLVII tav LXXIII,1	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between mould/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited with scattered votives in necropolis with broken sacred & theatrical figurines	local? worshipper by same person?	MLVII: 116 MLVII: 116 MLVII: 116 MLVII: 116	What happened during deposition. How visible? What does this imply abt finds in earlier excvs?
Figurine excavated 1979 in zone A given inv. no 13414	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	MLVII: 116  MLVII: 116	Differences in publication details.

Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt	LBB/ MC	MLVII: 116	No discussion of function. More finds noted.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L17



M.L. VII: Pl. LXXXI, 4.

**Object Reference:** L17

**Find Context:** Votive ditch zone C, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 4 complete figurines the final reduction of re-made moulds, 4 broken figurines, terracotta flowers.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L11-12, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Pal1, Ad2.

**Other examples of representation:** L7-9, 25-27.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved from a diagonal line across the torso downwards, with the right side also damaged. The surface is abraded. No size recorded, although all are listed as small.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: from the half that remains, the figure stands frontally, with right knee slightly bent.

A moulded area appears at his right hip, and other features to the left of the body.

Appearance: no head remains.

Hair: no head remains.

Dress: the belly is curved; comparison with L7-9 suggests a short, padded tunic. Folds and curves in the moulding to the left may indicate drapery. A moulded area rests between the figure's legs. There is no indication of horizontal indentations on the legs.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** MTL type E2

Representation: identification comes from comparison and similarity with the bottom half of L7-8 especially; the details of this example are better preserved and may inform understanding of the other examples designated E2. The padded belly and prominent phallos moulded underneath the tunic suggest a comic actor without the wrinkled leggings of L4. The moulded area at the right hip suggests a fist clenched around an object; comparison with L7-8 which show a long straight object below the hip (also cf G2, MH1) would suggest a club, thus the identification as Herakles. To the left of the figure is an area which seems to show a looped hanging, corresponding to the vertical lines of drapery on L7-8; perhaps this is the tail of the lion?

Appearance/ form of object: this figure is considered to be of the same type as L7-9. The legs appear to be slimmer on this example. This example has a base, suggesting it was for upright display. It suggests the smooth, unmoulded back of all Lipari figurines.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), no suggestion of date in the excavation report, but the description of the final moulds suggests 275-250, as L16.

**Inv. No.:** 13596

**Refs:**

Brea, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1994) *Mel Lip VII: Scavo XXXVI in proprietà Zagami (1975-1984)*, Accademia Nazionale di Scienza Lettere e Arte, Palermo. 121-2, E3, pl. LXXXI, 4.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, v thin legs 'further from Attic version'	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLVII: 122 Webster ST12a/ 35 Object Webster ST12a/ 35	as L7-9, 25-7. Image made from life? Agreed? How do they know what sells? Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play?
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use, not just made to be smashed.
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould small E2 old, worn mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MTL: 74/ MPT: 104	How does size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 275-250	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST12a/35 Comp with Lipari egs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin b/w image
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? MLVII conceives of a group. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character, flower	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	8 figs in context. Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used bottom half only survives for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object base.	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited in votive ditch with 8 figurines, 2 flowers broken in sacred ritual	local? ditch-diggers worshipper by same person?	MLVII: 121-2 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Large ditch/ altar implies community effort. How visible?



Figurine excavated 1975 from votive ditch in area C given inv. no 13596	LBB/ MC cataloguer	ML VII: 121-2 ML VII 121-2 ML VII 121-2	Differences in publication details of finds.
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt	LBB MC/ Accademia Palermo	MLVII: 121-2	No discussion of function. B/w image, no detail of reverse
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L18



*M.L. IX, tav CLXXXI, 5b*

**Object Reference:** L18

**Find Context:** Zone 3L, external part of the Greek-era city wall, equivalent of a votive ditch, part of Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** figurines, black glaze pottery, weights.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-17, 19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Pal1, Ad2.

**Other examples of representation:** cf *MTL* E1, L4-5, L19, L23-4

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** head only preserved to the neck, unclear image, 3.8 x 2.6cm.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the head faces the viewer squarely, there is a suggestion of a twist to the left and downwards, but this may be due to the section of neck surviving.

Appearance: the figure's head is covered and there is no suggestion of hair. His eyes are unnaturally large over curved brows and furrowed forehead. The nose is damaged but there is a suggestion that it hooks over the mouth. The mouth curves up slightly at the edges (cf L7-9) and is in proportion (cf G2). He wears a beard.

Hair: no evidence, perhaps short under the head covering.

Dress: the head is covered but the rest of the body does not survive.

Weapons: none extant.

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Identified with Webster's mask J and *MTL* type E1.

Representation: the identification rests on the moulded covering of the head; the indentations over the figure's own eyes are taken as the eyes of a lion, with ears to the side; hence Herakles in the lionskin. The exaggerated features of the face, especially the over-large eyes, are understood to be the mask of a comic actor.

Appearance/ form of object: the excavators understand this as a new impression of the E1 mould (*MTL IX*: 142) presumably to L4-5 previously discovered. There appears to be a broader, more furrowed, forehead underneath the lionskin on this example and the lion's head does not incline to the left as on L4. The 'face' of the mask also appears narrower and more pointed towards the chin. As such, this may constitute a different type, but judgment is impossible without the rest of the figure. Lipari examples were moulded at the front only, with a smooth back.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 context, 340-320/10 from vase painting evidence.

**Inv. No.:** 21247

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L. & Cavalier M. (1998). *Mel Lip IX* Vol. II Topografia di Lipari in età Greca e Romana. Regione Sicilia Beni Culturali, Palermo: 134-6, 142, pl. CLXXXI, 5b.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with tilted head & lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLIX: 142	as L4-5, 19, 23-4. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/ L7. Gesture, pose, lack of club specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 3.8 x 2.6 cm head E1 new mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MLIX: 142	How doe size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-300 340-310	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context, MLIX: 135 cf pottery chronology	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production. Relevance of pottery dating?
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin B/w photo
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Was it obvious if from new/ re-made mould? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLIX: 142	What other characters found? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used head only for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited in ditch outside Gk-era wall with other figs, weights, pots broken in sacred ritual	ditch-diggers local? worshipper by same person?	MLIX: 134-6 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition? Large ditch/ wall implies community effort. How visible?

Figurine excavated 1971/2 in zone 3L, outside city wall given inv. no 21247	LBB/ MC cataloguer	ML IX: 134-6 ML IX: 134-6 ML IX: 142	Same context as L30?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt	LBB/ MC	MLIX: 142	Assumption of MTL knowledge.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L19



*M.L. IX tav CLXXXV, 2b*

**Object Reference:** L19

**Find Context:** Zone 3I-J, City Gate of Greek-era wall, in the area of the Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** Aphrodite statuette, 3 Demeter-Kore busts, figurines of Demeter, Artemis (2), sacred female, 6 theatrical figurines, 1 new comedy mask, 2 Tanagra figurines, ceramic fragments black glaze and painted of 350-300.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Pal1, Ad2.

**Other examples of representation:** cf *MTL* E1, L4-5, L18, L23-4

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the right side of the torso and thigh only are preserved, 3.7 x 3.3cm.

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: despite the lack of head and shoulders, it appears that the figure stands frontally, with right hand on hip (cf L4).

Appearance: the head of the figure does not survive. It displays a curved belly.

Hair: the head does not survive.

Dress: the figure wears a short tunic/ chiton which reveals a looped moulding at the top of the legs (the opposite curve to L4); there are curved mouldings over the belly at an indentation. The right thigh of the figure demonstrates repeated horizontal lines.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Identified with *MTL* type E1.

Representation: the identification rests on the similarity with L4 (right hand on hip, padded belly, looped phallos, horizontal indentations on the legs), excavated previously, however see comments below on the possibility of a variant type/ mould. Thus, the padded belly suggests a comic actor, in which case the indentations on the legs should indicate wrinkled tights/ leggings, along with the looped phallos. The curved mouldings over the belly may then be interpreted as part of the lionskin, perhaps the paws, with the repeated lines to the right of the folds of the drapery (compare L4 for the folds; the 'lionskin' is less evident), therefore indicating Herakles. It is unclear to me how the hand shown in this example could hold a club, as understood by Webster.

Appearance/ form of object: the phallos on this example appears to be a mirror of the one on L4. All Lipari examples have a smooth, unmoulded back.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC) although New Comedy and Tanagra types would indicate 300-250.

**Inv. No.:** 21522

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L. & Cavalier M. (1998). *Mel Lip IX* Vol. II Topografia di Lipari in età Greca e Romana. Regione Sicilia Beni Culturali, Palermo, 147-8, 150, pl. CLXXXV 2b.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles hand on hip, curled phallos, lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLIX: 150 Object	as L4-5, 18, 23-4. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/ L7. Gesture, pose, lack of club specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 3.7 x 3.3 cm chest to knees E1 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 73 MLII: 302/ MPT: 104	How doe size inform function? New or re-used mould? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300/ 300-250	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context, MLIX: 148	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production. NC/ Tanagra dating contradicts Webster.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale? Are they bought or given?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MLIX: 148	How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used chest to knees only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? Group decision to break figs
Figurine deposited at City Gate of Greek-era wall with figurines, masks, Tanagra broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MLIX: 147-8 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition? Large ditch implies community effort. How visible?
Figurine excavated 1971/2 in zone 3I/J given inv. no 21522	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	ML IX: 147-8 ML IX: 150	What effect has the re-evaluation of dates had?



Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published in excavation rpt	LBB/ MC/ region	MLIX: 150	No discussion of function. Change in publ style.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L20



MTL pl. VII



MTL: 36 fig. 14

**Object Reference:** L20

**Find Context:** Trench XXXI/71 (although simply trench XXXI in area of the ditch in MTL appendix), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 31 figurines (25 types), 27 masks, 1 mould.

**Other examples of object:** L3, L10, L21-2, M4-5.

**Other examples of representation:** L21-2

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hades

**Object type:** mask

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** The object was reconstructed from five fragments. Some white paint is preserved on the right-hand side. There is some damage to the surface, particularly around the left-hand side of the mouth. The height of the base is 8.3 cm, the width 6.3 cm; A front 6.9 cm; A side 5 cm.

**Description:** The figure is rendered realistically, with some exaggeration of expression. Only the head is depicted.

**Pose:** the head faces frontally.

Appearance: no beard, open mouth. The brows curve towards the nose and the eyes appear deep-set.

Hair: short curls visible underneath a covering. No hair visible behind the jaw.

Dress: head only depicted, covered by moulded features; these include a triangular protuberance in the centre over the figure's forehead, two indentations above and either side of this and curving features around the figure's ears. The covering is shown as extending behind the character's neck.

Weapons: n/a.

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the moulded features of the head covering resemble the lionskin, from which the identification as Herakles derives. The furrowed brows suggest a tragic, rather than comic, context. The realistic feature, in particular the eyes, contrast with L10, perhaps suggesting a different form of use. Contrary to ref in *MTL*, this is not the example shown in Brea (1977).

Appearance/ form of object: the object is of the same form as L21-22 but is better preserved around the chin than L21. L20 is marginally smaller than L21, and narrower than L22 by a cm. A suspension hole has been made at the top of the head.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. The back of the object, by comparison with L22, is unmodeled and flat.

Function: the object was found in a votive ditch suggesting a ritual function at deposition. The link with the theatre is unclear.

**Date**: 340-300.

**Inv. No.**: 10699 Mus. Arch. Reg. LBB

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L (1976). *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. Genova, Sagep: A6a 36-7, pl. VII.

Schwarzmaier, A. (2012). *Die Masken aus der Nekropole von Lipari*. Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag:

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EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles in p'skin tragic rep A6 much under life-size also used for L21-22	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?  Mould-maker	Object <i>MTL</i> : 36-7 Object Object, <i>MTL</i> : 36-7	Is it from life? Agreed beforehand? How are genres attributed? Why so small?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, comp.	New mould as smaller than L21?
Pinkish red clay prepared, chosen from n coast Sicily	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 17	Why clay, not another material? Trade route open. Colour photo!
Clay placed in mould 8.3 x 6.3 x 6.9 x 5 cm type A6	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ comp. <i>MTL</i> : 37 <i>MTL</i> : 36-7	2 moulds required. Are masks for ditches and tombs the same?
Mould finished	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, <i>MTL</i> : 18	Is this from life?
Mask fired 340-330 CIV no. 9 in order	Mould-maker, slave?	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37 AS: 227	Date of mould or of firing? Context? Ordering in a typology
Mask painted in white slip,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	All versions painted the same? Colours better preserved in tomb
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 18	
Mask offered for sale suspension hole created	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37	Was hole added on request; L21 has hole, L22 doesn't. Implies upright, frontal viewing. Who was the buyer – bought or given away? L21/2 found in tombs, not ditch.
Mask acquired of H, not other character or 25 fig types, 27 masks, 1 mould also found	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object  Context, <i>MTL</i> : 306-7	1 mould found in ditch, were they made near CD? Why mask, not fig/ mould? What other genres in this context?
Mask kept/ used for frontal/ side viewing suspended	Acquirer	Object  <i>MTL</i> : 37	Where kept in house? V deep from side, suspended from what? Weight?
Mask deposited in trench XXXI area of trench with 31 figurines, 27 masks, 1 mould broken into 5 pieces in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person? owners of other objects	Object Context, <i>MTL</i> : 37 Context, <i>MTL</i> : 306-7  Object	How were goods selected? nb contradiction <i>MTL</i> L3 masks not smashed in tomb. What prompted the ritual? Joint decision to put objects out of use in trench dug together.
Mask excavated in 1971 from trench XXXI nr trench given inv. no 10699	LBB/ MC cataloguer	<i>MTL</i> : 37 <i>MTL</i> : 306  <i>MTL</i> : 37	Why wasn't the full context published?
Mask curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	assumed cat. no	How displayed?
Mask published as theatrical object 1976 as necropolis object 2012	LBB/ MC: Sagep AS/ DAI	<i>MTL</i> : 36-7 AS: 227.	<i>NOT</i> version in Il Castello. Image not explained.

## L21



MTL: 37 fig. 15

**Object Reference:** L21

**Find Context:** tomb 1287: sarcophagus with 4 slabs and a lid.

**Found with:** 2 black glaze vessels – 1 with letters ΓΑ on base, lamp, mask of Admetus

**Other examples of object:** L3, L20, L22, M4-5.

**Other examples of representation:** L20 L22;

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hades

**Object type:** mask

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** The object is preserved almost intact, with some damage at the left side of the chin. There are cracks on the left side of the head, as well as vestiges of white paint. It measures 8.5 cm long x 6.7 wide; 5 cm depth; front 8.3 cm.

**Description:** The figure is rendered realistically with some exaggeration of features. The head only is shown.

Pose: the head faces frontally with its mouth open.

Appearance: no beard. The brows incline towards the nose; the eyes appear deep-set.

Hair: short curly hair visible at the temples under a covering.

Dress: only the head is shown, covered by moulded features including a triangular protuberance above the centre of the figure's forehead, indentations above and to either side of this, and semi-circular curves on the sides of the covering. The area behind the figure's ears shows indented curves.

Weapons: n/a.

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the moulded features of the head covering resemble the lionskin, from which the identification as Herakles derives. The furrowed brows suggest a tragic, rather than comic, context. The realistic feature, in particular the eyes, contrast with L10, perhaps suggesting a different form of use. This is the example shown in the museum catalogue, where it is listed as a theatrical subject, part of one of the most complete series in the Greek (sic) world. The other mask in the tomb is recognised as Admetus, since both characters appear in the Euripidean tragedy, *Alceste*, they are associated with that play.

Appearance/ form of object: the object is of the same form as L20 and 22 but shows splintering around the chin. L20 is marginally smaller than L21. A suspension hole has been made at the top of the head.

Production inc. choice of material: evidence of the firing process comes from the splintering of the chin on this mould-made example of pinkish-red clay. Local kaolin white slip remains on the object.

Function: the object was found as an offering in a tomb. The link with the theatre is unclear.

**Date:** 350-251.

**Inv. No.:** 10774A

**Refs:**

Bernabo Breà L. & Cavalier, M. (1999) *Meligunìs Lipàra* Vol XI.II *Gli scavi nella necropoli greca e romana di Lipari nell'area del Terreno Vescovile*. Palermo, Publiscola: 532.

Bernabò Brea, L. (1977). *Il castello di Lipari e il Museo archeologico eoliano*. Palermo, S. F. Flaccovio: 138.

Bernabo Breà L. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Genova, Sagep: A6b 7, fig. 15. LIMC Suppl. 270.

Schwarzmaier, A. (2012). *Die Masken aus der Nekropole von Lipari*. Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag:230

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles in P'skin tragic rep A6 much under life-size also used for L20, 22	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?  Mould-maker	Object <i>MTL</i> : 36-7 Object, <i>ML</i> XI: 539. Object, <i>MTL</i> : 36-7	Is it from life? Agreed beforehand? Linked to Admetus, so Alcestis. How are genres attributed? Why so small?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, comp.	Older mould as larger than L20?
Pinkish red clay prepared, chosen from n coast Sicily	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 17	Why clay, not another material? Trade route open.
Clay placed in mould 8.5 x 6.7 x 8.3 x 5 cm type A6	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ comp. <i>MTL</i> : 37 <i>MTL</i> : 37	Are masks for ditches and tombs the same?
Mould finished	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, <i>MTL</i> : 18	Is this from life?
Mask fired 350-251 CIV no. 10 in order	Mould-maker, slave?	Object <i>ML</i> XI: 532 AS: 227	Date of mould or of firing? Damage at firing but still used in tomb.
Mask painted in white slip,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	All versions painted the same? Colours better preserved in tomb
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 18	
Mask offered for sale suspension hole created	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37	Was hole added on request; L21 has hole, L22 doesn't. Implies upright, frontal viewing. Who was the buyer – bought or given away? L20 found in ditch, not tomb.
Mask acquired of H, with Admetus mask	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, <i>MTL</i> : 306-7; <i>ML</i> XI: 539	Why choose those 2 masks? Why mask, not fig/ mould?
Mask kept/ used for frontal/ side viewing suspended	Acquirer	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37/ <i>ML</i> : 539	Where kept in house? V deep from side, suspended from what? Weight?
Mask deposited in tomb 1287 with 2 vessels, 1 lamp, 1 mask (all intact) splintered	local/ owner family of deceased	Object Context, <i>ML</i> : 539 Context, <i>ML</i> : 539	Deliberate choice of mask that cd be from same play? Lamp has letters ΓΑ suggesting literacy in Gk. Damaged but still offered.
Mask excavated from tomb 1287 given inv. no 10774A	LBB/ MC cataloguer	<i>MTL</i> : 37 <i>MTL</i> : 37/ <i>ML</i> : 539	<i>MTL</i> only says 10744; only masks given A & B, rest of objects = tomb no.
Mask curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	assumed cat. no	How displayed?
Mask published as theatrical object 1976 in exc rpt as museum object – theatrical terracotta as necropolis object	LBB/ MC: Sagep LBB/ MC: Publiscula LBB/ Flavvocio AS/ DAI	<i>MTL</i> : 36-7 <i>ML</i> XI: 539 <i>Il Castello</i> : 138  AS: 227.	Assoc with tomb, but emph on tragedy/ theatre in description. Date.  Image not explained.

## L22



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**Object Reference:** L22

**Find Context:** tomb, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** see Dossier of Historical Sources, Granata's report. Contents of individual tombs not specified.

**Other examples of object:** L3, L10, L20-21. M4-5.

**Other examples of representation:** L20-1

**Other examples of deities on object:** Hades.

**Object type:** mask

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** The object has been reconstructed from two fragments and shows a crack and discolouration to the right of the nose. Red colouring is preserved on the cheeks. It measures 8.2cm in height by 7.5 width.

**Description:** The figure is rendered realistically, with some exaggeration to the expression. The head only is depicted.

Pose: the figure faces frontally.

Appearance: no beard. The brows curve down towards the nose.

Hair: some evidence of short curls around the temples under a covering.

Dress: only the head is depicted, showing a covering with a triangular moulded feature above the centre of the figure's forehead and repeated square shapes next to a longer triangular one immediately above the forehead. There is a further curved moulding around the figure's ears.

Weapons: n/a.



Accessories: n/a.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation the moulded features of the head covering resemble the lionskin, from which the identification as Herakles derives. The furrowed brows suggest a tragic, rather than comic, context. The realistic feature, in particular the eyes, contrast with L10, perhaps suggesting a different form of use. Displayed with masks from Lipari tombs of varying sizes and associated with 'Slapstick and Tragedy' in Glasgow. Webster initially identified this as an old woman.

Appearance/ form of object: the object is of the same form as L20-21 but shows a collapsed area on the left-hand side of the lionskin. It measures the same as L20 within 1 mm. The image above shows the flat, unmoulded nature of the back of the object. There is no suspension hole. Compare *MNC 319 ST 98*.

Production inc. choice of material: evidence of the firing process comes from the collapsed left side on this mould-made example of pinkish-red clay. Local kaolin white slip remains on the object, as does red paint on the cheeks.

Function: the object was found as an offering in a tomb. The link with the theatre is unclear.

**Date:** 340-300.

**Inv. No.:** Museum of Glasgow 1903.70.dt2

**Refs:**

Bernabo Breà L. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Genova, Sagep: A6b 7, fig. 15.  
A6c 7, fig. 16.

Schwarzmaier, A. (2012). *Die Masken aus der Nekropole von Lipari*. Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag 235

Webster, T.B.L. (1995). *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*. BICS 50, London, ICS: 319.

Webster, T.B.L. (1969) *Scottish Art Review* (XII,1):7, fig.13

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles in P'skin old woman/ procuress tragic rep A6 much under life-size also used for L20-21	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?  Mould-maker	Object <i>M.T.L.</i> : 36-7 Webster: 7 Object, <i>M.T.L.</i> : 36-7	Is it from life? Agreed beforehand? How are genres attributed? Why so small?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, comp.	Same mould as L20 given measurements?
Pinkish red clay prepared, chosen from n coast Sicily	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 17	Why clay, not another material? Trade route open.
Clay placed in mould 8.2 x 7.5 cm type A6	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object/ comp. <i>MTL</i> : 37 <i>MTL</i> : 37	Are masks for ditches and tombs the same?
Mould finished	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, <i>MTL</i> : 18	Is this from life? Top left has collapsed when removed.
Mask fired 340-300 CIV no. 11 in order	Mould-maker, slave?	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37 AS: 235	Date of mould or of firing, cf L21? Damage at firing but still used in tomb.
Mask painted in white slip, red colouring on the cheeks	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	All versions painted the same? Colours better preserved in tomb
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object/ <i>MTL</i> : 18	
Mask offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37	Why no suspension hole, cf L20-21? Implies, frontal viewing. Who was the buyer – bought or given away? L20 found in ditch, not tomb.
Mask acquired of H,	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Why choose this mask? Why mask, not fig/ mould?
Mask kept/ used for frontal/ side viewing	Acquirer	Object <i>MTL</i> : 37/	Where kept in house? V deep from side, suspended from what? Weight?
Mask deposited in tomb in CD with variety of other objects not listed for other tombs	local/ owner family of deceased	Object Context, Granata report: dossier	Why is there such a difference between <i>MTL</i> / <i>ML</i> contents and the report? Damaged but still offered.
Mask excavated 1879 from tomb by Sclariaci staff/ Granata	Sclariaci/ Granata	Granata report	Some objects not preserved. No record of what came from which tomb.
Tombs' contents bought by Stevenson, shipped to Glasgow, 1885, acquired by museum 1903 cat 03-70 dt box 18	Sclariaci/ Granata Stevenson, agent?  uni mus, Glasgow staff	Glasgow Mus acquisition catalogue	What happened to objects 1879-1885? Did they all get to Glasgow? Boxed as 'Greek Vases [sic] from tombs in Lipari'; grouped entry cf vases.

Lipari objects re-catalogued 1936 (twice) as masks from same set and same tragedy	museum staff	GMRC catalogue listing, 1936	'Greek antiquities in store', then 'Greek Objects in Egyptian rm'; no evidence of same tomb; cf box 16 listing
Mask published as theatrical object 1969 1976 as necropolis object	Webster/ SAR LBB/ MC: Sagep AS/ DAI	Webster: 7 <i>MTL</i> : 37 AS: 227.	Webster mis-identifies as procuress, publ as art.  Image not explained.
Mask displayed as 'Slapstick & Tragedy' with 15 other Lipari masks, close to intl masks	Museum staff	Kelvingrove Museum	Info board has Sicilian theatre, but Gk plays. No info on use/ Stevenson. No assoc with other egs.

## L23



MPT fig. 107a

**Object Reference:** L23

**Find Context:** Trench XXIX, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 19 figurines (16 types), 28 masks.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L24-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** cf *MTL* E1, L4-5, L18-19, L24.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the head and chest of the object only are preserved. The object now measures 4.8 x 4.5cm

**Description:** The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features. The description matches the unlabelled fig 107a (above) in MPT, where the head and chest only are preserved.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with head(s) tilted to the left. His right hand is on his hip; the left is damaged and unclear. He is looking to his left, downwards.

Appearance: full, curly beard and moustache. His eyes are wide-set, and his nose is flat and rather bashed, although it is unclear whether this is due to post-production damage or deliberate artistic choice. He wears a moustache and beard, giving a mature appearance to the figure.

Hair: the figure's hair is covered by the headgear and would therefore appear to be short, with curls at the temples.

Dress: the figure's head is covered by moulded features resembling the head, ears, eyes and a nose of a big cat, which hangs down over his shoulders, leaving creases at the shoulders. There are some mouldings under the chin.

Weapons: *contra* Webster (MMCH: 139), there is no evidence of a club, or any other weapon (compare L19).

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: none

Other images: none

**Interpretation:** Identified with *MTL* type E1.

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the lionskin pushed back on the head. This is a mirror image of L4 (see production below), but otherwise displays the same details of head and chest. The exaggerated features of the face indicate a mask in the comic tradition, as does the clothing.

Appearance/ form of object: this example shows the inclination of the head found on L4, suggesting a common mould-type. All Lipari examples have smooth, unmoulded backs, suggesting frontal viewing.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made. This example may suggest the use of an existing figurine as the mould, since the reverse image is shown to L4.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/MC)

**Inv. No.:** 9812

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva. 73: E1c.  
Breà, L.B. (1958) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. 104.

Webster, TBL: *MMCII* ST17: 58, 89; *MMCH* ST 10: 139

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with tilted head & lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MTL: 73 Webster ST10/17 Object, MPT: fig 107a	as L4-5, 18-19, 24. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/ L7. Gesture, pose, lack of club specific to play?
Mould created from existing figurine?	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests popularity, no access to original mould.
Pink-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 4.8 x 4.5 cm head to knees E1 new mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 73 MTL: 73	How does size inform function? How many per mould, why re-use, after how long? Who decides?
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context comparison L4	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18 Object	White slip from local kaolin Flakes of white on lionskin
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale? Were old/ new moulds displayed together?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context MTL: 306	19 other figs, 28 masks. How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used to chest only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited with 19 figurines, 28 masks broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 306 Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Group decision to end use. How visible? Can poor quality be used?
Figurine excavated in trench XXIX given inv. no 9812	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	MTL: 73 MTL: 73 MTL: 73	In which year? Further details of this context?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published			No discussion of function.

as theatrical object	LBB/ MC Sagep	MTL: 73	Not all finds noted.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L24

No image available.

**Object Reference:** L24

**Find Context:** Trench XXXI/71 Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 15 figurines (14 types), 12 masks.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23, L25-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** cf *MTL* E1, L4-5, L18-19, L23

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** only the top of the head of the object has been preserved. The object now measures 2.7 x 2.7 cm.

**Description:** Listed as type E1 in *MTL*, but no image available for cross-checking and the description states that only the top of the head is preserved. The following descriptions follow L4, which preserves the head and chest of the same type. The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Assumed Pose: the figure stands frontally, with head(s) tilted to the left. His right hand is on his hip; the left is damaged and unclear. He is looking to his left, downwards.

Assumed Appearance: full, curly beard and moustache. His eyes are wide-set, and his nose is flat and rather bashed, although it is unclear whether this is due to post-production damage or deliberate artistic choice. He wears a moustache and beard, giving a mature appearance to the figure.

Assumed Hair: the figure's hair is covered by the headgear and would therefore appear to be short.

Assumed Dress: the figure's head is covered by moulded features resembling the head, ears, eyes and a nose of a big cat, which hangs down over his shoulders, leaving creases at the shoulders. There are some mouldings under the chin. The tunic is indented under the pectorals and shows a curved belly. There is a looped moulding between his legs and horizontal indentations on his legs and arms. Assumed Weapons: *contra* Webster (*MMCI*: 139), there is no evidence of a club, or any other weapon (compare L19).

Assumed Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Assumed Companions: none



Assumed Background/ Field: none

Assumed Other images: none

**Interpretation:** Identified with MTL type E1.

Representation: if the top of the head is preserved, then this should show a lionskin to identify Herakles.

Appearance/ form of object: other examples preserve the head only, associated by MPT with ritual breaking of objects when they were deposited in votive ditches. All Lipari examples were moulded at the front only.

Production inc. choice of material: all Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC)

**Inv. No.:** 10793

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva: 73, E1d

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with tilted head & lionskin	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 comp with L4, MTL: 73 comp with L4, MTL: 73 comp with L4, MTL: 73	as L4-5, 18-19, 23. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L6/L7. Gesture, pose, lack of club specific to play?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 2.7 x 2.7 cm top of head E1 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 73 comp with L4, MTL: 73	How does size inform function? New or re-used mould? Implies others.
Mould finished	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 6 examples of E1 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST10/17 Context, MLII: 158	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production. Context date?
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18 comp with L4, MTL: 73	White slip from local kaolin
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MTL: 307	3 Herakles types in same context, different plays? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used top of head only for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object comp with L4, MTL: 73	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited with 15 figurines, 12 masks broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 307 Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Context? How visible? Group decision.

Figurine excavated 1971 in trench XXXI 1971 given inv. no 18793	LBB/ MC cataloguer	MTL: 73 MTL: 73 MTL: 73	Details of context? Not listed in concordance MTL, confused with E2d (L25).
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published as theatrical object	LBB MC/ Sagep	MTL: 73	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L25

No image available.

**Object Reference:** L25

**Find Context:** Trench XXXI (MTL: 74), XXXI 1971 (MTL: 307), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** L24, L26. 15 figurines (14 types), 12 masks (including L20).

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-24, L26-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L8-9, L17, L25-7.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** The object is described as complete and now measures 6.6 cm.

**Description:** Listed as type E2 in *MTL*, but no image available for cross-checking. The following descriptions follow L7, which preserves the complete version of the same type. The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Assumed Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. His legs are together and his weight evenly distributed, although the right leg may be slightly bent. The bottom and sides of the figure are bashed, and details of his arms are unclear.

Assumed Appearance: The figure wears a full beard and moustache; eyebrows slant down to the centre over wide eyes and a flat nose (from wear or deliberate?), and the corners of the mouth slant downwards. The whole impression is that of a grumpy person.

Assumed Hair: the figure's head is covered with a moulded layer that covers the temples and the centre of the forehead, with two indentations on the line of the figure's eyes.

Assumed Dress: the figure's head appears to have extra covering from the moulded areas on its head. There are symmetrical, identical mouldings over the shoulders and pouches at the pectoral muscles. The moulded area to the figure's right is unclear, but there are three repeated vertical lines of drapery hanging from the level of his left hip. The belly is curved and makes it difficult to distinguish any mouldings underneath it, although there is a suggestion of a v-shape at the top of the legs. There is no evidence of indentations on the legs.

Assumed Weapons: there is some moulding to the right of the figure's right leg.

Comparison with L8 and L17 may suggest a fist above this.

Assumed Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Assumed Companions: none

Assumed Background/ Field: none.

Assumed Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Identified with MTL type E2.

Representation: the examples is listed as complete, therefore should show the lionskin, club and grumpy expression of L7's Herakles, with the exaggerated features of a mask and padded costume of comic actors.

Appearance/ form of object: the size of 6.6 cm is comparable with its assigned mould-mates L7/L26 6.9cm; a smaller version would suggest a later mould from shrinkage. All Lipari examples had a flat, unmoulded back.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, see above for details of the mould. All Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC)

**Inv. No.:** 10586

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva: 74, E2d.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, grumpy further from the Attic version	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/ 35 comp with L7, MTL: 74	as L7-9, 17, 25-7. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play?
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 6.6 cm intact E2 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 comp with L7, MTL: 74	How doe size inform function? Smaller, so new mould? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	comp with L7, MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/35 Comp with Lipari eggs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18 comp with L7, MTL: 74	White slip from local kaolin Diff colours for tomb/ ditch?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	Why figurine not mask? Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object comp with L7, MTL: 74	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited with 15 figurines, 12 masks not broken	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 74 Context, MTL: 307 MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Group decision to end use, why not broken? How visible?
Figurine excavated 1971	LBB/ MC	MTL: 307 MTL: 74 (307)	Which details are correct? Details of context?

from trench XXXI (1971) given inv. no 10586	cataloguer	MTL: 74	
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published as theatrical object	LBB MC/ Sagep	MTL: 74 E2d	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumption of MTL knowledge.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L26

No image available.

**Object Reference:** L26

**Find Context:** Trench XXXI (MTL: 74), XXXI 1971 (MTL: 307), Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** L24-25, 15 figurines (14 types), 12 masks (including L20).

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-25, L27-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L7-9, 25, 27.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** The object now measures 6.9 cm.

**Description:** Listed as type E2 in *MTL*, but no image available for cross-checking. The following descriptions follow L7, which preserves the complete version of the same type and has the same measurement. The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features. It is described as the same as the preceding example, suggesting it was complete.

Assumed Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. His legs are together and his weight evenly distributed, although the right leg may be slightly bent. The bottom and sides of the figure are bashed, and details of his arms are unclear.

Assumed Appearance: The figure wears a full beard and moustache; eyebrows slant down to the centre over wide eyes and a flat nose (from wear or deliberate?), and the corners of the mouth slant downwards. The whole impression is that of a grumpy person.

Assumed Hair: the figure's head is covered with a moulded layer that covers the temples and the centre of the forehead, with two indentations on the line of the figure's eyes.

Assumed Dress: the figure's head appears to have extra covering from the moulded areas on its head. There are symmetrical, identical mouldings over the shoulders and pouches at the pectoral muscles. The moulded area to the figure's right is unclear, but there are three repeated vertical lines of drapery hanging from the level of his left hip. The belly is curved and makes it difficult to distinguish any mouldings underneath it, although there is a suggestion of a v-shape at the top of the legs. There is no evidence of indentations on the legs.



Assumed Weapons: there is some moulding to the right of the figure's right leg.

Comparison with L8 and L17 may suggest a fist above this.

Assumed Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Assumed Companions: none

Assumed Background/ Field: none.

Assumed Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Identified with MTL type E2.

Representation: the examples is listed as complete, therefore should show the lionskin, club and grumpy expression of L7's Herakles, with the exaggerated features of a mask and padded costume of comic actors.

Appearance/ form of object: listed as same height as L7 (same type). All Lipari examples have a smooth, unmoulded back.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, 6.9 cm is the same size as L7, suggesting that these were directly from the same mould, unlike the smaller L25. All Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC)

**Inv. No.:** 9809

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva: 74, E2e.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, club, grumpy further from the Attic version	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/ 35 comp with L7, MTL: 74	as L7-9, 17, 25, 27. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play?
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 6.9 cm intact E2 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 comp with L7, MTL: 74	How doe size inform function? Smaller, so new mould? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	comp with L7, MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/35 Comp with Lipari eggs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18 comp with L7, MTL: 74	White slip from local kaolin Diff colours for tomb/ ditch?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	Why figurine not mask? Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object comp with L7, MTL: 74	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited with 15 figurines, 12 masks not broken	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 74 Context, MTL: 307 MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Group decision to end use, why not broken? How visible?

Figurine excavated 1971 from trench XXXI (1971) given inv. no 9809	LBB/ MC cataloguer	MTL: 307 MTL: 74 (307) MTL: 74	Which details are correct? Details of context?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published as theatrical object	LBB MC/ Sagep	MTL: 74 E2e	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L27

No image available.

**Object Reference:** L27

**Find Context:** Trench XXXII, but not in its votive ditch, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 34 figurines (30 types), 32 masks (2 repeated, 1 6 examples)

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-24, L26, L28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L7-9, L25-6

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object now measures 4.3 x 2.7 cm, the top half only surviving.

**Description:** Listed as type E2 in *MTL*, but no image available for cross-checking. The following descriptions follow L7, which preserves the complete version of the same type. The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features, the same as L26 (i.e. L7 type).

Assumed Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead. His legs are together and his weight evenly distributed, although the right leg may be slightly bent. The bottom and sides of the figure are bashed, and details of his arms are unclear.

Assumed Appearance: The figure wears a full beard and moustache; eyebrows slant down to the centre over wide eyes and a flat nose (from wear or deliberate?), and the corners of the mouth slant downwards. The whole impression is that of a grumpy person.

Assumed Hair: the figure's head is covered with a moulded layer that covers the temples and the centre of the forehead, with two indentations on the line of the figure's eyes.

Assumed Dress: the figure's head appears to have extra covering from the moulded areas on its head. There are symmetrical, identical mouldings over the shoulders and pouches at the pectoral muscles. The moulded area to the figure's right is unclear, but there are three repeated vertical lines of drapery hanging from the level of his left hip. The belly is curved and makes it difficult to distinguish any mouldings underneath it, although there is a suggestion of a v-shape at the top of the legs. There is no evidence of indentations on the legs.

Assumed Weapons: there is some moulding to the right of the figure's right leg. Comparison with L8 and L17 may suggest a fist above this.

Assumed Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Assumed Companions: none

Assumed Background/ Field: none.

Assumed Other images: none.

**Interpretation:** Identified with MTL type E2.

Representation: the examples is listed as preserving the top half, therefore should show the lionskin and grumpy expression of L7's Herakles, with the exaggerated features of a mask and padded costume of comic actors.

Appearance/ form of object: complete examples of this type measure 6.9 cm (L7, L26), suggesting this was preserved to about the waist. All examples from Lipari have smooth, unmoulded backs.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made. All Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant. Mould-made, from an old mould.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date:** 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC)

**Inv. No.:** 6948

**Refs:**

Brea, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva: 74, E2f.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, grumpy further from the Attic version	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/ 35 comp with L7, MTL: 74	as L7-9, 17, 25-6. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/ L6. Gesture, pose, grumpiness, club specific to play?
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17	How (long) stored? Suggests upright display/use
Pinkish-red clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 4.3 x 2.7 cm from head E2 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 comp with L7, MTL: 74	How doe size inform function? New or old mould? Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 7 examples of E2 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	comp with L7, MTL: 74 Webster ST12a/35 Comp with Lipari egs	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18 comp with L7, MTL: 74	White slip from local kaolin Diff colours for tomb/ ditch?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	What happens to mistakes?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Where found at Lipari? Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context,	Why figurine not mask? Why different per context? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used top half survives for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object comp with L7, MTL: 74	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? What else displayed?
Figurine deposited with 34 figurines, 30 masks broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 74 Context, MTL: 307 MPT: 104	What happened during deposition? Group decision to end use, why not broken? How visible?

Figurine excavated from trench XXXII given inv. no 6948	LBB/ MC cataloguer	MTL: 307 MTL: 74 (307) MTL: 74	6948 suggests relatively early exc date. Details of context?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published as theatrical object	LBB MC/ Sagep	MTL: 74 E2f	No discussion of function. Not all finds noted. Assumption of MTL knowledge.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L28



MPT fig 109

**Object Reference:** L28

**Find Context:** Trench XXXIII Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** 15 figurines (13 types); 15 masks, 3 listed as characters, not objects.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L24-27, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** L6, L16.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore, Artemis.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the figure now measures 6.4 cm from head to ankles.

**Description:** Listed as type E3 in *MTL*. The object is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Assumed Pose: the figure stands frontally, with straight (rather slim) legs. A moulded area on the left hip suggests his left hand rests there. There is little clear evidence of detail on the right side; *MMC* and *ML II/ MTL* all suggest that the right hand holds a grounded club. The head of the figure is not preserved, but neither shoulder is dipped, suggesting that the head is straight.

Assumed Appearance: no head remaining.

Assumed Hair: no head remaining.

Assumed Dress: a v-shaped indentation, above an area of indentations with a knotted appearance, at the throat of the figure can be seen. The area to the left has parallel raised grooves. Over the left upper arm there are areas of repeated moulding to the wrist and an outline hanging behind and outside the left leg of the figure. The belly appears to be



slightly curved, with an indented line at its apex, under which there are three moulded areas between his legs. There is no evidence of horizontal indentations on his legs.

Assumed Weapons: a club is seen by both excavators and cataloguer.

Assumed Accessories: no obvious evidence.

Assumed Companions: none.

Assumed Background/ Field: none.

Assumed Other images: none.

**Interpretation**: Identified with MTL type E3.

Representation: Herakles is identified by the crossed paws of the lionskin around his neck and over his head, and the club seen by the excavators in his right hand. The exaggerated features of the face and padded clothing imply the costume of a comic actor.

Appearance/ form of object: the size with the head of 6.4 cm compares with mould-mate L6 at 5.1cm missing the head and feet. All Lipari examples had a flat, unmoulded back.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from an old mould. All Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Votive dedication at local sanctuary.

**Date**: 350-325 (Webster), 350-300 (LBB/ MC)

**Inv. No.**: 11330

**Refs:**

Breà, L.B & Cavalier, M. (1976) *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terre lipanese*. Sagep Editrice, Geneva: 74 E3b.  
Breà, L.B. (2001) *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma.  
105.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin crossed on chest, as cape, grounded club	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 MLII: 302 Webster ST11 Object	as L6, 16. Image made from life? Agreed? Not same mask J as L4/L7. Gesture, pose, specific to play?
Mould created from old mould	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17 MTL: 74	How (long) stored? Deliberate old mould?
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 6.4 cm head to ankles E3 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22 MTL: 74 MTL: 74	How does size inform function? cf L6 size, 5.1 lacking head/ feet. Implies others.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. 3 examples of E3 mould
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object Webster ST11 Context, MTL: 308	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin No descr of colours.
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, MTL: 308	13 fig types, 15 masks, why H? How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play?
Figurine kept/ used head to ankles only remain for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? How broken – top bits only.
Figurine deposited with 15 figs, 15 masks, 3 characters broken in sacred ritual	local? worshipper by same person?	MTL: 308 Context Context MPT: 104	What happened during deposition. Group decision to end use. What is the context? How visible?
Figurine excavated in trench XXXIII given inv. no 11330	LBB/ MC  cataloguer	MTL: 74, 308 MTL 74, MPT: 105	What is the context?
Figurine curated by Museo Eoliano	LBB/ MC museum staff	Il Castello	Has it been loaned?
Figurine published			No discussion of function.

as theatrical object	LBB MC/ Sagep/ L'Erma	MTL: 74 MPT: 105	Not all finds noted.
Figurine displayed	museum staff		How is it displayed?

## L29



*M.L. XI (II): 626, fig. 99*



*M.L. XI (II): 627, fig. 100*

### **Object Reference:** L29

**Find Context:** Votive ditch XXXVII, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** The excavators note that only the ‘most significant finds at the chronological boundaries’ are listed in *M.L. XI (II): 625ff.* 14 other silver-imitation clay objects, painted figured ceramics, Gnathia ware black glazed ceramics, unpainted ceramics. Terracotta objects: 5 comic figurines, 12 comic masks, decorated helmet cheek-pieces, decorated relief plate, statuettes (one 50cm high female), flowers, bosses, 2 bone rings blackened by fire, 2 quince apples. Decorated calyx krater.

**Other examples of object:** 3 other silver-imitation clay pyxides of the same form found together in votive ditch XXXVII; the others depict a horned fawn (Inv. 13006/b), a border of lesbian kymation (Inv. 13010/c), and another from which only the base is preserved (13010/d).

**Other examples of representation:** see images below.

Silver-imitation clay gilded pyxis (Inv. 18328) from Lipari City Wall (saggio VLL, 1970).

Silver relief mirror cover from Elis or around Olympia, now in Stathatos Collection in Athens, found with another mirror depicting Achilles and Troilos, dated on stylistic grounds to 320BC. Black-glazed skyphoid krater from a well deposit near the Demeter-Kore sanctuary in Corinth, dated 350-325 by associated objects; inscribed

ΣΟΦΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ in fourth century lettering.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** Only one lion's paw is complete. The sides are incomplete, so the exact height is unknown. The base and cover are intact, although the cover is in two parts and worn between the heads of the characters. Diameter 11.3cm.

**Description:**

Pose: The male figure leans backwards, with some weight on his left hand slightly behind him and some on his left hip. His left leg is doubled behind him, while his right stretches out behind the female figure. Although the figure appears to lean backwards, his right wrist is held by the female figure and his head is upright with gaze steady on the female figure (cf the unfocused and less upright pose of the Elis mirror, below, and the standing figure on the Corinth cup).

Appearance: Detailed moulding on the naked torso (especially the stomach) and upper arms gives the impression of a very athletic, aspirational figure. The head appears slightly damaged, but the figure has a moustache and beard, with deep lines around the lower face that suggest an older figure.

Hair: The hair is short, with regular moulding that continues to the level of the left shoulder.

Dress: The figure is naked, but there is moulding underneath the left thigh which resembles a face. The excavators note a flap of drapery on his right thigh.

Weapons: A long container with crosspiece lies at the base of the image, over a curved, thin moulding.

Accessories: The figure leans on a spherical object below his left hand and the excavators note he holds an object in his right hand, although this is less obvious.

Companions: The left-hand side of the scene contains a female figure, naked except for a band of fabric around her breasts and another in her hair. She has one foot on the bottom of the image and the other on the curve of the circle behind her; she grasps the wrist of the hand that forces her chin up slightly. The hunched nature of the pose suggests that she is backing away from the male figure. She appears to be young.

Background/ Field: There is no obvious decoration in the rest of the field, although it may have been painted. There is clear band around the image acting as a border; this is left undecorated and is lower than the decorated section.

Other images: None.

**Personalisation:** The letter B (beta?) is engraved on the underside of the base and the cover.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: The male figure is understood to be Herakles from the aspirational physique, beard and the interpretation of the head underneath the body as a lionskin. This idea is strengthened by comparison with the Corinth and Elis examples (below), although these are not mentioned by the excavators. The moulding at the base of the image is understood to be a quiver, perhaps the curved object close to it is a bow. Due to the interpretation of the round object in Herakles' hand as an apple, the female figure is described as one of the Hesperides (cf Auge, Methe interpretations of Greek examples).

Appearance/ form of object: cylindrical pyxis with three lion's paw feet. The female figure here is less in control than the figure on the Elis mirror.

Production inc. choice of material: very well-fired grey clay moulded vessel, described by excavators as being cast from a "crusta of silver" and listed under "Terracotta imitations of silver vases" such as the Rothschild collection from Taranto.

Function: the form is understood by its fitted lid to contain powder or liquids.

**Date:** found with Gnathia-ware vases, dated to 340sBC.



M.L. XI (II): 626  
fig. 99 inv. no. 18328



Amandry, P. (1963)  
*Coll. Helene Statbatos III: Les Bijoux Antiques*, Plate X  
(Apr. - Jun., 1960), plate 54



Caskey, J.L. (1960). Objects from a.  
Well at Isthmia, *Hesperia* Vol.29, No. 2

**Inv. No. :** 13006

**Refs:**

Bernabo Breà, L., Cavalier, M. & Villard, F. (2007). *Meligunis Liparà Vol. XI (II) Gli scavi nella necropoli greca e romana di Lipari nell'area del Terreno Vescovile*. Palermo: Publiscola: 625-6, fig. 99-100.

LIMC III pl. 47 Auge #9

Amandry, P. (1963) *Coll. Helene Statbatos III: Les Bijoux Antiques*. Strasbourg, [En dépôt chez P. Amandry].

Caskey, J.L. (1960). Objects from a. Well at Isthmia, *Hesperia* Vol.29, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1960), plate 54

## L30



*M.L. XI(II): 626, fig. 99*

**Object Reference:** L30

**Find Context:** City Wall: Saggio VII/1970, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:**

**Other examples of object:** L29 and three other silver-imitation clay pyxides of the same form found together in votive ditch XXXVII; the others depict a horned fawn (Inv. 13006/b), a border of lesbian kymation (Inv. 13010/c), and another from which only the base is preserved (13010/d).

**Other examples of representation:** Silver-imitation clay pyxis with three lion's paw feet (L29) from Votive Ditch XXXVII at Lipari. Silver relief mirror cover from Elis or around Olympia, now in Stathatos Collection in Athens, found with another mirror depicting Achilles and Troilos, dated on stylistic grounds to 320BC. Black-glazed skyphoid krater from a well deposit near the Demeter-Kore sanctuary in Corinth, dated 350-325 by associated objects; inscribed ΣΟΦΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΑ in fourth century lettering.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** cylindrical pyxis cover.

**Material:** clay with traces of gilding.

**Preservation:** Only part of the lid of the pyxis has survived, measuring 10.3 x 5.6cm. The curve of the decorated area remains, showing the left side of the image, as well as part of the decorated border.

**Description:** the figure assumed to be Herakles only survives in the right hand.

Pose: the right hand is clenched.

Appearance: does not survive.

Hair: does not survive.

Dress: does not survive.

Weapons: a moulded area at the base of the image resembles a container with a curved end.

Accessories: moulded areas in the centre of the base of the image.

Companions: A woman, naked except for a band around her breasts and two narrow strips hanging behind her back, grasps the wrist of another figure. Her head is not preserved, but her very slim legs are braced on the curve at the base of the scene and higher up the curve.

Background/ Field: There are moulded features around the two human figures.

Other images: None obvious.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the fragment is identified as a Herakles by the similarity of the woman's pose with L29. The eye of faith can make out a quiver at the base of the scene, but otherwise it is difficult to interpret the mouldings on the image except by comparison with the other example.

Appearance/ form of object: the subtle differences in shape and stance of the female figure suggest that the craftsman was working from the same prototype, but with perhaps a different model in mind. This example has slimmer legs, and her right side is turned slightly more towards the viewer, showing the outline of her left leg and buttock. Her breast is either uncovered, or perhaps was painted to accentuate the line of her body.

Production inc. choice of material: the excavators make no comment on the production, except to list this under the "Terracotta imitations of silver" objects. They do not describe the position or extent of the gilding.

Function: the form is understood by its fitted lid to contain powder or liquids.

**Date**: 340-250.





*M.L. XI (II): 626*  
fig. 99 inv. no. 13006



Amandry, P. (1963)  
*Coll. Helene Statbatos III: Les Bijoux Antiques*,  
Plate X (Apr. - Jun., 1960), plate 54



Caskey, J.L. (1960). Objects from  
a Well at Isthmia, *Hesperia* Vol.29,  
No. 2

**Inv. No.:** 18328

### Refs:

Bernabo Breà, L., Cavalier, M. & Villard, F. (2007). *Meligunis Liparà Vol. XI (II) Gli scavi nella necropoli greca e romana di Lipari nell'area del Terreno Vescovile*. Palermo: Publiscula 625-6, fig. 99

*LIMC* III pl. 47 Auge #9

Amandry, P. (1963) *Coll. Helene Statbatos III: Les Bijoux Antiques*. Strasbourg, [En dépôt chez P. Amandry].

Caskey, J.L. (1960). Objects from a Well at Isthmia, *Hesperia* Vol.29, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1960), plate 54

## L31

vacat.

## L32



Tbc 105, fig. 110.



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**Object Reference:** L32

**Find Context:** tomb, Contrada Diana necropolis, Lipari.

**Found with:** see Dossier of Historical Sources, Granata's report. Contents of individual tombs not specified.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, Sy4-5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the figurine survives intact, measuring 6.3 cm.

**Description:** the object survives intact, with traces of white slip remaining.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, looking straight ahead and slightly upwards. His legs are together and his weight evenly distributed. His hands are clasped together over the belly.

Appearance: the figure wears a beard and has a padded belly, with rolls of flesh above it.

Hair: short and curly, with no obvious covering.

Dress: short tunic with an extra covering to the wrists over the left arm. The view from the left side shows a curved feature at the waist.

Weapons: there is some moulding to the right of the figure's right leg.

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by Breà and in the current label at the museum, but this doubted by Hughes, who does not see a lionskin and identifies the moulded feature at the figure's waist as a walking stick, not a club. He does not address the curved item at the left of the figure, which could perhaps be a lion's tail.

Appearance/ form of object: the figure differs in its pose from the other Lipari examples, and in not presenting the usual characteristics of Liparan comic Herakles; lionskin and club. The back of the object is completely flat and moulded only at the front.

All Lipari mould-made objects were made from clay from the north coast of Sicily, with local kaolin finish. Webster considered this to be a local type, not an Attic variant.

Function: link to theatre unclear. Dedication in a tomb.

**Date:** 350-325; 350-300

**Inv. No.:** Glasgow 1903.70.dp4 or 6

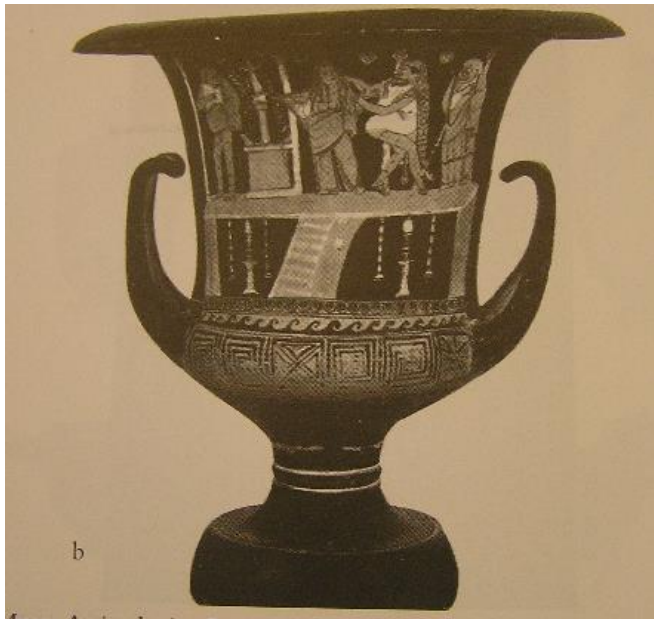
**Refs:**

Bernabo Breà, L. & Cavalier, M. (2001). *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terrecotte liparese*. Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider: 105, fig. 100, 106 n. 2.

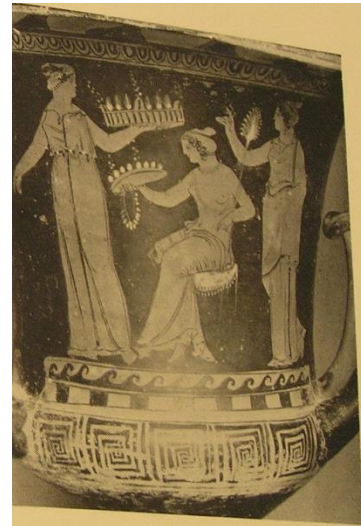
EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles head turned up, carrying club at side, of citizen male with walking stick	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object, MTL: 17 <i>MPT</i> : 105  <i>MPT</i> : 105 Hughes: GMRC e-mail	Probably not Herakles. Shows assumptions over lionskin/ club. Gesture, pose, specific to play?
Mould created with base	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, MTL: 17 Object	How (long) stored? Suggests function/ use.
Clay from north coast of Sicily chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave? Clay importer.	Object, MTL: 17	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in half mould 6.3 cm head to ankles E4 mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, comp L22  <i>MPT</i> : 106 n2  <i>MPT</i> : 105	How does size inform function? Size comparable to other H examples.
Mould finished,	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108, MTL: 18	Individual details possible. No other E4 moulds.
Figurine fired 350-325 350-300	Mould-maker, slave?	Object <i>MPT</i> : 105 Hughes: GMRC e-mail	Same matrices, different sizes at Lipari suggests local production.
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object MTL: 18	White slip from local kaolin.
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	MTL: 18	
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	Sold as individual items or job lot? Mould found in same context. Where were these displayed for sale? Where are moulds found; town or sanctuary?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object Context, Granata report	How transported to sales point? Were they bought during the play? 8 other figurines from collection
Figurine kept/ used complete for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Object Object	How/ where kept/ used? Gap between buying/ dep? Not broken because in tomb?
Figurine deposited in tomb perhaps 8 figs, 16 masks not broken	family/ associates of deceased	Context: Granata report Context: Granata report Object	What happened during deposition? Which objects were found together? Why different objects to other tombs?
Figurine excavated 1879 from tomb by Sclariaci staff/ Granata	Sclariaci/ Granata	Granata report	Some objects not preserved. No record of what came from which tomb.
Tombs' contents bought by Stevenson,	Sclariaci/ Granata Stevenson, agent?	Glasgow Mus acquisition catalogue	What happened to objects 1879-1885? Did they all get to Glasgow? Boxed as

shipped to Glasgow, 1885, acquired by museum 1903 cat 03-70 dt box 18	uni mus, Glasgow staff		'Greek Vases [sic] from tombs in Lipari'; grouped entry cf vases.
Lipari objects re-catalogued 1936 (twice)	museum staff	GMRC catalogue listing, 1936	'Greek antiquities in store', then 'Greek Objects in Egyptian rm'; no evidence of same tomb; cf box 16 listing
Figurine published as theatrical object 2001	Hughes? LBB/ MC:	<i>MPT</i> : 105-6	Did LBB/ MC see object in person? With Ulixes.
Mask displayed as 'Slapstick & Tragedy' with 8 other Lipari figurines close to intl masks	Museum staff	Kelvingrove Museum	Info board has Sicilian theatre, but Gk plays. No info on use/ Stevenson. No assoc with other egs.

## Le1



Trendall/ Webster (1971): 136-7



Trendall (1965) taf 231

**Object Reference:** Le1

**Find Context:** Contrada Caracausi, Lentini.

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** L1, H1.

**Other examples of representation:** none, but cf Cen1, L29-30.

**Other examples of deities on object:**

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** The object appears to be intact from the belly upwards, with small signs of wear to the black paint. It measures 49 x 47cm.

**Description:** the object depicts figures in realistic fashion in both decorated scenes; figures in the Herakles' scene have exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands upright, moving to his left, but facing back towards the figure on his right. His arms are extended towards this figure. His legs are crossed, with the right leg crossing the left and taking the weight.

Appearance: the facial features are exaggerated. Short, dark beard and moustache. The eyebrows curve down towards the nose. The body has thin limbs, but a very large belly.

Hair: short and dark, perhaps receding, under a covering.

Dress: the head is covered by an object with small triangles at the top, which extends down the back of the figure and over his left arm. It is covered with small dark lines along its length and ends near the figure's feet with paw-like shapes. Another end hangs over the figure's right shoulder. He wears a white, sleeveless tunic with no obvious sign of decoration upon it. His legs appear to be a natural colour, but there are lines at the ankles of both legs suggesting the end of a legging, as well as dilute lines suggesting material folds on the legs. On his feet are flat sandals with straps around the ankle and toe.

Weapons: a long, thin knobbly object leans diagonally behind the figure.

Accessories: the figure may be wearing a mask.

Companions: three figures occupy the same image. On the left, a male figure with receding hair and exaggerated features to his face looks back towards the central characters. He wears similar clothes to the central figure, but the white tunic does not cover his wide belly. His right arm crosses his chest. In the centre is a female figure, with long dark ringlets, whose body faces the viewer and whose arms are outstretched. She wears full robes, decorated with a contrasting border. The central figure grasps her left wrist, but she inclines away from him. On the right of the image stands another figure in full, bordered robes, whose hands are crossed across the body. The facial features are exaggerated, white hair and beard.

Background/ Field: the four figures stand on a rectangular shape, which has supports at either end and a diagonally shaped feature beneath the middle of the shape with contrasting stripes along its length. From this rectangle are suspended lines of oblongs ending in triangular pendants. There are three columns behind the figures, between which is a rectangle with pointed corners holding up foliage and a pillar surmounted by a very small draped female figure holding out a wreath and a flat vessel. Above the figures' heads are small round objects with varying decoration. Above and below the scene are egg and dart borders, with a line of wave motifs at the bottom.

Other images: three draped females depicted in realistic fashion. Two stand either side of a central seated figure, on top of the same decoration described above. All of the women are clothed, with hair bound up in a covering. From left to right they hold: a round object with contrasting stripes, a similar object and a wreath, in the other hand a long straight object surmounted by foliage. A further large row of Greek key decoration fills the space underneath this image between the handles of the object.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the lionskin which covers the top of his head and hangs down behind his left shoulder. The padded costume and exaggerated features of the face identify this as a comic representation. His eyebrows here curve down towards the nose, as seen on surviving masks L20-22 (although they're meant to be tragedy, and this is comedy). The hair under the lionskin also corresponds, as does the sleeveless tunic to figurines. Unclear whether the thin object is a club or a walking stick. The details of the theatre scene are represented, rather than the actual object, in Bieber's text. It is identified as a drama involving Auge, also found on Cen1 and L29-30. The reverse image is found on similar forms of the vessel; women clothed in this way were unusual at a symposium.

Appearance/ form of object: calyx krater, used for mixing wine and water at a symposium under understanding of Athenian conventions. There is no use of lettering to identify the scene. Trendall allots types to the stages in *PV*.

Production inc. choice of material: wheelmade, Sicilian red figure. Attributed to the Manfria Painter, part of the Lentini-Manfria Group by Trendall.

Function: the object was found in a tomb, suggesting that it was used as a grave-good at deposition. The link with the theatre is unclear.

**Date:** mid CIV, 340-330

**Inv. No.:** Grab 658, Museo Archeologico, Lentini.

**Refs:**

*LIMC* Auge 6, Aleos 4 (cross referenced from Cen1 Herakles entry).

Bieber, M. (1961). *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton, Princeton UP: 48b, Abb. 111.

Trendall, A.D. & Webster, T.B. L. (1971). *Illustrations of Greek Drama*. London, Phaidon: 136-7.

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, Clarendon: 596, 74 taf 231, 3.4

Trendall, A. D. (1959). *Phlyax Vases*. BICS Supplement 8, London, ICS: 37, no. 73.

(1967). *Phylax Vases* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. BICS Supplement 19, London, ICS: 38, no. 79.

Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl, C (1973) *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*, 5-6, 9-11, 43-45, 49.



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay selected/ prepared Local to Manfria	Vessel/ slave	Object Trendall	Local production.
Shape created on wheel, hardened overnight, shape refined calyx krater, 49 x 47 cm c. 340	Vessel/ slave  Commissioner	Object Noble 2-14  Trendall <i>LCS</i> : 598-9 Frasca: 140	Who chooses shapes? Does this define use? Attic examples used to date; Icetas context
Vessel turned, foot and handles added, vase cut from wheel	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object, Noble 2- 14	
Design sketched in charcoal/ lead Black paint applied with reserved areas Details of design added with fine brushes in dilute glaze; no lettering added	Painter/ Commissioner  Manfria Painter, in Lentini-Manfria Group	Object Trendall: 569 Trendall: 598-9 Noble 2-14	Are potter and painter same person? Who designs scene & at what stage? No theatre in Leontinoi excavated. How much input does commissioner have – final agreement?
Vessel dried and fired	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object, Noble 2- 14	How big is kiln?
Vessel offered for sale	Vessel/ painter/ slave	Object	
Vessel bought	Buyer – commissioner? slave? other?	Object	Which image attracts buyer? With what else?
Vessel used as mixing bowl	Owner Slave at banquet	Athenian function	How? Assumption of Athenian function.
Vessel deposited in tomb at Contrada Caracausi, tomb 658	Family/ associates of deceased	Frasca: 140	How was this used/ displayed – 50 cm height Image = function?
Vessel excavated in 1820	Unknown	Object	No details.
Vessel acquired by Museo Archeologico, Leontini Catalogued as Grab 658	Museum staff  Museum staff	LIMC	No details.  No tomb 658 details.
Vessel published 1961 as Greek drama 1965 in vase catalogue 1973 as myth character 199? as myth character	Bieber/ Princeton UP Trendall/ Clarendon Bauchhenß-Thüriedl LIMC	Publication Publication Publication Publication	B/w image of scene B/w image of scene
Vessel displayed in museum	Museum staff	Frasca: 140	Central case, 360 view
Vessel poster image for museum re-opening	Museum staff	Poster	Colour image, focused on theatre scene

## M1



Image with permission of M. Bell, reverse of original.

**Object Reference:** M1

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary Room 7. Redesignated deposit IL (M.S. VI: North Sanctuary). Morgantina.

**Found with:** 65 terracottas (17 x Persephone), coins (dated 350-215), pottery (types: Campana A, late CIV/III black gloss, 250-ECIIBC East Sicilian polychrome, CIII medallion ware, thymiateria).

**Other examples of object:** Sel43. See above for examples of other terracotta figurines, including deities, found in the same room.

**Other examples of representation:** pose found elsewhere in western Mediterranean, MH1, Pal1, Sy4.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Persephone, Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, Nike, unidentified goddess, Hades, Eros, Hermes, Dionysos, Pan.

**Object type:** figurine.

**Material:** local buff clay, white slip.

**Preservation:** Feet missing. The features and fine details of the figure have been worn away. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: upright figure, with weight on right leg, right arm at hip holding an object, left arm slightly outstretched at waist. Right shoulder dipped slightly, head straight and looking forward.

Appearance: the surface is damaged, but there is a covering over the forehead, with two bulbous masses over the temples. Suggestion of a beard.

Hair: covered.

Dress: naked, comparison with other objects suggests drapery over the left shoulder and arm.

Weapons: knobbly club at right hip.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: extra material in a peak above the head and in the gap of the bent right arm. No detail to this extra material survives.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club at the right hip, thus pointing to the moulded feature over the head as a lionskin. This stance is paralleled on other examples from the western Mediterranean, and also by comic figurines in this data-set noted above. The naked appearance here does not suggest a comic figure, however. His presence here may be due to his visit to the Underworld, or association with Demeter and Kore's worship related by Diodorus Siculus.

Appearance/ form of object: terracotta figurine, not representing a comic figure. No evidence of whether the back is moulded or not. Listed under 'Miscellaneous gods' in the votive section of the catalogue of terracottas.

Production inc. choice of material: local clay, with traces of white slip, mould-made. Bell suggests moulds originated from Syracuse.

Function: votive gift to Demeter and Kore.

**Date:** Third Century. Coins sealed by roof tiles 225-200 inc bronzes of Hieron II; Sjöqvist dated building's destruction to 211 sack (M.S. I: 250; M.S. VI: 41) with all objects having

that as *terminus ante quem*. Sealed deposit after destruction c. 211BC. The sanctuary was established 375-350.

**Inv. No.** 57-1003 (57=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Bell, M. (1981) *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 174; Cat. No. 353; Pl. No. 73  
Sjöqvist, E. (1958). Timoleonte e Morgantina in *Kokalos* 4 115 n7.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles naked, with club/ lionskin	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Bell: 174 Object, Bell, comp Winter	Local production, this mould not found. cf MH1, Pal1, Sy4 for pose, also Italian eggs. Who decided?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Bell: 3-4	Was the back moulded? Attr to Syracuse – evidence?
Buff clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Bell: 116	Local production, so is mould-maker relevant if above correct?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined,	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Was it a single mould?
Figurine fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	Object: RH: 108	Evidence for kilns at site
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object Bell: 174	No colours survive. Where did colours come from, where all painted the same?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	MTL: 18	Same process as Lipari?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker/ coroplast Slave? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object  Context, Bell: 250	Sold as individual items or job lot? At sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? No suspension.
Figurine acquired	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Was it used elsewhere before votive at sanctuary?
Figurine kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Hinz: 126	Displayed on benches in sanctuary.
Figurine deposited in North Sanc, Rm 7 with altar with coins 350-215 other votives inc food	sanctuary staff local? worshipper by same person?	Context, Bell: 250 Hinz: 129  Context, Bell: 250 Hinz: 129	How visible was this with other eggs? Were things removed: 65 terracottas in 135 years is 1 every 2 yrs. Sealed context.
Object sealed under roof tiles with other objects	Destroyers	Context, Bell: 250	Why date to 211 not 215? Why destroy the sanc? Why were offerings not rescued?
Figurine excavated 1957 catalogued 57-1003	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Bell: 174	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?

Figurine published in object catalogue no. 353	Bell/ Princeton	Bell: 174	No other citation. Publ as terracotta under Misc Gods
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## M2



Image with permission of M. Bell

**Object Reference:** M2

**Find Context:** VC (M.S. I: Area V: early Hellenistic habitation) re-designated IJ (M.S. VI: Early Hellenistic domestic complex in Area V Contrada Drago). Morgantina.

**Found with:** 51 terracottas, pottery: LCIV/ECIII black gloss, East Sicilian polychrome, CIII medallion.

**Other examples of object:** M15

**Other examples of representation:** none, North African parallels.

**Other examples of deities on object:** female crowned heads (archaic), coloured female head (LC/EH), Dionysos.

**Object type:** moulded protome.

**Material:** local clay.

**Preservation:** protome appears complete, but separated from whatever it adorned. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: Head and lionskin only portrayed; the head moulded, while the lionskin is in shallow relief encircling the head on the backing clay

Appearance: The head has no beard; low eyebrows appear to be frowning at the viewer. North African resemblance noted by excavator. The figure has a small, straight mouth, with some damage to the left side of the chin below

Hair: The hair appears to be in a straight fringe represented by a series of circles, with other curls over the temples; otherwise cut short

Dress: Details of the lionskin over the head are abraded, but there are oval and circular elements which may represent an eye and ears. 3 straight diagonal lines, with a knot under the chin, suggest paws in context.

Weapons: none

Accessories: none

Companions: none

Background/ Field: lionskin

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the crossed paws of the lionskin at the throat, which give the sense of the halo-like head-covering. The head only is portrayed, rendering weapons or accessories irrelevant. The wide nose has suggested North African features, cf form below. This example is noted as a Miscellaneous God in the catalogue.

Appearance/ form of object: protome, perhaps from the North African tradition of decoration, of a single head.

Production inc. choice of material: local clay, mould-made.

Function: this may have formed decoration to a vessel and was found in a domestic context.

**Date:** Third century. Some material in this context derives from a later context. Dating the destruction to 211 imposes this as the latest production date for M2.

**Inv. No.** 68-49 (68=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

M.S. I Bell, M. (1981) *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton UP: 174, cat no. 354; pl. no. 73.



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles with lionskin	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Bell: 174 Object	Local production, this mould not found. Who decided?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Bell: 3-4	N. African form and rep?
Buff clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Bell: 116	Local production
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined, luted to vessel	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108 Bell: 174	How/ when was this chosen? What vessel, or other object?
Complete object fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object: RH: 108	Evidence for kilns at site
Object offered for sale	Mould-maker/ Potter Slave? Commissioner/ patron	Object	What was the function of its object? Why use N. African tradition?
Object acquired	Buyer?	Object	Object bought by owner, or received as a gift?
Object kept/ used	Acquirer	Object	Details?
Object kept in Hellenistic habitation with 51 terracottas inc 15 x Persephone, pottery (date 225-175)	owner house-owner house-owner	Context, Bell: 248, Stone: 39 Context, Bell: 248, Stone: 39	15 fewer terracottas than Nth Sanc rm 7. 4 houses in block. If terracottas = votive, domestic worship? Carthaginian sympathisers?
Object left in house destroyed 225-200	House owners Destroyers	Context, Bell: 248	Why date to 211 not 215? Targeted destruction? Pottery date later than destruction. Why were offerings not rescued?
Figurine excavated 1968 from fill of VC context catalogued 68-49	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Bell: 174 Bell: 174	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Figurine published in object catalogue no. 354	Bell/ Princeton	Bell: 174	No other citation. Publ as terracotta under Misc Gods

### M3



M.S. I, pl. 117

**Object Reference:** M3

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IHH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M10-11, 250-ECIIBC  
East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss,  
Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl &  
Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** comic actor found in the same context.

**Other examples of representation:** cross-legged, masked Herakles figurines (Webster type AT26) also found in Athens (3; 1 from Pnyx, 2 from agora), Eleusis, 2 from Thebes, Delphi, Larisa, Melos, Taranto, southern Italy, Chersonese, southern Russia, the Crimea, as well as 2 with no known provenance.

**Other examples of deities on object:** no deities on comic representations.

**Object type:** figurine.

**Material:** local clay.

**Preservation:** The object's legs are broken off at the ankles, arms broken off at the shoulders, and the head broken off at the neck. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with his weight on his right hip and legs crossed left over right at the ankles. There is a moulded section directly underneath the end of the tunic which suggests a looped phallos. The head and arms have not been preserved, although M.S. I: 213 suggests that the right arm was on the figure's hip.

Appearance: the head has not survived.

Hair: no head survives.

Dress: the figure wears a short tunic to the level of the top of the thighs, padded around the stomach. There is a raised moulded section at the collar of the tunic.

Weapons: none survive, some clay alongside the right leg.

Accessories: none survive

Companions: none

Background/ Field: some traces of a field between the figure's legs, undecorated.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: there is no remaining evidence of a weapon, accessory or companion to suggest the representation of Herakles intended, although the padded tunic suggests a representation from comedy. The identification rests on similarities with the AT24/ 26 type in Webster (shown below), and the reading of extra clay to the right of the right leg as a club; extra moulding around the top of the tunic would therefore become a lionskin.



Bieber figs 171-171



Webster AT24/ 26h

Appearance/ form of object: the right leg has terracotta behind the line of the leg (see above) and this also appears between the figurine's legs and to the edge of the left ankle. This might suggest a flat, unmoulded back as found on the examples from Lipari, and also implies frontal display against another surface.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from local clay, using a mould Bell describes as descended through Syracuse from an Athenian type.

Function: votive gift in a sanctuary.

**Date**: Third century, by comparison with Webster's AT24/ 26 and street deposit context, post-211 (M.S. I, 252). Abandoned 50-25BC (M.S. VI, 58).

**Inv. No.** 1957 uncat. Princeton-Illinois.

**Refs:**

Bell, M. (1981) *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 213; Cat. No. 738; Pl. No. 117.  
Bieber *HT<sup>2</sup>* figs 170-1; *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Princeton 1961.  
Webster *MOMC* 29, AT 24 (third century); Webster, TBL, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*. UoL, ICS, bulletin supp 23, London 1969.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles in padded costume, perhaps club	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Bell: 213 Object, Bell: 213 comp Webster: AT24/ 26	Local production, this mould not found. Differences in pose to AT24/26. Who decided?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Bell: 3-4	Back appears moulded? Attr to Syracuse – evidence?
Buff clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Bell: 116	Local production, so is mould-maker relevant if above correct?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined,	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Was it a single mould?
Figurine fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	Object: RH: 108	Evidence for kilns at site
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object Bell: 174	No colours survive. Where did colours come from, where all painted the same?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	MTL: 18	Same process as Lipari?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object  Context, Bell: 250	Sold as individual items or job lot? At sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? No suspension, but appears to be flat back.
Figurine acquired	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Was it used elsewhere before votive at sanctuary?
Figurine kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Hinz: 126	Displayed on benches in sanctuary.
Figurine deposited in North Sanc with 3 terracottas, much fine pottery, inc H eggs of mixed date	sanctuary staff local? worshipper by same person? destroyers	Context, Bell: 250  Context, Bell: 250  Stone: 60	How visible was this with other eggs? More pottery than M1 context so rooms used differently? NB number of medallion wares. Mixed context, dating not secure but attr to 211 sack.
Figurine excavated 1957 not catalogued	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Bell: 213	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed? Why not catalogued?

Figurine published in object catalogue no. 738	Bell/ Princeton	Bell: 174	No other citation. Publ as terracotta under Comic actors, as evidence for plays performed.
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## M4



M.S. I: pl. 121.

**Object Reference:** M4

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary 5, re-designated II, Morgantina

**Found with:** 2 terracottas, coins (Alaesa c.340 (98c), Camarina c. 339-LCIV (126), Cephaloedium Herakles head/ Pegasos c. 395 (152), Syracuse c. 330-316 (314, 318), pre-310-290s (323 x3, 324x3), 287-278 (341 x2, 342), Herakles 278-276 (349c), 269-215 (366), pre-269-post 240 half coins (367 x4), 240/pre-215 (368 x7), mid-CIV Punic (431a) 310-270 Punic Sicilian (436d)), Fine Pottery: Campana A, Late CIV/ CIII black gloss, 250-ECIIBC East Sicilian, CIII medallion ware.

**Other examples of object:** M5 (also listed as Herakles); 7 tragic masks found at Morgantina, 3 (1 type) at Lipari.

**Other examples of representation:** see above, also Pergamum altar, statue of Aeschylus in the Vatican – all of these are on stone reliefs or statues.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** moulded mask.

**Material:** local clay.

**Preservation:** 2 joined fragments, with a gap in the centre of the top. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: head only.



Appearance: Only the top parts of the object are preserved, the very top edge of the object is smooth, with two sections that cut across wavy lines parallel with the bottom of the way section. There are wavy vertical lines which are repeated across the top of the object. The top left of the object has a moulded raised area in an unequal curve.

Hair: very curly.

Dress: lionskin understood.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

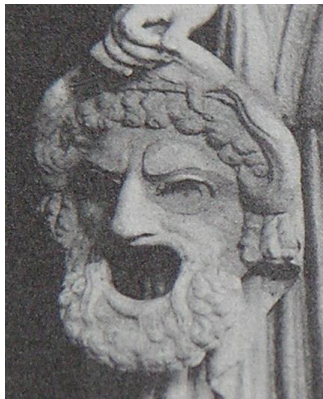
Companions: none.

Background/ Field: suspension holes above forehead.

Other images: none

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the identification of animal ears on the top of a mask; these would represent the lionskin on a tragic mask. Comparisons are drawn with statues and reliefs from Rome and Istanbul, although the details remain do not appear to be moulded in the same way.



Tragoidia Bieber fig 305



Bieber fig 109 from Istanbul

Appearance/ form of object: no detail of the back is shown, but this appears to be for frontal viewing, with suspension holes cut towards the top of the mask. Compare M1, 3, with no suspension holes, but also displayed in a sanctuary; does this suggest a different use pre-dedication?

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from local clay, Bell considers this relies on external mould production, probably from Athens via Syracuse.

Function: terracotta objects within the sanctuary are considered to be votive objects.

**Date:** latest date 211 (see above), sanctuary built 375-350. Latest coin is 215.

**Inv. No.** 57-814 (57=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

- Bell, M. (1981) *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 217; Cat. No. 774; Pl. No. 121  
Bieber, M. (1961) *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Princeton, Princeton UP, figs 305, 109.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of 'mad' Herakles mask with lionskin	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Bell: 217, Bieber Object, Bell, comp Rome/ Istanbul.	Local production, this mould not found. Morg. theatre c. 250. Who decided?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Bell: 3-4	Was the back moulded? Attr to Syracuse – evidence? Why sell this at Morgantina?
Buff clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	Bell: 116	Local production, so is mould-maker relevant if above correct?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined,	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Was it a single mould?
Mask fired 375/50-215/1	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	Object: RH: 108	Evidence for kilns at site. How long curated? Gap mould/ use/ deposition?
Mask painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object Bell: 174	No colours survive. Where did colours come from, were all painted the same?
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	MTL: 18	Same process as Lipari?
Mask offered for sale suspension holes cut	Mould-maker/ coroplast Slave? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object  Context, Bell: 250	Sold as individual items or job lot? At sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? Who decides to cut holes? Different use to M3?
Mask acquired	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Was it used elsewhere before votive at sanctuary? What is relationship to theatre/ festival?
Mask kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Hinz: 126	Displayed on benches in sanctuary.
Mask deposited as votive in North Sanc, Rm 5 with coins 340-215 terracottas, fineware (some distorted)	sanctuary staff local? worshipper by same person?	Context, Bell: 250 Bell: 97 Bell: 41 Hinz: 129	How visible was this with other eggs? Were things removed? For ritual or storage of votives, some badly made. Sealed context.
North Sanctuary destroyed 215-211	Destroyers	Context, Bell: 250	Why date to 211 not 215? Why destroy the sanc? Why were offerings not rescued?

Mask excavated 1957 catalogued 57-814 2 pieces fitted together	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Bell: 217	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Mask published in object catalogue no. 774	Bell/ Princeton	Bell: 174	No other citation. Publ as terracotta under Theatrical Masks



## M5



Image with permission of M. Bell

**Object Reference:** M5

**Find Context:** VB San Francisco Sanctuary Area, Hellenistic Level, re-designated IP.

**Found with:** 37 figurines (27 types), coins (Agrigentum pre-406 (73e), Gela Herakles 339-310 (178), Syracuse 405-344 (304, x2), 316-304 (321k), pre-310-290 late (323 x3), Herakles 278-276 (349c x2), 269-215 (366a), pre-269-post 240 (367 x5), 240-215 (368 x4), Punic 310-270 (463d), Rome 214-212 (502)), fine pottery: late CIV-III Black Gloss

**Other examples of object:** M4; 7 tragic masks found at Morgantina, 3 (1 type) at Lipari. see above, also Pergamum altar, statue of Aeschylus in the Vatican – all of these are on stone reliefs or statues.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** moulded mask.

**Material:** local clay.

**Preservation:** 1 fragment remains of the area above the left eye. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: only the head represented.

Appearance: the top part has moulded repeated vertical lines of circles, with a semi-circular line of indentations leading to longer moulded features halfway along. The area below is smooth and undecorated. The bottom part of the object has a moulded raised area with a grooved circular feature at its edge. The details at the base of the braided hair could in context suggest the edge of a head covering with teeth and therefore a lion's skin.

Hair: the vertical lines are moulded in a way to suggest braids, a different and more regular pattern to M4.

Dress: understood as an animal skin.

Weapons: only the head is represented.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification of Herakles is based on the moulding of the upper area as a lionskin, also by comparison with M4 and examples from Rome and Istanbul (see M4). This is not, however, the same representation as M4.

Appearance/ form of object: the photograph suggests a mask form, but it is impossible to tell whether the back was moulded as well as the front.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from local clay.

Function: association with the theatre unclear. Votive at a sanctuary to Demeter-Kore.

**Date**: Stylistic grounds: CIII. Cult use with terracottas started late CIV, dating the destruction to 211 imposes this as the latest production date for M5.

**Inv. No.** 1962 uncat Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Bell, M. (1981) *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 217; Cat. No. 775; Pl. No. 121

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of 'mad' Herakles mask with lionskin	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Bell: 217, Bieber Object, Bell, comp Rome/ Istanbul.	Local production, this mould not found. Morg. theatre c. 250. Who decided?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Bell: 3-4	Was the back moulded? Attr to Syracuse – evidence? Why sell this at Morgantina?
Reddish-buff clay prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	Bell: 116, 217	Local production, so is mould-maker relevant if above correct? How was mould obtained?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined,	Mould-maker /coroplast, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Was it a single mould?
Mask fired CIII	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	Object: RH: 108 Bell: 217	Evidence for kilns at site. How long curated? Gap mould/ use/ deposition?
Mask painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker/ coroplast, family, slave?	Object Bell: 174	No colours survive. Where did colours come from, were all painted the same?
Mask re-fired	Mould-maker/ coroplast, slave?	MTL: 18	Same process as Lipari?
Mask offered for sale	Mould-maker/ coroplast Slave? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object  Context, Bell: 248	Sold as individual items or job lot? At sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? Were there holes, cf M4? Different use to M3?
Mask acquired	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Was it used elsewhere before votive at sanctuary? What is relationship to theatre/ festival?
Mask kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	Object Hinz: 126	Displayed on benches in sanctuary.
Mask deposited as votive in San Francesco sanc with coins 406-212 terracottas, fineware (some distorted)	sanctuary staff local? worshipper by same person?	Context, Bell: 248 Bell: 97 Bell: 41 Hinz: 129	How visible was this with other eggs? Were things removed? For ritual or storage of votives, some badly made. 212 coin explains 211, not 215, date.



SF Sanctuary destroyed 211	Destroyers Hispani/ Romans	Context, Bell: 248	Why destroy the sanc? Why were offerings not rescued?
Mask excavated 1962 not catalogued	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Bell: 217	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Mask published in object catalogue no. 775	Bell/ Princeton	Bell: 174	No other citation. Publ as terracotta under Theatrical Masks

## M6



M.S. VI: pl. 118

**Object Reference:** M6

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IHH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M10-11, 250-ECIIBC  
East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss,  
Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl &  
Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** 50 other medallion vessels or parts were found in this context.

Clay examples from: Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Emporion (Spain), Cales in south Italy,  
Alexandria, Macedonia. Silver medallion vessels of same form found in Morgantina  
Hoard, Persian metalwork at Memphis.

**Other examples of representation:** M7-8 cf. Metapontum stater c. 300 BC.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Sarapis & Isis (4 types), Dionysos (4 types), Eros  
(4 types), Aphrodite, Athena, Nike (2 types).

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** local clay

**Preservation:** Fragment of base. No size recorded, although most Morgantina examples  
of medallions are 4-5cm in diameter.

**Description:** The figure is preserved up to a diagonal line across the forehead and line  
running along the back of the head and over the right shoulder.

Pose: figure inclines to right but looks back over right shoulder, on which rests his club.

Appearance: beard, careful delineation of features such as the eyes suggests this could be a  
portrait. Powerful shoulders.

Hair: shoulder-length with tight curls.

Dress: lionskin worn over right shoulder.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: strap running over chest from left shoulder, band on left arm.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: undecorated.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by the lionskin characterised by the claws of the paws at the bottom right, the club and the powerful appearance. The excessively curled hair, older appearance from the beard, and characterised face suggest a portrait.

Appearance/ form of object: medallion ware cup with stamped decoration. Medallion framed by a groove visible to the edge of the image.

Production inc. choice of material: Fabric I 'lustrous red gloss all over except undersurface, where there are diluted smears' (M.S. VI: 385). This clay is found in the majority of medallion vessels at Morgantina and is the most common fabric for pottery across the site. Analysis suggests that some forms of it are local clay, however vases manufactured in Catania and Lentini are also produced from this fabric (M.S. VI: 72). Metallic appearance seems to have been popular on these cups; the medallion may be fired to a different colour than the rest of the cup (M.S. VI: 232-3).

Function: vessel for liquid, dedicated at a sanctuary.

**Date**: sanctuary established 375-50, destruction dated to 211. Medallion types found sealed by destruction layer, but also in fill which includes later CII pottery. Fabric/ gloss suggest LCIII/ ECII date, although red gloss for Fabric I usually found on CI material. Medallion cups as a form are believed to have originated in Alexandria c. 275BC (M.S. VI: 232) and been popular in eastern Sicily c. 250-175.

**Inv. No.** 59-1718 (58= year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 385; Cat. No. 564; Pl. No. 118

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 385	Most common use at site.
Patric of stamp created of Herakles with club, lionskin in portrait form Stamp created in negative, finished by hand, white slip	Stamp-maker  Commissioner?	Stone: 233	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? Why not Syracusan for vessel stamps? When was design chosen by buyer? E Sicilian tradition.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone: 233  Stone: 232	Were stamp-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created? 2 medallion patrices of same image at Morg – local producer. Popular in Alexandria.
Stamp made to vessel on wheel 4-5 cm	Potter	Stone: 233	Could be smudged: 2nds cheap? Smaller than silver stamp.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234	How long is this process?
Vessel dipped in red, lustrous gloss dilute smears remain detail added by incision/ paint	Potter, slave	Stone: 234/ 385	Not same gloss as stamp-mates; usually CI. Careless finishing still sold as votive. Not enough of M7/8 to see variety; no over-painting.
Vessel fired	Potter, slave	Stone: 234	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 385	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on stamp features. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden by liquid?
Vessel dedicated at Demeter-Kore North Sanc with same type vessels to other deities other finewares	Owner/ Receiver Sanctuary staff Worshippers  Worshippers	Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60  Context, Stone 60	Circumstances of dedication? Was it used at sanctuary? Why so many other deities, why external Isis-Sarapis? NB dice with Tanit sign.
Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why destroy NS but leave Central

			Sanctuary? Context has later material.
Vessel excavated 1959 catalogued 59-1718	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 385	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 564	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 385	Published as medallion vessel, globalised by cf Athens, Calens Not assigned to workshop.

## M7

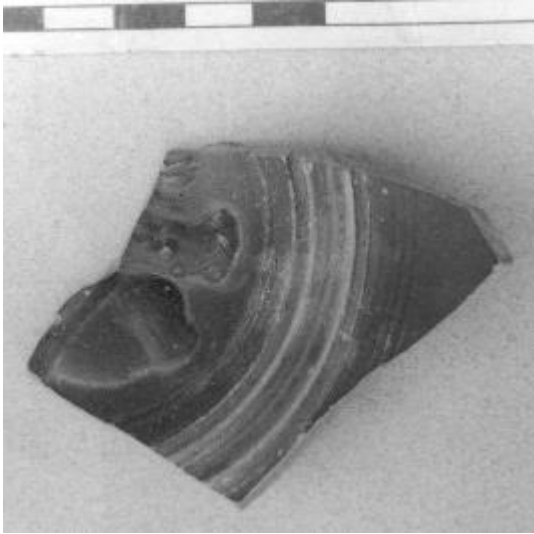


Image with permission S.C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M7

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IIH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M10-11, 250-ECIIBC

East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss, Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl & Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** 50 other medallion vessels or parts were found in this context.

Clay examples from: Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Emporion (Spain), Cales in south Italy, Alexandria, Macedonia. Silver medallion vessels of same form found in Morgantina Hoard, Persian metalwork at Memphis.

**Other examples of representation:** M7-8 cf. Metapontum stater c. 300 BC.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Sarapis & Isis (4 types), Dionysos (4 types), Eros (4 types), Aphrodite, Athena, Nike (2 types).

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** local clay

**Preservation:** fragment of base showing approximately 3-5 o'clock of the image, surrounding groove and area outside. No size recorded, although most Morgantina examples of medallions are 4-5cm in diameter.

**Description:** The figure is preserved only for the left shoulder and torso.

Pose: the figure's left shoulder only remains, comparison with M6 suggests the pose.

Appearance: no details of the face remain

Hair: wisps only remain.

Dress: the figure shows a powerful, naked shoulder, with a strap running laterally to the neck, a band on the left arm.

Weapons: club

Accessories: strap and band.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is identified by the club visible over the powerful left shoulder and by comparison with M6. The moulded section over the shoulder corresponds to the knobbly club characteristic of representations of Herakles.

Appearance/ form of object: medallion ware cup with stamped decoration. The representation lies within narrow grooves, either side of a central groove. The blank area outside the groove is flat like the medallion and suggests that the medallion did not take up the entire base of the cup. This type may have been relatively expensive.

Production inc. choice of material: exact similarities with M6 in the treatment of the comparable extant sections suggest that the two fragments were made from the same stamp, although with different glosses. The metallic gloss of this fragment may suggest a desire to evoke metallic vessels, which occurs in many of the other medallion wares at Morgantina.

Function: vessel for liquid, dedicated at a sanctuary.

**Date**: sanctuary established 375-50, destruction dated to 211. Medallion types found sealed by destruction layer, but also in fill which includes later CII pottery. Fabric/ gloss suggest LCIII/ ECII date, although red gloss for Fabric I usually found on CI material. Medallion cups as a form are believed to have originated in Alexandria c. 275BC and been popular in eastern Sicily c. 250-175.

**Inv. No.** 59-413 (59=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 385; Cat. No. 564a; Pl. No. 118

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 385	Most common use at site.
Patric of stamp created of Herakles with club, lionskin in portrait form Stamp created in negative, finished by hand, white slip	Stamp-maker  Commissioner?	Stone: 233	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? Why not Syracusan for vessel stamps? When was design chosen by buyer? E Sicilian tradition.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone: 233  Stone: 232	Were stamp-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created? 2 medallion patrices of same image at Morg – local producer. Popular in Alexandria.
Stamp made to vessel on wheel 4-5 cm	Potter	Stone: 233	Could be smudged: 2nds cheap? Smaller than silver stamp.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234	How long is this process?
Vessel dipped in metallic, black gloss detail added by incision/ paint	Potter, slave	Stone: 234/ 385	Not same gloss as stamp-mate M6. Wanting to appear metallic? Not enough of M7/8 to see variety; no over-painting.
Vessel fired	Potter, slave	Stone: 234	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 385	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on stamp features. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden by liquid?
Vessel dedicated at Demeter-Kore North Sanc with same type vessels to other deities other finewares	Owner/ Receiver Sanctuary staff Worshippers  Worshippers	Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60  Context, Stone 60	Circumstances of dedication? Was it used at sanctuary? Why so many other deities, why external Isis-Sarapis? NB dice with Tanit sign.
Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why destroy NS but leave Central



			Sanctuary? Context has later material.
Vessel excavated 1959 catalogued 59-413	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 385	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 564a	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 385	Published as medallion vessel, globalised by cf Athens, Calens Not assigned to workshop.

## M8



Image with permission S.C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M8

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IHH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M10-11, 250-ECIIBC East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss, Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl & Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** 50 other medallion vessels or parts were found in this context. Clay examples from: Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Emporion (Spain), Cales in south Italy, Alexandria, Macedonia. Silver medallion vessels of same form found in Morgantina Hoard, Persian metalwork at Memphis.

**Other examples of representation:** M6-7 cf. Metapontum stater c. 300 BC.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Sarapis & Isis (4 types), Dionysos (4 types), Eros (4 types), Aphrodite, Athena, Nike (2 types).

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** local clay, gloss lustrous black.

**Preservation:** Fragment of base showing approximately 6 to 10 o'clock of the image, surrounding groove and the area outside at the bottom. No size recorded, although most Morgantina examples of medallions are 4-5cm in diameter.

**Description:** the figure is preserved only at its edges and is best reconstructed by comparison with M6.

Pose: no details of the pose are preserved, known from comparison with M6-7.

Appearance: no details preserved.

Hair: no details preserved.

Dress: claws of a paw, when compared with M6-7, suggest a lionskin.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: no decoration, grooved outline.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation the identification rests on comparison with M6-7, in particular the detail of the lionskin's claws also seen on M6 at 7 o'clock on the representation.

Appearance/ form of object: medallion ware cup with stamped decoration. The medallion is framed by 3 grooves, with a broader space between the outer two grooves; this is different to the ring grooves on M7. The blank area outside the groove is flat like the medallion and suggests that the medallion did not take up the entire base of the cup. This type may have been relatively expensive.

exact similarities with M6 in the treatment of the comparable extant sections suggest that the two fragments were made from the same stamp, although with different glosses. The metallic gloss of this fragment may suggest a desire to evoke metallic vessels, which occurs in many of the other medallion wares at Morgantina.

Function: vessel for liquid, dedicated at a sanctuary.

**Date:** sanctuary established 375-50, destruction dated to 211. Medallion types found sealed by destruction layer, but also in fill which includes later CII pottery. Fabric/ gloss suggest LCIII/ ECII date, although red gloss for Fabric I usually found on CI material. Medallion cups as a form are believed to have originated in Alexandria c. 275BC and been popular in eastern Sicily c. 250-175.

**Inv. No.** 59-1643 (59=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 385; Cat. No. 564b; Pl. No. 118

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 385	Most common use at site.
Patric of stamp created of Herakles with lionskin Stamp created in negative, finished by hand, white slip	Stamp-maker  Commissioner?	Stone: 233	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? Why not Syracusan for vessel stamps? When was design chosen by buyer? E Sicilian tradition.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone: 233  Stone: 232	Were stamp-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created? 2 medallion patrices of same image at Morg – local producer. Popular in Alexandria.
Stamp made to vessel on wheel 4-5 cm	Potter	Stone: 233	Could be smudged: 2nds cheap? Smaller than silver stamp. Different surrounding grooves to M7, different patric?
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234	How long is this process?
Vessel dipped in lustrous black gloss detail added by incision/ paint	Potter, slave	Stone: 234/ 385	Not same gloss as stamp-mate M6. Wanting to appear metallic or is this different to M7? Not enough of M7/8 to see variety; no over-painting.
Vessel fired	Potter, slave	Stone: 234	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 385	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on stamp features. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden by liquid?
Vessel dedicated at Demeter-Kore North Sanc with same type vessels to other deities other finewares	Owner/ Receiver Sanctuary staff Worshippers  Worshippers	Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60  Context, Stone 60	Circumstances of dedication? Was it used at sanctuary? Why so many other deities, why external Isis-Sarapis? NB dice with Tanit sign.

Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why destroy NS but leave Central Sanctuary? Context has later material.
Vessel excavated 1959 catalogued 59-1643	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 385	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 564b	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 385	Published as medallion vessel, globalised by cf Athens, Calens Not assigned to workshop.

## M9



Image by permission S.C. Stone



M.S. VI: pl. 61

**Object Reference:** M9

**Find Context:** IG/IH, re-designated III i, N/ W agora, Morgantina.

**Found with:** fine pottery: Campana C black gloss, Republican Red Gloss, Imported Eastern Sigillata A

Early Italian terra sigillata.

**Other examples of object:** M16.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** red clay, not local.

**Preservation:** fragment of chalice, no size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only represented.

Appearance: knobbly club with grooved grip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: two entwined snakes.

Background/ Field: plain immediately behind the club. Hints of further decoration underneath grooves running underneath the club.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by his knobbly club, shown with a grooved grip at the short end.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment of chalice, *Conspectus* form R9. 19 of 22 examples of this pottery at Morgantina are of chalice form

Production inc. choice of material Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief Ware. Attributed to workshop M. Perennius Barathes because of appliqué of club motif, 4 other fragments at Morgantina are attributed to this workshop. These depict leaves and floral decoration.

Function: chalice forms would be used for serving wine.

**Date:** c. 5 BC – 25/ 30BC.

**Inv. No.** 56-2129 (56=year of excavation)

**Refs:**

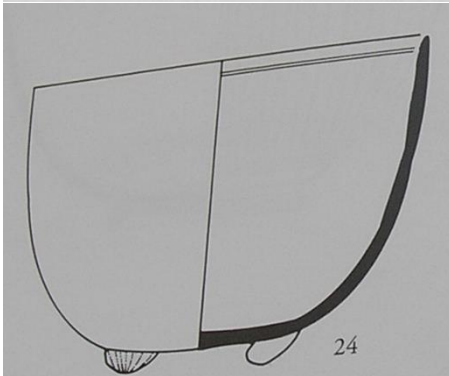
Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 399;  
Cat. No. 666; Pl. No. 61, 131

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay selected, prepared as ball for throwing in Arretium 5 BC – AD 25/30	Potter/ slave	Brown: 78 Stone, 283 Stone 283/ Bartoli: 12	Mass production emphasised. Later phases of workshop overlooked on style.
Mould created by impressing decoration into thrown clay bowl with engraved/ modelled punch of club with entwined snakes, unknown other decoration  in workshop of M. Perennius Bargathes, Arretium	Mould-maker/ potter/ slave  Punch-maker   Bargathes and staff	Brown: 75, 78  Object  Stone: 399, comp with Dragendorff	Potters ‘Greeks, Asians, freedmen, slaves’, cf agency of local coroplast. Are punch and mould-maker the same? Cd be copied from silver. How noticeable would motif have been? Identified stylistically.
Outside of mould smoothed, fired	Mould-maker Slaves	Brown: 79	What happened to mistakes?
Clay pressed into mould, turned on wheel, smoothed. Rim created from same clay in chalice form R9	Potter	Brown: 80, Stone: 283 Brown: 80 Conspectus R9	Length of process?
Clay dried, shrank Vessel lifted from mould	Potter	Brown: 80	Possibility of scratching if removed carelessly, none seen on this example
Base thrown, attached with slip	Potter	Stone, 283	Did chalice have base?
Vessel dried, double-dipped in lustrous dark red gloss	Potter	Brown, 80 Stone, 283, n256	Compare variety in glosses from Hellenistic period.
Vessel stamped by potter/ slave	Potter/slave	Stone, 283	No stamp on this vessel
Vessel distributed by workshop	Bargathes’ staff, trader	Object	Who decided what sold? Did they know where goods went?
Vessel travelled with mixed cargo inc other workshops’ products	Shipper	Pena: 36-7	Was the shipper the trader?
Vessel acquired by trader on Sicily Same workshop products at Iaitas, Catania, Syracuse	Shipper/ trader  Workshop/ shipper/ trader	Pena: 36-7  Malfitana: 309-336	How was price negotiated? How many add-ons for buyer? Trade-route established?



Vessel not acquired at earlier stops of trade route	Trader, customers	Object, context: Stone: 399	Why not bought? What was order of route stops? How much choice by Morgantina?
Vessel acquired at Morgantina in n/w agora along with much other stamped EITS	Trader, local trader	Context, Stone: 399	Local trader buying goods or travelling trader? Did it fail to sell? Much other EITS – trader's stall? If so, why abandoned there?
Vessel excavated in n/w agora in 1956 catalogued as 56-2129	Princeton team	Object number Stone: 399	Why no details about which stratum it was found in?
Vessel published in object catalogue as no. 666	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 399	Published as Early Italian Terra Sig Relief Ware Has it been displayed? Where stored?

## M10



M.S. VI: pl. 73

**Object Reference:** M10

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IHH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M11, 250-ECIIBC East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss, Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl & Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** 359 vases/ fragments of fabric I glossed fineware found at Morgantina Stone lists 11 cups of this type, with straight or flaring lip made of various clay

types plus a recent discovery from a tomb context, as well as noting the same form in silver from the Morgantina hoard. L14. Shells as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Messina, Iaitas, Athens, Corinth. Masks as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Butrint, Minturnae, Jesi, Rome, Aegean islands, Asia Minor.

**Other examples of representation:** no precise parallels, see above.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** Black-gloss ware. Fabric I. Gloss metallic black.

**Preservation:** base of cup with 2 of 3 moulded feet. The moulds are damaged (by use?) on the top of the head, nose and chin, revealing the clay beneath. The third foot has been completely removed, showing clay beneath. The cup is extant until about 1cm below the level of the feet. No size is recorded, but the examples of this type are typically 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.

**Description:**

Pose: only the head of the figure is used, facing frontally

Appearance: the examples are damaged, but appear to have short hair and beard, with an open mouth.

Hair: short. There is a greater mass of mould around the head, but it is impossible to determine whether any head-gear is worn.

Dress: mask.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none. Some silver examples have differing masks on the same vessel.

Background/ Field: none, unlike overpainted examples from Greece.

Other images: none, unlike Megarian bowls.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the head is recognised as Herakles or a youth from New Comedy by comparison of the mask features with other examples, presumably seeing a lionskin on the top of the head.

Appearance/ form of object: deep hemispherical black gloss cup with moulded foot. The base is intact, showing a straight lip and a ring around the base. The moulded feet intersect the ring of the base only with the very top of their heads, where damage has occurred. They are equally spaced around the base and seen right-way-up when the cup is resting on its rim.

Production inc. choice of material: Fabric I. This clay is found in 80% of CIV-III fineware vessels at Morgantina and is the most common fabric for pottery across the site. This cup was double-dipped in gloss to cover the entire vessel; general practice on vessels from Morgantina was to dip once, resulting in partial coverage of the vessel. There is no evidence of overpainting on the tondo of the cup, although this is found on 2 cups of the same form (one from a domestic, one from a tomb context).

Function: personal drinking vessel offered at sanctuary to Demeter-Kore.

**Date:** LCIV-CIII. Ceramic versions of this shape are not recorded as lasting beyond CIII; 'little evidence' after 211, although examples M12-14 come from fills containing CII-I and earlier material. The tomb example is from the early CIII. The sanctuary was established 375-50, destruction dated to 211.

**Inv. No.** 58-951 (58=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 314; Cat. No. 24G; Pl. No. 73

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 314	Most common use at site.
Mould created of Herakles mask in portrait form	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Stone: 91	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? When was design chosen by buyer? H only found at Morgantina.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone:91	Were mould-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created?
Moulded foot luted to vessel on wheel 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.	Potter	Noble: 10 Stone: 91	Why facing downwards, different placement of feet? Smaller than silver versions.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234 comp.	How long is this process?
Vessel double-dipped in metallic black gloss	Potter, slave	Stone: 91	More careful application of gloss; no over-painting.
Vessel fired not after 211	Potter, slave	Stone: 234 comp. Stone: 92 n59	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 314	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on feet. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden when used?
Vessel dedicated at Demeter-Kore North Sanc with same type vessels other finewares	Owner/ Receiver Sanctuary staff Worshippers Worshippers	Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60	Circumstances of dedication? Was it used at sanctuary? NB dice with Tanit sign.
Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why destroy NS but leave Central Sanctuary? Context has later material.
Vessel excavated 1958 catalogued 58-951	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 314	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 24G	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 314	Published as deep hemispherical cup, globalised by cf Sicily,

			Greece. Why doesn't H appear elsewhere? Not assigned to workshop.
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## M11

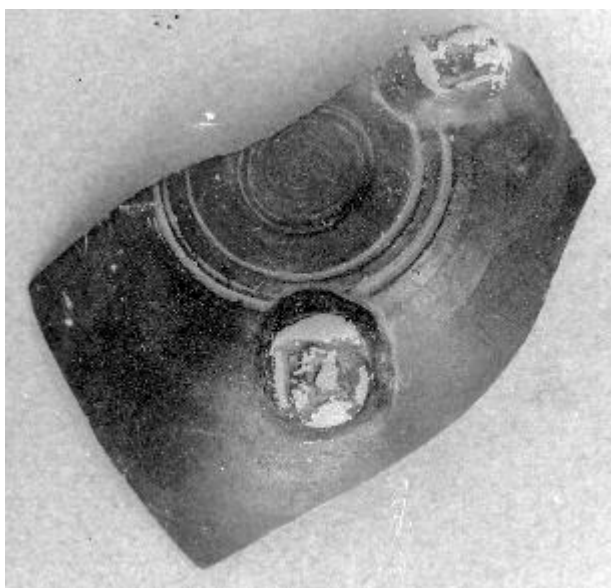
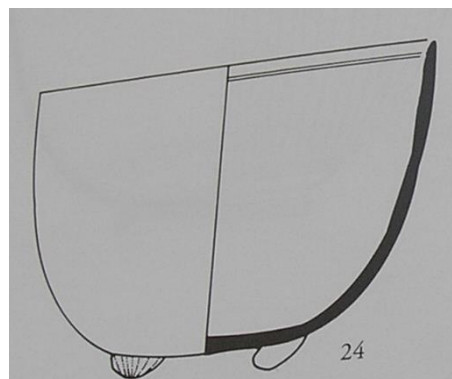


Image with permission S. C. Stone



**Object Reference:** M11

**Find Context:** North Sanctuary street deposit, re-designated IIH Morgantina.

**Found with:** 3 terracottas; fine pottery: CIV/III Black Gloss inc M10, 250-ECIIBC East Sicilian,

CII-I Campana C Black, Morgantina/ e. Sicily other fine wares, CI Republican Red Gloss, Imported Eastern Sigillata A plate base, Medallion Ware inc M6-8. Megarian Bowl & Related Relief Ware

Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief beaker

**Other examples of object:** 359 vases/ fragments of fabric I glossed fineware found at Morgantina Stone lists 11 cups of this type, with straight or flaring lip made of various clay types plus a recent discovery from a tomb context, as well as noting the same form in silver from the Morgantina hoard. L14. Shells as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Messina, Iaitas, Athens, Corinth. Masks as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Butrint, Minturnae, Jesi, Rome, Aegean islands, Asia Minor.

**Other examples of representation:** no precise parallels, see above.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** Black-gloss ware. Fabric I.

**Preservation:** Base of cup with 2 of 3 moulded feet. One mould is complete, but has damage to forehead, nose and chin. The second mould is broken across the chin and along the left side of the face. The cup is a fragment of a base and the area of the third

mould is not extant. It reaches up approximately 3cm above the base. No size is recorded, but the examples of this type are typically 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.

**Description:**

Pose: head only represented.

Appearance: only the head of the figure is used, facing frontally and appearing to frown. The chin is damaged, so identifying a beard is difficult; no beard is seen by the excavator.

Hair: the examples are damaged, but appear to have short hair, with a greater mass of mould round the head.

Dress: mask, lionskin.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none, overpainting found on other examples.

Other images: none, other examples vary the three masks used as feet.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the head is recognised as Herakles by the lionskin seen by the excavator and as a mask from the exaggerated features. This would suggest a link with the theatre.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment, including most of the base, of a deep hemispherical cup with flared lip and 2 grooved rings around a base which has a circular stamp in the centre. One mould intersects the outer groove of the base with the top of its head, the second crosses both grooves; damage has occurred to the top of both moulds. They are equally spaced around the base and seen right-way-up when the cup is resting on its rim.

Production inc. choice of material: made from the most popular fabric at Morgantina, probably local, suggesting that this was a less expensive object than other similar types, for example the same shape found of silver in the Morgantina hoard. This object is not described as having the metallic gloss found on other similar examples, e.g. M13, and its base is not as smooth as M13 or M15.

Function: serving or drinking wine; dedicated to Demeter-Kore at their sanctuary.

**Date:** LCIV-CIII. Ceramic versions of this shape are not recorded as lasting beyond CIII); 'little evidence' after 211, although examples M12-14 come from fills containing CII-I and earlier material, while a tomb example comes from earlier in the CIII. The sanctuary was established 375-50, destruction dated to 211.

**Inv. No.** 59-549 (59=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois



**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 314: 314; Cat. No. 24H; Pl. No. 73

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 314	Most common use at site.
Mould created of Herakles mask different form to M10	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Stone: 91	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? When was design chosen by buyer? H only found at Morgantina.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone:91	Were mould-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created?
Moulded foot luted to vessel on wheel 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.	Potter	Noble: 10 Stone: 91	Why facing downwards, different placement of feet? Smaller than silver versions.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234 comp.	How long is this process?
Vessel double-dipped in black gloss	Potter, slave	Stone: 91	More careful application of gloss; no over-painting.
Vessel fired not after 211	Potter, slave	Stone: 234 comp. Stone: 92 n59	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 314	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H in theatrical version? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on feet. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden when used?
Vessel dedicated at Demeter-Kore North Sanc with same type vessels other finewares	Owner/ Receiver Sanctuary staff Worshippers Worshippers	Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60 Context, Stone 60	Circumstances of dedication? Was it used at sanctuary? NB dice with Tanit sign.
Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why destroy NS but leave Central Sanctuary? Context has later material.
Vessel excavated 1959 catalogued 59-549	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 314	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 24H	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 314	Published as deep hemispherical cup, globalised by cf Sicily,

			Greece. Why doesn't H appear elsewhere? Not assigned to workshop.
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## M12

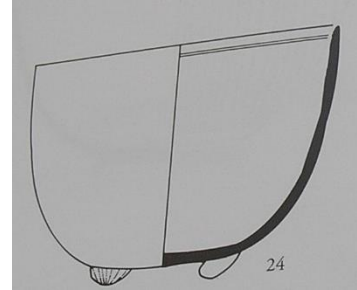


Image with permission of S.C. Stone

### **Object Reference:** M12

**Find Context:** Area I, trench 15G, strata 1-2 (Public Office). This is designated as neither deposit nor context in M.S. VI, with no discussion. Fill contains CII/I material, along with earlier material and pottery.

**Found with:** not recorded

**Other examples of object:** 359 vases/ fragments of fabric I glossed fineware found at Morgantina Stone lists 11 cups of this type, with straight or flaring lip made of various clay types plus a recent discovery from a tomb context, as well as noting the same form in silver from the Morgantina hoard. L14. Shells as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Messina, Iaitas, Athens, Corinth. Masks as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Butrint, Minturnae, Jesi, Rome, Aegean islands, Asia Minor.

**Other examples of representation:** M13?

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** Black-gloss ware. Fabric I.

**Preservation:** Base of cup with 3 moulded feet, moulds damaged slightly (by use?) on tip of the forehead, 3 joined pieces. The pieces show most of the ringed base of the cup and 2/3rds of the area around the level of the moulds. No size is recorded, but the examples of this type are typically 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.

### **Description:**

Pose: only the head of the figure is used, facing frontally.

Appearance: beardless face, with wide, flat nose, perhaps a wrestler?

Hair: short, curly, surrounded by a band.

Dress: lionskin seen by excavator on the head.

Weapons: none

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none, unlike overpainted examples from tombs and elsewhere.

Other images: none, unlike Megarian bowls.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised from his lionskin, here appearing as a young athlete, a version unparalleled in the current record.

Appearance/ form of object: base of a deep hemispherical cup with a ring around the base, reconstructed from two joining fragments. The moulded feet only just intersect the ring of the base and are placed further up the body of the cup than other examples (M13 & 14). They are seen right-way-up when the cup is resting on its rim.

Production inc. choice of material: local fabric with black gloss. The fact that the moulds are placed at different positions in relation to the grooves of the rim, and to those of M13 & M14 suggests that these were attached freehand; these examples may barely have supported the vessel, given how far up the body they are placed and the damage perhaps caused by use-wear on the tip of the forehead. The more careful treatment of the base, comparable to M13 but more rounded, also suggests a variation in the batches produced.

Function: M.S. VI notes that this example was found at the Public Office, which might suggest use at a public banquet. The observations above of the shape of the vase and position of the feet might suggest a one-off use, with the emphasis on turning the vessel over, such as the pouring of a libation.

**Date:** LCIV-CIII. Ceramic versions of this shape are not recorded as lasting beyond CIII 'little evidence' after 211, although examples M15-17 come from fills containing CII-I and earlier material.

**Inv. No.** 58-572 (58=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 314; Cat. No. 24I; Pl. No. 73

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 314	Most common use at site.
Mould created of Herakles with lionskin as an athlete	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Stone: 91	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? When was design chosen by buyer? H and athlete only found at Morgantina.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone:91	Were mould-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created?
Moulded foot luted to vessel on wheel 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.	Potter	Noble: 10 Stone: 91	Why facing downwards, different placement of feet? Smaller than silver versions.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234 comp.	How long is this process?
Vessel double-dipped in black gloss	Potter, slave	Stone: 91	More careful application of gloss; no over-painting.
Vessel fired not after 211	Potter, slave	Stone: 234 comp. Stone: 92 n59	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 314	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on feet. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden when used?
Vessel left in the area of the Public Office	Owner/ Receiver	Context, Stone 314	Circumstances in which this was left. Was it in Public Office?
Vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 314	Why were objects not removed? Why was this broken at this site?
Vessel excavated 1958 catalogued 58-572	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 314	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 24I	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 314	Published as deep hemispherical cup, globalised by cf Sicily, Greece. Why doesn't H appear elsewhere? Not assigned to workshop.

### M13

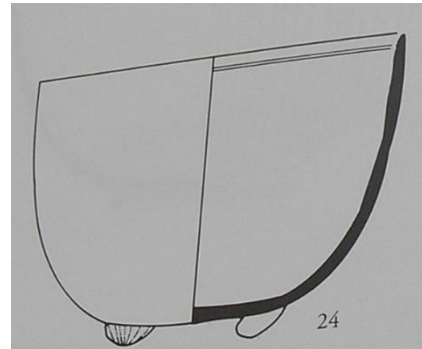


Image with permission S.C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M13

**Find Context:** Area I, East Hill trench 64, stratum 2 (House Walls). Fill contains CII/I material, along with earlier material and pottery. Trench 64 “is located directly north of the House of Ganymede and perhaps served as an open-air service area for that house in the third century BCE” (M.S.VI: 35-6), however the catalogue describes cisterns, rather than house walls. The house is considered by the excavators to have been used as one property before 211, then split into two after this date. Evidence from the house’s cistern suggests architectural damage to the house at this point or from a natural disaster in the early second century, as revealed by context IR.

**Found with:** not recorded

**Other examples of object:** 359 vases/ fragments of fabric I glossed fineware found at Morgantina Stone lists 11 cups of this type, with straight or flaring lip made of various clay types plus a recent discovery from a tomb context, as well as noting the same form in silver from the Morgantina hoard. L14. Shells as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Messina, Iaitas, Athens, Corinth. Masks as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Butrint, Minturnae, Jesi, Rome, Aegean islands, Asia Minor.

**Other examples of representation:** M12?

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** Black-gloss ware. Fabric I.

**Preservation:** Fragment of base of cup with 1 of 3 moulded feet, mould damaged slightly especially at the nose, but not at top of head cf M11/12. The mould of the face is complete and is attached to a small amount of the area above the base ring. No size is recorded, but the examples of this type are typically 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.

**Description:**

**Pose:** only the head of the figure is used, facing frontally.

**Appearance** no beard. The front part of the forehead appears flat, with moulded area behind. The nose appears, despite damage, to be wide and flat.

**Hair:** the hair is short, with a plain band around the forehead and moulded section over the ears.

**Dress:** lionskin recognised in detail over the ears.

**Weapons:** none.

**Accessories:** none.

**Companions:** none.

**Background/ Field:** no decoration, unlike other examples from tombs and elsewhere of this type.

**Other images:** none, unlike Megarian bowls.

**Interpretation:**

**Representation:** Herakles is recognised by the lionskin seen over his temples and ears, with an athlete's headband around his head. This representation is unparalleled except at Morgantina. The wide, flat nose recalls M2.

**Appearance/ form of object:** the ring of the base is overlapped by more of the head than other examples of this type (M10-12, M14). Note that the placement of the mould in relation to the ring of the base is slightly different, suggesting that the moulds were fixed by hand. The damage to the top of the head of the mould may come from use-wear and suggest that the cup was a more steady base than has been suggested for M15

**Production inc. choice of material:** local clay, with black glaze. This mould is clearer than the other examples, with evidence for extra ears over the temple of Herakles' head and the flat area at the top of the forehead suggesting a cap or lion skin being worn.

**Function:** for drinking or serving wine. The context of this piece is not described in M.S. VI, but it comes from the same trench as that associated with the House of Ganymede's 'open-air service area' (M.S. VI: 35-6), which might suggest a domestic feasting context. The observations above of the shape of the vase and position of the feet might suggest a



one-off use, with the emphasis on turning the vessel over, such as the pouring of a libation.

**Date:** LCIV-CIII. Ceramic versions of this shape are not recorded as lasting beyond CIII; 'little evidence' after 211, although examples M15 & 17 come from fills containing CII-I and earlier material (M.S. VI, n59). The area of the object's discovery was used throughout the third century and early second century.

**Inv. No.** 60-512 (60=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 314: 314; Cat. No. 24j; Pl. No. 73.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 314	Most common use at site.
Mould created of Herakles in lionskin as an athlete	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Stone: 91	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? When was design chosen by buyer? H and athlete only found at Morgantina.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone:91	Were mould-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created?
Moulded foot luted to vessel on wheel 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.	Potter	Noble: 10 Stone: 91	Why facing downwards, different placement of feet? Smaller than silver versions.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234 comp.	How long is this process?
Vessel double-dipped in metallic black gloss	Potter, slave	Stone: 91	More careful application of gloss; no over-painting.
Vessel fired not after 211	Potter, slave	Stone: 234 comp. Stone: 92 n59	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 314	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on feet. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden when used?
Vessel left in domestic area	Owner/ Receiver	Context, Stone 35-6	Why was this left? Relationship to serving area of house?
Sanctuary destroyed 211 vessel broken more thoroughly than other examples	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why were objects not removed? Why was the area destroyed when others weren't?
Vessel excavated 1960 catalogued 60-512	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 314	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 24]	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 314	Published as deep hemispherical cup, globalised by cf Sicily, Greece. Why doesn't H appear elsewhere? Not assigned to workshop.

## M14

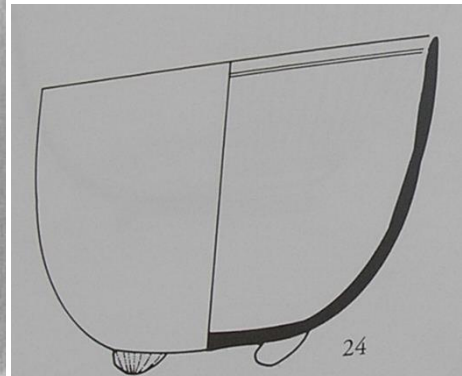


Image with permission S. C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M14

**Find Context:** Area I, zone B, room 6, stratum 2 (North Stoa). Fill contains CII/I material, along with earlier material and pottery.

**Found with:** not recorded

**Other examples of object:** 359 vases/ fragments of fabric I glossed fineware found at Morgantina Stone lists 11 cups of this type, with straight or flaring lip made of various clay types plus a recent discovery from a tomb context, as well as noting the same form in silver from the Morgantina hoard. L14. Shells as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Messina, Iaitas, Athens, Corinth. Masks as feet: Morgantina Hoard, Butrint, Minturnae, Jesi, Rome, Aegean islands, Asia Minor.

**Other examples of representation:** no precise parallels, see above, but recalls M12-13, M2.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** Black-gloss ware. Fabric I.

**Preservation:** Fragment of base of deep hemispherical cup with 1 of 3 moulded feet, 1 mould broken off except for top right of the head. The other head is damaged only slightly on top of forehead, nose and chin. Almost all of the base of the cup is preserved, as well as some of the body between the two feet. No size is recorded, but the examples of this type are typically 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep

**Description:**

Pose: only the head of the figure is used, facing frontally.

Appearance: this head has sharper features than M12-3.

Hair: the hair appears more fluidly moulded and there is no evidence of a hairband. The head does not have a beard.

Dress: lionskin worn as a cap.

Weapons: none.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: no elaboration, unlike comparable types.

Other images: none, unlike Megarian bowls.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the lionskin, seen as a cap with ears worn over the temples. The face appears young, with more rounded features than M15&16, with the nose appearing less flat and wide

Appearance/ form of object: deep hemispherical black gloss cup with moulded foot. The top of the forehead of the moulds intersect the grooved ring of the base, at a slightly lower level than M15 & M16. They are seen right-way-up when the cup is resting on its rim.

There are two circular moulded features at the temples of the head.

Production inc. choice of material: local clay with black gloss, as found on the majority of examples at Morgantina. The moulds have been applied to the cup with less smoothing of the clay, overlapping the bottom rim which may be more curved than M15-6 (but not as much as M14); they are placed further around the cup than M15-6. No evidence of the coloured overpainting found on Greek examples. The fact that the moulds are placed at different positions in relation to the grooves of the rim, and to those of M13 & M14 suggests that these were attached freehand; these examples may barely have supported the vessel, given how far up the body they are placed and the damage perhaps caused by use-wear on the tip of the forehead. The more careful treatment of the base, comparable to M13 but more rounded, also suggests a variation in the batches produced. These facts, as well as the position of the heads facing away from the drinker and the more careful double-dipping of the cup in gloss to ensure all of the cup was covered suggest that the cup was better viewed when resting on its rim.

Function: for serving or drinking wine. Link to excavation context unclear.

**Date**: LCIV-CIII. Ceramic versions of this shape are not recorded as lasting beyond CIII); 'little evidence' after 211, although examples M15-17 come from fills containing CII-I and earlier material.

**Inv. No.** 63-725 (63=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 314;  
Cat. No. 24K; Pl. No. 73

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Local clay selected, prepared	Potter, slave	Stone: 314	Most common use at site.
Mould created of Herakles in lionskin differing to M12-13	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Stone: 91	Were stamp and mould-makers the same? When was design chosen by buyer? H only found at Morgantina.
Vessel form thrown on wheel	Potter	Stone:91	Were mould-maker and potter the same person? If not, how transferred, how many created?
Moulded foot luted to vessel on wheel 11-14cm diameter, 8-9cm deep.	Potter	Noble: 10 Stone: 91	Why facing downwards, different placement of feet? Smaller than silver versions.
Vessel cut from wheel, dried	Potter, slave?	Stone: 234 comp.	How long is this process?
Vessel double-dipped in metallic black gloss	Potter, slave	Stone: 91	More careful application of gloss; no over-painting.
Vessel fired not after 211	Potter, slave	Stone: 234 comp. Stone: 92 n59	Evidence for kilns at Morg.
Vessel offered for sale	Potter, slave Trader at sanctuary	Object Context, Stone 314	How many sold together, different glosses offered, different scenes? With what else?
Vessel acquired	Buyer	Object	Why choose clay, not silver? Why choose H? Gift from owner of silver one?
Vessel used	Owner	Object	Some wear on feet. How/ where used? Why choose image hidden when used?
Vessel left in area of North Stoa	Owner/ Receiver	Context, Stone 314	Circumstances of vessel being left? Why no context detail?
Vessel broken	Hispani? Rome?	Context, Stone 60	Why was this abandoned and broken?
Vessel excavated 1963 catalogued 63-725	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 314	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Vessel published in object catalogue no. 24K	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 314	Published as deep hemispherical cup, globalised by cf Sicily, Greece. Why doesn't H appear elsewhere? Not assigned to workshop.

## M15



Image with permission of S.C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M15

**Find Context:** IV re-designated deposit IID House of the Doric Capital. On the east hill, above the agora and public office, Morgantina.

**Found with:** 11 terracottas, 2 thymiateria, fine pottery: Campana B & C black gloss, Republican Red Gloss, 4 Medallion Vessels, Imported Eastern Sigillata A, Megarian Bowl, Thin-walled vessels.

**Other examples of object:** M2

**Other examples of representation:** no identical examples. Comic actors as figurines:

**Other examples of deities on object:** Dionysos

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** imported clay. Gloss fugitive orange-red.

**Preservation:** All of the figure is preserved, with a thin crack at the waist. Some of the background vessel is preserved on the left-hand side of the object and around the outline of the figure. The details of the image are abraded and unclear. No size recorded.

### **Description:**

Pose: the figure is seated in profile with his right side to the viewer. His posture appears stooped, with out-of-proportion moulding at the back of the head and over the shoulders. The visible arm grasps the top of a long straight feature. The area between his waist and knees seems to have extra moulding. There is also extra moulding underneath and behind the figure.

Appearance: the head has a beard; there is little indication of the figure's physique.

Hair: the hair is short, but it is impossible to tell whether or not it curls.

Dress: a short chiton and lionskin over the shoulders are seen by the excavator.

Weapons: club

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none survives except perhaps a groundline at his feet.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: identification of this figure as Herakles is based on the assumption that the long straight object on which the figure leans is a club and that the extra layers of moulding at the back of the head and over the shoulders are a lionskin. The hunched impression that this gives to the figure as he leans on the club, and the presence of a beard suggest an older figure. The smoother moulding between torso and knees, especially over the knees, are described by Stone as a 'short chiton' and the bulk of this might suggest the padded costume of comic actors (cf M3); although this would presumably require the figure to be masked.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment of kantharos with relief appliqué decoration. The fragments of the vessel suggest that it was a wheel-made kantharos with a 'vertical upper body/out turned, inward-thickened lip'. The image is an appliqué figure made from a mould. Stone now thinks this was produced in Anatolia (pers. comm.) This would suggest that the figure was an import (M.S. VI: 273). The form is also found in metallic vessels (M.S. VI: 272). The outline of the appliqué is followed closely by the outline of the vessel itself, with a regular shaped curve behind the figure; it is possible that this appliqué may have been broken off for re-use. The fragment of vessel is considered to be a high-rimmed kantharos and linked to the trends in appliqué vessels from Pergamon, also found during this period on Delos.

Production inc. choice of material: yellowish-brown clay, not local to Morgantina. Stone notes that this fabric is considered on Delos to be imitative of Pergamene wares.

Appliqués from Ephesus made from a similar clay have been noted, there is one other example of this fabric and type from Morgantina.

Function: the function of a kantharos is usually considered to be for dining. The fact that this example was found in a house in which money had been invested for rebuilding and the type's parallels in eastern examples suggests that the owners of the house were ready to invest in exotic goods after the 'destruction of Morgantina' c. 211.



**Date:** Republican period 211-c35. Stone considers that appliqué wares at Morgantina date ‘no earlier than the late second century’ and that this example should be the first half of the first century BC. The destruction of the house c.35 would set this as the latest date of production or purchase.

**Inv. No.** 56-2373 (56=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 393;  
Cat. No. 626; Pl. No. 126

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles as comic actor with lionskin	Mould-maker Commissioner?	Object, moulds at site Stone: 393 Object	Imported. Who decided this form should be shipped and would sell?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, comp M2	On what was this mould based? Where created? Globalised image/ popularity.
Yellowish-brown clay from Anatolia, Ephesus on Delos recalls Pergamene prepared, chosen.	Mould-maker/ potter, family, slave?	Stone: 393 Stone pers. comm. Stone: 273 n201	External production. Suggests trade links, no idea of route details, trying for link to Attalid court?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object	No size recorded.
Moulds finished, combined, luted to vessel	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Chosen by trader? Kantharos shape assoc with symposium.
Complete object fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Object: RH: 108	
Object travelled from Anatolia to Morgantina	Traveller? Trader?	Object/ context: 54 Stone: pers. comm.	12 other eggs with applied decoration from e Med, perhaps via Delos
Object acquired	Buyer? Traveller?	Object	Object bought by owner, or received as a gift? Why buy clay not metal?
Object kept/ used	Acquirer	Object	Details?
Object kept in House of Doric Capital with terracottas, much local and imported pottery	owner house-owner house-owner	Context, Stone: 54  Context, Stone: 54	House still upkept and elaborated in CI. Range of imports and locally produced wares, change in foodways.
Object left in house destroyed 35 BC	House owners	Context, Stone: 54	Object curated for at least a century. Why were objects not rescued?
Figurine excavated 1956 catalogued 56-2373	Princeton team	Catalogue no. Stone: 393	Where were objects kept: Aidone or Princeton? Has it been displayed?
Figurine published in object catalogue no. 626	Bell/ Princeton	Stone: 393	No other citation. Publ as Appliqué of Rep. Period.

## M16



Image by permission S.C. Stone

**Object Reference:** M16

**Find Context:** House of the Arched Cistern: context IIIA stratum I, previously IR, Morgantina.

**Found with:** infant burial in a jug, silver hinge and fibula, 2 terracottas, coins of Augustus and Republican denarii (89-56/ 44 BC), fine pottery: black gloss, imported Eastern sigillata A, Early Italian terra sigillata, Central Italian/ Liburnian

**Other examples of object:** M9.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** hard red to reddish-brown clay, lustrous dark red gloss.

**Preservation:** 3 adjoining fragments of the chalice up to its rim and above base. The figure is preserved entirely from the waist upwards. Diameter of the lip estimated at 20 cm.

**Description:**

Pose: the figure stands frontally to display an aspirational torso, although his head is completely in profile with a flat area at the front of the forehead and raised moulding towards the back. The eyes are sunken and the mouth hardly visible. The head is slightly

out of proportion to the body, which is narrower. The moulding of the physique is not entirely realistic, particularly under the throat, with a very narrow waist. The figure holds a knobbly club, and there is raised moulding at the wrist.

Appearance: beardless, with muscular torso.

Hair: short, curly.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none survive.

Background/ Field: plain field underneath repeated egg border and moulded grooves

Other images: appliqué lion's head with open mouth in upper register.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is identified here by the club and details which imply a lion skin, along with the intention to represent the aspirational physique of a youth. The raised moulding at the back of the head may indicate a lion skin cap, although it is not clear whether this hangs down behind the figure. The detail at the wrist of the figure may be a lion skin. The lion's head appliqué in the border of the vase may give strength to the attribution. The stance of the figure is that of control and commands attention.

Appearance/ form of object: chalice of *Conspectus*\* form R9.3. Early Italian Terra Sigillata Relief Ware. Attributed to the workshop of C. Annius. The chalice form of the vessel is described as imitating metal forms (M.S. VI: 283) and is the most common form, found elsewhere on Sicily. M.S. VI: 284 notes that the majority of relief wares of this type were found in the area of the last domestic habitation at Morgantina, the West Hill. the chalice form is found at Ietina/ Monte Iato. 22 forms of early Italian terra sigillata, including 19 chalices, 3 cups/ beakers, have been found at Morgantina.

Production inc. choice of material: The object was wheel/ mould made with appliqués, then double-dipped in gloss before firing. Workshops are identified by potters' stamps found on the objects produced by stamps. This example is signed on the interior by C. Annius, although this is not shown on the plates as other signatures are. His workshop is placed at Arretium. Unlike the other workshops attested at Morgantina, there are no examples of the work of C. Annius on plain vessels at the site. There are no examples of workshops from Puteoli, unlike the finds from Ietina/ Monte Iato.

Function: serving wine.

**Date:** The form of the vessel is dated by Stone between 10BC and 50AD, the earliest form of such vessels are 40-20BC, and after 10AD due to the appliqué on the rim. Vases signed by C. Annius are found at Haltern, which was abandoned in 9AD, and Oberaden, abandoned 8BC.

**Inv. No.** 60-1265 (60=year of excavation) Princeton-Illinois

**Refs:**

Stone, S.C. (2014) *Morgantina Studies VI: The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery*, Princeton UP, Princeton: 399: 393; Cat. No. 679; Pl. No. 61, 133.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay selected, prepared as ball for throwing in Arretium 10 BC – AD 50	Potter/ slave	Brown: 78 Stone, 283 Stone 288	Mass production emphasised. Dated by appliqué use.
Mould created by impressing decoration into thrown clay bowl with engraved/ modelled punch of Herakles with club lion's head unknown other decoration in workshop of C. Annius, Arretium	Mould-maker/ potter/ slave  Punch-maker   Annius and staff	Brown: 75, 78  Object   Stone: 400	Potters 'Greeks, Asians, freedmen, slaves', cf agency of local coroplast. Are punch and mould-maker the same? Cd be copied from silver. How noticeable would motif have been? Identified stylistically. 3 workshop vessels at Morg
Outside of mould smoothed, fired	Mould-maker Slaves	Brown: 79	What happened to mistakes?
Clay pressed into mould, turned on wheel, smoothed. Rim created from same clay in chalice form R9.3	Potter	Brown: 80, Stone: 283 Brown: 80 Conspectus R9.3	Length of process?
Clay dried, shrank Vessel lifted from mould	Potter	Brown: 80	Possibility of scratching if removed carelessly, none seen on this example
Base thrown, attached with slip	Potter	Stone, 283	Did chalice have base?
Vessel dried, double-dipped in lustrous dark red gloss	Potter	Brown, 80 Stone, 283, n256	Compare variety in glosses from Hellenistic period.
Vessel stamped by potter/ slave	Potter/ slave	Stone, 283	No stamp on this vessel
Vessel distributed by workshop	Annius' staff, trader	Object	Who decided what sold? Did they know where goods went?
Vessel travelled with mixed cargo inc other workshops' products	Shipper	Pena: 36-7	Was the shipper the trader?
Vessel acquired by trader on Sicily Same workshop products at Iaitas, Catania, Syracuse	Shipper/ trader  Workshop/ shipper/ trader	Pena: 36-7  Malfitana: 309-336	How was price negotiated? How many add-ons for buyer? Trade-route established?
Vessel not acquired at earlier stops of trade route	Trader, customers	Object, context: Stone: 399	Why not bought? What was order of route stops? How much choice by Morgantina?
Vessel acquired at Morgantina along with 2 other examples from same workshop	Trader, buyer local trader	Stone: 288	Local trader buying goods or travelling trader? Did local trader request goods?
Vessel kept in House of the Arched Cistern with variety of imported pottery	Buyer House-owner	Object Context, Stone: 400, 61-3	Still some wealth at late stage, link to Actium veterans?

Vessel excavated in 1960 catalogued as 60-1265	Princeton team	Object number Stone: 400	nb lead water pipe system at house, unknown coin hoard?
Vessel published in object catalogue as no. 679	Stone/ Princeton UP	Stone: 400	Published as Early Italian Terra Sig Relief Ware Has it been displayed? Where stored?

## Ma1



Di Stefano tav. XVIII

**Object Reference:** Ma1

**Find Context:** Marsala

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P27, P31, P33

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Other examples of deities at site:**

**Object type:** Statuette

**Material:** Bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with the exception of the left forearm, the right corrosion on the surface. The object measures 9.9cm.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: The figure stands upright, with weight on the slightly-bent left leg. His right hand is akimbo at his waist, the right hip and shoulder higher than their counterpart. The remaining part of the left arm is outstretched. The (replaced) head looks to the left.



Appearance: no beard on the replaced head. It has a moulded physique which demonstrates the musculature. Incisions represent the facial features, genitals and collar bones.

Hair: short, with a thicker section around the forehead.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the object is listed as Herakles with a query in di Stefano, based on subjective similarity with other Roman bronzes. Although none of these bronzes have anything to distinguish them as Herakles, they are considered to be reproductions of a statue of Herakles by Polykleitos which did not survive from antiquity.

Appearance/ form of object: the *contrapposto* stance is common on the bronzes from the Palermo collection. The small size is also consistent. Modern conservators have added the plinth, assuming it was displayed upright.

Production inc. choice of material: moulded bronze. No artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily, in which case this must have been imported to its findpost at Marsala, a community in the Carthaginian eparchy c. 300. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display.

**Date:** c. 300, dependent upon a CIV original.

**Inv. No.:** Palermo Mus Naz 1328 (GE 15851)

**Refs:**

di Stefano, C.A. (1975) *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider 42, tav XVIII.

de Gregorio in Studi Arch Icon XVI Palermo 1924, p. 5 tav I, 20.

## MH1



TTB: fig. 42

**Object Reference:** MH1

**Find Context:** Megara Hyblaea

**Found with:** 13 other comic terracottas (*sphenopogon*, *macropogon* and *eupogon*, player of double flute

**Other examples of object:** L4-6, L8-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, Pal1. Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** none collected from Sicily. Pal1 similar in pose, not detail.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** almost all of the object is preserved, although the bottom of the figure from the knees downward is missing. Some damage to the object's features. 11.2cm high.

**Description:**

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with left hand akimbo on his hip and right arm leaning heavily onto the club at his right hip. Unlike examples from Lipari, the hand does not touch his body. There is a strong s-curve to the figure's body, giving a casual air to the

pose. He has broad shoulders with right-angled endings. The left hip is raised and the right leg is slightly in front of the left, with knee bent. The bottom of the figurine is missing. The figure has slim thighs.

Appearance: the details of the figure's face are hard to discern, but appears to have a moulded area over a high forehead, with two almost pointed areas wide outside his ears. There is a slight peak in the middle of the forehead, with two indentations to either side of this. There seem to be heavy, straight eyebrows relatively high above the figure's eyes and indentations on the forehead. The nose is much bashed, but appears to be small and perhaps slightly snubbed. The mouth is small, unlike G2 and seems to have a full beard and moustache. The head appears over-large in comparison to the body.

Hair: no hair is obvious; the head seems to be covered.

Dress: the figure's head is covered. The shoulders of the figure stand out at right angles, with mouldings curving towards the throat. Further down the arms there appears to be drapery, with repeated grooves at the arm where it rests on the left hip; above this is a much wider bunched area. Further drapery hangs down behind and outside the left leg. The figurine has suffered damage at the right hip, making it difficult to tell if the stomach is padded; *TTB* suggests that it is. There are no markings on the legs.

Weapons: the figure leans on a long, straight object.

Accessories: there is a moulded area between the figure's legs. He may be wearing a mask.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification with Herakles derives primarily from the presence of the club, taken with the head covering, understood to be the lionskin, and thus corresponding to some of the characteristics of Webster's mask J; lionskin, furrowed brow, heavy eyebrows and full beard/ moustache (picked out by LBB), if not the gaping mouth. The character is further interpreted as being in comic costume from its exaggerated phallos and the size of the head suggesting a mask, although it is difficult to tell whether the padded costume found on examples from Gela and Lipari is also present. This is still considered to be 'farce'. Does the athleticism of the body, not found elsewhere, suggest that this is a record of a specific actor playing the part?

Appearance/ form of object: although the pose of the figure appears lithe and youthful, the full beard and moustache and the indentations on the forehead give the impression of

an older character. The slim legs recall G2. There is no indication as to whether the back of the figure was moulded.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made figurine. *TTB* consider the 14 MH terracottas to derive from the same workshop, and due to similarities in the style and manner of representation to come from either a 'master' working in MH or an agent there selling one individual's work. Details of other figures, e.g. beards of *sphenopogon*, *macropogon* and *eupogon*, are reminiscent of Syracusan work, noted also in H's beard and moustache.

Function: link to theatre unclear, assumed to come from a tomb.

**Date:** 350-300BC

**Inv. No. :** D93

**Refs:**

Bernabò Brea, L. (2002). *Terracotte teatrali e buffonesche della Sicilia orientale e centrale*. Palermo, M. Grispo, 64, fig 42  
1948 excavations of Francois Villard & Georges Vallet

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles lionskin, club, slim legs 'singular beard whiskers'	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	object <i>TTB</i> : 65 object	Similar pose, but more elegant, than Pal1. Is this deliberate? Image made from life?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	object/ comparison	How/ where stored? How many made?
Clay prepared, chosen	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object	Is it local clay – assumed from <i>TTB</i> . Why not bronze?
Clay placed in mould 11.2 cm to knees	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object <i>TTB</i> : 65	How does size cf to function. Slightly larger than Lipari/ Palici eggs?
Moulds finished, combined, Not a Syracusan workshop	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object <i>TTB</i> : 63	Opportunity for some personalisation. LBB uses 'master', emph aesthetics.
Figurine fired 350 (338?) - 300	Mould-maker, slave?	object <i>TTB</i> : 63	What happens to mistakes? Timoleontic association, wd be 338.
Figurine painted in white slip, with sim characteristics to 13 others, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object <i>TTB</i> : 63	B/w photo, no evidence of colour. Aesthetic grounds for assoc other eggs; no mention of characters or play.
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Comp MTL	Was it re-fired as Lipari?
Figurine offered for sale with other similar examples?	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	object context	Sold as ind items, or as a job lot? Were they all found in the same context? Where are moulds found in the town/ sanctuary? Where were these displayed for sale? No theatre found in MH.
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	object	Identity of the buyer? How were they transported?
Figurine kept/ used almost all remains for frontal viewing	Acquirer	object  object	How/ where used/ kept? How were other examples displayed – also frontal?
Figurine deposited at Megara Hyblaea with other figurines?	local? worshipper by same person?	object V&V via <i>TTB</i> : 63-5	Further details of the context needed.
Figurine excavated 1948	Villard/ Vallet	<i>TTB</i> : 63	post-1946 statute
Figurine acquired by ? catalogued as D93	finder: V&V? museum staff	<i>TTB</i> : 65	No details of museum noted; should stay local if post-1946.
Figurine published as comic/ farce terracotta	LBB/ Grispo	<i>TTB</i> : 63-65	No discussion of function. Discussed in terms of rep, production, aesthetics.
Figurine displayed	museum staff	no info	Where is this displayed?

## MI1



SI VIII, taf 64,



**Object Reference:** MI1

**Find Context:** peristyle house, Monte Iato. Although MI1 and MI2 are entered consecutively in the excavation catalogue, which might suggest that they came from the same vessel, their inventory numbers are not consecutive.

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** MI2.

**Other examples of representation:** none from Sicily.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** only a fragment of the original vessel is preserved, with some damage to its surface which makes details of the figure's appearance difficult to make out. The object measures 5.2 x 5.1cm.

**Description:** the figure is rendered realistically; its ankles and feet are not preserved.

Pose: the figure stands upright, leaning backwards, with the weight on the right straight leg; the left bends at the knee. The right arm appears to extend in front of the figure and upwards; the left bent behind the head and upwards, with fists clenched around an object.

Appearance: no clear indication of a beard. The figure is represented as having a muscular physique.

Hair: perhaps short.

Dress: the figure is naked, but moulding behind his back suggests part of a covering. This covering ends in features which resemble paws, with a curved section adjacent to them.

Weapons: none shown, although see 'Representation' below for the possibility of a weapon.

Accessories: two straight lines clenched in the figure's fists.

Companions: none shown in the fragment.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification as Herakles rests on the interpretation of the covering behind the figure's back as a lionskin from the paws which hang down. Figures wearing animal skins which lack a weapon can elsewhere be interpreted as Dionysos. The curve adjacent to the paws may be a tail, but it could also be interpreted as the end of a recurve bow.

Appearance/ form of object: rounded vessel, no details of the workshop given.

Comparison is made by the excavators with Ischia and Sybaris.

Production inc. choice of material: attributed to Arretine creation and clay, although no workshop suggested in the text. The image would have been created from a punched mould.

Function: carrying liquid.

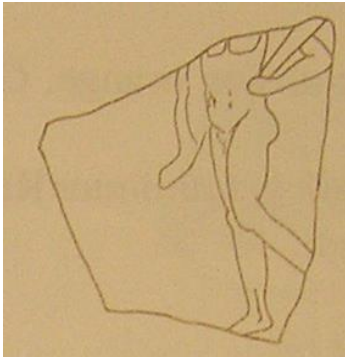
**Date:** hellenistic

**Inv. No.:** K7500

**Refs:**

Isler, H.P. & Hedinger, B. (1999). *Studia Ietina. 8, Die frühe Terra sigillata vom Monte Iato, Sizilien (Ausgrabungen 1971-1988) und frühkaiserzeitliche Fundkomplexe aus dem Peristylhaus 1.* Lausanne, Editions Payot 1091, taf 64.

## MI2



no image of object available

*S.I.* VIII taf. 64

**Object Reference:** MI2

**Find Context:** peristyle house, Monte Iato. Although MI1 and MI2 are entered consecutively in the excavation catalogue, which might suggest that they came from the same vessel, their inventory numbers are not consecutive.

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** MI1.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Demeter-Kore.

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is fragment of light red-orange clay, measuring 4.5 x 4.1cm. No photograph was accessible, only a line drawing.

**Description:** the figure is rendered realistically. The feet and body from the torso upwards are not preserved.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with his torso presented frontally, but walking to the left of the image. The weight is on the straight right leg, with the left leg bent at the knee and trailing. The left arm is bent and holds a long straight object. It is unclear from the picture whether the line at the right of the body is the arm hanging down, or another feature such as drapery.



Appearance: the head does not survive. The torso depicts some definition of the pectoral muscles and right inner ankle on a slim body.

Hair: the head does not survive.

Dress: naked. See 'Pose' above for the possibility of drapery at the right side.

Weapons: a long straight object in the left hand.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none survive.

Background/ Field: the drawing shows a plain ground.

Other images: none survive.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification as Herakles depends on the understanding of the long, straight object in the left hand as a club. This object does not appear knobbly, as other examples from Sicily.

Appearance/ form of object: no suggestion made about the form of the object, presumably a vessel. The excavators tentatively suggest the workshop of Cn. Ateius, whose work is also found at Morgantina.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made fineware from Arretine clay. The image would have been created from a punched mould.

Function: carrying liquid.

**Date**: hellenistic

**Inv. No.**: K388

### **Refs:**

Isler, H.P. & Hedinger, B. (1999). *Studia Ietina. 8, Die frühe Terra sigillata vom Monte Iato, Sizilien (Ausgrabungen 1971-1988) und frühkaiserzeitliche Fundkomplexe aus dem Peristylhaus 1.* Lausanne, Editions Payot 1092,

## Mod1



Lyons et al. fig. 37

**Object Reference:** Mod1

**Find Context:** Irminio River bed, in hot springs area, Contrada Cafeo, Modica. Noted as Camarina in LIMC entry.

**Found with:** no information.

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33, Sy1.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the right arm has been restored. Height: 22cm

**Description:**

Pose: stands with weight on his left hip, head focuses on his left arm outstretched holding thin cord; the right arm is akimbo at the hip.

Appearance: narrow eyes, beard, muscular but slim physique with detail of the ribs showing

Hair: short under covering which features two semi-circular areas at the back of the head and in front a repeated row of oval forms. Notched, hemispherical curled objects around the ears.

Dress: naked, except for element crossed at neck, with five separated pointed ends, which curls up at his shoulders. This object continues down the left shoulder, where it ends in another area with five pointed ends. On the left shoulder a pointed piece of strapping continues from one of the crossed elements.

Weapons: no complete weapon survives. The left hand holds a narrow band of bronze, reminiscent of a string.

Accessories: none survive

Companions: none

Background/ Field: n/a

Other images: n/a

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the lionskin worn as a cap and hanging from his left shoulder, as well as a powerfully physique. Curved feature around the ear are considered to be Ammon's horn, frequently found on official iconography of Alexander the Great. Right arm only survives to mid-bicep; Bonacasa (2013: 68) suggests this may have been outstretched and held either a cornucopia or apples of the Hesperides. The element crossed at the neck is understood to be a lionskin. The strap protruding below that may be part of a quiver; the band in the left hand suggests a bow string.

Appearance/ form of object: Bonacasa (2013: 69) suggests influence in the expression and eyes of bronzes from Sicily and Italy (Latium, Abruzzo, Basilicata, Alba Fucens), but in the pose to examples of Herakles by named sculptors Skopas and the Alexikakos of Hageladas. No discussion of the circumstances of the find or the CII historical context is included.

Production inc. choice of material: moulded or cast using lost wax method. "Sicily had no artistic bronze production of its own, and only a very limited production of worked

bronze” (Bonacasa, 2013, 68), however *in Verrem* suggests a large number of bronzes on the island in CI.

**Function:** votive from findspot under 8m of alluvial deposit in the Irminio riverbed, close to a spring cult. Bonacasa (2013: 68) associates this statue with the phenomenon of worship at hot springs, notably those at Himera mentioned by Stesichorus [?check], Pindar and Diodorus as appearing for Herakles on his return from Spain, and with prosperity. Architectural decoration at Himera features Herakles.

**Date:** 200-100

**Inv. No.:** Modica, Museo Civico F L Belgiorno inv. 63890.

**Refs:**

Bonacasa, N. (2013) Herakles Cafeo in Lyons C.L., Bennett, M., Marconi, C (eds.) *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*, Getty, Los Angeles, 68-9

Bonacasa, N. (2004), L’Eracle bronzeo di Cafeo: Continuità e innovazione nella scultura della Sicilia ellenistica, *Archivum Historicum Mothycense* 10, 19-27.

Bonacasa, N. (1985). L’ellenismo e la tradizione ellenistica in *Sikanie: Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca*, Milan, Istituto Veneto di arti grafiche: 277-347.

di Stefano, G. (2004) L’Eracle ‘Cafeo’ di Modica e il culto dell’Eroe nel territorio, *Archivum Historicum Mothycense*: 10, 9-18.

di Stefano, G. (1997) L’Herakles ‘Cafeo’ nel Museo Civico di Modica, *Sicilia archeologica* 30 no. 93-95, 105-10.

nb other articles in AHM that year: <http://hermes-sicily.blogspot.co.uk/2009/07/larchivum-historicum-mothycense-ora.html>

<http://www.enteliceoconvitto.it/ahm/archivum10.pdf> (neither work!)

LIMC IV 531

CAH Plates to Vol. VII (1984) fig 96a

## P1



*di Stefano* (1975) 73 pl. 18

**Object Reference:** P1, *di Stefano* #73, pl. 18.

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Ma1, Mod1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33, Sy1.

**Other examples of representation:** P6, P20.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, 5.9cm. A metal prong has been added under the right foot. The surface of the bronze appears to have been damaged, with marks visible at the bottom of the drapery and legs in particular. The area under the right shoulder appears unfinished.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure with weight on the right hip, and left heel raised. The right arm is outstretched, with a space between the thumb and forefingers, and the left holds a long knobbly object in the crook of the left elbow.

Appearance: beard; rounded eyes. Muscled physique.

Hair: short, possible head covering of repeated indentations at the crown of the head.

Dress: naked; an extra layer seems to cover the shoulders and drapery hangs from the left arm.

Weapons: long, knobbly object, the length of the left arm.

Accessories: none survive

Companions: none

Background/ Field: n/a

Other images: n/a

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club in the left hand and the lionskin draped over it, as well as his muscular physique. LIMC describes the patterning at the crown of the head as a fillet and postulates a cup in the outstretched right hand. This representation is gathered together as Herakles 'Bibax' or 'Dexiomenos', implying a greater emphasis on Herakles' gluttony for Roman versions.

Appearance/ form of object: the muscular physique is common to these figurines, even when it is not necessarily consistent with the head. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from bronze. This representation is attributed to a Peloponnesian prototype under Lysippan influence, since no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, although further identification may be possible through the attribution to the S. Martino delle Scale museum. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display.

**Date:** No date attributed, but may be under 'Hellenistic'; di Stefano considers that it relied on a prototype created in the Peloponnese at the end of CIV.

**Inv. No.:** Palermo Mus Reg 8227 (B183, Ch 1876), Mus. di S. Martino delle Scale 1173.

**Refs:**

LIMC IV Herakles (1988): no. 821

C A di Stefano (1975) *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider: 44, 73, pl.18.

## P2

No image published.

**Object Reference:** P2

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy7, Cat1-2, Ag1, Ag4.

**Other examples of representation:** white headband with a spike and straggly beards are also found on BM F500 and the Io Painter (*LCS* I: 260).

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** vessel

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** unknown. The object is 30cm high.

**Description:** No image of the object was available to study. The following descriptions derive from secondary sources, which do not suggest that the object was rendered in anything other than realistic fashion.

Assumed Pose: unknown, described as seated.

Assumed Appearance: described as youthful by Trendall; this usually suggests that the figure does not wear a beard or moustache.

Assumed Hair: unknown.

Assumed Dress: wears a garment described as a chlamys by Trendall and boots.

Assumed Weapons: a club.

Assumed Accessories: none described.

Assumed Companions: a papposilen seated on an animal-skin, with flutes.

Assumed Background/ Field: unknown, see below for details of decoration outside the image.

Assumed Other images: draped youths beside pillar, a fillet is also described.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: no image is available of this object. From the description, Herakles is recognised by his club and perhaps the similarity with Ag4 with which this is compared in *LIMC*.

Appearance/ form of object: meanders with chequer squares and widely spaced tongues in a row are found at the handle join. The bell krater was less popular than the calyx krater with Sicilian painters.



Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made, figured vessel. Attributed to the Louvre Sacrifice Painter, part of the Parrish Painter and his circle, from Capua in Campania by Trendall due to similarities in aspects of the decoration and rendering of the youths on the reverse; therefore, may have been imported from Campania. Described as Campanian Red Figure ware of souther Italian fabric.

Function: bell kraters are understood to have been used for mixing wine and water at a symposium according to Athenian evidence. The lack of find-context makes establishment of the function here difficult.

**Date:** 340-320; 350; 330-320 on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** 1075 Palermo Reg. Mus; 2212 Palermo Mus. Naz.

**Refs:**

LIMC Supplement 'Herakles' 3225 extra;

Trendall, A.D. (1967). *The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, Clarendon: 260 #231; Supp II: 191 221/2.

Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece* 67: no. 511.

1224 Trendall Archive: [www.trendallarchive.latrobe.edu.au](http://www.trendallarchive.latrobe.edu.au)

### P3

vacat

### P4

no image published

**Object Reference:** P4

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy6, Sy10-12, P3, P5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** Chalcedony

**Preservation:** the object measures 1.55 x 1.34 x 0.80cm.

**Description:** no image of the object has been published; the following description derives from the catalogue listing in *ES* (161).

Assumed Pose: the figure is described as running.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Assumed Hair: no description.

Assumed Dress: no description.

Assumed Weapons: no description.

Assumed Accessories: a branch from the tree of the Hesperides.

Assumed Companions: none described.

Assumed Background/ Field: a border surrounds the images.

Assumed other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by its position in the catalogue under Herakles and comparison with surrounding examples. No club or lionskin are described, so it is unclear whether the figure is recognised from an identifiable branch from the tree

of the Hesperides, or the branch is recognisable as that of the Hesperides by association with Herakles.

Appearance/ form of object: the object is described as deriving from the Late Etruscan freestyle, which dates to 400-250. There is no detail about the outside or reverse of the image.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date**: 400-250

**Inv. No.**: 268, Museo Nazionale, Palermo. Next catalogue entry to P3.

**Refs**:

Zazoff, P. (1968). *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 161, 615.

## P5

no image published

**Object Reference:** P5

**Find Context:** unknown.

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy6, Sy10-12, P3-4, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** Sy11. Sy6, Etruscan scarabs now in Florence and Hamburg (*E.S.* 131, 263-4) include the same representation (but a different image) in the same style.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** burnt carnelian.

**Preservation:** the object measures 1.52 x 1.13 x 0.71cm.

**Description:** no image of the object has been published; the following description derives from the catalogue listing in *ES* (161).

Assumed Pose: the figure is described as standing next to its companion.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Assumed Hair: no description.

Assumed Dress: no description.

Assumed Weapons: no description.

Assumed Accessories: no description.

Assumed Companions: a hind, shown frontally.

Assumed Background/ Field: a border surrounds the images.

Assumed other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by its position in the catalogue under Herakles and comparison with surrounding examples. No club or lionskin are described, therefore Herakles is presumably identified by his appearance with the Hind, which would indicate the Kerynitan Hind Labour.

Appearance/ form of object: Zazoff describes this form as lacking a *Basisschmuck*.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition. The inventory number suggests that this was a very early entry into the museum's collection.

Function: personal sealing object.

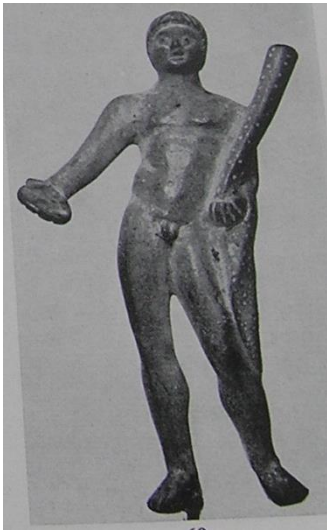
**Date**: 400-200 on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.**: 273, Museo Nazionale, Palermo. Five entries to P3-4.

**Refs**:

Zazoff, P. (1968). *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern 161, 621.

## P6



Di Stefano tav. XVII

**Object Reference:** P6.

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** P1, P20.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with slight accretions to the dark green surface. It measures 10cm high. A metal rod has been added underneath the right foot.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the figure stands frontally, with his weight on the straight right leg, the left swinging free and slightly behind him. His right arm is outstretched with a straight elbow to the front, holding a round object; the left is held at the waist with the hand cupped around an object and the left shoulder inclines down.

Appearance: no beard. The facial features are small, in particular the mouth and nose, and appear to have been rendered less realistically than the torso. The torso shows moulded

features of musculature and markedly broad shoulders. There is less realistic moulding of the limbs and feet. Individual fingers are delineated by incision.

Hair: short with a fringe in radiating locks, rendered by incision from the top of the head.

Dress: naked. The left arm is covered by an area covered in small incised dots which hangs down to the knee.

Weapons: a long, straight object, with slight bend at the figure's shoulder, is held upright in his left palm. The object is covered in small incised dots.

Accessories: a small round object is held in the right hand.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club in his left hand, which has incised dots unlike other examples, and the drapery hanging from this arm, understood as a lionskin, also featuring incised dots. The pose is consistent with that of P1, therefore Herakles 'Bibax' or 'Dexiomenos', implying a greater emphasis on Herakles' gluttony for Roman versions, represented for the Palermo Collection by P1, perhaps explaining the absence of this example from *LIMC*.

Appearance/ form of object: the muscular physique is common to these figurines, even when it is not necessarily with the head. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright. The proportions of this example are slightly unrealistic, since the legs appear too long for the torso.

Production inc. choice of material: cast complete, probably in a mould. Attributed by comparison to Etrusco-Italian workmanship, since no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, although further identification may be possible through the attribution to the Astuto Collection. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display, perhaps showing the owner and object making an offering?

**Date**: early CIII, on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.**: Palermo Mus Naz 8135 (also B251; Cb4)

**Refs:**

di Stefano, C A (1975) *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider: 41, 69.  
A. Cederna, in *NotScav* 1951, p. 187;  
G. Maetzke, in *SE* XXV 1957, p. 495;  
S. Haynes, in *RM* 67 1960, p. 34

**P7-8**

vacant



## P9



Di Stefano tav. XIV

**Object Reference:** P9

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** P12.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact except for an additional object in the figure's clenched fists. The surface is a brown colour with slight accretions. It measures 9.1cm high. A metal rod has been added to the left foot since antiquity.

**Description:** the object is not rendered in realistic fashion; however the human form and features are distinguishable.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with his weight on the straight right leg and the left leg slightly advanced and bent. This stance is reflected by the tilt of the hips. The right arm is raised, bent at the elbow and the left arm is extended forward. The head tilts slightly upward and inclines to the left.

Appearance: no beard. The eyes and mouth are rendered by incision; the mouth is smaller than it would be realistically, and the eyes are at the same level as the nose. Other features shown by incision are the hair, nipples and tummy button. Features such as the nose and genitals are formed in the bronze. The figure is slim and of equal proportions, with slight moulding of the pectoral muscles.

Hair: short, repeated incised lines convey the hair around the forehead.

Dress: naked; a triangular area of drapery hangs from the left forearm with no decoration.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the triangular-shaped object hanging down from his outstretched left arm; this is understood as a lionskin. The raised right arm with clenched fist suggests he held a club, rather than stringing a bow. Details of the thick hair around the forehead may suggest a plait around the head, as noted on archaic statues and vases of Greek athletes.

Appearance/ form of object: there is less focus on the muscular physique in this more stylised representation than other examples. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright

Production inc. choice of material: complete cast, probably from a mould. The object is attributed to a Sabine workshop since no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek. The thin legs perhaps suggest the figure was taken carelessly from the mould, or that an old mould was used, since they are not as sturdy as the upper limbs.

Function: display

**Date**: CIII-II by comparison with a similar example.

**Inv. No.**: Palermo Mus Naz. 8163 (also B138; Cb45)

### **Refs:**

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider: 33, 53.

**P10-11**

vacant

## P12



Di Stefano tav. XVI

**Object Reference:** P12

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** P9

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved mainly intact but lacks the left arm from just below the shoulder downwards, as well as the top of the right hand. The surface is brown with slight accretions. A metal rod has been inserted into the left foot since antiquity. The object is 8.8 cm high.

**Description:** the object is rendered in realistic fashion, although the areas under the arms appear unrealistically curved.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with his weight on the left leg which is slightly bent, while the right foot is slightly pushed back. The left arm is largely missing but appears to have inclined outwards. The right arm is bent back above the head with the fist clenched around an object.

Appearance: no beard. The features of the face appear unrealistically small and the moulding of the muscles of the torso improbably emphasised, with a very narrow waist. By contrast, there is little muscle definition on the limbs. Individual toes are shown by incisions.

Hair: short with a regular fringe around the forehead; individual locks shown by incision; they are tied back by a band.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none survive. There is a suggestion of a haft in the clenched right fist.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the identification as Herakles rests on the figure's powerfully muscular appearance and the idea that the object in the raised right fist was a club. The repeated marking around the forehead may suggest the plaited hair of an athlete.

Appearance/ form of object: the muscular physique is more realistically rendered here than on P9, with which it shares a pose. The waist may be considered optimistically narrow for realism. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright

Production inc. choice of material: cast complete, probably in a mould. Attributed by comparison to Italian workmanship; no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display.

**Date**: CIV by comparison with Italian examples

**Inv. No.**: Palermo Mus Naz. 8166 (also B150)

**Refs:**

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider: 39, 64.

**P13-19**

vacant

## P20



Di Stefano tav. XVI

**Object Reference:** P20

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** P1, P6.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved largely intact, although there is some damage to the top of the head and to elements held in the outstretched hands. It is of dark green colour, with accretions to the surface in several areas. A metal support has been added to the left foot since antiquity. This object measures 6.8 cm high.

**Description:** the object is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with weight on the straight right leg and the left leg swinging free in front and slightly to the left. The hips are aligned accordingly, forming a contrapposto stance, which does not, however, extend to the level shoulders. Both arms are outstretched forward with bent elbows and both hands appear to have held other objects. The head looks forward and inclines to the right away with the body's twist.

Appearance: no beard. Small mouth and deep-set eyes which give an intense stare. The chin is rather narrow. The torso has been moulded in such a way as to depict a muscled physique, although this does not extend to the limbs, which otherwise match the body's proportions. Individual fingers are rendered by incised lines.

Hair: short, although extending to the neck. Individual locks are rendered by incisions, radiating from the crown.

Dress: naked, but with an area suggesting folded back drapery extending from the left arm.

Weapons: none survive, although Di Stefano postulates a club in the left hand.

Accessories: a tubular object is clasped in the right hand.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the muscular physique and comparison with the pose of examples such as P1 and P6, known as Herakles 'Bibax' or 'Dexiomenos', implying a greater emphasis on Herakles' gluttony for Roman versions. The object in the right hand is therefore understood as a drinking horn. The longer aureate hair here looks a bit Alexander-ish, who was known for legendary drinking bouts. The appearance of a club in left hand would confirm H. LIMC describes the patterning at the crown of the head as a fillet and postulates a cup in the outstretched right hand.

Appearance/ form of object: on the small side in comparison to the other examples. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from bronze. Too much bronze may have been left in the mould at the top of the legs. This representation is attributed to an original of the CIV; no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, although further identification may be possible through the attribution to the S. Martino delle Scale museum. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display.

**Date**: "inspired by an original of the fourth century".

**Inv. No.**: Palermo Mus Naz. 8187 (also B246; Cb1910) formerly Museum S. Martino delle Scale (1165).



**Refs:**

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: “L’erma” di Bretschneider 40, 67.

**P21**

vacat.



Di Stefano tav. XIII

**Object Reference:** P22.

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Other examples of deities at site:**

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with slight accretions to the dark green surface. It measures 17.5cm high. A metal rod has been added underneath the right foot since antiquity.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in realistic fashion.

Pose: the figure stands sideways-on, with his weight balanced on two very large feet and slightly bent knees; the hips reflect the balanced stance. His body inclines to the left, with the head and gaze following the outstretched left hand, which holds a thin object in the

fingertips. The right arm is bent at the elbow, with the hand level with the right ear and the fingers placed together at the tips. The head is slightly raised.

Appearance: no beard. The facial features are small, in particular the mouth, apart from wideset eyes, which are shown under clearly defined eyebrows and lashes. The torso does not display much emphasis on musculature but has a clear incision from the hips to show the v of the groin. Details of the elbows and knees have been carefully rendered by moulding, as have the fingernails and the long toes. The uplifted chin gives the figure a superior expression.

Hair: short with a fringe in individual locks, combed forwards and delineated by graffito. There are two areas sticking out at the sides of the head, which are not given the realistic detail of human ears carried on the rest of the figure.

Dress: naked except for an area around the shoulders tied with a knot at the centre of the pectorals and with two ends hanging either side resembling paws. This is looped over the extended left upper arm and hangs away from the forearm, giving the impression of drapery flung out by movement. Di Stefano notes incisions on the drapery showing a nap. The back of the neck is covered and appears linked to the two areas sticking out either side of the head.

Weapons: none survives in full. There is a thin object resembling cord or string in the left hand and a small square object remaining in the right hand.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the crossed paws of the lionskin worn around the neck, although there is little evidence of a muscular physique here. Di Stefano records a club, but the fingers of the right hand seem to be holding something quite thin and how do you brandish a club and hold a bow at the same time? The thin object in the left hand makes a bow string more likely.

Appearance/ form of object: twice as high as other examples. The less than muscular physique and sticking out ears (of the lionskin, probably not of Herakles) render this example less impressive than others, although the legs are powerful. The feet are disproportionately large.

Production inc. choice of material: cast complete, probably in a mould, from bronze.

Attributed by comparison to work of Lysippos, since no artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, although further identification may be possible through the attribution to the Astuto Collection. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display; the over-large feet may have served a practical purpose of helping the statue to stand up.

**Date:** post-Lysippos (370-300) on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** Palermo Mus. Naz. 8206 (also B146; Cb2)

**Refs:**

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider 29, 46.

## P23-30

vacant

## P31



Di Stefano tav. XVII

**Object Reference:** P31

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** P12.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, with slight superficial accretions to its brown surface. It measures 10.8 cm high. A metal rod has been inserted into its left heel since antiquity.

**Description:** the object is rendered realistically.

Pose: the figure stands upright, with his weight on the straight right leg, while the left is placed forwards with the knee bent. The hips are level, with the right drawn backwards, as are the shoulders. The torso curves to the left, with a pronounced bend on the right side underneath a raised right arm, clasping a long straight object. The left arm is extended forwards, bending at the elbow and clasping a thin object in the left hand. The head faces forward, with a slight turn to the left.

Appearance: no beard. The small, round face has a high forehead and low-set eyes, underneath clearly defined eyebrows, with an unrealistically small nose. The mouth is small and curves up at the edges. The arms and torso are slim (notably the upper arms), with the torso showing subtle moulding to define the pectoral and stomach muscles. The legs appear slightly thicker than the rest of the body would realistically expect but display no muscular detail. Individual digits are clearly defined.

Hair: short, with a high forehead, but noticeably bushier than other examples and with more variety in the placing of the locks around the face. The central lock sticks up slightly.

Dress: naked, but a flat object on the left forearm, with triangular ends suggests some sort of covering.

Weapons: a long, straight object with rounded end is held in the raised right hand. The left hand holds a tubular object that bends to a corner but may then have been broken off.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club in the raised right hand, muscular physique and the drapery over the left arm therefore becomes a lionskin. The hair on this example is wilder than other examples, perhaps featuring the anastole seen on Alexander the Great's portraits.

Appearance/ form of object: the physique here is moulded far more subtly than other examples. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright

Production inc. choice of material: cast complete, probably in a mould. No artistic bronze working is allowed by scholarship on Sicily. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, although some evidence may be forthcoming from its place in the collection of S. Martino delle Scale.. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, usually Greek.

Function: display.

**Date**: 'deriving from iconographic schemata of the fourth century' (Di Stefano: 38).

**Inv. No.**: Palermo Mus Naz. 8267 (also B194; Cb1869; SMdS 1087)

**Refs**:

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'erma" di Bretschneider 38, 62.

**P32**

vacat

## P33



Di Stefano tav. XVII

**Object Reference:** P33

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Mod1, Sy1, Ma1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact apart from the bottom of the left leg and end of the left arm, with slight superficial accretions to its brown surface. Di Stefano notes “blemishes on the head and back”. It measures 9.8 cm high. A metal support has been inserted into the base since antiquity.

**Description:** the object is rendered realistically, with the exception of the torso (see Appearance below).

**Pose:** the figure stands upright, with his weight on the straight right leg, while the left swings free. The right hip is slightly higher than the left and the right side slightly curved at the waist and lower at the right shoulder in a contrapposto stance. The right arm is



placed away from the body, with the wrist resting on a long, straight object. The left arm appears to stretch forward under a covering.

Appearance: no beard. The details of the face have been clearly and realistically modelled; the eyes appear to be shut (painted?), and he has plump cheeks. The powerful shoulders are much wider than the narrow hips, which show deep incision to the v of the groin, and extra bronze then would be realistic beneath the legs. The slim torso has an indented tummy button, with schematic modelling of the muscles. There are some details to the right hand, but this is modelled less realistically than the toes of the right foot, which curl over the support at his feet.

Hair: short, with carefully arranged moulded locks, which build to a point in the centre of the head.

Dress: naked, but the figure wears an exaggerated high collar ending in a knot between the pectorals and two paw-like projections. The left shoulder and arm are covered by a long, smooth feature which shows some moulding at the bottom and resembles some sort of covering or drapery.

Weapons: a long, straight object with rounded end and knobbles along its surface stands by the side of the figure.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: n/a.

Background/ Field: the right foot is placed upon a flat surface, which extends to the object at his side.

Other images: n/a.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: it would be unsurprising to find this designated as the type of the Liberate Herakles. He is recognised by the drapery, including carefully-modelled crossed paws at the throat, and the knobby club on which he leans. Di Stefano suggests that the left hand held the apples of the Hesperides by comparison with other examples. The detail on the hair, with a flicked curl, anastole, at the front, implies comparison with portraits of Alexander the Great.

Appearance/ form of object: the moulding is far more subtle than on other examples from the Palermo collection, although the tight rendering of the torso is inconsistent with the limbs. Modern conservators have added a plinth and a spike, suggesting that the object was typically viewed standing upright

Production inc. choice of material: complete cast, probably from a mould. The lack of find-spot makes it impossible to establish whether this was brought to Sicily pre or post deposition, but artistic bronze production is not considered to have taken place on the island. Further identification may be possible through the attribution to the S. Martino delle Scale collection. Smaller examples are considered to derive from types attributed to named sculptors, Balty suggests this was a poorer version of an Italian Hercules. The area between the legs contains extra material that appears unrealistic, perhaps as a result of the moulding process.

Function: display

**Date:** CIII-II by comparison with other examples.

**Inv. No.:** Palermo Mus Naz. 8267 (also B194; Cb1869; SMdS 1087)

**Refs:**

Di Stefano, C.A. (1975). *Bronzetti figurati del Museo nazionale di Palermo*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider: 38, 62  
Balty (1962) in *Hommages à A Grenier I*. Bruxelles: 200

## Pal1



Maniscalco, fig. 145, 391

**Object Reference:** Pal1

**Find Context:** Palici sanctuary in the Rocchicella area, including some housing.

**Found with:** unknown.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy4-5, MH1. Non-theatrical: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** this appears very similar in pose but not detail to MH1.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** figurine.

**Material:** lead.

**Preservation:** the object is preserved intact, but with damage to the surface in all areas.

The area behind the figure's left leg appears to have been larger than it is now. The object measures 9 x 4.6 x 1.9cm.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in realistic fashion, but with exaggerated features.

Pose: the figure stands upright with straight legs, both feet flat on the ground and level hips. He looks straight at the viewer. The shoulders are level, but there is a sense of a twist to the left with the body, perhaps caused by the preservation of the object. The right arm is bent and rests on a long straight object at his right hip; the left also appears to be held at the hip, but is difficult to make out.

Appearance: the details of the surface are rather abraded, and it is difficult to say whether the figure wore a beard. There is bulky moulding at the torso, giving the impression of clothing and an exaggerated belly. The limbs are slim and their muscles undefined. The eyes and mouth are rendered by an incision; the mouth is long and straight, the eyes wide-

set, perhaps under eyebrows inclining towards the nose. All these features are exaggerated from their realistic appearance.

Hair: details indistinct, but perhaps a high hairline. The rounded area behind the character's head suggests a covering.

Dress: areas of moulding at the stomach and the shoulders suggest a waist-length tunic, with an extra covering on the left shoulder. The legs are too abraded to make out any clothing.

Weapons: a long straight object is held at the right hip, resting on the ground.

Accessories: none survives.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain areas behind the lower part of the object, in the gap between the right arm and the torso and at his feet.

Other images: none.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club at his right hip and the additional moulding over the head as a lionskin cap, which may extend to the bunching at the left hip. The exaggerated features of the face, notably the pillar-box mouth, as well as the padded clothing, are identified as those of a *phlyax* actor.

Appearance/ form of object: the figure is not the same in features or size as MH1, but close to it in its pose. There is no description of the back of the figure to judge whether it was moulded there. A suspension hole is noted at the top of the figure.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made, the only example of this in lead in this research. Areas at the crook of the arm remain filled in, perhaps suggesting an unmoulded back. It appears to stand on a flat base. Matrices for lead objects have been found at the site, suggesting local production.

Function: deposition at a sanctuary suggests that this was a votive object. The sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi has been associated with a commissioned play by Aeschylus.

**Date**: 350-300.

**Inv. No.**: 391

### **Refs:**

- Maniscalco, L. (2008). *Il santuario dei Palici: un centro di culto nella Valle del Mergi*. Palermo, Regione Siciliana: 208, 212 #391
- Mondo A. caption to Miles, M. (2013) Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 157.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles with club, lionskin	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?	object LM: 208	Image made from life, how cf to MH1? Is image agreed by anyone?
Mould created	Mould-maker, slave?	object	How many times used with lead ?
Lead obtained	Mould-maker, trader?	object	What are the lead sources?
Lead melted & run into mould 9 x 4.6 x 1.9	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object LM: 208, 212	Any evidence for production? Needs to be away from centre for safety/ comfort? Relative expense?
Figurine removed from mould 350-300 at Palici?	Mould-maker, family, slave?	object LM: 208, 212	On what grounds is this dated – assoc figures or style? How long does the production process take cf clay? More/ less durable than clay?
Figurine finished	Mould-maker, slave?	object	Was it coloured?
Figurine offered for sale suspension hole added	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	object LM: 208	Other theatrical figures have suspension holes at the site: common practice to suspend/ display. Were they sold as a job lot? When was hole added?
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	object context: LM	Why buy in lead, when clay objects also available?
Figurine kept/ used for frontal viewing	Acquirer	object	Was it used before dedication? What else was displayed?
Figurine deposited at Palici sanctuary to Divine Palikoi complete in dom. area	local? worshipper by same person?	context: LM 208, 212 LM: 212	Described as a chance find in the housing area of Rocchicella. Palikoi sanctuary central to local identity, site of Aeschylean tragedy.
Figurine excavated with moulds for lead objects	LM	LM 208, 212	Details of the excavation? Post 1946 Local production suggested.
Figurine given inv no 391 also 8441	excavators	LM 208 212	Which number is used?
Figurine published in excavation report with other lead figurines	LM/ Assesore	LM: 208, 212	Other lead figurines a supply available at the site: local production?
Figurine displayed	museum staff	no info	Post-1946 should be local.

## Par1



Giustolisi tav XLI

**Object Reference:** Par1

**Find Context:** Sagana (Castellaccio/Parthenicum)

**Found with:** no information.

**Other examples of object:** Cos1

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** statue.

**Material:** lead.

**Preservation:** only the head of the figure is preserved, with considerable wear to all parts, especially the lower part of the face. The object measures 5.3cm in its present state.

**Description:** the object is rendered realistically.

Pose: only the head survives; this faces forward.

Appearance: details are difficult to distinguish; features around the lower right part of the face and the length of the face below the nose suggest a beard was worn. The current shape of the nose is rather wide at the bottom and flat. The eyes appear deep-set under the brows, the left of these seems to incline down to the left, giving the expression and the face the impression of leaning to the left.

Hair: perhaps some curls at the temples. The head is covered.

Dress: The head is covered by a moulded feature with a flattened triangle at the top of the forehead and two small circles above and either side of this. The lines of this appear to continue down behind the ears of the figure.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none survive.

Background/ Field: none.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the lionskin head covering, which recalls that of L13 and also some masks and figurines. The nose of the figure appears rather squashed, but it is impossible to tell whether this is from use, damage, or a deliberate choice to show Herakles with a boxer's nose.

Appearance/ form of object: the gaze of the head suggests that it was for viewing from the front. 5.3 cm for the head suggests rather a small object when complete; it is similar to the figurine Ad2, which survives to the shoulders. This might suggest it is too small for a cult statue. Parthenicum, or Sagana Castellacio was within the Carthaginian eparchy before the Roman conquest.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made from lead, a relatively cheap material.

This also suggests that it is unlikely to have been a cult statue.

Function: for display; it is unclear in what context this would have taken place.

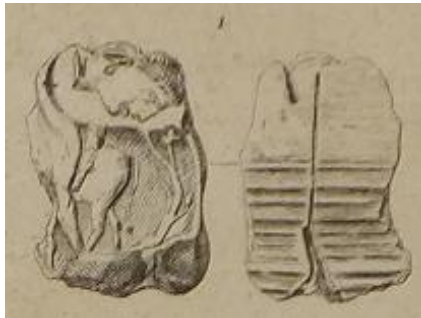
**Date**: Hellenistic or Roman on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.**: not recorded in the catalogue.

**Refs:**

Giustolisi, V (1976). *Parthenicum e le Aquae Segestanae*. Palermo: Centro di documentazione e ricerca per la Sicilia antica "Paolo Orsi": 44

## Sel1



*NdS* (1883) tav. IV



*NdS* (1883) tav. V



*NdS* (1883) tav. VIII

**Object Reference:** Sel1

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel2-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel2-6, Sel44-156; Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** The right part of the impression (type XI, above, centre) is preserved, overlain by a second print at right angles to the Herakles image (type CLXXIII, above, right), recorded as object 1 (both sides shown, above, left) in Salinas' catalogue. The reverse of the sealing shows repeated contours with a long narrow groove cutting through from one end to another. Size not recorded. No more than 34mm.

**Description:**



Pose: one muscled leg, uncovered, visible at bottom left of image.

Appearance: no image, details assumed from composite illustration shown above centre.

Hair: no image.

Dress: leg uncovered, suggesting nakedness.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: back of bull shown walking in the same direction.

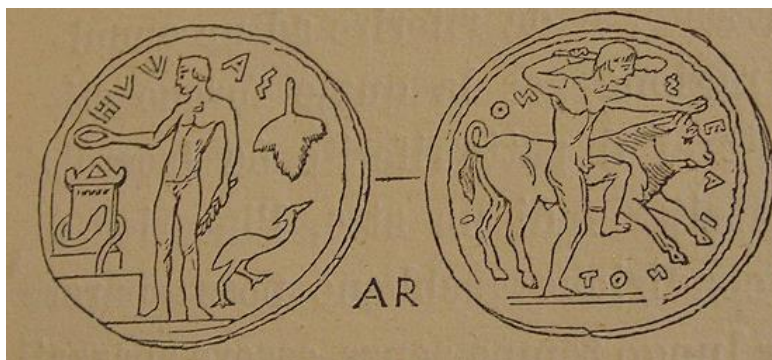
Background/ Field: a spindly tree fills space on the right of the image.

Other images: the image is overlain by a figure of a female head, wearing earrings and with braided hair. Salinas (*NdS* 1883: 488) suggests the head wore a helmet.

### **Interpretation**

Representation: the figure of Herakles is assumed from the club and reference to Labour of Cretan Bull by Salinas and De Simone; Zoppi argues for the Labour of Geryon's Cattle, which has a Sicilian setting in D.S.. The Punic name for Selinunte may have been *ršmlqrt* (Roschmelqart/ Cape of Melqart); Herakles and Melqart are understood to have been syncretised.

Salinas links the particular representation with an archaic didrachm of Selinunte (shown below)



*NS*, 1883, 482

The overall image is assumed by comparison with other examples. It is rendered in realistic style as far as can be judged from the fragment. It shares an object number and is illustrated with image CLXXIII, although there is some discrepancy between details of the image of object 1 and image CLXXIII, the latter shown complete with helmet when it appears fragmentary with uncovered braids in 1. A helmeted female is usually associated with Athena in the Greek tradition, although she is not specified here.

Appearance/ form of object: both Herakles and the reading of the overprint as Athena (helmeted female head) are within the Greek tradition, as is the realistic rendering of the

figures. Punic find context. The flat strip has the official seal along its short side, although this is broken, with image CLXXIII overprinting it at 90° where a 3<sup>rd</sup> print would go.

Details of the two seals appear clearly printed on the illustration. The rear of the print shows a central furrow which opens out at the bottom and a number of parallel grooves at right angles to this.

Production inc. choice of material: no confirmation that the clay is local, although Salinas refers to the 'fine clay' of the south coast of the island. The strip has been fixed to thread and a material (wood?) leaving parallel impressions on its clay, then printed with the official seal of Herakles and the bull and then the seal of image CLXXIII.

Function: that this is a sealing to an official document is understood from the presence of thread marks running along the back of the image in the clay, which also shows lines of papyrus/ wood to which seal was attached. Sealings with this function, placed in temples as repositories for official documents are attested from around the ancient Mediterranean. Salinas identifies this as the public seal of Selinunte, comparing it with those known from other cities such as Athens, and notes its appearance besides other sealings which overprint it (NS, 1883, 482). Sealing of documents represent a deed or contract from city authorities with the owner of seal impression CLXXIII, kept in the archive.

**Date:** 249

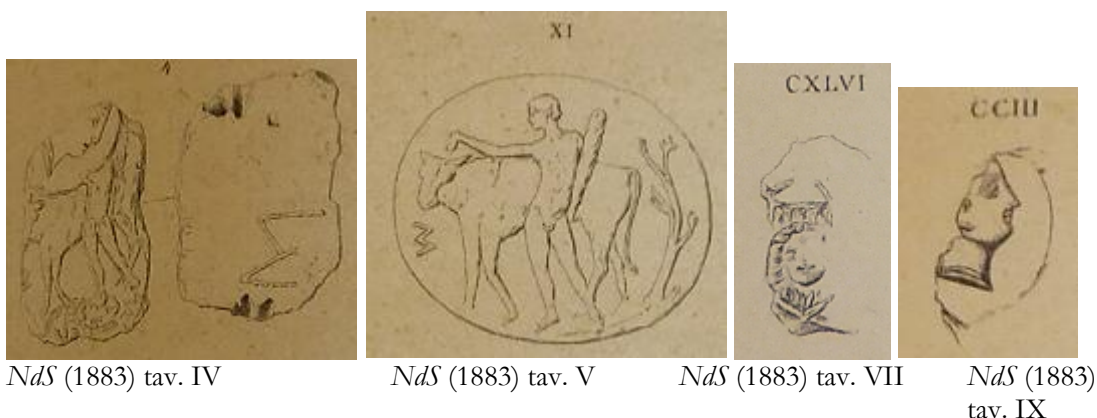
**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CLXXIII (types), 1 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883): 488

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on wood visible on the reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Marks suggest wood not papyrus – 2 systems?
Clay pierced by thread visible on the reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Print from impressed seal of Herakles & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Z suggests agreement between authorities & ind.
Extra prints added of female head at 90°	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Sealing, not seal, more imp?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 1 image XI, CLXXIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, Salinas tav IV Salinas tav VI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Larger size illustration. With 40 other female heads
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel2



**Object Reference:** Sel2

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1, Sel 3-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1, Sel3-6, Sel44-156; Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** The central part of the impression is preserved intact, but broken at either side. . Size not recorded. No more than 34mm.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, with weight on the r leg, l swings free.

Appearance: young, aspirational physique. The head is obscured by another print.

Hair: no image.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: part of the head, fore and hind quarters of a bull.

Background/ Field: Above and below image obscured by overprints. The area behind the bull's legs is clear. The majority of a reverse  $\Sigma$  is visible underneath the bull's head.

Other images: The figure appears to stand on a human head, with long hair, above this are details of a straight row of decoration and a prong pointing inwards. There is more moulding below the head. Over the head of the figure is another face in profile, cut off at the neck with double lines suggesting drapery and above the forehead are the lines of a band. The figure appears to be female and is rendered in realistic fashion.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club, powerful physique and comparison with similar examples. This image shares an object number with CXLVI, illustrated with 5 Medusa types, although it is described as 'on a scarab', which might suggest an Egyptianising tradition, and CCIII one of 40 female heads illustrated together with differing features. These other types are not discussed by other scholars except to comment on the frequency of female heads.

Appearance/ form of object: the Herakles impression (type XI, above centre left) was overlain by a second print (type CCIII, above, right) almost at right angles to the H image with a round margin and at the base a third print (type CXLVI, above, centre right) at right angles to main image. On the back are the end marks of two sets of furrows and another dent, as well as the imprint of  $\Sigma$  carved in wood

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip showing the impression of the H & bull official seal, overprinted by the seal of a lady and a scarab, and then the round seal of a female head on the front and the scored initial  $\Sigma$  on the back where it was affixed to a wooden tablet.

Function: Salinas uses this as an illustrated example of the fact that some sealings were made to seal small wooden wax tablets, using the imprinted  $\Sigma$  as evidence (*NS*, 1883, 478). Sealing of a document representing a deed or contract marked by an official seal, verified by holders of seal images CXLVI and CCIII.

**Date:** 249

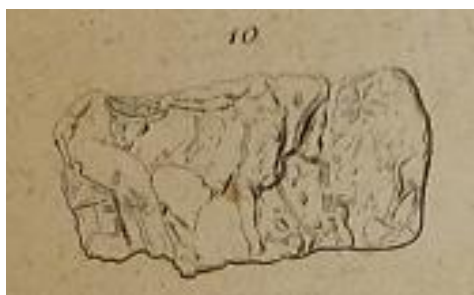
**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CXLVI, CCIII (types), 4 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas  $NdS$  (1883): 488, 493, 495

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on wooden tablet with $\Sigma$	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Why is the $\Sigma$ on the back too? 2 systems?
Clay pierced by thread visible on reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Official decision from authorities?
Extra prints added of lady & scarab, head of lady	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Egyptianising choice? 40 eggs of realistic female heads. Portraits?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 4 image XI, CXLVI, CCIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,  488, 493, 495  tav IV, VII, IX	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with Medusa types/ female heads.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Exemplifies sealing attached to wooden tablet.

## Sel3



NS (1883) tav. IV



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel3

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-2, 4-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-2, Sel4-6, Sel44-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** Size not recorded. No more than 34mm.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure with weight on r leg, r arm outstretched. L arm and leg not preserved.

Appearance: top of throat only visible, so any beard would be short. Young, aspirational physique with slim arm.



Hair: no image, but not longer than throat.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: curved moulding and some detail visible behind the figure's arm.

Background/ Field: the surface of the sealing appears to be damaged, making scenery difficult to identify. On the far right of the image is a v-shaped detail which appears too regular to be damage.

Other images: the image is overlain by a motif on a clear ground. Straight lines lead up to a triangular shape, topped by a point, a straight-trunked plant with foliage stands at its right side.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club, powerful physique and comparison with similar examples as an image reflecting a civic choice. The right-hand side of the image is damaged. The image shares an object number with image CCCLIII of a building and palm, in which Salinas 'would be willing to find links with Carthaginian cult' due to similarities with Punic buildings at Solunto. It is illustrated along with objects and symbols such as Sel 41-2 on tav. XI.

Appearance/ form of object: the central part of the impression is preserved but lacks the edges. The central print (type XI, above, centre) is preserved to some extent, but is overlain to the left by another print (type CCCLIII, above, right) and the illustration suggests that the right-hand side of the image is worn. There may have been another sealing to the right. Image CCCLIII shows the outline of a straight oval seal, printed over image XI at an angle.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip showing the impression of the H & bull official seal, overprinted by the seal of a building and palm. The deep line and crack at the top right of the image may show the impression of cord beneath the sealing.

Function: Sealing of a document representing a deed or contract marked by an official seal, verified by holders of seal image CCCLIII.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI/CCCLIII (types), 10 (object)

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 488, 498

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Clay pierced by thread visible at front of sealing	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Suggests act of sealing more important than pres of image?
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Official decision to seal owner.
Extra prints added of building/ palm at angle	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Solunto – Carthaginian choice? Link to Astarte?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 10 image XI, CCCLIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488, 498 tav IV, V, XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Front only shown. Building in tav XI, not eastern/ Egyp tav XII.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

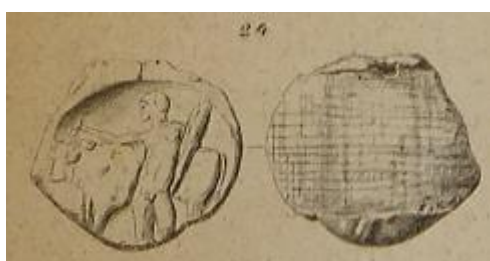
## Sel4



De Simone (2008b) tav.14



NS (1883), tav. V



NdS (1883), tav IV

**Object Reference:** Sel4

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-3, Sel5-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-3, Sel5-6, Sel44-156; Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** Size not recorded. No more than 34mm.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, with weight on the right leg, r arm outstretched, l arm not visible behind object held at his l side.

Appearance: no beard, moulded aspirational torso and thighs, slim arm.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: large club.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: bull with head turned to front of image.

Background/ Field: blank field behind figure and bull.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club, powerful physique and comparison with similar examples as an image reflecting a civic choice. No explanation is offered by any scholar for the lack of lionskin. This forms much of the central exemplar image. The attention to detail of a slim (cf Sel22-29) but powerful torso is notable.

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes that the form is unusual, being like a medallion. The impression is preserved intact to the level of the figure's knees. A curved edge is visible around the top of the image, with a small split above. The reverse of the object shows curved lips at the top and bottom, with a smoothed surface in between with repeated contours. The reverse shows two raised sections at the edge, with the area between them showing the cross-hatching of a fibrous material, probably folded papyrus.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip attached to folded papyrus document with cord, on which a print of the official seal Herakles and the bull is shown.

Function: that this is a sealing to an official document is understood from the presence of thread marks running along the back of the image in the clay, which also shows lines of papyrus/ wood to which seal was attached. Sealings with this function, placed in temples as repositories for official documents are attested from around the ancient Mediterranean. Salinas identifies this as the public seal of Selinunte, comparing it with those known from other cities such as Athens, and notes its appearance besides other sealings which overprint it.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI (type), 24 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 488

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. tav 14.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus whose fibres are shown on reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Def papyrus (linen?), not wood. Two systems?
Clay pierced by thread whose ends appear on image	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Only the tips visible.
Print from impressed seal of H bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Official pronouncement, so where is other image?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 24 image XI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav IV, V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Shown front and back. Unusual version of medallion shape.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function as exemplar of function	Salinas/ Notizie  RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883  RDS tav 14	Who decided which catalogue?  Colour image.

## Sel5



NS (1883) tav. IV



NS (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel5

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-4, Sel6-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-4, Sel6, Sel44-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the centre of the image is preserved. The reverse has two raised areas at top and bottom, between which is a smoothed surface, on which contours can be seen. This object is recorded as measuring only 17mm.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, with weight on r leg, r arm outstretched, l arm not visible behind long object held along the l side.

Appearance: no head visible. Moulded, aspirational torso and thighs. Slim right arm.

Hair: no image.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: large club.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: moulded features of powerful quadruped behind figure.

Background/ Field: some clear space to l of figure's thigh, otherwise covered by images.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club, powerful physique and comparison with similar examples as an image reflecting a civic choice. No explanation is offered by any scholar for the lack of lionskin. This forms much of the central exemplar image. The attention to detail of a slim (cf Sel22-29) but powerful torso is notable.

Appearance/ form of object: the two ridges on the back suggest the end of the clay, but this doesn't correspond to the image, see function below. Salinas notes this as an example of the strip form of sealing. A fragment of the print is shown, only 17 mm, giving no indications of the outline of the seal or any other image on the strip, for which Salinas illustrates it as an exemplar. Salinas suggests that the shortened image on this example proves that only a partial print was necessary for the seal to function.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip, attached to folded papyrus document with cord, on which a print of the H & bull official seal is shown.

Function: that this is a sealing to an official document is understood from the presence of thread marks running along the back of the image in the clay, which also shows lines of papyrus/ wood to which seal was attached. Sealings with this function, placed in temples as repositories for official documents are attested from around the ancient Mediterranean. Salinas identifies this as the public seal of Selinunte, comparing it with those known from other cities such as Athens, and notes its appearance besides other sealings which overprint it.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI (type), 25 (object)

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 488

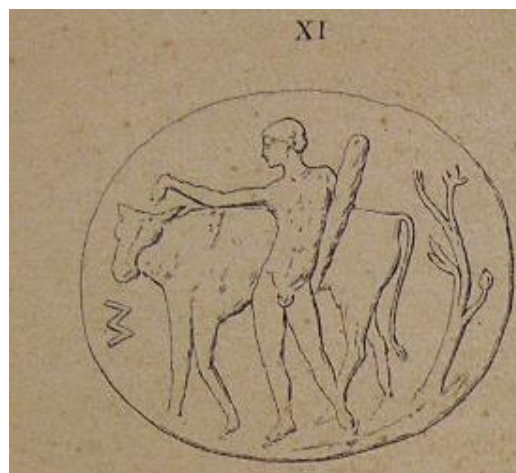


EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus whose fibres appear on reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Fibres of papyrus/ linen, not wood. Groove for folded document evident.
Clay pierced by thread shown on sealing	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Tips of cord evident
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Why only 1 seal impression?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 25 image XI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav IV, V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated to show folded document.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel6



*NdS* (1883) tav. IV



*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel6

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-5, Sel6-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-5, Sel44-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of the image is preserved intact; the areas showing the head and above, and knees and below, of the figure are missing. The reverse shows a smoothed surface with repeated contours. The top right corner seems to have a raised lip. No size recorded. No more than 34mm.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure with weight on r leg and r arm outstretched. L arm not visible behind large object held at figure's l side.

Appearance: no head remains. Young, aspirational moulded torso and thighs; slim r arm.

Hair: no image.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: large club.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: bull with head facing to the front.

Background/ Field: clear space under bull's head and over its tail. There is a mark in the space underneath the bull's muzzle.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club, powerful physique and comparison with similar examples as an image reflecting a civic choice. No explanation is offered by any scholar for the lack of lionskin. This forms much of the central exemplar image. The attention to detail of a slim (cf Sel22-29) but powerful torso is notable.

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes this as an example of the strip form of sealing. The two ridges on the back suggest the end of the clay, but this doesn't correspond to the image, see function below. The notch for the thread is evident over the papyrus space and the outer ridge. A fragment of the print is shown, only 17 mm, giving no indications of the outline of the seal or any other image of the strip, for which Salinas illustrates it as an exemplar. Salinas suggests that the shortened image on this example proves that only a partial print was necessary for the seal to function.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip, attached to folded papyrus document with cord, on which a print of the H & bull official seal is shown.

Function: that this is a sealing to an official document is understood from the presence of thread marks running along the back of the image in the clay, which also shows lines of papyrus/ wood to which seal was attached. Sealings with this function, placed in temples as repositories for official documents are attested from around the ancient Mediterranean. Salinas identifies this as the public seal of Selinunte, comparing it with those known from other cities such as Athens, and notes its appearance besides other sealings which overprint it.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI (type), 28 (object)

**Refs:**

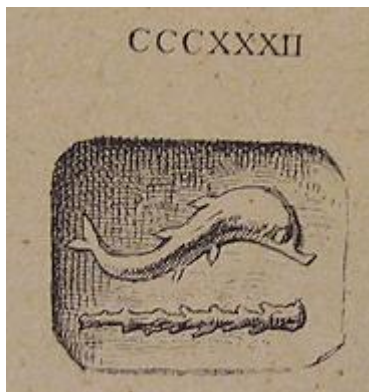
A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 488

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus whose fibres show on reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Cross-hatching of fibres evident
Clay pierced by thread evident from notch	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Shows folded papyrus space.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Official dictat.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Not preserved, if present.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 28 image XI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,  488 tav IV, V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have?
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel7



NS (1883) tav. IV



NS (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel7

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-6, Sel8-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel8-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the three images on the object are preserved on three faces. The bottom image has some elements missing. The right part of the impression (type CCCXXXII, above, right) appears on a different face to the other two prints, whose types are not illustrated in Salinas' catalogue. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to the l.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides and a pointed tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: The bottom l print shows a coiled, serpent-like image on a plain ground.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Snakes are not found from the Carthage images. This club appears to have pointed prjections, cf Sel8; the dolphin is lacking its lower projections.

Appearance/ form of object: All three images are not smudged in the illustration.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), and snake, as well as another image.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal devices, stored in an archive. Perhaps a multi-party deal.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXIX (not illustrated) CCCXXXII CCCXLIV (not illustrated)  
(types), 121 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma.

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared with three faces	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Clay pierced by thread notch evident under club	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Authorities overseeing agreement.
Extra prints added of snake & other device.	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Multi-party deal? Witnesses needed?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 121 image CCCXXIX, CCCXXXII, CCCXLIV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 498 tav IV, XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Not all illustrated individually. Other image described as a herm.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel8



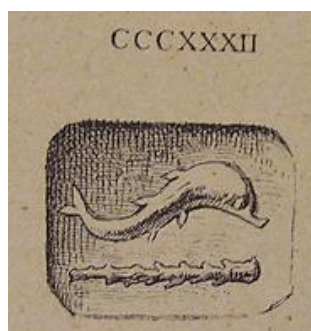
RDS tav. 16



*NdS* (1883) tav. IV



tav. VII



tav. XI



tav. XI

### Object Reference: Sel8

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-7, Sel 9-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7, Sel9-12, Sel36-40, Sel 157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central impression (type CCCXXXII, above, centre right) is preserved intact, although the sides are curved slightly by the effect of the two impressions either side (type CII, above, centre left; type CCCLVII, above, centre right). The left-hand impression is broken to the l of the figure surviving, which is cut off at the knees. The r hand impression preserves the image complete, but part of the ground is broken; this is a very small impression. The central impression is found at right angles to other examples. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated, standing on its tip.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides and a pointed tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a dolphin, shown snout upwards.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: Standing draped female in profile, with hair in a bun, carrying a curved, horn-shaped object in l hand, r hand outstretched by broken at elbow. Plain ground..

Small round image, with an object with triangular shape at the bottom, a curve coming to a loop and point on the l side, and a tongue shape on the r.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly, rather than pointy, club. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. DeS says the image of the lady is common in Hellenistic glyptic, associating her with Tyche, but ignores the other images and the image in the text is cropped accordingly.

Appearance/ form of object: the whole of the front of the object is illustrated by Salinas to explain the appearance of the object and how the cord was used. The smaller image suggests a very small sealing device, perhaps a ring on a little finger.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), lady with cornucopia and what Salinas views as a boot.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CII CCCXXXII CCCLVII (types), 125 (object)

**Refs:**

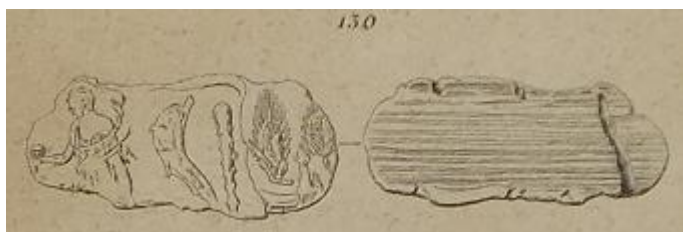
A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. tav 16.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared in an oval shape	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	no image
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas 478 Salinas tav IV	no image
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	
Extra prints added of woman & cornucopia, boot	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Boot in v small outline.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 125 image CII, CCCXXXII, CCCLVII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, tav IV 492 498 tav VII, XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With other standing female figures, incl Isis priestess, not with conucopiae. With objects.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function as evidence for movement of images	Salinas/ Notizie  RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883 478  tav 16	Who decided which catalogue? Woman = link to Hellenistic repertoire, common generally but not at Selinunte.

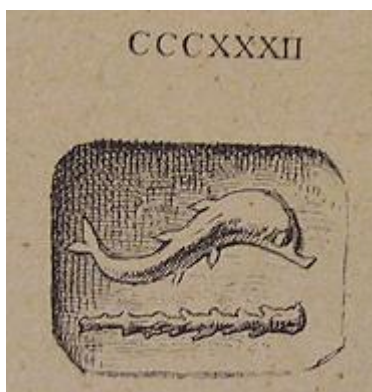
## Sel9



NS tav. IV



NS tav. V



NS tav. XI



NS tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel9

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-8, Sel10-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Dolphin/ Club: Sel8 Sel10-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head). Figure with vessel: Sel18-19, Sel22-28, Sel31.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the impressions are preserved. The central image (type CCCXXXII, above, centre) is broken at the tip of the figures and the edges of the impression have been overprinted by the other two impressions. The r impression (type CCCLXXX, above, right) is broken in a curve around the right-hand image. The l impression (type XXII, above, left) shows similar damage. The reverse of the impression shows repeated contours, with a narrow lip at the bottom, indentations at the edge and a long groove from top to bottom are also evident. The central impression is found at right angles to other examples. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Salinas 488: with a cornucopia in his left arm and a kantharos in his right hand. NB Does not mention H, but cf Sel18ff.

Pose: central impression - club only illustrated vertically, with tip downwards; l impression – standing figure in profile to l with r arm outstretched holding vessel, l arm obscured by object in l hand.

Appearance: central impression – club has repeated projections along the sides; l impression – no beard, no indication of age or fitness.

Hair: central impression – n/a; l impression – appears short, but Salinas 488: “The head is crowned with a diadem and he has long curly hair hanging down.”

Dress: central impression – n/a; l impression – l shoulder and r arm uncovered; suggestion of folded drapery at the torso and waist. Salinas 488: “Naked male figure.”

Weapons: central impression – club; l impression – nothing visible.

Accessories: central impression – none; l impression – vessel and curved object as long as figure’s arm.

Companions: central impression - a dolphin, shown snout upwards; l impression none visible.

Background/ Field: central impression – plain field; l impression – plain field behind figure.

Other images: two similar shapes with oval core and sprays pointing upwards around the core, between them is a pointed shape.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Salinas identifies the cornucopia, but not Herakles, although he shows him with other examples. The corn is an image from local coinage.

The figure in the left-hand image also recalls Herakles on Sel22-29 and is shown with those examples by Salinas. As there, he holds a vessel in his outstretched left hand and a cornucopia in his right.

Appearance/ form of object: edges of the rings are difficult to identify from the illustration. The reverse shows the cord running through the clay, as well as other indentations.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), Herakles with cornucopia and an ear of corn, associated with the images on local coinage, but too small to have been made by a coin or die.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of extant seal devices, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XXII CCCXXXII CCCLXXX (type), 130 (object)

**Refs:**

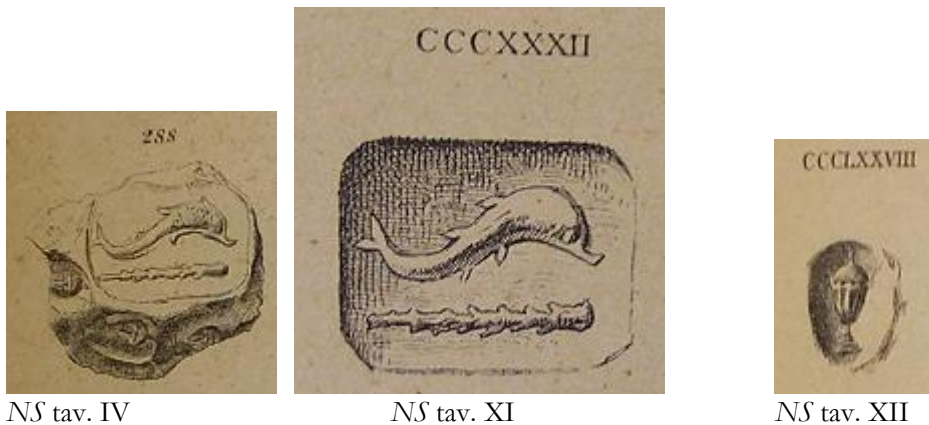
A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 498

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus lines of fibres visible on reverse, grooves for folded doc evident	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Papyrus/ linen, not wood.
Clay pierced by thread evident on illustration	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Tips also evident at top.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Overprinted on right.
Extra prints added of reclining H/ corn	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	cf Sel22-28 for H image. Corn on local coinage, but too small to have been made using coin.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 130 image XXII, CCCXXXII, CCCLXXX illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 478, tav IV 488, 498 tav V, XI, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? H image shown with other eggs, all ill. Corn with 10 other plant images, tav. XII cf Maas.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function as coinage motif	Salinas/ Notizie Zoppi/ BCH	Salinas 1883 tav IV	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel10



NS tav. IV

NS tav. XI

NS tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel10

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-9, Sel11-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-9, Sel11-12, Sel36-40, Sel 157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the single image (type CCCXXXII, above, centre) is preserved, with some damage to the top of the field. The two images on it appear to end almost directly on the curved edge of the imprint. Around three other faces of the object, one complete and two partial prints (type CCCLXXVIII, above, right), apparently

identical, are preserved of very small size. This is one of the clearest examples of the image in the cache. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, tip to the left.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the side and a narrow tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain field.

Other images: placed at right angles to the other impression, three examples of a long-bodied vessel with a pointed lid and narrow foot. The illustration above left suggests the vases may have had different decoration on the body. 3 imprints of this.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. The other image would recall a vessel rather than a trophy to the ancient mind.

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes the triple repetition of the same print along with an official seal here as a unique case. It is a very small image, suggesting a ring worn on a little finger.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), and the repeated imprint of a device of a small vessel.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal devices, stored in an archive. Repeated imprints of one seal suggest a multi-party deal, perhaps between individuals who did not own their own device, as found in examples from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas CCCXXXII CCCLXXVIII (types), 288 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 483.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared but diff faces evident in ill	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache. Rptd prints changed shape of sealing?
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Space for other eggs to r of this
Extra prints added rptd small vessel x3 extant	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Same family/ h'hold sharing device, cf SotT
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 288 image CCCXXXII, CCCLXXVIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 483, 498, 499 tav XI, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Vessel illustrated after conucopie, before corn.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 483	Who decided which catalogue? Doesn't speculate on repetition.

## Sel11



NS tav. IV



NS tav. XI



NS tav. X

**Object Reference:** Sel11

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-10, Sel 12-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-10, Sel12, Sel36-40, Sel 157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the images are preserved, with damage to the l side (type CCCXXXII, above, centre) and the bottom of the lower image (type CCCIX, above, right). The second image is placed underneath the first, rather than alongside and has overlain the first image on a different face of the object. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to the l.

Appearance: club has repeated, pointed projections along the sides, and a narrow tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, this example is lacking fins on top of the head on the belly, as well as the curved snout.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: Rodent hunched, facing right, on a rectangular block with a central hole.

Plain ground.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the club in the central image; this example has far spikier protrusions than other examples e.g. Sel7. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Rat or mouse on a block, on a column (or cheese?), whose head is shown as extending further over the block in tav X than tav IV.. Zoppi says 'a playful subject.'

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes this as an example of the 'prismatic form' formed by two prints being used, an unusual arrangement with the extra print added below the club and dolphin. The right-hand side of the club is more curved than other examples.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal) and a rodent on a block. The differences in the official seal to other examples may indicate that a different seal was cut due to wear of an image or the requirement for multiple seals due to volume of use.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of extant seal devices, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCIX, CCCXXXII (types), 304 (object)

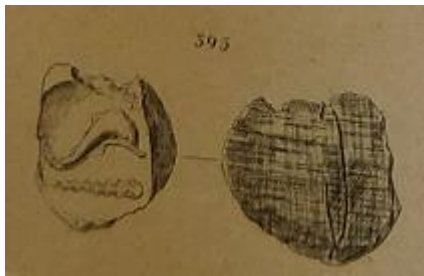
**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 477, 497-8

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340: 336.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence
Print from impressed seal of spiky club, dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Diff image/ shape to Sel7. Was another seal needed?
Extra prints added of rodent on a block	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Diffs in two illustrations.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 304 images CCCXXXII, CCCIX illustrated	Salinas 477, tav IV 498 497 tav XI, X	Salinas: 487,	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? As example of prismatic form. Among animals, 1 other rodent.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function as eg of image	Salinas/ Notizie  Zoppi/ BCH	Salinas 1883  477 336	Who decided which catalogue? Why not mentioned by RDS if 'diverting' subject?

## Sel12



NS tav. IV

**Object Reference:** Sel12

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-11, Sel13-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the image is preserved intact, although it is impossible to tell whether there may have been other images alongside this example. The reverse shows a smoothed surface, with repeating contours and the groove of a loop running from top to bottom.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to the l.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides, with a pointed tip.

Hair n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r. This example lacks fins on the top of the body.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: no other image.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart.

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes that the form is unusual, being like a medallion and apparently with no other prints on the object.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal) within a medallion form.

Function: Salinas uses this as evidence for the sealings' attachment to a fibrous material, papyrus from the illustrated markings on the back of the object.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXXII (type), 395 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 477-8, 480.



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus cross-threads evident	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, 478 Salinas tav IV	Close cross-hatching shows papyrus (or linen?).
Clay pierced by thread evident on reverse	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, 480 Salinas tav IV	Loop of thread evident.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, 477 Salinas tav IV	In medallion form.
No extra prints added	Sealers	Object, 477 Salinas tav IV	Noted as unusual. Space for more to the right?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 395 image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas 478, tav IV 498, tav XI	Salinas: 487,	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated front & back.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883: 477-8, 480.	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel13



NS tav. V



de Simone (2008a) Fig. 17



de Simone (2008b) Fig. 12

**Object Reference:** Sel13

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-12, Sel14-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel14-15, Sel20.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of one image is preserved, with a broken line at the l side and r top corner. It is unclear whether there was another image. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, facing r, with r knee and elbow bent, l arm outstretched holding objects.

Appearance: no beard, moulded torso and r arm; r arm appears too long for the body.

Hair: unclear under covering.

Dress: naked, illustration and Salinas' description (488) suggests lionskin and drapery over l arm.

Weapons: long object held at the figure's waist. The l hand holds a curved object.

Accessories: drapery.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is identified by Salinas and De Simone by the details at the back of his head, understood as a lionskin, and the club on which he leans. Both authors understand the markings around the left arm as a bow and cloak, specified as a Greek chlamys. The representation is realistic in its rendering, showing a slim body with muscle detail evident on right arm and torso. It is not an aggressive stance.

Appearance/ form of object: the end of the object survives with some darker elements of dirt or fire damage on the image side, with a break to the left suggesting here it appeared alongside at least one other impression. A straight-sided oval border is visible.

Production inc. choice of material: local clay, made with an impression from a straight oval ring or seal, which shows a clear impression of the intaglio.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XII (type), 456 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. fig. 17.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 12.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Only one image survives, indication of space for other prints.
Extra prints added of figure with club, bow, head covering/ drapery	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V	
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object De Simone fig. 17	Who burnt them? Evidence of fire-spots on sealing.
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477 De Simone fig. 12	How much detail was removed? Dirt evident between figure's legs.
Sealing catalogued as object 456 (unill.) image XII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 488 Salinas tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 15 other eggs, start of catalogue
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue  De Simone as Greek art x2	Salinas/ Notizie  De Simone/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883  De Simone: 36	Who decided which catalogue? Directly identified H in catalogue, 2 following eggs 'as above' Greek divinity, no link with Punic-Phoenician 'simply figurative'

## Sel14



*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel14

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-13, Sel15-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel13, Sel15, Sel20.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the figure is preserved, but almost nothing else of the image. It is impossible to tell if the object included any other images. The illustration suggests this is a much clearer image than Sel13. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, facing right, with back curved. R arm bent at elbow and held at the waist, l arm outstretched.

Appearance: no beard, any details of the torso seem to show the ribs, short r upper arm.

Hair: unclear under covering.

Dress: the head and shoulders are covered with detail at the ear and repeated lines at the neck. The figure is naked, bearing drapery with repeated folds over l arm. His r wrist shows two projections, as though something were tied around it.

Weapons: long straight object at r hip, curved object in l hand.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is identified by the club on which he leans and the details at the back of the head, understood as a lionskin. Salinas describes this 'as above', identical to Sel13 with its pose, bow and chlamys, however the fact that he allots a different type number and variations in the illustration suggest the two images differed. This illustration suggests a more accentuated bend to the back, perhaps as a result of firing the bow, with the chin lifted further from the chest. The bend and raised chin, suggesting a fired weapon, render this more aggressive in stance.

Appearance/ form of object: only the central fragment of the print is illustrated, suggesting very little has survived. No evidence of the outline shape or any other image is evident from the illustration.

Production inc. choice of material: narrow strip with an impression of a seal of Herakles and a bow.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas XIII (type), 210 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of sealing
Extra print added of H with bow, lionskin	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Only one print illustrated
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 210 (unill.) image XIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With 15 other eggs of figure, start cat. Different illustration to Sel13.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Given same description as Sel13, no mention of multiple versions in DeS.

## Sel15

Not illustrated in Salinas.

**Object Reference:** Sel15

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-14, Sel16-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** recorded “as above” where ‘above’ is type XII/XIII (see Sel13/14), also Sel20.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no image published. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: described as “on his feet, facing right” (Salinas: 488), following Sel13-14 his r arm would be at his waist and l arm outstretched.

Appearance: no details given in description.

Hair: no details given in description.

Dress: described as naked, “with the lionskin on his head”, and clothing on l arm (Salinas: 488).

Weapons: described as bearing the club and bow.

Accessories: none described.

Companions: none described.

Background/ Field: no details given in description.



Other images: none described.

**Interpretation:**

Representation described 'as above' (i.e. Sel13-14) therefore likely to be recognised as Herakles by the club and lionskin at the back of the head. As with similar versions, we might query why both a club and bow are necessary at the same time, since contemporaneous use is impossible. What is the point of these extra details, unless it is to create an opportunity to vary the design in small details sufficiently to differentiate between individual seals?

Appearance/ form of object: impossible to judge from lack of published illustration.

Production inc. choice of material: no difference to the rest of the cache noted by Salinas in his description of production evidence, suggesting that this was a thin clay strip with imprinted seal device.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No. :** Salinas XIV (type), 211 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No illustration or description of central impression.
Extra prints added of Herakles	Sealer	Object, Salinas: 488	No illustration of other print. Description of print only.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 211 (unill.) image XIV (unill.)	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488	No illustration, described 'as above'. Consecutive object number to Sel14 = similar appearance, but why give separate object number unless diff?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel16



NS tav. V



NS tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel16

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-15, Sel17-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** none identified.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** a small area of one image survives, forming the bottom of the image. It is impossible to tell if there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, facing l, with l heel raised.

Appearance: only the legs below the knees remain. The r calf appears very solid.

Hair: no image.

Dress: no image; legs uncovered. There is a loop above the figure's r big toe, and a narrow strip hanging between his shins.

Weapons: club with six solid-looking cross-pieces around it.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club visible in the illustration, which has bands rather than spikes or knobs as depicted elsewhere (although cf Sel41). The lowered club and walking pose of the feet might suggest a non-aggressive pose. No explanation is given for the detail between the legs; this may be the tail of the lionskin. Groundline shown.

Appearance/ form of object: small fragment of sealing illustrated with the suggestion of a curved oval outline. This has the same object number as image CCCXXXIV which might suggest these come from a double/ triple print sealing with one of the official seals.

Production inc. choice of material: small fragment of strip showing sealing of a human figure with a club.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas XV (type), 151 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Image only published.
Extra prints added of Herakles with club bucranium with vines	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V tav. XI	Bucranium found on Ag1.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 151 (unill.) images XV, CCCXXXIV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V/ XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? No comment on either image or which official seal.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel17



NS tav. V



NS tav XII

**Object Reference:** Sel17

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-17, Sel18-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** none identified.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** almost all of one figure is preserved, with the top of the head, the r hand and the shins downward broken off. It is not possible to tell whether there were any other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, looking r, but body frontal. R arm bent at elbow, resting at waist, holding an object, r arm outstretched.

Appearance: beard, shoulders broader than arms or torso. Illustration gives some suggestion of age.

Hair: short, perhaps receding.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long thin object, with two cross-pieces and handle.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club on which he leans; the cross-bars on this recall Sel16/41. The illustration shows a slightly receding hairline and full beard, which suggests an older figure, however the broad shoulders and details of musculature on the torso, as well as powerful thighs create an impression of latent strength. Outstretched right hand and weight backwards do not suggest aggression, although the head is alert and ready to move. This may have been on the same image as an Egyptianising image CCCCIV and therefore perhaps an official seal, as the images share an object number. De Simone says Egyptianising motifs are Punic-Phoenician and from an 'older chronological context'.

Appearance/ form of object: illustration shows Herakles image as a fragment, with no indication of an outline shape or how this would link to other prints. CCCCIV is shown within an oval margin, perhaps more space to its right.

Production inc. choice of material: small fragment of strip showing print of an older Herakles with club, perhaps alongside an official seal and image CCCCIV, which Salinas indicates as Egyptianising, perhaps produced in Sardinia. This image is also listed as object 203, is there a similar issue with types or was the same seal used twice?

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas XVI (type), 200 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No indication of which official seal used.
Extra prints added of older Herakles + club Egyptianising motif	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V tav. XII	Attr to Sardinia (485), also on object 203.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 200 (unill.) images XVI, CCCCIV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with other Egyptianising eggs, as produced in Sardinia.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel18



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel18

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-17, Sel19-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel19: given same description in Salinas, but two object numbers.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of one image is preserved, with damage to all but the top l corner. It is impossible to tell if there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: upright figure with bent knees, weight backwards, facing l, but body frontal. R arm outstretched holding vessel, l arm down by side with clenched fist.

Appearance: no beard, repeated lines on the torso, which could be ribs or musculature, broad shoulders, powerful arms and thighs.

Hair: short, perhaps covered.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, narrow object in front of r leg.

Accessories: feature with lines protruding from both sides underneath his clenched l wrist.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain, although see Accessories above. Salinas (488) sees him “seated on a rock”. There are some marks in from of his face.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by the club placed in front of him.

Although Salinas does not specify Herakles in the catalogue, this is palced among 15 other examples with clubs, some of whom are identified as Herakles. The triangular vessel in his hand is described as a rhyton, in Athenian/ Greek terms a drinking cup for banquets.

Bobou (2017) notes the prevalence of representations of gods/ heroes banqueting in Hellenistic representations. Herakles’ left hand appears to clasp something, but Salinas does not indicate what this may be, nor the marks above his head. The figure’s body is strongly muscled and appears powerful, although not aggressive. Several other examples show a banqueting Herakles; only the image of Sel31 is identified as the H epitrapezios type.

Appearance/ form of object: the illustration show this image only, with a suggestion of an oval outline and space for another image to the left. No other image is linked to sealing 212 in the catalogue.

Production inc. choice of material: narrow strip showing the impression of an image of Herakles with club and vessel.

Function: sealing of a document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas XVII (type), 212 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Which, if any, official seal?
Extra prints added of H with club & vessel	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V	Another print to l? Common theme of banqueting hero
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 212 & 213 (unill.) image XVII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Was seal used twice? 15 other H images, several with vessels.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Same descr. as Sel19, v similar Sel20.

## Sel19



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel19

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-18, Sel20-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia.

Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel18: given same description in Salinas, but two object numbers.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of one image is preserved, with damage to all but the top l corner. It is impossible to tell if there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: upright figure with bent knees, weight backwards, facing l, but body frontal. R arm outstretched holding vessel, l arm down by side with clenched fist.

Appearance: no beard, repeated lines on the torso, which could be ribs or musculature, broad shoulders, powerful arms and thighs.

Hair: short, perhaps covered.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, narrow object in front of r leg.

Accessories: feature with lines protruding from both sides underneath his clenched l wrist.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain, although see Accessories above. Salinas (488) sees him “seated on a rock”. There are some marks in front of his face.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by the club placed in front of him.

Although Salinas does not specify Herakles in the catalogue, this is placed among 15 other examples with clubs, some of whom are identified as Herakles. The triangular vessel in his hand is described as a rhyton, in Athenian/ Greek terms a drinking cup for banquets.

Bobou (2017) notes the prevalence of representations of gods/ heroes banqueting in Hellenistic representations. Herakles’ left hand appears to clasp something, but Salinas does not indicate what this may be, nor the marks above his head. The figure’s body is strongly muscled and appears powerful, although not aggressive. Several other examples show a banqueting Herakles; only the image of Sel31 is identified as the H epitrapezios type.

Appearance/ form of object: the illustration shows this image only, with a suggestion of an oval outline and space for another image to the left. No other image is linked to sealing 212 in the catalogue.

Production inc. choice of material: narrow strip showing the impression of an image of Herakles with club and vessel.

Function: sealing of a document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas XVII (type), 213 (object); type only illustrated

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Which, if any, official seal?
Extra prints added of H with club & vessel	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V	Another print to I? Common theme of banqueting hero
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 212 & 213 (unill.) image XVII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Was seal used twice? 15 other H images, several with vessels.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Same descr. as Sel18, v similar Sel20.

## Sel20



NS tav. V



NS tav XII

**Object Reference:** Sel20

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-19, Sel21-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** listed as similar to type XVII (Sel18-19)

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** illustration of similar type recorded for image XVIII. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: described as “seated on a rock, facing left”, holding a vessel in his r hand.

Appearance: no description given.

Hair: no description given.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: a vessel.

Companions: none recorded.

Background/ Field: not recorded.

Other images: none recorded.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised from the description/illustration of Sel18-19, where the figure is shown with a club. Salinas considers the variation here to be the type of vessel held, a kantharos rather than a rhyton, both are considered to be drinking cups at a banquet in the Athenian/ Greek tradition, with a kantharos a less elaborate shape than the rhyton. Bobou notes the increasing trend to portray deities/ heroes at banquets in the Hellenistic era. CCCCVI, given the same object number, is very fragmentary, but the illustration suggests an Egyptianising curved-keel boat, finding comparison in surrounding catalogued images on Sardinian-made examples. This and an official seal may have appeared on the same sealing.

Appearance/ form of object: no illustration of the sealing or image XVIII. Image CCCVI, given the same number in the catalogue, is very fragmentary, with only one corner shown, suggesting any other image would be to the left or below, in which case the image would appear at an angle.

Production inc. choice of material: narrow strip shown with part of the imprint of a seal with image CCCCVI; no illustration of XVIII.

Function: two identical seals would cause confusion in identifying individuals from the marks of their seals, therefore the difference of a vase type may indicate either an indistinct mark mis-read by Salinas as different to Sel18-19 (the object numbers of Sel18-20 are not consecutive) and therefore a third example of the same user of the archive, or a different image with one small detail changed and therefore a different user. Sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XVIII (type), 199 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus/ wood	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	No indication of official seal.
Extra prints added of H with club & vessel Egyptianising motif	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V tav XII	as Sel18-9, cf Bobou Egyptianising motifs from Sardinia?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache.	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 199 (unill.) images XVIII, CCCCVI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav V, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? H type unill. Other with Egyptianising motifs.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? No focused discussion.

## Sel21



NS (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel21

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-20, Sel22-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** none recorded

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved, broken in a clean line across the r side over the figure's shoulders and the back of his head; the l side is damaged at the hand and the bottom at the figure's knees. It is impossible to tell whether there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure in profile to l, both hands raised in front of him; l holding object at his waist, r outstretched. The figure looks down at his r hand.

Appearance: beard, muscular physique.

Hair: unclear, head is covered.

Dress: covering to head in the shape of a big cat, otherwise naked.

Weapons: none visible, possible tip of an object at the bottom left corner of the image.

Accessories: object in four sections held at the waist.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles, but not named by Salinas, by the reading of the features over his head as a lionskin; no club remains in the illustration. The figure looks downward at repeated lines described as drapery, with his r hand outstretched, holding an object now lost. Upper arms, shoulders, and thighs of Herakles all appear very powerful. The pose is not aggressive. No comment on it from any modern author.

Appearance/ form of object: this illustration shows the image as a fragment, with no other images and with no extra indication of the shape of the ring which created it.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of narrow clay strip with the impression of a seal showing Herakles in a lionskin.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XIX (type), 457 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus/ wood	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal.
Extra prints added of H in lionskin with drapery	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 457 (unill.) image XIX illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 15 other eggs of fig with club/lionskin
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel22



NS tav. V



NS tav. VIII

**Object Reference:** Sel22

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-21, Sel23-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel23-28 (variations on theme); lion-headed fountain found at Colle Madore and scarab seal-stone in Palermo Museum, Etruscan mirrors.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved, with damage on all sides that cuts off the top of the figure's head, the right hand, part of the object in the bottom corner and the figure's feet. A straight line behind the objects to the r cuts off the remainder of that side of the image. It is impossible to tell whether there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, leaning on l elbow and presenting body to front, looking down with knees slightly bent. The l hand holds an object, the r arm is outstretched.

Appearance: no beard, moulding or marks on the torso and slim figure suggest the figure is young.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: a straight object with projections along the sides leans at the figure's waist.

Accessories: a curved object opening as it extends is held in the figure's l hand.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: the figure leans on a waist-high, cylindrical object; above his r shoulder is a projection resembling the profile of an animal's head with open mouth.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: The figure is recognised as Herakles, not named by Salinas, by the top of the knobbly club resting against the right hip. The naked body appears slim but powerful, with detail given to the musculature of the torso. The object in his left hand is recognised as a cornucopia, an object which appears on several of the following examples and Sel9, as well as on its own (Sel36) and with other individual figures (Sel8). Its meaning of prosperity and fertility might link to merchants. The pose, with Herakles' weight leaning back on his left elbow, appears relaxed, and the age of Herakles rather young. Salinas notes him as leaning on an animal skin, unclear in the illustration. The shape at the top of the cornucopia may be plenty emerging from a horn, but it also resembles an animal's head and its position recalls images of Herakles at a lion-headed waterspout listed above, as well as examples from Delos illustrated below. The object is given the same sealing number as image CCI, which shows the bottom fragment of a realistically-featured female head.

Appearance/ form of object: a central fragment of image XX is illustrated, with no indication of any outline shape. The right edge of the illustration suggests it may have attached to other images here, presumably an official seal and the CCI image which shares its object number.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of a clay strip showing the impression of a seal showing Herakles with club and cornucopia, perhaps on the same strip as an official seal and image CCI.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

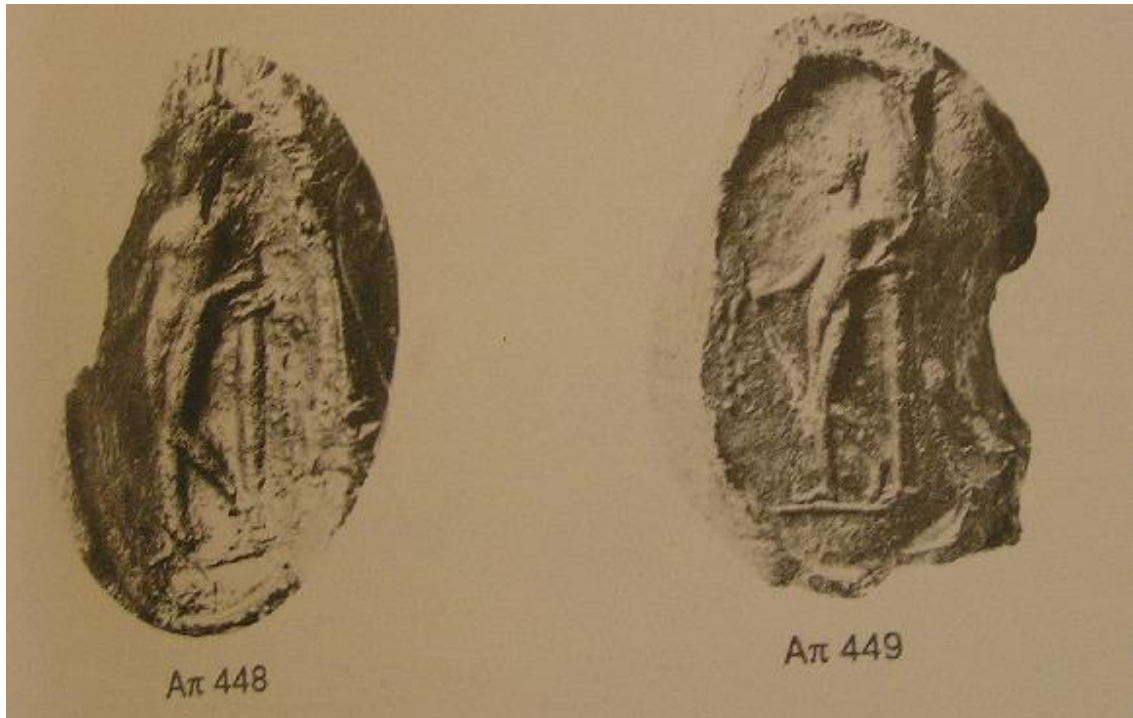
**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XX (type), 410 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883): 489

Boussac, M-F. (1992). Les Sceaux de Délos I. Sceaux publics, Apollon, Artemis, Hekate, Hélios. *Recherches franco helléniques* 2 (1), Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 3-194: pl. 23



Boussac pl. 23.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No details of official seal given.
Extra prints added of H with club & cornucopia female realistic head	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V tav. VIII	Same symbols Sel9, 23-28/ lion-headed waterspout cf Palermo scarab
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 410 (unill.) images XX, CCI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav V, VIII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 15 other club/ lionskin examples
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel23



NS tav. V



NS tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel23

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-22, Sel24-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22, Sel24-28 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved, with the curve of its border showing at the bottom r corner. The l hand side of the image is cut off at the figure's r hand and below him at the ankles. It is impossible to say if there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, leaning back on l elbow, with bent r knee, presenting body frontally. Head in profile with gaze (but not head) focused downward. L arm bent at elbow, holding object, r arm outstretched downwards.

Appearance: no beard, toned muscular appearance especially at the shoulders, although slim arms. Appears young.

Hair: short or shoulder length, head perhaps covered.

Dress: size of head and details at the nape of the neck suggest a head covering, otherwise naked.

Weapons: none visible, some markings at l of image correspond to the position of a weapon in similar images.

Accessories: curved object which opens as it extends, a triangular shaped object above.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain, two lines and bottom and r form a support for the figure.

Other images: none survive, although the bottom right curve suggests the possibility of more clay beyond.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles not named by Salinas, by comparison with other examples illustrated around it, from which the eye of faith can make out the traces of a club in the bottom left corner. Salinas tentatively suggests a lionskin and the illustration certainly shows a greater extension of features at the top and back of the head than is realistic. The image is similar to Sel22, although Herakles leans further back, with more bended knees and looks ahead, rather than down. Here Salinas describes how leaning on a column without a lionskin and again holding a cornucopia (see Sel22) which differs in the detail at the top. There are two indentations on the side of the illustration, above where the figure's head would be, which may form the outline of the object Herakles holds in his outstretched right hand. The pose here is relaxed and non-aggressive. This image shares an object number with image CDXXI, the rear legs of an animal which Salinas suggests is a lion. This is illustrated among the eastern images, with two other lions attacking another animal, however this image appears too fragmentary to deduce the whole image.

Appearance/ form of object: a slight curve at the bottom right hand of image XXI is all that remains of the print's outline. Further lines above the image may suggest the sealing continued there and thus the print was made at 90° to the official seal probably found next

to it. Image CDXXI shows further clay in the bottom left corner, as well as the outline curve of rather a small seal, perhaps a scarab.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of a clay strip showing the impression of a seal of Herakles with a lionskin and cornucopia, perhaps on the same strip as an official seal and CDXXI.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XXI (type), 129 (object)

**Refs:**

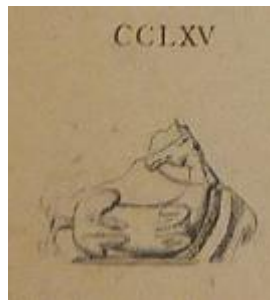
A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of H, lionskin, cornucopia rear of an animal	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	cf Sel9, 22, 24-28 shown with eastern images, scarab
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 129 (unill.) image XXI, CDXXI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav V, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Animal alongside 2 other animal fight images, under 'eastern' images.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel24



NS tav. V



NS tav. IX

**Object Reference:** Sel24

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-23, Sel24-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22-23, Sel25-28 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved. A straight line across the back of the figure's head is broken off, also a section at his knees and at the far l of the image. It is impossible to tell whether there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, leaning slightly on l elbow, with straight legs, presenting body frontally. His l hand holds one object and the r arm is outstretched, holding a vessel. His head and gaze are downwards.

Appearance: no beard. No detail of musculature on the torso and slim arms suggest a youthful appearance.

Hair: short fringe, but the back of the head is cut off so the length is difficult to judge.

Dress: naked, some folds of drapery under the l elbow.

Weapons: conical object with projections leaning on his r hip.

Accessories: vessel with handle extending from lip and narrow stem in r hand; curved object in crook of l elbow.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain. Curved lines in bottom r corner suggest drapery.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles, but not named by Salinas, by the object at his right hip, understood as a club, and the similarity with images on Sel9, 22-3, 25-28. Salinas records the vessel as a kantharos, also noted with Herakles on unillustrated Sel20, an object associated from Athenian sympotic evidence as a banqueter's drinking cup, thus notable in light of Bobou's comments on banqueting deities in Hellenistic art. This image recalls Sel22-3, but with different renderings of the rather high waist, club, and details of the drapery under the left elbow. The downward tilt of the head focuses Herakles' attention on the vessel and with the relaxed pose makes him appear non-aggressive. This image shares an object number with image CCLXV, a horse with reins rolling around reminiscent of Bree before his return to Narnia, shown with 7 other horse images, one very similar but missing the reins; perhaps Carthaginian popular symbols.

Appearance/ form of object: only the central part of the fragment is illustrated, with no suggestion of the outline; the gap at the bottom left suggests a join with the rest of the sealing occurred here. Image CCLXV shows a double curve to the right, perhaps a scarab seal-stone, and the gap below in the illustration could indicate the join, therefore the image was printed at 90°.

Production inc. choice of material: fragments of flattened clay showing impressions of seal image of Herakles with club and a vessel, probably on the same strip as an official seal and print of image CCLXV.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXIII (type), 419 (object)

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus/ wood	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of H with club, kantharos, cornucopia rolling horse	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav V tav. 9	same symbols 9, 22-23, 25-8 indication of wealth, trade double outline = scarab? N. African.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 419 (unill.) image XXIII, CCLXV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tavs V, IX	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With 15 other figures with club; 7 other horses.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 488	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel25



NS (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel25

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-24, Sel26-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22-24, Sel26-28 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved, with damage at all corners which cuts off objects behind the figure, the figure's legs at the bottom and the object at his knees and the vessel in his hand. It is impossible to tell whether there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, with weight on r leg, presenting body frontally. His head looks downwards at the outstretched r hand and his l hand holds another object at his waist.

Appearance: no beard. Some detail of musculature, slim, appears young.

Hair: short, with either a fillet or covering.

Dress: naked, details at the bottom r corner may be drapery.

Weapons: long, straight object at figure's r hip.

Accessories: object in r hand obscured by break; curving object opening as it extends in crook of l elbow.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain, some markings in bottom r corner.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: recognised, but not named, by Salinas as Herakles by the club leaning against his right hip and the similarity with images on Sel9, 22-24, 26-28. The object in his left arm is understood as a cornucopia, although the illustration of this one lacks the curve and detail of material at the open end seen in other examples. The symbol appears on its own in other sealings and can be associated with wealth and trade in a Greek and Carthaginian tradition. The figure holds an object in his right outstretched hand, too fragmentary to identify; Salinas tentatively proposes a vase, perhaps by comparison with surrounding examples. The figure's hair is short and extra detail suggests a fillet, worn by banqueters or athletes in a Greek context. The lines behind the figure may suggest drapery, but no clear evidence of either the lionskin of Sel26 or 28 or the column of Sel22/23. Details of musculature on the torso imply a powerful physique, here shown in a relaxed stance.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment of a print, with little evidence of the seal's margin except in perhaps a curve bottom left. No other images shown.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay strip, showing the print of Herakles with club, cornucopia, and fillet.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXV (type), 459 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)  
de Simone, R (2008): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C*. In Congiu, M., Micciché, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. (2008) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus/ wood	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of H with club, cornucopia, vessel	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Same accessories as Sel9, 22-24, cornucopia assoc with trade, wealth in Gk/ Carth trad. cf Sel26-28 pose
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 459 (unill.) image XXV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With 15 other examples with club, sim. pose.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel26



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel26

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-25, Sel27-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22-25, Sel27-28 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the central part of one image is preserved, with damages to all edges, except the bottom right where the outline of the image is preserved. Damage cuts off the figure's head, left shoulder and right hand, as well as an object in front of him. It is impossible to tell if there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure with weight on right hip and left knee bent, presenting body frontally. The slope of the right shoulder gives the impression that the head looks

downward to the outstretched right hand. The l hand holds an object at the waist with bent elbow.

Appearance: despite damage the curve of the chin suggest no beard. Slim body, with slight marking on r pectoral, appears young.

Hair: no image.

Dress: naked; four folds of drapery behind and below the l arm.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections at the r hip.

Accessories: two curves at the end of the arm suggest an object in the missing r hand; a curved object lies along the figure's left arm.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: the figure stands on a groundline, otherwise plain.

Other images: none visible.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised, but not named, as Herakles by the club leaning against the right hip and similarity with other images. There is a curved line above his left arm, which may correspond to the cornucopia on other seal images, and evidence of something held in the outstretched right hand, not discernible from the break of the fragment. To the bottom right of the image are lines suggesting either drapery, or perhaps a lionskin, seen more clearly on Sel28. The figure is slim, but with details of a strong physique shown in the torso, in a relaxed pose. A groundline is shown beneath his feet, of which the left heel is raised in contrast to previous representations.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment of a print remaining, with hints of an oval outline and a groundline within the image.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay strip showing print of seal with Herakles, club and lionskin holding out his right hand. No further prints recorded.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXVI (type), 460 (object)

### **Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of H with club, ?lionskin, vessel & cornucopia?	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Similar pose, accessories to Sel9, 22-25, 27-8. More like a lionskin than drapery, cd be curve of cornucopia.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 460 (unill.) image XXVI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with 15 other eggs club/ lionskin, sim pose.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel27



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel27

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-26, Sel28-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22-26, Sel28 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the bottom part of one image is preserved, showing its outline in the bottom left corner. The figure is preserved from the waist downwards. The lines beyond the outline of the image in the bottom corner suggest that there may have been another image to the l. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure with weight on r leg, l knee bent, and heel raised. No other details visible.

Appearance: legs only visible; these appear solid in thigh and calf.

Hair: not visible.

Dress: legs are bare; repeated lines behind the l leg suggest folds of drapery.

Weapons: a long straight object with projections rests against the figure's r hip or is held at the waist.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions none visible.

Background/ Field: lines under the figure's feet suggest both a groundline and shadows; otherwise plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation the figure is recognised, but not identified by Salinas, as Herakles by the indication of a club resting against the right hip and similarity with images Sel9, 22-26, 28. Parallel lines behind the leg appear to show drapery similar to that seen on Sel25-6, rather than the column of Sel22-23. The left heel is raised as on Sel26. The groundline here appears more like a shadow than Sel26. Details of the thighs suggest emphasis on the musculature, but further comment on the pose is impossible from the fragment. Salinas notes the figure 'as above' (i.e. Sel26) only for this figure, despite the differences notes above.

Appearance/ form of object: fragment gives an indication of an oval border, with perhaps some space to bottom left for another print.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay showing impression of a seal of Herakles with club and drapery.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXVII (type), 131 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of H with club, drapery	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Similar pose to Sel9, 22-26, 28.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 131 (unill.) image XXVII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Ill. with 15 other examples of similar pose, accessories.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel28



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel28

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-27, Sel29-42, Sel144-459

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel22-27 variations on a theme.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the bottom part of one image is preserved, with damage at the bottom l corner. The figure is cut off at the torso upwards and is missing part of the r leg. It is impossible to tell whether there were other images. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure, with weight on r leg, l knee bent and heel raised, presenting body frontally.

Appearance: no head visible. The l thigh appears muscular, but the body is slim.

Hair: not visible.

Dress: naked, the ending of the object behind the figure shows folds and a section resembling animal claws.

Weapons: the tip of an object rests against the r hip.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain, apart from a groundline and a right-angled shape between the figure's legs.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised, although not named by Salinas, as Herakles by the tip of the club seen resting on the right hip and the object held behind him, probably a lionskin as Sel26, as well as the similarity to representations in Sel9, 22-27. The bunched ends, resembling paws, of the drapery here clearly held in the left hand, rather than falling from the arm, set this apart from Sel26-27, which it otherwise resembles with a raised left heel and groundline. Salinas tentatively proposed that the shape between the legs was an overprint of an existing letter on the sealing. From the illustration evidence alone, this could also be the tip of the lionskin's tail (cf Sel16). The figure appears toned, with detail to the powerful right thigh, but no further conclusion can be drawn about the pose from this fragment.

Appearance/ form of object: no indications of the shape of the seal device, perhaps room for another print bottom right.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay strip with the print of a seal of Herakles with club and lionskin.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XXVIII (type), 214 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Possible sigma of H & bull seal between legs? S: 489
Extra prints added of H with club & lionskin	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav IV	Similar pose to Sel9, 22-27, lionskin as Sel26-7.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 214 (unill.) image XXVIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Ill with 15 other eggs with club or lionskin, sim. pose.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel29



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel29

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-28, Sel30-42, Sel144-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** none recorded.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the left side of one image is preserved, with the outline visible and further clay beyond. The figure is cut off at the knees. The illustration suggests there was another image to the l. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: figure standing with weight on r leg, l thigh raised at a right angle. The body is presented frontally, however the head looks slightly down to the r.

Appearance: no beard. Muscular appearance with slim arms.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: a long straight object with projections lies in the corner of the image.

Accessories: a ball.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible, but likely on the l side.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club identified by Salinas on the left of the image, perhaps also the powerful physique. This representation, with Herakles appearing to play 'keepie-uppie' with a ball, is not known elsewhere on Sicily until 'Ciao' in 1990; perhaps surprising that it is not identified by *LIMC* as Sel160. None of the scholars who discuss images note this representation. The figure is totally naked, with no extant lionskin, which suggests the artist was working in a Greek-Etruscan tradition of heroic nudity. Attention is given to details of the musculature, particularly the thighs, but all power and attention here is focused on the ball.

Appearance/ form of object: a raised groove is shown at the left edge of the image, marking the edge of a straight oval outline, with the suggestion of more space to the left, however no other image is noted by Salinas.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated showing print of a seal of Herakles playing football, made from a straight oval-shaped sealing device. Space for further prints.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXIX (type), 215 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No recording of another seal, but edge to left suggests at least one other image.
Extra prints added of H with club & ball	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Greek-Etruscan heroic nudity
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 215 (unill.) image XXIX illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Ill. with 15 other eggs with club or lionskin.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel30



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel30

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-29, Sel31-42, 44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** warrior with shield in this pose common, a kneeling warrior with a shield features on an Etruscan scarab (Zazoff taf.5 no.6), reverse pose Sel161 'Spanish' image.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the right section of one image is preserved, cutting off an object held by the figure and his r leg and ankles. The outline of the image is preserved in the top right corner and extra clay in a point suggests room for another image to the r. No size recorded.

**Description:**



Pose: standing figure facing l, leaning backwards with weight on r leg and l knee bent. The body is presented frontally and his gaze is slightly downwards along the top of the circular object he holds.

Appearance: no beard, suggestions of muscular physique on the lines of the torso and broad l shoulder. The position of the l shoulder suggests his l arm is held at his side.

Hair: appears short, under covering.

Dress: naked, but head covered with object that frames his face and has tufts at the crown.

Weapons: parallel straight lines at the waist and shield.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is not recognised as Herakles by Salinas, but it is difficult to account for the manner in which the illustration depicts his headgear in any other way than a lionskin; H is rarely shown with sword or shield. The warrior is depicted naked in the Greek-Etruscan tradition, with attention given to the musculature of the torso. The bent left knee and dropped left shoulder may suggest the figure is on the back foot, but the angle of his left hand shows a sword thrust of some power. Was part of the secret of Herakles' success the awkwardness of facing a left hander? No authors comment on this image.

Appearance/ form of object: a double margin, with a straight edge, is shown on the illustration, with more clay evident to the right. This print may have been struck off-angle to the central print. No other images recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip shown with the print of a seal of a left-handed Herakles with sword and shield.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XXXVI (type), 462 (object)

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal, room for other image to r, angle suggests 1 struck off-centre.
Extra prints added of left-handed H with sword & shield	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	cf Sel161, which Boardman/ De Simone think Spanish
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 462 (unill.) image XXXVI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated next to other deities, but not warriors with shields.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel31



de Simone (2008b) Fig. 11



de Simone (2008a) Fig. 16



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel31

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-30, Sel32-42, Sel 44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel9, Sel18-19, Sel31 all with variations.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of the image is preserved, with the top left and bottom left parts of the image missing. There is a rounded square indentation to the right of the image, with a round moulding in the left corner. Size not recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: figure seated to r, but body inclined to front. R arm outstretched holding vessel, l elbow bent, leaning on support.

Appearance: no beard, slim limbs, broad shoulders, some detail to chest/ ribs.

Hair: short under covering.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: tip of object in front of figure's knees.

Accessories: shallow vessel held at narrow part of stem.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: round field with no decoration visible; moulding in bottom right corner of support with diagonal straight edge at figure's lower back.

Other images: plain indented field, see below.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the head covering may represent a lionskin and the tip of the object at his feet a club; Salinas refers to the covering as a 'Phrygian bonnet' (*loc. cit.* 490) and does not recognise Herakles. Similarities with the pose of Sel9, Sel18-19, Sel 22-28 recall Herakles in this context. Salinas' description of the vessel as a 'patera' implies a context of Greek banqueting or offering. He postulates the support behind the figure as the prow of a ship. The Punic name for Selinunte may have been ršmlqrt (Roschmelqart/ Cape of Melqart); Herakles and Melqart are understood to have been syncretised. De Simone cites this twice, both referring to a Cyrenaican example of Herakles epitrapezios and Lysippean prototype as a 'prevailing Greek divinity', not popular because of Melqart's association with Herakles; it is of 'purely figurative value'. Illustrated in both texts. Used by Maas as an example of Herakles equating with Melqart, described as 'sitting Herakles'. Slim but broad-chested figure, focused (as Sel18-20, 24) on the vessel in his hand, cf Bobou on banqueting gods.

Appearance/ form of object: by comparison with other sealings in the series, the moulding and indentation to the right of the image would represent the end of the dolphin's tail in the dolphin/ club image. The image appears in an oval frame, wider than it is high which

is unusual in the collection. The image appears slightly smudged, with some detail in very shallow relief.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay on which appears the impressions of seal of Herakles holding a vessel, with club and lionskin.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas LIX (type), 418 (object), Palermo Mus. Reg. 42886.

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. fig. 11

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma 31-45, fig. 16.

Maas in Peters, S. (2004). *Hannibal ad portas: Macht und Reichtum Karthagos.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin?	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Curved rectangle and tip of club to right suggest club & dolphin seal
Extra prints added of seated H with club, lionskin & vessel	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V De Simone fig 11	oval ring type recognised from Gk statuary, on Cyrenaican seal
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 418 (unill.) image LIX illustrated as Palermo 42886	Salinas  museum staff	Salinas: 487, 490 tav. V Maas: 245	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Salinas 'Phrygian bonnet' & ship's prow, not Herakles. When did catalogue no. change?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as Greek image as Carthaginian image	Salinas/ Notizie  De Simone/ Caltanisseta Maas/ Darmstadt	Salinas 1883 490 35 245	Who decided which catalogue? Ill. next to comic figures. Not H-M combination, Gk master H-M syncretism, Carth. colony.

## Sel32



NS tav. VI

**Object Reference:** Sel32

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-31, Sel33-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** only the central fragment of one image survives; the figure's r hand, legs from the thighs down and left hand are missing. No size recorded. The illustration appears to show damage to the figure's face.

**Description:**

Pose: seated figure, looking l with body facing front. R arm outstretched, l arm bent at elbow.

Appearance: perhaps bearded, repeated moulding around torso suggests older figure.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked, but folds of drapery over l arm.

Weapons: knobbly straight object in r hand.

Accessories: none.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain ground in surviving image.

Other images: no other images.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the object held in the r hand is recognised as a club, which, with the heroic nudity, suggests the figure of Herakles, not named by Salinas, although placed next to an image with a postulated lionskin. The Punic name for Selinunte may have been *ršmlqrt* (Roschmelqart/ Cape of Melqart); Herakles and Melqart are understood to have been syncretised. The repeated folds over the left arm are understood as drapery, and may be a lionskin, as seen in Sel9, 22-28. The left thigh appears to be raised, suggesting the figure is seated, which renders the raised club less aggressive. There is some attention to the musculature of the torso; stooped shoulders and the shape of the pectorals suggest an older figure, reinforced by the beard implied by the outline of the chin.

Appearance/ form of object: the realistic rendering of the figure and its nakedness suggest the Greek-Etruscan tradition. The fragment shows no indication of the shape of the seal which created it.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay on which an impression of a seated Herakles with club was made.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas LXIX (type), 225 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of older H with club	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav VI	Is it a lionskin? Gk-Etr nakedness.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 225 (unill.) image LXIX illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 490 tav. VI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Next to another figure with lionskin, after comic characters.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 490	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel33



unillustrated object

NS tav. VI

### **Object Reference:** Sel33

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-32, Sel34-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** some similarity to Salinas type LXXIV.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** only the head and arm of the figure in the image survive, with some suggestion of the curve of a blank field above this.

### **Description:**

Pose: figure faces r, with l arm of knee (Salinas: 491) bent to the viewer's right.

Appearance: beard unclear, the limb is naked.

Hair: covered or damaged.

Dress: no clothing can be seen. The head and shoulders appear to be covered by a textured garment.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: the area to the r and top of the image is clear.

Other images: none survive.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Salinas tentatively suggested that the head covering was a lionskin, which could identify the figure as Herakles. The naked right arm suggests the figure is completely naked in the Greek-Etruscan tradition, perhaps reclining as other examples, but the piece is too fragmentary for comment. Given the same object number as unillustrated LXXI, described as 'upper right part of a large, male, naked figure, facing left'; could this be another Herakles?

Appearance/ form of object: the figure appears to be rendered in a realistic style, which suggests the Greek tradition. There is an irregular curve above the figure's head, with the suggestion of space for more prints above. The curve seems too irregular for the outline of a seal. Space above would mean this seal was printed at 90° to the central image.

Production inc. choice of material: imprint of seal of reclining Herakles made on a strip, perhaps alongside an official seal and seal of image LXXI, a large male, naked figure.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas LXX (type) and LXXI (unillustrated), 139 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal, although space for it at angle.
Extra prints added of reclining H large male naked figure	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav VI Salinas: 490	Naked in Greek-Etr. tradition. Unillustrated: Herakles too?
Stored with document  as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 139 (unill.) image LXX (ill.), LXXI (unill.)	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 490 tav. VI 490	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated among other examples of powerful figures with club/lionskin. Why not ill. LXXI?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel34

Unillustrated

**Object Reference:** Sel34

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-33, Sel35-42, 44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** none recorded

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** neither image is illustrated. The sealing is described as worn. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: described as a standing naked figure, facing left, holding what may be a club.

Appearance: presumed to be naked, from lack of reference to any difference with surrounding images.

Hair: no head survives.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: a club is described.

Accessories: see above.

Companions: none visible.

Background/ Field: plain, although some features suggested by illustration's shading.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: no illustration of either image. Herakles is suggested by the club, and the placement of the description of this image amid others associated with Herakles by their lionskin. The image shares an object number with CXC, described as similar to an earlier one of a female head looking right, with hair bound behind the head and earrings in the catalogue of 40 female heads. 7 heads are described as similar to this entry but the entry following this specifies 'with earrings and necklace', suggesting these may not be evident in the other described examples. The heads shown differ in features and hairstyle and, although rendered realistically, do not necessarily appear Greek.

Appearance/ form of object: Salinas notes only that image LXXIII appears worn. He does not indicate which official seal accompanies these images, which usually occurs when two seals are depicted.

Production inc. choice of material: assumed flattened clay strip with the impressions of seals of a standing Herakles in the lionskin, an official seal, and a female head impressed in the clay.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas LXXIII (type), 413 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV. Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal
Extra prints added of standing H with club female head	Sealers	Object descr, Salinas 491 495	No evidence of prints; not described as identical to surrounding examples, so why omitted?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 141 (unill.) image LXXIII, CXC both unillustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 491, 495	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Close to other standing figures with club/ lionskin. 40 female heads, 107 heads, most popular image-type.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 491/495	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel35



NS tav. IX

Herakles not illustrated.

**Object Reference:** Sel35

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-34, Sel36-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** none recorded

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no image recorded, however description notes “part of a male figure” (Salinas: 491) which suggest the image was not preserved intact. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: standing figure (Salinas: 491)

Appearance: standing

Hair: not recorded.

Dress: perhaps a lionskin on the left arm (Salinas: 491)

Weapons: not recorded.

Accessories: not recorded.



Companions: not recorded.

Background/ Field: not recorded.

Other images: not recorded.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: no illustration, the identification as Herakles therefore rests on Salinas' tentative description of a lionskin, the representation may be too fragmentary for a firm identification, since Salinas records it as 'part of a male figure'. See Sel13-15, 20, 26-8 for examples of Herakles wearing a lionskin on his left arm on seals, and several examples (M1, P6, P9, P33) on other media from third century representations. The image shares an object number with image CCLV illustrated above, a cow with calf seen from behind.

This image also appears on object 177 (with a cornucopia), discussed by De Simone in detail in 2008b, where she notes its wide appearance, although images cited are similar on theme not detail. De Simone does not mention the same image appears on 143.

Appearance/ form of object: no illustration of the object or image LXXVI. Image CCLV shows a double-lined circular margin.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated for CCLV, on which an impression of the seal of standing Herakles with lionskin probably appeared with an official seal and an image of a cow with its calf.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas LXXVI (type not illustrated), 143 (object)

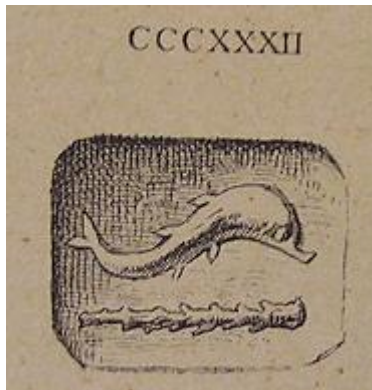
**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. (2008) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma 31-45.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal.
Extra prints added of standing H & lionskin cow with calf	Sealers	Object, Salinas: 491 tav IX	Cow print appears on another sealing, 177; DeS says common theme around Med, esp Punic West.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 143 (unill.) image LXXVI (unill.), CCLV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Not similar to other images, why omit? Alongside several animals.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as globalised image	Salinas/ Notizie De Simone/ Caltanisseta	Salinas 1883 491 2008b	Who decided which catalogue? Illustrates 177, not this sealing.

## Sel36



NS tav. XI



NS tav.X



NdS (1883) tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel36

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-35, Sel 37-42, Sel44-459; 4250 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel37-40, Sel157-158, Sel161-162

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** No image of the whole object is preserved; Salinas lists the object number 120 with types CCCIII and CCCLXXV shown above and described below. The type images do not show images alongside one another. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: no image.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: no image.

Other images: a single human leg, with repeated binding around the thigh and foot flat to a groundline, in front of a small dog with both legs off the floor. It is not clear how this image was linked to the other two images from the illustration. Long, thin object, with pointed end topped by a cross-bar at the bottom and another cross-bar topped by a triangular shape with loops at the top. This lies next to the tip of a curved horn-shaped object, which opens to a wide mouth. The rest of the image is broken away; there is a suggestion of another image to the r of this one in the illustration

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. The other images show a dog running behind a human leg, probably part of a bigger image known in western Sicily, and a caduceus with cornucopia, paralleled in the Carthage cache nr. 819, where it is dated to the CIII-II. Both the latter symbols would link to business or trading in the Greek world, Maas suggests also the Carthaginian, cf Sel22-29 motif.

Appearance/ form of object: no illustration published of complete object. The image illustration shows a slight curve at the top of the right of the caduceus, suggesting it was the right-hand image.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of: a club and dolphin (official seal), a dog with running leg, and caduceus/ cornucopia paralleled in Carthage.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of extant seal devices, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas CCCIII (illustrated as type only), CCCXXXII (type illustrated above), CCCLXXV (illustrated as type only), 120 (object)

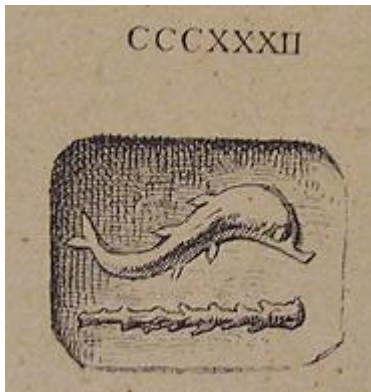
**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 497-8.

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340: 336.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Authorities overseeing trade deal.
Extra prints added of dog/ leg, caduceus/ cornucopia	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav X, XII	Image and symbols found in Carthaginian temple of Tanit.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 120 image CCCIII, CCCXXXII, CCCLXXV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 497 498 tav X-XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Dog with other animals; others with other symbols.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue for local symbols on Sicily	Salinas/ Notizie Zoppi/ BCH	Salinas 1883 497-8 336	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel37



*NdS* (1883) tav. XI



*NS* (1883) tav. IV

**Object Reference:** Sel37

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-36, Sel 38-42, Sel44-459; 4250 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36, Sel38-40, Sel157-158, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** illustration of back only, listed as an object under type CCCXXXII in Salinas' catalogue (498). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: no image.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: no image.

Other images: no image.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: no image of the front of the object published; the back suggests the central image only was preserved. H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart

Appearance/ form of object: impossible to tell from published image.

Production inc. choice of material: rear image shows cross lines and 2 deep relief lines, understood by Salinas as coming from a wooden tablet, not papyrus. Flattened clay strip, as other examples.

Function: sealing of document agreed by controller of archive and unknown participants using a tablet, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXXII (type illustrated above), 401 (object)

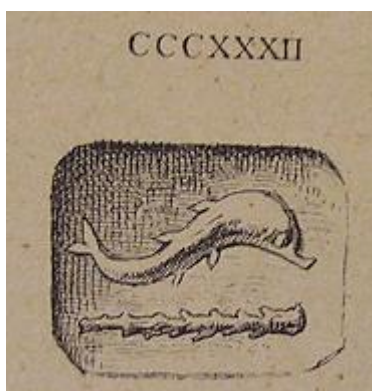
**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 479.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on wooden tablet	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Evident from ill with its double lines
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	Not shown on this eg.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, 479 Salinas tav IV	Front image not shown.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	Not evident on ill, room for others.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 401 illustrated image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 478 498 tav XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Only rear illustrated.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Evidence for wooden tablet – 2 systems?



## Sel38



*NdS* (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel38

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-37, Sel 39-42, Sel44-459; 4250 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36, Sel39-40, Sel157-158, Sel161-162; Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, listed as an object under type CCCXXXII in Salinas' catalogue (498). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: no image.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: no image.

Other images: no image.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Exemplar illustration only, no details of another image.

Appearance/ form of object: no image published.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal).

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of official seal device and unknown others, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

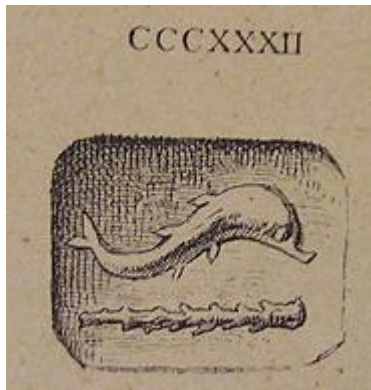
**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXXII (type illustrated above), 578 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 498.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav XI	Description only.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 578 unill. image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 498 498 tav. XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 1 of 3 late entries into object catalogue with no other image.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883: 498	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel39



*NdS* (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel39

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-38, Sel 40-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36, Sel38, Sel40, Sel157-158, Sel161-432; Sel 443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, listed as an object under type CCCXXXII in Salinas' catalogue (498). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: no image.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: no image.

Other images: no image.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Exemplar illustration only, no details of another image.

Appearance/ form of object: no image published.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal).

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of official seal device and unknown others, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

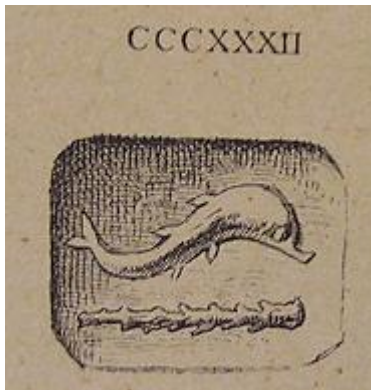
**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXXII (type illustrated above), 579 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav XI	Description only.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 579 unill. image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 498 498 tav. XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 1 of 3 late entries into object catalogue with no other image.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883: 498	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel40



*NdS* (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel40

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see p. xx ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-39, Sel41-42, 44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36, Sel38-39, Sel157-158, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, listed as an object under type CCCXXXII in Salinas' catalogue (498). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: no image.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: no image.

Other images: no image.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club in the central image. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Exemplar illustration only, no details of another image.

Appearance/ form of object: no image published.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal).

Function: sealing of document agreed by holders of official seal device and unknown others, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXXXII (type), 580 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav XI	Description only.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 580 unill. image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 498 498 tav. XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 1 of 3 late entries into object catalogue with no other image.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883: 498	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel41



NS tav. XI



NS tav. IX

**Object Reference:** Sel41

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-40, Sel42, 44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** club with other symbols Sel42.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the bottom right part of one image is preserved, showing the outline of the image. The top of the two objects and the right of the larger object are missing. The bottom of the image suggests there may have been another image to the left. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only, illustrated vertically.

Appearance: the club has coiled projections running up the length shown and a blunt tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: an object of complicated design with binding at its centre and a number of projections below this.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles' club is recognised by the coiled binding around the base of the left-hand object. Shown next to an object recognised by Salinas as a thunderbolt. Both symbols would therefore represent Olympian deities, Herakles and Zeus, in the Greek tradition and are recognised on coins. Shown with other symbols of deities, including 2 thunderbolts and caduceus. Image CCLXV shows a lion, perhaps with a club above it.

Appearance/ form of object: the thunderbolt and club are surrounded by a regular oval, lacking a border. Space for another image is visible to the left of the image, which would then be printed off-centre. The lion image appears to be a small, round example, perhaps worn on a little finger.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and thunderbolt, and lion perhaps with club.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCXLVIII (type) CCXLV, 178 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 495, 498

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of which official seal was used.
Extra prints added of club & thunderbolt lion with club	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav XI tav. IX	Perhaps two Herakles refs? Both found on coin images.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 178 (unill.) images CCCXLVIII, CCXLV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 498 tav XI tav IX	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with other symbols of deities.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 498	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel42



NS (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel42

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-41, 44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage.

Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** club with other symbols Sel41, cornucopia with thyrsus Sel52 and another sealing from Selinunte with wings (cf Maas)

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** One image is preserved, with the suggestion of others either side from the illustration. The bottom of the image is damaged, with the bottom of the objects missing; the object to the side is unclear. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated vertically, pointing downwards.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides and a rounded tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: a small c-shaped object appears on the l, a long straight on with a curled top at the r.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles' club is recognised by the knobs, also found on the Herakles & the bull official seal; here it is placed centrally in the image. Salinas saw a caduceus to the right and a garland to the left, both identifications are difficult to sustain from the illustration, but a caduceus would refer to Hermes, another Olympian deity with whom Herakles is associated in Roman gymnasium and forum contexts (cf Ag6). In the Greek tradition, a garland would suggest a link to athletic games. The caduceus appears on other Selinuntine examples. Maas shows a winged caduceus from Selinunte.

Appearance/ form of object: the image appears in a regular oval, lacking a border, with a raised groove to the right. Further space appears available for other images on the right-hand side.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip with the impression of Herakles' club with a garland and caduceus from a sealing device.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas CCCL (type), 301 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883): 498

Peters, S. (2004). *Hannibal ad portas: Macht und Reichtum Karthagos*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche, Buchgesellschaft.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of an official seal, although space for another image seems available to the right.
Extra prints added of H's club, with garland, caduceus	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav XI	Images of Greek deities/ athletes. cf Hermes/ Mercury & Herakles associated in Ag6, Delos, Rome.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 301 (unill.) image CCCL illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 498	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Listed with other deities' symbols., 'holy symbol' Maas.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 498	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel43



Mehrtens (2003) Abb 448,

**Object Reference:** Sel43

**Find Context:** domestic, Selinunte.

**Found with:** baby feeder.

**Other examples of object:** M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** Ag5.

**Other examples of deities on object:** at Morgantina: Persephone, Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, Nike, unidentified goddess, Hades, Eros, Hermes, Dionysos, Pan.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Sel1-42, 44-460 depict Herakles at Selinunte, where he also appeared on the Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** statuette.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** two adjoining fragments of the object are preserved, depicting the torso and part of the left hip of the figure. The pieces are cracked from the right of the throat to the right side of the waist. 7.7 cm in height.

**Description:** the figure is rendered realistically as far as can be determined from the remaining fragments. Red, core-grey clay: 2.5 YR 6/8

Pose: the figure's torso faces frontally. There is no indication of compression of either side, suggesting that the weight was evenly distributed.



Appearance: no head remains. The torso shows slight moulding of the torso muscles, in particular the pectorals underneath their covering, and a thick incision at the left hip for the v of the groin. The figure appears to have been depicted as slim.

Hair: no head remains.

Dress: the torso is naked, except for two sections of garment at the top which are knotted in the centre and end in paw-like features with the individual claws defined by grooves.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: the right side shows additional material next to the area of the torso.

Other images: none.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the object is recognised as Herakles by the lionskin knotted at the neck and the powerful physique. The correspondence with the representation of Ag5 is strong. Selinunte was part of the Carthaginian eparchy in the third century. This representation does not correspond to that on the city's official seal.

Appearance/ form of object: some clay remains at the right side of the figure, perhaps suggesting that it was not moulded at the rear, or incorrectly detached from its mould. No description of the rear of the object is recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made statuette. No indication of the clay source is provided.

Function: the object was found within a house, suggesting it was used for domestic display.

**Date**: 300-200, presumably before 249.

**Inv. No.**: SL9564

**Refs:**

Mehrtens, D. (2003) *Selinus I: Die Stadt und ihre Mauern*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern: 443-5  
SL9564

## Sel44



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. VI

unillustrated image

**Object Reference:** Sel44

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel45-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of the object, individual images illustrated as above.

Complete examples of the Herakles and bull print are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse  $\Sigma$  under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.;

Other images: Salinas (1883: 491) describes the image "Pallas as above, but the shield is not visible. In the field  $\Sigma$  [reversed], that is a residue of the large Herakles type (nXI) on which was overprinted this figure of Pallas." The previous description, to which this refers reads, "Standing Pallas, with helmet and shield, facing right, in the act of throwing a javelin". The other image, unillustrated, is described as, "Rear part of a bull (?), facing right" (Salinas, 1883: 497).

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. Salinas identifies the female helmeted figure in image LXXIX as Athena *Promachos* from the helmet and pose holding a spear, noting that this Athena type appears on two images in the collection. This is one of the first deities identified in his description of the collection's images, also picked up with no disagreement by Zoppi and De Simone, both noting the infrequency of her appearance in the collection, and the latter that this is a traditional image in the Greek tradition. Image CCCXIII is unillustrated, and tentatively described as the rear of a bull by Salinas, an animal which does not appear by itself otherwise in the collection, although other animals are shown from the rear. No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The illustration of the Athena image shows the top left part of the image with an oval single border, but broken on the

right and under Athena's waist. Behind her waist is a crooked line, understood by Salinas the  $\Sigma$  of the official seal overprinted by this image, suggesting an earlier use of the official seal on that part of the object. He does not specify whether this could be the  $\Sigma$  of the accompanying official seal print. For this to happen, the Athena print would have to appear underneath the official seal, at right angles to it, and would presumably therefore feature other parts of the official seal not shown on LXXIX's illustration.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the prints of seals of Athena with a spear and the back of a bull. The Athena image overprints an earlier image of the official seal.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal images LXXIX and CCCXIII.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI LXXIX CCCXIII unillustrated (types), 12 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 491, 497.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache. Does overprinting suggest H & bull already printed?
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ
Extra prints added of striding Athena, with $\Sigma$	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav VI	$\Sigma$ appears on other print, overprinting official seal
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 12 unill. image XI, LXXIX ill. CCCXIII unillustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 491 tav IV, VI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Why not show whole image?
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883	Who decided which catalogue? Suggests practicalities of system.

## Sel45



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. VI

**Object Reference:** Sel45

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44, Sel46-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus. Nursing mother found on Carthaginian hatchet razors and Phoenician scarabs in the guise of Isis and Horus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of the object, individual images illustrated as above.

Complete examples of the Herakles and bull print are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Salinas (1883: 491) describes the "Upper part of a figure of a seated woman, facing right, with a naked breast in the act of placing her hand on the face of a serpent (?) which she holds on her knees". The illustration shows an object wider than the woman's arm being held, resembling a swaddled baby.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. Salinas tentatively proposes a serpent for the figure held in the woman's hands, although he places this image next to one of a woman and a baby, which seems more appropriate from the size of the object held in the illustration. Images of Isis nursing Horus are found on Egyptian images, Phoenician scarabs (Boardman 11/72-3) and Carthaginian hatchet razors, with a realistic rendering of the same scene found on Etruscan mirrors representing Juno and Herakles. What remains of the female figure is rendered in a realistic fashion, suggesting the Greek glyptic tradition. No author discusses the images or the object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. No details of the outline of the seal of image LXXXII can be discerned from the illustration, but the lack of border to the right suggests that extra space may have been available here for other prints.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of the seal of a mother with either serpent or baby

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owner of seal image LXXXII.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI LXXXII (type), 7 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 491.



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ., cf catalogue
Extra prints added of woman nursing	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	cf Isis/ Horus; Juno/ Ercle
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 7 unill. image XI, LXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488, 491 tav V, VI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Not recognised by Salinas as cf Egyptian/ Etruscan, or RDS.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 491	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel46



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. VI

**Object Reference:** Sel46

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44-45, Sel 47-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus. Sel47 has similar image of female figure; 7 examples in Salinas' catalogue.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of the object, individual images illustrated as above.

Complete examples of the Herakles and bull print are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Salinas describes (1883: 491) "Diana the huntress, facing right, clad in a short tunic, and a fluttering veil, with her hair tied at the back of her head, in the act of running to the right with a torch in both hands; at her feet, a dog; behind her shoulders, a bow." This image also appears as object number 478.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. The female figure is recognised as Diana by Salinas from the knee-length skirt and dog in the image, and noted as one of the first deities recognised in his description of these images, without any further comment. De Simone notes a 'clear production series' for Artemis the huntress with comparison to types from Delos and Cyrene, but referring to an earlier image in the collection. It is rendered in realistic fashion, with clothing from the Greek tradition. No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The image of Artemis shows an oval border above her head, with no details behind her, suggesting that extra space was available here for other images.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of Artemis with a large torch, accompanied by a dog. This seal also appears on sealing number 478, suggesting the owner lodged two documents with the archive.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owner of seal image LXXXIII.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI LXXXIII (type), 8 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 491

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.: 34

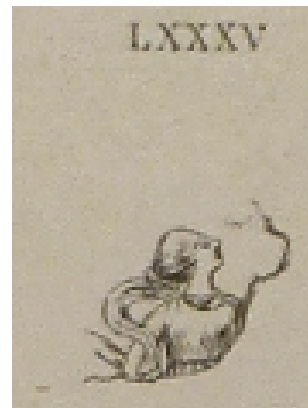
(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Directive from authorities.
Extra prints added of Artemis/ Diana with dog	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	RDS says discrete production series for earlier image of A.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 8 unill. image XI, LXXXIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488, 491 tav. V, VI.	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Listed with other female deities; is this Artemis or D-K given torch?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as comparative image of deity	Salinas/ Notizie RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883 491 34	Who decided which catalogue? NB RDS does not discuss this image, but another Artemis.

## Sel47



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. VI

**Object Reference:** Sel47

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44-46, Sel 48-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus. Sel46 has similar image of female figure; 7 examples in Salinas' catalogue.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: female figure with belted drapery and long hair or ribbon, head back in similar pose to Sel46. Described by Salinas (1883: 491) as fragment of a similar figure (?) and without quiver, with veil fluttering behind her shoulders and with a necklace.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. The female figure is recognised as Diana by Salinas from comparison to the image in Sel46, and noted as one of the first deities recognised in his description of these images, without any further comment. De Simone notes a 'clear production series' for Artemis the huntress with comparison to types from Delos and Cyrene, but referring to an earlier image in the collection. It is rendered in realistic fashion, with clothing from the Greek tradition. No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. No indication of the border of the seal is given on the illustration; the lack of line behind her head suggest that here there was extra space for another seal's image.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a figure identified as Diana.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owner of seal image LXXXV.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI LXXXV (type), 2 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 491

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.: 34

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 2



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of head of Artemis	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Salinas recognises by comp with Sel46.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 2 unill. image XI, LXXXV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488, 491 tav V, VI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? V similar to Sel46, so why not <i>come sopra</i> ?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as comparative image of deity	Salinas/ Notizie RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883 491 34	Who decided which catalogue? Not the RDS published Artemis.

## Sel48



NS (1883) tav. VIII

NS (1883) tav. V

NS (1883) tav. X

**Object Reference:** Sel48

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44-47, Sel 49-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of the object, individual images illustrated as above.

Complete examples of the Herakles and bull print are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Salinas describes (1883: 495) image CXCVIII as "head of a lady with earrings and necklace, facing right, whose hair is tied up by a ribbon" and image CCCXIV (1883: 497) as "Dog seated on his hind legs, facing left, with the head turned to the right."

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. The female head is one of 40 examples illustrated, which vary in their individual features. No scholar suggests that these might be portrait images. Zoppi notes 'numerous' heads, while De Simone makes no reference to this large number of examples. No scholar refers to the dog with his head turned back, standing against an object which is unclear. Dogs appear in other images, but not as images on their own in the collection. Both images are rendered in realistic fashion. No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The illustration to CXCVIII suggests a double border at the bottom right, but CCCXIV is too fragmentary for comment as illustrated.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with prints of the seal of a female head and of a dog looking back.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal images CXCVIII and CCCXIV.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI CXCVIII CCCXIV (type), 9 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 495, 497.

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340: 336

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used
Extra prints added of female head, dog.	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav VIII, X	Realistic rendering. Female head a portrait?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 9 unill. image XI, CXC VIII, CCCXIV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 495, 497 tav VIII, X	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 40 female heads. No mention of dog.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as example of other motif	Salinas/ Notizie Zoppi/ BCH	Salinas 1883 495, 497 336	Who decided which catalogue? No mention at all of heads in RDS, despite frequency.

## Sel49



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. X

**Object Reference:** Sel49

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-48, Sel 50-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of the object, individual images illustrated as above.

Complete examples of the Herakles and bull print are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Salinas describes (1883: 497) a "winged dolphin, facing to right". The illustration shows a claw-like feature at the bottom of the object, a slim body, with fringed wings and two additional features hanging down from the centre.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. Salinas interprets the other image as a winged dolphin, illustrated before other more realistic sea creatures in the catalogue. I have found no other examples of this image and neither Zoppi nor De Simone discuss such fantastic beasts, nor where to find them. No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The dolphin seal is shown with a deep oval border at the bottom left of the image suggesting a deep impression, with space for extra prints suggested beyond it.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal showing a creature interpreted as a winged dolphin.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owner of seal image CCCXIX.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CCCXIX (type), 11 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 497.



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue number used.
Extra prints added of strange beastie	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	'Flying dolphin' Salinas.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 11 unill. image XI, CCCXIX illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,  497 tav. X	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Listed before realistic sea creatures.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 497	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel50



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. X

**Object Reference:** Sel50

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-49, Sel 51-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Salinas records (1883: 497) "the remains of a figure riding a crocodile, to the right". The illustration requires the eye of faith to see a crocodile; a dolphin is also possible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. No scholar comments on image CCCXXIII. Salinas suggests a dolphin, presumably from the nature of the head as illustrated, but the small figure riding a sea creature with curved features may resemble Eros on a dolphin, which is known in Greek representations of the Hellenistic period in other media (mirrors?). No author discusses the images as parts of one object.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The rendering of image CCCXXIII shows an unsteady border, with spare clay to the right on which other images could be printed. There appears to be some space above the image, suggesting that the seal which created this image is smaller than those accompanying it.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a small figure riding a sea creature, perhaps a crocodile.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CCCXXIII.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CCCXXIII (type), 16 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 497.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue no. used.
Extra prints added of creature riding dolphin	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Eros? Lares? cf Sofroniew.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 16 unill. image XI, CCCXXIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 497 tav. X	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With other sea creatures.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 497	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel51



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel51

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-50, Sel52-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: a cornucopia with a star

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. No scholar comments on the cornucopia and star as an image, but the popularity of the cornucopia is noted by Maas as a symbol used in Carthage and Greek traditions, and found on the Sel9, 22-29 series with H resembling the official seal.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The image of CCCLXXIII shows a very small irregular circle as its border, perhaps suggesting a ring worn on the little finger.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a small seal of a cornucopia and seal.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CCCLXXIII.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CCCLXXIII (type), 18 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 499.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of cornucopia & star	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav XII	cf Sel9, 22-29 series. International symbol: trade/wealth? Star as discriminator?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 18 unill. image XI, CCCLXXIII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 499 tav. XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Shown with other symbols.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 499	Who decided which catalogue?



## Sel52



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel52

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-51, Sel53-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: 3 plants, Salinas says poppies, with a star and a half moon.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. Salinas links the half-moon image to Astarte in reference to the altar at Solunto. The image also appears on object number 439. Illustrated on the 'eastern and Egyptianising' page.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. Only the centre of the image is illustrated, giving no indication of the border of the seal device.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a plant with star and half-moon, also found on another sealing, suggesting the owner of the device had more than one contact with the archive.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CCCLXXXVI.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CCCLXXVI (type), 5 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883): 486, 499.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal fo H & bull.	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of plant with star, half-moon, found on sealing 439 too.	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Salinas says moon= Astarte, image on eastern/ Egypt page. Seal used x2.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 5 unill. image XI, CCCLXXXVI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 499 tav XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With images from Phoen world.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as Eastern/ Egyptian motif	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 499 486	Who decided which catalogue? Why does no-one else pick this up?

## Sel53



unillustrated image

*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel53

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44-52, Sel54-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Lower part of a column and an altar.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. No scholar comments on image CCCXCIII and it is unillustrated in the catalogue. It is presumably rendered in a realistic fashion and does not recall the Phoenician world, since it does not appear in that part of the catalogue.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. Further comment impossible.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a column and altar.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CCCXCIII.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI, CCCXCIII unillustrated (types), 17 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 499.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of column and altar.	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Unillustrated.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 17 unill. image XI, CCCXIII unillustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 499	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Why is this not illustrated. Not with eastern/ Egypt symbols.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 499	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel54



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel54

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-53, Sel55-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Egyptianising scarab of uraei serpents, Salinas considers these to come from Tharros on Sardinia.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. The other image may only evoke the idea of Egypt, cf the thousands of examples of the Thutmosis III official seal at Carthage.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. Salinas suggests the Egyptianising images were made from scarab seal-stones.

Production inc. choice of material flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of an Egyptianising scarab image.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CDXI.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XI, CDXI (type), 3 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 499



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & the bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used
Extra prints added of uraei scarab	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav XII	Egyptianising, from Tharros. cf Carthage Thutmosis eggs.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 3 unill. image XI, CDXI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,  499 tav XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Grouped together with other eggs from this tradition.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 499	Who decided which catalogue? No real mention elsewhere.

## Sel55



NS (1883) tav. V



NS (1883) tav. XII

**Object Reference:** Sel55

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel 44-54, Sel 55-156, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: Fragment of a figurine on her feet, facing right; in front, dog upright on his hind legs, according to Salinas.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. No scholar comments on image CDXXVI, but its position on tav XII may suggest that Salinas viewed it as an eastern image.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. The other image is very fragmentary and contained within a small oval border, perhaps a smaller ring.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a dog on its hind legs.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal image CDXXVI.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI, CDXXVI (type), 6 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883): 500

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence publ.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of dog with figurine	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	V. fragmentary, dog just visible. V small ring.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 6 unill. image XI, CDXXVI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487,  500 tav XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? If listed here, is this an eastern image?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 500	Who decided which catalogue? Why ill this & not other, fuller egs?

## Sel56



two unillustrated images

*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel56

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel 44-55, Sel57-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: upper part of a winged figure and part of a column.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. No scholar comments on the other images, but their position in the catalogue suggests that Salinas viewed them as eastern images. He identifies the winged figure as Eros, noting its similarity to other catalogued images.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. Further comment is impossible.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a winged figure flying to the right, and the lower part of a column.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of seal images CDXXXII and CDXXXV.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI, CDXXXII CDXXXV unillustrated (types), 15 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 500

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav V	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of winged creature and column	Sealers	Object,	On tav XII so eastern images? Eros sugg as winged figure, <i>come sopra</i> .
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 15 unillustrated image XI illustrated, CDXXXII CDXXXV unillustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, tav V 500	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Why are none illustrated?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 500	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel57



unillustrated image

*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel57

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-56, Sel58-156, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.



Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: fragmentary heads

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by the club and reference to one of his 12 Labours (see Sel1), but here by description of the exemplar image XI only. The other image is one of a large number of unillustrated, fragmentary heads.

Appearance/ form of object: unillustrated as an object. Further comment is impossible without the illustration.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip assumed from description, on which the imprint of the official seal of Herakles and the bull appears along with the print of a seal of a fragmentary head. It is unclear whether the type numbers indicate one or more other seal impressions.

Function: sealing of a document representing a deed or contract from the city authorities with the owners of a seal image from type CCXIII-VI.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI, CCXIII-VI unillustrated (types), 13 (object).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 495.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Print from impressed seal of H & bull.	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Catalogue numbers used.
Extra prints added of a head.	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Several types listed together, unclear.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 13 unill. image XI illustrated CCXXIII-VI unill.	Salinas	Salinas: 487, tav V 495	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Why not be more specific about prints?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 495	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel58-156



*NdS* (1883) tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel58-156

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel157-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-57, Sel433-442; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). Complete examples are recorded as 34mm, however not all examples are complete (Salinas: 482).

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse  $\Sigma$  under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: 94 examples of this print appearing on its own (Salinas: 481).

**Interpretation**: individual comment impossible. Details of the sealing combinations are impossible to establish on this evidence.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI (type), 2-3, 6-9, 11-23, 26-120 (object) unillustrated objects.

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 488

## Sel157



de Simone (2008b) fig. 5



NS tav. V



NS tav. XI



NS tav. VII

**Object Reference:** Sel157

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-156, Sel 158-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36-40, Sel158-9, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head). Bes head features on Carthage 381, a ring from Amrith (de Simone, 2008: 34).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription

ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** a strip of three images is preserved (image top left above), although the types are illustrated individually in Salinas' catalogue. There is damage to the top and bottom of the images, and the r side of the r image; the legs of the figure in the l hand image are cut off. The central image has been overprinted by the two outside, notably on the r side, partially obscuring the r-hand object., and is shown at r angles to other examples. No size recorded, but Salinas says the Apollo is no more than 5 mm in height.

**Description:**

Pose: club only shown, partially obscured.

Appearance: club has rounded end and projections along the side.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin shown snout upwards.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: Standing figure, facing r, with hand outstretched holding rectangular frame.

Gender unclear. A long straight object reaches the centre of the figure's back behind it.

"XL Draped figure on its feet, facing right, holding a lyre with both hands; nearby, a column." Salinas: 489. "Apollo standing with lyre" de Simone 2008a Fig. 5 caption. Large head with exaggerated features, drooping moustache and beard and curved projections outwards from the forehead. On his head a rectangular object with repeated vertical lines. "CXXXVIII Head as above (Bearded head with goatlike ears, face-on), but topped by a modius." Salinas 493. "Head of Bes with the modius and bunches of grapes" de Simone 2008a Fig. 5 caption.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is represented by the club on the official seal, here well printed with knobs on both sides visible. The male figure to the left has his head damaged and less pronounced pectorals in the photograph than the illustration; he is recognised by the

lyre as Apollo from the Greek tradition. A column is visible behind him. The bearded head, with grapes protruding is recognised as Bes or Silenus by De Simone, not identified by Salinas.

Appearance/ form of object: the club and dolphin seal was printed laterally and over-printed. Dirt is still visible on the central area in the photograph, with damage to the bottom of the strip. There is no clear idea about the margins of the outer images, but the Bes impression appears to be at a slight angle to the centre.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip, showing a club and dolphin impression with a standing Apollo and head of Bes to the sides.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XL, CXXXVIII, CCCXXXII (types), 134 (object)

**Refs:**

- A. Salinas *NS* (1883)  
de Simone, R (2008a). *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C*. In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. (2008) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma.  
de Simone, R. (2008b). *Le cretule del 'tempio C': motivi iconografici greci nella Selinunte punica* in Bollettino di archeologia on line. Volume Speciale Roma 2008 – International Congress of Classical Archaeology.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Club & dolphin sealing lateral, non-spiky club.
Extra prints added of Apollo with lyre Bes-Silenus head	Sealers	Object, De Simone fig. 5	Apollo image considered in Greek tradition; Bes(-Silenus) Egyptianising, also in Carthage, Nubia.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed? Dirt evident on the photograph.
Sealing catalogued as object 134 (unill.) image XL, CXXXVIII, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489, 493, 498 tavv. V, VII, XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? XL with deities & heroes, CXXXVIII with 11 similar heads of non-standard but Gk deities
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as Greek & syncretised deities	Salinas/ Notizie De Simone/ Caltanisseta	Salinas 1883 489, 493, 498 34	Who decided which catalogue? Compared with Carthaginian eggs, far from original iconography. Whole sealing illustrated (unusual).



## Sel158



De Simone (2008a) Fig.9



NdS tav. VI



NS tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel158

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-157, Sel159-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36-40, Sel157, Sel159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** two images are preserved at right angles to one another. The smaller image appears almost complete (the r side is not complete, perhaps from incomplete pressure when it was made, rather than later damage, since the border appears complete) and

slightly overlaps the edge of the other image, which is broken at its l side (bottom in the image above). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated, tip at the same end as the dolphin's snout.

Appearance: projections point towards wider end.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, shown snout downwards.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: standing or running figure, fully draped (the cloth's repeated folds suggest movement forwards) and with some marking on her shins, with long hair tied in a bun behind the head, carrying a long thin object. The figure stands on a groundline.

"LXXXVI Figure of a lady with short tunic, tied at the waist, half boots and hair tied at the back of the head, running to the right with a spear held in both hands either side of body .” Salinas 491. “Artemis the huntress” de Simone 2008a Fig. 9 caption.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised from his club on the official seal, here rather smudged, with the bottom end damaged and the club (unusually) fuller at the base than the top of the image. Printed at 90° to normal angle. Other image is a lady in a short tunic with a spear in the Greek tradition, suggested as a Diana (not Artemis) the huntress by De Simone and Artemis by Zoppi, shown on a groundline.

Appearance/ form of object: both images appear smudged, the lady overprints the central image and is at an unusual angle. There is a smaller curve at the end than the central extent of the sealing. The other image is not circular and slightly bent at the top left, of much smaller size than the centre.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip shown with impression of the club and dolphin official seal overprinted by a small impression of Diana the huntress at an angle.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas LXXXVI, CCCXXXII (types), 226 (object)

**Refs:**

- A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)
- de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.
- (2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 9.
- Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29*, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache, extra print smaller than width of strip
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, De Simone fig. 9	Club & dolphin official seal, club overprinted and narrow. Images smudged.
Extra prints added of Diana the huntress from 'clear production series'	Sealers	Object, De Simone fig. 9 De S: 34	Small, circular impression, at angle to normal impression. Wd there have been a third print? De S says common, small gem image.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them? Spots of fire damage clear on photograph, not shown on Salinas' illustration.
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 226 (unill.) image LXXXVI, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 491 tav. VI, tav. XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Diana image illustrated with other female figures holding long objects – Kore?
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue & text as Greek image from mythology	Salinas/ Notizie  De Simone/ Caltanisseta Zoppi/ BCH	Salinas 1883 491, 485	Who decided which catalogue? No reason given for image choice. Compared with D/K as syncretised. Listed among divinities, no reason.

## Sel159



de Simone 2008a, Fig.10



NS tav. IV



NS tav. VI



NS tav. VI



NS tav. XI

### **Object Reference:** Sel159

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-158, Sel160-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-11, Sel36-40, Sel 44-46, Sel157-8, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription

ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** a strip of three images is preserved, with one vertical image topped by two horizontal ones. There is damage to the bottom of the vertical image, but it is almost intact; the other two images are incomplete and the central one is overprinted. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated, overprinted.

Appearance: no image, illustration of type suggests rounded end with projections along the side.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: Photograph is unclear. Illustration shows figure standing on r leg, with r hand at raised l ankle and gaze directed downwards; the back is to the viewer. The figure has drapery over its l shoulder and leg, with a detail behind the head and shapes obscured by the raised l leg. The illustration shows an oval outline. Seated figure, looking r in full drapery, and long hair tied behind the head, with both arms holding smaller standing figure who draws a bow and stands on a flat surface. Details of supports to the surface and to the seat of the l figure. 3 examples of this type.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by his club on the official seal seen by Salinas on the strip, but difficult to make out on the sealing, due to the overprinting of the other two images. Two other images are found, recognised as Venus holding Eros, who fires a bow, on her lap, and Hermes/ Mercury tying his sandal. The Venus image is large, rendered realistically; both are noted for the quality of their workmanship by Salinas. De Simone traces the Hermes image to a Lysippean prototype, common in late Hellenistic gems.

Appearance/ form of object: Venus & Eros image is at right angles to other images, and much larger; if size is the discriminator, could this be another official seal? The well-rendered oval of tav VI is not seen on tav IV or the photograph.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip stamped by official seal and overprinted by an image of Venus & Eros at 90° and Hermes tying his sandal.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas L, LXXX, CCCXXXII (types), 402 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C*. In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 10.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache. 1 image bigger than strip?
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Club & dolphin almost completely overprinted; image not needed?
Extra prints added of Venus & Eros Hermes tying sandal	Sealers	Object, Salinas/ De Simone De Simone: 34	Venus & Eros image at 90° and much larger than usual. Salinas says 'male'.
Stored with document  as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 402 (ill.) image L, LXXX, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 490, 491, 498 tav. IV, VI, XI De Simone fig. 10	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? No comment on 402 image. L not with other Hermes eggs, LXXX with other deities.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue in text as Greek deities, inspired by statuary	Salinas/ Notizie  De Simone/ Caltanissetta	Salinas 1883 490, 491, 498 485-6 34	Who decided which catalogue? Commented on as aesthetically fine examples, not sealings (although ill.) Linked to Lysippean prototype, no link of image to function.



## Sel160



de Simone (2008b) Fig.12



NS tav. V



NS tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel160

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-159, Sel161-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** one image is preserved, with a break to the l suggesting further images. The surface is worn, rendering some details difficult to judge. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: figure leaning over with l arm raised above head, holding a long straight object, with body turned at waist to the viewer, head looking downwards.

Appearance: perhaps bearded. The head appears over-large and with a line at the l edge, as though covered. Some moulding to torso and thighs.

Hair: perhaps covered.

Dress: hair perhaps covered, some marking behind and along figure's back; the majority appears naked.

Weapons: long, straight object held over his companion.

Accessories: none.

Companions: four-legged animal, with head at the figure's legs, lower than its back.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: unclear.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the club raised over the dog's head and therefore the drapery hanging behind as a lionskin by *LIMC* and De Simone. Salinas considers that this is 'probably' Actaeon (*NS*, 1883, 485), as does Booms (pers. comm. 2016). *LIMC* lists this, with no date or reference to other images, as an 'other' representation of Herakles, the only one of sealings included. De Simone notes it as 1 of 3 examples discussed linking to Herakles-Melqart in Punic glyptic, in both articles. Neither mention the other image. The club appears rather short and straight in comparison to the knobbly version usually found and does not relate to any myth recounted in *LIMC* or Diodorus Siculus. The figure's back has details of a powerful musculature and the pose is aggressive. Image CCCXXXI is an improbably coiled serpent with open mouth and crest, catalogued with two other serpents, not discussed by any scholar.

Appearance/ form of object: 1 of 53 examples without an official seal, suggested by Zoppi to be sealings of witnesses of forms of registration. Image IV shows the round border of its seal, with the edge of CCCXXXI running into this; it is unclear which was printed first. The latter is broken at the left side.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened strip of clay on which the impression of a seal showing Herakles (?) clubbing a dog appears, perhaps overprinted by a seal showing fragments of a coiled serpent.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas IV (type), 408 (object)

### **Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M.,

Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.  
(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 18.  
Zoppi, C.: *Le cretule di Selinunte*. In BCH Suppl 29 (1996) *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal of H clubbing a dog	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Zoppi:331 Salinas tav V	1 of 53 examples without an official seal and multiple private seals.
Extra prints added of coiled serpent	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav XI	Does this overprint, therefore added second?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 408 (unill.) image IV, CCCXXXI illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav V, XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? 1 of 1 <sup>st</sup> examples catalogued. Serpent appears with 2 other serpent images.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue/ text as Greek icon figure	Salinas/ Notizie LIMC V, De Simone/ Caltanisseta	Salinas 1883 488/ 485 96 no. 2675, 36	Who decided which catalogue?  Evidence for variety of Herakles repertoire, no mention of serpent.

## Sel161



*NdS* tav. V



*NdS* tav. XI



*NdS* tav. X



de Simone 2008a, Fig.19

**Object Reference:** Sel161

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-160, Sel162-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-9, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head). Warrior with shield (facing opp. way) Sel30.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** three images are preserved on one strip, with the central one overprinted by those outside it and at right angles to individual examples. There are some elements missing at the top and bottom of each image. The l image lacks the l hand side, but is mainly complete; the r image is damaged on the r side, obscuring much of its image. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only assumed from illustration type, not visible on photograph.

Appearance: no image.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club assumed from illustration type.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, shown snout upwards.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: A kneeling figure with curved back, looking r with a large round object in front of him, and a thin pole in front of his face. His head appears to be covered. Obscured object; some details of repeated lines coming to a triangular point.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles' club is almost entirely absent, recognised from the dolphin found on other sealings, due to overprinting. The right-hand image is also faintly printed and too fragmentary for comment, Salinas may have recognised the eagle on it by comparison with other examples, which may have been found on coin issues according to Zoppi. The crouching warrior is illustrated with deities in tav. V, but not mentioned in Salinas' text; De Simone thinks this is Spanish, citing Boardman, making it evidence for Selinunte as a point of transmission for Greek iconography to the Punic West.

Appearance/ form of object: all 3 prints appear upright, with the left print overprinting the central official seal. The right-hand ring shows a straight-sided outline.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip, with speckles suggesting fire damage, imprinted faintly by the official seal and the impressions of seals of an eagle and a crouching warrior with shield.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas XLII, CCC, CCCXXXII (types), 136 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

de Simone, R (2008): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C*. In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 19.

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Object, De Simone fig. 19	Official seal overprinted, club almost absent; act of sealing more important?
Extra prints added of eagle crouching warrior	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav X tav V, DeS fig 19	Eagle on coins Warrior Spanish? from Punic West
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache, Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache, Object	Who burnt them? Fire-spots evident on photograph.
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 136 (unill.) images XLII, CCC, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 489, 497 tav V, X tav XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Warrior illustrated with deities, not humans. CCC with other birds, as fragment.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as transmitted Gk image	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 489, 497 36	Who decided which catalogue?  Transmitted at Selinunte.



## Sel162



*NdS* tav. VII



*NdS* tav. XI



de Simone a, Fig.20

**Object Reference:** Sel162

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-161, Sel163-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-9, Sel161-432; Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** parts of two images are preserved, with the r hand image printed at an angle to the other image. The dolphin image is damaged at the imprint of the club and at the dolphin's head. The other image cuts off the figure at the knees and at the r edge. It is impossible to tell whether there was a third sealing. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only preserved, with damage at the wider end.

Appearance: suggestion of projections along the sides.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: n/a.

Companions: dolphin, with details of fins along the upper part of the body.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: Standing figure, facing r, fully draped, with long hair hanging down her back; r hand held upwards in front of face, l hand with palm flat supporting another unclear object

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Clear relief rendering of the seal, with details of the projections showing. The club appears very narrow, with little detail remaining. The other image has a female figure wearing long plaits considering a curved item in her hand, interpreted as a cornucopia and Salinas refers to her as ‘the charming figurine of a lady with her clothing tied like a priestess of Isis’, referring to it as an archaic style. RDS says she holds a flower and small vase, with no mention of Isis, but finds her on Greco-Persian gems in the late classical period. Whole sealing illustrated.

Appearance/ form of object: speckles of fire damage evident, not shown on Salinas’ image. Female image at almost 180° angle from usual orientation of official seal. It slightly pushes into the official seal. There is space above the club for another impression.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), alongside the print of a seal of a lady with long plaits.

Function: sealing of a document overseen by the holders of the official seal and the owners of seal CIV and another now missing.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas CIV, CCCXXXII (types), 229 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 485, 497.

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella “selinunte punica”: le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L: 36.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma. Fig. 20.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, RDS fig. 20	Club very narrow and pointed projections.
Extra prints added of lady with plaits	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Isis priestess, or eastern/ Gk origin (Eretria, Megalopolis). NB angle.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them? Fire damage evident on photo, not on illustration.
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 229 image CIV, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, RDS fig. 20 Salinas: 497 tav. VII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with minor deities, Eros.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue & description as evidence of imported motifs	Salinas/ Notizie  RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883 485, 497  36	Who decided which catalogue? Isis only mentioned in text, comment on aesthetics. Both comment on age of image – curated? Link to Gr-Persian.

## Sel163



*Helas* (2011) Abb IV 16

**Object Reference:** Sel163

**Find Context:** Altar B, Selinunte

**Found with:** altar

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-162, Sel 164-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12 Sel36-40 Sel157-9 Sel161-2, Sel164-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** One central image and suggestions of two other images are preserved; the central image is a very clear print, without outlines, but showing the entire image. The images on either side are both damaged, with the full image cut off. On the reverse of the

object repeated lines can be seen, with an unmarked lip on one side (the top, if viewed from the front). No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to l.

Appearance: repeated projections along the sides, a pointed tip and rounded end.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: to the l there is a raised, curved moulding. To the right, a straight line next to triangular ends. Both images are too fragmentary for clear description.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Some suggestion of images on either side, but no comment made.

Appearance/ form of object: marks of papyrus/ linen clearly visible on reverse of the object, as well as bottom groove for folded document.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal).

Function: sealing of a document overseen by the holders of the official seal and the owners of other seals now not visible.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas CCCXXXII (type), SL23137

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883)

Helas, S. (2011). *Selinus II Die Punische Stadt auf der Akropolis*. Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden: 126

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Helas abb IV 16	marks of papyrus evident from photograph.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	Not evident on this e.g.
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Club not clearly rendered.
Extra prints added	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Not discernible.
Stored with document	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	Where was this stored, given find-context?  How did the archive work?
Moved with document to Altar B	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Helas: 126	Were they moved? Who moved them? Why was this in a different location?
Document burnt, preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them? Must have been burnt then moved.
Sealing excavated c. 2011	German team	Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing catalogued as SL23137	Helas et al	Helas 126	Where is this now stored?
Sealing published 2011 as evidence for production/ function	Helas/ Reichert	Helas: 126	How does this relate to rest of the cache?

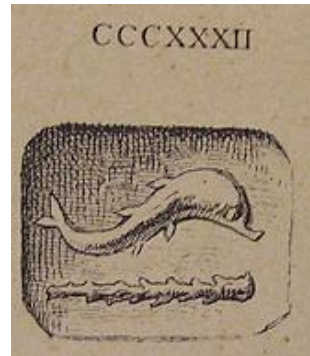
## Sel164



*de Simone* (2008) Fig. 25



*NdS* tav. IX



*NS* tav.

**Object Reference:** Sel164

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-163, Sel165-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12 Sel36-40 Sel157-9 Sel161-3, Sel165-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** two images are preserved on one strip, one underneath the other, rather than side-by-side. The upper image is damaged at the bottom, and may have been overprinted by the image below. The lower image is cut off at the chest of the figure it depicts. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only, with only the projections surviving the overprint.

Appearance: projections along the top side.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: the head, shoulders and upper torso of a standing (?) figure are preserved.

A triangular shape to the l suggests that the r arm is bent back behind the head. It is difficult to identify details of the head, however the hair appears to continue to the shoulders.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club which is found on other examples alongside the dolphin which may indicate Melqart. The spikes of this may be evident.

Other image caused Salinas some difficulty; the illustration shows a male head with a curve from the top of it, difficult to make out in the blurred photograph. Placed next in catalogue to what appears to be a bull with a human head, which might indicate an Acheloos identification. RDS links to Himeran coin issues as a composite monstrous figure and notes the much earlier CV date, raising the question of the persistence of iconographic motifs.

Appearance/ form of object: very narrow strip, with one end broken off, but with space for an extra image. The right-hand image, if rendered correctly by the illustrator, would be upside down from the usual orientation and as overprinted the central image. Fire damage evident from speckles.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), alongside the print of a seal of a monstrous figure and perhaps one other.



**Function:** sealing of a document overseen by the holders of the official seal and the owners of seal CCLX and another now missing.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas 269 (object) & CCCXXXII (types), CCLX (deS: 37).

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 496

de Simone, R (2008a): Tradizioni figurative greche nella “selinunte punica”: le cretule del tempio C. In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma: 37.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published.
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Overprinted, at an angle
Extra prints added of monstrous figure	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	No-one quite knows what to make of this. Himeran coinage?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them? Fire damage evident from speckles.
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 269 image CCLX, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, RDS fig. 25 Salinas, 496  tav. IX	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Salinas published with animal and human heads.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as persistent motif	Salinas/ Notizie  RDS/ Sciascia	Salinas 1883 496 RDS: 37	Who decided which catalogue? Doesn't explain why it's a suitable motif.

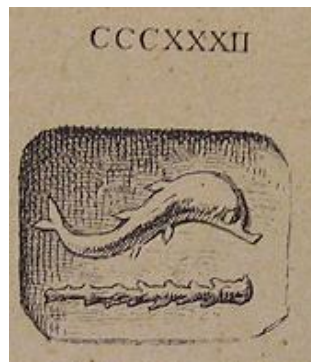
## Sel165



*Maas* p.246: 58



*NS* tav. XII



*NS* tav. XI



*NS* tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel165

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-164, Sel166-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12 Sel36-40 Sel157-9 Sel161-4, Sel166-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head). Nike with trophy appears on Agathoklean coins (de Simone, 2008: 35)

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the strip preserves three images, the central one overprinted on either side and at right angles to its usual angle. The central image is damaged at the bottom, as are the other two. The l image is cut off at the level of the figure's raised hands; the r image is damaged at its r side. No size recorded.

**Description:**

Pose: club only shown vertically, tip at the bottom.

Appearance: repeated projections along the sides.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, snout pointing upwards.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: figure leaning back with arms raised above the head, head looking upwards. Fully draped, with belt at the waist, wings emerge from her shoulders reaching to her feet. A long straight object stands in front of her

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H is recognised by the knobbly club. The dolphin may represent Carthaginian Melqart. Central and right image both obscured slightly by brown spots and green incrustation. V narrow club and dolphin facing upwards in the centre, with left-hand image jutting into the side. Left image has realistic winged, clothed female raising arms to a pillar whose top is obscured. Associated with Nike by both Salinas and RDS. CZ says Syracusan Agathoklean coinage image, agreed by RDS who says she is 'rare in Punic context'. Curving object is described as a plough, with 2 ears of corn. RDS links to object 640, CZ says plough is a general coinage motif, with ears of corn found in western Sicily in particular.

Appearance/ form of object: narrow strip, showing the majority of all images, with fire damage not shown in Salinas' illustration. Some suggestion of a round curve on the left hand impression, but otherwise unclear.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal device of a club and dolphin (official seal), alongside and slightly obscured by the print of a seal of a winged figure at a pillar and corn/ plough.

Function: sealing of a document overseen by the holders of the official seal and the owners of seals CCCLXIX and CCCCXXV

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas 640 (object), CCCXXXII, CCCLXIX, CCCCXXV (types). Palermo Mus Reg. 42891.

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 499

de Simone, R (2008): Tradizioni figurative greche nella “selinunte punica”: le cretule del tempio C. In Congiu, M., Micciché, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L. *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma: 35

Maas in Peters, S. (2004). *Hannibal ad portas: Macht und Reichtum Karthagos*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: 246

Zoppi, C. (1996). Le cretule de Selinunte. In *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Turin 1993*. Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 29, Athènes, École Française d'Athènes, 327-340.

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp. Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Overprinted
Extra prints added of corn/ plough, winged figure at column	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV Maas: 264	Syracusan agathoklean coinage, western Sicilian coin motifs. Identity?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 640 images CCCXXXII, CCCLXIX, CCCCXXV illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 499  tav. XI, XII	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? With other ploughs, eastern images.
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue as coinage motif as popular motif as Gk motif in Carthaginian Empire	Salinas/ Notizie  Zoppi/ BCH RDS/ Sciascia Maas/ Darmstadt Mus.	Salinas 1883 499 336 35 246	Who decided which catalogue?
Sealing displayed as Gk motif in Carthaginian Empire	Maas/ Darmstadt Mus.	246	Placed in temple context, with Carthage sealings.

## Sel166



tav. IV

**Object Reference:** Sel166

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-6, Sel8-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel8-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:**

**Description:**

Pose:

Appearance: n/a.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images:

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by his club, found alongside the dolphin recognisable from this image, perhaps associated with Melqart.

Appearance/ form of object: club and dolphin image and others almost entirely obliterated by thread passing through underneath.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay on which appears the impressions of seal of club and dolphin and other obscured images

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seals, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas II CCCXXXII (type), 122 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 480



EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Clay pierced by thread and obscuring front image	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, Salinas tav IV	Very deep impression of the thread
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Club almost entirely disappeared
Extra prints added of imperceptible images	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Images obscured; act of sealing more imp than image retention?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 175 illustrated image CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, tav IV 480 tav IV/ XI	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Noted for production.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for production/ function	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 480	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel167



de Simone (2008b) Fig. 19



NdS (1883) tav. V



NdS (1883) tav. XI

**Object Reference:** Sel167

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-6, Sel8-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40).

**Other examples of representation:** Sel8-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-432, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:**

**Description:**

Pose:

Appearance: n/a.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images:

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Herakles is recognised by his club, found alongside the dolphin recognisable from this image, perhaps associated with Melqart. The second image is of a clothed couple reclining

Appearance/ form of object: an extra layer of clay seemingly applied over the club & dolphin level.

Production inc. choice of material: fragment of flattened clay on which appears the impressions of seal of club and dolphin and a reclining couple.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seals, stored in an archive.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas II CCCXXXII (type), 122 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883): 487

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Object	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Clay pierced by thread and obscuring front image	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Object, comp Salinas tav IV	No evidence published
Print from impressed seal of club & dolphin	Archive staff with official seal	Object, Salinas tav IV	Club almost entirely disappeared
Extra prints added reclining couple on extra clay layer	Sealers	Object, Salinas tav IV	Images obscured; was a mistake made?
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Object Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 122 unillustrated images II, CCCXXXII illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, tav IV 487 tav IV/ V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? ! of 1 <sup>st</sup> 2 images catalogued..
Sealing published 1883 in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 487	Who decided which catalogue?

## Sel168-432



*NdS* (1883) tav.

**Object Reference:** Sel168-432

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (see Ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaïou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-4, Sel443-459. Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of 'Persephone', Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration of individual objects, total of the examples recorded in Salinas' report in 1883 (Salinas: 481). No size recorded.

**Description:** below based on type image CCCXXXII from Salinas' catalogue.

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to the l.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides and a pointed tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: not recorded for individual objects. This image appears on its own 86 times and with other imprints 199 times from the 1883 finds (Salinas: 481).

**Interpretation:** individual comment impossible. Details of the sealing combinations are impossible to establish on this evidence.

**Date:** 249

**Inv. No.:** Salinas CCCXXXII (type) 267 unillustrated examples of this type found; 81 single images, 186 with additional prints.

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NdS* (1883) (1898: 224)

## Sel433-442



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel433-442

**Find Context:** acquired by Museum of Palermo.

**Found with:** acquired with 37 other sealings “similar to those found at Temple C” (Nds 1898: 224)

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-459; 864 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel1-6, Sel44-156; Temple Y metope CVII/CVI; CV didrachms from Selinunte, Solus.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas’ note in Nds 1898 (224). Complete examples from the 1883 finds were recorded as 34mm; the note records that all but two unspecified examples from the 1898 acquisition were complete.

**Description:** below based on type image XI from Salinas’ catalogue.

Pose: standing figure in contrapposto stance, with weight on r leg and l leg swinging free; the body is presented frontally, but the figure looks to his r. His r arm is outstretched, with wrist cocked, his l arm is at his waist, holding a long straight object.

Appearance: no beard. Marks on the torso suggest a muscular physique on a slim frame that gives the impression of youth.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: long, straight object with projections, a thin tip and a rounded end.

Accessories: none.

Companions: a bull stands behind the figure, walking to viewer's l, with triangular-shaped head and horns, rather human-looking front legs.

Background/ Field: reverse Σ under bull's head to l of image; on r a plant with three shoots from a stalk.

Other images: there is no indication whether these were individual or strips of prints in Nds 1898: 224.

**Interpretation**: Individual comment impossible. No other details than the number of examples of the Herakles and the bull seal mentioned.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas XI (type), unillustrated objects acquired by Museum in 1898 (*NdS* 1898: 224)

**Refs**:

A. Salinas *NS* (1898): 224



## Sel443-459



*NdS* (1883) tav.

**Object Reference:** Sel443-459

**Find Context:** acquired by Museum of Palermo.

**Found with:** acquired with 37 other sealings “similar to those found at Temple C” (*Nds* 1898: 224)

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel44-459; 4025 sealings from temple in Carthage. Also caches from: Mampsis/ Dekapolis, Nea Paphos, Nineveh, Orchoi/ Uruk, Palmyra, Samaria, Seleukeia, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tahkt-i-Suleiman, Thesprotia. Isolated examples from: Egypt, Akko, Beth Zur, Delphi, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Lachish, Nippur, Palestine, Priene, Tell Keisan, Tell el Hesi (Berges 1997: 36-40)

**Other examples of representation:** Sel7-12, Sel36-40, Sel157-159, Sel161-4, Sel166-432.

Dolphin appears on coins from: RSMLQRT mint (obv with bearded, wreathed Melqart; rev head of ‘Persephone’, Thermai (rev of Herakles head).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** no illustration, total of the examples recorded in Salinas’ note in *Nds* 1898 (224). No size recorded; the note records that all but two unspecified examples from the 1898 acquisition were complete.

**Description:** below based on type image CCCXXXII from Salinas’ catalogue.

Pose: club only illustrated horizontally, with tip to the l.

Appearance: club has repeated projections along the sides and a pointed tip.

Hair: n/a.

Dress: n/a.

Weapons: club.

Accessories: none.

Companions: dolphin, swimming l to r.

Background/ Field: plain.

Other images: there is no indication whether these were individual or strips of prints in Nds 1898: 224.

**Interpretation**: Individual comment impossible. No other details than the number of examples of the Herakles and the bull seal mentioned.

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.** : Salinas CCCXXXII (type) 17 of this type acquired by Museum of Palermo (*Nds* 1898: 224)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *Nds* (1883) (1898: 224)

de Simone, R (2008a): *Tradizioni figurative greche nella "selinunte punica": le cretule del tempio C.* In Congiu, M., Miccichè, C., Modeo, S., Santagati, L.

(2008b) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.*, Salvatore Sciascia Editore, Caltanissetta-Roma.

## Sel460



NS tav. V

**Object Reference:** Sel460

**Find Context:** lower step or peristyle of Temple C, Selinunte (ch. 5.2)

**Found with:** 687 other sealings.

**Other examples of object:** Hal1, Sel1-42, Sel144-459.

**Other examples of representation:** Ag2&3, Cef1, Sic1.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes.

**Other examples of deities at site:** Temple C metopes 600-550BC: goddesses on a chariot, Athena at the killing of Medusa, Herakles and the Kerkopes.

**Object type:** Sealing

**Material:** Clay

**Preservation:** the majority of one image is preserved, with damage to the right-hand side of the scene. A narrow strip of raised clay at the top left corner suggests that there may have been at least one other image. No size recorded.

**Description:** the figure is rendered realistically.

Pose: the figure stands with his back to the viewer, leaning to his right, with the right arm extended out and down; the left is not depicted from the forearm downwards in the illustration. The head looks down and to the right.

Appearance: no beard. Only the back of the figure is visible, with incisions to show some body markings and the curve of the buttocks, which suggest the weight is on the left side. The body is slim.

Hair: short.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: a round object is held over the figure's head.

Companions: a small, winged creature is depicted over the figure's left shoulder. There is some indication of another figure with a limb extended at the extreme right of the surviving image.

Background/ Field: plain

Other images: none visible.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: Salinas stated within his commentary, 'a fine example' (judgment not otherwise explained, presumably aesthetic) of Herakles fighting the lion, listing it as the first example of his first discussion of representations, divine figures; I assumed it was Aphrodite. Other representations from third century Sicily show him leaning over the lion in a wrestling hold. No lionskin is appropriate as it was won in this labour and the club could not be used. Over Herakles' left shoulder is a small winged creature holding a garland; the garland represents victory in an athletic event such as wrestling in the Greek tradition. The figure may be the personification of Victory, Nike, who frequently appears crowning Herakles on south Italian vases, or, since it appears naked and male, Eros. This could suggest a love gift. This image is not noted by later modern authors.

Appearance/ form of object: the illustration shows an oval margin at the top left, with the outline of the curved rectangle found on club & dolphin seal on the left-hand side.

Production inc. choice of material: flattened clay strip illustrated with impression of a seal of Herakles wrestling the lion, perhaps alongside club/ dolphin official seal.

Function: sealing of document agreed by holder of extant seal, stored in an archive

**Date**: 249

**Inv. No.**: Salinas X (type), 209 (object)

**Refs:**

A. Salinas *NS* (1883)

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay with imperfections removed	Slave, archive staff?	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	Local clay
Flattened strip prepared	Archive staff, slave?	Object, Zoppi:332	Ready-made strips found with cache
Clay stretched on papyrus	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Clay pierced by thread	Archive staff, sealer(s)	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of reverse of sealing
Print from impressed seal	Archive staff with official seal	Comparison with cache, Salinas tav IV	No evidence of official seal, but bordering outline suggests club & dolphin.
Extra prints added of H wrestling a lion	Sealer	Object, Salinas tav V	Winged figure, cf South Italian vases, then usually in a chariot.
Stored with document as register in archive	Archive staff	Comparison with cache Cavallari (Sal: 480) Salinas: 481	How did the archive work?
Moved with document to steps of temple	Temple staff? Roman army?	Object Salinas: 481	Were they moved? Who moved them?
Document burnt, on steps of temple preserved	Temple staff? Roman army?	Comparison with cache Object	Who burnt them?
Sealing excavated 1876-7, 1882	Cavallari/ Salinas illicit excavator?	Salinas: 474 Helas: 126	Did others exist? How were they found and recorded?
Sealing cleaned at Palermo, 1883	Salinas	Salinas: 477	How much detail was removed?
Sealing catalogued as object 209 (unill.) image X illustrated	Salinas	Salinas: 487, 488 tav. V	Who illustrated? What input did Salinas have? Illustrated with 15 others with club or lionskin.
Sealing published 1883 as evidence for mythological rep in catalogue	Salinas/ Notizie	Salinas 1883 484 488	Who decided which catalogue? Selected for aesthetic quality and mythological representation first in concluding descriptions.

## Sic1

no image available.

**Object Reference:** Sicily1.

**Find Context:** none recorded.

**Found with:** not recorded.

**Other examples of object:** [Sy2-3; P3-5; Sel1-42, Sel43-460].

**Other examples of representation:** Ag2&3, Cef1, Sel460

**Other examples of deities on object:** Selinunte - Diana, Ceres, Athena, Mercury, Medusa, Venus & Cupid, Apollo, Bes, Hermes. Image representing Astarte. Inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Carthage – Athena-Tanit, Bes, Agathe-Tyche, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Isis-Tanit, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes. On scarab seals: Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** finger ring

**Material:** bronze

**Preservation:** not described.

**Description:** no image could be viewed. The following description follows the *LIMC* 1820 entry, which itself is described as the same as *LIMC* 1815 (Ag2&3).

Assumed Pose: the figure in profile bends over and holds an animal to his chest.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Hair: no description.

Dress: no description, naked by comparison with Mildenburg image (below).

Weapons: no description, a club may lie nearby, cf Mildenburg image (below).

Accessories: none described.

Companions: a lion who “usually claws Herakles’ leg” (*LIMC V*: 1815).

Background/ Field: not described, plain by comparison with Mildenburg image (below).

Other images: none described.

### Interpretation

Representation: recognition of the object relies on the description and association with other figures within *LIMC* and a ‘comparative’ image from a sealing. Herakles and the Lion is the most common Labour represented on Sicily.

Appearance/ form of object: no description available.

Production inc. choice of material: cast bronze. Without a find-spot, or modern location, it is impossible to tell whether this was produced on Sicily. The production of 'artistic' bronze production on Sicily is denied in scholarship, but cf Ag2&3 for evidence of moulds for metalwork on the island in the third century.

Function: seal image on a piece of jewellery.

**Date**: CIII

**Inv. No.**: unknown

**Refs**:

LIMC V Herakles (1990): 1820;  
Steinberg, F '*Ant Münzen*' Auktion 13 1983 #375 pl.19;  
Leo Mildenburg Festschrift 268 fig 10



comparative illustration Mildenburg 268 fig. 10

## Sol1



Booms & Higgs (2016), fig 94

**Object Reference:** Sol1

**Find Context:** house

**Found with:** Pompeian 2<sup>nd</sup> style wall painting

**Other examples of object:** Sol2, square altar from Sardinia showing Melqart with inscription

**Other examples of representation:** Sol1, coin issues.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Zeus, Aphrodite, Eros.

**Object type:** altar (arula)

**Material:** terracotta

**Preservation:** the object is preserved almost intact, with damage to the top level. It measures 35 cm in height by 34.5 cm in diameter.

**Description:**

Pose: upright figure, facing forward with weight equally distributed. Left hand bent at waist holds an object, right arm also at waist not holding anything.

Appearance:

Hair:

Dress: breastplate with a strap over a short tunic, sandals

Weapons: round shield

Accessories:

Companions:

Background/ Field: plain, with other moulded figures attached.

Other images: three female busts (cf Sol2), surrounding two lion heads. H-H describes 'telamon' figures in the central frieze. On the same level as the figure, a caduceus and a sign of Tanit, moon and 8-pointed star and a female figure carrying a vessel in her left



hand, as well as a decorated shield. To the other side, a cock, gorgon's head, a palm and a round shield. Above the frieze, a row of lion heads.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: no correspondence with other representations of Herakles or Melqart.

Recognised as Herakles by comparison with Soluntine coin issues of 6-5<sup>th</sup> century, therefore H-H prefers to identify this as Mars. No indication of the reason behind the BM publication as Melqart.

Appearance/ form of object: the reverse of the object does not present moulded additions to the friezes, suggesting it was viewed from the front. Similar in appearance to examples from Olbia and Solunto, as well as those pictured in tombs at Cap Bon.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made in clear grey clay. Additional figures added by luting.

Function: used to burn perfume as offering in a peristyle house, redecorated c. 70-50 BC from stylistic evidence of wall-painting.

**Date:** 200-30

**Inv. No.:** Solunto Antiquarium

**Refs:**

Booms, D. & Higgs, P. (2016) *Sicily Culture and Conquest*. London, British Museum Press, 127.

Hvidberg-Hansen, F.O. (1984) 'Due arule fittili di Solunto.' ARID 13: 25-48.

Tusa, V. (1985). 'I Fenici e I Cartaginesi' in Pugliese Caratelli, G. *Sikanie, Storia e civiltà delle Sicila greca*, Milan, 610-611, figs 664-5.

## Sol2



Booms & Higgs (2016), fig 94



Hvidberg-Hansen (1984) fig. 3

**Object Reference:** Sol2

**Find Context:** house

**Found with:** wall paintings dated to 70-50 BC on style.

**Other examples of object:** Sol1, altar from Sardinia.

**Other examples of representation:** none

**Other examples of deities on object:** Zeus, Aphrodite, Eros.

**Object type:** altar (arula)

**Material:** terracotta

**Preservation:** the majority of the object is preserved intact, with some damage to the rim and to the surface of the top level of decoration. It measures 37 cm in height by 40 cm in diameter.

**Description:**

Pose: upright figure, facing forward with weight evenly distributed. Left arm holding object at waist, right arm raised above head.

Appearance: features too damaged for comment, perhaps a beard. No great attention to the musculature.

Hair: not visible under helmet.

Dress: tunic to knees with repeated vertical folds, breastplate with two straps over shoulders. Round, undecorated helmet.

Weapons: spear and round shield.

Accessories: none

Companions: none

Background/ Field: plain, other moulded images.

Other images: 3 small female heads, with round shields either side on the bottom frieze.

This figure stands next to a bird, described as a cock, and another round shield. The central frieze includes a caduceus.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: H-H recognises the figure as Mars; the features do not otherwise correspond to Herakles or Melqart. Recognised as Herakles by comparison with Soluntine coin issues of 6-5<sup>th</sup> century, therefore H-H prefers to identify this as Mars. No explanation is given for the BM identification as Melqart.

Appearance/ form of object: the reverse of the object does not present moulded additions to the friezes, suggesting it was viewed from the front. Similar in appearance to examples from Olbia and Solunto, as well as those pictured in tombs at Cap Bon.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made in clear grey clay. Additional figures added by luting.

Function: used to burn perfume as offering in a peristyle house, redecorated c. 70-50 BC from stylistic evidence of wall-painting.

**Date:** 200-30

**Inv. No.:** Solunto Antiquarium

**Refs:**

Booms, D. & Higgs, P. (2016) *Sicily Culture and Conquest*. London, British Museum Press, 127.

Hvidberg-Hansen, F.O. (1984) 'Due arule fittili di Solunto.' *ARID* 13: 25-48.

Tusa, V. (1985). 'I Fenici e I Cartaginesi' in Pugliese Caratelli, G. *Sikanie, Storia e civiltà delle Sicilia greca*, Milan, 610-611, figs 664-5.

## Sy1



**Object Reference:** Sy1

**Find Context:** “artificial grotto used as the workshop and warehouse of a sculptor, who had reworked the base to insert it within a larger gray marble base.” Syracuse.

**Found with:** evidence of workshop production.

**Other examples of object:** Cat3-4, Ma1, Mod1, P1, P6, P9, P12, P20, P22, P31, P33.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** all from the Palermo Museum collection:

Aphrodite (2), Harpocrates (4), Asklepios (1), Athena (4), Bes (1), Dionysos (1), Eros (5), Hadad (1), Hermes (14), Isis-Fortuna (1), Isis and Horus (2), Lares (2), Osiris (2), Ptah (1), Zeus (1), little Pan (1), Satyr (1), Silenus (1).

**Object type:** statuette

**Material:** marble

**Preservation:** 50cm high; 23.6 x 17cm base, some elements restored. There are traces of red colouring on the object to the left of the statuette's foot. The left arm is missing below the shoulder; the right hand ends in a curve, which appears unrealistic.

**Description:**

Pose: standing with weight on right hip, left leg has heel raised. Right arm hangs slightly away from his side. Head slightly inclined to the left.

Appearance: no beard. This is a powerful, muscled body, especially at the neck and upper torso.

Hair: short and curly, no covering.

Dress: naked. A red, folded object remains next to the figure's feet.

Weapons: none survive.

Accessories: none survive.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: n/a.

Other images: n/a.

**Interpretation – what has been added to facts of bio?:**

Representation: named 'the Syracuse Herakles'; the powerful physique and interpretation as the folded object next to the figure as a lionskin has identified this as Herakles.

Appearance/ form of object: Monterosso suggests that the figure held a club in the left hand and apples of the Hesperides in his right (2016, 173). He emphasises the effect of light on the figure (without querying whether this would be as effective on coloured marble) and identifies the representation with the sculptor Lysippos, fixing a late Hellenistic date due it being "somewhat more academic in the execution of the fine details". Marconi also uses this as an example of Lysippos' influence (2013, 172).

Production inc. choice of material: carved from marble and coloured. There are no marble sources on Sicily. Marconi notes the rarity of marble statues from Syracuse in the CIII (2013, 172).

Function: display

**Date:** 250-200

**Inv. No.:** Syracuse Museo Archeologico Regionale P Orsi 30575

**Refs:**

LIMC IV (1988) Herakles: no. 581.

Monterosso, G. caption to Marconi, C. (2013) Sculpture in Sicily from the Age of the Tyrants to the Reign of Hieron II. In Lyons, Bennett & Marconi (eds.), *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, 159-173.

## Sy2



*E.S.: 131, no. 267, pl.50.*

**Object Reference:** Sy2

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy3, Sy6, Sy10-12, P3-5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** none from Sicily.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The majority of the image is preserved, however there is damage to the left side of the object. The object measures 1.40 x 1.03 x 0.67cm.

**Description:** the object is rendered in a schematic style in portrait format.

Pose: the figure stands upright, walking to the right, but looking back over his shoulder to the left. The left leg is advanced and slightly raised with a bent knee, the weight is on the right leg. The left arm (disproportionately long) is bent and held behind the figure; the right is in front but obscured from view by damage.

Appearance: there is a jutting out triangular shape at the chin, which may indicate a beard. A similar shape, longer, indicates the nose. The head is at 180 degrees from the torso. The torso appears to show undulations for muscles, with attention given to the strength of the shoulders. Small circles indicate the knees and elbows.

Hair: appears to be short, there is a slight bulge at the back of the head.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: a long, slightly curved object is held in the left hand, ending in a circle.

Accessories: none.

Companions: descriptions state two horses; there are two large dots either side of the figure's legs, which end in articulated lines.

Background/ Field: plain around the figure. A hatched border surrounds the image.

Other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Ercole by the powerful physique and association with stylised figures recognised as horses, understood as the Horses of Diomedes Labour. He is Ercole, rather than Herakles, due to the attribution to Etruscan production, where his name appears on objects in this form.

Appearance/ form of object: the scarab has a hatched border except for the bottom of the image. No details of the reverse are recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in *a globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date:** 300-200 on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** 23585, Syracuse Museo Regionale P. Orsi.

**Refs:**

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 131, 267.  
LMC V Hercole (1990): 196-7, no. 239.

## Sy3



*E.S.: 92, no. 176, pl. 35*

**Object Reference:** Sy3

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2, Sy6, Sy10-12, P3-5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab/ seal for ring.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The image is preserved almost intact, although the bottom of the image is chipped. The object measures 1.36 x 1.05 x 0.70cm.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in schematic style in portrait format.

Pose: the figure is standing square-on to the viewer, but bent under a weight, with the right knee buckling to the right and the left leg straight. His head is bent over to the under the weight. His arms are held at right angles above his head, holding a large object.

Appearance: details of the face are difficult to observe. The shoulders and especially the right leg appear powerful, although the arms and left leg are rather slim. There is a suggestion of modelling of muscles on the torso.

Hair: obscured by the weight carried.

Dress: naked torso, a square-shaped area suggests a kilt, with a further square shape jutting out to the left side.

Weapons: a long, slim, knobbly object is placed between the figure's legs.



Accessories: a large oval shape is carried on the figure's shoulders.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: a curved device lies to the side of the figure in the plain ground. The image is surrounded by a slightly notched border.

Other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Ercle by the powerful physique and association with a stylised form recognised as the heavens, understood as the Apples of the Hesperide Labour. He is Ercle, rather than Herakles, due to the attribution to Etruscan production, where his name appears on objects in this form.

Appearance/ form of object: the scarab has an unhatched border. No details of the reverse are recorded. It is unusual to find Herakles clothed outside a theatrical context in this data-set.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date:** late CIV on stylistic grounds.

**Inv. No.:** 23583, Syracuse Museo Regionale P. Orsi.

**Refs:**

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 92, 176  
LIMC V Heracle (1990): 196-7 260

## Sy4

No image published. Non-copyright image was viewed in the ICS Theatre archive.

**Object Reference:** Sy4, MMCIH ST72

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** no information

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

**Other examples of representation:** none recorded, appears closest to G2 in its more realistic appearance and proportions.

**Other examples of deity:** none

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** the object is preserved to the bottom of the pectoral muscles and elbows of the arms. Details of the hair and face are damaged. No colour image available, but there appear to be traces of colour/ glaze in patches.

### **Description:**

Pose: the figure's bottom half is not preserved, but it appears to be composed for frontal viewing. The figure's eyes appear to be looking down. The head may be slightly tilted.

Appearance: the top of the head is a damaged mass, with suggestions of short hair covered by a fabric with indentations on either side of the head. The eyes of the figure appear downcast. The mouth is large, in a u-shape; apart from this the face appears realistic in appearance. There is nothing to suggest a beard. The right arm hangs straight down, as though leaning on an object.

Hair: appears to be short.

Dress: no clear evidence of clothing, although there are slightly sharper incised lines on the left shoulder which may indicate fabric. As the figure is broken at the pectoral muscles, it is difficult to establish whether or not any clothing was padded. There were no incisions to suggest the definition of a naked torso.

Weapons: none visible.

Accessories: none visible.

Companions: none

Background/ Field: irrelevant

Other images: irrelevant

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is identified as Herakles by Webster in MMCII/III, presumably on the similarity of the face to the J mask-type. There are faint suggestions of a lionskin, and the figure may be holding a club, but the identification is not straightforward. The wide open mouth is usually found on comic masks.

Appearance/ form of object: Webster records the object as a Sicilian type, based on either provenience or clay-type. Do the more realistic form and proportions mark it as different from the gnome-like Lipari types? This most closely resembles G2 in this respect. Brea suggests Syracusan examples were closer to Attic ones, but some may have been influenced by Gela.

Production inc. choice of material: mould-made. Webster may have attributed this to Sicily on clay-type.

Function: association with theatre unclear, no details of deposition context.

**Date:** 350-325BC

**Inv. No.:** not recorded

**Refs:**

Vollkommer, R. (1988) *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 25, Oxbow. No. 543.  
Webster, TBL *MMCI* ST72; *MMCII* 59, ST20

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of Herakles mask J type with lionskin, large mouth	Mould-maker Actor?  Commissioner?	Object Webster ST72  ICS Theatre Archive	Image made from life so local play? Which gesture chosen, why? Is image agreed by anyone?
Mould created Sicilian production	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Webster ST72	Are all characters created?
Sicilian clay chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Webster ST72	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in mould	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	What size is it?
Moulds finished, clear features combined	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108 ICS Theatre archive	One mould or two? What is the back – how does this affect use, display?
Figurine fired 350-325	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, RH: 108 Webster ST72	Where? Date of mould or object?
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object ICS Theatre Archive	B/w photo suggests colours Were colours from life? Where were they sourced?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Comparison with Lipari, LBB/ MC: 18	Was this the case at Syracuse too?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	How/ where did this take place? How many sold? What is the relationship with the theatre, if any? NB timescales for production if several characters from same play created.
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Why make this choice? How was it transported to sale? Bought during play?
Figurine kept/ used top only remains	Acquirer	Object ICS Theatre Archive	How/ where used, displayed? What else is displayed? Was it deliberately broken, cf Lipari?
Figurine deposited	owner	Object	What is the context?
Figurine excavated	local? archaeologist?	Object	Details of excavation?
Figurine acquired by Museum in Syracuse	museum staff	Object Webster ST72	How, from whom acquired? How is it displayed?
Figurine published as theatrical object of middle comedy as H in classical Greece	Webster/ ICS  RV/ Oxford	ST72  RV543	Image only discussed Assumes Athens as cultural centre. Not in <i>LIMC</i>
Figurine displayed	museum staff	ICS Theatre Archive	How/ where displayed?

## Sy5

No image published/ available.

**Object Reference:** Sy5

**Find Context:** Borgo di S. Lucia, Syracuse

**Found with:** no information.

**Other examples of object:** L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, M3, G2, G4, Sy5, MH1, Ad2, Pal1.

Non-comic: M1, L11-12.

**Other examples of representation:** none.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none.

**Object type:** figurine

**Material:** clay

**Preservation:** No image has been published of this object. The object now measures 6cm high.

**Description:** no image seen of the object; the following description is drawn from that in Webster (*MMC* III: ST79).

Assumed Pose: described as seated.

Assumed Appearance: Webster lists this as an example of mask J, seen to the right here; thus, exaggerated features of the mouth and nose especially and with a head covering.

Assumed Hair: see above 'Appearance'; the head would be covered with features resembling a big cat's head.

Assumed Dress: padded clothing assumed.

Assumed Weapons: club.

Assumed Accessories: no information.

Assumed Companions: none

Assumed Background/ Field: none.

Assumed other images: n/a.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: identification is reliant on Webster's viewing of the object. The seated form is unparalleled in this data-set.

Appearance/ form of object: a seated figure suggests the figure was created and viewed in the round.

Production inc. choice of material: Webster considers the clay to be local and therefore designates this as a local production, not dependent on Attic examples.

Function: association with theatre unclear, no deposition context known apart from the area of discovery.

**Date:** 350-325

**Inv. No. :** Syracuse 6290

**Refs:**

Webster, TBL MMCH III ST79; MMCH II 99, ST69

EVENT	PEOPLE	SOURCE	NOTES & QUERIES
Clay maquette made of seated Herakles mask J type	Mould-maker Actor? Commissioner?	Object Webster ST79	Image made from life so local play? Seated pose links to play. Is image agreed by anyone?
Mould created Sicilian production	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, Webster ST79	Are all characters created? How was this stored for sale?
Sicilian clay chosen, prepared	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Webster ST79	Why clay, not lead vel. sim?
Clay placed in mould 6 cm surviving height	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	Very small size, does this inform the function?
Moulds finished, combined with slip	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object, RH: 108	One mould or two? Seated suggests two, therefore in the round use.
Figurine fired 350-325	Mould-maker, slave?	Object, RH: 108 Webster ST79	Where? Any Syracusan production evidence? Date of mould or object?
Figurine painted in white slip, colours	Mould-maker, family, slave?	Object ICS Theatre Archive	Were colours from life? Where were they sourced?
Figurine re-fired	Mould-maker, slave?	Comparison with Lipari, LBB/ MC: 18	Was this the case at Syracuse too?
Figurine offered for sale	Mould-maker Slave? Trader at theatre? Trader at sanctuary? Commissioner/ patron	Object	How/ where did this take place? How many sold? What is the relationship with the theatre, if any? NB timescales for production if several characters from same play created.
Figurine acquired not mask, other character	Buyer? Festival-goer?	Object	Why make this choice? How was it transported to sale? Bought during play?
Figurine kept/ used	Acquirer	Object	How/ where used, displayed? What else is displayed? Did other characters stand around it, implying function?
Figurine deposited at Borgo di S Lucia	owner	Object Webster ST79	What is the context? Central coastal area of Syracuse.
Figurine excavated	local? archaeologist?	Object	Details of excavation?
Figurine acquired by Museum in Syracuse catalogued as 6290	museum staff  museum staff	Object Webster ST79	How, from whom acquired? How is it displayed? Cat no much earlier than other Sy eggs
Figurine published as theatrical object of middle comedy	Webster/ ICS	ST79	Image only discussed Assumes Athens as cultural centre. Not in <i>LIMC</i> / <i>RV</i> .
Figurine displayed	museum staff	Webster ST79	How/ where displayed?

## Sy6



*E.S.*: 131 no. 265, pl. 50

**Object Reference:** Sy6

**Find Context:** none

**Found with:** none

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy10-12, P3-5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** Sy11, Etruscan scarabs now in Florence and Hamburg (*E.S.* 131, 263-4) include the same representation (but a different image) in the same style.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times in the catalogue.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The object is preserved intact, measuring 1.46 x 1.07 x 0.77cm.

**Description:** the object is rendered in schematic style in landscape, not portrait, format.

Pose the figure is shown either kneeling or with the legs below the knees omitted. The right arm, shown as one line between two dots, is extended above his head towards his companion; the left arm, shown as two lines between three dots, hangs at his side. The head inclines to the raised right arm; there are two triangular projections on the profile which lie over the left shoulder.

Appearance: the lower triangle (see above) may represent a beard. The rounded masses of the torso suggest powerful muscle groups.

Hair: not detailed.

Dress: not detailed, appears to be naked.



Weapons: none shown.

Accessories: none shown.

Companions: a quadruped with antler.

Background/ Field: plain with a hatched border surrounding the image.

Other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the figure is recognised as Herakles by the powerful physique and association with the figure of the hind, understood as the Kerynitian Hind Labour. The inventory number suggests it entered the museum's holdings much later than other examples.

Appearance/ form of object: the scarab has a hatched border except for the bottom of the image. No details of the reverse are recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date:** 300-200 on stylistic grounds?

**Inv. No.:** 43975 Museo Regionale P. Orsi.

**Refs:**

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 130, 265.

## Sy7

**no image published.**

**Object Reference:** Sy7

**Find Context:** Grave 8, Contrada Zappala (predio d'Agata), Syracuse.

**Found with:** a cremation burial: cremated bones, 2 Attic vases (large), bronze strigil, 4 circular lamps, 4 black plates, 2 'vasetti a fuso', 2 orci, 2 clay fragmentary heads, several black vase fragments, 345-317 coin.

**Other examples of object:** Ag1, Ag4, Cat1-2, P2.

**Other examples of representation:** 1 bull from Greece.

**Other examples of deities on object:** none

**Object type:** vessel.

**Material:** clay.

**Preservation:** the object was discovered in a fragmentary condition. Its size is described in the excavation report as 'large'.

**Description:** no image published. The following description derives from the excavation report in *NS*.

Assumed Pose: the figure faces forwards, overpowering his companion.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Assumed Hair: no description.

Assumed Dress: no description.

Assumed Weapons: club.

Assumed Accessories: no description.

Assumed Companions: a bull, a hovering winged figure ("Nike"), a young girl with a thyrsos.

Assumed Background/ Field: the image was decorated above and below the figured area with 'elegant' Ionic palmettes.

Assumed other images: no description.

## **Interpretation**

Representation: the description of the representation is recognised as Herakles by its description as a young male overpowering a bull, the Labour of the Cretan Bull. The appearance of a hovering winged figure, identified as Nike, corresponds to Sel460, where the Lion Labour is shown.

Appearance/ form of object: the object is described as a bell krater

Production inc. choice of material: wheel-made, figured vessel. The object may be a red figure, Attic production, as two such vessels are described in the excavation report.

Function: the bell krater form is understood from Athenian examples to have been used in a symposiastic context as a vessel in which wine and water were mixed and served. The find-context in a grave suggests this was a grave gift.

**Date**: deposited during or after 345-317.

**Inv. No.**: unknown

### **Refs:**

Orsi, P. (1901) *NotScav*: 336-7.

**Sy8-9**

vacant

## Sy10



*E.S.*: 92, no. 122, pl. 44.

**Object Reference:** Sy10

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy6, Sy10, P3-5, Sic1, [Sel1-42, 44-460].

**Other examples of representation:** none from Sicily, *ES* 122-3 lists six other examples of the same representation on scarabs now in Rome (Villa Giulia and Museo Nazionale) and Braunschweig.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Other examples of deities at site:** A variant in the Syracuse collection is a Silen on a raft (*ES* 122, 227).

**Object type:** Scarab/ seal for ring.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The image is preserved almost intact, although the top of the image is chipped. The object measures 1.45 x 1.15 x 0.96cm.

**Description:** the figure is rendered in schematic style in portrait format.

**Pose:** the figure is seated with his weight on his right thigh, which is bent at the knee; the left leg is placed on the ground in front of him. A curved feature behind his back may

represent his right arm; the left arm is held outstretched in front of him, holding the top of a triangular object. The head appears to face forwards.

Appearance: the top part of the figure has two triangular projections on its right side, which may represent the nose and beard of a face in profile. The torso and limbs are shown with undulations which give the impression of strength.

Hair: impossible to determine, partly obscured by the chip to the object.

Dress: naked.

Weapons: no clear example shown.

Accessories: the figure holds a triangular shape at the top; underneath his seated figure is a single round circle. At the bottom of the image are three spherical objects with smaller spheres underneath, which cut into the border.

Companions: none.

Background/ Field: The image is surrounded by a hatched border.

Other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

### **Interpretation:**

Representation: described as a silen or Herakles squatting on a raft, holding the sail in *ES*: 122. Confusion arises from the lack of the characteristic club or quiver for Herakles, although the powerful physique suggested here would incline towards him. Other examples (e.g. *ES* 122, 228) show the seated figure with a club, hence the representation with Herakles. The three objects at the base of the image are understood to be amphorae; the triangular object held by the figure is taken to be a sail on the raft.

Appearance/ form of object: the scarab has a hatched border. No details of the reverse are recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date**: 350-200 on grounds of the style and choice of subject matter.

**Inv. No.**: 19679, Syracuse Museo Regionale P. Orsi.

### **Refs:**

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 122, 229

## Sy11

no image published

**Object Reference:** Sy11

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy6, Sy10, Sy12, P3-5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** P5, Sy6, Etruscan scarabs now in Florence and Hamburg (*E.S.* 131, 263-4) include the same representation (but a different image) in the same style.

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The object is preserved intact, measuring 1.4 x 1.0 x 0.7cm.

**Description:** no image of the object has been published; the following description derives from the catalogue listing in *ES* (162), where it is described as a similar representation to the preceding entry.

Assumed Pose the figure is described as grasping the hind from his knees.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Assumed Hair: no description.

Assumed Dress: no description.

Assumed Weapons: no description; the identification as Herakles *or* a Silen suggests the omission of the distinguishing club.

Assumed Accessories: no description.

Assumed Companions: a quadruped with antler.

Assumed Background/ Field: plain with a hatched border surrounding the image.

Assumed other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: described as a silen or Herakles. Confusion perhaps arises from the lack of the characteristic club or quiver for Herakles, although it is difficult to explain the

presence of a hind with the Silen. The hind would represent the Kerynitian Hind Labour of Herakles, also shown on Sy6.

Appearance/ form of object: the object almost exactly the same size as Sy6, with which it shares elements of representation. A hatched border is recorded around the image, also found on Sy6. No details of the scarab form are recorded.

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date:** 400-200 on stylistic grounds?

**Inv. No.:** 23584 Museo Regionale P. Orsi. This falls between the catalogue numbers for Sy2 and Sy3, suggesting a similar provenance?

**Refs:**

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern: 162, 632.

## Sy12

no image published:

**Object Reference:** Sy12

**Find Context:** unknown

**Found with:** unknown

**Other examples of object:** Sy2-3, Sy6, Sy10-11, P3-5, Sic1.

**Other examples of representation:** several other assumed examples in European and US museums (see 'Description' below for caveats).

**Other examples of deities on object:** Aphrodite (2), Artemis (5), Athena (?), Dionysos (2), Eros (11), Hephaestus (1), Hermes (16), Isis (2), Neptune (7). Herakles appears 238 times.

**Object type:** Scarab seal.

**Material:** Carnelian.

**Preservation:** The object is preserved intact, measuring 1.33 x 0.9 x 0.6cm.

**Description:** no image of the object has been published; the following description derives from the catalogue listing in *ES* (166), where it is not described, but placed among descriptions of representations of Herakles standing in profile.

Assumed Pose the examples either side in the catalogue describe the figure as standing in profile. Nearby examples state when a knee is bent, suggesting that here the legs are straight.

Assumed Appearance: no description.

Assumed Hair: no description.

Assumed Dress: no description.

Assumed Weapons: no description; the identification as Herakles suggests a distinguishing club.

Assumed Accessories: no description.

Assumed Companions: none recorded, unlike nearby examples.

Assumed Background/ Field: plain, no border.

Assumed other images: the reverse of the stone is carved to depict a scarab beetle with incised lines.

**Interpretation:**

Representation: the representation can only be deduced from its place under 'Herakles' in the catalogue and the descriptions around it.



Appearance/ form of object: the carnelian stone is described as impure. This is the only Syracusan example without a border. No details of the scarab form are recorded,

Production inc. choice of material: the object is considered to be in a *globolo* style, attributed to Etruria. Without a find-context it is impossible to tell whether this was brought to Sicily before or after its deposition.

Function: personal sealing object.

**Date**: 400-200 on stylistic grounds?

**Inv. No.**: 23217 Museo Regionale P. Orsi.

**Refs**:

Zazoff, P. (1968) *Etruskische Skarabäen*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern 166, 701.

## Bibliography

All abbreviations according to Oxford Classical Dictionary except:

*M.L.*, *M.T.L.*, see Bernabo Breà, L. (1976).

*M.S.* see Bell III, M. (1981) Vol. I; Stone, S.C. (2014) Vol. II.

*S.I.* see Caflisch, R.B (1991).

*LIMC* Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

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