Title

Beyond Typology: Investigating Entanglements of Difference and Exploring Object-Generated Social Interactions in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/57t59793

Author

Langin-Hooper, Stephanie Marie

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Beyond Typology: Investigating Entanglements of Difference and Exploring Object-Generated Social Interactions in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia

By

Stephanie Marie Langin-Hooper

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Near Eastern Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Marian Feldman, Chair
Professor Niek Veldhuis
Doctor Laurie Pearce
Professor Christopher Hallett

Spring 2011

Abstract

Beyond Typology: Investigating Entanglements of Difference and Exploring Object-Generated
Social Interactions in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia

by

Stephanie Marie Langin-Hooper

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Studies

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Marian Feldman, Chair

This dissertation investigates the social role played by terracotta figurines in the Greek-Mesopotamian cross-cultural interactions of Hellenistic Babylonia. Previous studies of Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines have largely been organized as typological catalogues, with an emphasis placed on organizing the vast number of figurines within an understood dichotomy of "Greek" or "Babylonian". This dissertation makes two unique contributions to the study of these figurines. The first is to highlight the limitations of typology, an organizational tool that has the effect of privileging some features of the figurines over others, as well as using those features to cement figurines into rigid, artificial hierarchies. Through deconstructing typologies, this dissertation allows for the methodological substitution of more flexible, "real life" systems of categorization. The second major contribution of this dissertation is to investigate how Hellenistic Babylonian figurines actively participated in social interactions that were organized not only along the lines of Greek vs. Babylonian ethnicity, but also other social roles such as gender, age, class, and profession.

In this dissertation, typologies are replaced by a new methodology of investigating "trends" of similarity and difference, which can be used to access object identities and trace entanglements of human-object interaction based on the shifting, mutable affiliations suggested by bundled features of the figurines. I address these methodological and historiographic considerations in Part I of the dissertation. In Part II of this dissertation, these methodological approaches are used to trace the "trends" of similarity in the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. Figurines are treated as interconnected social actors: through the sharing of particular features, some figurines have closer associations than others; however, no figurines are assigned as part of a set "type". Rather, the shared features of figurines with visual, technological, or contextual similarities are interrogated, in order to determine which assemblages were the most popular, and thus bore widely-accepted meanings. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 each address a different (but interconnected) aspect of the figurine corpus. Chapter 4 contains a discussion of male social roles and gender ambiguities. Chapter 5 contains a discussion of human-figurine interactions conditioned by the materialities of the objects, with particular reference to figurine features that either beckon the human interlocutor into closer interaction or, conversely, discourage tactile and visual engagement. Chapter 6 contains a discussion of the closely entwined visualizations of many

female figurines, and the social implications of that cohesive visual ideal. Within each chapter, the interpretation of figurine trends are approached through such theoretically-informed lenses as the social construction of gender, the psychological effect of miniature scale, and the controlling power of the Gaze.

This object-agency approach to studying social interactions between humans and figurines in Hellenistic Babylonia leads to the second major contribution of this dissertation: ethnic identities of "Greek" and "Babylonian" may not have been primary, or even particularly important, in all social interactions. The terracotta figurines both generated and reflected new pathways of social meaning-making in Hellenistic Babylonia. In many cases, these figurines were not particularly adherent to earlier, pre-Hellenistic motifs and meanings. Rather, "trendy" figurines tended to have been those that engaged with aspects of both cultural traditions, frequently becoming hybridized in the process. This finding indicates that the scholarly world's focus on determining the political roles, power balances, and social identities of "Greeks" and "Babylonians" in these Hellenistic communities may be misdirected. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I argue that we need to dramatically rethink our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian cross-cultural interactions by placing less emphasis on the role of ethnicity, and more importance on investigating the social significance of other identity roles.

The scholarly contribution of my dissertation is to both begin a broader exploration of identity in Hellenistic Babylonian society, and also to demonstrate how material culture - such as, but not limited to, terracotta figurines - can be used in innovative and theoretically-informed ways to further explore the "hows" and "whys" of identity formation.

DEDICATION

To the other three Langin-Hoopers – Mom, Dad, and K.J. – for inspiring me to start on this journey, giving me much-needed guidance (and perspective!) along the way, and always believing in me. You have given me a better education than money can buy.

And to my husband Dave, for supporting me through this dissertation and encouraging me every step of the way.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Babylon Figurines (BA)

BM80-11-12-1955/1957/1958/1994=118426
BM81-3-24-345
BM81-3-24-346
BM81-3-24-349
BM81-4-28-941
BM81-4-28-946
BM81-4-28-948
BM81-4-28-951
BM81-4-28-952=118757
BM81-7-1-3368=121212
BM81-11-3-13=91788
BM81-11-3-20
BM81-11-3-25
BM81-11-3-1876
BM81-11-3-1885
BM84-2-11-581
BM84-2-11-582
BM84-2-11-583
BM84-2-11-584
BM84-2-11-585
BM84-2-11-586
BM84-2-11-587
BM84-2-11-588
BM84-2-11-589
BMRmIV473=91809
BMSp.III 13+=91797
BMSp.III 15+=91807
BMSp.III 16+=91817
BMSp.III 17+=91798
BMSp.III 21+=91789
BMSp.III 23+
BMSp.III 24+
IM30385
IM93196
IM93213
IM93231
IM93238
IM93239
IM93245
IM93248
IM93254
IM93303
IM93442
IM93445
IM93463
IM93469

IM93491
IM93498
IM93499
IM93500
IM93897
IM93958
IM94057
IM94682
IM94896
IM94897
IM94902
IM94904
IM94905
IM94908
IM94921
IM94942
IM94946
Louvre MNB 1840

Borsippa Figurines (BO)

BM80-11-12-BN 1951/1952/1953/1954
BM80-11-12-1934
BM82-3-23-5099
BM82-3-23-5186

Kish Figurines (K)

FM156905
FM228777
FM228789
FM229633

Nippur Figurines (N)

CBS1930
CBS1952
CBS1954
CBS1955
CBS1960
CBS1968
CBS2766
CBS2858
CBS3509
CBS3510

CBS4927
CBS6313
CBS7054
CBS8999
CBS9449
CBS9450
CBS9451
CBS9453
CBS9456
CBS9472
CBS12418
CBS12421
CBS12423
CBS12425
CBS15449
CBS15452
CBS15457
CBS15459
CBS15480
CBS15486
CBS16671
Photograph No. 361

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris Figurines (ST)

B3835
B4004
B4648
B4769
B4825
B5014
B5077
B5469
B5836
B6018
B6065
B6126
B6446
B6679
B6927
B7026
B7122
B7138
B16934
B16974

B16984
B17033
B17072
B17082
B17101
B27910
B27913
C32.544
M14013
M14017
M14038
M14117
M14129
M14159
M14205
M14273
M14330
M14405
M14416
M14496
M14536
M14578
M14634
M14690
M14884
M15000
M15018
M15043
M15045
M15047
M15077
M15083-15204
M15118
M15132
M15137
M15160
M15179
M15181
M15185
M15188
M15196
M15219
M15279
M15544
M15546
M15568

M15581-15851
M15594
M15603
M15609
M15646
M15647
M15653-16106
M15656
M15664
M15673
M15676
M15679
M15702
M15706
M15711
M15721
M15848
M15872
M15875
M15962
M16059
M16068
M16071
M16091
M16116
M16116-14053
M16121
M16124
M16126
M16136
M16161
M16165
M16218
M16235
M16257
M16265
M16267
M16326
M16425
M16444
M16451
M16463
M16475
M16485
M16492
M16516

M16548
M16560
T29.95
T29.96
T30.147
T30.149
T4281
T8732

<u>Uruk Figurines</u> (U)

BM51-1-1-89=91812
BM51-1-1-102
BM 51-1-1-105
BM51-1-1-107
BM51-1-1-108
BM51-1-1-112
BM51-1-1-113
BM51-1-1-114
BM56-9-3-227
BM56-9-3-230
BM91813
CBS8956
W30
W80
W301
W402
W549
W1609a
W2099
W2787
W4315
W4677
W5177
W5652
W5751
W6173
W6411c
W6412
W6497
W6526
W6527
W6529
W6634
W6688

W7004
W8198
W8810
W10657
W12786
W13193
W13446
W13506
W13764
W14352a,b
W14536
W14773
W14927
W15044
W15106
W15257
W15272b
W15430
W15599
W15630
W15907
W15918
W15924f
W16247a
W16378
W16533
W16539
W17414
W17537
W17597
W17836d
W17876
W18157
W18277
W18292
W18424
W18658
WA14

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Site-specific prefixes to figurine museum numbers

BA   Babylon
BO   Borsippa
K   Kish
N   Nippur
ST   Seleucia-on-the-Tigris
U   Uruk

Figurine museum number abbreviations

AO   Musée du Louvre
B   Iraq Museum, Baghdad
BM   British Museum
C   Cleveland Museum of Art
CBS   Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum
FM   Field Museum, Chicago
IM   Iraq Museum, Baghdad
M   University of Michigan
T   Toledo Museum of Art
W   Warka Collection, Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing awareness among scholars that the material world plays an important role in shaping a person's identity. Objects do not just reflect the ideals of the society that creates them, but also influence people by physically embodying and actively participating in the shaping of social norms.

In this dissertation, I will investigate the social roles of terracotta figurines in Hellenistic Babylonia, in particular those figurines in anthropomorphic form. Terracotta figurines are relevant to questions of identity and the material world because they are a widely accessible form of object made from a readily available material. Moreover, the Hellenistic period in Babylonia provides an especially rich historical context for asking such questions, because it was a time when Babylonian Mesopotamia came under the legacy of the Macedonian Greek Empire of Alexander the Great.

My aim in studying this corpus is therefore two-fold: first, to explore potential cross-cultural interactions between the native Babylonians and the colonizing Greek peoples, and second, to consider these relations from the vantage point of created clay figures. The evidence from my research indicates that identities and cross-cultural interactions in Hellenistic Babylonia were more multi-faceted and complex than had been previously assumed, and that terracotta figurines – far from being a simple form of artistic expression – were central in constructing and promoting a diversity of these relationships.

The Hellenistic Period

The multi-cultural society of Hellenistic Babylonia came into existence following the conquests of Alexander the Great, who between 333 and 330 BCE marched from Asia Minor through Mesopotamia to defeat the Persian Empire. He designated the ancient Mesopotamian city of Babylon as the capital of his new empire.[1] Following Alexander the Great's death in 323 BCE, his massive conquests were broken up by his generals into several successor kingdoms.[2] Most of the Ancient Near East, encompassing the land from the Mediterranean Levant to modern Iran and Central Asia, was taken by one general, Seleucus, who was a Macedonian Greek married to an elite Persian woman, named Apame.[3] During the reigns of King Seleucus I and his multiethnic descendants, Greek people immigrated into Babylonia and settled in the cities already established there.

Around 300 BCE, the Seleucid kings decided to move the capital of the empire from Babylon to the newly-founded city of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.[4] Although this transfer of the seat of power removed Babylon from its long held position of dominant city in the region, it did not destroy the city, nor did it entail its abandonment.[5] Babylon was situated on the Euphrates River,

---

[1] Sherwin-White, 1987: 9

[2] Walbank, 1981: 46

[3] Green, 1990: 319

[4] For brevity's sake, hereafter this city will be referred to as simply "Seleucia". There were other cities named "Seleucia" throughout the Seleucid Empire, and thus the appended "on-the-Tigris" distinguished this particular city in antiquity. However, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was the only city named "Seleucia" in Babylonia, and therefore the only one that is of concern in this dissertation.

[5] The idea that Babylon was abandoned, or even forcibly depopulated in an effort to transfer inhabitants to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, has been previously been held by several scholars. This view, which was derived in large part from misreadings of cuneiform astronomical diaries, has been amended through the work of Van der Spek (1993). Based on his new translations and interpretations, Van der Spek argues that the Babylonian people referenced in the

1

only 60 kilometers from Seleucia, which as its name implies was located on the Tigris River, with a Royal Canal built between the two cities.[6] Each city occupied a strategic location, and jointly they could control trade and commerce along the two major rivers that led upstream into northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, and downstream to the Persian Gulf. Babylonia thus maintained the position it held under the Achaemenids by becoming the thriving heart of the Seleucid Empire as well. These political events and the arrival of Greek populations represented a significant social change that we currently define as the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

The end date of this period is more difficult to fix. The Seleucid Empire gradually lost pieces of their eastern-most territories due to invasions by the Parthians. The capital city of Seleucia, as well as Babylon, was lost to the Parthian king Mithradates around 141 BCE.[7] The Seleucid Empire continued to exist in its western territories, with the secondary capital of Antioch-on-the-Orontes taking over as their royal seat, until its eventual overthrow by the Romans.[8] However, despite the conquest of Babylonia by the Parthians, cultural and social changes appear to have been slow in coming. In their coinage, Parthian kings styled themselves in the manner of the Seleucids, including the use of the royal diadem.[9] Cuneiform documents were still maintained in the traditional Babylonian temples and elite communities. Greek styles persisted in some arts, as evidenced in a Herakles statue from Seleucia. Based on this cultural continuity, I follow most other scholars who work on Hellenistic Babylonia in including the early Parthian era as part of the "Hellenistic period".

"Greeks" and "Babylonians"

The archaeological evidence for the presence of Greek peoples in Babylon, Seleucia and the surrounding cities includes new buildings, such as theaters and gymnasiums, as well as small-scale finds such as statues, pottery, and coins. There is also substantial archaeological evidence to indicate that the native Babylonian communities were still in existence – for instance, traditional Babylonian temples were rebuilt and documents written on clay tablets in the Mesopotamian cuneiform script were still used to record some economic transactions.[10] The presence of both communities made for a newly multi-cultural situation in the cities of Hellenistic Babylonia.

Terracotta figurines have also been discovered in the archaeological excavations of several Hellenistic Babylonian cities. The presence of Greek and Babylonian features throughout this corpus has long been recognized, thus placing them as a significant piece of evidence indicating a Greek and Babylonian society. They have been recorded by the early excavators of these sites, as well as addressed in various specialist volumes devoted to cataloguing and describing them. These various publications are reviewed and discussed in

astronomical diary as traveling to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris were a delegation of representatives or officials from the council of Esagila. This seems especially likely, as the astronomical diary documents that the requested party is able to depart Babylon three days after receiving the order to come to Seleucia. It is very improbable that Babylon's entire population could be mobilized for a permanent move to another city in such a short time. For a full discussion of this scholarly confusion, as well as the evidence for the continued occupation of Babylon, see Sherwin-White, 1987.

[6] Sherwin-White, 1987: 18-19
[7] Shipley, 2000: 321
[8] Green, 1990: 547-565
[9] See figures 27-31 (pp. 51) of <u>Sulla Via di Alessandro: Da Seleucia al Gandhara</u>, 2007
[10] A useful overview of the evidence for both Greek and Babylonian communities within the cities of Hellenistic Babylonia is provided by Van der Spek, 1987.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Included in this assessment of the previous literature is an analysis of the ways in which earlier scholars interpreted the significance of the Greek and Babylonian styles, motifs, and techniques they observed in the figurines, as well as of their conclusions regarding the information that figurines reflected about the ethno-cultural situation of Hellenistic Babylonian society.

These scholarly interpretations of Greek and Babylonian cross-cultural interaction, especially as expressed through objects, will be interrogated in Chapter 2. The multi-cultural environment in Hellenistic Babylonia has often been interpreted by scholars as a tense and polarized state of affairs, in which Greek and Babylonian communities were at odds with one another. Taking the more recent, colonial interactions between Europe and the Middle East as a model, scholars have proposed a situation of Greek *versus* Babylonian: in other words, a situation of antagonistic encounters between dominant Greek colonizers and a resistant native population of Babylonians. Postcolonial theory, deriving from the work of Edward Said and Homi Bhaba, has been beneficial in illuminating the ways in which the modern European history of entrenched culture clashes between East and West have colored our understanding of the past. Through postcolonial theory, more recent scholars, myself included, have begun to develop alternative models of cross-cultural interaction between Greeks and Babylonians.

However, once we take away the understood framework of Greek vs. Babylonian antagonism, scholars actually know relatively little about life in Babylonia during this period. The larger historical framework of battles and kings are known from Greek sources recorded outside Mesopotamia, however the local Greek and Aramaic texts written in Babylonia itself have completely disintegrated due to the climate. It is material culture, especially items like terracotta figurines, that provide the majority of our evidence for daily life in Hellenistic Babylonia. It is through the art objects themselves, that we must access cross-cultural relationships and understand Greco-Babylonian society.

Why do figurines matter?

To truly understand how cross-cultural interaction shaped society on a large scale, I argue that we must study of the art of the average person: terracotta figurines. Despite their large numbers and obvious popularity with ancient people, figurines are usually overlooked in studies of ancient art history because of their unassuming – and often unappealing – aesthetic properties. Unexpectedly, however, many of the physical attributes of figurines actually make them an informative and useful corpus of art objects to help answer questions about identity and cross-cultural interaction in the ancient world.

Terracotta figurines reached a much wider audience than most other art forms in Hellenistic Babylonia, because they were cheap and easy to make. Immense numbers of these objects were recovered from Babylon, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Uruk, and Nippur; between these four cities, thousands of Hellenistic period figurines have been found. Smaller numbers of figurines have also been excavated from Hellenistic period levels at Kish and Borsippa. Taken together, these figurines represent one of the largest corpora of objects known from Hellenistic Babylonia. Most of these figurines were mass-produced using molds. The vast quantities of figurines discovered across the cities of Hellenistic Babylonia indicate that they were widely available to a broad swath of people. Also, because figurines were inexpensive, they were made, used, and discarded often – indeed, the vast majority of figurines have been discovered in trash deposits.

This depositional context, coupled with the often hasty and poorly recorded excavation of most of these figurines in the early 1900s, means that we have little information regarding the exact locations of their use. However, it provides another sort of information, which is in itself valuable: figurines do not seem to have been heirlooms. Instead of being carefully guarded and passed down through generations, figurines could be replaced as either the personal or social needs changed and situations required it. Many figurines survive intact – and, indeed, many are so thick-walled and hard-fired that they would be difficult to break even deliberately – thus indicating that pressures beyond practical necessity sometimes required a person to acquire new figurine(s) and discard the old. This means that, of all the arts of Hellenistic Babylonian society, the styles and motifs of terracotta figurines had the potential to respond most quickly to changes and evolutions in cross-cultural interactions.

Figurines are also a particularly useful corpus to study multiculturalism, because of the intimate relationship between this kind of art and its human viewer. As Griselda Pollock has put it: "why do we like looking at images of other human beings? ... An image of another or even ourselves might have no meaning or actually threaten us. There must be a reason for and a mechanism by which we delight in images, especially those that are 'like' us, human images".[11] This power to entrance and engage – a power that all human images share – is heightened in figurines because of their miniature size. Miniature human images can not only be viewed, but they can also be *possessed*, in a complete physical sense that goes beyond mere ownership to a mastery that is attained when a tiny "person" can be grasped in the hand. The power to control a miniature human is alluring, and through this emotional bond, the figurine's owner is also subject to a reciprocal relationship with the object.

Thus, the people who engage with figurines should perhaps be better termed "interlocutors", rather than "viewers", because the term "interlocutors" more adequately captures the close physical connection between object and person that figurines can encourage. Many Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, for instance, needed to be held in order to be seen up-close. This tactile engagement means that not only the visual form of the figurine, but also its weight, texture, and scale, were part of the human-figurine experience. Through this physical contact with a miniature human body, a deeply personal connection could be established, similar to that experienced when touching a real human body.[12] Scholarly publications of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines do not generally include reconstructions of people engaging in physical, tactile interaction with figurines in the ancient world. Thus, even though ancient figurines were a dynamic, multi-sensory kind of artwork, many of their artistic and material properties are often overlooked.

Figurines could also draw in the human interlocutor through their posture and gaze. This is particularly evident in figurines depicting multiple figures. When both figures gaze out at the human participant, instead of gazing at each other, they create an open, intimate connection with the person who engages with them; drawing him or her into membership in their miniature world, rather than excluding them. Not all figurines create this bond between human and object. For instance, some modeling techniques resulted in the creation of figurines that could stand alone, without requiring human hands to hold them. However, the use of both techniques to create a variety of figurines – those that drew the viewer in, as well as those that kept the human interlocutor at a distance – indicates that these figurines had a complex relationship with the

---

[11] 2003: 182
[12] Bailey, 2005: 38, 70

human social world of Hellenistic Babylonia. Figurines are therefore ideal objects through which to investigate personal identity and interaction in that society.

Tracing Hybridity: From "Type" to "Entanglement"

      Early in my research, done over the course of my Master's thesis, and heavily influenced by postcolonial theories, I concentrated on cross-cultural motifs and the development of hybrid features on terracotta figurines as a way of gaining clues about Greek and Babylonian cultural interaction. Prior to Alexander the Great and the establishment of a Hellenistic empire in the Near East, Greek and Babylonian figurines were made in different molding techniques and with different visual aesthetics. For instance, Greek figurines were almost always made in the double mold, in which two separately molded pieces were joined prior to firing to create a hollow object.[13] The double mold was a Greek invention that was not used in Babylonia prior to this period; instead, Babylonians made their figurines using the single mold, in which clay is pressed into a one-sided mold that creates a modeled front and flat back on a solid clay object.[14]

      The figurines created in Hellenistic Babylonia drew on both of these traditions to create a variety of hybrid art pieces. Double molds were used to create Babylonian visualizations of women supporting their breasts. Babylonian poses of women carrying infants were combined with Greek style drapery and hairstyles. I argued that this artistic exchange signaled that Greeks and Babylonians were not living in separate communities with antagonistic relationships, but rather that members of both groups interacted across a richly multicultural society. Through a reformulation of typological boundaries, I showed in my Master's thesis[15], and later article[16], that the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia could not be divided into "Greek" and "Babylonian" types, but rather that cross-cultural combinations of features, as well as hybrid developments, defied division into separate types.

      Yet this hybridity raised further questions related to the very analytical techniques that were used to classify and categorize figurines in the first place. Not only did the figurines indicate that Hellenistic Babylonian *society* wasn't divided into Greek vs. Babylonian, but also that the figurines themselves couldn't be divided neatly into "types" or categories of Greek or Babylonian origin. However, if typological divisions weren't adequately capturing the complicated interplay between Greek and Babylonian features throughout the figurine corpus, what was the usefulness of this analytical structure? The hybrid combinations of Greek and Babylonian features, displayed on many terracotta figurines, compelled the use of a new and different approach. Instead of continuing to operate under modern assumptions of Greek versus Babylonian opposition, I took the material on its own terms.

      A close interaction with figurines convinced me that the ways in which scholars traditionally study and classify figurines into typologies was a limited – and limiting – approach to the material. In order for a typology to be created, some features of the figurines must be privileged over others. For instance, figurines are usually divided first by cultural origin – i.e. Greek or Babylonian – and then broken down into smaller categories, such as "Greek woman" versus "Greek man". Subcategories can be broken down even further, such as "Greek woman clothed" or "Greek woman nude". This process renders the scholar's assessment of differences between objects into a rigid hierarchical structure. While the creation of a typology can be a

---

[13] Barrelet, 1968: 130; Higgins, 1954: 11-12
[14] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 23-24
[15] Langin-Hooper, 2005
[16] Langin-Hooper, 2007

5

useful tool for scholars trying to come to terms with a large corpus of material, it also poses problems for our understanding of the richly textured and varied associations between figurines. In contrast, categorization in "real life" situations is done on an ad hoc basis, with the relevant categories used to define objects changing with the person, the time, and the situation.

In Chapter 3, I critique the notion of typology as an analytical tool, exposing the many problems with such rigid methods of categorizing objects. I am especially concerned with the ways in which typologies have hampered scholars' abilities to access multicultural hybridities in the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia. Terracotta figurines would have been especially likely to be subject to changing, multidimensional categorizations, because of their complex relationship with their human interlocutors. Figurines could just be viewed from a distance and categorized based on their visual appearances, in which case the categories emphasized by typologies, such as "female" and "clothed" could have been operational. However, some viewers might have been particularly interested in clothed figurines, and thus grouped together both males and females, in a visual association that the rigidity of typologies doesn't allow for. Additionally, many figurines encourage the viewer to touch and hold them. This opens these figurines up to other categorization processes – the creation of associations based on their weight, their texture, how fragile they seem – that could connect figurines that don't share any visual motifs, such as "female" or "clothed". Thus, by dividing figurines into rigid, artificial categories, typologies don't allow us to adequately access the full potential of the figurines' materiality, nor do they capture the fluid nature of past social interactions.

In order to better ask what these terracotta figurines can tell us about Hellenistic Babylonian society, I employ a new system for analyzing this complex set of material. This new methodology is outlined in the Introduction to Part II, which prefaces my analysis and interpretation of the figurines throughout the body of Part II (in Chapters 4, 5, and 6). My new methodological approach focuses on networks of entanglements between figurines, rather than on rigidly defined types. I use the word "entanglement" to express the varying connections between figurines – some figurines are more stylistically similar than others, some figurines have a more similar size, weight or fragility, some figurines have more similar motifs. I trace these webs of connections in order to determine which associations between figurines were particularly trendy or popular. While any connection between figurines might have been important to an individual ancient person, the associations that were particularly trendy were those most likely to have been meaningful to a large portion of the Hellenistic Babylonian population. In these trendy entanglements, we can see how figurines were participating in the creation of social roles, norms, and ideals.

Entanglements in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I trace these trends of entanglement though the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia. While any figurine could be involved in multiple trends based on different associations inspired by connections between its feature-bundles and the features of other objects, I traced those entanglements which I saw as most productive. This subjectivity in my analysis is an inherent part of the process – indeed, of any process of scholarly analysis – and I choose to highlight it in order to draw attention to the many possible ways of seeing these objects (only some of which I am able to access and articulate).

Chapter 4 encompasses a discussion of figurines displaying attributes of the male gender, as well as figurines that display attributes that are not easily assignable to one gender category. Male gendered figurines are explored through a variety of entanglements, which attempts to trace

the large diversity of trends in male figurine visualization. Through this discussion, I posit that this variety in male figurines evidences a broadly connected spectrum of male social roles, through which men could be identified at various times in their life; or in which a variety of men of different social classes, professions, etc. could be linked by their male gender but also divided from each other by additional social factors. It is noted throughout this discussion, however, that the factors that divide trends in the representation of male figurines do not seem to have been rooted in Greek versus Babylonian ethnic division. Rather, accommodations were frequently made that allowed the cultural preferences of both groups to be expressed, without irreparably excluding members of the other culture. In the final section of Chapter 4, modern assumptions of the primacy of binary gender distinctions are challenged using the evidence of figurines that display attributes of both sexes, as well as figurines that appear amorphously asexual.

Chapter 5 of this dissertation addresses figurine entanglements from a different perspective than the largely motif-based associations investigated in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I explore the variety of human-object interactions conditioned by the figurines' materiality. This discussion will involve tracing associations that brought together figurines that may have appeared vastly different, but which compelled human users to touch, view, and think about the figurines in similar ways. The title of this chapter, "Beckoning and Distancing", encapsulates the spectrum of interactions that figurines could inspire: from an intimate and entrancing desire to caress a figurine's body, to the isolating effect of statue-like visualizations that stand above the surface on which they were displayed through the use of vertically-stable plinth bases. Through the enormous variety of human-figurine interactions along this spectrum that are explored in this chapter, we can see how figurines were intimately bound up with human personal life – and the expression of that personal life in social identity construction – in Hellenistic Babylonia.

Chapter 6 contains a discussion of the tightly entwined associations between many of the figurines displaying the female gender. This series of interlocked entanglements were created not only around gender attributes, but also shared poses, sturdy technical constructions with stable bases, the ageless appearance of the figure's face, and other bundled features common to many female figurines. Also included in this network of entanglements are some figurines of males, which differ in their gender characteristics, but share in the other aspects of the trend. The results of this exploration indicate that the visual range for the ideal depiction of female gender was substantially smaller than the spectrum of identities allowed in male figurines. While women in Hellenistic Babylonian society were not necessarily limited to this narrow window of social roles, the evidence of tightly knit entanglements within the female figurines suggests that there were strongly interlocked ideas of "femaleness" in Hellenistic Babylonian society. The lack of Greek versus Babylonian distinction in this female ideal – indeed, the complicated cross-cultural hybridities which were created in the figurines to reinforce this female visual presence – indicates that female identity may have been a primary site of multicultural negotiation that superseded ethnic division.

Towards a New Understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian Society
Through the exploration of trendy entanglements in this dissertation, I present a variety of instances of cross-cultural interaction and hybridity development in the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia. This hybridity not only represented a combination of forms, motifs, and technologies from the Greek and Babylonian traditions, but also seems to have responded to the cultural values and meanings of both groups.

For instance, in Chapter 4, I explore the seeming acceptability of displaying male nudity in figurines of mature males and figurines of male children, but the problematic nature of male nudity in figurines of young adult males outside specific athletic poses and contexts. I posit that the lack of trendiness for visualizations of youthful nude men is indicative of cross-cultural negotiation in Hellenistic Babylonia, where Greek ideals of naked gymnasium exercise were accommodated in some figurines, but also confined to that specific context due to the Babylonian (and broadly Near Eastern) lack of comfort with displaying the naked male body. Thus, in the case of athletic nude youthful male figurines, a degree of flexibility was brought into the cross-cultural negotiations, which allowed the cultural preferences (and taboos) of both cultures to be expressed, without substantially offending representatives of the other culture. Such accommodations of cultural difference indicate that these figurines were the material result of sustained culture contact and negotiation in a deeply multicultural society.

In addition to evidencing cross-cultural interaction, this dissertation also discusses how figurines could reflect and participate in social identity construction. While figurines do not unilaterally condition human identity – nor do they provide the entire range of identity options available to Hellenistic Babylonian people – they do grant us insight into some of the more popular ways in which identity was thought about and visualized in society. Thus, in the figurines we are not just seeing passive shadows of cross-cultural interaction in Hellenistic Babylonian communities, but rather we are witnessing one major component in that evolving multicultural negotiation process.

Figurines therefore not only bore testament to cross-cultural interaction that had already taken place, but – through their physical presence and material expression of hybrid forms – accustomed people to that interaction, and provided the impetus for further multicultural developments. As society changed, so did the figurines, in a process of mutual and reciprocal momentum. This process seems to have happened rapidly, from the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, and continued beyond the fall of the Seleucid Empire into the Parthian era. The effects of this cross-cultural exchange between Greeks and Babylonians became deeply embedded in Hellenistic Babylonian society, and figurines were one of the major visual expressions of this social change.

PART I: INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1: REVIEW OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON HELLENISTIC BABYLONIAN TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Anthropomorphic terracotta figurines tend to grab the attention of both informal researcher and excavators alike, and some of the earliest modern references to terracotta figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia are found in exploration narratives[17] and early excavation reports.[18] Loftus, for instance, considered the Parthian figurines of Uruk to be "some of the most interesting objects found"[19] in the late period levels of the site. Bailey argues that this interest in terracotta figurines is due to the captivating qualities inherent in the miniature human replica.[20] This natural human interest in a reproduction of the human form was supplemented in the case of Babylonian excavators and explorers with a curiosity about terracotta figurines as the "idols" of the Babylonian "makers of idols" referred to in the Bible.[21] Recovering and preserving such figurines was not the foremost preoccupation of these early excavators, who were primarily concerned with finding architecture, cuneiform tablets and monumental sculpture.[22] However, many early excavators did make an effort to discuss these "interesting" terracotta figurine finds in their excavation reports.

The type of attention given to the Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurine finds varies by excavator and report author. In some reports, terracotta figurines are mentioned only in conjunction with other finds, such as when they were discovered in graves[23], temple precincts[24], or other identifiable locations (as opposed to secondary contexts, fill, or trash deposits). Simple descriptions of the figurines are often provided in such discussions, such as from the excavation at Kish, where a Hellenistic period tomb is described as containing two terra cotta figurines, "a woman and a double figure of two girls one playing a double flute".[25] Limited comparisons of contemporary figurines from the site were also sometimes included in such sections, often as a means to discuss the important characteristics of a particular figurine in question or, in other cases, to suggest possible forms for presumably related objects (such as cult statues) that have

---

[17] Summaries of such travelers reports can be found in Hilprecht, 1904: 12-69 and Pallis, 1956: 43-65; these include those of the Abbé de Beauchamp (1790), who reported to have found "des idoles d'argile représentant des figures humaines" in his explorations of the unexcavated mounds of Babylon.

[18] Such as in Loftus, 1857, 213-215; de Beauchamp, 1790.

[19] Loftus, 1857: 213

[20] Bailey, 2005: 67.

[21] There are several references to idol worship in both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament, all of which cast the practice in a negative light. One example is Isaiah 44:9-11, which describes the supposed ineffectiveness of idols, which "can do no good", and the negative consequences for those who worship idols, "they shall be cowed, and they shall be shamed" (Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures, translation 1985).

[22] as reported by E. Douglas Van Buren (1930: xxxvii-xli), who spoke with many excavators directly when compiling her catalogue of terracotta figurines; Loftus frequently bemoans the lack of monumental sculpture, statuary or bas reliefs in Babylonia (1857); Peters characterized the success of his excavations in Nippur "by the discovery of inscribed objects or failure to discover them," and admits that excavation trenches were "dug principally for tablets" (1897: vol. ii, 202, 212); Koldewey focused his investigations on architectural features, even refusing "disfigure" some buildings in order to find their foundation deposits or excavate beneath them (Koldewey, 1925; described in Pallis, 1956: 308)

[23] at Kish: Watelin & Langdon, 1934: 55; at Babylon: Koldewey, 1925: 212-213; at Uruk: Loftus, 1857: 213-215

[24] at Nippur: Peters, 1897; Hilprecht 1903: 330-331

[25] Watelin & Langdon: 1934: 55

been lost.[26] For instance, in Loftus's description of the excavation of an Uruk grave, he mentions the find of a reclining "Parthian Warrior" figurine, which then sparks his comparative discussion of other contemporary figurines (such as "female figures in loose attire", "nude female figures", couples, and figurines bearing a "Greek face") from Uruk.[27]

      This style of documentation – in which a whole corpus of small finds was not completely presented and exhaustively compared, but only brought up in a quasi-anecdotal fashion – was not used only to document the figurines; it was a common way to describe many excavation finds in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, even though such discussions are lacking in thorough data presentation, they often do organize the figurines in chronologically-based groups, dated more or less stratigraphically, which is a great benefit to modern researchers and has provided a model of diachronic analysis to which scholars of figurines have more recently returned. Additionally, although the interpretations offered in such studies were often Euro-centrically biased and somewhat ill-informed, the early excavators who took this contemporary corpus approach to describing the figurines were able to articulate similarities among the various Hellenistic figurines and (perhaps more significantly) differences between the Hellenistic figurines and the figurines of earlier periods.

      For instance, in his digression on figurines during a discussion of cult statues, Koldewey distinguishes the figurines of the Hellenistic period from earlier figurines at Babylon: "Erst in griechischer Zeit erhält z.B. die Frau mit dem Kind im Arm Kleider, andere weibliche Typen erhalten sich bis in die späteste Zeit nackt. In technischer Beziehung weist erst die spätere griechische Periode eine Änderung insofern auf, als auch für die Rückseite eine Form angefertigt wird…"[28] Koldewey is not correct here in his assertion that only the Hellenistic female figurines depicting a mother and child were clothed – many other Babylonian female figurines from this period were also shown wearing clothes.[29] However his attempt at conducting an analysis of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines as stylistically separate from earlier Babylonian figurines illustrates the important contributions to the study of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines made by many early excavators who chose to document figurine finds in this way. These excavators usually did not group all Babylonian figurines together, and thus did not create the illusion of figurines as cohesive, never-ending material manifestations of a temporally unchanging tradition. Some rudimentary analysis of the figurines was also undertaken in many of these volumes, and these early attempts to describe the Hellenistic figurines and discern their cultural origins – including assessments of the qualities of Greek vs. Babylonian[30] or Parthian vs. earlier Babylonian[31] influence manifest in particular figurines – still have distinct reverberations in the figurine analyses of today.[32]

      A different approach to the cataloguing of figurine finds was undertaken by some early excavators – either instead of or in addition to the approach described above[33] – who chose to devote sections of their excavation reports to the description and limited analysis of terracotta

---

[26] at Babylon: Koldewey, 1925: 63-65
[27] Loftus, 1857: 213-215
[28] Koldewey, 1925: 64
[29] See discussion in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.
[30] a distinction favored by Koldewey (1925)
[31] a distinction favored by Loftus, 1857; Hilprecht 1903; and Watelin & Langdon, 1934
[32] For a more complete discussion of impact of this approach to Hellenistic Babylonian figurine analysis, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[33] Koldewey, for instance, uses both approaches (for this latter approach, see Koldewey, 1925: 271-279)

figurine finds.[34] In these report sections, figurines were usually discussed alone or in conjunction with the "objets d'art" (such as cylinder seals)[35], and rank in publication order or "importance" behind architecture, sculpture, and cuneiform tablets, but before pottery. This organization, with the figurines grouped together, has the advantage of providing a relatively complete catalogue and illustrations of the figurines found on the site, and can be very useful to current scholars researching a particular body of material (especially when trying to track down objects that have been distributed to more than one museum). However, for all this usefulness, such catalogues also have their drawbacks. For instance, these catalogues are rarely organized by time period. Rather, in surveying the figurines from all stratigraphic levels of an entire site, the dominant impulse seems to have been to catalogue by motif – generally broken down by gender, clothing, and posture/activity (such as horseriding, holding a child, etc.) in roughly that order. This style of cataloguing makes it difficult to find all the figurines from one period to conduct a comparative study, and has in some cases created problems with incorrect dating and/or context.[36] Figurines from the late period were confused with figurines from earlier periods based on their appearance or style, and were dated accordingly[37], without regard to (and without recording!) the context from which they came.[38]

This incorrect dating of late period figurines resulted, at least in part, from a misunderstanding of the similarities between early and late period Babylonian figurines: similar threads or trends of style and motif were picked up and incorporated into figurine production consistently over the millennia of Babylonian figurine use. Some traditions were thus maintained; while, at the same time, new visualizations were introduced and older features were manipulated to create figurines that best fulfilled contemporary needs. Figurine cataloguing procedures that grouped the objects by motif type obscured that complexity in the material by giving the reader the impression that figurines throughout Babylonian history were all the same regardless of their time period; and that figurines from certain periods (such as the Old Babylonian period) were the "best", or most aesthetically pleasing, examples of individual figurines of those timeless types.

In some cases, this lack of temporal organization in the figurines presented in excavation reports was due to the excavator's greater interest in early period figurines, and so the disproportionate inclusion of figurines from earlier periods in the excavation reports. The figurines of the first millennium BCE, including the Hellenistic period, were considered less elegant[39], elicited less interest, and so were often given less attention than the figurines from the third and second millennia BCE. Additionally, archaeologists attempting to access older, more interesting layers of site stratigraphy often spent little time or care on excavating the Hellenistic levels, and so figurines (as well as other finds) from the Hellenistic period are often recorded with only minimal contextual information or none at all.[40] Thus the Hellenistic figurines were

---

[34] The work of de Genouillac (1924-25: 5-9) is one example of this.

[35] de Genouillac, 1924-25: 16, pl. I-XVI

[36] The confusion created when figurines are grouped by motif, instead of chronology, will be discussed further in later sections of this chapter, particularly in the analysis of the work of Van Buren.

[37] Van Ingen, 1939: 3

[38] For an example of this see Jordan, 1928: 60, where he dates Hellenistic Uruk nude female figurines to the second millennium BCE based on style as opposed to stratigraphy.

[39] Loftus, 1857: 219. Loftus judges the figurines of the "earliest type" at Uruk to be "infinitely superior to those of the later periods".

[40] The excavators of Nippur, in particular, recorded almost no contextual information for the majority of figurines found (Van Buren, 1930: xl).

often not well illustrated or recorded in early excavation catalogues despite the large numbers of finds. For instance, several Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic period figurines are included in the early Kish catalogue[41], however in the discussion accompanying that catalogue, de Genouillac focuses almost his entire attention on "l'époque d'Hammourapi"[42] and illustrates the corresponding Old Babylonian period figurines. This preference for the earlier figurines reflects a general scholarly preference in the study of Ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology for earlier periods. This is still a problem today, and is one of the many reasons why the figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia – like most of the remains, including textual, archaeological, and art historical, of this time and place – have not been thoroughly studied. Indeed, this has been a self-reinforcing problem, as the lack of good studies of this material continues to strengthen the notion that the Hellenistic figurines are just poor or corrupt copies of earlier Babylonian figurine types that are seen in their more pure state in the 2nd and 3rd millennia BCE.

Such descriptions of terracotta figurines within the context of larger excavation reports began to be supplemented by separate catalogues and more in-depth studies focused exclusively on the terracotta figurines during the late 1800s and early 1900s. This choice to single out figurines as an appropriate and important category of objects to study has had a vast impact on all authors of later studies (myself included), who have not only been directed to study these objects as a group, but also can be assured of an audience in our field which takes the usefulness of a study of figurines for granted. The first major catalogue of Mesopotamian figurines was that of Léon Heuzey[43] in 1882. Heuzey catalogued the figurines in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, including their Hellenistic Babylonian collection. He was the first to note the different mold types and the importance of molds in figurine production.[44]

Two more detailed catalogues of Babylonian terracotta figurines with more complete illustrations were published in 1930: Van Buren's study of Assyrian and Babylonian figurines and Legrain's more specific study of the figurines at Nippur.[45] Van Buren and Legrain thus opened up the field of Mesopotamian archaeology/art history in the American academic world to include figurine studies. The authors of both of these catalogues made many contributions to this new field (discussed in more detail below), however one enduring aspect of their legacy was also that they chose to organize their material along the lines of many of the earlier figurine studies included in excavation reports, with motif as the primary distinguishing feature between figurine types. As such, many of the assumptions made in the earlier studies – namely, the illusion that figurine production remained largely the same through time and space, with only levels of competency or style at variance, and, following that, the assumption that Hellenistic figurines were just decrepit versions of earlier, more perfect forms – were perpetuated in these catalogues, and indeed, were somewhat codified, as they were now supported by figurine specialists.

Van Buren

Van Buren's study is often considered the seminal work in Mesopotamian figurine analysis and, through her book, Van Buren did indeed make many contributions to the field. This book has also had a powerful influence on later figurine studies, shaping not only later authors' ideas about how particular figurines should be interpreted, but also the very

---

[41] de Genouillac, 1925: 16-22. See for instance, P.10, P.32, Figurines 2 and 3 of Plate X
[42] de Genouillac, 1925: 5
[43] Heuzey, 1882: Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre
[44] Heuzey, 1882: 248
[45] Van Buren, 1930 and Legrain, 1930

methodological framework of how any figurines should be viewed, organized, and studied. It is therefore worthwhile to analyze Van Buren's contributions in some depth.

Her book consists of a vast and comprehensive look at Mesopotamian figurines from all periods, well researched across many different museum collections, and done at a time when there was little precedent for that kind of cataloguing work. Her catalogue is still a valuable resource for tracking down objects that have been spread among the various museums of the world. Van Buren also included objects in her catalogue that had been bought off the antiquities market, which had therefore not been previously discussed in excavation volumes[46]. Van Buren was explicit about naming the sources of the figurine material and thus documenting the problems of unprovenanced objects. She was also thorough in analyzing the varying qualities of excavations, as well as excavators' biases (since she talked to excavators, such as J. Jordan and C.L. Woolley, in person[47]), which is useful information to the modern scholar trying to reanalyze hundred-year-old excavation results.

Van Buren's introduction includes a discussion of figurine manufacturing techniques, color, and slip which is still valuable data, in spite of a few inaccuracies (for instance, because of her confusion both in dating the figurines and understanding how the figurines were made, she mistook the introduction of the double mould as a Neo-Assyrian period phenomena instead of a Hellenistic one[48]). Van Buren makes a limited assessment in general terms (with very few references to the actual figurines in her catalogue) of the change in figurines through time, which she saw as being minimal and inconsequential. Although the charting of diachronic change was not her strong point, Van Buren did make a concerted effort to record figurine variance through space. When Van Buren catalogues the terracotta figurines, she usually lists the city of origin, so even though all the various figurines from one city are not catalogued together, the corpus can be reassembled (although with considerable effort) by a reader interested in considering all the terracottas from a single city.

The majority of Van Buren's commentary accompanying the catalogue is an elaborate description of the figurine types and the meaning of the types. Her assessment was that "they all, without exception, had a religious significance," or, more specifically, that figurines were objects which "might bring a human being into contact with supernatural powers, whether for good or evil"[49]. While this evaluation of the meaning of figurines was not a unique one, especially for its time[50], Van Buren undoubtedly affected the ways in which figurines, from the ancient Near East in particular, were interpreted by later scholars. Most studies of these figurines which followed Van Buren's work took up her assessments about figurine meaning, and have almost universally assumed that there was some sacred or supernatural power and importance attached to them.

In describing these powers of the figurines, Van Buren mentions as related objects other classes of figurines (specifically wax or unbaked clay figurines) which are known from texts to have been used in rituals. Van Buren does not make this connection outside the terracotta figurine material as a way of questioning the rigid division between object types in scholarly

---

[46] While it is now considered unethical by some scholars to study such material, Van Buren's inclusion of these figurines does provide useful comperanda for art historical research.

[47] Van Buren, 1930: viii

[48] Van Buren, 1930: xliii; the first use of the double mould to make figurines in Mesopotamia dated as a Hellenistic period phenomenon has been thoroughly discussed by several authors, including Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 24; Klengel-Brandt, 1968.

[49] Van Buren, 1930: xlviii

[50] For a full discussion of this issue, including the problems entailed in assuming that all Ancient Near Eastern figurines had a religious significance, see Moorey, 2002.

studies. Instead, she includes non-terracotta figurines as a "fourth group" her in function-based figurine typology.[51] However, this is nevertheless an important early instance where a scholar noted that figurines had important connections with other objects that fall outside the traditional bounded group of "similar" objects (i.e. figurines).

As mentioned above, I believe that the greatest drawback to Van Buren's figurine catalogue is its organization by motif. Her motif divisions were broadly drawn along the lines of women/men, divine/mortal, animal/human, with more detailed categories based on features such as clothing and hairstyle (which she used in her introduction to create a limited outline of diachronic change in figurines). In this organizational system, she followed the framework set down by excavators, who categorized figurines based on their perceived gender, clothing, and other motif features. Van Buren's use of this system further solidified its "naturalness" – implying that motif divisions (by which most scholars start dividing at the level of gender, then divine attributes, then clothing, etc.) are somehow natural and obvious divisions that arise purely from the material itself, rather than external constructs that are the result of scholarly interpretations.

Van Buren uses some contextual information – specifically in the case of the buried figurine deposits, which she considers to be different from other figurines – however, she does so strictly by the type of context (not their geographical locations) and only then for certain kinds of contexts, in order to create a category of "religion and magic" figurines.[52] In this category, she also includes figurines depicting musicians, wearing certain types of garments, etc. that were not found in foundation deposits. Thus this category is based along a combination of motif types and her hypotheses about the functions of these figurines, and is thus a further artificial construction that she presents as a factual, natural division in the material. These motif divisions, and the corresponding unspoken notions that they reflect natural distinctions in the material, are still present in modern figurine interpretations and represent an enduring legacy of her study.

Van Buren claims that she chose motif typology as a cataloguing system because of the problems with dating: "the subject is one upon which competent authorities hold very diverse opinions, and the various dates assigned to one object sometimes differ by as much as a thousand years"[53]. In this lack of clear dating, coupled by a lack of clear context (due to the nature of many of these figurines as museum acquisitions from the antiquities market, Van Buren could not even confidently place many of them in their city of origin), Van Buren is one of the earliest authors to discuss a problem that is still common to studies of Mesopotamian figurines in general: figurines cannot always be given their correct context[54]. In the face of this limited data, it is hard to blame her for choosing not to assign dates (or, in some cases, assigning incorrect ones); however her choice to use motif organization instead is problematic.

Van Buren exhibits the same preference for earlier figurines, and when discussing the figurines of the Hellenistic period, generally chooses to illustrate only those figurines which are Greek in appearance.[55] This focus on the Greek-looking materials goes unremarked upon by Van Buren, however it is likely a result of her explicitly stated belief that native Babylonian

---

[51] Van Buren, 1930: xlviii
[52] Van Buren, 1930: 189-243
[53] Van Buren, 1930: xxxvii-xxxviii
[54] However, thanks to more recent excavations in Mesopotamia (which both continued the earlier excavations of cities such as Babylon and Uruk, as well as excavated previously untouched cities), the general chronology of figurines has been much more firmly and clearly elucidated.
[55] This tendency in Van Buren's scholarship is also remarked upon by Karvonen-Kannas (1995:13-14).

figurines exhibited extreme cultural continuity: "the pristine types were preserved and repeated with scarcely any alteration for an almost incredible length of time"[56], but with a "gradual degeneracy of the types"[57] following the Old Babylonian period until the "full significance of the symbolism was lost"[58] upon later artists who misunderstood the earlier images they were copying, and eventually the "feeble modelling"[59] of the Parthian period was reached. Van Buren's opinion here – as well as how she allowed that opinion to shape her catalogue – is problematic. Change equals a (negative weight) degeneration from a canonical ideal, not a (neutral weight) shift in cultural ideas, styles, object functions, etc. This view continues the notion that Babylonian types stay essentially the same throughout history, and so any "Babylonian type" examples from the Hellenistic period wouldn't need to be illustrated, as they are already represented by the illustrations of Old Babylonian or Neo-Babylonian types.

As a result, when Van Buren does discuss any Hellenistic figurines that don't look Greek, she assumes that their importance and origins must be directly related to much earlier Babylonian figurines. Van Buren argues that this ancient connection was extant and the more important aspect of Babylonian-looking Hellenistic period figurines even if such prototypes don't exist, such as in one case of a seemingly unique "goddess" figurine: "The style of the work is Parthian, but the underlying symbolism must be very ancient".[60] This assumption of a continuity of ancient meanings and forms for Babylonian figurine styles and motifs implies that the introduction of Greek figurine types was the only development of importance during the Hellenistic period, because of their differences from the stable, continuous Babylonian types. Even in the one instance where Van Buren notes that Greek-looking figurine types might have been used to "perpetuate the idea" of an earlier Babylonian figurine function (in the case of figurine couples or "Cupid and Psyche")[61], she sees this as a case of misunderstanding or forgetting the original Babylonian figurine purpose rather than a meaningful cultural exchange or hybridity of tradition. This insistence on cultural dualism and mutual impermeability of traditions in Van Buren's work thus begins the explicit focus on Greek vs. Babylonian types as the primary typological category of difference that pervades all studies of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines up to the present day.

Legrain

Legrain's study of the figurines at Nippur was published in the same year as Van Buren's seminal work, and represented the first comprehensive study of all figurines from a particular site across time periods. It is very well illustrated and remains a good guide to the Nippur material housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum. It also has served as a model for later figurine studies, which, after this catalogue, were also frequently organized as studies of all figurines from one site through different time periods.

Legrain's catalogue, like Van Buren's, organizes the figurines by motif type – beginning, like many figurine catalogues, with the category of nude females and progressing from there,

---

[56] Van Buren, 1930: xlii. This perspective is reiterated in her study on foundation deposit figurines: "the tenacity and persistence of certain religious beliefs throughout many centuries, and in spite of changes of dynasty or even of race" (Van Buren, 1931: 77)

[57] Van Buren, 1930: xlvi

[58] Van Buren, 1930: lii

[59] Van Buren, 1930: xlviii

[60] Van Buren, 1930: lii

[61] Van Buren, 1930: lix

with distinctions based primarily on the sex, clothing/nakedness, posture, and additional elements (children, horses, furniture), in roughly that order of importance. In the book companion to the plates of his catalogue, Legrain lays out a rough chronological guide to the material, with a list of the motif types that belong to the "Purely Babylonian Figures" contrasted with lists of the motif types which belong to the "Neo-Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Parthian Figures" and the "Not Classed and Belonging to Both Periods"[62], which is then elaborated into a period-by-period guide to the figurine types.[63] This guide reveals the assumptions that Legrain is making about the figurines – namely that there was some point at which the figurine forms were "pure", and that the later periods lost or corrupted that purity in some unspecified way. To his credit, Legrain does however notice that new motif types were introduced in the later periods, and thus the stream of figurine tradition was not just subject to the slow degeneration hypothesized by earlier scholars, but that new streams or types of figurine practice were also introduced over time. While many of the chronological divisions Legrain uses, especially for the earlier periods, are no longer considered valid[64], and several of the typological datings for figurine that he gives are likewise now thought to be incorrect, this study represents an early attempt to systematically chart changes in figurine type usage over time.

In addition to these contributions, Legrain also attempts to provide some interpretation of the function and meaning of the figurines he catalogues. This rather disorganized interpretation section – which draws on Biblical quotes, generalizations about the needs and desires of the primitive man, and orientalist prejudices about the "spirits and souls permeating Oriental civilization" which were capable of worshiping such idols in their religions – reveals many of the assumptions common to figurine scholars in the early 1900s, which influenced not only their own interpretations, but the interpretations of much later scholars. Legrain focuses his analysis especially on contrasting the ancient Mesopotamian people who used figurine idols with the idol-renouncing Hebrew people who "were fighting for a higher, spiritual belief in a one unique, living, invisible God, creator of heaven and earth".[65]   Adding to this orientalist perspective is Legrain's assertion that the meanings of these "humble realistic clay figurines" has been "lost behind the rich pantheon of the Greeks and the Romans".[66] While Legrain does not organize his thoughts on these topics into a coherent argument about the Babylonian figurines, his attitude towards these objects as somehow worthwhile to study but also revealing of a primitive Oriental mind that had neither been enlightened into the knowledge of the one God or been as beautifully creative in pagan religious imagination as the later Greeks and Romans, is clear – and has also been influential on later studies of Babylonian figurines (although rarely as explicitly stated).[67]

These orientalist ideas were particularly expressed in Legrain's analysis of the Hellenistic Nippur figurines (or, as he calls them, the figurines of "The Greek Domination").   In this section, Legrain follows many of the assumptions and stereotypes about the importance of Greek influence as Van Buren had in her work: namely, that the only figurines worthy of note in the Hellenistic period were those that betrayed a Greek influence, and that these figurines could be

---

[62] Legrain, 1930: 3

[63] Legrain, 1930: 7-11

[64] These include "The Flood or Floods" Period that Legrain details on page 8.

[65] Legrain, 1930: 4

[66] Legrain, 1930: 4

[67] For further discussion of the influence of orientalist thought on the interpretation of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

divided by the extent to which they were more faithful to Greek originals[68] or more provincial pieces. Legrain's entire discussion of the Hellenistic Nippur figurines centers around his list of the "pure Greek figures", followed by a list of the "figures dressed in a Greek style".[69] Although his terminology is prejudicial and his focus on the "Greekness" of figurines as the only important feature of the Hellenistic corpus is colonialist, Legrain does go farther than Van Buren in postulating that there were some Greek figurine types that were "mixed and blended with the Oriental tradition".[70] In this comment, Legrain makes some steps towards breaking with the traditional view that all Hellenistic Babylonian figurines were either Greek or local (with the Greek objects being the more important of the two groups). Unfortunately this insight was not backed up with references in his catalogue to these "mixed" figurines – again, since the catalogue was organized by motif type, and Legrain only focuses on Greek figurine types in his descriptions, these are the only Hellenistic period Nippur figurines that can be easily discovered in his book.[71]

Van Ingen

   In 1939, W. van Ingen produced the first published catalogue[72] that was limited to Hellenistic (Seleucid and Parthian) figurines from a single site, as well as the first study to include the (recently excavated) figurines from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.[73] Van Ingen claims that her motivation for limiting the book in this way was to facilitate a thorough study of regional variations in Parthian art[74], which Rostovzeff had argued, in a publication from a few years earlier[75], was necessary to understanding Parthian art as a whole. Indeed, van Ingen argues that the value of these figurines lies (and, she implies, exclusively lies) in that the corpus provides a vast quantity of examples of Parthian art that can be typologized and cataloged, and which can potentially be extrapolated to create typologies for Parthian art as a whole (particularly the more important large sculpture).

   It is revealing that van Ingen felt the need to justify a study of the figurines of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, which she implies are not worthy of study in and of themselves as examples of art objects from a Hellenistic Babylonian city (indeed, the capital city of the Seleucid Empire!). This feeling of inadequacy about the study of Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines – that they do not deserve to be studied in their own right – has been a characteristic of many publications dealing with figurines from the earliest studies through to the present day. This perception about Hellenistic Babylonian figurines (although it is commonly held about figurines from many periods of Ancient Near Eastern history) is due in large part because, to modern western eyes, these figurines are ugly. This is a very unscientific thing to say about any type of

---

[68] Although note that for the vast majority of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, "originals" for the "Greek" types are not found among the figurines from the Greek mainland.

[69] Legrain, 1930: 11

[70] Legrain, 1930: 11

[71] Note that there are other figurines from Hellenistic Nippur that have a more Babylonian appearance or hybrid Greek and Babylonian features; these were catalogued by Legrain, but his descriptions often give nothing to indicate that these figurines dated to the Hellenistic period.

[72] Van Ingen, 1939

[73] Several other authors had mentioned these objects in passing, such as McDowell, 1933:104, who mentioned the existence of these 3,000 Seleucia figurines in a list of excavated objects from the site, but did not provide any description.

[74] Van Ingen, 1939: 4

[75] Rostovzeff, 1935

ancient artifact, so authors have disguised the sentiment in a variety of ways, and have learned to say it with a great deal more tact over the years. Van Ingen said about the figurines of Hellenistic Seleucia in 1939: "It must be confessed that many of them are quite without aesthetic appeal and that most of them are shocking examples of craftsmanship". Karvonen-Kannas said about the figurines of Hellenistic Babylon in 1995: "Only rarely do Seleucid and Parthian Mesopotamian figurines attain the level of 'works of art', but as representatives of folk art, they nevertheless reflect artistic phenomena. They are also the most extensive and important archaeological material available for research into Hellenistic art in Mesopotamia… For the moment, quantity must replace quality".[76] Different though the phrasing may be, both of these authors are saying the same thing.

However, it is crucial to note that instead of admitting the truth – that they *see* these figurines as unattractive – both Van Ingen and Karvonen-Kannas instead make the artistic judgment that these figurines *are* unattractive. This is a very different thing indeed, for it implies that some poorness of quality or ugliness is intrinsic to these figurines themselves, and therefore says something about them and how they were thought about in the ancient world. It is important to articulate directly that these figurines appear, in most cases, unattractive to a modern western eye because – acknowledged or not – this has been shaping the way these figurines have been studied, thought about, and discussed in scholarship since their excavation. Judgments under the guise of art analysis have always attended these figurines, and have been couched in language intended to rest the judgment not as a product of modern, western aesthetic preferences felt and articulated by the researcher, but as unbiased truths about the figurines that just exist – which has greatly skewed the perception of these figurines. This has been particularly true with regards to privileging the question of Greek vs. Babylonian divisions within typologies (see Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation for further discussion of this issue), and the search for Greek-looking figurines, which were often divided from the Babylonian ones (and not always correctly) purely on the basis of their aesthetic appeal.

As the first scholar to produce a major work focused solely on Hellenistic period figurines, Van Ingen does productively tackle the issue of diachronic change of figurines through Babylonian history. She comments that Hellenistic period figurines have been neglected, as well as confused with the figurines of earlier periods, by scholars who previously analyzed them. Although rectifying these earlier scholarly mistakes, Van Ingen herself introduces a new and incredibly persistent assumption into the study of this material: she takes for granted a clear division between "Greek and Oriental" types of terracotta figurines.[77] She presents this supposition that Greek and Babylonian figurines would be radically different and easily distinguishable as an obvious fact, which requires no argumentation. This attitude is likely a reflection of the dominant assumptions about Greek versus Eastern interaction that prevailed at the time, and which were linked to colonialist attitudes about the Near East. This heritage of colonial thought will be discussed further in Chapter 2; however it is important here to note that Van Ingen may have been the first to bring it directly to bear on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines as she sorted them all into her "Greek" and "Oriental" types.

To her credit, however, Van Ingen was somewhat open-minded in her assessment of evidence regarding those ethnic types. She not only compiled a figurine catalogue, but also attempted to correlate her work with the excavation records to impose a chronology on the

---

[76] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 7
[77] Van Ingen, 1939: 8

terracotta figurines. Although unable to produce a definitive chronology[78], through this work Van Ingen realized that the Greek and Babylonian types that she had distinguished, occurred together throughout the Hellenistic period. This discovery ran contrary to the theory of cultural shift that was accepted at the time, in which "a gradual change from Hellenistic to Oriental types and styles that has usually been assumed for Seleucid and Parthian art" was expected to reinforce the notion of a swift introduction of pure Greek forms following Alexander, which then was subsequently replaced by Near Eastern styles as the Seleucid Empire gradually fell to the Parthians. Van Ingen's work solidly refutes this notion, and she adamantly follows her evidence to the conclusion that Oriental and Greek artistic interests existed in parallel. She even notices that, in some later figurines, "there is a merging of Greek and Oriental (Greek types done in Oriental style and vice versa, or a more hybrid style)".[79] Although this discovery of hybridity did not spur Van Ingen on to further evaluation – or even to a reconsideration of the Greek versus Oriental dichotomy in her list of types – it is a testament to her skills of observation and analysis, as well as her willingness to break with accepted theories regarding these objects, that she noticed it at all.

In addition to her assessment of figurines with relationship to their archaeological context, Van Ingen also explores the technical aspect of figurine production. Although she unfortunately copies Van Buren's erroneous assessment that double molds were introduced in the Assyrian period, the rest of Van Ingen's description of figurine production techniques is remarkably detailed and accurate. Also included is a technical discussion of the chemical components of the clay, as well as of the slips, washes, and paints used to decorate the figurines. I am not in a position to assess the quality of this discussion, as I have not the chemistry expertise nor have I conducted scientific experiments on the figurines.[80] Regardless of the technical accuracy of this section, however, it is interesting to note that Van Ingen placed such a high premium on discussions that seem "scientific" – whether they concerned the mineral content of the clay or the archaeological locations of the figurines. Although the purpose of her study is purportedly art historical, she nevertheless places the discussions of context and technology before the (longer) discussion of "The Types, Their Meaning and Use".[81] It is possible that this focus on the scientific, as opposed to the art historical, assessment reflects the values of the times, in which science was gaining currency as the preeminent and preferred manner of generating knowledge about the world. It is also possible that this preference for the scientific was another manner of justifying the study of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, by making her study of them appear as rigorous as possible.[82] This impulse to make studies of terracotta figurines seem more quantifiable, and less objective, assessments of the material have continued into the current era of scholarly research.

---

[78] This attempt to produce a chronology of figurines from the Hellenistic levels of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris has been continued by Roberta Menegazzi. Her efforts have been similarly difficult, due in large part to the migration of objects through the stratigraphy of the site, as well as the depositional contexts of most figurines in either fill layers or refuse (personal communication from Roberta Menegazzi).

[79] Van Ingen, 1939: 8

[80] Van Ingen notes that she collaborated with a "Professor Fraser" in her writing of this analysis.

[81] Van Ingen, 1939; beginning on page 18

[82] For further discussion of figurine scholars' need to introduce "rigor" into their analyses, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Ziegler

In 1962, Charlotte Ziegler produced Die Terrakotten von Warka, a catalogue of figurines found in the Babylonian city of Uruk (modern Warka). This catalogue encompasses all ancient time periods during which this site was active and figurines were produced, from the 3rd millennium through the Parthian period. However, unlike many earlier catalogues that covered multiple periods, such as Legrain's work on Nippur in which he gathered together figurines of all periods to organize them by motif, Ziegler makes sharp divisions between the figurines of different periods, both in her catalogue descriptions and her organization of the photo plates. This mode of presentation has its advantages, as it allows the reader to easily see the diachronic changes within figurines through the occupation eras at a single site. Within each time period, however, Ziegler reverts to organizing the figurines into motif-based groups.

In her discussion of the figurines, Ziegler groups the Seleucid and Parthian terracottas together, and comments on them as a coherent unit. Her reasoning for this is that she is unconvinced that any of the figurines date to the Seleucid era, but believes that they are all Parthian period intrusions into Seleucid archaeological layers. This supposition has been rejected by later excavators of the site of Uruk, such as Kose, who assign figurines to Seleucid period contexts (see discussion below); but it is still worthwhile to examine Ziegler's assumptions as indicative of a colonialist mindset towards Hellenistic Babylonian cross-cultural interaction. Ziegler designates certain figurines as "babylonische Typen", but in her discussion of figurines with Greek visualizations, she hesitates to call them Greek types, but rather remarks that they are "den von der griechischen Kultur beeinflußten Formen".[83] When discussing some of these "Greek-influenced forms", such as figurines depicting a man holding a club and draped with a lion pelt, Ziegler also judges that a particular terracotta was "eine mißverstandene Nachahmung einer Herakles-figur".[84] These assessments are revealing of a possible colonialist bias in Ziegler's work, in which she seems to assume that people of Greek descent were not participating in the creation of Hellenistic Uruk figurines, but rather that native Babylonian people were merely producing badly executed copies of Greek art that misunderstood the forms and meanings of the dominant, colonizing culture's style.

Ziegler's analysis is one of the first clear references in Hellenistic Babylonian figurine studies of the use of this imitation and adoption model of cross-cultural interaction, in which members of the native culture are thought to have attempted to take on the visual attributes of their colonizers – in other words, to Hellenize themselves. This line of thinking has been very pervasive in studies of the Hellenistic world generally, and Ziegler was likely participating in a common mode of thought during the 1960s. She goes somewhat further afield of other scholars, however, when she suggests that several of the figurines which appear to demonstrate Greek visual influence were actually representing cultural influence from India.[85] Although this is not an interpretation that has generally gained traction with other figurine scholars, Ziegler's consideration of cross-cultural exchange with cultures to the east of Babylonia is an indication that she did contemplate the possibility that some Hellenistic Uruk figurines represented some kind of hybrid cultural development. I do not investigate cross-cultural connections between India and Babylonia in this dissertation, however such interactions might have been possible. At an early date, the Seleucid Empire did encompass parts of Central Asia, and multicultural hybrid art from Hellenistic Bactria shows visual evidence of the blending of Greek, Near Eastern, and

---

[83] Ziegler, 1962: 175
[84] Ziegler, 1962: 176
[85] Ziegler, 1962:176

Indian traditions. I therefore suggest that an investigation of possible connections between Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines and Indian visual arts might be a profitable avenue of further study.

Although Ziegler does not use the terminology of "Greek type" to describe the Hellenistic Uruk figurines, she seems to have used her assessment of a figurine's connection to Greek visual culture in determining the order in which she organized figurines in her catalogue. Figurines with Greek styles or appearances are placed first, with those figurines resembling Herakles beginning the section dedicated to Seleucid and Parthian era figurines. This organizational structure means that figurines displaying similar gender characteristics are sometimes separated from each other in Ziegler's typological structure. This privileging of the Greek versus Babylonian distinction over the male versus female gender distinction is a new development in Ziegler's work. Earlier catalogues tended to privilege the gender distinction over all others; even Van Ingen, who designated most visualizations of unclothed females as "Oriental Mother Goddesses," grouped these figurines with other female terracottas.[86] It is especially odd that Ziegler chose to divide the Uruk figurines in this way, as she did not seem to believe that any of the figurines were made during the Seleucid era or by Greek people. Like Van Ingen in her analysis of the Seleucia figurines, Ziegler also could not find evidence of temporal division between Babylonian and Greek figurine forms, nor development from one to the other over time.[87] Her choice to divide the figurines based on her assessment of their Greek versus Babylonian visual heritage thus seems somewhat strange, however such a focus on ethnic division in this material has had an enduring legacy in the ways in which scholars interpret Hellenistic Babylonia.

Barrelet

Despite the lack of Hellenistic Mesopotamian figurines discussed within it, the comprehensive catalogue and figurine study of Marie-Therese Barrelet[88], published in 1968, deserves some mention here. Although this work was primarily designed as a catalogue of Mesopotamian figurines in the Louvre collections, it is most valuable for the detailed discussions of figurines within the context of ancient Near Eastern history – particularly how the cuneiform texts mention figurines explicitly and also shed light on figurine usage more generally. Additionally, Barrelet, like Ziegler in her book on the Uruk figurines, organizes the figurines she catalogues chronologically. Indeed, Barrelet's work is centered on creating a detailed chronology of Mesopotamian figurines, into which technological innovations, stylistic developments, introduction of new motifs, and influence from other cultures can be fitted, thus allowing the charting of changes in the Mesopotamian figurine tradition and linking those changes to broader historical events. Although the Hellenistic figurines owned by the Louvre, which had already been catalogued by Heuzey[89], were not included in this study, Barrelet's work still had an influence on later studies of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, as it provided an example of how figurine analysis could be focused on diachronic change, as well as of how figurine studies must also take account of other contemporaneous objects and texts.

---

[86] Van Ingen, 1939: 57
[87] Ziegler, 1962:176
[88] Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique, 1968
[89] Heuzey, 1882

Recent Excavations at Uruk and Seleucia

In addition to all these many books and articles dedicated to describing, cataloguing, and analyzing Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines, such figurines are still recorded in excavation reports. Two recent excavation publications in particular contribute valuable information to the study of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines: the volume describing Uruk architecture during the Seleucid period[90] and the series of excavation reports for Seleucia-on-the-Tigris published over the last forty years by members of the Italian excavation team (most notably by Antonio Invernizzi).[91] Like the early excavation reports discussed in the beginning of this chapter, these publications do not provide detailed descriptions of all the figurines found, nor do they even discuss and photograph the entirety of the excavated figurine material. However, unlike those earlier reports, these more modern publications do provide valuable, specific contextual information for the find spots of many figurines.

In Kose's Uruk volume, for instance, objects are listed and described in groups defined by their location on the site, with most groups consisting of all the objects excavated from one room of a temple complex or other building. These lists of archaeologically associated objects[92] – along with the corresponding photograph plates that show images of various items from that room, both terracotta figurines and other objects (such as cuneiform tablets, pottery, bullae with seal impressions, and coins)[93] – provide valuable contextual information for the daily use and storage of these figurines. While archaeologically contextualized documentation of finds is always preferable for a number of reasons, there are several reasons why this information is particularly important for the study of Hellenistic Babylonian terracottas.

First, terracotta figurines are often studied in a vacuum, as if no other types of objects were used in the same area or by the same people. This isolation of the figurine object type was largely codified by the early figurine scholars, such as Van Buren, who chose to catalogue figurines as an object group across temporal, spatial, cultural, and stylistic variations (as opposed to the other alternatives, such as studying all the objects of one time period, style, motif, etc.). While recent studies of figurines, this dissertation included, preserve that early (and somewhat artificial) distinction of figurines as a legitimate group, archaeological reports such as those written by Kose and Invernizzi serve to recontextualize the figurines and re-place them in their original object assemblages that included many non-figurine items. Such reports thus provide scholars with the information necessary to explore the overlap and connections between figurines and other types of objects.[94]

Additionally, such contextual information is of vast importance to figurine studies because it provides some insight into how and where the figurines themselves were used – and which locations were deemed not appropriate places for figurine use. The Uruk excavation report by Kose lists figurine finds from some of the prominent religious buildings, such as the Bit Resh and the Anu Ziggurat. While few of these figurines are illustrated or described in any detail (and are, as yet, otherwise unpublished), these lists yield tantalizing clues about contextual uses of figurines. For instance, at the Anu Ziggurat in Uruk, Kose lists the figurines as

---

[90] Kose, 1998

[91] For an extensive bibliography of Invernizzi's excavation work at Seleucia, see: <u>Sulla Via Di Alessandro da Seleucia al Gandhara</u>, Silvana Editoriale, Milano, 2007

[92] Kose, 1998: 423-539

[93] Kose, 1998: Tafeln 1-179

[94] This type of exploration is not extensively pursued in this dissertation; however, it would be a worthwhile avenue for future research.

predominantly representations of horses, horse-and-riders, or male, with a few female figurines also mixed in.[95] This context-specific assemblage at the ziggurat could indicate that these figurines were used together in a ritual or displayed together in one room. In either case, the figurines that were grouped together in an assemblage were somehow thought, by at least one ancient person, to bear complementary meanings. While this analysis cannot be taken further without the publication of the figurines, the excavation volumes provide evidence that some contextual assemblages might be reconstructed in the future.

Similar data is also contained in reports from Seleucia. The early excavations by the Italian team (directed in part by Invernizzi) concentrated on the Tell Umar area of the site, which was originally thought to be a ziggurat and subsequently reinterpreted by the Italians as a theater. Large quantities of figurines were found in these excavations, but they were primarily from secondary contexts: discarded figurines were used as part of the fill dirt to create the slope needed for theater-style seating on the flat plain of Babylonia.[96] This is one example of how "better" excavation data does not always yield a more informative picture of the ways in which figurines functioned during their primary use-lives; however, it (combined with the evidence for discard contexts in some of the other Hellenistic Babylonian cities) does provide some information about the ways in which figurines were viewed in ancient society: they were discardable and replaceable.

In later excavation work at Seleucia, the Italian excavation team notes that a figurine workshop and a figurine kiln were discovered in close proximity to each other near the Archive Square.[97] The workshop, which contained a variety of figurines as well as molds and pigment materials, was located within the columned stoa.[98] This public context in the heart of the city, near the agora, is thought to have been not only a location where figurines were made, but also a site where they were sold, in a manner analogous to a modern store. This reconstruction is based, at least in part, on an understanding of the function of the columned stoa that is based on Classical Greek tradition, in which a stoa next to an agora often contained shops that sold various items to the public. This workshop (and possible sales shop) was first discovered during survey work in 1972; and in the 1985-1989 seasons, several trenches were dug down into the columned stoa area.[99] However, the workshop has not yet been fully published, and may not have even been fully excavated.

A few other references to figurines are also made in the Italian excavation reports. In the English-language summary, Invernizzi notes that "almost as many terracotta figurines as pottery fragments were found at Seleucia and practically every house contained figurines"; mention is also made of figurines being found in graves under the houses.[100] While again these finds are not discussed in detail (likely owing to incomplete excavations that have yet to be fully published), it is a valuable glimpse into the locations of ancient figurine use.

Information about the contextual associations and groupings of figurines provides a different perspective on figurine meaning and use than the one gained by most art historical studies in figurine catalogues, in which figurines are primarily associated based on their visual appearances. Figurine analysis based on their contextual groupings is not provided by the

---

[95] Kose, 1998: 423-429
[96] Messina, 2007: 111-113
[97] Invernizzi, 1985:97
[98] Messina, 2007: 114
[99] Valtz, 1986; 1988; 1990
[100] Invernizzi, 1985: 98

23

excavation reports, but it is potentially made possible by the information contained in them. This is especially important for a study Hellenistic Babylonian figurines because, due to the methods of early excavators and the location of many figurines in rubbish deposits, there is very little information about the primary contexts of most figurines. I look forward to the results of these figurine contextual studies from the Italian and German scholars analyzing this material.

Seleucia Figurine Studies by Invernizzi and Menegazzi

In addition to excavating as part of the Italian team at Seleucia, Antonio Invernizzi also conducted specialized studies on terracotta figurines from that site. When he began research on these figurines, his focus was primarily on an attempt to establish a chronology of figurine change through the Hellenistic period. However, Invernizzi encountered many difficulties in creating this chronology, many of which were due to the fact that most figurines excavated at Seleucia were found in the fill used to build the theater or in other discard contexts. Because of these secondary depositions, figurines of all types were jumbled together with few chronological markers. The title of one of Invernizzi's major articles about the figurines – "Problemi di Coroplastica Tardo-Mesopotamica" – is indicative of his mindset (and his frustration) with the difficulty in building a chronology of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines.[101]

In his art historical analysis the Hellenistic Seleucia figurines, Invernizzi makes a sharp distinction between "Mesopotamian" and "Hellenistic" types.[102] Even though he notes that the molding techniques derived from either Greek or Babylonian workshops were sometimes used to model figurines of the other cultural tradition, he does not seem to equate this technological exchange with hybridity. Rather, Invernizzi seems to hold an assumption of the superiority of Greek technology, which would have inherently appealed to the Babylonians who adopted it to make their figurines. In this assumption, we see a glimpse of an attitude held by many of the figurine scholars discussed in this chapter: that there is something inherently cultural about the visual nature of the figurines – particularly the motifs – but not necessarily about the technical aspects of the figurines. A "traditional Mesopotamian technique" can be used to make a "Hellenistic type" – yet the implication is that the Hellenistic type remains Hellenistic nonetheless.[103] This view persists, even though the use of a particular mold technique drastically alters the way that a figurine looks.

Throughout Invernizzi's analysis, he notes the vast numbers and huge variety of figurines that were excavated throughout Hellenistic Babylonia. While this not a new revelation, Invernizzi is one of the first authors to speak about it in a positive way. Invernizzi asserts that Hellenistic Babylonia (and Seleucia in particular) was an important center of creative activity. He notes that figurines played an important role in this creative effort: as the resources were not available to create much large-scale stone or metal statuary, figurines became the art of choice for people "of every social strata".[104] This assessment is a valuable contribution to the study of figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia, as it represents one of the first attempts to situate figurines squarely within society, and to think about how their ancient audiences would have regarded (and valued) them.

In more recent years, Invernizzi bequeathed his focus on the terracotta figurines to one of his (now former) graduate students, Roberta Menegazzi. She took up Invernizzi's goal to create

---

[101] Invernizzi, 1970-71: 325-389
[102] Invernizzi, 1985: 98
[103] Invernizzi, 1985: 98
[104] Invernizzi, 1985: 97

a definitive chronology for the figurines. When last I spoke with her, she indicated that this process remains a difficult one. However, neither Menegazzi nor Invernizzi seem to have realized that the "problems" with the figurine evidence – the characteristics of the archaeological record that inhibit the successful building of a terracotta figurine chronology – actually do provide us with important information about the terracotta figurines. Indeed, the secondary depositional contexts of the figurines, most of which indicate that figurines could be disposed of as rubbish without particular regard to ritually breaking them or creating special burials for them, are quite revealing about the ancient lifecycle of these objects. Based on this more positive use of the contextual information – where we ask the questions that the figurine material allow us to answer – I suggest that perhaps we need to move away from the focus on creating better chronologies and more consistent typologies and instead ask other kinds of questions of the material. This will also help scholars in general overcome the fact that so much information about Hellenistic Babylonian figurines has been irrecoverably lost due to the early excavation techniques, collecting, and looting; and focus instead on the information that remains available.

In Menegazzi's art historical analysis of the figurines, she continues many of Invernizzi's analyses, as well as updating some aspects of his work. Menegazzi follows Invernizzi's positive assessment of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, claiming that they are the "coronamento" of the long Babylonian history of figurine production.[105] Unfortunately, her assessment of the value of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines is based in large part on the influx of Greek artistic sensibilities, which "rinnovati e vivificati" the millennia-old Babylonian figurine forms and motifs.[106] Thus, while Menegazzi values the figurine production of Hellenistic Babylonia, she also expresses a slight bias of assuming that Greek culture was the dominant (and artistically superior) option in Hellenistic Seleucia.

Menegazzi is consistent in noticing and describing cross-cultural hybridity in the figurines, and her discussion of cultural exchange in the figurines as "basato sulla coesistenza e sul dialogo fra elementi di origine diversa" speaks to her somewhat open minded viewpoint in interpreting that hybridity.[107] Her visual analysis of hybrid figurine features mirrors many of my own. Menegazzi also takes into account the variation in hybridity in the figurines from the different Hellenistic Babylonian cities, which she ties to discrepancies in acceptance of cross-cultural interaction in these different communities. However, in articulating this hybridity, Menegazzi tends to focus on figurines as evidence of Greek cultural diffusion and Hellenization, with the (unexpressed) idea that Greek culture was somehow impressed upon the local people. She describes the spread of Hellenization in almost biological terms: "capillare capacità di penetrazione della cultura greca".[108] This terminology makes cross-cultural interaction in the Hellenistic period sound as if it were an involuntary organic process, like intercellular osmosis, rather than active exchange between people (and their objects). This attitude towards the spread of Greek culture is not unique to Menegazzi's analysis – indeed, it is documentation of the long-lasting effects of the views of earlier scholars.

Karvonen-Kannas
In 1995, Kerttu Karvonen-Kannas published her academic dissertation on the Seleucid and Parthian terracotta figurines from Babylon. This study was originally undertaken as a way to

---

[105] Menegazzi, 2007: 129
[106] Menegazzi, 2007: 129
[107] Menegazzi, 2007:129
[108] Menegazzi, 2007: 133

analyze and publish the Hellenistic Babylon figurines from the Iraq Museum, however, Karvonen-Kannas supplements this corpus with Babylon figurines housed in the British Museum and the Musée du Louvre. She directly addresses this history of her study, which she explains by stating that the excavation records did not allow her to pursue an archaeological assessment of the figurines, therefore she sought to supplement the Iraq Museum's material with less "mediocre" figurines from the other two museums in order to gain a better art historical perspective.[109] In so doing, she acknowledges the modern history of terracotta figurines, in which European museums often got first choice of ancient finds – thus, the figurines in the British Museum and Louvre were "very high-quality work…they represent the very best of the older finds from both official excavations and from plundering operations, which were worth offering to the museums".[110] Karvonen-Kannas also notes (albeit not very prominently) that the figurines from these three museums do not encompass the whole of the excavated figurines from Hellenistic Babylon – thus reducing the impression that her work represents a complete accounting of all figurines, which many catalogue do imply despite the practical impossibilities due to the nature of archaeological recovery.

In the introduction to Karvonen-Kannas's study, she follows the shift in attitude, evidenced in the work of Invernizzi and Menegazzi, of viewing the Hellenistic period in Babylonia in a more positive light than it had been seen by earlier scholars. She also bemoans the lack of attention given to Hellenistic Babylonian topics in general. In this discussion, Karvonen-Kannas engages with the issue of previous scholar's assessments of cross-cultural interaction, which she characterizes as either focused on the Greek contribution or on the Babylonian contribution to Hellenistic society. This instance of self-reflexivity – instead of just operating within one point of view – on the part of a figurine scholar marks a shift in the ways in which the discipline recognizes that catalogues of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines help create knowledge about ancient cross-cultural interactions.

However, Karvonen-Kannas follows up this discussion with a historical account of the "facts" of the Seleucid and Parthian periods (names, dates, etc.) without ever offering her own interpretation of the cross-cultural interaction, or even fully considering the issue she has raised. She returns to this issue only once, one-hundred pages later in the conclusion of her catalogue, where still she offers no clear statement of her opinion. Rather, Karvonen-Kannas remarks only that "Figurine production in Seleucia was clearly more western than in Babylon, while in Uruk it was more local in character".[111] This assessment is mirrored in Menegazzi's work, and demonstrates that both scholars were considering the notion that cross-cultural interaction might not have been the same in every community. Unfortunately, however, Karvonen-Kannas does not proceed any further in her discussion of the topic.

Karvonen-Kannas does devote much of her text to articulating her extensive research and comparison of Babylon figurines with Hellenistic figurines from other sites, both within Babylonia and further afield. Her figurine comperanda are always marked in the detailed footnotes and typology descriptions for each Babylon figurine she studies. Through the inclusion of this information about associations between Babylon figurines and other Hellenistic figurines, Karvonen-Kannas is, in a way, reconstructing visual connections across Hellenistic Babylonia, although this is never brought out in a formal discussion. Instead, it is presented as fact that the figurines Karvonen-Kannas sees as associated were indeed viewed as similar (or, as

---

[109] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 8
[110] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 8
[111] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 117

her notes indicate, viewed as the same) in the ancient world, without her needing to provide a justification for what is inherently a subjective assessment.

Karvonen-Kannas's catalogue follows the structural precedent of many earlier figurine scholars' work, in which figurines are organized by "type" beginning with depictions of nude females. Indeed, one of her purposes in presenting the extensive listing of comperanda seems to be to further bolster this typological organization. Karvonen-Kannas argues that previous scholars (and she especially singles out Van Ingen for criticism) did not "fully utilize the possibilities provided by [the] diverse material in drawing conclusions on typology or relative chronology" in the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines.[112] Most of the discussion portion of Karvonen-Kannas's catalogue seems to be an attempt to succeed in creating just such a more rigorous typology. In this section, Karvonen-Kannas composed lists of "Traditional Mesopotamian Types", "'Persian' Types", "Western Types", "New Variations", and "Primitive Types" that concretely inventory exactly which of her types she thinks belong in which category, giving the illusion of completeness and methodological exactness. It is to her credit that she recognizes "New Variations" – which include a discussion of hybridity in the figurines – as a legitimate category of interest, however she does little to explore the cross-cultural interaction that would have made such figurines possible.

Karvonen-Kannas then attempts to construct a chronology of figurines, however this section of her work is filled with hesitating statements and generalizations. This is largely because she had no better results in interpreting the messy (and poorly recorded) archaeological contexts in order to construct a chronology than all the earlier scholars who had also tried. However, even in this section, it is clearly a concern for methodological rigor and definitive assessment that drives her work. This is the more recent heritage of figurine studies – the focus on creating ever more precise typologies.

Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis

In 2006, Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis published an immense catalogue of the terracotta figurines from Babylon housed in the Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin. This publication was the result of several years of work in organizing and researching the museum's largely unpublished collection of Babylon figurines. The catalogue encompasses figurines from several periods, dating back to the earliest figurines recovered from the Old Babylonian period; however, the majority of the figurines discussed date to the Achaemenid, Seleucid, and Parthian periods. The figurines from these three late first millennium eras are discussed together, without distinguishing clearly between them, which makes for one confusing aspect of this catalogue's format.

This catalogue makes several contributions to research on Hellenistic terracotta figurines. It provides detailed research into about figurine manufacturing technology. The authors also make an attempt to correlate figurines with their archaeological find spots (although they admit that little useful information resulted from this effort). Additionally, Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis make available photos and description of thousands of Babylon figurines that were previously inaccessible, and thus their catalogue is a great aid to research.

Throughout the catalogue, there is a strong adherence to a rigid typological structure. There are some indications that the authors declined to make typological assumptions, such as in their choice to group and label some figurines as "Figuren verschiedener Typen" because they

---

[112] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 14

could not determine the gender of these figurines, rather than assign them to a gendered category based on a guess.[113] However, these figurines that did not fit clearly into the authors' constructed typology were nonetheless grouped and labeled – in this case, based on their failure to conform to any of the other available categories. Like many other catalogues of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis's presentation of the material also begins with the nude females. Many of the typological labels used roughly correspond to those utilized by previous figurines scholars, with the notable exception of the labeling of some handmodeled figurines as "Idole", in a somewhat explicit indication of Western colonialist bias and attitudes towards Near Eastern religious practice.[114]

In the authors' analysis of all the Babylon figurines, they note the presence of some Greek influence in region prior to the Hellenistic period. This remark is a useful departure from the usual view of figurine scholars that the Hellenistic period marked an initial meeting of culturally pure entities of "Greek" and "Babylonian". Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis's exploration of Greek influence in pre-Hellenistic figurines with no discussion of influence going in the reverse direction again hints of a Western-centric bias, however it has a beneficial effect in steering figurine scholarship away from ideas of essentialist cultures.

Even though Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis had access to the complete archaeological record from the excavations at Babylon, they report that no meaningful contextual information could be associated with the figurines. In most cases contexts were disturbed, and even when contexts were still intact, the types of figurines found together were too diverse (in the authors' opinions) to allow for meaningful reconstruction of figurine use. They do make some archaeologically-significant observations, such as their note that very few figurine molds have been found (despite the large numbers of molds that must have been employed to make such a large variety of figurines), and suggest that figurines possibly were made outside the city walls. However, the authors seem to associate "context" with "meaning", and the lack of good information for one entailed a lack of useful supposition for the other. Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis do make a few tentative forays into a discussion of meaning, however, as they speculate on the functions of the figurines, which they posit roughly as "decoration in private houses, others as offerings for gods, very seldom as grave-goods or toys".[115]

It is interesting to note that in all of this discussion, Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis make almost no reference to Greek-Babylonian cross-cultural interaction. It is possible that, because the discussion of the Hellenistic figurines is situated within a study of Babylon figurines more generally, questions of cross-cultural interaction were not of particular interest to these scholars. Rather, the authors' focus on the contexts, functions, and meanings of the figurines suggests that they were attempting a more explicitly technical archaeological study. This assessment seems to correlate with the vast and detailed description and photography of each of the thousands of figurines represented – the publication of which was the primary aim of this book.

Conclusion

The heritage and history of figurine scholarship passed down by the eminent and insightful authors discussed above is immense. Each author made valuable contributions to the field, which I have attempted to highlight through my discussion of their studies. Their research has shaped the ways in which we think about figurines today. Without their work – especially

---

[113] Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: 379
[114] Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: 580
[115] Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: 606

without their publications of the figurines themselves – it would be difficult, if not impossible, for me to conduct my research. I owe them all a debt of gratitude.

However, I also argue that there are some unfortunate left-over assumptions and out-dated modes of thought that have also been passed down in the tradition of figurine scholarship. Through the publication of seemingly exhaustive catalogues, with innumerable examples, the illusion is created that all possible figurines are accounted for. Because these presentations of the figurine material often make it seem as if the corpus is complete, a similar impression of complete knowledge about the material is also conveyed. This is particularly troublesome when combined with the analytical structure of the typology, in which the judgments and divisions made in the figurine material seem not only real and natural, but also all-encompassing.

An additionally problematic trend in the figurine literature is that Western-centric biases and assumptions often still underlie object analyses. Many of the explicitly orientalist judgments of the early 1900s have been removed; however, remnants of colonialist attitudes can still be detected in many scholars' work. In many cases, there is a sustained focus given to the Greek versus Babylonian ethnic distinction, with the assumption that this social division would have been the most important method by which Hellenistic Babylonians defined their identities. In some more recent publications (such as those by Karvonen-Kannas or Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis), this discussion of cross-cultural interaction is less prominent – possibly as a way of avoiding this fraught issue. However, in these cases, discussion of Greeks versus Babylonians has not been replaced with any other, more productive social analysis.

In the following chapter, I will explore the heritage of colonial thought, as well as the ways in which modern historical events have impacted our views of cross-cultural interaction in the ancient world. Through this investigation, I will begin to offer some alternate suggestions for social analysis, in which we can still discuss the Greek-Babylonian cross-cultural interactions that interest us, but using post-colonial models that help us escape from Western-centric biases and assumptions.

CHAPTER 2: GREEK VERSUS BABYLONIAN? THE HERITAGE OF COLONIAL THOUGHT AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF HYBRIDITY

A common thread in previous scholars' approaches to the figurines (and other artifacts) of Hellenistic Babylonia has been an overwhelming interest in the cross-cultural interactions between Greeks and Babylonians. Not only the interest in this particular aspect of Hellenistic Babylonian society, but also the modern assumptions and constructs that scholars have brought to their interpretations of it, have colored the ways in which this society has been understood. Because of this scholarly heritage, "Greek versus Babylonian" is, even today, often the very first and most important lens through which we examine these figurines.

My own scholarly interests also lie in investigating Greek and Babylonian cross-cultural interaction, and an analysis of that interaction as expressed in the terracotta figurines is a key function of this dissertation. In conducting such a study, however, I believe it is crucial to acknowledge the scholarly history that has brought us to view this cross-cultural interaction as important, and thereby to acknowledge the operation of modern interests and agency in creating knowledge about the past. Postcolonial theory provides a method for analyzing this scholarly heritage and for deconstructing the ways in which modern events have shaped our study of ancient societies. In this chapter, I conduct a brief survey of postcolonial thought and its potential application for rethinking our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian society.

Colonialist and Imperialist Interpretations of the Past

The scholarly interpretation and analysis of ancient colonialism has been historically framed by our more modern colonial heritage. Western culture, from which the academic study of the ancient world emerged, has distinctly colonial origins and still retains some vestiges of a colonial mindset. The colonization events of recent history, primarily those of the European expansion into the Americas, Africa, and South Asia, have become imbedded in our collective cultural consciousness. Objects collected from these colonized (and marginalized) cultures are even exhibited in our "national" museums, reinforcing the incorporation of the "Other" into a centralized West.[116] In the Western cultural understanding, these recent instances of colonization have been equated with the definition of colonization and, by extension, any other colonization attempts which have occurred throughout history.

This imperialist interpretation of ancient colonization was primarily created and reinforced by 19th century scholars. Many such scholars attempted to understand the material record of past cultures through an analogy with the recent, imperial order of 19th century Europe. Out of this imperial mindset, the theory arose that intercultural relationships were based on a "binary opposition between barbaric natives… and civilized" empires.[117] Just as the emerging imperial orders of the 19th century West, such as the French and British Empires, were seen as rightfully bringing civilization to the barbaric East, so to were the ancient colonial powers (primarily Greece and Rome) interpreted as having purposefully and dutifully spread the advantages of their civilization to the barbarians they colonized.

As a result of the creation of this historical analogy, the imperialist reality of the 19th century and the mindset it created were influential in the creation of the earliest archaeological theories on colonialism. While many of the political motives and ethno-centrism that surrounded

---

[116] Bhabha, 2003: 449
[117] Hingley, 2000: 4

the creation of such theories have been dispelled, remnants of the theories themselves, and the understanding of cross-cultural dynamics in the ancient world that such theories have created, remain core elements of many archaeological theories of colonialism. The use of such theories has often led not only to the assumption that ancient colonialism took place in the imperial, "Terra Nullius" fashion of the 19th century (in which colonized cultures were almost completely destroyed, through violence, disease, and enforced culture change), but also to the common assertion that "colonization" was the correct term for what had taken place in regions of cross-cultural settlement and migration.[118] Such biases have been particularly influential in our study of Greek colonization, as imperial western self-identification as the cultural descendants of Greek civilization has developed the problem into one of ethno-centrism. These assumptions have been especially prevalent in studies of the Hellenistic Greek colonization of the East – an "East" which was largely constituted by the same regions of Asia later colonized by the western imperial powers of the 19th century and which was thought about in terms of an "Oriental other" which should, in both ancient times and the 19th century, be rightfully colonized by the cultures of civilized West.[119]

As a result of these western-centric biases in Hellenistic archaeological interpretation, Alexander the Great's conquest of the Asian and Egyptian regions to the east of Greece has traditionally been considered as a turning point in the history of these areas. Previously occupied by both small culture groups and large empires, these eastern areas were united by Alexander and brought under the single political, cultural, and social framework of Hellenism. Local systems of governance, societal structure and belief were subverted and dominated as this new Greek colonizing presence and influence spread to these eastern colonies. Indeed, some scholars have gone so far as to imply that, as the Greeks introduced their cultural elements to these new areas, the local people were greatly relieved to finally have come in contact with civilization, and as a result, welcomed these cultural advancements with open arms. In Mesopotamia, for instance, scholars have traditionally considered that "transfer from Achaemenid rule to that of Alexander has seemed to constitute a sharp turning point in the fortunes of Babylonia for the better".[120] The Greek presence, manifested as contact with Hellenism, has thus been viewed as the most powerful, influential, and beneficial force in the east during this period.

However, as the imperialist origins of the academic study of archaeology have become widely realized, scholars have increasing become aware of the "partiality of representations of colonial situations in which only colonizing Greeks or Romans played an active role".[121] As a result, imperialist theories have been increasingly replaced by a "dualist conception of colonialism, which represents colonial situations as a confrontation between two essentially distinct entities, each of which is internally homogenous and externally bounded".[122] This confrontation is characterized in such theories by a force of domination by the colonizers, opposed by resistance and cultural conservatism by the colonized. In these theories, interest has still lain "in tracing the progress of Greek objects across the lands originally conquered by Alexander, and in watching eagerly for signs of 'Hellenic influence' pervading native traditions".[123] Such evidence of "Greekness" has been used to reinforce this notion of Greek

---

[118] Gosden, 2004: 66
[119] Said, 1978: 35
[120] Sherwin-White, 1987: 8
[121] van Dommelen, 1997: 307-8
[122] van Dommelen, 1997: 308
[123] Alcock, 1993: 163

cultural domination, which was successful to a greater or lesser degree across the Hellenized East based on the strength or weakness of the native resistance. While such interpretations can be considered as less ethnocentric than their imperialist forebears, they are, at their core, only a variation of previous imperial notions. In this new incarnation, these theories have given far more credit and power to colonized cultures as active participants in colonial situations. However, the inherent assumed dynamic which equated colonizer and colonized as simply dominator and resistant (but ultimately dominated, to some extent), has remained unchanged.

Postcolonial Response

Postcolonial thought has been developed as an alternative to such models of colonialism, which were largely based on imperialist interpretations of cultural interaction. A major feature of postcolonial theories has therefore been an "attempt to identify and weed out colonial habits of thought within the western intellectual tradition".[124] The works of Edward Said have been particularly influential in this respect, as he has identified many of the underlying assumptions made in the western cultural mindset concerning the former colonial subjects (particularly the cultures of Asian colonies) of western imperial powers, which were used for "dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".[125]

In addition to deconstructing many of the previous, imperial-based biases that have surrounded the study of colonialism, postcolonial theorists have also created a new understanding of the varied processes that operated in ancient colonial situations. There are two major features that unite postcolonial theories and form the background of postcolonial thought. The first of these is a non-essentialist view of culture, in which cross-cultural similarities and differences are interpreted as gradients, rather than using them to create artificial boundaries between distinct and discrete cultural groups. The second of the major theories of postcolonial thought develops from this non-essentialist view, and posits that colonial situations are characterized by cross-cultural negotiation, which both builds on their underlying similarities as well as creates new, hybrid cultures.

Unlike the models of colonial interaction discussed previously, which have often been applied to the Hellenistic presence in the ancient Near East, postcolonial theories have not been so thoroughly utilized in interpreting the colonial interactions that took place in the Hellenistic Babylonia during the period between the arrival of Alexander and the fall of the Seleucid Empire. Due to the especially multifaceted nature of the archaeological record of this period, it has become increasingly clear to scholars that no one model can completely account for the apparent variation of cross-cultural interaction which took place in the Hellenistic East. It is therefore crucial that postcolonial theory also be used as a tool for analysis of the Hellenistic East, if only to gain a more detailed perception of the vast level of complexity and variation that characterized the colonial interactions of this period.

Postcolonial Theory: Non-Essentialism

The two major contributions of postcolonial theory to the study of colonialism can both be applied to, and aid in the understanding of, the colonial relationships of the Hellenistic East. The first of these contributions, the theory of non-essentialism, is a rejection of the traditional definition of culture, which "implies a static and monolithic view of cultures" as discrete,

---

[124] Gosden, 2001: 243
[125] Said, 1978: 3

autonomous entities.[126]   Rather, postcolonial theorists focus on the multiple interactions, shared traits, common histories, and overlapping borders of what have been previously described as separate cultural groups in the ancient world. By analyzing these cross-cultural similarities, postcolonialism has created an idea of cultural differences as gradients of change, and culture groups themselves as heterogeneous mixes of many different cultural influences. This deconstruction of an essentialist view of culture has in turn led to a postcolonial questioning of the interpretation of "colonial encounters as the meeting of two discrete cultures".[127]   As cultures were never distinct or isolated from the influences of one another, any interpretation of colonialism as a struggle between mutually exclusive cultural entities is assuming an artificial degree of difference and lack of communication between the two groups.

In understanding the multi-cultural reality of the Hellenistic East, it is valuable to interpret such variation as a continuum in which cultures were never autonomously bounded into discrete groups. One facet of such an understanding is to recognize the shared history of cultural contact and reciprocal influence between the cultures of the Near East and Greece. This interaction had existed from the Late Bronze Age onwards, in varying levels of intensity. The time of the Greek Archaic period is particularly relevant for this study: "one of the principal factors in the transformation of Greek culture, politics, and society in the eighth and seventh centuries BC" was the influence of ideas, technology, and material culture from the Near East and Egypt.[128] This mutual influence included the exchange of mold technology used for making terracotta figurines, which came to Greece from the Near East in the form of one-sided, single molds.[129] Over time, these molds were modified by Greek craftsmen and the two-sided, double mold was invented, which largely supplanted the use of the single mold in Greek coroplastics. However, both the double and single mold technologies are based on similar construction techniques and craftsmanship – a connection of mutual heritage that would have established a pre-Hellenistic base for Greek and Babylonian figurine craft interaction.

Elite trade between different cultural groups throughout the Mediterranean was the foundation on which many of these influences were transmitted[130]. Such types of interaction between elites of different cultures can be understood through the postcolonial theory of cultural non-essentialism, in which social distinctions are made and groupings formed which exist across cultural divisions.[131] Through these cross-cultural interactions, the cultural groups of Greece and Asia were engaged in a process of influencing and exchange long before the birth of Alexander. While such influencing alternately took the form of trade and conflict throughout the shared history of the two regions, it is most critical to realize that neither of the two regions were ever unfamiliar with the culture, traditions, and objects of the other – cultural traits which were sometimes misinterpreted, but frequently shared between both regions.

Postcolonial Theory: Hybridity

This common history of interaction and shared cultural traits could have formed a basis for cross-cultural relationships in the Hellenistic East. However, this history alone cannot fully account for the diversity in interaction, negotiation and understanding which existed in the

---

[126] Gosden, 2001: 242
[127] Gosden, 2001: 242
[128] Whitley, 2001: 103
[129] Higgins, 1967: 25
[130] Osborne, 1998: 258
[131] van Dommelen, 1997: 309

culturally heterogeneous Hellenistic societies. To better understand the complex and varied nature of such colonial Hellenistic relationships, we must also interpret the archaeological evidence in the light of the other major contribution of postcolonial theory. This second premise of postcolonialism is an understanding of cross-cultural hybridity in ancient colonial interactions. This theory has stemmed from the postcolonial "emphasis on culture," rather than politics or economics, as a primary element and driving force in the social interactions that resulted from colonial situations.[132] Hybridity is defined as the evolution of cultural interaction and the creation of negotiated similarities between groups involved in colonial situations. Such interactions between these cultural groups resulted in the creation of hybrid, negotiating cultures. In these hybrid cultures, representatives from each group – often called "cultural brokers" in the scholarly literature [133] – created a series of individual links between the two cultures, as well as negotiated a correlation of value structures, from which each side believed they were benefiting. Indeed, even while the creation of such hybrid cultures was beneficial to the groups involved in colonial situations, the process of negotiating hybridity was also fraught with disagreement, hostility, self-interest, and misunderstanding between members of both cultures. While self-interest largely motivated the creation of hybridity, it was a combination of all these interaction elements that determined the nature of the hybrid culture that was formed.

The negotiations of these hybrid cultures resulted in the development of unique cultural traditions, which were neither that of the colonizers nor of the colonized. Such cultures drew upon the cultural traditions and materials of both groups, however they frequently created new meanings for such traditions and objects, actively engaged in a "reworking of various elements rather than merely combining two complete cultures", and invented completely new cultural elements.[134] As a result, the existence of material culture or traditions from one culture, such as the evidence of "Greekness" so commonly sought by scholars analyzing the Hellenized East, does not necessarily indicate that such cultural forms were used by members of their culture of origin, or even in the same capacity or with the same meanings as originally intended.

The theory of the creation of such a hybrid culture, which negotiated cultural differences extant between the Greeks and the Babylonians, as well as gave each group insight into the traditions of the other culture, can also aid in understanding the success of the Seleucid rulers' use of Achaemenid traditions to legitimize their rule. The creation of cross-cultural hybridity would have allowed Greek rulers to more fully understand the kingship traditions of the cultures they ruled, and so utilize those traditions for their own purposes of legitimacy. In turn, the local peoples of the Hellenistic East would have used this creation of cultural hybridity both to understand the new Greek rulers and traditions, as well as negotiate a way of placing the Greeks in the context of their own, local traditions. Indeed, "it is a striking feature of the Hellenistic cities that they established cults of their rulers" in order to incorporate the king within the "symbolic system" of the native culture.[135] The people of the city of Teos, for instance, established a cult to the king Antiochus and his wife, erecting cult statues of them in the council house and beside the cult statue of Dionysus in his temple. Through this establishment of the king as a cultic figure, the people of Teos were able to "represent the power of the king to themselves in a comprehensible and acceptable form".[136] Such was also the case in Egypt,

---

[132] Gosden, 2001: 243
[133] Woolf, 1998: 15
[134] van Dommelen, 1997: 309
[135] Price, 1988: 386-7
[136] Price, 1988: 387

wherein the Ptolemies were depicted like the Pharaoh in Egyptian temples – a form of royal artistic representation that was created by and for the native Egyptians. These are examples of the renegotiation of cultural interpretation by the native people, which occurred in response to the present social situation, yet were done in a framework of the traditional cultural mindset. Through such acts, the Egyptians, Teosians, or indeed, any of the native peoples under Hellenistic rule, legitimized and understood the rule of the Hellenistic kings by placing them in their own cultural context and viewing them as members of their own cultural order. Such artistic representations could also be understood as material examples of cultural hybridity, in which both native artistic elements and Greek rule were combined and reworked to become part of a new, hybrid cultural tradition and understanding.

While hybridity can be used to analyze interactions which took place on a primarily cross-cultural plane, it should also be noted that the very nature of hybridity lessened the importance that such distinctions between colonizer and colonized played in the colonial interactions in the Hellenistic East. We must therefore examine the other forces of social distinction and similarity, such as class and gender, which were constantly at work in all societal interactions, including those of colonial situations. Postcolonial theorists have posited that these social distinctions were reworked across group lines, "blending subordinate and dominant cultures".[137] This would have been particularly likely in Hellenistic Babylonia, where the people involved in the interactions were not homogenous groups of "Greeks" and "Babylonians", but rather communities with substantial variation despite shared ethnic affiliations. Many different social classes and professions existed among the immigrating Greek people, ranging from the prestigious generals-turned-kings to the common soldiers and merchants, interacted with the peoples of the east. It is even likely that "there existed not only diverse groups of peoples within the empire, but also a wide range of degrees of imperial control over" different areas of the empire.[138] Therefore, we must acknowledge the range of unique individuals, cultural groups, societal divisions, and circumstances that factored in every instance of Greek-Babylonian interaction in the Hellenistic world. As a result of this variation, local expressions of that cross-cultural interaction, both in the material culture as well as in the cultural identity of the people themselves, would have also have varied substantially – both through space and between the different social strata of a single society.

Hybrid Identities in Hellenistic Babylonia
The colonial process of hybridized, cultural creation not only created groups which shared unique combinations of cultural elements, but also individuals who belonged to and could exhibit traits of more than one culture. Such individuals were native members of more than one culture, as well as of the hybrid culture itself. Through the postcolonial theory of cultural non-essentialism, such individuals can be interpreted as evidence that all human subjects are multiple. Particularly in colonial situations, the identity of the individual is neither straightforward nor singular, but continually reworked through changing sets of social relationships.[139] Colonial individuals not only existed in a complex society of colonizing, colonized, and hybrid cultures, but were also active participants in the cultural negotiation process. As communicative as this process might have been, it also was founded largely on misinterpretations and operated through "forms of multiple and contradictory beliefs" each culture held about the other colonial

---

[137] van Dommelen, 1997: 309
[138] Morrison, 2001: 256
[139] Spivak, 1987

participants.[140] Such inconsistency in cross-cultural, and frequently intra-cultural, understandings resulted in cultural identities that were both complex and ambiguous. As such, individuals within a colonial society frequently operated within different cultures and could assume different, but each no less genuine, identities as they did so.

The mixed marriages of the first Hellenistic royal families not only solidified and legitimized the rule of the Hellenistic kings, but also sped the process of cross-cultural hybridization and created hybrid individuals in the form of the children of these unions. As we have seen in other examples above, Alexander the Great thought it vital that the Greek rulers were allied through kinship bonds with the local elites, as well as the ruling families of the preceding Achaemenid Empire (who had previously also intermarried with the local elites).[141] One such marriage between the Greek general Seleucus (later Seleucus I, of the Seleucid Empire) and the elite Persian woman, Apame of Bactria, created a particularly strong Greek-Eastern bond, as it resulted in the birth of the half-Greek, half-Iranian Antiochus I, the second king of the Hellenistic Seleucid Empire. This king was responsible for the creation of the "Iranianised Mesopotamian palatial style of the architecture of the Hellenistic palace at the Greek city of Ai Khanum" in Central Asia.[142] This is a particularly compelling example of both the Greek willingness to create alliances and share power with the local elites, as well become involved in a cultural negotiation process that combined the Hellenistic with the Near Eastern. It is also important to note that this hybridized cultural identity of the Seleucid Empire kings is only a very high profile example of "cultural mixture as the practice of mixed origins", which was expressed through monumental architecture.[143] There is no reason to doubt that such a blending of heritages, identities, and material culture was common among the lesser elites and common people as well.

Indeed, evidence for such multicultural heritage and identity can be seen in family trees from Hellenistic Uruk. Genealogical data in the form of patronymics (a list of male ancestors, such as the father and grandfather, which serves as an individual's identification) are contained within many economic transaction texts from the Hellenistic period, which were written in Akkadian on cuneiform tablets. Both the texts themselves and the transactions they document (many of which concern the sale of temple allotments) were traditionally Babylonian. However, several individuals with Greek names and Greek patronymics also appear in these texts, indicating that people of Greek descent were involved in traditional, elite Babylonian economic exchanges. Additionally, many of these Greek people married into the elite Babylonian families, and their ancestors' Greek names are sometimes passed down to the members of the succeeding, multiethnic generations. Recent research by Dr. Laurie Pearce and myself has shown that such cross-cultural naming practices often served as a means to fulfill a Babylonian tradition of passing down both the maternal grandfather's and paternal grandfather's names, which seemed to have been a priority in naming male children, regardless of the ethnicity that would have been attached to such a "family name".[144] This indicates that social concerns, such as the desire to adhere to matrilineal and patrilineal naming practices, were in some cases more important to Hellenistic Babylonian people than preserving cultural singularity within a family. Hybrid families, composed of multiethnic individuals, appear to have existed even within the

---

[140] Bhabha, 1994: 95
[141] Kuhrt, 1995: 696
[142] Sherwin-White, 1987: 7-8
[143] Friedman, 1995: 84
[144] Langin-Hooper & Pearce, 2010

traditionally Babylonian elites who were closely involved with the Uruk temple cult and still recorded their transactions in the now-dead language of cuneiform Akkadian.   If this group of people, who might conceivably have been the most socially conservative community in Babylonia, participated in such hybridity-forming interactions, it is likely that all of Hellenistic Babylonia was also a dense network of cross-cultural exchange.

Life in Hellenistic Babylonia can therefore be defined as the practice of mixed origins, a practice that undoubtedly resulted in the creation of hybridized cultures distinct and unique from their forebears. With this understanding of the cultural hybridity created within colonial societies and the multi-faceted identities held by colonial individuals, postcolonial theory has drawn attention away from the "too great a concentration on the division between colonizer and colonized, (which) is pernicious".[145] Rather, postcolonialism has focused on issues of cultural negotiation, the formation of multiple identities within the individual, and the artificiality of the academic focus on cultural differences between the colonizer and the colonized.   In this capacity, postcolonialism is a valuable tool through which to understand the colonial interactions that took place in the Hellenistic East. However, perhaps the most significant contribution of postcolonialism has been the questioning of the phenomenon of Hellenization itself, which has been developed largely in an imperialistic search for evidence of Greek political and cultural dominance in Babylonia. The postcolonial perspective has enabled scholars to fully understand the nature of the Hellenistic world as a highly complex set of social and cultural negotiations, and therefore different negotiated realities, that varied through time and space. The theories of both non-essentialism and hybridity suggest that instead of examining Hellenism as single process, force, or culture which had "some central and unchanging essence" to it, we should instead focus on the unique nature of every Greek-Babylonian interaction which took place during the Hellenistic period.[146] These can be examined, and so better understood, not as evidence of universal transformation process from local to Greek or a continual struggle between the dominating colonizer and the resistant colonized, but rather as the attempts of both the diverse Greek peoples and the many cultures that were incorporated into the Hellenistic empires to adapt, negotiate, and create a hybridized cultural system through which they could communicate and live in the complex, heterogeneous societies of Hellenistic Babylonia.

Impact of Postcolonial Thought on the Study of Terracotta Figurines

In many early scholarly studies of terracotta figurines, the division between "Greek" and "Babylonian" types has been a major feature in the valuation and interpretation of the material.[147] Such assessments of ethno-historical affiliation in the figurines are understandable in the context of the colonialist history of research on the ancient Near East, with its inherent interest in the distinctions between, and separateness, of the East from the West. By dividing the figurines into Greek types and Babylonian types, scholars could use the material culture to reinforce the divisions between the two cultures that they were already predisposed to assume existed.

With the use of postcolonial theory, more recent scholars – myself included – have begun to break down the notion that Greeks and Babylonians lived together in a Hellenistic-era version of apartheid, and instead have begun to recognize the cultural exchange and hybridity that developed between the two groups. In my earlier work, I have argued that terracotta figurines

---

[145] Gosden, 2001: 247
[146] Gosden, 2001: 258
[147] For further discussion of this scholarly history, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

are a particularly useful tool for accessing this hybridity, both because of the vast numbers of figurines that have survived from Hellenistic Babylonia, as well as the complex visual presence of these miniature anthropomorphic objects.[148] By investigating the evidence for hybridity in the various visual, technological, and contextual features of terracotta figurines, I used this material as a way to explore cross-cultural interaction and hybridity in Hellenistic Babylonia.

As useful as this adoption of postcolonial theory has been, however, these previous investigations of Greek-Babylonian interaction through the figurines – my own studies included – have often not fully tackled the issue of what hybridity "meant" to the people who made and used hybrid figurines. In my Master's thesis, I used an assessment of hybrid features within each figurine object – i.e. a listing of such characteristics as "Greek hairstyle" and "Babylonian pose" and "Greek mold" – to create a new typology of figurines, in which I grouped figurines together based on criteria other than their ethno-historical affiliations. This new typology demonstrated that many of the figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia were hybrid creations. But what did it mean to a Hellenistic Babylonian person to own a hybridized figurine? Did they even recognize the figurine as being a multi-cultural creation, and if so, what did that multi-cultural history mean to them when they selected an object for use?

Postcolonial theory suggests that, while the use of a particular set of figurines features were likely a result of choices (either directly by the craftspeople/makers of figurines, or a result of market pressures – a kind of choices – exerted by the people acquiring the figurines), this does not mean that the features were necessarily chosen because of their Greek or Babylonian origin. As the members of the two cultures interacted, blending the distinctions between them and reorganizing their communities along other lines of social division, the heritage of particular figurine traits might have been less and less identifiable. In other words, when a "Greek" or "Babylonian" feature was used on a figurine, it might not have been meant as a symbol of ethnic heritage.

Semiotics can offer us some vocabulary by which to discuss how the choice for a Greek or Babylonian figurine feature might not have equaled a choice for "Greekness" or "Babylonianess". In Piercian semiotics, the "index" is that which signals a causal relationship, whereas the "icon" signals a physical similarity, and a "symbol" signals a similarity created by convention.[149] For instance, smoke indexes fire, because the fire is what has produced the smoke. This causal relationship between smoke and fire contrasts with symbolic relationships, such as the association between the American flag and the American nation. The stars and stripes in the American flag are cultural symbols of the nation by imposed convention, rather than having a causal relationship (index) or physical resemblance (icon) to the country.

Many scholars working on Hellenistic art corpora tend to interpret evidence for Greek (or local) styles, forms, or materials in art as being "symbolic" – in other words, as having a conventional connection with the culture from which they originated, such that the sight of a "Greek" feature on an art object would symbolize, to the observer, "Greekness" (much in the way that the presence of an American flag on an object would symbolize "Americanness" to a modern observer). However, for ancient people, Greek or Babylonian features of figurines might have been indexical, rather than symbolic.[150] Hellenistic Babylonian figurines were produced

---

[148] Langin-Hooper, 2005; Langin-Hooper, 2007

[149] From the work of C.S. Pierce, described and explained in Savan (1988).

[150] For a discussion of how an archaeologist's use of features in material culture – such as pottery styles – as symbolic, when the ancient people's use of them was not necessarily symbolic, see discussion in Parmentier, 1997: 50-51.

using the techniques and visual repertoires derived from these cultural traditions as a matter of necessity: Greece and Babylonia were the two major cultures from which the people using the figurines originated. Even if a Hellenistic Babylonian person didn't recognize the cultural origin of a particular figurine feature, they used it because it was part of "how figurines were made" or "how it's done", i.e. what figurines should look like. Thus, Greek or Babylonian features were indexical of the past, signifying by means of causation.

Figurine trends prior to the Hellenistic period contributed to what the Hellenistic period figurines looked like by providing a repertoire of ways in which figurines could be thought about and formed as objects within the material worlds of Greek and Babylonian people. In this way, the figurines in the older traditions "caused" the figurines of the Hellenistic tradition, but did not necessarily conscript the later figurines as symbols of a particular ethno-historical past. This use of semiotics might be useful way to get out of the scholarly rut of assuming that Greek and Babylonian features were valued because they were cultural markers, and that the people who made and used the figurines within the Hellenistic Babylonian community were hypersensitive to the cultural origins of all the features in the figurines they used. Thus, while we as modern scholars can trace the use of Greek and Babylonian features in figurines as a way to chart or track the cross-cultural contact and diffusion of influences across Hellenistic Babylonian society, this does not necessarily mean that this was the intended function or visual effect of these figurine features – or even the response that they would have evoked in a viewer. The Greek or Babylonian visual effect may have been meaningful to some people, but it might have been meaningless to others. Other features (no matter how close the pre-Hellenistic parallels in one of the two cultures) would not have evoked any sort of cultural meaning to a Hellenistic Babylonian viewer.

But, if this cultural affiliation was not the meaning of the hybrid figurines, then what was? How can we begin to access meaning in the terracotta figurines at all, now that the presumed meaning of reinforcing ethnic divisions between Greeks and Babylonians has been deconstructed through postcolonialism? I argue that the answers to these questions can begin to be accessed through a reevaluation of how terracotta figurines are studied and analyzed. Rather than assuming we know which features of the figurines were most important – as is always done in the creation of scholarly typologies – I believe that this material would be better assessed through a methodology that *starts from* the figurines, rather than one that is *applied to* the figurines. Hybrid terracotta figurines have the potential to do far more than just provide evidence that a multicultural society existed in Hellenistic Babylonia. Through their nature as miniature representations of the human form, there are a whole variety of social, political, and personal identity concerns to which figurines could speak. To understand *how* and *what* these hybrid figurines mean, I argue that new methodologies are needed to facilitate our interpretations.

CHAPTER 3: CRITIQUE OF TYPOLOGY AND WORKING TOWARDS A NEW FIGURINES METHODOLOGY

A visual assessment of "Greek" versus "Babylonian" features has been one of the most prominent dividing lines that scholars have used to categorize the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia. There are manifold problems (many of which have been outlined in the preceding chapter) with utilizing this ethno-historical criteria and colonialist approach to classify figurines. One of primary complicating factors is that cross-cultural, Greco-Babylonian hybridity seems to have been a part of Hellenistic Babylonian society – a situation which challenges the notion that "Greek" and "Babylonian" were thought to be separate and divided entities.

However, the Greek versus Babylonian division is just one of many artificial, hard-edged boundaries that have been used by modern scholars to neatly carve up the corpus of terracotta figurines into "types". If hybridities existed that defy clear typological categorization of figurines into groups of "Greek" and "Babylonian", why should we be any more certain that clear and impermeable divisions existed between other typological categories, such as "male" versus "female" or "clothed" versus "nude"? In this chapter, I outline the methodological framework which I use to analyze terracotta figurines in this dissertation. In order to develop my methodology, I will first deconstruct and analyze the prevailing means of study that is and has been used by scholars in their figurine research: typologizing, or the creation of a typology.

Typologies for the sorting and grouping of figurines have been created and used by scholars from the earliest figurine studies[151] – in which typologies were often organized around formal and visual properties in the objects – through to more contemporary analyses. Indeed, there continue to be calls in figurine studies for the creation of more rigorous typologies, with typological categories that are more explicitly defined and rooted in scientific criteria, such as geological clay sourcing, rather than just divided by visually observable criteria.[152] This quest for more rigorous and defined typologies in figurine studies does not, however, call into question the basic organizing principles of typologies or the assumptions underlying their use. Indeed, in Mesopotamian figurine studies and in typology-based systems in general, even when the validity of certain "types" is questioned or the need for additional "types" is voiced, the underlying rules or processes of categorization are not disputed or "systematically addressed".[153]

In this chapter, I argue that we need to reconsider how and why we use typologies in order to better develop a methodology that is more sensitive to and aware of the complexity and fluid nature of object categorization – and, indeed, a way to think of methodology that is not simply equated with typology creation – with which to study figurines. I start by outlining several ways in which the use of scholarly typologies have, because of their perceived naturalness, constrained and shaped our thinking about Mesopotamian figurines. For instance, the scholarly focus on using typologies, and our unwillingness to acknowledge the issues and problems associated with typologies, has taken off the table a vast range of interesting questions about ancient object categories: did ancient people think about similarities and differences in objects the same way we do? Were their categories similar to ours? Were the features of a

---

[151] This history of figurine scholarship is discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.
[152] Recent examples include papers given by E. Darby and C. Tuttle at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting 2009, in the "Figuring Out the Figurines of the Ancient Near East" Session.
[153] Bowker & Star, 1999: 5

Hellenistic Babylonian figurine that we think are most important (such as human form, gender, and clothing) also the most important to their ancient users? We may not be able to find answers to all of these questions, but until we deconstruct our seemingly-natural typologies, we cannot even ask them.

I then propose an alternate perspective on the use of typologies, one which attempts to incorporate our need to group objects in order to study them with the reality of the lived materiality of objects in which associations between figurines were fluid and flexible. From this new understanding of the potentials of associations that do not rely on "types", I outline a new methodology for studying Hellenistic Babylonian figurines that considered their bundled features as allowing for a variety of figurine "entanglements". Using this methodology, I aim to open up our consideration of object similarity and difference to a more fluid and flexible system of analysis, and thus provide the potential and the forum for a consideration of whole new avenues of inquiry about these figurines.

General Problems with Typologies: Assumptions of Ahistoricity and Naturalness

The idea of "a typology" is rarely talked about in figurine studies. The scholarly literature assumes that the definition and use of "a typology" are self-evident – and, indeed, typologies, are often deployed without any explanation, awareness or understanding. As deduced from a perusal of scholarly catalogues, creating a typology appears to be the analytical act of sorting figurines (or other objects, etc.) based on certain "similar" or "shared" characteristics that are somehow deemed the most important, salient, obvious, or critical. I would here like to be explicit in my activation of the term "typologizing", as I am employing it as a verb: "to typologize", meaning "to create a typology". In making an active verb "typologizing", I would like to bring attention to this process, which is often assumed to be natural and universal, and highlight the oft-ignored role of human agency and decision-making in typology production. The result of this process is the "typology", an ordering of the selected group of objects into which future objects can be fitted.

Typologizing, or the production of such typologies, has come to be thought of as "scholarly work" or what a scholar – particularly a scholar of archaeology or art history – does[154], and we therefore distinguish a typology from other general classification systems that are less "rigorous".[155] However, although typologizing is the scholarly process of categorization, it is assumed to be the obvious extension and reflection of the everyday practices of natural categorization used to group the ancient objects under study. For instance, Adams and Adams, in their analytical assessment of archaeological typology, assert that "all classifications are to a degree natural"[156] and thus "scientific classifications are not qualitatively different from vernacular or folk classifications; indeed the circumstances attending their inception are often virtually the same in the two cases".[157] In other words, typologies created by scholars are assumed to flow from natural groupings used to categorize the features and distinctions intrinsic to the objects under study. As scholars, we think that we create and use these typologies in order to get a grasp on the differences already present (but waiting to be formally articulated and named, by scholars, through the typologizing process) in the overwhelming material world, to order it into manageable segments that can be thought about and dealt with more easily, to codify

---

[154] Adams & Adams, 1991
[155] Hill & Evans, 1972; Adams & Adams, 1991.
[156] Adams & Adams, 1991: 279
[157] Adams & Adams, 1991: 40

and make study-able the similarities that already exist between ancient objects. Systems of categorization and analysis, such as typologies, thus help us to make sense of the vast quantities of different objects we encounter.

Typologies are therefore convenient, scholarly tools that are useful to us as we think and talk about ancient objects. The problem arises, however, when we assume typologies are benign and transparent tools.

Why would typologies not be benign and transparent tools? I argue that the answer to this question lies in how typologies are created. A typology, as a particular kind of organizing tool, is built on a series of nested assumptions: everyday categories are natural and self-evident; the best way for scholars to study ancient objects is to systematize these natural, everyday categories through the naming of "types" and creation of a typology; and these typological schemas can be projected back into the past as if they were ahistorical and universal. In order to challenge the usefulness of typologies, it is therefore necessary to unpack, step by step, these assumptions implicit in the typologizing process.

In order to deconstruct the first assumption – that everyday categories are natural, straightforward, and obvious – we must consider how such categories are formed. We think that we group or categorize the objects in our world based on some kind of inherent, natural identity that exists in that singular object. However, when we think we group objects into types or kinds based on what they are, we are actually choosing certain features to consider – and so to use in deciding what kind or type of object it is – and we are ignoring other features. For instance, I think that the presence of a handle, ceramic material, cylindrical straight-sided cavity, and waterproof glaze are the features that define what makes a coffee mug. On the other hand, I think that the color of the glaze, the decorative pattern, the shape of the handle, and several other of its material properties do not matter in defining the limits of coffee mug object type. Therefore, when I look at an object and decide if it fits into the coffee mug type, there are features I consider and features I ignore.

However, as shown in the work of Webb Keane, all objects have innumerable qualities (such as color, shape, texture, flammability, hardness, etc.) that are bundled together to compose the complete materiality of the object.[158] I cannot simply have a coffee mug that has a handle, ceramic material, cylindrical straight-sided cavity, and waterproof glaze – these features *must* co-occur with many other material properties, such as color, texture, size, shape, weight, and so forth. These non-essential or "non-type determining" features are bundled up with the coffee mug features, even if they are ignored by the current object user in deciding how to classify the object into a type; they can't be unbundled or disassociated, at least not without replacing them with other bundled features. At any time, at any place, or by any person, these other qualities remain available to be selected as being the most important in defining the object's purpose, giving it a name, and finding a use for it. In other words, the "non-type" qualities are always present and offer the potential to be recruited into new systems of signification, to be made into the defining "type" features of a new type, and thus to make my "coffee mug" into an object of another "type" indeed.

The everyday categorization process thus works as such: from a larger assemblage of objects – and, indeed, we always create our types by comparing and contrasting an object with the objects around it, never by just looking at the "natural identity" of one single object (even if this is what we think we are doing) – I have singled out some objects that I view as similar and I

---

[158] Keane, 2005: 188

have created a "type" called "coffee mug" based on the similarities I saw in certain material qualities of these objects. In the process of creating my "coffee mug" type, I have done what all typologizers do: I sorted objects and separated them from other objects based on certain characteristics that I deemed the most important, salient, obvious, or critical. Note that I am highlighting my agency in this process: whether I was conscious of it or not, I decided which bundled qualities were important and which were not. It is here that the apparent stability of the type I have created breaks down, and on two fronts. First, different people might have defined the "coffee mug" type in other ways: to some, color, texture, or size might have be important; to others, a handle or a ceramic material might not have been a defining feature. Secondly, others (perhaps non-coffee drinkers) might not even have a category of "coffee mugs", but choose to highlight other properties from among the bundled qualities of these objects to group them differently, into "types" with names such as "tea cup", "pencil holder", "wall decoration", "size that fits on the pegs in the dish rack", "used to belong to Grandma", or "blue that matches the countertop tiles". In creating these alternate or new typologies, these new users are potentially disassociating the objects formerly typed as coffee mugs from each other (because some of the differing bundled qualities of these objects became the basis for the formation of new types) and typing them with other objects that do share the similarities in the bundled qualities that have now become important.

From this brief example, it becomes clear that whoever is creating the typology is not only conducting the sorting process, but is also *deciding* by which criteria the sorting should be done: making a series of judgments and choices about which qualities of an object are more important, salient, obvious, or critical, and which qualities of an object are not relevant to how it should be classified or what kind of object it is. However, regardless of whether or not we are aware of them, we make these choices to select, highlight, and sort by specific qualities of objects when we make a typology. As a result, in making a typology, we are doing more than simply observing and commenting on qualities in the objects. We are deciding which of all those bundled qualities of an object matter, and which ones don't.

This process takes place on a sliding scale of consciousness – some typologizers may not be aware that they are making choices at all. Thus, even though we are making these kinds of judgments, evaluations and decisions when we create a typology, it often does not feel like we are. Rather, the sorting process feels natural, as if we are following some pre-determined, concrete guidelines for sorting that exist naturally in the world and that can be applied universally, separate from our own analyses and agency. If we do not analyze what we are doing, but merely go about our daily business, we may not even be aware of our sorting techniques or the types we have created. Even when I am self-consciously writing my example of the coffee mugs above, I feel like I am not "creating" the coffee mug type, nor defining its features – rather, I feel like the "type" called "coffee mug" exists in the world, as an obvious and self-evident category, and that I am simply using it, not inventing or reinventing it. Even scholars who study archaeological typologies have been seduced by these feelings of naturalness: Adams & Adams state that some "types are so sharply distinct" as to be "nearly natural" and "clearly evident".[159] Hill and Evans go further when they declare that "there *are* non-random clusters of attributes that can be discovered and called 'types'. To believe otherwise is to take a position contrary to fact". [160] These positions are backed up by statistical evaluations of attribute

---

[159] Adams & Adams, 1991: 273
[160] Hill & Evans, 1972: 261

variation within objects, which are used to "prove" that objects can be naturally typed based on clusterings of similarity and difference.

It requires a large analytical and self-reflective step backwards to realize that the category of "coffee mug" is not a natural thing. It is a somewhat common label for objects that are used by a large portion of middle-class American culture (as well as other cultures/people). There are certain properties that objects can have that make them seem more or less like a coffee mug, in a "graduated scale of proximity"[161], in the opinion of the members of this culture, to the degree that these members of this culture (such as myself) feel qualified to conduct the typologizing process in order to group coffee mugs together with the anticipation of sharing similar results with our neighbors. Even when we put coffee mugs in other groups – such as those I listed above, like "pencil holder" – we still feel that we "know" what a coffee mug is, because "coffee mug" as a type is an obvious, natural thing, not something that I myself decided upon. Thus, these categories do not seem to be the products of individual thinking, but rather the result of cultural and social training, and indeed, categorizations and typologies are employed specifically in order to facilitate cooperation and agreement across social worlds.[162]

Types and typologies thus operate in part as a way to solidify "communities of consensus": groups of individuals who have agreed on how to decide which features of objects – all of which had the potential to be used[163] – to highlight in their grouping of types. In my coffee mug example, the American middle class might constitute the community of consensus. With regards to Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, archaeologists and art historians who consider themselves figurine scholars would constitute this community of consensus: a community who decides on the salient feature of figurines and how to use those features to group figurines into types. This is how types become "naturalized" and pervasive – an individual is indoctrinated into the formal "rules of practice"[164] of typologizing (transmitted in implicit, not explicit, fashion) as they are brought into the culture, making it seem as though those rules are natural or "just so".

This is a recursive process: new people are brought into the community of consensus, and their shared participation in the same established structure of the typologizing process reinforces and recreates the established typology, which then makes it seem even more real. In the case of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, we – as the figurine scholars – are this community of consensus. We have decided together which qualities of the figurines to use to create our typologies, and then we have passed along these typologizing rules and preferences to other figurine scholars; these new members may create new typologies in order to study new figurines corpora, but the rules underlying and scaffolding these new typologies are replicas of the established conventions of our shared community of consensus. Indeed, by following these established rules of typology creation – how to name a "type", what features of a figurine (such as sex and clothing) to value – and deploying them effectively in their own typologizing processes, these new scholars become members of this community of consensus. Simultaneously, they have participated in the circular, self-perpetuating process of reinforcing the typological norms of the community and thus limited the framework from which conclusions about the material can be drawn before any "interpretations" have even been made.

---

[161] Meskell, 2004: 40

[162] Star & Griesemer, 1989

[163] "The realization or suppression of that potential cannot be ascribed simply to the qualities of the object in themselves. There must always be other social processes involved." (Keane, 2005: 190)

[164] De Certeau, 1984: xv

These typological value judgments appear, therefore, to be natural – i.e. the new figurines scholars make their typologies according to our established rules because this is the obvious, best, and natural way to organize figurine collections.[165] However, this illusion of naturalness masks the cultural process of educating members into the community of consensus. In actuality, our experience of objects (such as the scholar's experience of the terracotta figurines he/she studies) is a "learned disposition", and indeed our cultural learning is what "enables judgments in the first place".[166] When scholars talk about the creation of their typologies, the impact of their particular cultural background is never discussed; rather, types and typologies are created through the scholar's use of intuition or statistics to recognize patterns in shared, important object features.[167] But both of these tools (intuition and statistical models) are only as good as the information you put in and the results you ask to get out – and it is the community of consensus we are a part of that teaches us what kinds of variables to value and to look for in co-occurring clusters; as well as a specific system of assessment that finds meanings in certain groupings of variables and not in others.

That even scholars who study typology do not consider the role of their cultural backgrounds or the effects of the group preferences of our scholarly community of consensus in pre-determining/pre-selecting the kinds of typologies they create, is a result of the aura of naturalness given to typologies by the communities who create and use them. The "art of thinking"[168] typologies, which is also the "art of using"[169] typologies, becomes an operational means to cement community cohesion; a way of using the object world to "naturalize social relations"[170] within the community of consensus. In order to create this feeling of naturalness in the social order of the community (and its objects), an attempt is made to "disestablish" the specific human producers "as the creators of order under study".[171] Thus the rules of classification operate invisibly, without our conscious consideration or even our ability to see them clearly[172], and we generally stand "in formal ignorance" of both the manner in which categories are created and the social and personal effects of their use[173] - even when we ourselves are the ones perpetuating their perceived naturalness by participating in typologizing and imparting the community's rules of typologizing to others. As a result, both the process of categorization and the typologies that result – as well as, most importantly, the *rules* of how to typologize – appear to be natural, having emerged already formed, and not the result of human decision-making processes.

However, even within the community of consensus, these seemingly obvious, natural typologies are not as fixed, stable, or shared by all as they appear. For instance, a search on Google Images quickly reveals objects that I would not typologize as coffee mugs (for instance, I would consider a metallic drink container with a plastic lid to be a thermos, while I don't even know what to label a Darth Vader head with a water-tight cavity inside), yet someone else has decided that they are indeed coffee mugs. Even my own husband – who is part of my inner-most "community", yet at the same time was raised in a different part of the country by a family

---

[165] Bourdieu, 1984
[166] Koerner & Rausing, 2003: 421; Bourdieu, 1984
[167] Adams & Adams, 1991; Keane, 2005
[168] De Certeau, 1984: xv
[169] De Certeau, 1984: xv
[170] Meskell, 2004: 35
[171] Miller, 1985: 11
[172] De Certeau, 1984: 11
[173] Bowker & Star, 1999: 2, 3

different from my own – has some objects that he calls "coffee mugs" that I think must be considered "cups" instead. That it is common to laugh at such differences of opinion, while simultaneously being confirmed in one's individual perception that *his family* did things the *wrong* way and that he must therefore be converted (or, rather, brought into my community of consensus) by learning to name and think about things in the *right* way – i.e. my way, which is based on my own personal, family, and cultural experiences – is an indication that we recognize that typologies are not always fixed or entirely shared even between members of our own group. That I myself can even acknowledge that I (like everyone else) have unique ways of "reading"[174] and categorizing objects, which is based on my personal experience and which maps my own world and desires over the dictates of my culture as a whole (staying within the guidelines given by the culture, but taking liberties of "personal improvisation"[175]), exposes that typologies – far from being natural – are actually elaborately constructed compilations based on an interweaving of personal, social, temporal, community, contextual, and cultural experiences and instruction. It is thus no surprise that within my own culture and communities, typologies are contested, the definitions of a "type" are open to individual interpretation, and objects cannot be typologized in an unambiguous, correct way. The "fixity of our own categories" is only an illusion[176] - an illusion that you must accept and participate in if you would like to join the community of consensus, but an illusion nonetheless. The naturalness of the "coffee mug" type, and of types in general, is thus exposed for the seductive fiction that it is: it is not natural, it is only *perceived* as natural.

As a result of this perceived naturalness of typologizing in our own world, typologizing objects from the ancient world also seems like a natural process for us to engage in, with natural or inherent rules that should be followed. Indeed, from the proliferation of artifact typologies that accompany site excavation reports, it is apparent that our scholarly community of consensus believes that the best way to study ancient objects is to systematize natural, everyday object categories through the naming of "types" and creation of a fixed typology.

This process of creating a scholarly typology is problematic for several reasons. First, the process of creating a scholarly typology entails the fixing or solidification of categories. As seen in the discussion above, everyday categories are fluid and flexible: even when we, their users, think that our categories are stable, unchanging entities, our modes of practice reveal that category boundaries are really porous and object identities are often mutable – both in our personal practices of object engagement, as well as across community, temporal, contextual and other contingencies of use. The imposition of a scholarly typology on such flexible and fluid systems of categorization effectually ossifies them, artificially solidifying their inherent flexibility. As discussed above, the creation of everyday categories themselves is already a process of choosing to highlight certain qualities of objects as more important than other material properties – with the scholarly ossification of categories into a typology, the effects and ramifications of these choices to give preference to certain bundled qualities is greatly magnified, because they are given both scholarly authority and a published permanence that does not easily allow for fluid consideration of categorical boundaries.

The choices made in the process of ossifying categories into a scholarly typology also have an artificial fixing effect on everyday categories through the ranking of attributes. In order to create a scholarly typology, all bundled qualities cannot be considered equal, but they must all

---

[174] De Certeau, 1984: xxi
[175] De Certeau, 1984: xxii
[176] Meskell, 2004: 39

be considered and accounted for in the organizational system. In other words, I can't just say that the important features that define my coffee mug type are the presence of a handle, ceramic material, cylindrical straight-sided cavity, and waterproof glaze, and that all other features are unimportant. Rather, I would have to decide which of these other qualities are more important – and make two objects sharing them more similar – than other possible features. For instance, is color more important – making all coffee mugs that are red more similar to each other – than the weight, the shape of the handle, the size of the liquid-holding cavity, or the decorative pattern? In everyday life, we don't need to make permanent decisions about these things; rather, we can choose to rank and re-rank the importance of qualities depending on our needs at the moment – for instance, if I need to pack my mugs in a box, I would put the heaviest on the bottom (thus ranking this feature as most important at the moment) and only consider the color grouping of the mugs as a second thought, but if I need to host a Christmas party, the colors red and green can temporarily become a mug's most important features.

Scholarly typologies do not, however, preserve this fluidity of ranking and re-ranking with object features – instead, a distinct hierarchy is set and followed in order to create clean and defined categories, subcategories, etc. Thus these scholarly, ossified typologies don't just decide which features are important; they also decide how important each feature is with respect to each other. The ranked, inflexible hierarchy of object interrelationships that is thus created already does not reflect everyday practices of thinking about and using objects in our own everyday culture. Compounding this artificiality is the fact, which we must return to, that this elaborate typological structure is created based not on rules natural to the objects but on the culturally specific rules of the scholar's community of consensus.

Thus, just like with the creation of everyday categories, the rules governing the creation of scholarly typologies are similarly not natural – i.e. they are not inherent to the object – but rather they too are culturally conditioned patterns of how we have been taught to engage with objects. They are also not benign: "each standard and each category valorizes some point of view and silences another. This is not inherently a bad thing – indeed, it is inescapable. But it *is* an ethical choice, and as such it is dangerous – not bad, but dangerous."[177]

While there are many ways in which typologies could be considered dangerous – a prime example is how multiracial people's identities can be negatively impacted by the requirement to "check one" racial category on census forms[178] – I am focusing here on how the creation of typologies can jeopardize our understanding of the ancient world. When scholars create typologies for ancient artifacts, they rarely, if ever, make clear that the typologies are based on the scholar's individual opinions of how the objects should be sorted. Indeed, the scholar's agency in this process is often sublimated or even denied, taking a back seat to such a degree that the typology does not appear to have been the product of human agency at all, but rather appears to have emerged naturally, springing to life as an obvious result of qualities inherent in the objects. Even when authors disagree about the "correct" typology that should be used for a group of objects, the debates tend to center around the scholars' differences of opinion on how to rank object qualities – i.e. is the headdress possibly indicating that the figurine is depicting a goddess take precedence over the categorization of that figurine with others in the "clothed female" type – or perhaps on what perspective (art historical, archaeological, etc.) should have their concerns & analytical methods privileged in the creation of the typology. Thus, within

---

[177] Bowker & Star, 1999: 5-6
[178] Bowker & Star, 1999: 223-224

these debates, it is only the evaluation of figurine features or the specific deployment of the typological model that is under scrutiny, *not* the underlying issue of how the scholars' own cultural, social, and personal backgrounds have contributed to (or even determined) what criteria they used to structure their use of typology in the first place. Thus, the *interpretations* generated by scholars are debated, but not the paradigm of typology itself.

 This denial of agency – or the lack of claimed responsibility – for our scholarly typologies is not surprising, for this is how we make and use typologies in our modern world. However, to make and use typologies in the ancient world in the same manner as we do in the modern, means that we are also bringing these implicit assumptions about the ways in which objects are organized, which are situated in our own time and place, to our analyses of ancient material[179]. Because these assumptions about "correct" modes of classification and typologizing in turn create the dividing criteria for the typology, these assumptions condition the interpretive results that can be derived from the resulting system of organization. If we use modern-based notions of the relative value or importance of various object qualities to divide ancient material, then the typology we create will reflect our perceptions of object "types" more than actual ancient opinions of object groupings and thus will "impede culturally contextual understanding"[180] – as I stated above, even the typologies derived from statistical studies are only as good as the data we enter into the computer and the rules we program into the system, and thus if we set up our typological systems to follow modern rules (and thus look for modern types), only object similarities and differences that conform to modern expectations of object types will be found. The impact of this cyclical process, in which we continually find only the kinds of types and typological boundaries that we are looking for, on our ability to understand the ancient world is compounded by our lack of acknowledgement that we are participating in this process. This unwillingness to be self-reflexive about what we are doing takes the typological process off the table for scholarly debate and refinement – if we assume the process is obvious and natural, we cannot conceive of other options, alternatives, or even critical discussion, and thus we hide a whole range of potentially intriguing questions about the way ancient people might have categorized objects differently behind neatly packaged typologies.

 Most scholars – especially the scholars of early figurine catalogues – didn't or haven't realized that they were bringing assumptions about how objects should be organized to their analyses of figurines (again, this is not surprising, since this is how we approach modern, daily life typologizing practices as well). These scholars generally do not claim to be accessing ancient typological categories or the ancient mindset when they divide the figurines into groups. However neither do they acknowledge that they are creating groupings based on modern criteria. Rather, implicit in the production of a typology is the fundamental assumption that the categories created for the figurines are both ahistorical and natural, as accessible and applicable in the past as they are in the present. The divisions and categories created through careful visual, formal, scientific, and archaeological analysis were correct because they were based on self-evident, natural features in the objects – be these the depiction of genitalia (marking sex) or geologically-specific regional clay (indicating the region where the raw material was harvested). In pursuing scholarly analysis of these various figurine features, and then dividing figurines into categories – choosing what features are important, which features are closely or distantly related to another group of features, prioritizing what kinds of differences between objects made them too

---

[179] Haraway, 1991: 188
[180] Meskell, 2004: 40

dissimilar to be grouped together and which kinds of difference between individual objects could be overlooked and thus allowing objects to be associated with one another – few scholars seem to have considered all the assumptions they were making regarding the relative importance of any one material quality of a figurine and if it should be used to divide some figurines from others. This process of dividing the material is thought to be "merely" the engagement in first level sorting of objects based on obvious and quantifiable features, without acknowledgement of the scholar's own "subjective ontology where some similarities are privileged and some differences are elided"[181] through the process of making judgments and decisions.

This lack of self-reflexivity with respect to this typologizing process, in which the element of active selection on the part of the typologizer has been completely overlooked, has thus also overlooked the biases and preconditioned judgments that go into the specific selections and choices made in the creation of all typologies. The assumption of ahistoricity and naturalness of "types" does not actually create an ahistoricity or naturalness of types; rather it just allows the "tacit pervasiveness of Western classificatory systems"[182] to run rampant, unchecked and unchallenged by self-conscious acknowledgments of our own cultural conditioning. It also prevents us from determining, analyzing, or debating if the categories and selections of salient features of an object that we see as important in the present were also important in the past, because we are not able to envision a situation in which we could ask that question: the perceived naturalness of our typologies obscures the possibility that a difference of typological opinion would even exist.

In the next section of this chapter, I will show how these assumptions of the ahistoricity and naturalness of typologies has specifically affected our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines.

Duplicating Western Categories, Making Types, and Hiding the Messiness: Typologies of Hellenistic Babylonian Figurines

Scholarly typologies are thought to be an especially necessary tool to use when similarly shaped objects from the ancient world exist in large numbers: we can deal with the Law Code Stele of Hammurabi as a single object without feeling the need to group it with other stelae, but Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines – which often number in the hundreds, if not thousands, from a single site – cannot be reasonably discussed on their individual merits in the space limitations of scholarly catalogues. Therefore, scholars choose to group figurines together and talk about the characteristics of a "type" instead of individual objects.

The implications of this use of scholarly typologies on our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian figurine are vast. For instance, as a result of the assumed naturalness of types and typologies in the scholarly interpretations of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines – which, in turn, hides the active operation of modern, Western rules for selecting which of a figurine's bundled features are most important – we tend to privilege distinctions and methods of dividing figurines that have a particular resonance within our own culture and time period. This is a multi-level process: not only do we decide and separate which categories are relevant and which are not, but we also rank them according to the relative importance those typological distinctions hold in our own culture. We thus create graduated degrees of similarity and difference that are encapsulated in types with labels, such as "Female Clothed Reclining with Headdress", which are used to

---

[181] Meskell, 2004: 40
[182] Meskell, 2004: 40

divide and describe these objects in a seemingly scientific and rigorous way.[183] These labels, however, actually serve to reinforce the perceived naturalness of the types, which are now ossified through the use of the labels into fixed, immovable types which do not reflect the ways in which objects are actually categorized in the world. Our judgments of categorical importance, ranking of features, and labeling of "types" are therefore not superficial glosses used to sort otherwise self-evident objects, but rather become deeply embedded in the fabric of these created typologies and the interpretations derived from them.

      For instance, across anthropomorphic figurine catalogues, gender/sex is used as the first dividing line between figurine types: before they are anything else (clothed, painted, used in temples, in a seated pose, or any other bundled quality), our focus is that figurines are female or male. Because this method of dividing is given primacy, it is implied that the gender division is the most important feature that figurines can possess – which then reinforces this division and conditions our interpretations (i.e. we see substantial differences between the figurines of different sexes because we have already decided that figurines of different sexes are substantially different). This primary division by gender is closely followed by a division into clothed and unclothed figurines (usually referred to as "nude" or "naked"). Such divisions seem natural and obvious to us, because these categories of male vs. female and clothed vs. naked are important distinctions – and, in fact, core organizational principles – in our modern, western perception and interpretation of human images.

      However, not only does this presuppose that these distinctions were of foremost importance in the ancient world (displacing other perhaps more significant factors in the display and perception of the human body), but it also supposes that these categories were the same as ours. For instance, how do we know that there were only two possible or valid categories of gender that were in operation? While gender distinctions, like the typologies that privilege them, appear to be part of the "natural, eternal order of things"[184], they are in reality contested concepts that are culturally constructed and, even within a particular culture, continually renegotiated as they are enacted[185]. For instance, Asher-Greve has shown that at least four distinct genders were recognized and operational in third millennium Mesopotamian society.[186] We therefore cannot simply assume that gender in Hellenistic Babylonia – and the display or representation of gender on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines – fits neatly into our categories of "male" and "female". This is seen in the figurines themselves: some Hellenistic Babylonian figurines do not present with obvious sexual characteristics, yet scholars take the slightest clay bump on the chest area as a sign of "female" and the slightest bump in the genital area as a sign of "male", when often these could be simple variations or distortions in the clay surface. In other sexually ambiguous cases, the elaboration of headdress or wearing of jewelry is used to disambiguate the "sex" of the figurine, without any clear evidence that, for instance, a male could not be shown wearing earrings.

      Similar problems exist with the distinction between clothed and unclothed figurines: even though the definitions of these categories seem obvious, it could well be that what constituted "clothed" and "naked" in Hellenistic Babylonia was not the same as our understanding of these terms. For instance, if a female body was not wearing a textile garment, but was shown wearing elaborate jewelry, was she clothed or unclothed? Understood from the context of the text of

---

[183] De Certeau, 1984: 11
[184] Nochlin, 1988: 2
[185] Conkey & Gero, 1997: 421
[186] Asher-Greve, 1997

Ishtar's Descent, where the goddess is required to remove her clothing as she passes through the seven gates of the underworld, jewelry (which constitutes the vast majority of this "clothing") may have been thought of as clothing.[187] In the myth of Anzu[188], Enlil undresses in order to bathe, and his disrobing consists mainly of removing his crown and his *ME*s (a complex Sumerian word understood to mean the "divine properties enabling cosmic activity", which take a physical form[189]). While both mythological beings actually remove textile clothing as well, it still raises the possibility that a human image that was lacking a garment but wearing other items such as jewelry or headdresses could be considered to be "not naked" or some other variation of clothed.

Such questions provide rich avenues for research that are currently buried because of the accepted nature of scholarly figurine typologies. The tacit implication is that ancient and modern concerns, ways of thinking about the body, ways of thinking about images of the body, and weights of importance given to distinctions in portraying the body (for instance, with the distinction of male vs. female more important than the coloration of the figurine, the technique in which it was made, or the context in which it was used), transcend cultural particularities, and thus can be applied with equal weight to the past and the present. In other words, figurine scholars have tended to neglect the historical and cultural contingency of our organizing processes, instead transposing our own way and values onto the past in an uncritical fashion.

These problematic assumptions about the relative importance of figurine features are compounded when we realize that typologies not only tell us *what* features were important, but also *how* important they were relative to other features. These specific value judgments about relative degrees of priority are conveyed through the ranking they receive in the figurine typologizing process. As noted above, important divisions, such as sex/gender, are given greater privileging over others, and are therefore the differences between figurines that the catalogue reader notices first. This also means that the figurines which share the more privileged qualities of similarity, such as sex/gender, are grouped together, while the lesser categories of division have their members separated from one another. In the framework of a traditional catalogue, all of the naked figurines cannot be considered together easily (and the implication is that they should not naturally be considered together) as one group because they have already been divided at the meta-level into female and male – and then often published many pages apart in different sections of the catalogue.

Computer-based catalogues could circumvent this book-based problem through their potential to present flexible, searchable catalogues. However, most of these computer-based systems, such as a seal catalogue created by the online Cuneiform Digital Library project, retain the use of solidified, singular object typologies. Indeed, computer-based catalogues of ancient artifacts often constrain our thinking about object categories even further through the use of check-boxes, which provide a list of object features to be checked or unchecked for a search through the catalogue. While, in print catalogues, the object qualities given high positions in the typological hierarchy are *implied* to be the most important, the computer catalogue check boxes (almost) directly state that the check-able and search-able features are the most meaningful (and, perhaps, the only) features that you should be interested in when you peruse the material – which serves to further ossify our typological categories. This is an area that deserves serious

---

[187] For an English translation of this myth, in which the jewelry of Ishtar is described, see Dalley, 2000: 154-162.
[188] For an English translation of this myth, in which the MEs and garments of Enlil are discussed, see Dalley, 2000: 203-227.
[189] Definition of ME from Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd)

consideration, for computers do have the potential to allow us to make our categorizations of ancient objects more fluid and sensitive to flexibility. However, in order to fully explore and exploit this potential, we need to deconstruct our reliance on "natural" typological hierarchies and definitions.

Another detrimental aspect of this use of modern typologizing processes is that we tend to ignore features, even features in common across several objects, that don't easily correspond to important differences in object features within our own culture and that we don't see an obvious way to make into a "type". For example, several figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia show significant traces of multiple, wide, red paint lines across the body. If this paint had followed the contours of the figurine clothing, I posit that scholars would have recognized this as a *meaningful* feature of the figurine and typologized accordingly: "figurines wearing red dress", or some such type label. But because the broad bands of paint go across the whole surface of the figurine without regard to its physical contours (and thus covering skin, garments, and jewelry, with a seeming lack of discrimination) the paint is not recognizable to us as a natural type-creating feature – and therefore none of the major Hellenistic Babylonian figurine catalogues use paint presence or paint color as a distinguishing feature in making their types. Thus while the red paint is there and accessible for us to use to create a type, because it is not one of the bundled qualities that we would use to distinguish differences in human statuettes in our own culture, we apply (or rather imply through our lack of acknowledgement in our typologies) a similar lack of typological meaningfulness to the red paint quality in the ancient world.

In all of these ways, the assumption that western typologizing processes are somehow ahistorical and thus map easily onto the ancient world, have resulted in the research-limiting duplication of western categories imposed on the ancient figurines. In addition to distorting the ways in which we can think about these figurines in alternate (and perhaps, more legitimately ancient) categories, the use of modern typology frameworks presents an additional problem: what happens when you need to hide the messiness these typologies create?

Typologies aren't supposed to create messiness; in fact, they are intended to tidy it up. In making tidy, however, typologies actually cover-up, explain away, or otherwise deal with the messiness inherent in the diverse object world, and to leave object corpora such that their diversity and ambiguity is "tidily summarized", contained, and "no data (is left) unconfigured".[190] Thus, all objects are supposed to fit and are made to fit; in fact, there is no other option, for following the assumption that typologies emerge from natural and obvious distinctions between important features present in the objects, then each object should have a natural category into which it should be slotted and to which all of its material features directly point. Thus, typologies should "not only cover every possible case of the category (gender, propositions, and so forth) to which they are applied, but they can, and logically *do*, order 'the entire universe, known and knowable'."[191]

However, there are several cases where figurines – in all their messiness – do not fit. Such objects may not fit because their features appear strange and outside the normal range of variation in the figurine corpus, combine features in a pattern otherwise not seen in any other figurines, or appear otherwise to be "too different". These outliers do not fit well into typologies because they do not group well with other objects *according to our own cultural conventions of categorization* (indeed, such objects may have been considered easily group-able according to

---

[190] Gero, 2007: 324
[191] Jay, 1991: 95

the categorization conventions of the ancient users), and thus, because we are constrained by the mindset given to us by typologies, scholars tend to ignore or devalue them. Scholars would much rather "deal with 'perfect types' in a vacuum", than confront the messiness created when certain objects do not fit easily into typological structures.[192]

When scholars do try to fit these objects into their typologies, a few different techniques are used. The "Group of One" phenomena is a common strategy: an object that the scholar can't otherwise see a place for is put into its own grouping, which then implies that there are other objects just like it (of the same "type") that will/would fill out the group with further examples, once/if they are found in the archaeological record. This method gets around the problem of the outlier object by creating an empty, but defined and labeled, space around the object where its typological equals would reside (if only those objects could be found in the excavation). Other scholars deal with the outliers by placing them at the end of catalogues, lumped together in a large catch-all group "with an unspecified amount of variation"[193] between its members – indeed, the salient feature by which membership in such a group is usually defined is often strangeness and thus the challenges they present to our typologizing processes, *rather than* the sex, clothing, etc. divisions usually prioritized. As a result, these figurines are often separated even from other objects with which they share similarities in some bundled qualities simply because their complete package of bundled qualities falls outside the parameters of the established typological groups.

This attempt to clean-up or hide the messiness presented by outlier or "Group of One" objects exposes the fact that it is the typology itself that is creating the messiness. Only if objects must be placed into types do objects that lie outside the common "graduated scale of proximity"[194] and resemblance we find in other objects become a problem. If the typological codes that place a premium on "finding the homogenous"[195] – especially the "homogenous" as defined by our cultural conventions of recognizing similarity and difference – are not in play, then the diversity of objects is not flattened out and the so-called outlier object is not marginalized.

Conversely, typologies also create messiness by suggesting comprehensiveness: that when a type category exists, a corresponding object should exist to fill it. In the case of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, a desire for typological comprehensiveness has altered the actual finds from Nippur to include (as catalogued by Legrain[196]) figurines of a "missing type" – the nude or semi-draped woman reclining on her left arm on a couch – that were bought from the Babylon excavations, presumably to fill the "void". Legrain catalogues these with the rest of the Nippur figurines, inserting them where they "belong" in the hierarchy of typological distinctions and thereby obscuring their lack of authenticity as Nippur material. Typologies have created this messiness by suggesting that types exist naturally in the world, but also that because these natural types exist there should be objects to fill them. In the study of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, this has resulted in the perception that a "complete set" of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines exists, which all cities should have had (even if they weren't actually found there).

---

[192] Moorey, 2002: 204
[193] Gero, 2007: 320
[194] Meskell, 2004: 40
[195] De Certeau, 1984: xviii
[196] Legrain, 1930 (L144, L145, L146)

Some aspects of this "complete set" idea still persist into more recent publications[197], where scholars bemoan the incompleteness of the archaeological record and the unfortunate problem that expected object/figurine types are not found where they should have been. While, of course, the archaeological record is always incomplete and there are certainly figurines that are no longer preserved in their original contexts, it is the need to fill out the typology and not the lack of adequate data that often drives this perceived lack and creates a messy situation of negativity and holes, rather than positive situation of interpreting *in their own right* the objects that do remain, without reference or concern for their "missing" counterparts.

In all these various ways, typologies both create the mess and then try to hide it – leaving perhaps more of a mess in their wake. Ironically, it is a mess that appears to be the "fault" of the figurines themselves, when it is actually our reliance on typologies and our belief that they are good organizational systems that creates many of the conundrums we then try to use typologies to solve. It is an unfortunately solution, for in relying on the tidiness that typologies create we actual limit or remove from discussion many potentially rewarding avenues of inquiry about the degrees of similarity and differences in figurines, and the ways in which these relationships between objects were thought about in the ancient world.

Alternative Perspective on Similarity & Difference: Recognizing the Multiplicity and Fluidity of Categories

As I have argued above, typologies, the process of typologizing, and the use of types all create a interwoven mess of unsubstantiated assumptions, judgments, and hierarchies overlaid by scholars onto the figurine objects, even before any supposed interpretation has begun. So, how do we get out of this mess where we typologize these ancient figurines and confuse our own understanding of them because of our methods of study and the biases inherent within them? We still need a system (or systems) for organizing the figurines in order to study them; indeed, I am not suggesting that we abandon any hope of organizing figurine corpora. Rather, what we need to do is discard types and typologies – which I have shown above to be a particularly poor and problematic way of organizing figurines (or, indeed, any ancient objects) – and replace them with more productive and intellectually rewarding systems of organization. In order to develop and use such a new organizational system, it is first necessary for us to recognize how everyday categories really work: categories are multiple and categories are fluid.

Any group of objects can be, and is, categorized and sorted in multiple ways, along different criteria, by its users. There is never one, unique, complete system of categorization that accounts for all objects and is the only system used.[198] Rather, multiple systems and considerations are always potentially in play, and as a result, categories are multiple, overlapping, and not mutually exclusive organizations of objects. To see how this works, we can briefly return to my earlier coffee mug example: as I pointed out above, if I need to pack my mugs in a box, I would put the heaviest on the bottom (thus ranking this feature as most important at the moment), but if I need to host a Christmas party, the colors red and green can temporarily become a mug's most important features. So far, this example illustrates that there are different, equally possible and useful, ways of sorting any group of objects – and thus the fixed rankings used in typologies do not reflect the reality of multiple object categorizations.

---

[197] such as that of Karvonen-Kannas, 1995 (for further discussion of this and other figurine studies, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation).
[198] Bowker & Star, 1999: 11-12.

However, we can go further with this example, for when I pack a box and place my heavy items on the bottom, I don't limit it to coffee mugs – I also include other heavy objects, such as my knife block, large pots, etc. In doing so, I have created a category of heavy objects, which is very functional and useful for my present purpose. This category, however, becomes disbanded (at least temporarily) when I need to host the Christmas party: now my red and green mugs have come to be grouped together, along with strings of small colored lights, Nativity figurines, plates with Christmas trees painted on them, and festive drinks (with which they become very closely associated) such as apple cider and eggnog. This too is a possible, useful, and functional category for these objects. Indeed, this category even takes precedence (in my personal engagement with my objects) over the "coffee mug" category, as I have specific Christmas mugs that are kept with the Christmas decorations and not in the kitchen with the other mugs.

All of these categories are created by highlighting a different bundled quality within objects and picking out "similarity" (and eliminating objects bearing "difference") by considering the similarity in that particular bundled quality between the objects. In other words, every object shares many distinct "similarities" (and many "differences") with many other objects, and depending on the quality highlighted, an object can be different from another object with which it was previously considered to be the same. Red is red is red, if you're looking for red – it doesn't matter if it is embodied in a scarf or a car or a picture frame – and you can create a category of "red" around all these objects.[199] On other days, that red car may be seen (and categorized accordingly) as metal, a transportation device, reflective, or located in the garage, in which case the red color doesn't matter – and, even further, the car isn't the "same" as those other red objects at the moment – but its red color is still available to be reused to reconstitute a category of "red" if needed or desired. All these various ways of organizing objects exist in the world, even if we do not consciously realize we are using them.[200] Because the bundled qualities of an object are always multiple – indeed, too innumerable to be comprehensively listed or classified – the ways in which an object can potentially be categorized are practically limitless. Dupre calls this pluralism: the "many equally legitimate ways of dividing the world into kinds"[201], which must account for the "promiscuous realism"[202] of objects.

The way in which that object is categorized *at the moment* is based on complex human-object interaction, in which both the various qualities of the object and the various personal, gender, community, cultural, and other considerations of the user are simultaneously in play. The human-object engagement is what categorizes, thus making categorization a continual process, not a static thing that can be accurately and completely encapsulated by any fixed system of study, no matter how broad. Even the same person at a different moment in time (or, rather, a different experience of human-object engagement) could potentially choose a different one of multiple possible categories to use in categorizing the objects they are interacting with. Thus, if it were even possible to ask Hellenistic Babylonian people to sort figurines into categories, you would probably get different answers from different people, and probably multiple answers from the same person depending on the context of use, location, or other factors in which you asked the question. We therefore need to not only reject the use of the term "type" – because of its implications that objects are fixed into their defining groups in

---

[199] Keane, 2008: 187-189
[200] Bowker & Star, 1999: 2-3
[201] Meskell, 2004: 42
[202] Dupre, 1993

unchanging, permanent, all-encompassing ways – but also be significantly more dynamic in our conception and study of categories in order to reflect this active, continual process of categorization.

In order to do this, we must also recognize the fluidity present in everyday systems of organization. If there are multiple categories, then object identities have to be fluid – one day, an object can be a reflective surface; the next day, it is a means of transportation. Categories themselves are also fluid, as the boundaries of a category, and between categories, shift and change with each use – a flexibility that allows for a freedom of migration as objects travel between the categories.

For instance, given a modern group of utensils, there would be many ways of sorting or categorizing. One could group all the knives, forks, spoons, teaspoons, and so forth together. One could group by material, separating stainless steel from silver from other metal from plastic from wooden from biodegradable. One could group by style, from contemporary vs. traditional to the more specific styles/patterns imprinted on the surface. Length, color, and many other features could all be used – and, indeed, they <u>are</u> all used, at different times and different places for different reasons, but often even by the same people. The existence of these multiple typologies means that objects cannot be assigned to just one category – their categorical identities are fluid.

This flexibility and fluidity of objects with regards to categories – which is a result of their natures as bundled materialities, where different bundled qualities are available for selection, highlighting and use – is constantly exploited in our own uses of objects. For instance, when going on a picnic, I select by disposability (i.e. utensils that can be discarded or recycled and thus do not have to be brought home for washing), but when at home and preparing for a particular meal, I select from a variety of utensils for the sharpness of cutting edges (if I'm eating steak) or depth of spoon bowls (deep if I'm eating soup, shallow if I'm eating yogurt), regardless of material. When setting the table for a holiday dinner, I select true silver utensils because of the prestige of the material and choose between my family's two sets of silver based on if it is my mother's relatives or father's relatives coming as guests, with no regard whatsoever paid to what the utensils look like. When washing dishes, I sort by spoons, forks, and knives, regardless of other considerations, because of the ease of washing and laying out similar shaped objects on a towel to dry, but when storing the utensils I sort by size and appearance to keep the "same" ones together. With silver and stainless steel (the "better" utensils) sorting by the appearance (usually imprinted pattern and style) is crucial to keep the set together, but in the case of the plastic picnic utensils, the pattern is totally irrelevant to how they get stored and selected for use in groups. Additionally, none of the above rules are "rules": while they may describe my general habits, they are always open to change and adaptation – such as when I was given a set of metal utensils in a picnic basket, which I decided to then group with the disposable picnic utensils when going on a picnic, but separate out from the disposable utensils (which are discarded) when I bring them home to be washed) – thus showing the flexibility not only in identities of my objects but also in the definitions of my categories themselves.

As this example demonstrates, there are no two objects that are always the "same" and never "different": if a group of objects does not contain only identical pieces, then there is always room for the possibility of multiple, fluid categorizations. People create and use these different typologies as the need arises, often without consciously being aware of their different sorting methods and often believing that they follow one set categorization system even when they don't. In the case of my utensil example, I had believed that I organize my utensils based

first on material and then on imprinted pattern, when in fact, on closer analysis, it is apparent that I actually create and use a variety of fluid categories based on my needs and the potentialities of the object's qualities *at the moment of human-object interaction*. Just like the woman creating a category as she sought out reflective surfaces in which to examine her hair, I am also participating in a categorization-as-you-go process, one which isn't limited to just a single category (either to be created, or to have the object fit into), but is always multiple, fluid, and situationally contingent.

In order to reflect this flexibility and multiplicity of object "categoriness", we need a system for relating ancient objects to each other and their world, but using new terms and a more elastic framework. This is necessary in order for us to not only avoid problems with the ways typologies have been put into practice, but also move towards studying the dynamic and contingent ways in which categorizations actually work.

Towards a New Methodology of Figurine Studies: Entanglements of Difference

Based on all of the concerns described above, I have developed a new methodological system for organizing and studying Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, which is based on the fluid and fluctuating entanglements between objects. This methodology, as I deploy it in my figurine analysis, is described completely in the Introduction to Part II of this dissertation. However, the process of creating that methodology was a difficult one – it is easier to critique and discard the old system (namely, typologies) than to construct a new system to take its place. This final section of Chapter 3 serves to introduce that methodology, through a discussion of my priorities and goals for accessing the multiple, flexible associations between figurines.

The tracing of figurine associations is not a quantifiable or exact process, for it depends heavily on the scholar's judgments of what constitutes an analyzable bundled quality and how to create groupings *based on that scholar's perception of similarity and difference* in that bundled quality. Such subjectivities are, unfortunately, an enduring part of archaeological interpretation, however through acknowledging the agency of the scholar in selecting and defining the figurines associations under discussion, this methodology at least highlights that, in discussing entanglements, the scholarly interpretation process has already begun.

For instance, along the lines of sex/gender, I group together all the figurines that I think display female gender, and then create different categories that group other figurines along the same lines: male gender together, potentially androgynous gender together, and bearing a lack of gender specific markers together. Other figurines, such as those where I judged that gender specific features could not be determined, are not considered in this entanglement of difference. Thus, for the analysis of this entanglement of difference, the display of certain sex/gender characteristics is the only feature under consideration. This allows me to evaluate the operation of sex and gender issues with these human-object interactions, without requiring me to simultaneously categorize and rank (or even necessarily discuss) the other bundled features of these figurines.

Thus, through this methodology, I can temporarily privilege a certain bundled feature and explore what categorizations based on that feature might mean, without claiming that it was the only, most important, or universal way of categorizing these objects. Indeed, the categories of difference that I create in one section, such as when I focus on the bundled quality of sex/gender display in the objects, are disbanded when I consider another bundled quality. Figurines that were grouped together in the "Male" category can be disassociated, and new categories can be created, which include new associations of figurines, based on a different bundled quality;

previously "Male" and "Female" figurines are now "similar" and grouped together based on their technique of manufacture or the depiction of clothing. The use of this methodology, therefore, more closely reflects the process of categorization in everyday life, where categories are shaped and used based on the concerns and situation of the human-object interaction event, and no categories are ever completely permanent. We can thus tackle the problem that object-human relationships, such as categorizations, often elude reductionist analyses because they are "rarely either regular or random, falling instead somewhere in between these two extremes".[203] Using this system, we can attempt to access the ways in which human-object interactions took place, and thus begin to reconstruct some ancient categories, but also not artificially fix or ossify them (thereby creating typology-like rules of organization that do not reflect reality).

The primary aim of this methodology is to give us a way to recalibrate our category definitions, and thus attempt to divest ourselves of reliance on and privileging of the categories given to us by our own cultural training, and instead be sensitive to the ways in which categorical divisions (and the bundled qualities in objects that conditioned categorical belonging) might have been important and operational in the everyday lives of ancient people. We don't *necessarily* know, and certainly shouldn't assume we know, which bundled features of a figurine object were most important to the people who made and used it. Indeed, we can never know all the possible feature-bundle relationships that were operational, due to the situationally contingent and often personal nature of some categorizations. However, we can make deliberate strides toward attempting to reconstruct some of the ways in which Hellenistic Babylonians would have classified, sorted, and thought about objects in groups. Their categories were not necessarily the same as those privileged by our cultures of consensus, but we have some points of access nonetheless.[204] These include, for instance, the archaeological assemblages and contexts, which could indicate functional or spatially specific categories of figurines. Another option would be to consider the technique of manufacture as a locus for organizational processes, which could suggest entanglements of figurines that were not only assembled during the event of manufacturing, but potentially also reassembled during specific uses of the figurines due to the different modes of display possible with figurines made by different technologies.

One principal advantage of using this methodology to attempt to access those ancient categories is that I can investigate associations that I think might have been meaningful based on the archaeological and art historical evidence – such as the context or technique of manufacture – without limiting the interpretation by creating and sticking to one fixed framework of categorization. Thus, I can trace multiple associations: by analyzing along a variety of criteria, individual figurine objects can fit into many different categories and be analyzed with the figurines that share similarity in that particular bundled quality under discussion, while simultaneously (on a different page of my dissertation) be grouped with other figurines that share similarity in a different bundled quality. Further, some figurines may not fit into the particular association under discussion at all; in other cases, entanglements may contain different figurines based on how they are defined. In this way, I will preserve the ancient reality of flexible object identities and flexible categories with porous boundaries.

Indeed, another major benefit of investigating figurine entanglements is that I don't need to – as, indeed, I shouldn't – privilege any similarity or difference in the material over another. Due to the linear structure of dissertation formatting, certain figurines associations will be

---

[203] Knappett, 2008: 142

[204] Feldman, 2010. In this article, Feldman argues that agency as a social dynamic is universal, but that the mechanisms and forms of agency are culturally and historically contingent.

discussed before others; however, the order in which they appear is not intended to give implications of meaning. There may have been cases in Hellenistic Babylonia where certain entanglements were considered more important than others by large, potentially even society-wide, communities of consensus – as indeed, happens today – and used by more people, more of the time, than other personal or familial-constructed associations between figurines. However, we need to search for evidence of ancient privileging of specific categories in the archaeological record, and not just assume it based on our own cultural training. This new approach to the figurines allows me to maintain that lack of assumption by not requiring that I choose which entanglements were most important.

Additionally, I do not use this methodology as a way to attempt completeness of categorization in organizing these Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. As discussed in the previous sections, such comprehensiveness is not possible, due to the innumerable qualities in objects (all of which are available to be used to create new categories) as well as the potentially innumerable events of object-human interaction (and the social, personal, cultural, etc. backgrounds of those people). Thus, I will only be able to investigate a fraction of the potential associations that could have been in operation in the Hellenistic Babylonian human-figurine interaction events. By not allowing even the semblance of comprehensiveness, my analysis requires me to be both aware of and self-reflective in the choices I am making – thinking about why I choose to analyze some entanglements, while neglecting other potential object associations. These are important questions to consider, because many of the figurine entanglements I choose to analyze (and, indeed, that most scholars choose to analyze) are chosen because they are somehow interesting to me and my community of consensus. I have argued in Chapter 2 that this is particularly the case with the difference of Greek vs. Babylonian, which has been privileged by scholars in their investigations of Hellenistic Babylonian society with almost monomaniacal fervor, and yet, I argue, was not one of the more distinctions between objects from the Hellenistic Babylonian perspective. However, I would argue that this realization does not mean that the study of such features in the figurine corpus should be abandoned. Through pursuing such analyses, we are not only able to explore the possibility that ancient associations between objects overlapped with our own views on figurine categories, but also, simply, investigate the issues that are of importance to us. All of scholarship is done to serve the modern world, not ancient people, and the "excavation of the pasts to which our present interests lead us remains valuable, above all for the critical light shed…on those very interests".[205] However, we need to be cognizant that we are studying these questions because we are interested in them, not because they are naturally superior lines of inquiry suggested by the features inherent in the objects, nor because they are the concerns or issues that would necessarily have been foremost in the minds of the Hellenistic Babylonians. By thus recognizing our own interests, we can both serve our purposes and give due consideration to the other potential associations between figurines – preserving, through the use of this new methodology, the multiplicity and fluidity of the real entanglements of everyday life.

---

[205] Mattick, 2003: 126

PART II: EXPLORING ENTANGLEMENTS OF DIFFERENCE

Introduction: A New Methodology

In Part II of this dissertation, I turn to specific entanglements of similarity and difference within the Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines. This analysis is structured by observations of *co-occurring features*: features which appear together on or with the same object. While such features only need to occur on one object in order to be co-occurring, what I am primarily looking for are features which co-occur multiple times. In other words, what I am looking for are *trends* or *patterns*[206]: those cases where certain bundles of object-features frequently reoccur.

In searching for these trends, I again employ the notion of bundling: just as individual qualities of an object must be bundled together with other qualities, so too can these "bundles" be recognized by their human interlocutors, deliberately reassembled, and made to carry meaning.[207] Co-occurrences, or bundles, of features are the structures of similarities and differences we see, and make meaningful, in objects. All object categories are created by highlighting a different bundled quality within objects and picking out "similarity" (and eliminating objects bearing "difference") in bundled features. In other words, every object shares many distinct "similarities" (and many "differences") with many other objects, and depending on the quality highlighted, an object can be different from another object with which it was previously considered to be the same. Red is red is red, if you're looking for red – it doesn't matter if it is embodied in a scarf or a car or a picture frame – and you can create a category of "red" around all these objects.[208] On other days, that red car may be seen (and categorized accordingly) as metal, a transportation device, reflective, or located in the garage, in which case the red color doesn't matter – and, even further, the car isn't the "same" as those other red objects at the moment – but its red color is still available to be reused to reconstitute a category of "red" if needed or desired. All these various ways of organizing objects exist in the world, even if we do not consciously realize we are using them.[209] Because the bundled qualities of an object are always multiple – indeed, too innumerable to be comprehensively listed or classified – the ways in which an object can potentially be categorized are practically limitless. Dupre calls this pluralism: the "many equally legitimate ways of dividing the world into kinds"[210], which must account for the "promiscuous realism"[211] of objects.

The way in which an object is categorized *at the moment* is based on complex human-object interaction, in which both the various qualities of the object and the various personal, gender, community, cultural, and other considerations of the user are simultaneously in play. For

---

[206] I am using both "trend" and "pattern" to refer to these situations as a way of invoking the slightly different nuance of each word: "trends" has the connotation of popularity and making "in vogue" choices; "patterns" has the connotation of more traditional and predictable choices. I argue that both trends and patterns together form the "popular", which, following de Certeau, are the combined practices and objects that are both an impetus for and a result of the choices made by the majority in their everyday lives (de Certeau, 1984: 18, 32-33).

[207] My usage of the terms "bundles" or "bundled features" follow the concepts developed by Webb Keane in his work on materiality (Keane, 2008; Keane, 2005). For a more detailed discussion of bundled features, and how this concept contributes to the methodological framework of my study of terracotta figurines, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[208] Keane, 2008: 187-189

[209] Bowker & Star, 1999: 2-3

[210] Meskell, 2004: 42

[211] Dupre, 1993

instance, in the case of the red car above, a woman walking down a city street passes the car and notices its reflective quality as she catches a glimpse of her mirror image. She may even engage with the car, pausing momentarily to fix some stray hairs that she has noticed because of that reflective quality. Now, leaving the car and continuing on her way, she notices other reflective objects – store windows, steel panels, the screen on her cell phone – and groups them together into a category *through her use of them as reflective* as she attempts to ensure her hair remains in place through the rest of her walk.

The human-object engagement is what categorizes, thus making associations between objects is a continual process, not a static thing that can be accurately and completely encapsulated by any fixed system of study, no matter how broad. Even the same person at a different moment in time (or, rather, a different experience of human-object engagement) could potentially choose a different one of multiple possible categories to use in categorizing the objects they are interacting with. Thus, if it were even possible to ask Hellenistic Babylonian people to sort figurines into categories, you would probably get different answers from different people, and probably multiple answers from the same person depending on the context of use, location, or other factors in which you asked the question. We therefore need to not only reject the use of the term "type" – because of its implications that objects are fixed into their defining groups in unchanging, permanent, all-encompassing ways – but also be significantly more dynamic in our conception and study of categories in order to reflect this active, continual process of re-categorization.

However, as we deconstruct the notion of "type", we must acknowledge that certain associations between objects present themselves more readily, and to broader variety of human interlocutors, than other associations. It is in these intersections of "trendy" feature-bundles that popular or widely understood meanings could be made. For instance, while the color "red" could imply a variety of different meanings, when it is made to co-occur with specific patterns of object-features, the entire bundle of features can be made to carry specific meanings such as "stop" (on traffic signals), "romantic love" (on roses), or "Christmas" (on holiday decorations). We can distinguish the meaning of a Christmas ornament from a stop sign[212], even though they share one similar feature, because of the differing bundles of co-occurring features used to construct each object. The similarity of feature-bundles as deployed on numerous different stop signs or Christmas ornaments creates trends of co-occurring features, which have been continually responded to and re-selected as new objects were made and used. It is through this ongoing selection process and the continual reassembly of certain feature co-occurrences in objects that meanings can be generated – meanings which are particularly accessible to us as scholars. Even in the case of the red roses, which involve naturally occurring feature-bundles (as opposed to human-assembled ones), it is the continual re-selection and choice of the feature bundle as it is framed and deployed in a particular context within our society that gives the co-occurring features of red roses their meaning of romantic love.

Of course, the color "red" can also be bundled with other object-features in ways, or at times, which minimally contribute to the meaning the object might have – indeed, there are no rules for what "red" must mean that apply to all occurrences of redness. This is why I argue we should not just search for "every red object", but rather we need to examine the patterns: which co-occurrences of features were "trendy" enough to be continually re-selected and re-used?

---

[212] Note that such classification schemes are practical tools, not rigid taxonomies, and that the criteria used for determining classification (as well as the design of the system of classification itself) is mutable and subject to both social and individual interpretation. For further discussion of this issue, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Those feature-bundles that were frequently made and remade in the objects created networks of entangled objects: objects that were linked together by assembled similarities, and thus objects that could potentially have been used together to create and bear meaning.

There are several reasons why I argue that looking for trends in co-occurring feature bundles is a beneficial way to approach these ancient objects. First, as described above in my example of red objects, when we can identify commonly occurring patterns of feature-bundle associations, we can identify sites where meanings most likely were made. For instance, even if we did not know that the color red, octagonal shape, thin metallic material, supported by a post, etc. was, in our culture, a street sign that meant "stop", we could extrapolate, based on the commonality of this particular co-occurrence of features, that objects bearing this set of features had a particular meaning. Meanings can, of course, be made in other ways – I could have a red, metallic, square book on my coffee table that is very meaningful to me and my family. However, because this particular feature-bundle (red, metallic, square book) is not common, trendy, or easily associated with any pattern in other objects (either in my house or my society), it would be hard for scholars to access if or how meanings were being made through it. Similarly, my focus in this analysis on the trendy feature-bundles is not meant to deny that other kinds of meanings were being made with the figurines, or that many non-trendy feature-bundles could have been quite meaningful – rather, I am searching for trends of feature-bundles because I posit that this is one location of meaning-making *that we can access*.

Additionally, searching for trends or patterns of feature bundles across objects allows me to disassociate my analysis from the problem – frequently encountered in art historical scholarship – of assuming that there was an original intention held by the artist who created the object, and that this original intended meaning (and function) should be given primacy in our interpretive efforts.[213] This focus on the artist and his (or her) intentions[214] is especially problematic for an analysis of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurine material, as we have very little evidence about who figurine creators were or what they thought about the figurines they were creating. It is also problematic on a much larger conceptual level. A focus on the moment of object creation and the human creator as the singular site of meaning-making obscures or denies the many other realms of meaningfulness that an object might be brought into during the temporal span of its use and deposition. This "biography" of the object[215] could include not only associations with new spatial and functional contexts as important situations of meaning making,

---

[213] For a discussion of inherent conceptual problems in a scholarly focus on an artwork's moment and place of origin, see Feldman, forthcoming. For a discussion of the need for archaeological theory to account for the agency of an object's creator without placing him/her outside the realm of social life or assigning him/her anachronistic qualities of "free will" or "individuality", see Hodder & Hutson, 2003: 6-10.

[214] Although I do not intend to embark on a discussion of intentionality in this dissertation, I do wish to note that it has become a debated concept within the fields of anthropological materiality studies. I agree with recent work in this field that suggests possession of intentionality is not a necessary prerequisite for the exercise of agency (Dobres and Robb, 2000: 10; Gardner, 2004: 6). Scholars have additionally questioned whether individuals can ever "intend" their actions, as they are being constantly influenced by the social and object worlds in which they operate (Markus and Kitayama, 2003; Markus and Kitayama, 2004). This assessment is fully in line with my argument that we should move away from trying to access the artists' intentions, as they are both irrecoverable and may not have existed (as we, as members of the post-Enlightenment period, conceptualize them).

[215] This term describes the study of the multiple, various moments in time over the "production, exchange, and consumption" of an object (Gosden & Marshall, 1999: 169), with the goal of tracing "the changing social meanings an object accumulates during its lifetime" (Langdon, 2001: 579). The theoretical underpinnings of the approach are focused on the idea that "as people and objects gather time, movement, and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other" (Gosden & Marshall, 1999: 169).

but new visual associations as well – other people (besides the creator) might see different visual aspects of the figurine as being most prominent, as well as see new similarities and differences between the figurine and other objects, creating fluctuating entanglements of objects that were not originally intended.

This interweaving of new object connections through society would have been partially created by the objects themselves. Through particular feature(s), such as an aspect of its visual appearance or manufacturing technique, a figurine could suggest a new way of being seen or used. *All* the bundled features[216] of the figurines – even those considered irrelevant or perhaps not even noticed by the figurine creator – remained accessible to be recruited and emphasized in new object assemblages and new meaning-making events throughout the figurine's social life.

I argue that it is therefore preferable to step back from the question of "what did the maker intend?", since this question cannot be satisfactorily answered with the data we have available to us, nor, even if it could be answered, would it encompass the entire range of the uses, meanings, functions, and "biography" of the figurine. Instead of proceeding with this line of questioning, we should shift our line of thinking to investigate what the potential entanglements of similarity and difference (both between the figurines and other objects) were that the figurines themselves suggested through their visual appearances, manufacturing techniques, and contexts of use. While tracing trends of co-occurring feature-bundles within the figurines will not yield a description of every way in which figurines were brought into new associations with each other throughout their social lives, it should bring to light some of the more popular ways in which ancient people might have seen connections between the objects. For instance, if many figurines showing a woman carrying a child also show the woman wearing a double-knobbed headdress, this might have been a meaningful feature-bundle. This, in turn, might have created an entanglement between these figurines and other figurines featuring "trendy" feature-bundles of a double-knobbed headdress with a female figure (without a child). It does not matter if this association was intended by the figurine manufacturer – some people could have made the association, and assigned meaningfulness to it, because of the similarity of appearance that was entangled with this feature-bundle trend. I argue that by looking for, and at, these entangled intersections – in other words, by looking for objects that share similar feature bundles, and then situating their use, trajectory over time and space, and entanglements with other objects – we can locate sites of meaning-making.

Tracing these co-occurrences of features through the figurines in order to locate and investigate these entanglements of difference (and similarity) is the first part of my analysis. Note that there is no precursor to this analysis; no "simple" description of the objects can serve as a preface. Indeed, I have chosen to acknowledge that the acts of describing the trends of co-occurring features and analyzing them happen simultaneously, as part of the same process. The ways in which I bring the material together is <u>both</u> the analysis and interpretation: both are a reflection of my choices and my ways of seeing. This analysis-interpretation takes the form of a loosely connected narrative. At first glance, such an analysis may seem wholly subjective, lacking in rigor, and non-comprehensive. I acknowledge that my work is indeed partly subjective and non-comprehensive, as by nature are <u>all</u> studies of archaeological material by scholars[217]. In using the term "analysis-interpretation" and highlighting the influence of my own ways of seeing, I want to claim responsibility for the fact that my discussion of the figurines is

---

[216] Keane, 2005
[217] For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

not – cannot – be totally objective. I would contend that this analysis is nonetheless rigorous, in large measure <u>because</u> of this self-reflexive awareness of my positionality and my acceptance of the limitations of non-comprehensiveness (as opposed to creating an artificial completeness for my data set). In addition, the open design of my analysis allows for the rigorous constant questioning of the criteria and approaches to be used in studying the figurines, and allows others to also participate and contribute. Furthermore, I am using the figurines as the driver of my observations, and through them I am attempting to access some of the entanglements of similarity and difference that would have presented themselves to the ancient viewer. My analysis is therefore firmly linked to the ancient reality.

In my open-ended narrative of analysis-interpretation, I highlight some trends and networks of co-occurring features in the figurines. In this way, I follow the connections between objects which, I argue, are neither random occurrences nor absolute rules – rather, objects exhibit various degrees of association along a spectrum of connectedness and disassociation[218]. Following these trends of connection means that we cannot artificially create discrete bounded categories and object types (which ossify and rank these connections, privileging some over others, as is done in traditional typologies), nor can we only describe each object alone (thus denying the connections of similarity and difference that exist between them). Instead, I argue that we must aim to follow the shifting, fluctuating, flexible categorization processes in which these objects were engaged. The associations between objects could change, and new entanglements could be constructed, based on who was looking at the objects and the similarities and differences – both among them and with other entities – that users saw and thought important. If we are to follow and describe these open, flexible, changeable networks of objects that were in operation in the daily life of Hellenistic Babylonia, our own analysis must also be flexible and fluid – thus we must keep the possibilities for categorization open and prevent the privileging of one way of seeing over another.

In the three chapters of Part II, I present my analysis-interpretation as I trace these trends of co-occurring features in the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. This discussion of the groupings of entangled features is divided into the three chapters based on my determination of intersections between closely entangled figurines. I acknowledge that these divisions are somewhat artificial. However, I have chosen to divide my discussion in this manner for purposes of analytical expediency. Chapter 4 addresses issues of gender display and social roles; Chapter 5 addresses the intimacy of human-figurine interaction conditioned by the figurines' forms; Chapter 6 addresses the tightly entangled visualizations involving female figurines. Despite the separation of these discussions, in each chapter, links will be made to the other chapters when bundles of co-occurring features cross these divisionary lines. Finally, in Chapter 7, I present an integrated discussion of all three of these groupings of entangled features as a conclusion to the dissertation.

Each chapter has three mutually interconnecting components. The first is my analysis-interpretation of the visual co-occurrences of figurine features, in which I investigate the figurine corpus, presenting my observations of similarities and differences among figurines, the patterns of feature-bundles that are commonly shared, and analysis of trends I find apparent in the figurine visualizations. I again emphasize that my analysis-interpretation is not comprehensive, nor does it describe and connect every figurine. Some figurines are not mentioned at all, others

---

[218] "…social networks are rarely either regular or random, falling instead somewhere in between these two extremes." (Knappett, 2008: 142).

are mentioned in passing to point out that feature-bundle trends were not all-inclusive and thus were not rules to which every single figurine object conformed. Additionally, I do not provide a thorough visual description of every figurine – my narrative is designed to describe the trends that I see in the shared visual aspects of these figurines, not to catalogue as many visual aspects as possible.

Interwoven with this analysis-interpretation is my assessment of the general implications of the entanglements I see in the visual aspects of these figurines. For this component of my analysis, I explore the potential implications of the visual portrayal of certain kinds of difference: gender, groups of people, clothing, divinity, etc. In order to investigate these particular categories of difference, I bring in more overarching theoretical discussions of these features. I then explore how applying these theoretical understandings to the specific cases presented by the trends of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines can illuminate our understanding of how the figurines operated in their social contexts. I chose the particular categories of difference which I discuss, from among all the other various ways in which figurine features could co-occur, because I believe that these entanglements carry meaning that is potentially accessible to us as modern scholars. In this second, interwoven aspect of the chapter, I explore *how* those meanings could have been made and carried in the figurines.

The third component of the chapter is a consideration of the specifics of *what* that meaning might have been in the case of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. In order to do this, I build off of the theoretical analysis of particular features, by resituating this discussion into both the whole picture of the individual figurines, as well as replacing the figurines into their broader social and cultural context. Thus, in this third interwoven component of the chapter, I explore how figurines were entangled in connections of similarity and difference not only with each other, but also with the people and other objects in the real, lived world, as well as the figurines of earlier periods that preceded them. I discuss some of these broader entanglements in order to propose better interpretations of the meanings carried by the trends of feature-bundles analyzed in the terracotta figurines.

Throughout the three chapters of Part II, I discuss many Hellenistic terracotta figurines in detail. Other figurines are referred to only generally, and some figurines are not be discussed at all. I have chosen which figurines to discuss more thoroughly, and which to not discuss, based on my assessments of the entanglements and trends of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. Not all figurines were included, especially if I could not discern their participation in entanglements or visualizations trends. I made this choice because, as discussed above, this dissertation eschews the idea of attempting "comprehensiveness" in the discussion of ancient object corpora. Through the course of my narrative, I will provide descriptions of the figurine features that I consider relevant to the categorizations I create and the entanglements of similarity and difference that I explore. Images and museum numbers for each figurine can be found in Appendix 2, however complete catalogue-style descriptions will not be provided. I decided to omit such descriptions because they would invariably involve and reflect my choices of what details to describe and omit, which, without the associated aim of using such descriptions to elucidate entanglements of similarity and difference, would therefore be the somewhat purposeless inserting of my own ways of seeing into the reader's engagement with the figurine(s). However, for readers interested in accessing such descriptions, references to catalogue publications are also listed for each figurine discussed in Appendix 1.

Similarly lacking in the illusion of comprehensiveness is my photographic presentation of the figurine material in Appendix 2. I have chosen to illustrate a large number of the figurines

that I discuss in this dissertation – particularly those that I discuss in detail, although many others are illustrated as well. However, there are many figurines that are not illustrated, for a variety of reasons: poor quality of the available image, no available image, poorly degraded/broken figurine, and space limitations. Those figurines that I suggest were participating in certain figurine trends and entanglements, but which I could not illustrate, are still listed in the text by their museum number, with a note that they are "not pictured". A full list of all of the figurines that I address, with their museum numbers and previous publication information (if available), is provided in Appendix 1. However, there are still many more figurines that I could not include in this discussion – particularly figurines that I have not been able to see in person and that were not illustrated in catalogue publications. While many of these figurines may (and likely do) participate in the trends of entanglement that I discuss here, I was unwilling to include them sight-unseen, as this would be basing my assessment of their entanglements on the typological evaluations of previous scholars. While the work of such scholars has been beneficial in many ways to the field of figurine studies (see discussion in Chapter 1 of this dissertation), my dissertation is an attempt to find a new way to study these multifaceted objects.

CHAPTER 4: MALE SOCIAL ROLES & GENDER AND THE LACK THEREOF

I begin my analysis-interpretation with a discussion of male figurines. Although I am choosing to begin with this topic, I do not wish to privilege discussions of gender, nor suggest that gender was the most important defining quality of either human or figurine identity. Rather, I have chosen to begin with gender as the entanglement of difference under discussion because gender is usually the first way in which we, as modern scholars and visual consumers of the figurines, approach and categorize the material – thus this familiar choice may assist the reader in jumping into my analysis-interpretation of co-occurring features. However, I have chosen the *male* gender as my starting point because most scholars of the ancient Near East tend to associate "figurines" with "female". Thus, by beginning with this less-familiar combination of "figurines" and "male", I remind the reader that any beginning or ending point for this analysis is arbitrary, and chosen for our convenience and comfort, not because of naturally hierarchical qualities in the figurine features themselves.

Gender assignment has often been a fast-and-loose process within the analysis of terracotta figurines, with the choice of "male" or "female" often based on something as ambiguous as the presence of earrings. For the purposes of my analysis, I determine gender on the basis of the depiction of primary sexual characteristics (genitalia), secondary sexual characteristics (such as breasts, beards, etc.), or specifically known cultural markers of gender. My analysis also allows for the consideration of hermaphrodite figurines, as well as the possibility that certain figurines were not meaningfully entangled with gender displays of similarity/difference. Some such figurines will be discussed in later this chapter, in the section entitled "Gender and the Lack Thereof".

I acknowledge that my choice to distinguish gender in the figurines based partially on the depiction of anatomical sex characteristics elides the distinction between biological "sex" and social/cultural "gender", which uses aspects of biology as a starting point, but does not completely overlap with sexual differentiation[219]. This distinction between "sex" and "gender" is articulated by feminist scholars as a way of rejecting "biological determinism"[220] and thereby recognizing that social and cultural ideas about "male" and "female" have been overlaid on top of, rather than derived from, anatomical differences between the sexes. However, there is a difference between the biological sex of a human being and the represented "biological sex" of a figurine. The appearance of anatomical sex characteristics on a figurine is the result of deliberate artistic choice, not a biological inevitability, and thus is already a cultural construct. Figurines could be deliberately sexed/gendered, either by their maker or by their user (or both), or the figurine could be left unsexed/ungendered. There are several instances, to be discussed later in this chapter, where certain figurines appear to have been left without anatomical details in order to leave both the sex and the gender identity undefined. I therefore suggest that the sexed and gendered aspects of figurines were intertwined.

However, this does not mean that gender identities as expressed or created through Hellenistic Babylonian figurines were biologically predetermined, nor does it suggest that the gendered identities that we today equate with "male" and "female" (or "men" and "women")

---

[219] For a discussion of feministic scholarship exploring the complicated relationship between sex and gender, particularly in reference to reconstructions of the past, see Wylie, 1991: 33-35.
[220] Scott, 1988: 29

align with or are comparable to gendered identities in the past.[221] Indeed, the "potential variability in gender roles, relations, and ideologies", as well as the definitions of genders themselves, are situationally contingent.[222] Art objects – including terracotta figurines – are a part of that specific situation of social and cultural life, and therefore participate in producing those gender roles, ideals, and definitions.[223] Through this interrogation of some male figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia, I focus on elucidating the ideas of male genderedness – and, more specifically, male social roles – that the figurines generated. While the various ideas about male gender produced by the figurines would only have been some of the possible options for defining masculinity available to their human interlocutors, the existence and maintenance of these figurine-generated ideas of maleness in the trends of terracotta figurine features indicates that they held some resonance as accepted gender constructs with Hellenistic Babylonian society.

Divergence in Mature Male Social Roles

Bearded male faces most often occur either with a combination of nakedness and a standing pose, or with horseback-riding. There seem to be sharp visual and technological boundaries between these two sets of co-occurring feature-groups. The bearded male faces that appear with standing, naked bodies are commonly shown in a contraposto pose, with one knee slightly bent and one hand resting on the hip (although not always the same knee and hip – for the figure's left side, see U W16539; for the figure's right side, see U W18277, BA AO25926). In other cases, the hand is only placed on the hip, without the contraposto stance and bent knee (U W17414, ST B16934, ST M14330, ST T29.95). The other hand sometimes rests on the end of a club (U W16539, BA AO25926, BA IM94921).   This set of arm positions, where one hand is on the hip and the other hand is resting at the side and/or on a club, is very common; other arm and body positions, such as with the figure leaning slightly backwards and clasping his hands behind his head (ST B6126), are relatively rare. The faces of all these bearded males are usually rounded, with small, delicate depictions of facial features and wearing a short, bushy beard that is sometimes stippled to depict curls (U BM56-9-3-227). Although the majority of the body is naked, exposing well-defined chest musculature and penis, these figurines often wear a circular wreath on the head and a floor-length cloak, which was pinned at the neck and falls over the shoulders and back. The cloak is sometimes depicted as being carried in the arms rather than worn (ST B16934, ST B3835, ST M14884, BA IM94896, BA IM93213), and in some cases, an end of the cloak terminates in a lion's head, thus implying that it is a lion's pelt (ST B16934, U W16539, N CBS 4927, U BM51-1-1-89=91812).

Both the single and double mold techniques were used to manufacture such bearded male figurines – in either case, the molding process or mold shape was manipulated in order to give the figurine substantial vertical stability. When the double mold was used, the hollow space between the two molded sides was often substantial, resulting in a large diameter base (seen in U W16539, U W15430, ST B16934, BA AO25926, U BM51-1-1-89=91812), while when a single mold was used (in ST M15544, U W18277, U W17414),[224] the original mold was carved deeply, allowing the figurine to be molded in high relief and thus imparting a vertically-stable thickness to the figurine. This feature of vertical stability, taken together with the frequent co-occurrence

---

[221] For a discussion of the dangers of retrojecting modern gender roles into discussions of past societies, see Pollock, 1988: 35-36.

[222] Conkey & Gero, 1991: 9-10; Flax, 1987: 622-623

[223] Pollock, 1988: 4, 7-9.

[224] Also Figurine 253 in Van Ingen, 1939; Figurine 260 in Karvonen-Kannas, 1995 (not pictured in this dissertation)

of a depicted plinth at the figure's feet (ST B16934, ST M14884, ST M15546, ST T29.95, U W16539, U W18277, U W17414), indicates that the figurine was meant to stand in a attitude of vertical display (like a statue).

I would suggest that this entanglement of motif, visualization and vertically-stable technique was both trendy, and the site of specific meaning-makings. One possible meaning for these entangled figurines was that they represented a god to be worshipped. Indeed, most scholars identify this motif as a depiction of Herakles, and associate the contraposto pose and use of the double mold as traits typical of Hellenistic Greek figurine production[225]. Note, however, that both the single mold and more frontal poses are also features of figurines that participated in this entanglement of motif, visualization, and vertically-stable technique. Thus we cannot use a visual association with Hellenistic Greek figurines as the only, or even the primary, bearer of explanatory weight. Instead, it may be more profitable to consider that some aspects of Greek meaning associated with the "Herakles" motifs, visualizations, and technical aspects of the production of Herakles statues across the Hellenistic world, could have sometimes been entangled with the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines I have described above. Therefore, considering Greek associations as just one of many bundled properties of these figurines, we can surmise that such associations and meanings could have been noticed and called to the fore by some viewers, but could also have been unknown, unnoticed, or considered unimportant by others. The meaning-making potential of the trendy grouping of a particular motif, visualization, and vertically-stable technique in these figurines was not solely dependent on their association with Greek culture, but rather on the patterns and popularity of their use within Hellenistic Babylonian society.

For instance, to a Near Eastern viewer, an image of a heroic-looking male nude with a lion's pelt could have provoked comparison with the nude belted hero motif of earlier Mesopotamian art, which survived into the visible object world of the Hellenistic era both through the few representations derived from the motif of the nude belted hero, as well as the more numerous derivations of the motif – seen on palace wall reliefs, royal seals, and other arts – in which the Mesopotamian king (in place of the hero) grapples with a lion.[226] The nude, bearded male figurines discussed above would present striking visual similarities to these royal images, through the shared upright posture, bearded face, well-muscled mature male body, and lion-hunting attributes.

If the ancient viewer created this visual association between the Mesopotamian royal representations and the heroic-looking nude male figurines, s/he could make new meanings through this visual entanglement: thus endowing the erstwhile "Herakles" figurine with layers of significance relating to Mesopotamian history, myth, and kingship. Indeed, this association between the nude bearded figurines and the nude belted hero may have been one of the reasons

---

[225] Using the terms "Hellenistic Greek", "Near Eastern" or "Pre-Hellenistic Babylonian" to talk about figurine visualizations is, in essence, a discussion of stylistic similarities. The concept of "style" has been defined in various ways, and is still heavily contested. I do not wish to enter into this debate, nor provide a new definition of what "style" is. I am using the term sparingly, and when I do use it, it is to refer to figurines which have visualizations (visual effects) that we as scholars have classed together as the cultural style of a particular group of figurines (i.e. Greek figurines, pre-Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, etc.). Style could also have been one aspect used in entanglements of similarity and difference, and thus a location of meaning-making. This avenue of inquiry is not directly addressed in this dissertation, but it could be a profitable subject of future study.

[226] Such representations potentially derived from the nude belted hero motif, which show a "hero" figure grappling with lions, include the so-called "Hairy one" relief at the Neo-Assyrian palace at Khorsabad, as well as images of the "Persian Royal Hero" on Achaemenid stamp and cylinder seals (Curtis & Tallis, 2005: 92-94)

why Mesopotamians felt comfortable engaging with these figurines at all: although the late period versions of the nude belted hero motif are usually not completely nude, their continuity with the earlier tradition of a specific kind of heroic nudity may have allowed nudity in figurines displaying a similar motif to be less problematic. Outside the realm of this particular motif, male nudity was not considered a positive attribute in Mesopotamian art, and was generally a symbol of humiliation reserved for prisoners, slaves, and dead enemies. This concordance of the "Herakles" figure with several of the attributes of the nude belted hero could provide one explanation as to why the "Herakles" figurines became accepted and popular, whereas depictions of other nude males derived from the Greek tradition were less trendy.

In addition to this emphasis on features presenting potential linkages to heroic representations in Mesopotamian art, an importance also seems to have been placed on the statue-like display quality of these figurines. As noted above, several of the co-occurring features of these figurines seem to have been designed or manipulated for the purpose of keeping the figurine in a vertically stable position. This vertical display design was augmented with the addition of a low plinth, built into the molded form of several of these figurines. Together, these features give the figurines a statue-like quality, and would have inspired visual connections with actual statues. Indeed, the only surviving full-size statue from Hellenistic Babylonia is a bronze statue from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, which depicts a mature bearded male, wearing a rounded full beard, standing in a contraposto pose with his hand on his right hip.[227] The striking visual similarity between this statue and the figurines discussed above suggests that this set of co-occurring visual features was seen, by the ancient viewers, as properly serving a statue-like display function, whether in full-scale bronze or small scale terracotta, and thus appropriately viewed and interacted with when in an upright, statue-like position. The depiction of a plinth in the figurines not only adds to this vertical stability by creating a wide base for the figurine, but also creates a visual divide between the figurine and the surface on which it rests – literally raising the image up and away from the mundane world, as if it were a statue to be viewed from afar rather than an active participant in its surroundings.

However, in spite of the statuesque qualities presented by these figurines, it is important to remember that figurines as visualizations are at a greatly reduced scale and in a different material than the statues with which they were entangled. Therefore, some layers of meaning-making activities may have been shared between figurines and statues, but some responses in the viewer elicited by the figurines – and thus, the meaning-making activities engendered by the human-figurine interaction –would also have been very different than in cases of human-statue interaction. We cannot therefore look to statues to provide the "meanings" of the figurines, but rather consider how the trendy feature-bundles of statuesque qualities displayed in certain figurines were utilized as a site of meaning-making.

In analyzing these figurines' statue-like qualities, it is important to note that these figurines are among the few male figurines to wear beards. Prior to the Hellenistic period, beards were considered a sign of mature masculinity and virility in both Greek and Babylonian culture. However, during the Hellenistic period, the artistic depictions of men, including images of the Seleucid kings, shift to a more youthful ideal.[228] This switch toward portraying kings as young men may be the reason why so few Hellenistic Babylonian male figurines are bearded –

---

[227] Invernizzi, 2007: 64-65

[228] This shift is due largely to the successes Alexander accomplished at a very young age (coupled with the fact that, due to his premature death, he never aged into a mature man). Alexander's youthful portraits had a strong influence on shaping the image of the ideal Hellenistic king, and many of the Successors imitated him (Stewart, 1993a: 75).

indeed, the majority are beardless. So if the ideal was youth and beardlessness, why would the Hellenistic Babylonians portray the less fashionable, bearded, male maturity in statue form? I argue that the reification of bearded, male maturity into statue form could have been part of a process of distancing this former bearded male ideal from usefulness in contemporary society. Bearded ancient Mesopotamian kings or bearded Classical Greek scholars were admired, but also remade as larger-than-life heroes that were remote, unreachable, and with whom it was difficult to self-identify. This visual impression would have been further reinforced by the use of statuesque qualities – such as the raised positioning provided by the plinth – common to these figurines.

The connectedness of these co-occurring feature-bundles of visualization (in the bearded man standing in contraposto pose, naked except for a draped cloak), depiction of a plinth, and vertically stable form seems even stronger, and thus more meaningful, when viewed in comparison with other figurines examples. Indeed, bearded male figurines that are not depicted with a plinth, such as ST B27910 and ST M14330, are also lacking in the depth required for good vertical stability; additionally, these figurines are shown in a more frontal pose with their arms at their sides. This change in not only one, but several components that co-occurred in the more vertically stable, bearded male figurines, indicates that the less vertically stable figurines were entangled with different processes of meaning-making, in which vertical stability did not feature prominently. Interestingly, some of these frontally posed naked male figurines (such as N CBS 4927), shown with their arms at their sides, without a plinth, and structurally lacking in vertical stability, are depicted with the club and lion pelt (that are used by scholars to iconographically identify this motif as the Greek god Herakles). This indicates that whatever meaning-making activities might have occurred around the depiction of attributes associated with Herakles (such as marking the figurine as a depiction of the god) were not necessarily dependant on, strictly associated with, or always entangled with the trendy feature-bundle of vertical stability and statue-like presentation on the plinth in the bearded male figurines.

Returning to the broader consideration of bearded male faces in the figurines, I would like to explore what I see as the other trendy set of entanglements in which the beard feature participates: bearded horse riders. The figurines involved in this second set of trendy entanglements present very different visualizations from the naked, standing male figurines discussed above. Bearded male faces on the horse riders are generally made using stamp molds on handmodeled bodies. This technique of manufacture imparts a distinctive visualization to the bearded horse rider figurines. The use of the stamp mold yields sharply-lined facial features that are often heavy or exaggerated in appearance; the lines of the eyelids and dots for the eye pupils are often especially noticeable due to their unnaturally raised surface. Beards were included in the stamp-mold for these faces, and show a remarkable range of variety in their specific shape – squared (BA BM80-11-12-1918), tapered (BA BM81-3-24-349, BA IM93445), rounded (BA BM81-3-24-346, BA IM93254), and flared base (BA IM93239, BA IM93238) – however, most follow a generally rectangular form and bear a visual similarity to beards seen on earlier Near Eastern statues and reliefs. Beards are often long, falling onto the chest, and like the facial features, are well-defined.

The thick outlining of the facial features contrasts sharply with the soft and undefined quality of the rest of the human body depicted, as well as the horse's body – visualizations which may have been initially the result of the limitations of the handmodeling technique, but which might also have been exploited to achieve a particular visual effect. Many of these figurines present the human torso as an upright rectilinear slab, with no attempt to differentiate the arms

from the body[229], or as a more tubular-shaped vertical with only thick clay rolls serving as arms (ST M15646) – such lack of definition cannot be ascribed simply to the limitations of handmodeling. One example (U W1609a) shows a stamp molded, bearded head with crisp facial features placed directly on top of a table-like "horse" that has four rough-textured, peg-shaped legs and is lacking a head or neck. Although these examples all have divergent appearances, they are entangled with each other in not only the similarity of horse-rider motif, but also the visualization feature-bundle of sharp facial lines with a vaguely defined human and horse body. One way that this trendy feature-bundle could have been used to make meaning is through establishing a visual connection with pre-Hellenistic (especially Achaemenid) horse rider figurines from Babylonia and across the Near East, which also present a schematic, rounded form for the horse and a hunched, undefined body of the rider, who usually wears a tall cap. Through this visual connection, Achaemenid male roles or horse riding traditions could have been invoked. However, as with the Herakles associations of the bearded male figurines discussed above, the possible Achaemenid association of the stamped face horse-rider figurines would only have been one aspect of their potentially meaningful entanglements.

The sharply divergent visualizations in which beards participate compels us to consider just how connected "bearded male figurines" were when such figurines share few, if any, other features. The methodological framework used in this dissertation can be directly helpful here, for the rejecting of typologies means that no concrete category of "bearded male figurine" must be established (which, especially in this case, might solidify as a set figurines which were involved in very different visualizations and meaning-making processes). However, through the use of entanglements of difference, we can explore the possibility that the shared beard feature on these bearded male figurines was available to suggest (and be recruited into) beard-specific events of meaning-making. Indeed, I argue that this was the case: the linking together of these two visually-distinct trendy entanglements of bearded figurines by the shared beard feature called to attention the similarity in age of the mature males depicted and thus threw into comparison the very *different* presentations of social roles available to men of that age.

One explanation for the sharp distinctions between the bearded male depictions could relate to the different ideals and traditions of bearded, mature male roles in Greek and Near Eastern societies. The bearded horserider figurines are closely entangled with Achaemenid and earlier Near Eastern figurines depicting horseriders, which Moorey has argued represented heroes, leaders, or other "great men" within their society.[230] Statues of the bearded Herakles, newly popular in the Hellenistic period (especially in the Near East) because Alexander the Great claimed Herakles as part of his paternal lineage,[231] were thought of as the wise guardians and patrons of a traditional Greek gymnasium education.[232] This is not to say that either of these meanings was transported forward in the visually-similar Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. The interest in bearded unclothed males in contraposto posture with lion-hunting attributes may have been, at least for certain viewers, related to Mesopotamian traditions of heroic bearded males grappling with lions. The interest in handmodeled horserider figurines may have been, for certain viewers, connected to Macedonian cavalry and interest in horseriders generally.

---

[229] Examples include: BA IM93239, BA IM93445, BA BM81-3-24-349, BA BM80-11-12-1918, BA BM81-3-24-346, BA IM93254, ST M16257
[230] Moorey, 2002: 211
[231] Stewart, 1993a: 213
[232] "Heracles' muscular body sets up a visual connection to the burly athletes…and, indeed, Heracles is the athlete *par excellence*, god of the gymnasium and a role model for wrestlers…" (Newby, 2005: 74)

However, in all these cases, similar ideas, which were closely linked to separate past traditions, were constructed concerning how to shape and think about mature male identity based on looking up to a "great man". These similar ideas were expressed in the figurines through a similar technique of distancing the depictions of that great man from reality – the nude, bearded male is shown standing on a plinth, in a statue like vertical pose, separated from the mundane; the horseriders have very distinct, crisp faces but vague amorphous bodies and horses, which make the facial identity very real, but not anchored to a real corporeal presence (floating in dream-like fuzziness). Thus, while there were similar processes at work within these two figurine trends, two different techniques were used to create two different models of great men to admire – neither of which encouraged self-identification or emulation.

Problematic Male Nudity

Nude, beardless adult males were even less common than nude bearded males in figurine visualizations. In general, male nudity seems to have been trendier when expressed either with visualizations of older, bearded males in heroic poses (discussed above) or with depictions of children (see discussion below). I believe that it may be important to note that these visualization trends that incorporate male nudity both involve the portrayal of a motif that is somewhat out of the realm of ordinary life. Rather, male nudity is placed into more fanciful contexts – heroic lion-slayers, enthroned children in three-cornered hats, etc. – that would not be encountered every day. Due to the (previously described) Mesopotamian aversion to artistic depictions of male nudity, it is possible that such displays were trendier and more acceptable when expressed in uncanny circumstances.

Some young-adult male nude figurines also seem to incorporate this not-quite-ordinary framework. In BA IM30385 and ST M15653-16106, young men are shown in dynamic, contorted poses: the head is inclined downward and to the figure's left, the right shoulder is raised considerably higher than the left (the arms on both figurines are broken off, but it is likely that the right arm was raised over the head), the upper back is arched, the well-muscled torso is twisted, and the legs (also broken off, at the thighs) were splayed, clearly showing the detailed genitalia. The left hip of BA IM30385 is rotated such that the left leg lies along a sideways horizontal plane to the torso, while the other leg appears to have been stuck out straight. Both figures were in a quasi-seated position. Judging from the poses of the vast majority of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, such dynamic poses were not considered normal, daily posture to be seen on the street. However, a great deal of time and labor were put into creating such poses for these figurines – in order to fashion the richly three-dimensional quality of the figurines, whose limbs reach and splay in all directions, both figurines had to be made in several pieces, using several different double molds, and then carefully attached piece-by-piece before firing.

Given the complicated contortions of the poses of these two figurines, they seem to represent youthful males involved in strenuous physical activity. Due to their lack of weapons and quasi-seated posture, I would argue that activity depicted is some sort of exercise, and that these figurines depict activities of the gymnasium (where males in the Classical Greek tradition exercised naked). This identification may help to explain why figurines in these poses are found only at Seleucia and Babylon, both of which were sites of gymnasium buildings. If these figurines were indeed intended to be associated with the ideas and activities of gymnasia, then we again see the relegation of male nudity to out-of-the-ordinary scenarios, which, while not

uncanny, were however specifically limited to a single location, and likely to a somewhat restricted audience.[233]

The active poses seen in these figurines might also have created a visual link between them and similarly dynamic figurines depicting male children (especially as expressed in large figurines of male infants[234]). This association between these figurines based on active poses might have entangled depictions of children with the gymnasium-focused identities which they would soon take on as adolescents – identities which were defined by a capacity for dynamic physical activity in a way that the identities of more mature males, as displayed in figurines, do not seem to have been. In this way we see that entanglements based on pose may have connected depictions of children with the rest of the male figurine corpus, in an age-based continuum of male identity – a connection which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Despite the seemingly appropriate nature of nakedness in a gymnasium context, several figurines of beardless young adult males, shown in range of similarly dynamic poses with similarly double-molded bodies, are depicted semi-clothed (ST M16068, ST T29.96, ST M15181, ST M15706). In these figurines, the young man has a significant portion of his body exposed, showing his well-developed musculature, however a small loincloth or other drapery covers his genital area. This reluctance to depict a youthful nude male, even within a framework of a gymnasia context where it might have been appropriate, indicates that trendier patterns of meaning-making – with, perhaps, a broader audience that could resonate with them – were created through the depiction of partially-clothed athletes.[235] This situation may relate back to the depictions of weapons- and shield-bearing male figures, where the armament feature could be entangled with nakedness as well as various clothing options. As during gymnasium exercising activities, Classical Greeks often fought naked – some aspects of this historical tradition may have been incorporated into Hellenistic practice and figurine visualizations (ST M14690, ST M14416, BA BM81-3-24-345, BA IM93245, BA IM93303, N CBS 15459). However the more popular pattern seems to have been that of the clothed representations (BA BM81-4-28-941, ST M15711, ST M15664, ST M14634, ST M15702, ST M14117, ST B7122, N CBS 1955; not pictured: BA IM Bab.-147, BA IM42125, BA IM93195, BA IM93535,).

Other figurines show young adult males standing naked before the viewer, without armaments or exercising poses. Among these, most are figurines where young-adult male nudity is entwined with depiction of playing various musical instruments, including the kithera, harp,

---

[233] While it is probably not profitable to assume that Classical Greek strictures on gymnasium entry (such as free-born Greek parentage) were applied in Hellenistic Babylonia, it is likely some sort of "initiated" and "uninitiated" distinctions to bar certain sectors of the population, such as women, were in place to limit access to the gymnasia of Seleucia and Babylon (Shipley, 2000: 304).

[234] These figurines are perhaps better described as "statues" or "statuettes", as they measure about 30-40cm tall, without the length of the legs) depicting children, who are usually male (ST M16116, ST B17072, BA BM78-8-29-7=92216, BA AO1493, BA BM80-11-12-1955/1957/1958/1994=118426, BO BM80-11-12-BN 1951/1952/1953/1954, BA BM80-11-12-1911; also, not pictured: BO BM BN 1, BO BM BN 2 , BO BM BN 3, BO BM BN 4). These figurines are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

[235] This figurine evidence might be used to challenge the assumption that the internal culture of the Hellenistic Babylonian gymnasium replicated that of the Classical Greek world. Indeed, from this evidence, I would suggest that it is possible that Classical Greek gymnasia rules and practices, such as the requirement to exercise naked, were not straightforwardly adopted in the gymnasia of Hellenistic Babylonia. Rather, gymnasia participants may have had the option to exercise either naked or clothed, and thus the environment accommodated men of multiple cultural backgrounds (who would have had different opinions about the propriety and self-degradation involved in being naked).

lute, flute, and syrinx (BA AO24683, ST M15185, ST M15196, ST M15219, ST M15179, N Photograph No. 361).[236] In this musician guise, these figurines are entangled with Hellenistic Greek statuary – particularly the famous Cyrene cult statue – depicting the god Apollo[237] as a harp-playing, naked young adult male. As with the "soft, languorous, effeminate" bodies of the Hellenistic Apollo statues, defined musculature is not shown on the bodies of naked young adult male musician figurines.[238] Indeed, a supple softness (and sometime pudgy bellies) often occurs on naked male musicians, which bear visual similarity to some of the depictions of male children. This is a much different visual effect than that suggested by the naked male athletes and warriors; perhaps these naked young male musicians more closely entwined with Hellenistic Apollo statuary, or the depictions of childhood maleness or female gender. This last possibility may particularly be the case with the figurines playing instruments, as most Hellenistic Babylonian figurines of musicians were female. Thus, the use of male gender in depictions of nude musicians may again be a case of out-of-the-ordinary scenarios.

Of all the representations of young adult male nudity, very few suggest a more ordinary situation, where the male is simply standing before the viewer (BA BM80-6-17-1709, BA IM93491, ST M15568, ST M16548, ST M14330). This lack of trendiness may indicate that such a display of male nudity was not generally acceptable – that it was, indeed, an out-of-the-ordinary thing. But why would it be less acceptable? Mesopotamian ideas about the degrading aspects of most instances of male nudity were likely at play, and probably limited the scope of the audience to whom these figurines would appeal – indeed, very few nude young adult male figurines were found at Nippur or Uruk. However, there were *some* cases were young adult male nudity was depicted in figurines, and while these may not have been particularly trendy visualizations, their existence does point to a more complicated situation of restrictions on male nudity.

Despite the seemingly large variety of feature-bundles with which male nudity could be entangled, most of these visualizations bear some aspect of the uncanny or, at least, unordinary, to their contexts. Such a focus on the strangeness of male nudity – coupled with the desire to depict it in a variety of forms – indicates that male nudity could be a source of tension and controversy within these societies. Due to their small size and miniaturistic aspect, figurines can be a relatively safe place to explore otherwise inaccessible realities.[239] Experiments with contested concepts and visualizations can be made in this relatively low-stakes object medium (i.e. no one outside a limited group of people, or perhaps just one's self, has to see the result of the experiment), in ways that cannot be undertaken with larger-format statues, widely-distributed coins, or publicly-displayed stamp seals. Such figurine experiments are not, however, unlimited or risk-free. Figurines present miniature, controllable, and potentially manipulated human bodies, and, like living human bodies, can be judged and subjected to social – or even political – regulation when they display alternative or "dangerous" versions of human appearance.[240]

This possible political aspect to the ownership of representations of the human body can be accessed in Hellenistic Babylonia through an investigation of Seleucid royal portraiture and coinage. At first glance, it seems strange that figurine portrayals closely entangled with

---

[236] Possible also BA AO24677. The figure holds a small object in its right hand, possibly for strumming a kithera, however the left side of the figurine is broken, so it is unclear if an instrument was depicted or not.
[237] Smith, 1991: Fig. 75
[238] Smith, 1991: 224
[239] Bailey, 2005: 72
[240] Bailey, 2005: 129

Hellenistic Greek statues of Herakles are trendier than depictions of Dionysos or Apollo – the two most popular gods of the Hellenistic period[241] – one of whom (Apollo) the Seleucid kings claims as a direct ancestor[242]. Indeed, Apollo was regularly shown on Seleucid coinage, generally depicted as a "soft lithe youth"[243], not dissimilar from the very few figurine examples of standing, naked young adult males. In addition to using the image of Apollo, the Seleucid kings also frequently patterned their own coinage and statue portraits after the youthful male images of both Alexander the Great and Hellenistic cult statues of Dionysos and Apollo.[244] Through the medium of the widely-distributed coinage, the soft, youthful male form became closely enmeshed with the identity of the Seleucid royal family. This relationship was created and recreated anew[245] with every experience of every person rooting through their garments and bags for the means to purchase something, thus firmly establishing the connection between the Seleucid kings and the youthful naked body of Apollo. It might therefore have not be considered appropriate for everyday people to establish the personal and intimate connection that figurine ownership endows[246] with a representation of a youthful male body, which was so closely connected with the king's family and his own personage.[247] This may explain why depictions of male nudity, in general, were most frequently expressed and explored in restricted scenarios where fantastical or otherwise uncommon scenarios were depicted; as well as why soft, lithe depictions of *youthful* adult male nudity were very uncommon in the terracotta figurines.

In general, the great variety in beardless adult male figurines may represent a social situation in which more experimentation and negotiation was being enacted through and with these figurines, than in the case of the older adult males. I suggest that this may have been due to social attitudes towards the acceptable range of roles allowable for younger men versus older men (as the depiction of a beard generally signals an older, mature man, in both Greek and Mesopotamian art), with a wider latitude being granted to younger men. However, along with this wider range of potential roles comes the possibility for tension and social discord, as these roles were being renegotiated. Unlike with the relatively static presentations of older men in the figurines, which drew on the traditional visualizations of the mature male of both the pre-Hellenistic Greek and Babylonian pasts, the beardless youthful male depictions were entangled with newer Hellenistic male ideals.[248] These ideals were evolving and changing as their social reality was being negotiated – so too did the figurines, whose visualizations both responded to, and participated in, this negotiation. Indeed, by reflecting back the range of social identities available for the youthful male, the figurines physically embodied those negotiations and

---

[241] These were two of the most popular gods across the Hellenistic world (Smith, 1991: 65).

[242] Green, 1990: 195

[243] Smith, 1991: 224

[244] Stewart, 1993a: 75

[245] Gosden & Marshall, 1999: 170

[246] Bailey, 2005: 38-39

[247] "The king usually looks young or ageless – that is, about twenty to thirty-five, not younger, rarely older… Some cosmopolitan city-men no doubt shaved, and we have one or two examples, most notably Menander; but there remains no stylistic overlap, no chance of taking Menander for a prince… Generally, as far as we can see, the external signs of being a court and royal person versus a city and nonroyal person seem to have been used in an exclusive way." (Smith, 1993: 208-209, 210)

[248] The new Hellenistic ideal man was shown with a "clean-shaven face" that "takes up the fashion introduced by Alexander", as opposed to earlier bearded male statues in both Greek and Near Eastern art (Zanker, 1995: 80). While not followed by all men – indeed, many of the Athenian philosophers disdained the "casual elegance" and "concern for careful grooming" entailed in this new ideal – it was popular across the Hellenistic World (Zanker, 1995: 80)

presented their results to new viewers, who could (based on that interaction) take those negotiations to further and further levels.

Male Children and the Supernatural

Children figurines shared in this age-progression entanglement, and were visually related to figurines of adult males through their shared gender: children that have visible genitalia are almost always male. Children can be distinguished from depictions of adult males through their proportionally large head, short pudgy limbs, and round face – all of which seem to indicate the depiction of a child. Depictions of children are presented in a variety of visualizations, although some of these were trendier than others.

One trendy group of co-occurring features was that of male children with wings (BA BM84-2-11-581, BA BM84-2-11-582, BA BM84-2-11-583, BA BM84-2-11-584, BA BM84-2-11-585, BA BM84-2-11-586, BA BM84-2-11-587, BA BM84-2-11-588, BA BM84-2-11-589, BA AO25928, BA BM81-11-3-1885, N CBS9451, ST M16267, ST M16326, ST M14405, ST M16161, ST B16974, ST M15872, U W18424, U W5751, U W14536, U W15907; not pictured: BA BM84-2-11-580). [249] The wings are generally attached high on the back and arch up over the shoulders. The wings appear to be patterned after birds' wings: the top "bone" of the wings is the structural element, represented by a rounded, raised band, from which emanates downward-pointing feathers. The shape of an entire wing usually forms a half-circle (see BA BM84-2-11-581, BA BM84-2-11-582, BA BM84-2-11-583, BA BM84-2-11-584, BA BM84-2-11-585, BA BM84-2-11-586, BA BM84-2-11-587, BA BM84-2-11-588, BA BM84-2-11-589) or a rounded triangle (see U W15907). The presence of the wings on these boy figurines has led most scholars to conclude that these are depictions of the Greek god Eros. I suggest that this interpretation should be nuanced, not least because in depictions where a winged Eros might be expected – such as figurines where a boy is depicted with a bathing woman[250] (a traditional pose for Eros and Aphrodite, his mother) or figurines of embracing couples[251] (a traditional pose for Eros and Psyche, his lover[252]) – the boy or man is depicted without wings. Even if figurine visualizations of winged children were derived from Greek depictions of Eros, they would have been entangled in new associations of similarity and difference – as well as new meaning-making events – in their visualizations in Hellenistic Babylonia figurines. I therefore refrain from using the "Eros" label to discuss figurines of winged children.

Winged children, like most children depicted in the figurines, are generally shown naked (ST B16974 is one exception) – and thus the overwhelming majority can be conclusively identified as male. The posture of winged boys is generally standing, with the arms at the sides (U W15907, ST M16161, ST M16326) or with hands on the hips (BA BM84-2-11-581, BA BM84-2-11-582, BA BM84-2-11-583, BA BM84-2-11-584, BA BM84-2-11-585, BA BM84-2-11-586, BA BM84-2-11-587, BA BM84-2-11-588, BA BM84-2-11-589, as well as BA BM84-2-11-580 (not pictured), ST M16267); several figurines depicting winged boys are broken at the chest (and so we cannot know what their full body posture was), however the position of their

---

[249] BA BM84-2-11-581, BA BM84-2-11-582, BA BM84-2-11-583, BA BM84-2-11-584, BA BM84-2-11-585, BA BM84-2-11-586, BA BM84-2-11-587, BA BM84-2-11-588, BA BM84-2-11-589, as well as BA BM84-2-11-580 (not pictured), all come from the same mold, and are thus intimately related objects. This is one of only a very few cases where we know of more than two Hellenistic Babylonian figurines that came from the same mold.

[250] BA Louvre MNB 1840

[251] BA IM93498, BA BMSp.III 21+=91789, BA IM93231, ST B5836

[252] Pollitt, 1986: 128

upper bodies suggest that the figurines were erect. In one case (U W18424), the winged child (the sex of the genitalia is unclear) holds his/her hands to his/her chest, in a posture similar to that of the women who support their breasts (see discussion below); this figurine is one of the few cases where the winged child is not alone, but depicted together (on one object) in a group figurine with a much larger (likely an adult) draped woman, who also holds one of her wrapped arms to her chest. This close association between the winged child and the female figure may be the reason for the child's less trendy pose; it is also possible that this winged child is female, and thus adopting an appropriate female posture. The association with an adult woman, and the mimicry of adult female posture links this figurine with a figurine of a reclining woman, at whose side a much smaller female (possibly a child, judging from her scale and head-to-body proportions, but with small breasts) also reclines (ST M16425). These two figurines, which show (possibly) female children in proximity to adult females and adopting adult female posture, are not trendy – indeed, the trends in depicting children with women leans heavily towards depicting a male child held by the woman in her arms or on her hip. The implications of this will be discussed further below, in the section on group figurines.

One figurine from Babylon (BA AO25928)[253] seems to diverge from the general trend of upright posture: it depicts a winged boy who faces the viewer, but who turns his body away to his left. He is hunched over and clutching to his chest a disproportionately large bunch of grapes. His knees are deeply bent, with one knee almost touching the ground, as if he were squatting and turning at the same time. The boy looks back over his right shoulder at whatever he is turning away from[254], which originally formed part of the figurine, but has broken away. The squatting, turned-away pose of the body, and the motif of holding grapes out of reach, is visually shared with a child's grave relief from Smyrna[255]; similarly, the depiction of grapes in the hands of a boy is shared with other Hellenistic Babylonian figurines (see below) – however, wings are not depicted in these other cases. The entire figural scene of BA AO25928 is posed on a plinth base, which creates a statue-like distance between the winged boy and the viewer. In both the body pose and the plinth base, this figurine is somewhat distanced from the trendier feature-bundle of winged boys in upright postures, and appears to depict more of a self-contained, statue-like scene than the other winged boy figurines. A similarly self-contained scene depicting a winged boy can be seen in ST M16560, in which the boy sits with one knee bent to the chest (echoing the squatting posture of BA AO25928), turning both his head and body away from the viewer. In ST M16560, a terracotta frame encircling the child is used instead of a plinth base to separate the winged boy from the outside world of the viewer. This distancing of the winged boy – both through the non-interactive gaze (where the child does not face the human viewer) and the plinth/frame physical separation – was not trendy, indicating that a more direct interaction between winged boy and viewer was part of the meaning-making potential of most winged boy figurines.

Although different in several ways, BA AO25928 shares with other figurines of winged boys (BA BM81-11-3-1885, ST M14405, ST M16161, ST B16974), as well as non-winged boys (ST M15581-15851, BA AO24711), a common hairstyle: perched on a thick head of hair is a

[253] ST M14360A (Van Ingen, 1939: Figurine 822a) may be similarly posed, however I have not had the opportunity to view this figurine (either in person or photograph).
[254] Karvonen-Kannas states that the boy (who she calls Eros) is turning away from a pecking cock, whom he has been teasing with the grapes (1995: 144), however I believe that the side of the figurine is too broken to be sure of the object's/animal's identity.
[255] Smith, 1991: Figure 221

central ridge of stippled curls that runs from the forehead to nape of the neck. While clearly incised to resemble hair, this hairstyle gives the boys' heads a somewhat triangular shape that is visually evocative of the three-pointed hat worn by other boy figurines (see below). The central-ridged hairstyle is also visually similar to the wreaths worn by several boy figurines, including some winged boy figurines (BA BM84-2-11-581, BA BM84-2-11-582, BA BM84-2-11-583, BA BM84-2-11-584, BA BM84-2-11-585, BA BM84-2-11-586, BA BM84-2-11-587, BA BM84-2-11-588, BA BM84-2-11-589, BA BM84-2-11-580 (not pictured), ST M16267, ST M16326, ST M15872, U W18424, N CBS9451). A *polos* headdress was a less common option for winged boys, used only at Uruk (U W14536, U W2099). Despite this diversity of headdress options for winged boys, it is apparent that there is a pattern for some sort of distinctive headgear. This is a trend that continues in the figurine visualizations of non-winged children, and may be an indication of the fantastical or supernatural aspect of these depictions.

Several of the wreath-wearing, winged boy figurines were closely entangled not only through their shared headdress, but also through several other co-occurring features. One of these features is their small scale: while unbroken figurines depicting adults are generally around 17cm tall, wreath-wearing winged boy figurines are usually only 6-7.5cm tall. This scale could help to reinforce that these winged figures were "actually" children – if these figurines were viewed next to figurines of adults, they would be size proportionate, and thus actually look like children in comparison. Note that this is not the case with many of other figurines depicting children, which can be as large as most adult figurines, if not larger. This indicates that the small-scale feature was likely important in the meaning-making processes in which these wreath-wearing winged boys were engaged.

These small-scale, wreath-wearing winged boy figurines also generally shared aspects of their structural design: the trend was for single molded figurines, with slightly concave backs, and a small (3mm diameter) hole pierced entirely through the figurine from side to side. This hole goes through the body of the figurine from one hip to the other, just below the area where the hands rest on the figure's hips. These figurines cannot stand alone, so it is likely that the hole was used to suspend the figurines by passing some sort of object (such as a string or pin) through the hole. Because the hole is placed so low on the figurines' bodies, suspended figurines would be top-heavy, and quickly flip upside-down if hung freely. Some sort of stable back support (or very firmly clamped suspension) would be needed to keep the figurine upright; it is therefore likely that these figurines were attached to some other object (furniture?) or surface (a wall?) for display. It is also possible that they served as necklaces (in which case the user's neck/chest would serve as the back support), although the figurines would be very prone to flipping upside-down if the wearer were to lean over or otherwise let the necklace hang away from his/her body.

Unlike at Babylon, Seleucia, and Uruk, where small-scale figurines of wreath-wearing winged boys are found, Nippur has only one figurine (possibly two[256]) of a winged boy. He, too, wears a wreath on his head, however unlike the figurines which participated in the trendier

---

[256] The second figurine (N Photograph No. 361) looks very similar to the first (N CBS9451), however the top of the figurine (where the wings and head would be) has been broken away. I have not had the opportunity to examine N Photograph No. 361 as it is not locatable in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Judging from its lack of museum number, I think it is possible that this figurine may have been lost between the time when it was excavated (and photographed) and when it was supposed to be transported to Philadelphia.

pattern at the other cities, N CBS9451 is larger (11.8 cm), wears a cape, and plays a kithera.[257] Additionally, instead of a single mold being used to construct this figurine, a double mold was used. However, the double mold was not used in the usual way; rather, the maker of N CBS9451 utilized the double mold to impress features on both the front and back of a solid clay figurine, without making two separate halves to the object. This process created a very thick figurine which would have been dangerous to fire (due to the likelihood it would explode), however if N CBS9451 (which is broken at the ankles) had possessed the same base as the visually similar N Photograph No. 361, it is likely that the thickness created vertical stability that would have allowed for stand-alone display. These features distance N CBS9451 (and N Photograph No. 361) from the smaller wreath-wearing winged boys popular in the other cities, and suggest that the meaning-making potentials of the features of "wings" and "wreaths" were interpreted differently (and articulated differently in material form) at Nippur.

The meaning-making importance of a "kithera" may also have been interpreted differently in other cities than at Nippur: figurines at Babylon[258] and Seleucia[259] depict non-winged people playing the round-boxed kithera[260]. At Nippur, however, N CBS9451 and N Photograph No. 361, both of which likely depicted a winged boy, are shown with the square-boxed kithera (there is also one example from Uruk where a figure plays a square-boxed kithera[261]). Musical instruments depicted on other Nippur figurines are usually the tympanum or flute, with no known examples of other kithera (either round- or square-based). The difference between the kithera shapes is significant, as the round-based shape connoted "indoor, informal music-making", while the square-based kithera was a more public, "concert instrument".[262] I suggest that this combination of the more public performance-oriented kithera with the supernatural boy was meaningful. This supernatural association alone may not have been radically different from the kithera-associated meaning-making practices at Seleucia or Babylon – indeed, at Babylon, kithera-playing figurines have been visually associated with representations of the Greek god Apollo.[263] However, the supernatural associations of the Nippur kithera-playing figurines were more explicitly represented through the obvious non-human wings on the musicians. Additionally, the placement of the supernatural child and his musical performance into a public context indicates that this figurine represented an act – or an identity – that was out in the open, in public view. The combination of the overtly supernatural with the overtly public – along with the relative unpopularity of this visualization – may indicate that this combination of features was controversial.

---

[257] The kithera was a seven-stringed instrument with wooden box base, similar to a lyre, but larger and more difficult to play. It produced a louder sound than the lyre, and was generally considered a professional instrument to be used for public performances (Landels, 1999: 7).

[258] BA BMRmIV473=91809, BA AO24683, BA BMSp.III 16+=91817

[259] ST B5014, ST C32.544, ST M15185, ST M16492

[260] There is one figurine from Babylon, BA BMRmIV473=91809, that Karvonen-Kannas identifies as a "Winged Eros" playing a kithera (1995: 158). However, I believe that the head of the figure is too small in proportion to the body to consider this figure a depiction of a child, and the supposed "wings" are too small and too vague to be sure that they were intended to be wings. Nonetheless, this figurine would have been visually entangled with the trends of kithera-playing figures at Babylon, and may have added some air of supernatural connection to the depictions of kithera-playing.

[261] U BM91813

[262] Landels, 1999: 48-49

[263] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995:158-159

It is also possible that this supernatural connection of the kithera was identified differently in the other cities. The visual entanglement between Nippur's N CBS9451 (and N Photograph No. 361) and the wreath-wearing winged boys in the other cities suggests that these other figurines were also somehow associated with kithera-playing. For instance, since these small-scale, wreath-wearing winged boy figurines cannot stand alone and were designed to be attached to some sort of solid, flat surface, it is possible that they may have been terracotta ornaments on the sound box of real kithera instruments.[264]

Other Hellenistic Babylonian figurines of children also commonly depict the child wearing distinctive headgear, such as the wreaths described above. Children wearing three-peaked hats, which may have been associated with Hellenistic representations of the child-gods Horus[265], were a popular subject for figurines. Three-peaked hats often bear a visual similarity to the hairstyle (with the central ridge of curls) seen on some winged boy figurines; in other cases, such in many Babylon figurines depicting enthroned children, three-pointed hats are shown with the middle peak substantially larger than the other two, and with a round central boss on the hat at the level of the forehead. Despite the variety of forms which the three-peaked hat could take, one association does appear to have been meaningful: while three-peaked hats are commonly entangled with a variety of visualizations of children in figurines, they are never worn by winged children. It therefore seems likely that whatever the meaning-makings were that involved the three-peaked headdress, they were incompatible with the depiction of wings on children.[266]

In addition to the variety of shapes that three-peaked hats could take, the three-peaked hats also seem to have been entangled with a variety of different poses. These poses include the posture of splayed-leg horseriding, such as in BA AO24678 and BA BM80-6-17-1703, which depict children wearing three-pointed hats as the rider part of horse and rider figurine sets. These child riders are entangled, through both hat and the seated posture, with figurines displaying the trendy feature-bundle of a three-peaked hat, worn by a child, perched on a "throne" (a low-backed chair with solid base)[267] or cone.[268] Such children are usually described as male[269], however many do not have clear depictions of genitalia, and may not have been explicitly sexed. Figurines of enthroned children wearing three-peaked hats from Seleucia generally show the figure in a somewhat rigid, frontal posture, with the arms at the sides or on the lap; a similar posture is depicted in a figurine of an enthroned child where the child wears a rounded wreath or crown as a headdress (ST M16235). Two Seleucia figurines (ST M16091, ST M14578), however, have "finished-off" arms, which were made to terminate in a flat cut just

---

[264] Ancient kithera were often decorated. In Classical Greece, gold and ivory inlays were most notable among these decorations (Mathiesen, 1999: 265), however I would suggest that terracotta ornaments might also have been possible (especially for round-based kithera that were intended for informal, home use).

[265] Legrain, 1930: 22

[266] It is, however, interesting that one figurine (ST B4825) of a child riding a bird (which has wings and can presumably fly) does show the child wearing a three-pointed hat, so some overlap of a "flying" context may have existed.

[267] BA BM91814, BA BM91799, ST M16091, N CBS1930; not pictured: BA AO24700, BA AO24685, ST M14343, ST M14341,

[268] not pictured: BA AO24705, BA AO24716, BA AO24713, BA AO26026

[269] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 145-148; Van Ingen, 1930: 198, 206-207. Van Ingen does describe ST M16091 as female, because of the possible depiction of breasts on the figurine.

below the shoulder, possibly for the attachment of separately-made, movable arms.[270] These moveable arms might have been positioned in front of the figure, or made to hold an object, which would entangle these figurines more closely with enthroned and cone-sitting child figurines that have a less frontal posture than many of the Seleucia examples.

Enthroned and cone-sitting children are most commonly shown holding their arms up to their chest and grasping an object(s). Although the identification of the object cannot always be clearly made, figurines of enthroned children are often holding a bunch of grapes (BA BM91814, BA BM91799; also, not pictured: BA AO24685, ST B7216, ST B4119). The male gender of enthroned children is usually clearly indicated by the depiction of a penis, which can be seen (despite the seated position) because the left leg is usually bent and held with the knee splayed away from the body and the foot resting against the inner right leg. In one case (BA BM91814)[271], the boy holds both the grapes and a small bird, one in each hand; in another case (N CBS1930), the boy holds the grapes away from the reach of a large bird, which stands on the ground (to the right of the throne) and reaches its beak up to the boy's chest in an attempt at grape thievery. Although probably not a depiction of an enthroned child[272], N CBS12418 does depict a seated boy clutching a small bird and bunch of grapes to his chest, providing additional evidence of the use of this feature-bundle at Nippur. A shared motif of a child holding grapes (sometimes with a bird) entangles these figurines with the winged boy holding grapes in BA AO25928, and suggests that there may have been some supernatural association to this visualization.

Several figurines showing children perched upon cones also depict the child holding an object (BA BMSp.III 13+=91797, not pictured: BA AO24705, BA AO24716, BA AO24713, BA AO26026), however in these figurines, the child usually clasps their hands together across their chest. Although a few figurines are too degraded to identify the object, in most cases I agree with Karvonen-Kannas, who identifies these objects as "small, round bowls".[273] A similar arm pose, held object (probably also a round bowl), and seated position on top of a cone is also shared with figurines of children who do not wear the three-peaked hat (BA BMSp.III 17+=91798; not pictured: BA BM80-11-12-1906, BA AO24723), and one in a seated posture but without a cone base (not pictured: BA AO26530). This hand posture and held object, while visually linked to figurines of enthroned children wearing three-peaked hats, is also linked with some figurines depicting tunic-wearing males, discussed in Chapter 6. It is possible that figurines of children seated on cones were visually, and perhaps meaningfully, entangled with figurines of tunic-wearing men, and that the pose of a bowl held in such a reserved posture

---

[270] The presence of "finished-off" arms on these two figurines also entangles them with other figurines that have separate, attachable arms. These figurines are discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. Note also that these two figurines from Seleucia are among the very few figurines of children that appear to have female features (i.e. breasts). This entangles these two figurines even more tightly with other figurines with attachable arms, which are also female.

[271] Note that this figurine, BA BM91814, is incorrectly pictured as 218 on Plate 38 of the Appendix in Karvonen-Kannas, 1995. Likewise, BA BM91799, is the figurine pictured in Plate 37 and (mis-)identified as 214.

[272] Because this object is a modern cast made from an ancient mold, it is difficult to assess how the complete visualization would have appeared or visually interacted with other figurine objects in ancient contexts. N CBS12418 has been recast as a single-molded figurine, with the edges of the figurine left untrimmed – these choices, made by the modern technician, give the visual impression that any figurines made with this mold were not closely entangled by either modeling or style with other figurines that depict boys holding grapes and birds. However, we cannot be sure that N CBS12418 is a representative example of the figurine visualizations created with this mold.

[273] 1995: 147

signified a particular kind of event or even a particular kind of substance contained within the bowl. Indeed, as tunic-wearing male figurines were visually entangled with earlier Babylonian figurines thought to depict either gods or priests, it is possible that some aspect of divine worship might have been meaningfully entangled with figurines of cone-seated children.

The use of a large cone as a seat also suggests some aspect of the out-of-the-ordinary, as does the visual similarity between figurines of cone-seated children and figurines depicting cone-seated apes.[274] While these apes are shown in a different body posture, with the knees raised to the chest and the arms tucked under the legs, the position on top of the cone creates an entanglement that connects visualizations of cone-seated children to the out-of-the-ordinary. On a practical level, the use of the cone as a base also conveys a strong degree of stability to the figurine, allowing it to stand securely even on a bumpy or irregular surface. It is possible that such figurines were intended for display in such a situation. It should be noted that cone-sitting figurine visualizations have been found only at Babylon – however, within that city, they seem to have been popular – which suggests that whatever meaning-making events were facilitated by these features, they were geographically limited in their trendiness.

Through the carrying of a round pottery vessel at the chest, figurines featuring cone-sitting children were also visually entangled with depictions of children carrying a round pottery vessel on their left shoulder. Two figurines from Babylon (BA AO24706; not pictured: BA AO24704) actually show a combination of these two feature-bundle trends: children, sitting on cones, holding a round vessel on their left shoulder. Two other figurines from Babylon (BA BM81-4-28-952=118757, BA BM80-11-12-1924A) depict children in sitting positions, but without a cone, carrying a round vessel on the left shoulder – one of these, BA BM81-4-28-952=118757, seems to depict two vessels, one on the shoulder and one on the lap, which suggests that this figurine represents and combines both of the two major trends of position in which children could carry vessels. Several figurines from Seleucia also participated in this trend of depicting a child carrying a round pottery vessel on the left shoulder: ST B17033, ST B7138; not pictured: ST B17787, ST B17378, ST B6861, ST M14350, ST M16272A, ST B6485, ST M15226. Only two of these are complete enough to determine the child's body position (ST B17033, ST B7138); in both cases, the child is sitting cross legged, and there are traces of some kind of base or support (which may originally have been a cone).

An additional figurine from Seleucia, ST T30.149 depicts a child carrying a long-necked, handled jar (similar in form to a Hellenistic Greek *lagynos*[275]) on his left shoulder. This vessel shape may have been significant, as Seleucia was the only Mesopotamian city where *lagynos* pottery has been found.[276] This correlates well with the similarly limited range of use for figurines depicting the *lagynos*, which also seem to have been confined to Seleucia, and not particularly popular even in that location. Valtz suggests that the *lagynos* shape was "considered a mark of a genuine Greek taste, for its peculiar function of wine decanter...belonging to the 'wine culture'."[277] It is therefore revealing that such a marker of Greek culture was, on the one hand, considered an appropriate motif to include on a terracotta figurine, but then, on the other hand, was not popularly accepted and perpetuated.

---

[274] Such as these two figurines, not pictured: BA AO1495, BA AO24724

[275] The vessel depicted was identified/interpreted as a *lagynos* by Van Ingen (1930: 201). The *lagynos*, with its "squat biconic body, narrow neck, high and straight handle," is one of many pottery vessel shapes popular at Seleucia that has been linked to counterparts from the Greek world (Valtz, 1993: 172).

[276] Valtz, 1993: 172

[277] 1993: 172

The trendy figurines that depicted vessel-bearing children were not those that exclusively denoted Greek culture, but rather those that combined both Greek and Babylonian traditions. It is possible that, in the trendy visualizations of figurines depicting children with round vessels on their left shoulder, we see a combination of the Babylonian visualization depicting males (which may have sometimes been gods or priests) holding round vessels clutched to their chests and Hellenistic Greek visualizations of children carrying jar on their left shoulders. Such an explanation may account for the trend's popularity at Seleucia, as well as for the preference at Babylon for figurines of children holding the round vessel to their chest, which would have been closer entangled with visualizations of the Babylonian tradition.

From an exploration of these figurines depicting male children, it is apparent that a large variety of visualizations were popular. These trends intersect in a common ground of depicting children with supernatural aspects, or at least using features or aspects that could be considered "out-of-the-ordinary" (i.e. postures, attributes, or situations encountered in everyday life). The uncommon structural designs (such as sitting on a cone) and the unrealistic features (such as wings or giant birds) that can co-occur with depictions of children may suggest that, although the children figurines have entanglements of similarity with the older male figurines, there are also entanglements of difference, or even the supernatural (*vis a vis* the human world), at play in the meaning-making processes within which these figurines were used.

Thus, the supernatural associations of many depictions of children could potentially call into question the usefulness of these figurines for analyzing "real world" identity. However, from the sheer fact that such figurines were popular, I would argue that we can deduce a corresponding interest in children and their identities. The large variety of visualizations suggests that differing, or even competing, notions and preferences about children were being experimented with and worked through using the material culture as a visual outlet. Framing this process of social negotiation about childhood identity in a "supernatural" context may have had a distancing effect – making the process seem less "real", less emotionally fraught – which could have allowed the members of the community to work through the new (and evolving) social and cultural identities of their children without being overwhelmed about the personal and familial implications of their negotiations. It is possible that figurines depicting children are almost entirely depictions of males because such identity negotiations were particularly important with regard to boys.

Based on the large variety of visualizations depicting male children in the terracotta figurines, I suggest the possibility that a variety of roles existed for males, even while they were children – or, at least, that there were multiple competing ways of viewing and conceptualizing roles for masculine children.

Age Differences in Male Social Roles

The supernatural aspect of figurines of children was not uniformly shared among all visualizations. A few figurines from Seleucia also depict children wearing a three-peaked hat (not pictured: ST M15890, ST M15897, ST M14866), but do not otherwise seem closely entangled with the trends described above. Indeed, child figurines in general were trendier at Seleucia than at the other cities, and there are several which do not seem to fit closely into the patterns seen in the other cities. These include figurines of draped children wearing a pointed cap (ST M16121; not pictured: ST B4078, ST M14096, ST M14105) which, through the depiction of a wrapped arm or arms held together across the chest, may have been visually entangled with draped and tunic-wearing adult figurines – and, indeed, may have been the more

youthful versions of this social identity. Other figurines, such as ST M14128, which depicts a girl in a long dress carrying a rectangular box, are more difficult for me to find close associations for in the visualization trends. Such figurines give less of a supernatural or otherworldly impression than most child figurines, and this normalcy may have been both part of their meaning-making potential, and part of the reason for their lack of trendiness (especially in cities outside Seleucia).

Also limited to Seleucia were figurines depicting small infants (ST M15875; not pictured: ST M14146). While entangled with other figurine of children because of their large heads and childish bodies, figurines of infants have even more exaggerated proportions. ST M15875 also has his face contorted in a harsh expression of crying or screaming. In both proportions and in distorted facial features, figurines of babies seem to share an aspect of the "grotesque"[278] with figurine depicting dwarfs.[279] The identification of a figure as a "dwarf" is based on a large head-to-body ratio (as with children); dwarfs are also often depicted naked, as well as bow-legged. Unlike with children, however, depictions of dwarfs often have beards (ST M16126, ST B6065; not pictured: ST M14224, ST M14882, ST T30.148), deep facial wrinkles, or male-pattern baldness (ST M16136; not pictured: ST T30.148, ST M14155) that distinguish the figure as a mature adult male. Thus, in addition to visual entanglements with figurines depicting children, some figurines of dwarfs could also have been entangled with figurines of average-height, bearded adult males. Indeed, it is possible that the trend of depicting dwarfs with signs of mature masculinity was done not only to distinguish these figurines from those depicting children, but also to highlight the seeming contradiction inherent in a person who possesses a child's stature but an adult man's sexual body (and sexual identity). Additionally, since figurines depicting dwarfs seem to have been localized at Seleucia, some aspect of the Classical Greek fascination with depicting "grotesque" figures in their art (particularly figurines) may have been at play. This concept may not have transferred very well into Babylonian culture, where there was no substantial tradition for depicting "ugliness" for its own sake, and thus this figurine trend may have found only a restricted audience. This limited reception for figurines of dwarfs highlights the differing situation encountered with many other figurine visualizations of Greek origin (such as the "Herakles" motif), aspects of which became trendy across the Babylonian cities – indeed, it suggests that these other figurine trends may only have succeeded because they could be fit into and used within other, broader realms of meaning-making than the one for which they were originally intended.

A reflection on the age differences depicted on the various figurines that present male features leads me to a discussion of age on the figurines more generally. Figurines displaying female gender/sex characteristics, with very few exceptions, seem to be bundled with the age features of sexual maturity (determined from the presence of secondary sexual characteristics,

---

[278] The "grotesque" does not seem to have been popular in Mesopotamian art, outside a few specific contexts, such as representations of the demon/divine guardian Humbaba. "Grotesque" figurines were, however, very popular in the Greek tradition. Classical Athenian examples are thought to have represented lower-class characters (who were often caricatures), such as slaves or peasants, from theatrical comedies. The popularity of the "grotesque" continued even in the relatively restricted Hellenistic-era repertoire of the Tanagra figurines (Higgins, 1986: 115, 119, 155-159).
[279] ST M16126, ST B6065, ST M16136; not pictured: ST M14224, ST M14882, ST T30.148, ST M14155, ST T11972, ST B5444, ST B6331, ST M14521, ST T6917, ST M16237, ST B6482, ST B4667, ST M15914, ST B6262, ST M16152, ST B4180

such as breasts), but without any markings of middle age or advanced age.[280] Indeed, the figurines depicting females all appear to be entangled with the same age characteristics, and thus appear to be all the same age. Figurines depicting females might even be more accurately described as being ageless. I argue in Chapter 6 that this lack of age differentiation may be a site of meaning-making with regards to the social roles and ideal visual presence of women in Hellenistic Babylonian society.

Figurines with male features, on the other hand, were bundled with the age features that are characteristic of a variety of ages, from childhood, through puberty, to middle age. These entanglements of male gender and the depiction of various age characteristics created different individual meanings about a male's roles at different life stages; but, taken together, the existence of these intersecting entanglements may point to a set of connected male roles which one person could progress through during the course of his life. Alternatively, the age, and other, differences in male figurines may indicate the variety of different statuses into which males could be classed. Thus, while one man may not have been able to assume all identities within a single lifetime, there was a plethora of categories which could be applied to define the identities of men in general. In either case, the figurines provide evidence of a diversity in male identity within the society of Hellenistic Babylonia.

Gender and the Lack Thereof

Included in among all the diversity of figurines depicting males have also traditionally been some figurines that are more difficult to give a gender assignation. As noted previously, beards are not a common feature within the figurine corpus at large, which makes the gender of some clothed figurines difficult to determine. Most horse rider figurines, for instance, are beardless. Among the beardless horse riders, often the human faces are too indistinct to make out any clear features – if facial features are shown at all, it is usually only by vague bumps and depressions (U W8198, BA IM93442, ST M15594) or, more rarely, by roughly-painted lines and dots (U W17597). When the limbs of the horse-rider are depicted, they are often either simply tubular shaped appliqués resting on the surface of the horse's body (ST M15962, U W5652) or indistinct ridges that seem blended into the horse's side (U W17597, BA IM93442, BA BM76-11-17-2400=92277; not pictured: ST M16075, ST M15662, U W8145). Indeed, in many cases, the body of the rider seems to be merged into the body of the horse, with no separate legs or arms given to the human at all (U W8198; not pictured: U W8256, U W16880). In other cases (BA BM81-4-28-946, ST M15594), the rider figure appears to be attached to a horse body and legs, but with no corresponding horse head – in some of these figurines (such as BA BM81-4-28-946), the rider is playing a musical instrument, usually a large round drum (perhaps a *tympanum*). The merging of human and horse features[281] in these figurines could be the farthest extreme on a trend of blurring the depiction of bodily details on the horse-rider figurines. The sex/gender of the rider is often undeterminable due to lack of bodily detail – a "problem" noted

---

[280] In Greek figurines, advanced age is shown by the depiction of wrinkles, fleshy bodies, and large sagging breasts. For examples, see Higgins, 1986: Figures 193, 194, and 195.

[281] Note here the possible lack of a clear human-animal division in the visualizations of these figurines. This again illustrates my argument that our modern, and seemingly natural, typological divisions between "obvious" categories (such as "human" and "animal") cannot be unproblematically applied to the ancient objects. This dissertation focuses on the analysis of human figurines to the exclusion of the animal and other figurines, however I acknowledge that this division is my own, and is not meant to be a reflection of ancient categories or concepts.

by Legrain in his catalogue of the Nippur figurines, however the implications of which he does not discuss.[282]

I would suggest that this lack of clear gender/sex distinction within these horserider figurines, and the "problem" it poses for us, highlights the fact that we, as modern scholars, often assume that all figurines have discoverable gender/sexed identities. We must remember instead that, even for human beings, "gender is a social construction"[283] that is enacted through social practice, rather than "an essential quality"[284] that is part of the "natural, eternal order of things".[285] Within any society, there always exist a multiplicity of "femininities" and "masculinities", as those gender roles and ideals interact with the other aspects of a particular person's identity, "producing different definitions of 'men' and 'women'"[286] as those genders are expressed through the lens of, and in combination with, a person's other attributes.

For figurines, which do not possess a natural biological sex, the socially-determined nature of their gender assignment is more obvious, and thus potentially more fluctuating and malleable. One way this can be done is through removing or obscuring some of the figurine's body parts, as was the case with the vague-faces and amorphous-bodies of some horseriders discussed above. This process of removing or abstracting the features required for the depiction of a corporeal human being, "denaturalizes that body and thus lays it open to reconstructions".[287] The viewer is then encouraged, or even required, to reconstruct the missing pieces, but with the flexibility that "many different whole bodies can be built from the same isolated part and no one reconstructed body need be the correct whole".[288] The flexibility created by the lack of depicted details allows for diversity of human-object engagement, and thus some figurines may have been lacking in gender/sex specific details as a way to create the opportunity for a variety of interactions.

With these abstracted figurines, sexual or gender identities may have only been applied in certain cases. Following Judith Butler's theories of gender as performance[289], figurines could become gendered as they were recruited into certain kinds of performative action, but then become differently gendered or non-gendered as they were engaged in different human-object interactions. In other cases, the presence of a sexed body, or a sex identification, could be a hindrance: "sexual regions of the body are highly charged and potentially disruptive in character"[290], thus a non-sexed body could be less contested and allow for other identities to be explored without being given sexual/gendered overtones. Even in cases of figurines with explicitly sexed bodies, the importance of the sex-based identity may have been brought to the fore only in some cases, and then may have receded to the background in other cases, as was required by the particular viewer-object engagement.

---

[282] 1930: 23
[283] Conkey & Gero, 1997: 418
[284] Conkey & Gero, 1997: 420
[285] Nochlin, 1988: 2
[286] Pollock, 1988: 18
[287] Pultz, 1995: 162
[288] Bailey, 2005: 81
[289] In her book, Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex", Butler argues that such gender performances are even capable of changing gendered identities on living human bodies – such as occur in the world of drag culture today. In this way, the performance of gender can, in fact, create gender identities, and "sexual difference...is never simply a function of material differences which are not in some way both marked and formed by discursive practices" (Butler, 1993: 1).
[290] Bailey, 2005: 83

This is not to say that the gender/sex of a figurine was always of marginal import to the ancient user. As we can see through the detail with which genitalia are often depicted on figurines, or through the careful rendering of specifically gendered garments, there were cases where the sex/gender of the figurine seems to have been a primary site of meaning-making. However, we need to be prepared to make the argument that these sex/gender identities were important, both for specific figurines and in specific cases of human-figurines interaction, rather than assume that such sexed/gendered identities were universally existent and vital. There are figurines, such as the vague-faced, abstracted-bodied horseriders discussed above, where the gender/sex is not so indicated, and in fact may have been deliberately omitted. For these figurines, I argue that the lack of gender-specificity is not due to carelessness or lack of skill, but rather the choice to avoid assigning a particular gender to these figurines.

This obscuring of the details of the horse and rider also suggests a complicated entanglement of both similarity and difference between the bearded horse riders discussed previously (which presented deeply lined, clearly depicted facial features) and the unbearded horse-rider figurines (which lack facial as well as bodily definition). Different inflections of meaning would have been generated by the detailed, bearded faces vs. the vague, unbearded faces. However, the visual similarity in the unstructured bodies could have produced shared meanings across the two groups. For instance, the vagueness of the body could have allowed the viewer to fill in the details of the horse and physique of the rider with his/her own imagination – which might allow the viewer to map his/her own identity onto the figurine and use it as a representation of him/herself. While all the horse-rider figurines discussed above would allow this process, the figurines with vague, unbearded faces would have allowed the widest latitude for viewers of any age or sex to initiate the process of self-identification. This process might have been aided by not only the lack of human body detail, but also the lack of detail on the horse: it is unclear what type of harnessing or saddling is used on these horses, so it is possible for the human interlocutor to imagine specifically-gendered horse trappings used for either women (such as a litter; although some Macedonian elite women were active horseriders, as seen excavations of grave goods in Macedonia) or men (such as a military saddle). Alternatively, the lack of age- or sex-specific detailing may have provided an opportunity for the user to engage directly and exclusively with the horse-riding aspects and meanings of the figurine. In order to minimize the other social tensions/identities/meanings that could interfere with this engagement, the gender and age features were eliminated.

In contrast to this openness of interpretation allowed by the vague faces, the horse-rider figurines with more detailed faces and beards present, by their depiction of facial details, more limited "constraints of candidacy".[291] It would be implausible, for instance, to use a horserider figurine with a detailed, bearded face to represent the identity of a small child. Indeed, self-identification with bearded, facially-detailed horserider figurines would likely have been limited

---

[291] Nicholas Thomas describes how such identity constructions can work through physical resemblance to the depicted subject in art. When the viewer recognizes similarity between him/herself and the depicted person – especially when the similarity is in a physical feature that defines a social identity (such as, in Thomas's case study, skin color and European clothing in colonial Australia) – the bond created is "not merely an ideological, but a performative and embodied connection" (Thomas, 1999: 90). By representing a similarity with a certain group of people, the image also excludes another group of people – those who cannot plausibly self-identify (Thomas, 1999: 90-92). This is not to say that these figurines' features were accessing similarly politicized identities. However, it is possible that, through their physical specificity, they created deeper bonds of recognition and self-identification with members of certain identity groups that shared similar physical characteristics on their own bodies.

to older males, which means that these figurines could have been closely, meaningfully entwined with the social identities of older males – probably to a greater degree than if a rider with a vague face were used, since the specificity would allow for a more secure self-identification rooted in the material form of the bearded face. However, the secure anchoring of a figurine's features to particular social identities comes at the expense of the figurine's openness to interpretation, and thus distances the figurine's potential entanglement with the identities of other viewers. For viewers not matching the identity of an older, bearded male, this limitation on the potential for viewer self-identification would then redirect the human-object engagement to other avenues of interaction. These interactions could also create meaningful viewer-figurine entanglements; however, these entanglements would still have been restricted and conditioned by the depiction of the older male.

Unlike the majority of the handmodeled horse-rider figurines, which present undefined human bodies and relatively schematic horse bodies, two horse-rider figurines from Nippur (N CBS15486, N CBS15480) present a different visualization, in which the forms of the human and horse bodies are clearly delineated. The complete horse is only preserved in N CBS15486. In this case, the horse has four distinct legs of equal size, and a defined head with mane and ears. The outline of a bridle and reins were impressed into the clay surface of the horse's head with a circular pointed implement; both saddle pommels and skirts were also depicted through raised clay protrusions on the horse's back.[292] On both N CBS15486 and N CBS15480, the body of the riders are also delineated, with clear legs and torso, and with arms that project out from the shoulders and reach to the horse's neck (presumably to hold the reins). Both riders have large, hooked noses, but other facial details are lacking – indeed, there is no evidence of the use of stamp molds on either, which suggests that, in spite of all the definition shown in the horse's and rider's bodies, there may still have been entanglements of similarity (and meaning-making potential, such as allowing the user to map their own identity onto the undefined figurine) with the facially-undefined horse-riders described previously.

However, unlike the other facially-undefined horse-riders, N CBS15486 and N CBS15480 are wearing distinctive flat hats. These hats have been identified by scholars as the *kausia*[293], the uniform hat of the Macedonian cavalry. Although this identification is not certain, it presents the possibility that such a distinctive costuming was used as a marker of identity for the rider in these figurines; indeed, the presence of such distinctive costuming on figurines is itself noteworthy. Thus, the flat-hatted N CBS15486 and N CBS15480 may have been meaningfully entangled with specific male social roles – the vagueness of the face allowing any person to superimpose their own facial features, yet the identifying garment restricting that self-identification with the figurine to members of a particular social group, role, or profession. The very small number of figurines that depict handmodeled horse-riders wearing flat hats indicates that this social group – which, given the specific shape of the hat, may have been affiliated with the Macedonian cavalry – might also have had only a limited number of members.

---

[292] The depictions of saddles on N CBS15486 and N CBS15480 create an entanglement of similarity with two horse figurines from Nippur (not pictured: N CBS12242 and N CBS15487) that are shown wearing similar saddles, but with no trace of riders. It is possible that these riderless horses were part of the horse and rider, two-piece figurine trend, however there is no evidence at Nippur for the corresponding rider pieces of these two-piece figurines. It is therefore possible that riderless horses, which will not be otherwise discussed as they fall outside the scope of this dissertation, were nevertheless meaningfully entangled across our usually typological boundaries with the anthropomorphically-defined horserider figurines.
[293] Legrain, 1930: 32; Moorey, 2002: 211-212

Despite their lack of trendiness, however, the handmodeled horse-riders wearing the flat hats were entangled with other, double molded horse-rider figurines at Babylon and Seleucia (BA IM93463, ST M15181, ST B17082), through the shared feature of the flat-topped hat. In addition to these horserider figurines, several broken figurine heads wearing similar flat-topped hats were found in the earliest levels reached in the Michigan excavations at Seleucia (in Block B, in the 1936/1937 season).[294] Although it cannot be established if these heads belonged to horse riders, their early prominence in the Seleucia figurine corpus (with fewer examples made as the Hellenistic period progressed) indicate that they may have been tied in with specific identities of Macedonian cavalry.

The visualizations of the Seleucia and Babylon double molded horse-riders are very different from N CBS15486 and N CBS15480: the double mold technique allows for much richer depiction of detail, and this capacity was exploited to maximum effect (particularly in BA IM93463) in the intricate depiction of the horses' bodies (from the rounded fetlocks to the flaring nostril ridges), riding equipment (saddles are shown, including their harnessing straps, such as the breastband), riders' bodies (clearly defined legs and arms, with pattern of clothing preserved), and riders' facial features. Despite the difference in visualization, however, the shared feature of the flat-topped hat does provide some intriguing entanglements of similarity and difference between the double molded and handmodeled horse-rider figurines. None of the flat-hatted horse rider figurines, regardless of molding technique, appear to have been very trendy – only a few examples of each exist. However, for the few flat-hatted horse-riders that did exist, their contextualizations were very distinct: the handmodeled variety are only found at Nippur, while the double molded variety are known from both Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Babylon, and may have been used even more widely.

The use of handmodeling to fashion the flat-hatted horseriders at Nippur may potentially have been related to that city's approach to the integration Macedonian cavalry into terracotta figurines. The choice for handmodeling – which contrasts with the choices for double molding in Seleucia and Babylon, as well as perhaps in other Nippur figurines (N CBS8999, although it is unclear, due to the rider's broken body, if the figure wears the flat hat) – could have had specific effects on the way in which the Macedonian cavalry identity was perpetuated and viewed within Nippur society. In the Nippur handmodeled figurines, the flat-hatted riders were given blank faces very similar to other horse-rider figurines. While the details of the horses' and riders' bodies were more defined, they were not given many specific features that would keep human users from self-identifying with the figurine. Indeed, the only specific feature included was the hat – indicating that this part of the identity was "fixed and not open to negotiation or alteration", however other "parts of the body (such as the face) that are left undefined invite consideration and imagination".[295] This implies that if one was able to identify with the identity indicated by the hat, the rest of the figurine was free to be "overwritten" with one's own personal identity or whatever other identity one wished.

Another example of figurines that allowed for gender flexibility or lack of gender are those figurines that display attributes of both male and female sex. While these figurines are uncommon, their existence suggests that there were alternative ways of thinking about gender besides the male/female binary dichotomy that scholars usually assume was universal. For instance, in figurines U BM 51-1-1-107 and U BM 51-1-1-108, from Uruk, the body of the

---

[294] Van Ingen, 1939: 7
[295] Bailey, 2005: 72

figure displays both a penis and breasts. Even though the penis is shown in an erect position – thus creating an explicitly "sexual" (as opposed to just "sexed") visualization – its presence has often been ignored. Karvonen-Kannas, for instance, in citing these figurines as comperanda for her own Figurine 3, interprets their gender as female.[296] This assessment of female gender in both figurines is likely based not only on the presence of the breasts, but also the elaborate headdresses of vertically-ridged curls, the jewelry (two tight neck torques and a V-shaped necklace with pendant), the position of the arms to support the breasts, the narrow waist, and the wide hips. All of these features deeply entangle these two figurines with visualizations common to many female figurines, which will be discussed in Chapter 6. However, the presence of these shared feature-bundles only *entangles* U BM 51-1-1-107 and U BM 51-1-1-108 with female figurines – it does not *make* them female. The choice to ignore the penis in favor of a more conventional sex determination highlights how a rigid adherence to conventional typological divisions can hamper a scholar's ability to "see" the figurines themselves.

Two alabaster "petite sculptures"[297] with striking visual similarities to the two Uruk intersexed terracotta figurines have also been found in Hellenistic Babylonia (probably from Babylon). These alabaster statuettes are also shown wearing elaborate hairstyles and jewelry, and bending their arms to support their breasts. The statuette in Invernizzi, 2008: Figure 215A also shares the narrow waist and wide hips with U BM 51-1-1-107 and U BM 51-1-1-108. The penises on these two figures are not erect, but rather hang in flaccid positions, and the scrotum is also depicted on both statuettes. This greater level of anatomical detail may be the reason why Invernizzi assessed the sex of these two figures as "masculine" – however, he also believes that these figurines represent children. While some terracotta figurines of male children do share this pose of bringing the hands to the chest, they do not share the feminine body shape, the breasts, the elaborately curled hairstyle or the jewelry. Thus, while these alabaster statuettes may have been visually associated with terracotta depictions of male children, this connection does not mean that they were gendered "male".

Unlike the alabaster figurines – especially Invernizzi, 2008: Figure 215A, which has narrow tapered legs and feet as a base, and therefore could not stand alone – the body postures of U BM 51-1-1-107 and U BM 51-1-1-108 are also closely entangled with that of female figurines through their wide, flared bases, which allow the figurines to stand alone. The mold used to create both of these figurines was not actually designed to allow for such wide bases – rather, whoever used the mold to create these two figurines left additional clay at the base, which was then hand-shaped into a flared pedestal. Thus while the ability of these two figurines to stand alone was not originally though important, it must have become meaningful at some point during this mold's use-life. Thus in both the visualization of pose, and the construction of a distanced, less tactile human-figurine interaction, these two "hermaphrodite" figurines are more closely associated with female figurines. Indeed, the creation of a flared base for U BM 51-1-1-107 and U BM 51-1-1-108 may have been selected in order to bring these figurines in even closer entanglement with female visualizations. In contrast, many amorphous bodied figurines, such as the horseriders discussed previously, are commonly shown in postures similar to male figurine counterparts. This may perhaps represent two different avenues for exploration – or even two different competing conceptions – of alternative gender or non-gendered identities.

---

[296] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 119
[297] Invernizzi, 2008: 265; Figures 215A and 215B

The existence of both amorphous bodied figurines and hermaphrodite figurines indicates that modern categories of gender might not overlap with the ancient Hellenistic Babylonian understanding of gender identities. While gender distinctions, like the typologies that privilege them, appear to be part of the "natural, eternal order of things"[298], they are in reality contested concepts that are culturally constructed and, even within a particular culture, continually renegotiated as they are enacted.[299] For instance, Asher-Greve has shown that at least four distinct genders were recognized and operational in third millennium Mesopotamian society[300]. We therefore cannot simply assume that gender in Hellenistic Babylonia – and the display or representation of gender on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines – fits neatly into our categories of "male" and "female". We assume from Akkadian texts, which were still used to record the elite transactions of Hellenistic Babylonia (primarily at Uruk, but also at Babylon and Borsippa), that male and female determinatives were used to mark gender for personal names. However, we do not know if these two genders were defined as we define them, or if the boundedness of the two gender system extended beyond the personal identities codified in texts into the realm of personal identities associated with figurines. It is possible that figurines – which were a more private possession than the textual documents that needed to be witnessed by a group of at least eight other people in the community – were a more intimate and safe forum for exploring alternative identities which could not be allowed to be fully operational and claimed in the day-to-day life of a Babylonian person. While the gender categories of the third millennium cannot be uncritically used either, it does open our eyes to the possibility that there may have been other gendered/sexed realities than those which we use or accept in our own society. I would argue that the androgynous, hermaphrodite, and unclear figurines might have been places to display, or even experiment with, those gender tensions and identities.

---

[298] Nochlin, 1988: 2
[299] Conkey & Gero, 1997: 421
[300] Asher-Greve, 1997

CHAPTER 5: BECKONING AND DISTANCING

The figurine entanglements explored throughout Chapter 4 were primarily associations created through shared visualizations, with a focus on gender serving as the overarching connection that I (temporarily) privileged as a way to connect various strands of social identity formation. In this chapter, I continue exploring identity issues within terracotta figurine entanglements, but through a new lens: the human-figurine interaction experience as conditioned by the figurine object. Although the figurines' visualizations were partially involved in the creation of human-figurine interactions, an exploration of other aspects of figurine materiality will also be brought to the fore in order to reconstruct different, sometimes non-visual, entanglements between figurines. Technology and technique in figurine manufacture, which not only created the visualization but also conditioned how it could be used, will feature prominently in this investigation of human-figurine interaction.

The importance of human-figurine interaction is often underplayed – if it is even considered – in traditional studies of the terracotta figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia. While an occasional scholar's comment might note that, for instance, a figurine had moveable arms, very little discussion is dedicated to exploring how people might have interacted, touched, held, or otherwise engaged with the figurine beyond the visual realm. Overall, the assumption appears to be that ancient people regarded figurines as we do: objects to be placed on a shelf and viewed from a distance. While some ancient figurines might have been used in exactly this way, it is possible – and, I would argue, even likely – that many of these objects were involved in more multi-sensory interactions with human interlocutors who touched and, in cases such as the figural rattles, even heard their figurines.

How can such ancient human-figurine interactions be reconstructed? I would argue that the materiality of the figurines themselves afford us valuable clues as to how they were used. For instance, if a figurine is to be viewed from a distance, on a shelf or other flat surface, it must be able to stand vertically, and with some degree of stability, on that surface. If a figurine cannot stand alone, then the idea of vertical display seems to contradict the very affordances that its materiality presents. Instead, such figurines would require human intervention and handling in order to be viewed up close – a material feature that would create a closer human-figurine interaction. Other characteristics of figurine bodies can also encourage touch. For instance, figurines that expose their bodily surfaces offer interesting tactile explorations that are denied by more compact, enclosed forms. Aspects of motif can also beckon or distance the human viewer, through methods such as making eye contact, inviting gestures, commanding postures, and other visualizations.

Many of these features overlap the distinction between "visual" and "technical" features – a division which is indeed artificial, as both are intimately involved with each other. Therefore, while features of manufacturing technique will be discussed in detail in this chapter, this does not mean that these features are somehow divorced from the visual effects they create. Rather, the feature-bundles explored here are grouped together for their ability to effect and create human-object relationships.

Ranges of Interaction Encouraged by Figurines

In investigating the range of interaction encouraged by figurines, I would like to briefly reference figurines depicting horseriders that were shown with amorphous or vague bodies. These figurines were discussed in Chapter 4 with reference to their lack of clear gender markers.

However, I would like to reference them here to consider the ways in which they may beckon or distance the human viewer. This repeat discussion shows how my methodology provides the opportunity to associate individual figurines in many different entanglements – breaking free of the hierarchical and rigid structure of typologies.

The amorphous bodies of many horserider figurines may invite interaction in a variety of ways. The lack of clear bodily detail may encourage the human interlocutor to pick up the figurine and bring it close to their eyes, in order to see what the figurine "really" is – in other words, to determine if there are indeed bodily details present that are just difficult to see. As Douglass Bailey has theorized, this natural human reaction to an amorphous miniature human body may actually be part of the figurine's strategy[301] – to "trick" the *viewer* into becoming the *toucher*, creating a more complicated interaction plane between human and object that draws the person into the figurine's miniature world.

Intimate connection between the figurine and the human user would have been encouraged not only by the "blank slate" aspects of the figurine's visual appearance, but also by the handmodeling technique used to create the figurine. The overwhelming majority of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines were moldmade. However, most of the horseriders were made by hand – a manufacturing technique that establishes an inherently more intimate human-object engagement, as the figurine's maker might have been one and the same person as the figurine's user. Such close connections between object and human might have even gone so far as to encouraged slippage and elision between the identity of a person and that of his or her figurine. In such a scenario, a person could overlay his or her own identity onto the figurine, but with the concurrent potential that some of the figurine's lack of specificity could also be reflected back onto the user – allowing the non-relevant (i.e. non-horseriding) aspects of their identity to fade to irrelevance in favor of a complete focus on the horseriding identity role.

This intimate connection of person and figurine conditioned by the lack of specificity in many horseriding figurines can be contrasted with the very different human-object engagement created by double-molded horserider figurines. Several figurines from Seleucia and Babylon present the use of the double mold and an incredibly high level of detail imparted to horserider figurines. These figurines are entangled with amorphous-bodied horseriders through the shared motif, and some examples are also more closely entangled through the depiction of the flat hat. In particular, double molded flat-hatted figurines impart a distinct specificity of identity that goes beyond that implied by the flat hat. Indeed, it seems that rather than incorporate or entangle the Macedonian cavalry identity with other horse-rider figurines, the flat-hatted figurines are set apart, almost in the statue-like display of a particular admired person. This is particularly the case for the figurine from Babylon (BA IM93463), which is shown with the horse in a dramatic leap, its back feet pushing off from a low plinth and the "air space" beneath the horse not left free (as is the case in most horse-rider figurines), but filled in with a hollow clay base that would give it the vertical stability needed for display. The dramatic, statue-like aspect of this horse-rider figurine is also seen in similarly double-molded, dramatically leaping horserider figurines found at Nippur (N CBS8999) and Uruk (U W12786). In both of these examples, the rider's head is broken away, so there is no way to tell if he originally wore the flat hat. However, the riders in both of these figurines hold a sword in their right hand, indicating that these figurines were similarly entangled with the social role of the military – a role that seems to have been, at least in some cases, viewed from a statue-like distance. This visualization is strikingly different

---

[301] Bailey, 2005: 81

from the handmodeled Nippur figurines, however it may have similarly worn the flat hat. This may indicate that different sectors of Nippur society dealt with this particular military identity, and then expressed that relationship in material form, in different ways – one way being more similar to common Babylonian-wide views, and the other being a more locally-derived negotiation. A similar situation of locally-specific interaction with military-related identities through figurine creation and use can be seen at Uruk (see further discussion below).

The Seleucia flat-hatted horse-riders (ST M15181, ST B17082) are less statuesque than those of Babylon (as well as the possible Uruk and Nippur figurines) in their display, and also bear significant entanglements of visual similarity with the many other double molded horse-rider figurines at Seleucia. Indeed, almost all of the one-piece horse-rider figurines made in double molds come from Seleucia.[302] These molded horse-rider figurines[303] are always beardless. However, through their gender-specific clothing, they seem to depict males. In general, these figurines are visually intricate, with the specific garments (usually a tunic, fastened at the waist, and a cloak draped over the shoulders), horse trappings, and weaponry (when present) shown in detail. This overt attention to detail may have been a way of distinguishing figurines in this trend from the very different trend of handmodeled, ambiguously vague figurines, and so deliberately disentangle any shared meanings that might have overlapped these two trends.

In these double-molded horseriders, the rider is shown sitting astride the horse with his body twisted in a dynamic pose, with the right shoulder and arm held back towards the horse's rump and the left shoulder and arm reaching forward towards the horse's head. The effect of this upper-body torsion is that (when the rider's head is preserved) the rider faces outwards, towards his right side, rather than looking forward in the direction the horse is traveling.[304] This outward directionality of the rider's gaze gives these figurines a commanding presence, subtly implying that the rider had the authority and skill to control both the viewer and the horse at the same time. This posture of dominance is strikingly opposed to either the more interactive and receptive postures of the two-pieces horse and rider figurines discussed below, or the more internally-contained, forward-looking postures of the handmodeled horseriders discussed previously. These double-molded, outward-looking horseriders suggest, through their assertive gaze, that they represent positions of social authority, possibly linked to the Macedonian military roles of the flat-hatted figurines with which they are visually entangled. The potential military meanings of these double-molded horseriders are further suggested by the depiction, on some figurines (ST M15656, ST T8732; not pictured: ST M15710, ST M14210), of weapons or shields. While this does not mean that all of these double-molded, outward-gazing horseriders were engaged in battle, it does imply that they were closely entangled with figurines that did exhibit military-related bundled features.

In the outward-gazing double-molded horserider figurines, the horse is generally modeled with a life-like extension of the body parts – i.e. with the head held up, the nose extended away from the neck, and the front and back legs separated from each other by empty air space. However, due to the technical restrictions of the double-mold, the two front legs are attached to each other, as are the two back legs, and both sets of legs are hollow. This manner of fashioning the horse's legs creates a visualization similar to the effect generated by handmodeling, but at the

---

[302] Other examples are limited: BA IM93463, N CBS8999, U W2787

[303] ST B17082, ST M15656, ST T8732; not pictured: ST M15653, ST B17101, ST M15834, ST M15654, ST M15710, ST M15678, ST M14210, ST M14266

[304] Note, however, that this is not the case for ST B17082.

expense of introducing several of the technical weaknesses of the double mold process: the hollow body cavity creating more fragile limbs – which is evidenced by the high rate of breakage for horses' legs in these figurines, as seen in ST M15656 (also, not pictured: ST M14667, ST B17101, ST M15834, ST M15654, ST M15710) – and the fused legs creating less vertical stability by requiring the figurine to balance on two supports instead of four. Additionally, this visualization benefited from none of the double mold's strengths[305], since a stable base for the legs was not used.

This choice to use the double-mold to manufacture this set of co-occurring features indicates that the desired visualizations included both the active, realistic appearance of a horse standing on its own legs (as opposed to on a base, like the more statuesque BA IM93463, N CBS8999, U W12786), but also the intricately detailed appearance provided by the double mold. Both of these visualizations seem to have been more important than vertical stability or durability for the figurines participating in this trend. The more stable and statuesque techniques of inserting a clay background field between the animals' legs was known at Seleucia, and was used on other Seleucid animal figurines, such as a scene of bull baiting[306] in which the bull is shown leaping in a manner similar to the horses in BA IM93463, N CBS8999, U W12786. That this technique and visual representation of leaping animals was thought appropriate for other Seleucia figurines, but specifically not used in the creation of horseriders, further indicates that a choice was made for a more fragile visualization in light of the advantages it offered. The intersecting features of the active horse posture, controlling gaze of the horse rider, the contextual limitation to the capital city of Seleucia, and the entanglement with military features, indicate that figurines within this trend participated in restricted processes of meaning-making, where the activity and accessibility of the image were paramount.

Unlike the statuesque distance from which this identity was viewed in segments of Babylon, Nippur, and Uruk society, these military-related identities or concepts were more approachable and relatable in their Seleucia versions (albeit still commanding and authoritative), as well as more integrated into figurine trends of depicting horseriding in general. This perhaps indicates that Macedonian cavalry identities were more fully incorporated into Seleucia society ideas about broader, horseriding-based masculine identities. This stands in contrast to the very segmented situation in Nippur, where one military-associated horserider is shown in statue-like form (implying that he is inaccessible, and to be admired from a distance), whereas two flat-hatted, handmodeled horseriders appear to be more accessible allusions to the Macedonian military identity but expressed within a more open-ended, vague visual language.

Returning to consider double-molded horseriders from Seleucia, there are a small number of examples of figurines that seem to diverge from the trend. A few of the figurines endowed with the set of co-occurring features – outward-gazing, double-molded, detailed horseriders – discussed above, show the riders wearing peaked caps and tunics (ST B17101; not pictured: ST M14667, ST M15653). These garments give the figurines a more distinctively Near Eastern appearance, similar to some of the clothing depicted on the bearded, handmodeled horseriders discussed previously. This similarity of clothing may have provided a point of intersection or entanglement between these otherwise distinct trends of horserider figurines. It is possible that figurine users were attempting to incorporate aspects of the bearded, handmodeled horserider identity into the tightly contained and defined set of meanings made through the outward-gazing,

---

[305] The double mold, because of the hollow forms it creates, can be safely used to make wide-based, vertically stable figurines, with minimal risk of clay explosion during firing.
[306] Not pictured: ST M15592

double-molded horseriders. A differently inflected, but perhaps similarly intentioned, experiment in combining these two trends is evidenced in a handmodeled horserider (ST M16165), which was made to look very similar to the double-molded horseriders, with an attempt even being made to mimic the intricate details by hand. All of these figurines indicate that, despite the divisions between the bearded handmodeled horserider trend and the outward-gazing, double-molded, detailed horserider trend, there was some interest (even if it never became a popular interest) in bridging the divide and making some sort of hybrid meaning, or even hybrid social identity, accessible. The fact that such combinations between the trends never became popular indicates, however, that the majority of figurine users felt that these "multi-trend" figurines did not provide sufficient meaning-making potential. Perhaps the identities represented by the two distinct trends were considered too distinct to make commensurate on one figurine or to collapse into a singular identity representation.

The double mold was also use to create horse-and-rider figurines, in which the horse and rider were made as two separate objects, to be fitted together (in an impermanent fashion) by the user. This visualization seems to only have been used at Seleucia and Babylon. The human rider part of the two-piece horse-and-rider figurines is characterized by very long legs, which splay in a U-shaped arc designed to fit over the back of the horse. Although there is no attachment mechanism to keep the rider fitted onto the horse, the anatomically-disproportionate long legs provide enough of a balance to enable the rider to rest on the horse's back with some security. Other than this shared technologically-based visualization of the long legs, there are few co-occurring features that unite these horse and rider figurine groups in a trend of visual similarity. The riders may generally be male, although gender depictions are unclear. From the waist upwards, the riders are sometimes short, pudgy individuals (ST B6927; not pictured: ST M16133); in other cases, the rider appears to be tall and gracile (ST M16116-14053, BA AO24726). The riders wear a variety of clothing, including V-necked tunics (ST M16116-14053, ST M16516, BA BM81-4-28-951; not pictured: ST M16433), folded shirts secured by a belt (BA AO24726, ST M14017; not pictured: ST M15649, ST M16133), or more loosely folded drapery (BA AO24678, BA BM80-6-17-1703, ST M14496). The rider's hair is generally cropped short, however some diversity of headdress also exists, including the tri-cornered hat (BA AO24678, BA BM80-6-17-1703) and long ridged hair (BA AO24726). A few of the horse and rider figurines from Seleucia show riders holding shields, as if riding into battle. However, despite the range of visual features within the horse and rider figurines, all of the riders appear to be individually specific in the visual details (i.e. there are no figurines with ambiguous or vague forms).

The horse piece of these two-piece horse and rider figurines is often lost or unidentified. Indeed, there is only one two-piece horse and rider figurine in which both pieces are known and securely related to one another (BA AO24726), although there are several saddled horse figurines that could have been part of horse and rider groups. From a visual standpoint (and, in the case of the riders, from a physical standpoint), neither the horse nor rider can function well alone: when viewed alone, both pieces signal the absence of the other (the rider through his long, U-curved legs; the horse through his saddle). This "lack" on the part of the figurines can only be fulfilled through human intervention; these horse and rider figurines almost cry out for human assistance in making them complete.[307]

---

[307] Note that this is contrast to the situation with the "group figurines" discussed below, in which multiple figures are made together as one object. In these figurines, the human viewer does not have the same interaction potential, as the figures in the group cannot be joined or separated.

Thus, while the two-piece horse and rider figurines seem to be rather loosely-connected in terms of visualization details, they are strongly connected through an interaction-based (instead of visually-based) trend. Indeed, their visualizations often more strongly link individual figurines to non-horserider figurines with which they share other characteristics – for instance, the shared three-pronged headdress, childlike body proportions and draped garment linking BA AO24678 and BA BM80-6-17-1703 more closely to the figurines of boys perched upon thrones (BA BM91814, BA BM91799; not pictured: BA AO24700, BA AO24685), than to the other, visually different horse and rider figurines (such as BA AO24726; not pictured: BA BM80-6-17-1695). Indeed, these visual linkages also constituted trends with meaning-making potential, and figurines BA AO24678 and BA BM80-6-17-1703 likely were used or viewed in meaning-making situations where their headdresses took priority over their horses. But it is still crucial to also analyze the figurines of the horse and rider trend together, as they (like all figurines) participated in multiple, shifting spheres of association with other figurines. Through their associations with non-horseriding figurines, such as the boys perched upon thrones, some meanings made in those entanglements might have been brought to bear upon other horseriding figurines, and vice versa. In the case of the two piece horse-and-rider figurines and figurines, some aspects of these other meaning-making events may have been placed in more interactive context, allowing for human experimentation, tactile engagement, and new meaning-making events.

Indeed, when addressing the visualizations of these figurines, it is important to consider the multiple aspects of human-object engagement that these visualizations could condition or effect. All of the horserider (or horse and rider) figurines so far discussed would have some entanglements of similarity due to the shared motif of horse and rider, however, since their material presence was vastly different, they would have created different responses in the viewer. For instance, the figurines from one extreme end of a human-horse merged spectrum, where the two bodies cannot even be visually distinguished from each other by the viewer – and thus the viewer is denied a clear way of seeing – might have invited the viewer to fill in the blanks and overlay identities onto the figurine. Figurines lying on the opposite end of this spectrum, in which the horse and rider are made as separate pieces, might have invited a different kind of viewer participation, in which the user had more control and agency to either unite or divide the bodies – essentially, to constitute a "group figurine" or to prevent group formation[308] – however, was more restricted in assigning identities to the figurine due to its visual specificity. From this example, we can see how different visualizations within the figurine corpus constituted different entanglements of similarity and difference – figurines which might have been "typed" together solely based on their motif (a similarity which can still be recognized and does not need to be discarded in favor of a new "type") can now be seen to also have different potentialities regarding user interaction.

External Features' Impact on the Human-Object Interaction

Many figurines are visual representation of more than just a human body. Other features, such as clothes, objects held in the figure's hand, animals that the figure is interacting with, all influence the multi-sensory experience of the figurine. I use the differing terms "figure" and "figurine" to capture this distinction; wherein a "figure" is just the depicted human body, whereas the "figurine" is the entire terracotta object. In addition to the complete properties of

---

[308] For the potential importance and implications of groups in figurines, see the next section of this chapter.

the figurine object, other external objects could be added to the figurine as a multi-media enhancement. Most of these external features no longer exist, due to the nature of archaeological preservation, and therefore there are many cases where figurines might have worn cloth garments or other enhancements that are now undetectable. However, there are instances where the addition of external features can be reconstructed through the material properties of the figurines themselves. For instance, figurines with their hand curled into a hollowed fist, as if holding an object, were indeed likely to have included such an external object at one point in their use-life.

The addition of objects to either the figure or the figurine had the potential to change the ways in which humans interacted with it. Objects provide context, thus limiting the ways in which the human imagination could plausibly determine the identity of the figure. Objects might also distance the human from the figure, by providing a barrier to complete tactile and visual access. However, objects – and particularly externally-added objects – can also have a beckoning effect. For instance, if a figure has the ability to hold an externally-added sword, then the person interacting with it is given the power to add or remove that sword – or even add something that is not a sword, such as a stick, a flower, or other suitably-shaped object. This kind of interaction potential draws in the human interlocutor and shapes particular figurine experiences.

Shields and weapons (which I consider as "armament") were one set of object features which could create particular human-object engagements. These armaments were primarily co-occurring with the non-bearded male feature. These males are almost always shown standing (although see the seated BA BM81-11-3-25); usually in a frontal position (BA BM81-3-24-345, BA IM93245, BA IM93303), but also rarely in an active pose of leaning back on the right leg and advancing with the left, as if poised to lunge forward (BA BM81-4-28-941, ST M14117). Many of these figurines are now missing their heads, however when the heads survive, they show youthful, unbearded males wearing a close-fitting helmet. This helmet is often pointed at the top and fastened under the chin (BA BM81-3-24-345, ST M15711, U W30; not pictured: BA IMBab.-23/1980), although a flat-topped helmet was also sometimes shown (BA BM81-11-3-25, U WA14, N CBS 12421).

In addition to wearing a helmet, the shield-bearing male figurines were sometimes clothed in a tunic (BA BM81-4-28-941, ST M15711, ST M15664, ST M14634, ST M15702, ST M14117, N CBS1955) – however, they were also frequently depicted either naked or wearing only a cape around the shoulders (BA BM81-3-24-345, BA IM93245, ST M14690, ST M14416, N CBS15459). The choice to use a particular one of this variety of clothing options does not seem to consistently co-occur with the variations in the other features of these figurines. For instance, the pose of reaching across the body to place the right hand on the sword hilt held on the left side (discussed below) co-occurs with nakedness (BA IM93245, BA IM93303, ST M14690), but also full clothing (ST M15664). There may have been meaningful clothing-based entanglements here, but I cannot recognize them. Despite this inability, however, I am highlighting that I think that there *may* have been meaningful entanglements in order to demonstrate that my analysis-interpretation (like the analyses of all scholars, whether they realize it or not) is limited by my own abilities to see. This is the reason that I construct my analysis-interpretation in a fluid, non-typological way: to allow for the possibility that another scholar may find certain intersections of figurine features, like this case of the clothing variations on armed males, more intelligible than myself, and will be able to expand the analysis-interpretation accordingly.

The armed male figurines all share the common feature of holding a shield, usually in the left hand. These shields could be either round (BA BM81-3-24-345, BA BM81-11-3-25, ST M14117, ST M15721; not pictured: ST M14322), or, more commonly, in a specific oblong shape with designed pattern of a raised border, central knob, and a vertical raised rib[309] (BA IM93245, BA BM81-4-28-941, ST M14634, ST M15702, ST M14690, N CBS1955, N CBS15459, N CBS 12421). Although most of the examples of the trendier oblong shield have very similar visualizations, some variations were possible: lack of border (U W30); lack of central boss (ST M15664, possibly BA IM93245); stippled (rather than raised) border and vertical rib (U WA14); pointed (rather than rounded) shield ends that create a diamond (rather than oval) shape (ST M15711).

Shield-bearing males are also sometimes depicted with weapons (BA BM81-4-28-941, ST M14634, ST M15711, N CBS1955, U WA14, U W30); when shown, these weapons take the shape of a short sword. Other than in the cases of BA BM81-4-28-941 and (not pictured) BA IM42125, which shows the sword held up to strike, the sword is held against the body in a vertical position – usually down by the right leg – that does not suggest immediate attack. Similarly, a few figurines show a sword hilt and scabbard strapped to the left hip (ST M14690, ST M15664), upon which the man places his right hand. While these postures suggest that the man is armed and ready, it does not give the impression that he is actually fighting in battle. This impression is furthered by the posing of these standing armed males on plinth bases. In almost all the cases where the feet of the standing armed male figurines are intact (BA BM81-3-24-345, ST M15664, ST M14634, ST M15702), they are standing on plinth bases, which indicate a statue-like presentation. It is possible that this standing, armed male was meant to be admired, and perhaps looked to as a symbol of defense, rather than the depiction of actual combat troops.

The statue-like impression given by the co-occurring features of the standing, armed males with their weapons held at the side, is further reinforced by the investigation of the alternate situation. As mentioned above, the only clear examples where the man is not holding his weapon passively at his side are BA BM81-4-28-941 and (not pictured) BA IM42125. In these figurines, the man is not only holding his sword in a threatening manner, but also is posed in an active stance of lunging or thrusting. His feet rest not on a plinth, but on a thin ground line, which gives some vertical stability to these single-molded figurines. The thrusting pose is shared with ST M14117, which is not depicted with a sword, but has a hole in the man's right hand through which a "sword" (perhaps of metal or other material[310]) could be inserted. This hole in the hand is also shared with ST M15721, in which the man is not shown in the lunging pose, but does have his legs spread in a possible jumping or squatting pose. These sharings indicate that the features of a raised sword (whether depicted in clay or added in an external metal piece) and an active posture were meaningfully entangled.

It is interesting to note that two "attacking" figurines at Babylon, while visually dynamic, were physically static – being made not only in one piece (i.e. not with added accessories), but also in the single mold. The use of the single mold imposes a certain degree of "flatness" to the figurine, which makes the man, for all his threatening posture, seem somewhat inert. At Seleucia, on the other hand, ST M14117 and ST M15721 not only feature active poses, but could also potentially be supplemented with the addition of external weapons – which would point

---

[309] Van Ingen calls this shield shape "Gaulish" (Van Ingen, 1939: 137)
[310] Van Ingen, 1939: 138

away from the body of the figurine in a life-like gesture of attack, and could actually "stab" someone in a way that the terracotta swords of the Babylon figurines, which do not project from the objects' surfaces, could not. The two Seleucia figurines were also both made in the double mold, which gave their bodies a three-dimensional presence in space. These significant differences between the Babylon and Seleucia examples indicate that, although all four figurines might have been entangled together in meaningful ways associating with their attacking posture, the Seleucia examples were inflected with a substantially more "real life" feeling. This "real-life" feeling would have been further accentuated through the potential for the human interlocutor to give or remove the sword from the Seleucia figurines' possession – allowing for the ultimate in "real-life" battle simulation, for the figurine could stab, but the user in turn could overpower and disarm him. Even if such a scenario never took place, the pose of the Seleucia figurines both allows for it and suggests it – giving these visualizations more of a "real-life" feel.

In order to understand how this difference may have been meaningful, it is useful to return to the cavalry figurines discussed previously. The armed male rider figurines from Babylon (as well as other cities) were shown in a dynamic charging pose, however with the horse positioned on a statue-like plinth base and with the horse's body not physically cut away from the background surface. At Seleucia, on the other hand, the armed male rider figurines were deprived of both stability and durability in favor of presenting more accessible, less statue-like visualizations. These cavalry figurines and the shield- and weapon-bearing standing males are generally entangled through their common use of weaponry features, however there may be closer, more specific entanglements, between the weaponry-bearing figurines of each particular city. The trend of "real world" dimensionality in the Seleucia figurines of both the cavalry and the armed men indicates that some valuable meanings were being made through this shared feature-bundle, in this particular city. As I argued above, I would posit that the identity or meanings represented by these figurines were considered more accessible and interactive in Seleucia, and somewhat more distant in Babylon.

Other armed male ("soldier") figurines present a differently- inflected engagement between human and object through their manufacture in the handmodeling technique. The use of handmodeling creates a less detailed figurine, which could therefore potentially be more limited in its ability to portray a soldier identity. However, the combination of a visually-intriguing absence of detail with the more personal process of handmade manufacture might have created an intimate human-object bond. This entanglement of armament with handmodeling does not seem to have been particularly trendy: the few examples all come from Uruk; and even in that city there are only three examples of figurines with this feature bundle (U WA14, U W30; also possibly, not pictured: U W13692a). It is possible that these figurines represent a process of experimenting with the identity motif (of soldier) and ways to enhance its connection to the human user.

Such a process may be very similar to that which was occurring in the handmade flat-hatted rider figurines from Nippur, discussed previously. In all of these figurines, features and motifs that were primarily popular in the city of Seleucia were being reconceptualized and experimented with in handmodeled form in other cities. As handmodeling is a relatively uncommon technique that engenders intimate human-figurine connections, it is possible that it was selected as the manufacturing technique in these instances as a way for people in the other cities to become comfortable, and even connect on a personal level, with the identities expressed in the figurines. It is perhaps significant that many of these handmodeling figurines have motifs relating to military roles, such as soldiers and cavalrymen, who may have been seen as

particularly antagonistic and problematic identity roles. Potentially hearkening back to the violent Greco-Macedonian overthrown of the Persian Empire at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, such identities might have been seen as an impediment to harmonious cross-cultural interaction. Experimentation with these military-based identities in a form that encouraged self-identification and intimate connections between the figurine and viewer might have been one way in which such identities were incorporated into the larger Babylonian community outside the city of Seleucia.

The Gaze and The Caress

The preceding sections of this chapter have discussed various ways in which figurines encourage certain visual and tactile interactions with the human interlocutor. These engagements between human and object always involve some degree of a power relationship, often with a tension between the kind of interaction that the human desires as opposed to the kind of interaction that the figurine's materiality allows or even encourages. The most powerful interactions on this spectrum of visual and tactile contact are discussed and labeled in art historical theory as the visual "Gaze" and the physical "Caress". Both of these terms are used to capture the feelings of desire for possession or ownership – often, though not necessarily, associated with sexual longing – that can be expressed through ocular and physical touch of an object. In this section, I will explore figurines which, through their particular trendy feature-bundles, had the potential to encourage feelings of desire in their human interlocutor, and thus to elicit the Gaze and the Caress. On a spectrum of beckoning and distancing in which all figurines participated, these entangled figurines are the most beckoning – and therefore could evoke the strongest feelings of desire and the concurrent responses of possession.

Winged figurines of wreath-wearing children have been discussed previously, in Chapter 4, as part of a spectrum of connected, age-based male social roles. These figurines are similar in motif to other figurines of wreath-wearing male children, which do not have wings, and so may have been considered slightly less supernatural (and so even more closely connected with the real identities of living males in society). Figurines depicting wreath-wearing male children were less popular than their winged counterparts, and have only been found at the city of Seleucia (ST M15679, ST B7026, ST M15899; not pictured: ST B7193, ST B6674, ST M16272A). Unlike the primarily frontal poses of most wreath-wearing, winged children, these figurines of non-winged wreath-wearing children are often in playful poses: holding his smiling face cocked to one side (ST B7026); stepping forward with one leg and looking downward (ST M15899); turning to look back over the right shoulder (ST M15679). While some other figurines of children also depict them in poses with this active quality, these children are generally shown interacting with some object or animal, such as a box (not pictured: ST M14128), bird (ST B4825, N CBS9453, BA IM94904, not pictured: ST M16486, ST 16164), or post and animal (BA AO25928), that distracts their attention. With the wreath-wearing children, no such object impedes the interaction between the child and the viewer. In the cases of naked wreath-wearing children (ST B7026, ST M15899), as well as a similarly posed child figurine that wears the hair pulled to the center instead of the wreath (ST M15581-15851), the bodies of the boys are depicted in a particularly sensual fashion. In all three figurines, the arms are held away from the body – even though this meant that the arms would be very fragile and likely to break off, as they did on all three figurines – fully exposing the curves of the torso and thighs to the human interlocutor's sight and, potentially, touch. The arms were similarly held away from the body on other wreath-wearing boy figurines (ST M15679; not pictured: ST B7193), however

their bodies have since been broken too high to know if their torsos and legs were similarly sensuous.

This visual focus on the boys' bodies – as well as the granting of visual and tactile access to the boys' complete bodies – is somewhat uncommon. Such open and accessible visualizations allow for the intrusion of the viewer's "Gaze" – through which is combined the pleasures of voyeurism with the power dynamic created when active viewer observes (usually without their knowledge) the passive, objectified party.[311] Through their Gaze, the spectator establishes a kind of ownership over the viewed person or thing.[312] This process could happen with any figurine, and indeed, would be reinforced by the viewer's actual ownership of the figurine. The gratification provided by the figurine to the Gazing viewer could also be enhanced by the "pleasure and security that miniaturism provides", in which "the spectator is enlarged and made omnipotent"[313] as well as made confident that he cannot be discovered in his scopophilia by the non-sentient object of his/her attentions. As with the Gaze – and perhaps even more intimately so – "the Caress" allowed by figurines (as three-dimensional representations of the human body) could also have positioned the interlocutor in a position of power over the depicted figure.[314]

Most Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, however, deny this kind of tactile and visual admittance to the complete body of the depicted figure. This is done through the placement of clothing, limbs, furniture, and other accessories. For instance, the placement of the arms at the sides means that the viewer can neither completely see nor touch the figurine's waist. The use of the single mold similarly denies the viewer complete access, by depicting a "blank", non-anatomical, backside for the figure. Thus, while the viewer may own the figurine object, they cannot always completely see and touch (and thus, through their Gaze and Caress, fully possess) the depicted figure.

However, some figurines, such as ST M15581-15851, ST B7026, and ST M15899 (and potentially ST M15679; not pictured: ST B7193), allow much more intimate access. In this openness and exposure of the body, these boy figurines were entangled with a few adult male figurines (ST M15653-16106, BA IM30385; not pictured: ST M14240), as well as several adult female figurines (such as ST M15045, ST M15673, BA AO1496a, U W13764, U W6688, U W16533, U W14927, N CBS15449). It is difficult not to see a component of sexual desire in the complete possession allowed by such figurine visualizations – indeed, theories of both the Gaze and scopophilia assert that sexual feelings are a key motivator of the desire to view and to control.[315] However, even if this was not the case, it is apparent that the entanglement of similarity created by these open, exposed visualizations presented opportunities for human interlocutors to fully explore (from both visual and tactile perspectives) the body presented to them; and that female bodies were the most trendy visualizations to be so explored.

Issue of what clothed vs. unclothed might have actually meant in Hellenistic Babylonian society should be interrogated. We might presume that the lack of clothing on figurines was designed to elicit a sexual response in the viewer, however the situation may not have been so straightforward. There are figurines that seem to directly evoke sexual connotations, such as ST M16059, which depicts a female figure holding a breast in one hand, and separating the lips of the labia with the other. Such visualizations are particularly rare, however, and ST M16059 is

---

[311] Mulvey, 1975
[312] Olin, 2003: 327
[313] Bailey, 2005: 131
[314] Bailey, 2005: 145
[315] Mulvey 1975; Lacan 1977

the only Hellenistic Babylonian figurine that I have found with this particular erotic feature-bundle. The majority of female figurines that show the figure without clothing may not have been sexual in nature or used exclusively to evoke sexual urges – in other words, not necessarily "naked" or "nude", hence my avoidance of those terms in describing them[316] – and may indeed have been somewhat discouraging to erotic gazes. Most of the female figurines that are depicted without clothing look directly out at the viewer, very much in control of a reciprocal "look" that prevents the fixation of the sexually-desirous "Gaze". Thus, while unclothed female figurines might have been used by certain viewers to satisfy sexual desires, they do not seem unequivocally suited to this purpose, and they may have been used in many other ways. The overlaps and eliding between the unclothed and the clothed, as well as between the different poses, in the female figurines indicates that the ancient audience did not see these unclothed females as a bounded type of figurine objects that had a specific meaning or purpose separate from other figurines of females.

I would argue that figurines that show a female figure in the process of unveiling, or a female figure which is partially clothed (such as: BA Louvre MNB 1840, N CBS12423, N CBS2858, U W18658, U W13446, ST M15043, ST M15676; not pictured: ST M15024, ST B6921, ST M15019, ST M15063), were more directly focused on sexuality. In many cases, the subject such figurines is usually shown in the act of either removing part of her garment or pulling up cloth to cover her nudity – gestures which draw more attention to the figure's nakedness than a complete absence of garments would. Such figurines may have been visually entangled with figurines depicting semi-clothed adult males; in these figurines, the garment is pushed back over the shoulders or wrapped tightly over a small section of the body, in order to highlight well-developed musculature. While not all the meaning-making potential of these figurines would have overlapped, the entanglement of semi-clothed visualizations seem to be connected through a general trend of highlighting some aspect of the body through selective exposure, which draws the eye to what can now be seen. Such visualizations invite the human interlocutor into viewing something that was previously, or still partially, hidden; thus allowing them to derive excitement from seeing the unseen. Similar voyeuristic pleasure may have been evoked by figurines that show a female figure crouched or bent over to cover herself and her lack of clothing (ST M15047, ST B4769, BA Louvre MNB 1840, BA BM68-6-2-11; not pictured: ST M14098, ST M14298, BA AO2977). This posture related to the Greek tradition of depicting Aphrodite holding a robe or just partially covering her naked body – a visual strategy which was intended to highlight the goddess's sexual attributes and the viewer's voyeuristic pleasure at "catching" the goddess just coming out of her bath.[317] Unlike most figurines depicting unclothed females (which will be discussed further in Chapter 6), the figurines unveiling themselves are often not looking straight out at the viewer, and so are more available for unchallenged sexualized viewing.

---

[316] For instance, Legrain discusses the nude female figurines after a listing of the various grave goods and people which the rulers of Ur took to their graves in the Royal Tombs to satisfy their lust and desire for entertainment in the afterlife: "Poorer graves had only a clay pot decorated with a figure of a nude woman to satisfy their thirst." (Legrain, 1930: 6)

[317] Such as demonstrated in the sculptor Praxiteles's statue of Aphrodite at Knidia, which Pliny remarked was so able to induce lust in men that "a certain man was once overcome with love for the statue and that, after he had hidden himself in the shrine during the nighttime, he embraced it…" (Pliny, Natural History, 36.20-22; as cited in Stewart, 2008: 260)

Also potentially likely to be subject to the Gaze and the Caress, are the female figurines with separate moveable arms to be added after firing, which were far more popular at Babylon than at any other city.[318] These figurines present almost their entire bodies to the human touch, and visual aspects of their body are overtly sexualized through the exaggerated contrast between a very narrow waist and very wide hips. In addition to the visual and tactile gratification that these figurines could provide through their body shapes, their movable arms – which could be manipulated by the human interlocutor and posed as he or she desired – would also provide an additional interactive pleasure. Among Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, the objects involved in this trend are some of the most responsive to human desires – directly eliciting human touch and interaction because of the possibilities for pose manipulation provided by their materiality.

These figurines with movable arms were also closely entangled with similar visualizations of female figurines that have "finished off" arms (arms that were intentionally left as finished stubs coming out from the shoulder). Such figurines may have had arms added in other materials, such as cloth, and thus could have presented interactive potentials like those of figurines with movable arms. However, even if they could have had moveable arms, such arms must have been somewhat optional – it would have been easy for someone to remove the arms and then use the figurine without such add-ons. Without added arms, these figurines would have had a distinct lack of agency – they give the visual impression of helpless amputees, who are unable to make a gesture, cover a part of their body, or defend themselves. As a result, these figurines were more at the mercy of both visual and tactile onslaught from their human interlocutor. This position of defenselessness and dependency on the human is further reinforced through the lack of stable supports at the base: all of the figurines involved in this trendy entanglement have tapered legs ending in tiny feet, with no plinth or ground line as a base support. It would have been difficult or impossible to display these figurines vertically. While these figurines could have been lain horizontally on a flat surface, the visual features of many of these figurines does not indicate that this was likely either: most of these figurines have very detailed, modeled backsides that indicate that they were visually and tactilely interesting from both sides and all angles. This compositional structure suggests that figurines involved in this entanglement were most probably held in the hand by their human interlocutor.

Some reclining figurines also seem to have been particular open to the Gaze and the Caress. Variations among figurines that share a reclining pose demonstrate the potential for fluidity and interconnection between figures shown clothed, semi-clothed, and unclothed. In one of the few instances of contextual specificity, most reclining figurines were recovered from grave contexts[319], indicating that they may have been thought of differently than other figurines depicting females. This combination of pose and contextual features create an entanglement that involves all reclining figurines. However, the reclining figurines can occur in a variety of visualizations, and those figures that are completely unclothed tend to also lack a couch or other support as part of the figurine object. In contrast to clothed or semi-clothed reclining figures (a few examples of the many figurines participating in this trend are: ST M16425, ST T30.147, BA IM94902, BA BM81-11-3-13=91788), who generally lean on their bent left arm on a fixed terracotta couch (which is part of the figurine object), unclothed reclining women usually are

[318] Such as: BA AO24680, BA BM81-7-1-3368=121212, BA AO24695, U W17876, U W5177, ST M15673, ST M15045; not pictured: BA AO24697, BA AO1502, BA BM81-4-28-945, BA AO24688, BA BM1901-7-13-1900=94344, BA BM68-6-2-2=120452, BA BM68-6-2-3, BA BM80-6-17-1701, BA BM81-4-28-953, BA BM91894, BA BM51-10-9-105=91846, BA IM94919, ST M15051, ST B4487
[319] Koldewey, 1925: 218

depicted without furniture (a few examples of the many figurines participating in this trend are: U W80, U W15044, BA IM93499, BA AO24703, ST M16444). Without supporting furniture, these figurines of unclothed reclining women seem to hover in midair, requiring human hands to hold them (or to position them on an external couch support), and also exposing the complete outline of their bodies to the touch. Although they are entangled with other depictions of reclining figures through their posture and female gender, this exposure of the body (as opposed to the more protected bodies of the figures that include a terracotta couch as part of the figurine object) indicates that a more sexualized interaction between human and object was encouraged by this figurine trend.

This sexualized interaction may have been an aspect of funerary tradition, in which these female figurines were placed in the grave. Reclining female figurines were recovered from the cities of Babylon and Uruk, as well as Seleucia (although they seem to have been less popular in Seleucia, especially in proportion to the total number of figurines found at that site). However, no such figurines were found in Nippur – rather, the graves of Hellenistic Nippur's inhabitants were commonly terracotta slipper coffins, the outside of which were decorated with raised figures of unclothed women, standing and supporting their breasts with both hands.[320] It is possible that these embossed coffin figures represent differing, Nippur-based, conceptions of the afterlife or the appropriate way to associate the female form with death. The complexities of these beliefs are not accessible to us, but it does indicate that there may have been some common ground of associating images of women with death. Indeed, these two traditions may be more entangled than they first appear: figurines from Babylon, Seleucia, and Uruk graves are shown reclining, while the female figures on the Nippur coffins literally recline flat (in parallel to the human remains) once the coffin is laid in the ground.   The association between the exposed bodies of some unclothed reclining female figures may also correlate with the Nippur female coffin figures, who support their breasts in what might be a sexualized gesture (note also, however, the connection with other poses common in female figurines – see Chapter 6). Both of these figural trends present an exposure of the bodily form that might elicit desirous Gazes from the human viewer. It is therefore possible that all of these entangled female visualizations associated with funerary contexts represented idealized feminine bodies that were meant to provide visual and tactile pleasure to the deceased in the afterlife.

These figurines also present visual links to alabaster statuettes from Seleucia. Several such statuette shows a female in a reclining pose without a couch, while another shows a female figure in a standing pose with separate movable arms.[321] These alabaster statuettes were also inlaid with colored stone, particularly for the eyes and navel, and one had metal earrings and headdress. Based on this visual association, it is possible that the figurines also had colored inlays, which may be why the navels are often so large.

This visual association between these alabaster statuettes and the terracotta figurines just discussed bolsters my interpretation that these figurines were particularly subject to the Gaze and the Caress. Alabaster is very smooth and pleasant to the touch. It is an uncommon material in Babylonia, and the visual motifs that were created in it did not reach the immense variety of forms represented in terracotta. Rather, visualizations in alabaster were substantially more limited. However these two visualization trends – both of which involve a female figure exposing much of her body to human view and touch – were some of the few that were produced

---

[320] See Legrain, 1930: Plate XII (Figure 72a)
[321] See Van Ingen, 1939: Plates LXXXIX-XCIII

in this smooth and sensuous material. There might have been something especially pleasing – and permissible – about touching female forms in these poses, which was likely a part of the meaning-making process of these trendy visualizations.

A "Living" Object

Because of their visual mimicry of the human body, all anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from Hellenistic Babylonia convey something of a "life-like" effect. This relationship to the living world accounts for much of their power, both to create human-object interactions and to impact human identity constructions in the broader social world. However, through physically active or other humanoid qualities, some figurines could go beyond just seeming "life-like" and give the heightened impression that they actually were "alive". In contrast to the figurines just discussed that were subject to (and possibly even helpless to defend themselves against) the human's power to Gaze and Caress, these "alive" figurines represent the opposite end of the power-based spectrum, wherein the figurine itself has the most agency. "Living" figurines tapped most strongly into the power potential of the miniature human form: the power to unsettle the viewer, to scare them, to make them feel that the figurine was in control. This power of the miniature "person" to frighten and command is utilized in the plot constructions of several modern movies, in which dolls come alive (usually with nefarious intentions). These horror movies have the capacity to terrify in part because of the potential for power tension between humans and miniature human figurines – while always entrancing in some way, figurines can also be scary and disturbing if they are perceived as having the ability to take control of the interaction.

Figurines with "living" qualities include objects that participate in the trend of children wearing three-peaked hats, such as terracotta rattles. These rattles were made in double molds, like figurines; indeed, the visual and technological similarity of rattles to figurines brings to light the inherently typological boundary that the label "figurines" creates – a typological boundary that is no more natural and inherent to the material than the distinctions usually used to further classify figurines into types. Figural terracotta rattles may have been thought of as similar (or even in the same category) as terracotta figurines by their ancient users. From their visualizations, it seems that figural rattles shared motifs, and thus were closely entangled, with some figurine visualizations.

Figural rattles[322] generally depict the face and upper bust of a child; the rattle is finished off by a flat bottom at approximately the child's waist. Double molding does not seem to have been used to provide details to the backside of the figure, but only to allow for an internal hollow space, within which was placed some sort of small object which creates a rattling sound when the figural rattle is shaken.[323] Details were provided on the fronts of such rattles: a child is shown wearing a three-peaked hat; earrings and a band necklace are almost always worn. The pose of rattle children is usually with the face looking straight forward or slightly upward, while the hands are clasped tightly to the chest. In some cases, the child is holding an object in his/her hands: BA AO24674 holds two oblong objects, one of which appears to have the head of a bird; N CBS1954 (and, not pictured: N CBS12422) hold a round, flat disk that resembles a *tympanum*

---

[322] BA BMSp.III 23+, BA BM81-11-3-20, BA BM80-6-17-1712, BA AO24674, N CBS1954, U W402; not pictured: BM AO24687, ST M16144, ST M15016, ST B4491, N CBS12422, N CBS3495

[323] Most of these rattles are still intact, and thus still make a rattling sound when shaken. A few rattles, such as BA BM80-6-17-1712, survive in broken condition, and thus are missing their internal "rattle", but based on visual, structural, and technological similarities, I consider these alongside the other rattles.

musical instrument. However, in most cases, the surface of the figurine is too vague to be able to determine the identity of the held object, or even if any objects were being held by the child. Indeed, some of these figurines, such as BA BM81-11-3-20 (and, not pictured: N CBS3495), cannot have been holding objects of any substance under their hands, and may simply have been clasping their hands across their chests.

Arm postures, along with the holding of objects, among the figural rattles created various webs of visual similarity to the terracotta figurines. Rattles such as the bird-holding BA AO24674 would have been closely linked to child figurines where the child holds grapes and a bird, and thus may have shared in possible supernatural associations linked to this motif. While the rattles that children holding other objects would not have been so closely linked to figurines showing a child holding a bird or grapes, they would have been connected (through shared posture, depiction of a child, as well as the intermediary rattles) in a more distant entanglement of similarity. Through the posture of holding their hands to their chests, all of these rattles (regardless of what the child was carrying) were also entangled with figurines of women holding one or both hands to their breasts (see discussion in Chapter 6). This similarity is heightened in the rattles that are too vague to permit clear identification of the carried object – in these rattles, it is difficult to tell if the figure is a child holding an object, or if it is an adult female holding her breasts.[324] I believe that childhood is implied through the large size of the head[325]; however this does not mean that this was everyone's interpretation – some ancient users might have chosen to view the rattle as a depiction of an adult woman. The ambiguity created by these rattles, which would have allowed for a variety of interpretations at the viewer's choice, might have been part of a rattle's meaning-making potential.

The function and sound of the rattle itself might also been an aspect of meaning-making events involving these objects. It is rare that we can access the sounds of the ancient world, but the high-pitched tinkling sound produced by these rattles is one of those occasions. It seems apparent that the production of this sound was a major part of a rattle's engagement with a human interlocutor – indeed, if someone moves or picks up the rattle, they cannot help but cause noise to be made. This distinguishes these rattles from many other musical instruments, such as lyres or flutes, which can be handled or carried without that action resulting in the production of sound. The ease with which sound is produced within these rattles, and the relative helplessness of the human interlocutor to control when sounds were made, would have made rattles seem almost "alive" or sentient.[326] In spite of this – or, perhaps, because of it – it is likely that these rattles were not intended to be picked up and "enlivened" all that often. All of the rattles are made with very flat bases, which gave the rattles vertical stability and which indicates that they may have been displayed on a flat surface, rather than shaken, for the majority of the time. Such a situation of occasional use, along with the "active" quality of sound production inherent in these objects, suggests that these rattles may have been employed during ritual events. If this was the case, it would indicate that the visualizations of these rattles (and similar figurine

---

[324] Indeed, Legrain identifies the rattles from Nippur as depictions of women (1930: 22).

[325] Note that the presence of breasts also does not negate the possibility that the depicted figure is a child; in the few figurines of clearly female children (ST M16091, ST M14578, ST M16425; not pictured: ST M14128), small breasts are depicted. This may have been done because it would be otherwise difficult to clearly signal female sex on clothed figurines of children, or perhaps because female children were viewed in reference to the adult female role which they would soon inhabit.

[326] Barrett, 1991

visualizations that were entangled with them) were not just linked to the out-of-the-ordinary, but perhaps to more specific aspects of the supernatural evoked in ritual practices.

It is particularly interesting to note that two rattles from Nippur, N CBS1954 and (not pictured) N CBS12422, both show the child holding a round disk that is possibly a depiction of a *tympanum* musical instrument. The depiction of a musical instrument, as well as the rattle's function as an actual musical instrument, doubly invokes the association with sound production in these particular rattles. Indeed, it is particularly interesting that both instruments (the actual rattle and the depicted tympanum) are percussion instruments, which generally have close connections to ritual practices[327] - thus the double reference to musical instruments may have pointed to specific ritual practices. Feature-bundles of a child with an instrument may also connect these rattles with N CBS9451 and N Photograph No. 361, discussed in Chapter 4, which show a winged child with a kithera. An association of children with musical instruments seems to have been a pattern at Nippur, and may have been a site of meaning-making activities.

As described above, many figural rattles, as well as many figurines of enthroned children, are figurines of children grasping animals. As such, these figurines are entangled with other figurines of children interacting with animals. Birds seem to be the trendiest animal in these visualizations (N CBS15457, N CBS9453, ST B4825, BA AO25928, BA IM94904; not pictured: ST M16486, ST M15155, ST M16164), and thus these figurines were closely connected with other depictions of children with birds, described above. Other animals include a fox (not pictured: ST B4119) and a gracile quadruped (possibly a deer[328]) (ST M14001) – the fox is posed standing beside the child, in a posture similar to that of many bird depictions, however the rampant quadruped suckles the kneeling child. This combination of pose and animal is not a common pattern; much trendier were the poses of an animal standing beside a seated child or an animal grasped by a child (examples of which have been discussed above). Also trendy were depictions of a child riding a bird (ST B4825, BA IM94904, N CBS9453, N CBS15457; not pictured: ST M16164). These birds generally have a rounded body shape and small head, similar to a dove; however, the bird's head in the figural plaque N CBS15457 has a bill similar to a duck's. The bird is usually depicted at a far larger scale than the child[329], who reclines or sits upright on the bird's back and clings to the bird's neck. In ST B4825, the child is shown wearing a three-peaked hat, which visually entangles this figurine with many other figurines depicting children wear three-peaked hats. Such figurines of children riding birds may also have been entangled with depictions of women: the human figure on ST B4825 seems to have small breasts, and some scholars[330] have thought that bird-riding figures were meant to depict adult women (possibly due to the reclining position, which is most common with figurines of women – see discussion below). Other scholars have obliquely hinted[331] that figures riding birds might have been entangled with depictions of humans riding other animals, such as horses, camels, and sheep. This difference of opinion regarding both the identification(s) of bird-riding figures and the other "kinds" of figurines with which they were most closely related highlights one of the major problems with using typological structures. Without typology, it becomes possible that

---

[327] Needham, 1967

[328] The head, tail, and lower legs have all been broken off, impeding clear identification of the animal.

[329] ST M16164 (not pictured) is an exception

[330] Legrain, 1930: 123

[331] Karvonen-Kannas hints at this connection by suggesting, in the comperanda section of her catalogue entry for Figurine 206 (BM IM94904), that readers should examine such figurines as Van Ingen, 1939: Figurines 497-500 (Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 144).

figurines of children riding birds were meaningfully entangled in all of these various ways. I would, however, suggest that a particularly close entanglement existed between BA IM94904, ST B4825, and N CBS9453, as these three figurines shared not only motif, but also technology (all three were made with the double mold, in such a way that the bird's body was very rotund and hollow, and the bird's feet flared out into a stable base). While I do not know all of the meanings that were being made through this shared feature-bundle, it seems that through the entanglement of these figurines of children holding animals with figural rattles of children holding animals, some qualities of "aliveness" may have been associated with the motif of child with animal.

        This "living" quality may also have been an aspect of massive "figurines" (perhaps better described as "statues" or "statuettes", as they measure about 30-40cm tall, without the length of the legs) depicting children, who are usually male (BO BM80-11-12-BN 1951/1952/1953/1954[332], ST M16116, ST B17072, BA BM78-8-29-7=92216, BA AO1493, BA BM80-11-12-1955/1957/1958/1994=118426, BA BM80-11-12-1911; also, not pictured: BO BM BN 1, BO BM BN 2, BO BM BN 3, BO BM BN 4). These giant children were made by using the double mold to create multiple pieces, such that the arms, legs, and heads, which were attached to a similarly-made body after firing. Their arms are generally bent and held in front of the body, as if holding something; the knees are also bent, as if sitting on a chair. The face is usually tilted slightly upwards, and the mouth of BA BM78-8-29-7=92216 was opened in a slit between the lips. All these qualities give a feeling of "life" to these giant figurines of babies/children. However, despite these living qualities, these figurines may not have been intended to be touched and held like real children (or dolls): the buttocks of these figurines are generally flattened, and often include a hole or other indications of being permanently fastened to a display base. This combination of living features, which almost beg for human touch and interaction, with secure base attachment prohibiting (or at least restricting) such interaction creates a significant tension of human-object interaction within these figurines.

        It is difficult to consider such massive depictions of children as "figurines" by our modern classifications, and it is also likely that they were viewed differently than smaller figurines by their ancient interlocutors as well. Indeed, scale does matter in how people, across time periods and cultures, view and interact with objects. Small-scale depictions of the human body allow the viewer to feel powerful, almost omnipotent[333], however they also can cause feelings of disorientation. The miniature scale of figurines takes the viewer out of their "normal field of reference"[334]: when looking into the world of the figurine, the miniature scale of the figurine can appear to be the "real" one, while the user's own hands and body can seem to be of an incorrect or artificial size. Interaction with miniature objects has also been demonstrated to compress a viewer's perception of the passage of time, such that time slows down and events seem to take longer when a person is interacting with miniatures.[335] It stands to reason, therefore, that larger "figurines" would exert less of these effects on the viewer – and, perhaps that massive figurines of babies or children, in particular, would present an even weaker disorientation to the viewer because he/she would already be comfortable with the somewhat smaller scale that living human babies have in comparison with adult humans. I would therefore

---

[332] Note that Karvonen-Kannas misunderstood the British Museum's numbering system on this figurine, and therefore thought that it came from Babylon, rather than Borsippa (Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 149).
[333] Bailey, 2005: 33
[334] Bailey, 2005: 42
[335] De Long, 1981

argue that large-scale figurines were involved in different processes of meaning-making from the smaller-scale depictions of children.

Nevertheless, this scale-based distinction is not a hard-and-fast typological rule, and as such, visual connections between various depictions of children, regardless of their size, could have been meaningful. Some entanglements could also have existed based on the pose of the figurines: the highly three-dimensional, dynamic aspects of these multi-piece double mold-made bodies also occur with youthful adult male features on a few figurines (such as ST M15653-16106, BA IM30385; not pictured: ST M14240; all of which are discussed in Chapter 4) that seem to depict wrestlers or other athletes. The adult male figurines just mentioned are all shown at a smaller, more common figurine scale; however, there still may have been meaningful entanglements between these figurines.[336] It is possible that this shared pose created entanglements focused more on the function or display context of the figurines, which invited human-object interaction through the "living" qualities of the figurines. The shared active pose and living qualities might also have linked the two social identities which these figurine trends could be associated with, creating a bond between the active movement of a male infant and the exercising prowess of a youthful male athlete. More so than other depictions of children, these "living" figurine babies may have been seen as the direct reflection of real childhood identities – embodying the living children that were going to grow up into successful athletes and members of the gymnasium culture. A link to the common Hellenistic culture of the gymnasium may also be one reason why large figural terracotta children also appear in Greco-Roman Egypt[337] – a visual sharing with Babylonia that is otherwise uncommon in the Hellenistic period.

Three's a Crowd: Including (or Excluding) the Viewer

Even if not possessing "living" qualities, figurines could still draw in the human interlocutor through other features, such as their posture or gaze. This is particularly evident in "group figurines" (figurines depicting multiple figures). When two or more figures are depicted, there is the potential for a closed "scene" to be set and enacted within the confined world of the figurine object. By shared eye contact between the figures, mutual gestures and interaction, or shared focus on some activity within the figurine context, certain visual features can contribute to the exclusion of the human interlocutor. Many figurines from the Greek mainland, especially those associated with the Tanagra tradition, depict such closed figurine scenes of girls playing games or arranging each others' hair.[338]

However, when both figures gaze out at the human participant, instead of gazing at each other, they create an open, intimate connection with the person who engages with them. By gesturing towards the viewer – or, at least, not interacting with each other – both figures create an open affect that draws the human participant into membership in their miniature world. The intricate and various possibilities for including or excluding the human interlocutor into the context of the group figurine will be explored in this section.

Unlike in the case of gender, categorical distinctions or types based on the differences between "single person figurines" and "group figurines" are rarely made (or at least not made explicit) in figurine catalogues. For instance, "mother and child types" are often placed in

---

[336] The visual connection based on technique of figurine construction between figurines depicting wrestler athletes and the large depictions of children was also noticed by Menegazzi (2007: 130).

[337] One example of such an Egyptian figurine is a "terracotta doll", UC28002, from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London.

[338] See for example: Higgins, 1986: Fig. 176; Uhlenbrock, 1990: Fig.11-12

among other female gendered figurines; a separate section of "group figurines", has not (to my knowledge) been used in cataloging Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. Note that I am not attempting to "correct" previous scholars' typologies by making new "types" of "single figurines" and "group figurines". Rather, I am suggesting that an exploration of these features and the ways in which they created entanglements may be beneficial, in part because these differences were largely overlooked in past studies. The visual dynamics of uniting groups of figures into one figurine object had a significant effect on the human-object relationship that could be created by that figurine, with meaning-making implications that should be explored.

While all varieties of figurines may have been used in concert with other figurines, these associations would always have been somewhat impermanent – if the user decided to distance two figurines, or even entirely separate them, it could be easily accomplished. Even if the user constantly kept two figurines in close physical proximity, their physical realities as two separate objects would still have reminded the viewer that there was a possibility of separation. However, in a group figurine, the bodies of the figures were permanently fixed together and could not be separated – to attempt such a separation would almost certainly destroy the figurine, and even if it could be accomplished, neither figure could ever be considered "whole" (since they would always be broken and partial, a physical presence which would index the absence of the other figure[339]). The close and permanent bond between the two figures in a group figurine was likely a part of their meaning-making potential, which will be explored below.

There are three trendy visualizations with which the feature of "group figurine" is entangled: depictions of figures playing musical instruments, depictions of a female with a child, and depictions of male-female same-age couples. Figurines within all of these visual trends are almost exclusively composed of two human figures, which are represented as being in physical contact and which are, in reality, part of the same clay object. I will discuss separately figurines that participate in these three trends; however I argue that all figurines depicting groups were visually entangled with each other – I will discuss the implications of this entanglement further at the end of this section.

Figurines depicting two figures playing musical instruments[340] generally depicted two females (ST M14536, ST B6679, BA IM94897, BA IM93248, BA BMSp.III 15+=91807, N CBS1968, N CBS9472, N CBS2766, U W301, U W14773, U W15599; not pictured: ST M14005, ST M16222, BA BM81-11-3-11, BA BM81-4-28-958). While usually clothed, the gender of these figures can frequently be identified by their breasts. The two figures always stand side-by-side, facing frontally and next to each other, so the bodies seem fused together at the hip: there is no face-to-face interaction or embracing between the individuals. However, despite this seeming lack of intimacy or communication, the figures are not only connected through their side-by-side stance, but also their visual similarity: on any one figurine, the two figures stand at exactly the same height, are often identically dressed, and have similar facial features. The duplications of visual features were not, however, copied across figurines. While there are many points of similarity between figurines of instrument-playing groups, the small details of facial features, clothing folds, headdress decoration, and precise pose are not identical,

---

[339] Parmentier, 1997: 62-63

[340] These figurines are usually labeled as "musicians" by scholars; however, I believe that the use of this term implies that the depicted figure possessed professional affiliation or full-time occupation in musical performance – a status which may not have existed in Hellenistic Babylonian society, and with which, even if it did, we cannot automatically assume that figurines were meaningfully entangled. I therefore prefer to use less loaded terminology, and simply discuss such figurines as playing, or holding, musical instruments.

and there is substantial variation of figurine height. Thus, rather than creating legions of identical figurines, the focus seems to have been on portraying the two instrument-playing figures on any given figurine as doppelgangers, a matched pair, or twins.[341] While some of the visual similarities between the two figures may be marks of the craftsman's individual hand, others (such as the height of the figures) were choices. Through the deliberate combination of all these features, the feeling of doubleness is conveyed.

In spite of the twin-like impression given by many of group figurines holding/playing musical instruments, the two figures do not play identical instruments. The most common arrangement was for the left[342] figure to be shown holding what appears to be a two-barreled wind instrument, similar to a flute, to the mouth. The barrels join at the mouth, but are held separately, with one end in each hand, forming a triangular shape. This may be a representation of the Greek instrument, the *aulos*, which was "a pair of pipes, with vibrating reeds in their mouthpieces, held out in front of the player".[343] On some figurines, such as ST M14536, ST B6679, N CBS1968, and N CBS9472, the two barrels are spread apart at approximately a 20 degree angle; on other figurines, such as N CBS2766, BA IM94897, BA BMSp.III 15+=91807, the two barrels are almost touching (and thus almost parallel) for their entire length.

The right figure mimics the arm posture of her companion by bending her elbows at a roughly 90 degree angle and bringing them in tightly to the chest. However, instead of holding the ends of a double flute, the right figure generally appears to be playing a small drum held at the waist (ST M14536, ST B6679, BA IM94897, BA IM93248, BA BMSp.III 15+=91807, N CBS1968, N CBS9472, N CBS2766, U W301, U W14773; not pictured: ST M16222, ST M14005, BA BM81-11-3-11, BA BM81-4-28-958). However, it is unclear to me how this drum could have been held and played at the same time – both of the figure's hands are usually shown above the drum, which would facilitate playing, but would mean that the drum had to be somehow secured to the figure's body to prevent it from falling. I can see no depiction of straps or other such devices on the figures. It is possible that concerns about how such poses could have been maintained "in real life" were not important in these figurine visualizations.

It is also possible that these figurines do not depict drum *playing*, but simply the *holding* of a drum, or even the holding of another cylindrical object, such as a cup or bowl. Some figurines, such as BA IM93248 and U W14773, have poses especially indicative of grasping instead of playing: both show the figure with her hands wrapped around either side of the drum's top. The difference between holding and playing is an important distinction: holding an instrument implies that it is temporarily silent and is being reserved, either for another time or another person. Even if/when the figure on the right was thought of as the "musician" who would eventually play the drum, the fixed physical presence of the figurine will prevent that from happening. These figurines do not have moveable arms, thus the position of "not playing" the drum instrument is forever frozen and the drum can never be played. A tension is thus produced between the potential for music and the enforced silence, which may have given a specific inflection to the meaningfulness of the figurine. Some viewers may have interpreted

---

[341] These three terms for visual similarity between two humans all have slightly different meanings. It is difficult to assess which one most closely captures the nuance of the situation depicted in these figurines, and it is possible that aspects of all three were invoked depending on the situation and the human interlocutor. I therefore do not choose to more specifically describe the situation, but rather leave the interpretation open.

[342] "Right" and "left", when referring to the figurines, are used in this dissertation as the figure's right and the figure's left, unless otherwise noted.

[343] Landels, 1999: 1

such figurines as representing both drum and flute music, however other may have envisioned only the playing of a flute.

The round object carried by the right figure could also have suggested entanglements with figurines showing males carrying a cup or bowl clutched to their chests. It is possible that similar meanings and associations with ritual activities were being made through the depiction of this round object – meaning-making entanglements which could have existed even when the round object was interpreted as a drum. For instance, the similarity of pose and object could have invoked similar impressions of a reserved posture, which may have been appropriate for particular social situations. Alternately, the carrying of a cylindrical object near to the waist may have had particular ritual or dedicatory associations, which could have been called to mind by the visual entanglements.

The possibility that this "drum" was not identified as an instrument is supported by evidence from other group figurines with musical instruments. In ST M15083-15204, for instance, the right figure does not carry anything (musical instrument or otherwise), however the left figure has his/her right hand held against the surface of a disk-shaped drum or cymbal, as if he/she just struck the instrument. Additionally, BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794 depicts the right (female) figure carrying a tall post. This post has a slightly triangular shape which has caused Karvonen-Kannas to identify it as the vertical upright of a harp.[344] However, the right figure is not holding the post in a position where the harp (if it is a harp) could be played; indeed, the strings cannot be seen, and the figure's hands merely support the base. On the other hand, the left (male) figure in BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794 holds two round objects (possibly cymbals) together as if he has just clashed them. A consideration of ST M15083-15204 and BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794 indicates that it is possible that the right figure of instrument-playing group figurines was frequently meant to be inactive – an interpretation which would engage well with a "drum-holding" interpretation for the figurines participating in the trend of two females with double flute and drum.

Instrument-playing group figurines that were not closely entangled with the trend of two females with a double flute and drum present considerable variety in their visualizations. In addition to ST M15083-15204 and BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794, figurines include a depiction of two females holding flutes (U W15599); as well as a depiction of two males, one with a small flute-like instrument and the other with a larger instrument that may have been harp-like (BA IM94905). Although these figurines do not seem to be particularly similar to each other, they do all participate in a particular entanglement of difference: in each of these figurines, the two figures are not "twins". The visual differences between the two figures on each figurine take different forms in each case. In ST M15083-15204, the two figures are attired differently: the figure on the right wears a V-necked garment that is embellished with a dot pattern along the hem and a high headdress, while the figure on the left wears a scoop-necked garment with more rectangular embellishments and a lower headdress. BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794 depicts differences of both clothing and gender between the two figures: the right figure is female and wears a full garment that covers the body from neck to below the knees. The left figure of BA BM80-6-17-1697=91794 is male, and wears only a small loin cloth. In U W15599, both figures are female and both hold a flute, however the women are slightly different heights (even though heads are broken off, the breasts of the right figure are higher than those of the left figure), their skirts are different lengths, and they hold their flutes at different angles. In BA IM94905, the left

---

[344] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 160

figure moves his body away from his companion; he also holds his arms and instrument toward his left shoulder instead of centrally on his chest. The depictions of non-identical paired figures on these figurines suggests that the twin-like appearances of the figures on figurines that participated in the feature-bundle trend of two females with a drum and double-flute were deliberately constructed, and therefore were likely sites of meaning-making.

Figurines participating in the trend of two females with drum and double flute may also have been used differently than other instrument-playing group figurines. Figurines with two females playing drum and double-flute were usually double molded[345]; and, when the base is preserved, we can see that the figures were shown standing on a high plinth that was flared at the base (BA IM94897, BA IM93248, BA BMSp.III 15+=91807, ST B6679, U W301, N CBS2766; not pictured: ST M14005). This construction allows for easy display, with good vertical stability, and imparts a statuesque quality. Other figurines that did not have the trendy feature-bundle of two females with drum and double flute were often constructed differently. U W15599 and ST M15083-15204, for instance, were both single molded; this is especially significant in the case of ST M15083-15204, as other group figurines showing musical instruments from Seleucia were double molded: Van Ingen documents 19 of these in her catalogue, all of which participated in the more common feature-bundle trend depicting two females with drum and double flute.[346] U W15599 has a very small ground line for a base, instead of a plinth, and the handmade BA IM94905 has no base at all. These differences between figurines that did not participate in the dominant trend, combined with the tightly interlocked group of shared features presented by figurines that did participate in the trend, indicate that meaning-making activities that involved these figurines may have been very differently inflected. These figurines may also have had different relationships with their human interlocutors, with the trendier figurines that depicted two females with drum and double-flute taking a more removed, statuesque role of display, while figurines that displayed other instruments and less twin-like similarities between the figures might generally have been used in contexts or functions (such as holding in the hand) where display and vertical stability were not as necessary.

Before moving on to discussion of other group figurines, I believe that a short comment is necessary on the female-female pairing in the musician figurines. There are very few female-female depictions in any of the group figurine trends. There are only two figurines depicting a woman and child in which the child is female; and all other female-female pairings belong to the trend for musician pairs, who do not look at each other, and only touch on their sides in a very impersonal, non-interactive way. This situation is very different from that of the figurines on the Greek mainland, in which figurines depicting two girls playing, gossiping, and otherwise interacting are fairly popular. It is possible that this lack of female-female interaction in figurines represents a social situation in Hellenistic Babylonia where less emphasis is being placed on female-female relationships. As several of these figurines show one or both female figures playing the double flute, Classical Greek connections of female *aulos* players ("*auletris*") with high-class symposium prostitutes may have been, at least distantly, entangled with the meanings of these figurines.[347] If this association were meaningful, it might account for the female figures' exclusive attention on the viewer, rather than each other; however, it does not account for the statue-like stability of many of these figurines, which do not encourage human

---

[345] The only example I have found where this is not the case is U W14773.
[346] Van Ingen, 1939: 176-179
[347] Landels, 1999:7

handling (contrary to what one might expect from a prostitute). These contradictions in beckoning and distancing may link into the general rarity of female-female figures in Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. Female-female interaction motifs from Classical Greece had no corollary in Babylonian tradition, and (as with many motifs), if a compromise could not be reached, then it seems that such visualizations were dropped from the Hellenistic Babylonian figurine repertoire.

A different structuring of human-figurine interaction in created in group figurines depicting male-female "couples". The term "couple", which conveys implications of sexual and romantic involvement, is generally used in catalogues to describe such figurines. Although we cannot be sure of the applicability of the concept of "couple" in the ancient context, the poses of the figurines entangled in this trend do seem to indicate that sexual/romantic relationships existed between the two figures. The gender/sexed identities of the two figures were often made explicit on some figurines showing male-female couples through the depiction of both figures topless (BA BMSp.III 21+=91789, ST M15279), the woman shown topless (BA IM93498, ST M15848), the man shown without clothing (ST M16463) or both figures shown without clothing (ST B5836, ST B27913; not pictured: BA IM93201). The explicitly displayed sex characteristics limit the viewer's ability to impose identities of their choosing upon the figures (i.e. the figures cannot depict same-sex couples). The visibility of the sexual body features also impart sexualized overtones to the scene. The poses of many of male-female group figurines further emphasize sexual/romantic connotations. Many examples (BA IM93498, BA IM94278; not pictured: BA IM93231, BA IM93201) show the faces of the man and woman held cheek-to-cheek; other examples (BA BMSp.III 21+=91789, ST B5836, N CBS9450; not pictured: BA IM93633) show the two figures kissing. These facial postures are often accompanied by bodily embrace, such as the woman placing her arm around the man's shoulders (BA IM93498) or mutual "hugging" arm embraces (N CBS9450, ST B5836). Other body postures include the woman sitting on the man's lap – in these figurines, ST M15848 and BA BMSp.III 21+=91789, both figures are unclothed above the waist and in ST M15848, the male figure places his right hand on the female figure's left breast.

The male figure in figurines depicting male-female couples is always shown beardless. This beardlessness entangles these figurines with other depictions of beardless (presumably youthful) males; however, the lack of clothing, and even exposure of the genitalia, on many of these figurines distinguishes them from the more common trend of clothed youthful males. It is possible, however, that these two trends were not seen as being as separate as they appear. Male-female couple figurines that show one or both partners without clothing are also posed in such a way that the faces of the figures are looking at each other – even when the two figures are not kissing. These postures create a closed scene, in which the figures engage only with each other and not with the viewer. In ST B27913 and ST M15279, one of the figures even turns his/her back to the viewer. Thus the depiction of sexualized bodies (including genitalia) on most male-female couple figurines is not presented as a display, but rather as a closed scene of intimacy to which the viewer is an interloper and a voyeur. The meanings of a male or female body in a clothed or unclothed state may be very different in these contexts of "not-display", and thus the unclothed youthful male body may not have been as problematic as it seems to have been in other incarnations. Indeed, it is possible that male-female sexual/romantic interaction was being constructed as an appropriate age-based role for a youthful man through these figurines.

The beardlessness of the male figure in many male-female couple figurines also gives the visual impression that the male and female figures are the same age, as the female figures (as with almost all representations of adult females in the Hellenistic Babylonian figurine corpus)

116

are shown in an idealized youthful state. By giving the male figure a similarly youthful and idealized appearance, as opposed to an older, bearded appearance, figurines participating in this trend present a same-age peer relationship between sexual-romantic partners as the ideal. Very little evidence exists regarding the relative ages of actual married couples in Hellenistic Babylonia, there are records indicating the average age at marriage in both Classical Greece and late first millennium Babylonia. Both of these traditions give similar indications: women were considered to be marriageable at a young age (around 14 – 20 years old), while men married at a somewhat older age (26 – 32 years old) than women.[348] The terracotta figurine evidence indicates that even if this situation were the case, it is possible that any age *discrepancy* was not viewed as an age *difference*, and that male-female romantic/sexual couples were considered age-peers. A similar phenomenon was also common in the art of Classical Athens, particularly in depictions of wedding celebrations: the bride is shown "matured", whereas the groom is shown "youthened", so that both appear (to modern eyes) as approximately 20 years old.[349] Hellenistic terracotta figurines of couples, like Classical-period Athenian wedding depictions, thus show the figures as embodiments of a youthful ideal – an ideal which did not necessarily represent reality as modern viewers might perceive it, but which presented the ancient perspective on male-female couple identity.

Figurines of embracing couples were also entangled with other depictions of male-female groups, particularly with figurines depicting less interaction between two figures wearing clothing. In such figurines, the male and female figures face the viewer rather than each other. For instance, in U W18157 and N CBS9449, the man and woman are shown standing side-by-side; although they are standing close enough to each other that their bodies touch, they do not embrace or look at each other. Several male-female group figurines that share these features of clothing and non-interaction are entangled through their pose with group figurines depicting musicians, and there may be similar elements of display and human-figurine interaction at play in these figurines. The side-by-side posture and firm physical connection between the figures in such depictions of clothed couples, like U W18157, ST B6446 and N CBS9449, unequivocally establishes a connection between the two figures, but places the focus of the interaction on an external relationship with a human interlocutor or perhaps another figurine. That both the female and male partner stare outwards and invite external interaction may be significant; indeed, I argue that it may reflect the social status and freedoms of some women in Hellenistic Babylonian society. Elite women appear as principals in traditional financial transactions in Hellenistic Uruk and appear to have granted a large degree of autonomy in the economic sector; some women were far more involved in the economic world than their husbands or sons. While evidence concerning less elite women is lacking due to the nature of transaction documentation, it is possible that they too had social and financial freedoms that were not allowed to their female contemporaries in Hellenistic Egypt or Greece. The male-female couple figurines suggest a similar situation, in which both the husband and wife interact on roughly equal terms with the outside world.

As such, it is possible that figurines showing male-female couples wearing clothes and not embracing represent the more public identity of the more explicitly sexualized couples. The figures in U W18157 and N CBS9449 wear carefully wrapped drapery; the woman's head is veiled and her right arm is wrapped in her garment. Her clothing entangles this figurine with

---

[348] Roth, 1987: 737; Just, 1989: 64. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the average age at the time of the first marriage; women, especially in Classical Athens, were often widowed and subsequently remarried.
[349] Stewart, 2008: 179

other figurines showing clothed men or women, all of which may evoke aspects of restrained public behavior that was considered ideal for both men and women in Classical Greece (and may have been in Hellenistic Babylonia as well; see discussion in Chapter 6). Because of this clothed and restrained appearance, such figurines are usually interpreted as depicting "mortals" while the partially clothed/unclothed figurines are usually interpreted as Cupid and Psyche groups.

Some unclothed figurines (such as ST B5836; not pictured: BA IM93201) may be closely entangled with the Greek depictions of the gods Cupid and Psyche: both of these figurines show small wings on one or both figures, which imply that the figures hold a supernatural status. However, even though these two figurines may be more directly connected with Classical Greek figurines, one of them (ST B5836) was manufactured in a Babylonian single mold. Additionally, the majority of male-female couple figurines that are labeled as "Cupid and Psyche" (because they are shown embracing and either unclothed or semi-clothed) do not have either supernatural attributes or the poses traditional to Cupid and Psyche figurines from Classical Greece – indeed, there is no reason to suggest that they are anything other than human beings. As a result, such figurines of embracing, semi-clothed/unclothed couples could have been interpreted as representing human couples, even if the motif was originally used to suggest a divine pairing. Additionally, a few of the figurines depicting clothed couples, such as ST B6446 (and, not pictured: ST M16098), are shown with both figures wearing wreaths. While such wreaths could imply some degree of divine status, they are paired with depictions of clothed couples who do not embrace – which in turn does not suggest a straight-forward identification with Classical Greek representations of Cupid and Psyche.

Instead of dividing figurines showing male-female couples into two groups of "mortal" and "divine", I think it is more profitable to consider couple figurines as representing a range of visualizations. As discussed above, these figurines show a large degree of variation in their level of dress, on a range between clothed and unclothed, with some figurines showing one partner clothed and the other unclothed, and others showing both figures in various states of dress. This range of clothing options suggests that these figurines were entangled on a continuum of dress as opposed to segregated by this feature. Some couple figurines that fall at various points along this range of dress are particularly entangled because of shared features, such pose. For instance, several figurines from Seleucia show couples reclining on beds or couches. These reclining poses for couples are only found in figurines from Seleucia, and may have had associations particular to that city. These Seleucia figurines depicting reclining couples are closely entangled with each other, however they also span the range from showing the figures completely clothed (ST B6446; not pictured: ST M16098) to showing partial clothing (ST M15279) to figures shown completely without clothing (ST B27913). Based on such entanglements between figurines depicting couples regardless of their level of dress, I suggest a much closer entanglement existed between all of the couple figurines than has previously been suggested by the typological dichotomy between "couples" and "Cupid and Psyche". I instead suggest that it is possible that the entanglement of male-female couple figurines represents a continuum of male-female group interaction which corresponded with the degree of public presentation, with the more sexually intimate scenes representing ideal private behavior for romantic/sexual couples and the more clothed and restrained depictions representing more public behavior of the same idealized "couples".

Overall, group figurines had the potential to condition two substantially different scenarios of human-figurine interaction. However, almost all of these figurines tended towards including the viewer instead of excluding him or her – in other words, three was generally not a

crowd. The very limited number of figurines that exclude the viewer indicates perhaps that drawing the human interlocutor in, as a participant with a personal relationship to the figurine, was an important aspect of these figurines' role. This deliberate choice for beckoning, as opposed to distancing, suggests that figurines in general had a close personal relationship with humans – and therefore were ideal art objects to reflect and participate in social identity creation.

CHAPTER 6: COHESIVENESS IN FEMALE REPRESENTATION

Female figurines are usually regarded by scholars as the most important, and largest, group of terracotta figurines. They are generally grouped together, and placed towards the beginning (if not at the beginning) of a typological catalogue. Contrary to what one might expect based on these scholarly tendencies, numbers of female figurines from the corpuses of Hellenistic Babylonian available today are not particularly dominant. "Female figurines" as a group do create the impression of abundance, however, because they often bear a strong visual similarity to each other. This greater level of uniformity imparts the feeling in the modern viewer that there are many of them, in contrast with the more visual diverse depictions of children and men.

The strong visual interconnections and similarities between many figurines displaying the female gender was likely noticeable to the ancient audience as well – and, indeed, was likely a major factor in the meaning-making potential of female figurines. This chapter therefore discusses the visual connections between the female figurines, including similar poses and similar ages, some of which also entangle depictions of men and children. Through these visual associations with female figurines, many of the male figures take on some aspects (or even conform to) the standard pattern of female representation. This tightly-knit group of representational possibilities for these very trendy figurines might suggest that the figurines are presenting a limited range of possibilities for female (or feminizing) social roles, body posture, and identity – a restriction that may in some limited cases have also been carried over to the identities of men and children.

Mother and (her) Child vs. Woman and (a) Child

I begin this chapter concerning the tightly-entangled female representations with a discussion of group figurines depicting an adult female with a child. These figurines are usually referred to as "mother and child" figurines, however the assessment that the woman depicted is the child's mother (as opposed to another female relative, nurse, or even an abstract protective figure) is an assumption which I do not believe should be uncritically accepted. Indeed, it is possible that the identification of the woman and her exact relationship to the child is left deliberately unspecified to allow the layering of a greater range of female identities onto the figurine.

There is some variety in the visualizations of figurines depicting woman and child, however most of the figurines seem to participate in one of a few major feature-bundle trends. The woman is shown either seated or standing[350]; she holds the child on her lap[351], if she is seated, or her left hip[352], if standing. If the child is held on the woman's lap, it is shown with its head on the woman's left side, where it is often shown nursing from the left breast and from

---

[350] One exception is ST M16425, where a semi-clothed adult woman is shown reclining on a couch (a pose which suggests entanglement with other Seleucia figurines showing reclining couples). In this figurine, a smaller female figure, who has a large, child-like head but sexually-mature breasts, is shown reclining by the woman's legs. This depiction of a child with adult sexual features is very uncommon; the majority of group figurines depicting a woman and child show the child as an infant or toddler with a correspondingly large head and immature body.
[351] U CBS8956, U W13193, U W10657, BA IM94908, BA BM91800, ST M15132, ST B16984, ST M16218
[352] U W17537, U W6411c, N CBS9456, ST M16124, ST B4004, ST M15160, BA IM93500, BA IM94942, BA AO24699, BA AO24717; not pictured: ST M14143, ST M15135, ST M14278, ST M15134, ST M14520, ST M16398, ST B27912, ST B6212, BA IM93369, BA IM93261

which it could easily be shifted to a more upright position on the woman's left hip. The depiction of older children (toddlers) with women was a much less common feature bundle; in these figurines, the child stands at the woman's left side and usually holds her hand[353]. The preference for placing the child, whether infant or toddler, on the woman's left side is a very strong trend – all of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines that I have researched which depict a woman and child place the child on the woman's left side, with the very rare exception of the figurines depicting "supernatural" children (see discussion below).

This trend for placing the baby on the woman's left side can also be seen in earlier Babylonian figurines throughout the first millennium BCE, particularly in the Neo-Babylonian period[354], but also stretching back to at least the Neo-Sumerian period.[355] In these pre-Hellenistic figurines, a standing (or, much less commonly, seated) woman is shown cradling an infant, which is placed with the baby's head on the woman's left side and is often shown nursing from the left breast. It seems likely that the strong trend in the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines for placing the infant on the woman's left side was visually entangled, and perhaps even derived from earlier Babylonian figurine trends. I would also argue that this feature bundle of the woman, child, and left side placement is so tightly meshed as to strongly suggest that it was the site of critical, or at least unalterable, meaning-making activities. Although we cannot say for certain what those meaning-makings activities were, it is interesting to note that the focus on the woman's left side – which also directly presents the *infant's* left side to the viewer's gaze – is the opposite of what one might expect from studies of Mesopotamian monumental sculpture. In most Mesopotamian stelae and other monuments, it is the *right* side of the king's body which is directly presented to the viewer. Winter, among others, has theorized that this focus on depicting the king's right side stems, at least in part, from the importance of the perfectly-formed right arm as a visual metaphor of the king's power and authority.[356] By fully presenting the king's right side for the viewer's inspection, there can be no question of hidden defects or deformities in the king's physical or political power.

It is perhaps possible that similar concerns were at play in the depiction of women and children on figurines – by placing the child on the woman's left side, her right side is fully exposed to view. However, this reasoning could not extend to depictions of the child – he/she is usually visible only on the left side, and is often shown nursing from the woman's left breast. This may be explained through the Mesopotamian tradition of associating "female" with the left side of the body.[357] The strict preference for visualizations where the child is placed on the left may therefore be tapping into the idea of a "feminine" side to a woman's body. The child is receiving nourishment from the more maternal and "female" of the woman's two breasts, while the more masculine, right side of the woman's body is left free to be active.

---

[353] BA Louvre MNB 1840, ST M15137, ST M14038

[354] See, for example, Legrain, 1930: Figures 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45; Ziegler, 1962: Figures 259, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274; Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: Figures 259, 261, 264, 274, 279, 282, 286, 288, 290, 302, 303, 307, 309, 314, 321, 328, 341, 348, 350, 360, 367, 371. Note that this is by no means an extensive list; it serves here just to illustrate how pervasive this trend was in pre-Hellenistic Babylonia.

[355] See Legrain, 1930: Figures 38, 39; and Ziegler, 1962: Figures 184, 185, 186, 188

[356] Winter, 1995: 2578

[357] This association of the female with the left side encompasses both the female's left, and the left side of the person associated with her: "The female protective deity walks at a person's left hand; before birth a girl is on the left side in her mother's belly; and women are according to a Sumerian literary stock phrase said to wear their clothes 'on the left'" (Stol, 1995:124).

In almost all group figurines depicting women and children, the children are shown as human children, with no indication of supernatural features or identities. This is in stark contrast with figurines depicting children by themselves (discussed previously in Chapters 4 and 5), where wings, crowns, and other supernatural features are common. There are a few cases (such as U W18424, where a woman is shown with a winged child) where this gap is bridged, however such entanglements do not appear to have been very trendy. Additionally, in figurines that show a woman with a supernatural child, the trend for placing the child on the woman's left side could be broken; U W18424, for instance shows the child flying above the woman's right shoulder (although BA Louvre MNB 1840 nevertheless shows the supernatural children at the woman's left). Because of the distinct differences between the visualizations of figurines depicting children from the visualizations of group figurines depicting a child and woman, there was perhaps some aspects of meaningfulness that were not very compatible across the two feature-bundle entanglements. Indeed, it is possible that we should not regard a child with an adult woman and a child on its own as the same kind of "children", as viewed by an ancient audience. Orphans or foundlings who survived their abandonment were a trope of hero myths in the Greek world, which may be evidence of an ancient perspective on the unlikelihood that children without structured adult care would survive (or at least would be worth thinking about) if they were not otherwise supernaturally endowed.

Although different in terms of pose and positioning of the child, group figurines of women and children (whether the child appears "supernatural" or not) almost all share a common structuring of the figures' gaze. Although the woman and child are almost always engaged in close physical interaction – usually with the woman holding or even nursing the child – both the woman and child are consistently shown gazing outwards (there is only one figurine that I know of where this is not the case – see the discussion below). In their outward gaze, both the child and the woman appear to be looking at the human interlocutor, instead of at each other within the internal world of the figurine group. The frequent co-occurrence of this outward gaze with the female-child group figurines suggests that this participation and connection of the human interlocutor into the figurine group world may have been a site of meaning-making for figurines depicting a woman and child. This outward gaze entangles many figurines depicting a woman and child with figurines depicting pairs of musicians, as well as some of the figurines depicting couples. As discussed in Chapter 5, human interaction with the vast majority of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines is encouraged through their outward gaze.

This commonality of human-figurine interaction, both within Hellenistic Babylonian figurines in general and within group figurines in particular, throws into striking relief how private the self-contained interaction is within some of the couples figurines – and how comparatively voyeuristic the viewer is who observes such couple figurines that have a closed exchange of gazes. Based on this sharp contrast, I would argue that the couples figurines that depict the figures gazing inward, at each other, instead of outward may be tightly entangled in a specific meaning-making process that would have been significantly less effective if the viewer were allowed access through visual/gaze communication. It is also possible, based on the previous discussion of private vs. public spheres, that all of the outward gazing figurines that show multiple figures grouped together may be showing interpersonal interaction acceptable in the public sphere: two musicians playing a duet, clothed male-female couples, and women holding and nursing children. This last potentially public activity is perhaps the most interesting, as we have little evidence for ancient attitudes towards the etiquette of nursing babies as a public

or private activity.[358] I would suggest that the openness and freedom of interaction between a nursing baby, the woman nursing him/her, and the viewer opens the possibility that nursing babies in at least a semi-public environment was a socially acceptable activity. In other words, we cannot say for certain that nursing a child was done in the open street, but it seems at least likely that the act of nursing a child was often done in the presence of third parties (which may have included the baby's mother herself) – third parties who could similarly have been seen as an appropriate audience for the figurines themselves.

The only figurine of a woman and child that I have found where the exchange of gazes is closed to the external viewer is BA IM94908, which is a terracotta plaque figurine depicting an adult woman, older child (possibly ten years old), and an infant. In this figurine, the two older figures both look down up the infant, who is held across the lap of the older child, with its head at her left side. There is much about this figurine that places it significantly outside of the trend of figurines depicting women and children – such as the depiction of three figures, the closed-gaze field, and the particularly Greek modeling of the details of hair and dress[359] – which makes its meaning-making potential difficult to assess. Indeed, the substantial differences that the visualization of BA IM94908 presents when compared with trendier depictions of women and children have been somewhat elided by the typology process, as conducted by Karvonnen-Kannas on the figurines of Babylon – a further reminder of how little connection may actually have existed between objects deemed by scholars to show the same "gender" or "subject matter". However, it may be significant to note that in spite of its considerable distance from trends in the depiction of women and children, BA IM94908 preserves the Babylonian insistence on placing the child on the woman's left side, with the head of a cradled infant next to the left breast. Indeed, both of the children are on the left side of the adult woman, with the infant, in turn, placed against the left side of the older child. This entanglement of pose between BA IM94908 and the more trendy visualizations of women and children demonstrates how deeply ingrained and potentially meaning-laden this pose was in Hellenistic Babylonian society, even if so uniquely inflected in this figurine as to lose some of its significance.

Within the dominant trends of figurine visualizations showing a woman holding an infant on her left hip or with the child standing by her side, there is a substantial amount of variation in the size of the child (both in physical dimensions and in proportion to the woman's body). Some children, such as those shown on U W17537, U W6411c, ST M15132, ST M15160, ST M15137, ST M14038, and N CBS9456, are particularly large, and perhaps indicate older infants or toddlers than those children shown on other figurines. In the majority of these cases (U W17537, U W6411c, ST M15137, ST M14038, and N CBS9456), these depictions of larger children co-occur with the use of the single mold manufacturing technique. This co-occurrence could suggest that these two features were not only entangled, but perhaps structurally dependant on each other. For instance, it is possible that the use of the single mold allowed for the depiction of

---

[358] Although it is difficult to know where breast-feeding took place, it was not necessarily thought of as the intimate activity exclusively between mother and child that it is today. It was possible to hire a wet-nurse to breast-feed children in ancient Mesopotamia; laws about the contracts for such employees/servants of the family are documented from as early as Hammurabi's law code. Similar contracts for employing wet nurses have been found in Hellenistic Egypt (Stol, 1995: 129). Hellenistic Babylonian figurines may or may not have been interpreted by their ancient owners as depicting this kind of nurse-child relationship, but the contractual and legal regulation of wet-nurses indicates that the nursing of children was more than a private, mother-and-child practice.

[359] A similar depiction is shown on a Hellenistic grave stele from Smyrna, discussed in Zanker (1993: Figure 23) ; the woman stands, and although her head has been broken away (and so the modern viewer cannot follow her gaze), her small daughter looks up at her while holding an even smaller child in her arms.

a larger child because the vertical stability of the figurine could still be preserved: to add a larger child to a double molded figurine, a significant off-center weight would be added to both the front and back sides of the figurine, increasing the possibility of the figurine toppling over if displayed on a flat surface. With the use of the single mold, however, the larger child would be placed only on the front of the adult female figure, and thus adding less weight that would need to be off-set. It is alternately possible that it may have been the use of the single mold which was desirable and that the larger child was a better visual choice if using that technology: a small child held on the hip would not show up particularly well if a single mold was used because detailed three-dimensionality is difficult to achieve in this technique. Both of these explanations are potentially correct, and their intertwining demonstrates how certain entanglements of features may have become associated (and subsequently made to bear meaning) not only because of social trends, but also because their physical properties complemented each other.

I would argue that an interest in the vertical display potential of the single molded/large child figurines might have been a compelling one for some users, as overall the trend seems to indicate that figurines depicting women with children were often intended for stable, vertical display. Many figurines showing standing women holding children are depicted with the woman standing on a plinth (BA IM93500, ST M16124, ST B4004, and probably ST M16218, although the front of the base is broken; also, not pictured: ST M16398) or thick ground line (U W17537, U W6411c). Seated women with children on their laps can be shown on a throne-like chair that is situated on a plinth base (BA BM91800, ST B16984). For seated women holding children, conical bases (such as on BA AO24699 and BA AO24717), or couch bases (for ST M15132 and ST M16425) were other visualizations that imparted substantial vertical stability to these figurines. It is possible that these visualizations, with such stable vertical structuring, were intended to facilitate the human-figurine viewing interaction. Although they also serve the purpose to distance the viewer from the figurine by putting the depicted figures at a statue-like distance, such structuring of the viewing experience through plinths and outward facing chairs indicates that direct human viewership of the figurine is a sanctioned and expected response to the object.

It is also possible (and the two possibilities do not necessarily conflict) that the use of plinths, chairs, and other support structures for the woman and child figures were intended to give a visual or tactile impression of strength to the figurine's presence. For instance, in figurines of seated women with children that do not show chair, couch or cone supports for the female figure (such as U W13193 and U W10657), the arrangement of the seated woman is in a compact, block-shaped mass that has an almost cube-like stability and strength. This form of a seated woman nursing a child is entangled with much earlier visualizations of seated women with children from Babylonian history[360], and thus may have had more direct meaning-making connections with Babylonian culture than the figurines of women and children seated on furniture. However, the structural strength of U W13193 and U W10657 is shared in other woman and children figurines. In BA BM91800, for instance, the visualization of a woman nursing a small child and seated on a throne-like chair is presented in a double mold with a flaring base, to allow for vertical stability. Because this figurine is double molded, a technique which would trap air inside the object – air which would expand during the firing process, thus

---

[360] See U CBS8956, which was bought by the excavators of Nippur, but was actually found at Uruk, which is where U W13193 and U W10657 were also excavated. Although similar figurines have been found in early first millennium Babylon (see Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: Figures 359, 366, 367, 371), it is possible that this pose and visualization may have had a particular resonance in Uruk.

potentially exploding the figurine – the figurine was intended to have an air vent hole in the figure's back. The impression for a 1.6cm diameter hole was molded into the back of BA BM91800, indicating that craftsmen's guides for cutting out vent holes were a feature of the double molds themselves.[361] However, the hole in BA BM91800 was never cut out. The lack of a hole gives the figurine a substantially sturdier appearance; however it was left uncut at great risk to the future product. Although this could have been an instance of neglect or forgetfulness on the part of the craftsman, it also potentially indicates that the sturdy appearance of the figurine was valued highly enough to risk exploding a few figurines in order to obtain such a visualization. Such valuations of vertical stability and sturdiness over the risk of failed firings are also indicated in the creation of many of very thick-walled, ventless double molded figurines depicting females (without children), which are discussed below. It seems that depictions of women are particularly entangled with technical concerns for durability and stability.

The uncut venthole of BA BM91800 also provides an interesting glimpse into the world of the Hellenistic Babylonian craftsman (whether called a potter, coroplast, or other name), and the process by which figurine visualizations may have been exchanged and adapted for use by other craftsmen. In this case, whoever designed the mold used to make BA BM91800 intended that a venthole should be cut out of every figurine made from the mold. However, whoever used the mold to make this specific figurine either forgot or thought differently – either way indicating that a preoccupation with a vent hole was not his/her first priority. While not proof that two different craftsmen were at work (one making the mold and another using it to make a figurine), it does provide strong evidence that this was the case. Thus we can see how communication between craftsmen that resulted in the exchange of techniques and materials may not necessarily have resulted in complete replication of styles and techniques in the subsequent figurine production. Indeed, enough room existed for change, even when using a prefabricated mold, that the resulting figurine could respond to evolving trends in figurine visualization.

Beyond "Woman and Child"

Almost all of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines depicting women with children show the woman clothed, although her left breast may sometimes be exposed for the purposes of nursing an infant. In some of these figurines[362], the woman's clothing follows a trendy pattern: a swath of fabric sweeps up from the right hip and over the left shoulder; underneath this layer of fabric is floor-length, vertical garment that has vertical ridges designating folds. Figurines showing the woman wearing this particular garment are also frequently posed with the woman's right arm held across her body to either to touch her left breast or the infant (which, as described above, is always held on her left side). Figurines with this group of bundled features seem to be closely entangled with other figurines showing draped female figures that do not include

---

[361] Circular vents measuring 1.6-1.7 cm in diameter are a feature of several double molded figurines, such as BA BMSp.III 24+ and BA BM68-6-2-11. Note that the Babylon provenience of these figurines is not necessarily indicative of a regional or city-specific use of such vents – I only noticed the consistency of these vents late into my research, and I had not recorded the measurements of vents on other figurines, nor noticed the presence of uncut circular vent guides.

[362] U W6411c, BA BM91800, BA IM93500, BA IM94942, ST B16984, ST M16218, ST M16124, ST B4004; not pictured: BA IM93369, BA IM93261, ST M15135, ST M15134, ST M14520 (other known figurines may also follow this trend, such as ST M15160 or (not pictured) ST M16398, but the surfaces of these figurines are too abraded to clearly discern the details of the drapery)

depictions of children. In such figurines[363], a woman is shown wearing a long garment, over the top of which is draped a thick band of fabric from the right hip (or sometimes as low as the right knee) to the left shoulder. Although no child is present, the female figure in these figurines holds her right arm bent and her right hand pressed to her body near, or on top of, her left breast.

The sharing of this garment and pose closely entangles figurines that depict women with and without accompanying children by creating a strong visual similarity between them. The trendiness of this shared visualization – attested, at least in part, by the large numbers of figurines that share this feature-bundle – indicates that it had significant meaning-making potential. One possible association of this meaningfulness may have been the importance of the woman's left side. As discussed above, it is difficult to discern what the importance of the left side might have been, but the extension of the left-side importance beyond the figurines of women with children to other figurines of women alone indicates that the importance of the left side may have more to do with social concepts and images of women than with depictions of children.

It is also possible that this focus on the left side, along with the corresponding swath of fabric which often covers the right arm, may have been related to Greek statuary depicting reserved and modest people who show their restraint through the binding of their "active" right arm. In this way, these figurines depicting women (with or without children) that show the right arm held bent and close to the body are entangled with some of the figurines depicting draped men, as well as the visualizations of clothed women in some figurines depicting couples. All of these figurines were entangled through their shared poses and garments, and may have participated in similar avenues of meaning-making that concerned the public image (possibly characterized by modesty and restraint) of good citizens. Additionally entangled in this meaning-making process, however, may also have been the associations with pre-Hellenistic Babylonian figurines of women with children, in which the right arm is held to the breast (although not draped) and the child is held on the left side, usually cradled in the woman's left arm. It is possible that Hellenistic Babylonian visualizations – especially the pose with the right arm bent and pressed to the body – was so particularly trendy because of its links with both the Greek and Babylonian visual traditions.

Additionally entangling female figurines both with and without children that are shown in this pose with a draped and bent right arm, is a tendency to stand or sit on robust bases or ground lines. These bases sometimes take the form of a plinth (BA AO25958) or elaborate chair/throne (BA BM68-6-2-9), but even when they are no more elaborate than a thick ground line, they provide these figurines with substantial vertical stability, such that the figurines can stand alone and do not require human assistance (or tactile interaction). This emphasis on stability and solidity is shared with many of the figurines of women with children, as discussed above, and further entangles the figurines that participate in these trends of visualization. It is possible that similar relationships with the human interlocutor are being constructed through these visualizations, with viewing from a distance as the ideal human-figurine interaction. This aspect of self-controlled autonomy from the human audience may have been related to ideals of public

---

[363] Examples include: U W6634, U W4677, U W6497, U W6527, U W17836d, U W15272b, U W549, U BM51-1-1-102, U BM51-1-1-112, U BM51-1-1-113, U BM51-1-1-114, U BM56-9-3-230, N CBS1952, N CBS15452, ST M15118, ST M14205, ST M16475, ST M16265, ST T4281, ST M16071, BA BM80-11-12-1905, BA BM81-11-3-1876, BA BM80-6-17-1702, BA AO25958; not pictured: U W6411a, U W6531, U W7193, U W12101, U W18423, ST M16358, ST M16157, ST B7127, ST M14542, ST B4005, ST M15122, ST B5902, ST M15620, ST B6361, BA BM81-11-3-21, BA AO25765

behavior, and perhaps even modest restraint, that figurines in this pose may have evoked – in other words, figurines in this attitude, like their human counterparts, were meant to be viewed from a distance, but not closely approached or touched. However, the lack of trendiness for statue-like bases, such as plinths or throne-like chairs, indicates that, in general, these figurines were not viewed with the very distant admiration inspired by statues, and therefore that these figures generally were not so separate from the human realm of daily life as to be considered as an unattainable ideal. The fact that some figurines that participate in this entanglement do have statue-like bases indicates that some statue-like regard was given to such visualizations, it does not seem to have been the trendiest way to engage with them.

Many of the figurines of women with a child and women (without a child) who are shown with the swathed right arm held close to the chest are additionally entangled through shared headdresses. These include a so-called "double-knobbed" headdress[364] or a centrally-peaked crown.[365] It is possible that each of these entanglements, in which the figurines share not only the pose and visualization discussed above but also a specific headdress, had even more specific meaning-making potentials.[366] For instance, the double-knobbed headdress, which consists of two bun-like knots positioned like mouse ears on top of the head, has visual associations with a hairstyle worn by the Greek goddess Aphrodite on several Hellenistic Greek statues.[367] Evocations of Greek heritage may have been involved in the meaning-making potential of the figurines wearing this headdress.

On a broader level, the close entanglements of some figurines of women with children with other figurines of women without children indicate that there was a close connection between the meaning-making potential of these figurines. Indeed, the close visual association of similarly posed and attired female figurines "with a child" and "without a child" likely meant that seeing one of these figurines that showed a woman with a child would have called to mind all the other figurines entangled with it, including those showing a woman without a child, and vice versa. I would argue that this close connection points to the possibility that these two social roles for women (holding a child or not holding a child) were seen as closely associated, or perhaps divergent aspects of a similar identity. Indeed, it is possible that female figurines which are depicted as holding their right arm up to the chest were recognized and interpreted through their similarity-to-but-difference-from the figurines in which the female holds her right hand up to her breast for the purpose of nursing or caring for an infant. In other words, female figurines without children may have been recognized and interpreted, at least in part, by their "lack" of a child and viewed as the childless versions of the female-child figurines. While this does not

---

[364] Examples of figurines of women with a child, where woman wears double-knobbed headdress: ST B16984, ST M16124, BA BM91800, BA IM93500; Examples of figurines of draped women wearing double-knobbed headdress: N CBS15452, N CBS1952, N CBS16671, U W17836d, U W15272b, U W549, ST M16265, ST M16475, BA BM80-11-12-1905; not pictured: U W3865, U W12101, ST B7127, ST M15122, ST B5902, ST M14184; also, Legrain, 1930: Figure 114 (Note: the museum number that Legrain records for this object is incorrect. I was not able to locate this object in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, therefore I cannot list this figurine by its museum number.)

[365] Figurines of women with a child, where woman wears centrally-peaked crown: ST M16218, ST B4004, ST M14038, BA AO24717; not pictured: ST M15135, ST M15134
Figurines of draped women wearing centrally-peaked crown: U W6634, ST M14205, ST M16451, BA AO25958, BA BM68-6-2-9, BA BM81-11-3-1876; not pictured: U W1601a, ST M16157, ST M15125, BA IM93457

[366] Although, it should be noted that both headdresses were also shared with figurines depicting women in which the pose of the right arm bent and pressed to the chest was not shown.

[367] For an example of this hairstyle, see images of the "Capitoline Aphrodite" (Smith, 1991: Fig. 99).

necessarily mean that a woman without a child was in an inferior position, it does mean that she was being defined vis-à-vis the presence of a child. For instance, the similarity of pose could suggest to some viewers that a woman without a child was nevertheless prepared for the potential of caring for a child, as she had already assumed the appropriate body posture. This could potentially be an important clue into the social construction of gender identity in Hellenistic Babylonia, which, in *some cases*[368] of female gender, may have been closely associated with child-raising activities, whether active or potential.

From Child to Musical Instrument: The Active Right Arm

More broadly, the pose of holding the right arm up to the chest bundled with the female gender of the figure entangles some of the figurines discussed above with figurines depicting women holding or playing musical instruments. In traditional typologies, these figurines are usually separated out from other figurines depicting a female figure and described as "musicians", with the primary determination of their identity resting on their association with the musical instrument that they are carrying. Because of their labeling as "musicians" by scholars, such figurines are usually discussed in connection with group figurines depicting figures playing or holding musical instruments, which were discussed above. The connection between all figurines carrying or playing musical instruments is undoubtedly a meaningful entanglement – one that is perhaps made especially significant by the fact that "objects" held or used by the figures in figurines are rare in Hellenistic Babylonia, thereby making the presence of musical instruments a rather striking difference from most depictions of human figures. Because "objects" held by the figures in figurines are so uncommon, it is possible that figures holding musical instruments were also visually entangled with other figurines that depict objects or animals with the figure – such as depictions of children with birds, figures riding horses, women with mirrors, children with pottery vessels, etc. The presence of an "object" in all of these figurines serves to contextualize the human figure – providing more of a scene or "story" for the figure to operate in, but also simultaneously taking away from the immediacy and directness of the human-figurine interaction.

However, all of the figurines that show a female with a musical instrument – as with the group figurines of two figures with musical instruments – seem to have a direct interaction with the human interlocutor. In almost every case, the figurine depicts the female figure staring directly out at the viewer, in seeming control of the human-figurine interaction. The hands of the figure are generally placed up, on the instrument, almost as if the figure was playing music – thus placing the viewer in the (imagined) multi-sensory situation of also being the "listener". This combination of outward gaze with musical performance shapes the human-figurine interaction into a performer-audience scenario, which simultaneously intensifies the connection between the human interlocutor and the figurine (as the viewer/listener is meant to be engaged with the figurine on multiple sensory levels) but also formalizes the interaction through the evocation of performance space and time.

This tension between human sensory engagement and formalized distance is one that was also shared with female figurines participating in other visualization trends. Although I

---

[368] It is important to note that gender identity, in any society, is not a monolithic entity, and thus acceptable social definitions of "female" or "woman" could vary with many other factors (such as age, class, ethnicity, etc.). It is therefore possible that women viewed vis-à-vis the presence of children, and thus potentially thought to be in some way lacking when depicted without them, may have only represented one segment of the Hellenistic Babylonian female population.

acknowledge the other entanglements that figurines of women holding musical instruments might have been involved in, I argue that these "musicians" should also be considered from the perspective of their entanglement with other female figurines, especially because of the shared visualizations of their similar poses. Figurines depicting a woman with a musical instrument frequently show the female figure holding her right arm up to the instrument as the active, "playing" arm, while the left arm supports the instrument. This is especially the case in depictions of a female figure playing a round percussion instrument[369], usually called a tympanum[370], which is almost always held on the left side, with the right arm bent and held diagonally across the torso in order to play the instrument.[371] A very similar posture is often used to depict the playing of a small harp-like stringed instrument, which is held against the left shoulder and played by the diagonally-bent right arm.[372] Entangled with these figurines are other depictions of female figures holding/playing a large stringed musical instrument (usually called "lyres", although also "harps").[373] In most of these figurines, the instrument is supported by the right arm and played with the right hand, with the left hand merely balancing the corner of the instrument. While this pose, with its emphasis on the activity of the right hand, is connected to many of other female figurines, the shifting of the object from the left side to the right side of the body may have been a meaningful divergence from the trend. Regardless of the positioning of the instrument, these figurines were also entangled technologically, as they were almost always manufactured in single mould, handmade with a stamp-molded face, or completely handmade.[374] The consistent use of these molding techniques could be significant, as the lack of double molding means that each of these figurines is solid, with no hollow center, and thus very sturdy. A focus on sturdiness is a feature which seems to have been common in figurines that share the pose of the right arm brought up to the chest, and may have had meaning-making potential.

Through the feature bundle of bent right arm held to the chest and sturdy construction, along with the common additional feature of left-side positionality for the held object, many figurines depicting female figures with musical instruments are entangled with similar visualizations of female figures holding infant children. As both trends involve the figure holding something (a child or an instrument) it is possible that this entanglement is, at least in some ways, more meaningfully involved that the connection between figurines of females with and without children. Here again, we see that this pose must have meaning-making potential, and that there is a substantial visual connection that is being established between many of the figurines depicting female figures. Although there would seemingly be a large distinction between a clothed and unclothed female, or between a female holding a child and a female

---

[369] BA IM93196, BA IM94682, BA BM81-4-28-946, U W8810, N CBS7054, N CBS3509, N CBS6313, N CBS3510, N CBS12425, ST M15188; not pictured: BA IM93093, BA IM94929, BA IM93960, BA IM93211, BA IMBab.-497, BA IM93349, N CBS15439, N CBS2856, N CBS12291, N CBS15438, N CBS1953

[370] This word derives from the Greek verb τύπτω, "to beat, strike", and is used in several figurine catalogues to refer to drum-like percussion instruments. However, these instruments may have been called by other names, such as "rhoptra", in antiquity (Mathiesen, 1999: 174-175).

[371] For one of the few exceptions to this posture for playing the instrument, see U W18292, where the instrument is held to the center of the chest with both hands.

[372] BA IM94057, BA IM93958, U W15106, U W15630; not pictured: BA BM80-11-12-1907, BA IM93287, BA IM93510, BA IM93370, BA IM93476, U W6478

[373] ST M14013, ST M16485, BA IM94946, BA BM80-6-17-1696, BA BMSp.III 24+, U W6526; not pictured: ST B5445, ST M15217, ST M15081, ST M14885, ST M16496, BA IM94969, BA IM94880, BA BM81-4-28-950, BA BM80-11-12-1920, BA BMRmIV474, BA BMSp.III 39+=127336, BA BMSp.III 47+=127337, BA IM93362

[374] See, for instance, BA IM93897

holding a tambourine-like percussion instrument (or a female holding nothing at all), the shared pose and the striking visual similarity that it creates indicates that there were some aspects of meaning-making – and thus potentially some aspects of female social roles – that were fluid and shared between all the different specific aspects of female identity that were being depicted.

Posing the Female

Other figurines depicting adult female figures may also have been entangled with the figurines of women (with and without children) described above. Although presenting less visual similarity in terms of dress or specific posture, many figurines depicting female figures are shown with the woman holding one or both hands up to her chest/breasts. The majority of these figures depict women without clothing, although this does not negate the importance of the connection, and especially the general similarity of pose, with the clothed figures discussed above. Indeed, it suggests that there was some overlap of ideals about female postures, roles, etc. that could transcend divisions between clothed and unclothed figures.

This fluidity may also have crossed the barriers between the depictions of mortal and supernatural women – if, indeed, this distinction was even a fixed one when it came to the interpretation of figurines in Hellenistic Babylonian society. Figurines BA AO1496 and BA BM68-6-2-11 are described by Karvonen-Kannas as depictions of a goddess ("Aphrodite pudica") because of details of hairstyle (the depiction of a crescent-shaped crown with central boss on BA AO1496 and the elaborate top knot of BA BM68-6-2-11), decorative armbands, and other visual similarities to Classical Greek statues of the goddess Aphrodite.[375] Both figurines are also posed with their right arms bent and right hands held up to cover the breast. This pose seems to mimic the posture of certain Classical Greek statues of Aphrodite, particularly the Knidian Aphrodite created by the sculptor Praxiteles[376] – however it is also similar to the pose of the pre-Hellenistic Babylonian figurines of women cradling infants and women supporting their breasts. Thus, there may have been times in which the Greek associations may have been meaningful to certain users of these figurines; however, this visual connection with Classical Greek visualizations of Aphrodite is not the only entanglement in which these figurines might have been involved. Through the shared pose of the right arm held to the breast, these two figurines are also entangled with many other Hellenistic Babylonian figurines depicting female figures with their hands held to their chests. This shared history of both Babylonian and Greek interest in poses of women holding the right arm pressed to their chest may, indeed, be partially responsible for the trendiness of this pose among figurines depicting female figures, and indicates that these figurines may have been responding to both Greek and Babylonian traditions.

The willingness with which this pose was shared between otherwise differing female figurines also indicates that there may have been some elision – or at least connection – between the mortal and divine realm when it came to feminine ideals in Hellenistic Babylonian society. The divine status of female figurines in Babylonia (or the ancient world generally) is a murky, and highly fraught, issue, which this dissertation is not intended to solve. It is possible, from the evidence of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, to suggest that every depiction of a female in figurine form was intended as a "goddess" of some sort (i.e. a divine, immortal, or otherwise supernatural figure), as there is nothing to prove that any of these figurines represent human women.

---

[375] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995:64

[376] In particular, similar jewelry (such as the armband) is shown on Praxiteles's Knidian Aphrodite (Stewart, 2008: 260).

However, even if this situation was the case, the lack of clear divine symbolism on any but a very few figurines mean that even if a figurine of a woman was *intended* to represent a goddess, it could easily be reinterpreted by a different human interlocutor as a human woman. Indeed, the vast majority of the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines that depict female figures lack the very specificity of detail that would require they be interpreted as a particular goddess, or even as a supernatural entity at all, thus leaving them open to being identified as the user desired. In spite of this fluidity, which would allow many female figurines to be interpreted as human women, the few figurines (such as BA AO1496 and BA BM68-6-2-11) which might be more securely identified as goddesses were closely entangled through similar poses with other, less specifiable female figurines. This close association, and the lack of a barrier between the "mortal" and the "divine" in depictions of the female form indicates that there may have been some overlap and exchange in these ideals of female appearance and identity.

Although the pose of holding the right hand pressed to the chest was very popular among depictions of female figures, other poses were also possible. A variety of poses seem to have been particular trendy with figures depicting unclothed women. Either one of the hands[377] – not just the right hand – or both hands simultaneously[378] could be raised to the chest; indeed, the pose of both hands on the chest seems to have been the most popular. The hands could be simply placed on the chest[379], could support the breast(s), or could cover the breast(s) – with substantial fluidity and ambiguity between these three options. This flexibility, especially the flexibility of which arm was bent to the chest, indicates that whatever specific meaning-makings were at play in the trend of specifically posed, right arm bent and draped figurines discussed above, the poses of these unclothed female figurines were more distantly entangled and probably did not participate fully in those social meanings. However, I would still argue that some connections between these differing trends of visualization existed, which perhaps indicates some fluidity in female roles and identities, which seems to have been less of an option in figurines depicting males.

This connection between the poses and visualizations of these female figurine trends also indicates that the common interpretation of unclothed female figures as a "mother goddess" type[380] that has deeper roots in Babylonian history, tradition and ancient "popular religiosity"[381] than any other figurine visualization, is denying the contemporary connections and Hellenistic period relevance of figurines depicting unclothed females. Scholars have fixated on the pre-Hellenistic Babylonian history of unclothed female figurine visualizations, with the result that "nude" females are generally discussed as having some sort of ancient significance that is different not only in intensity, but also in kind, from other figurines. Legrain argued that they were made in the "same ever-recurring forms apparently going back to a very ancient tradition"[382], with "the figure of the nude woman never changed attitude or meaning across the

---

[377] Right hand: ST M16059, BA BM81-4-28-948; not pictured: ST M15031
Left hand: ST B4648, BA AO24727, U W6412, U W14352a,b; not pictured: ST M14424-14432, ST M15013, BA AO24712, BA AO1503, U W1592
[378] Both hands: ST M14129, ST M15000, ST M15018, BA BM80-6-17-1713=92215, BA BM76-11-17-2405=91856, U W15257, U W13506, U W4315; not pictured: ST M14644, ST M15068, ST B6859, ST 15009, ST M14518, BA IM93223, BA IM93481, BA IM94951, BA IMBab.-277, BA BM48-8-29-4, BA IM93421, U W12664, U W12848, U W16459, U W5213, U W16540, U W6413, U W18084
[379] See especially U W16378, U W15924f, ST M14129
[380] As they are described by Van Ingen (1939: 57-72)
[381] Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: 43
[382] Legrain, 1930: 3

ages".[383] Although these figurines have visual similarities to figurines produced in pre-Hellenistic Babylonia, they are not carbon copies of earlier figurines. For instance, many figurines of unclothed female figures were made in double molds, with the back half of the mold used to not only add volume to the figurine but also elaborate details of hairstyle and anatomical form to its back – indicating that the adoption of the double mold for the making of unclothed female figurines was embraced for both functional and artistic potential (and thus divergence with pre-Hellenistic tradition). Figurines of unclothed female figures also engaged with features of contemporary visualizations, sharing details of hair, jewelry, crowns – as well as the pose of hands held to the chest – with other Hellenistic-period figurines.

As with the connections with Classical Greek statues of Aphrodite pudica, the suggestion that the historical connections of visual features were the only, or even the most important, consideration when ancient people viewed a figurine cannot be supported. Contemporary entanglements with other figurines, as well as ambiguity which allows for viewer interpretation, must also be factored into the potential meaning-making processes in which figurines could have participated. In the case of unclothed female figurines, I would argue these figurines should not be considered as something particularly ancient or special, but rather as object participants in an extended network of depictions of the female form – all of which seem to have been densely entangled, mutually influencing, and potentially reflective of fluid interweavings between ideals of female social roles.

Figurines of unclothed women with their hands on their chests were also entangled with figurines of unclothed women with both hands at their sides. These two trends within figurines of unclothed women are usually not separated out by authors of traditional figurine typologies, or if they are, it is considered to be a very minor distinction. However, I might argue that the entanglement of pose which situates the figurines with their hands on their chests together in a potentially meaning-making association would mean that the distinction between hands on the chest versus hands at the sides may have been an important one for some figurine viewers. An additional indication of this are the contexts in which these figurines were found: unclothed female figurines with their hands at their sides were found at both Kish and Borsippa[384] – two sites which had very little known figurine production during the Hellenistic period. That these visualizations were trendy at those two sites indicates that they may have been acceptable to certain communities that had very little interaction with Greek peoples; indeed, these visualizations are very similar to Neo-Babylonian figurines, with little influence from Greek culture. This does not mean that this figurine trend was an isolated one. Figurines of unclothed females with their arms at their sides also appear in Babylon[385] (although they were not particularly trendy at either Seleucia or Uruk[386]), and there may have been circumstances in which these figurines were entangled in larger trends of female depiction. However, the popularity of these visualizations – like the popularity of many figurines that only tapped into one cultural tradition – was somewhat limited.

Figurines depicting unclothed female figures with their hands at their sides are in turn entangled with similarly-posed figurines of clothed females. These often have substantially different drapery than clothed females with their hands on their chests, indicating that the

---

[383] Legrain, 1930: 7
[384] K FM156905, K FM228777, K FM228789, K FM229633; BO BM80-11-12-1934, BO BM82-3-23-5186
[385] BA AO24673, BA BM80-6-17-1937=91849; not pictured: BA IM93309, BA IM93439, BA BMSp.III 40+, BA BM81-4-28-949, BA BM81-11-3-1880, BA BM80-11-12-1922, BA BM80-11-12-1908, BA IM93289
[386] ST M15077, U W7004, U W6173; not pictured ST M15071, ST M15037

diagonal swath of fabric from the right hip to the left shoulder may indeed have been a meaningful part of the feature-bundle that included the right arm placed on the chest. Figurines depicting clothed women with their hands at their sides were particularly popular in Seleucia, where they are only loosely-associated by arm position and drapery, while otherwise evincing a large degree of variety in affect, posture, clothing style, hairstyle, and other features.[387] Such variation, along with the lack of popularity in the other Hellenistic Babylonian cities, could indicate that there was less social cohesion and agreement about female identity once it was separated from the important (and favored) pose of holding one arm to the chest.

Pose-Based Entanglements Across Genders

The fluidity of poses and deeply nested entanglements that interconnect many female figurines also incorporated some figurines displaying the male gender. Figurines of clothed, unbearded males generally wear elaborate drapery, with grooves in the terracotta surface representing the foldings of multiple layers of cloth: this gives the appearance of the figurines wearing one long robe that falls to mid-calf length, a fold of which is brought from behind over the top of the left shoulder and fastened at the right shoulder. The details of this garment can be seen with greater clarity on some figurines (N CBS1960, U W15918, U W16247a, ST M15609, ST M15603; not pictured: ST M15602, BA IM93192, BA IM93405) than others. While the figurines wearing this garment that retain their heads (BA BM80-6-17-1705, U W15918, U W16247a, ST B5469) show an unbearded face, and the lack of any breast ridges on these very flat-chested figurines indicates male gender, we cannot be entirely certain that all of these figurines represented unbearded males.

Indeed, these flat-chested (presumably male) draped figurines are significantly entangled with similarly-draped female figurines. Both the breasted (female) and un-breasted (presumably male) versions have the elaborate drapery and the position of one arm (could be either right or left) held up to the center of the chest and usually bound in the drapery. This pose is similar to Hellenistic Greek statues of certain philosophers, such as Aischines[388], who are shown with one arm bound in their garment as a sign that they restrained from using gestures as rhetorical aids during speeches[389]; the pose is also similar to those displayed on Hellenistic Greek statues of mortal women, who hold one arm across their chest[390] as a display of "restrained modesty"[391]. As neither of these Greek statuary poses are replicated exactly, the Babylonian figurines probably do not contain either of these meanings precisely. Additionally, the figurines of both the draped women and draped men usually appear without plinths (i.e. with the feet forming the base of the figurine or only resting on a thin ground line) – thus these draped figurines do not appear to have particularly statuesque visualizations.

However, despite the lack of clear visual correspondence or replication of the Hellenistic Greek statues, aspects of those "philosopher statue" or "modest woman statue" associations could have been entwined in new, figurine-driven, meaning-making processes. The pose may

---

[387] For survey of this variety, see Van Ingen, 1939: Plates VIII-XII
[388] Smith, 1991: 37-38
[389] Whereas flapping and gesturing with the arms during speeches was a sign of hubris (de Brauw, 2001: 164)
[390] Note that some Tanagra-style figurines from Hellenistic Greece also bear this pose of holding one arm across the chest; however, both the Hellenistic Greek statues of mortal women and the Babylonian figurines that share this pose also share more upright, conservative body postures (as opposed to the more dynamic, "dancing" postures common to the Tanagra figurines). Therefore, I would suggest that the Hellenistic Greek female statutes were more visually entangled with Babylonian figurines, and thus can be considered directly.
[391] Smith, 1991: 84

133

possibly have carried some implications of Greek culture, through this link with Hellenistic Greek statues. However, I would posit that the stronger meaning-making connection was through the aspects of restraint or demure demeanor that was represented in the pose of the wrapped arm. Similar impressions of personal restraint also seem to be conveyed by other arm poses shown on some draped male figurines, particularly at Seleucia, in which the hands are shown clasped tightly across the lap or chest (ST B5077, ST M14273; not pictured: ST M14243, ST M15642). Although these handclasping poses do not seem to be derived from Hellenistic Greek statuary, they do seem visually entwined with the arm-wrapped pose through the similar indication of restrained inactivity.

In this hand-clasping pose, these male draped figurines are also visually linked to tunic-wearing male figurines that hold one hand or clasp both hands together at their chest, sometimes holding a flower, cup, or other object (BO BM82-3-23-5099, BA BM80-6-17-1708, BA IM93469, ST M15647, ST B6018, ST B17036, U W6529, N CBS1967; not pictured: ST M14488, ST M15613, ST M15643, ST M14139, ST T29.99, ST M15627, BA IM93197, BA BM80-11-12-1936, BA IM94922). As in the draped male figurines, the tunics are shown with deep ridges to represent fabric folds; however the tunic appears to be a more fitted garment with sewn sleeves and a belted waist, with the two trailing ends of the knotted belt generally hanging down in an inverted "V" shape. When heads are preserved on the tunic-wearing figurines, the man usually wears a pointed hat and beard.[392]

Indeed, tunic-wearing figurines represent one of few cases where bearded men are shown outside the more trendy feature-bundles of nude standing "Herakles" poses and stamped-face horseriders. Despite their relative lack of popularity, however, the tunic-wearing figurines were visually entangled with these other bearded figurines through their shared depiction of older, bearded men. An additional visual connection of the tunic-wearing figurines existed in the features of the frontally-facing linear pose, the exclusive use of the single mold in their manufacture, the handclasping, and the holding of a small object to the chest. All these features were shared, and thus visually entangled, tunic-wearing males with earlier Babylonian figurines[393], particularly Neo-Babylonian figurines that are often identified by scholars as the god Papsukkal[394] or Babylonian priests/worshippers[395], as well as and Achaemenid figurines found in Central Asia. This connection of tunic-wearing figurines with earlier Near Eastern divine figurines may indicate a trend within the use of beards on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines: figurines depicting older, bearded men are often visually entangled with historically long-standing motifs and visualizations, and particularly those depicting deities or heroes. However, note that neither the "Greekness" nor the "Near Easternness" of the motifs appear to be the feature which elicits interest.

Through the particular reserved posture of arms held against the body, and the depiction of elaborated garment folds, visual similarities could also be established between tunic-wearing males and unbearded, draped male figurines. There seems to have been not just visual similarity between these poses, but also some overlap and exchange: some of the draped male figurines also hold an object, either in the hand of their wrapped arm (not pictured: ST M15602) or in both hands as they are clasped across the body (ST M14159, ST M14273), while some of the tunic-

---

[392] BA BM80-6-17-1708, ST M15647; not pictured: ST B17036, ST T29.99. See also N CBS1967, although this figurine wears a more rounded hat.
[393] See, for example, Klengel-Brandt & Cholidis, 2006: Plates 22, 23
[394] Koldewey, 1925
[395] Legrain, 1930: 30

wearing men are shown with one arm bound or pressed close across the chest (BA BM80-6-17-1708), and others are unbearded like their draped counterparts (U BM 51-1-1-105). Even though derived from different traditions, these figurines appear to have been successful because of the dual, cross-cultural resonance of their various bundled features. Trendy figurines incorporated motifs and visualizations that could accommodate ways of seeing from both Greek and Babylonian traditions, such as in the hand gestures of the draped males, the draped females, and the tunic-wearing men, which all focus on attitudes of restraint. It is possibly that this similarity was one meaningful reason for the popularity and success of these somewhat different motifs.

It is important to note, however, that both the tunic-wearing men with hands clasped and the draped men with arm wrapped only seem to have been popular at Babylon and Seleucia. I know of only two figurines at Uruk that share these sets of feature-bundles (U W15918, U W6529), and two from Nippur (N CBS1960, N CBS1967) – in spite of the fact that figurines of a tunic-wearing male with his hands clasped at his waist, and frequently carrying an object, were very popular in earlier periods, such as during the Neo-Babylonian period. It is possible that not enough of the specific meanings expressed in these earlier figurines were maintained when older motifs were articulated in new visualizations, and newly-entangled with other draped males, draped females, and similar figurines.

Conclusion

The limiting of the visual and structural variety of female figurines – as well as some male figurines – constructed a similarly limited niche for female (and, perhaps, female associated) identities within society. This does not necessarily mean that the social roles for women in Hellenistic Babylonian society were limited in an identical way. For instance, through the amorphous-bodied horserider figurines discussed in Chapter 4, a figural outlet was created that women could potentially use to express other, non-gendered aspects of their identities. However, when the aspect of identity that related to female gender was at the fore, the terracotta figurines suggest that there was only a small range for the ideal visual presence of Hellenistic Babylonian women. Figurines, through their depiction of idealized human bodies, participate in the creation of that ideal – and thus impact the ways in which women were thought about (and the ways that they thought about themselves) in society.

But contrary to what one might expect, ageless beauty and sexual attractiveness did not necessarily equate with sexual availability. Most female figurines were posed with their limbs close to their bodies; the areas around the waist, genitals, and inner thighs were thus rendered inaccessible to both the eye and the touch of the human interlocutor. Additionally, female figurines were very sturdy, with thick walls and flared bases. Although they did not necessarily encourage tactile contact, most could be handled roughly and did not break easily. Strong construction was favored, even when it entailed the creation of figurines so thick that they contained internally-trapped air pockets, which risked rupturing during the firing process. Most female figurines were more durable than male figurines, and more of them survive relatively intact. Thus while the figurine-influenced ideal for a Hellenistic Babylonian woman may have been lacking in variety, it was not lacking in strength or resiliency.

It is important to note that these figurines, and the identities that they convey, are not direct representations or reflections of past social reality. Rather, they actively contribute to the construction of possibilities for social identity – possibilities which may or may not have existed or have been able to come into being. Through these figurines we gain windows into certain

ways in which identity was shaped and the ideals which influenced humans as part of their social lives. These figurine-constructed ideals do not represent all of the possibilities for social identity construction that existed in Hellenistic Babylonia; however they do represent some potential identities that were popular and meaningful for many people. Through the window of the tightly-entangled female terracotta visualizations, we can see a detailed and coherent narrative about female social appearances and female social roles that was being developed and maintained in Hellenistic Babylonia. However, participation in this narrative was only one possible way in which living women could choose to identify themselves socially.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation began with my interest in investigating Greek and Babylonian cross-cultural interaction and social identity formation through the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia. Figurines are a particularly useful object corpus for studying these issues because of their widespread use and accessibility to the people of Hellenistic Babylonian society. As miniature embodiments of the human form, figurines could not only reflect cross-cultural interactions but also reinforce and participate in the exchange of ideas of self-presentation, image, and the visual ideal between members of the Greek and Babylonian cultures. Although not public monuments, figurines were so distributed among and accessible to the members of the public that they had a communal, identity shaping character. Thus, like the more public statuary of other realms of the Hellenistic world, I argue that they shared a role as "cultural forms in their own right, a loci in which and through which Hellenistic men and women came to understand and cope with the circumstances in which they lived…artifacts which the Hellenistic world developed in order to codify, perpetuate, and project its ideas and its values".[396]

Such dynamic, identity-shaping interactions between person and object have been neglected in previous analyses of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines. These studies concentrate instead on creating typologies, in which scholars distinguish "Greek" from "Babylonian" figurines in a somewhat myopic focus on ethnicity-based social division. Although these previous scholars, whose work I reviewed in Chapter 1, have done much to further our understanding of these objects, they have in many cases also codified colonialist assumptions of Greek versus Babylonian antagonism in the figurine corpus. In Chapter 2, I argued that scholarly adherence to these rigid classifications of ethnic division has prevented us from exploring how terracotta figurines can illuminate the complex range of personal identities within Hellenistic Babylonian society.

Beyond Typology

Moving beyond the work of earlier scholars, my dissertation makes two unique contributions to the study of Hellenistic Babylonian terracotta figurines. The first is to highlight the limitations of "typology", which cements figurines into artificial hierarchies by privileging some figurine features over others. Through deconstructing typologies in Chapter 3, my dissertation allows for the methodological substitution of more flexible systems of categorization, which better account for the "real life" ways in which people engage with objects. This new methodology is based on the notion of "bundling": the theoretical concept that each individual figurine is composed of many different features, from the color of the clay to the shape of the arm, that are inseparably "bundled" together to form one unique object. These features, when shared across many different objects, are what people use to create groupings of figurines they consider similar. However, each figurine could simultaneously participate in many different assemblages, all comprised of objects that shared different bundled features: one group sharing clay color, one group sharing arm shape, etc. It is this reality of shifting, mutable affiliations between figurines that my dissertation project accesses by rejecting the use of typologies.

In the introduction to Part II, I propose alternative ways to access these flexible, fluid associations between figurines. This new methodology traces entanglements within the figurine

---

[396] Stewart, 1993b: 200

material, with a particular focus on those associations between figurines that seem to have been trendy or popular in the ancient world. Popular groupings of figurine features most likely bore widely-accepted meanings that were important within large swaths of Hellenistic Babylonian society.   These entanglements were based not only on motif and other visual features, but also on technology, context, and the manner of human-figurine interaction encouraged by the object. By following trendy entanglements in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I begin to access some of the ways in which these figurines operated in society – and through them, learn about how the social identities of their human interlocutors were also being constructed. I approach the interpretation of figurine trends through such theoretically-informed lenses as the social construction of gender, the psychological effect of miniature scale, and the controlling power of the Gaze. I bring these, and other art historical theories, to my interpretations of how each figurine influenced the identity construction of its human user.

Figurines as Participants in Social Identity Construction

The second major contribution of my dissertation is the conclusion, arrived at though the tracing of figurine entanglements, that Hellenistic Babylonian figurines actively participated in social interactions that were organized not only along the lines of Greek vs. Babylonian ethnicity, but also other social roles such as gender, age, class, and profession. In order to explore this conclusion further, I would like to draw out a few examples from my tracing of figurine entanglements in Part II of this dissertation.

"Horserider figurines" is the name of a traditional figurine "type", where all figurines depicting this activity are categorized together and defined as male, by typological association with a few bearded examples. However most figurines depicting horseriders are beardless, and in these examples, often the human faces are too indistinct to make out any clear features. If facial features are shown at all, it is usually only by vague bumps and depressions or, more rarely, by roughly-painted lines and dots. When the limbs of the horse-rider are depicted, they are often either simple, tubularly shaped appliqués resting on the surface of the horse's body, or indistinct ridges that are blended into the horse's side. The body of the rider is sometimes merged into the body of the horse, with no separate legs or arms given to the human at all. In other cases, the rider appears to be attached to a horse body and legs, but with no corresponding horse head. The merging of human and horse features in these figurines is the farthest extreme on a trend of blurring the depiction of bodily details on horserider figurines.

The trend for amorphous bodies in these horserider figurines does not fall exclusively into either a Greek or Babylonian tradition. Horseriding figurines were popular in earlier periods of Babylonian history, especially during the reign of the Persian Empire. Like these Hellenistic period figurines, Persian horseriders were often manufacturing using hand-modeling techniques. However, there are links with the Greek tradition as well. Riders on horseback were a popular motif in Hellenistic statuary. Additionally, the figurine on the left shows the rider wearing a flat-topped hat – an interesting detail considering the lack of specificity for many of this figurine's features. This flat-topped hat is very similar to the kausia, the riding hat of the Macedonian-Greek cavalry. Thus, these horserider figurines exhibit a combination of features from both the Greek and Babylonian traditions.

However, this particular hybrid blending of visual and technological features occurs not only in the amorphous-bodied horseriders, but also in the more detailed, male, horseriding figurines with which they are more distantly associated. Both horseriding figurine trends tap into this Greek-Babylonian cross-culturalism in very similar ways, and therefore any individual

horseriding figurine – regardless of the trend for either detailed bodies or amorphous bodies in which it participates – would have been roughly equal in its ability to express cultural identity. Why then did some horseriding figurines have clearly defined bodily features while others did not?

In other words, if it was *not* a choice between Greek versus Babylonian, then what other identity concerns might these figurines have been speaking to? One possibility derives from the lack of clear gender markers on the amorphous bodies. It is possible that these horseriders were left deliberately "gender unspecified". This interpretation poses a problem in the creation of typologies, in which gender is used as a major binary distinction. However, there is no reason to assume that figurines were always given typologically-fixed gender assignments – as with human beings, the gender identities of figurines could be malleable and fluctuate according to circumstance. For figurines, which do not possess a natural biological sex, the socially-determined nature of their gender assignment is more obvious, and thus potentially more changeable. Gender flexibility can be created, for instance, by removing or obscuring some of the figurine's body parts – denying them facial details or secondary sexual characteristics, as seen in these horseriders. This process of removing or abstracting the features required for the depiction of a corporeal human being highlights the fact that the figurine's body is not a natural, living body – and thus it is open to reconstructions and interpretations. The viewer is then encouraged, or even required, to reconstruct the missing pieces, but with the flexibility that, as the anthropologist Douglass Bailey has noted, "many different whole bodies can be built from the same isolated part and no one reconstructed body need be the correct whole".[397] The flexibility created by the lack of depicted details allows for diversity of human-object engagement, and thus some figurines may have been lacking in gender or sex specific details as a way to create the opportunity for a variety of interactions.

The human interlocutors are therefore allowed to "fill in the blanks". The rider's identity is supplied with details from its possessor's own imagination, and could be differently gendered each time a person interacted with it. In one moment, a woman could interpret the figure as a woman, while in the next moment, a man could pick up the figurine and assume it was a man – or vice versa. However this interaction was not a one-way street. While the human interlocutor could pick and choose the gendered identity that they wished to give this figurine, the figurine itself could also have an impact on the user's identity. For instance, in the process of interacting with an amorphous-bodied horserider, the figurine could reflect some aspects of non-gendered identity back onto the user.

Self-identification between the figurine and the human user would have been encouraged not only by the "blank slate" aspects of the figurine's visual appearance, but also by the handmodeling technique used to create the figurine. The overwhelming majority of Hellenistic Babylonian figurines were moldmade. However, most of the horseriders were made by hand – a manufacturing technique that establishes an inherently more intimate human-object engagement, and one that might have encouraged slippage and elision between the identity of a person and that of his or her figurine.

For instance, if a woman using the figurine identified with the rider, her gender identity could fade into the background - as a less operative or important aspect of her self - while she interacted with the horserider role. Even if not directly identifying with the horserider, viewing such a non-gendered body would allow the woman to see that there were situations - such as

---

[397] Bailey, 2005: 81

horse riding - when it might have been possible for women and men to occupy similar roles without their gendered identities "getting in the way".   Interrogating this figurine trend allows us to get a glimpse of a specific social scenario in Hellenistic Babylonia, where an identity that could cross-cut gender distinctions was both allowed and reinforced through art.

As opposed to the non-gendered associations of amorphous-bodied horseriding figurines, the more detailed male horseriders were connected with other male figurines. Figurines displaying attributes of the male gender were involved in a variety of visualizations –from depictions of nude bearded heroes as mature men, to youthful soldiers and wrestlers, to clothed beardless men, to agile naked boys. Although all of these figurines were entangled through their display of the male gender, they also have remarkable differences from each other – not only in terms of motif and age of the figure, but also in the ways they structure interactions with the human viewer. For instance, these figurines depicting mature bearded heroes generally place the figure on a low plinth or pedestal. These figurines can easily stand alone on their wide bases, giving such figurines a "statue-like" appearance that encourages viewing from a distance and discourages active handling. This statue-like aspect might have been reinforced by the strong visual concordance of these figurines with Greek statues of the god-hero Herakles, who was sometimes shown – like the hero in these figurines – as bearded mature man, leaning on a club, holding a lion pelt. A similar bronze statue of Herakles was found in Hellenistic Babylonia itself.

This similarity to the Greek tradition would seem to suggest that these figurines were evidence for a display of ethnic difference and division. However, these figurines are the only trendy terracottas that have close visual links with Greek mythological figures. Figurines depicting other gods popular in the Hellenistic world, such as Apollo or Dionysos, were vanishingly rare in Hellenistic Babylonia. Why then would figurines associated with Herakles succeed when other gods did not? It is perhaps because of associations with Babylonian traditions of lion hunting heroes, such as those seen in monumental form in a wall relief from an Assyrian palace. While the figurine is more stylistically similar to the Greek statue – sharing features such as a contraposto pose – there are connections with the Babylonian tradition as well. The position of the lion over the figurine's left arm echoes the Assyrian relief, as does the figurine's flat and unmodeled backside. However, the most telling connection is that of motif – both Greek and Babylonian traditions were comfortable with the idea of a bearded lion-hunting hero. In that cultural overlap, figurines of bearded lion hunters flourished. The depictions of this motif in the monumental statuary from both cultural traditions also share the statue-like qualities that were emphasized in the figurines, where features such as a plinth help the ferocious hero keep the human viewer at arm's length.

This distancing of the viewer is a sharp contrast with some other figurines depicting male figures.   For instance, several figurines of young boys not only cannot stand alone – and so must be held in the hand – but also position their limbs away from their bodies. This posture of splayed limbs opens up their bodies to tactile exploration, thus encouraging human caresses. As this example illustrates, a consideration of the tactile possibilities, as well as the visual, is central to my research on these figurines. Through a multisensory analysis, I can examine how the many different features of a figurine intersected to create a particular human-figurine interaction experience. Both these figurines of agile boys, and the figurine of a lion hunting hero on the previous slide, could be grouped together visually through the shared features of male gender and nakedness. However, a comparison of the tactile experiences they encourage indicates that they may have had very different social roles.

The different levels of human-figurine interaction permissible with male gendered figurines shown at different ages may have created distinct meanings about a male person's social roles at different life stages. Taken together, they could point to a spectrum of connected male roles, which one person could progress through during the course of his life – from a boy, to a young man, to an adult. However the large variety of male figurines may also indicate a corresponding assortment of different statuses into which males could be classed. For instance, it is quite possible that the coy, playful boy – whose accessible body implies that he might have been sexually available, as per the Greek social norm – might not have grown up into a bearded mature man, who embodied the attributes of heroic figures, and who was to be respected from a statue-like distance. Thus, while one man may not have been able to assume all identities within a single lifetime, there was a plethora of categories which could be applied to define the identities of men in general. In either case, the figurines construct and present a diversity of male identity within the society of Hellenistic Babylonia – a diversity that was not based in ethnic division between Greeks and Babylonians, but on other social dividing lines such as age and status.

"Greeks" and "Babylonians" in Society

Through an investigation of these trends and entanglements, figurines as an art corpus contribute greatly to our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian communities. One major implication of my research is the recognition that many different kinds of social identity were operational in Hellenistic Babylonia. Ethnic identification of individuals as either "Greek" or "Babylonian" was not the singular – or even the primary – way in which Hellenistic Babylonian society organized itself. Indeed, the trendiest figurines were often those that negotiated a common ground by speaking to both cultural traditions. Such figurines combined techniques, motifs, and visualizations into hybrid, multicultural creations that had the potential to be acceptable and appealing to everyone. In keeping with this preference, there also seems to have been a general avoidance of elements that were exclusive to only one cultural tradition.

As with the non-gendered horseriders, figurines with a lack of ethnicity-specific markers could allow the ethnicities of both the figurines and their users to fade into the background in favor of other kinds of identity considerations. Such figurines could not only participate in new pathways of social meaning-making, but also reshape the identities of their human interlocutors – showing people how to become more than just "Greek" or "Babylonian" by focusing on the commonalities between the two cultures. Thus, through this object-driven analysis, my research reveals a more complicated picture of multivocalic cross-cultural interactions between Greeks and Babylonians than scholars previously thought existed.

Based on these findings, I argue that we need to dramatically rethink our understanding of Hellenistic Babylonian cross-cultural interactions. The scholarly world's focus on determining the political roles, power balances, and social identities of "Greeks" and "Babylonians" in these Hellenistic communities may be misdirected. Rather, in future research on Hellenistic Babylonia, I argue that less emphasis should be placed on ethnicity, and more importance should be placed on investigating the social significance of other identity roles such as age, status or gender. The scholarly contribution of my dissertation is to both begin a broader exploration of identity in Hellenistic Babylonian society, and also to demonstrate how material culture - such as, but not limited to, terracotta figurines - can be used in innovative and theoretically-informed ways to further explore the "hows" and "whys" of identity formation.

Beyond Figurines

Moving forward in the understanding of cross-cultural interaction in Hellenistic Babylonia, I suggest examining different segments of society and the particulars of social interactions as they took place around other sets of objects. For instance, the conclusions reached in this dissertation about the prevalence of cross-cultural exchange in Hellenistic Babylonia as evidenced by terracotta figurines, have also been corroborated in other research I have conducted on a different set of material: Hellenistic Babylonian family trees.[398] Genealogical information concerning elite Babylonian families was often recorded in economic transaction texts – traditional Babylonian documents which were written in cuneiform on clay tablets. The family trees of these elite Babylonians show not only intermarriage with Greek peoples, but also the use of cross-cultural naming practices. Children were given names not only from their father's family, but also from their mother's family, without regard to the Greek or Babylonian heritage of the names.[399]

Like a terracotta figurine, a cuneiform tablet recording an economic transaction also had a social role in actively constructing cross-cultural interaction; however, it did so in a different manner than a figurine might have. A cuneiform tablet brought together specific groups of elite people in one place, at one time, to witness a transaction and impress their seals for verification purposes. Up to 15 or more people were required for some of these tablets to be completed, all of whom had to physically engage with the tablet in the short amount of time (possibly just a few hours) during which the clay remained wet enough to be written on and take legible seal impressions. Unlike figurines, which embodied ideal visualizations of broader social identities, but which could be engaged with in an intimate one-on-one setting, tablets had a more directly public social role in actively assembling groups of people – groups who were often cross-cultural in makeup.

Through research on the economic transactions documented in the cuneiform tablets, as well as the genealogical information they contain, we can see that cross-cultural interaction took place in this specific situation of elite social interaction, as well as the broader class level social interactions evidenced in the terracotta figurines. However, these cross-cultural interactions may have been inflected differently not only because of the limited social strata involved, but also because the interactions were transpiring within the context of a deeply-rooted, exclusively Babylonian tradition (whereas figurines were shared between both cultures). Postcolonial theory operates under the principle that cross-cultural interaction and the hybridity that develops from it never happens the same way twice. This applies not only to different times and places, but different segments of the same society. Only through investigating the complex and multifaceted aspects of differing social interactions – and acknowledging the importance of the differences – will we begin to get a better idea of the dense and richly textured structure of Hellenistic Babylonian society. Objects will play a key role in this. They not only reflect the interactions, but they condition and create them, setting the stage and directing the action.

Moving forward in this and other research on Hellenistic Babylonia, it is imperative that art objects, including terracotta figurines, be the driver of investigations into ancient identity. Art has the power to not only *reflect* its environment, but also to *influence*, through its role as a

---

[398] Research into cross-cultural naming practices in Hellenistic Babylonian family trees is currently being conducted by myself and Dr. Laurie Pearce (University of California, Berkeley). The overarching projects under whose auspices this research was begun are the Berkeley Prosopography Services and HBTIN (Hellenistic Babylonia: Texts, Images, and Names).

[399] Langin-Hooper & Pearce, 2011; Langin-Hooper & Pearce, 2010

co-creator and participant in the social world. When we use an analysis of art, on its own terms, as the generator of research into social identities, it is more likely that we will be able to access ancient realities. This is an especially important consideration when dealing with identity constructions, such as gender, that have been historically fraught in our own world.   We need an alternative to projecting our assumptions about gender identities – such as the strong active male versus the weak passive female – back into the past. Directly interrogating ancient art objects – such as the terracotta figurines – as active participants in the creation of ancient social norms is one productive avenue.

In this way, my research on the cross-cultural interactions and identity constructions in the terracotta figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia opens up into a broader range of intellectual questions. These tap into issues concerning the inherently social nature of art. What are the mechanisms by which active elements in art of are set in motion? What was the role of the artist in conditioning the human-object connection? How might multicultural figurines have been deployed as bearers of other concerns, such as social memory? Through investigating these questions in an object-driven analysis, we can begin to build an even more detailed picture of life in Hellenistic Babylonian communities. In this ancient social world, figurines were powerful and meaningful forms of artistic expression, with the potential to mediate and direct cross-cultural interaction. By investigating the multicultural and complex social lives of these terracotta figurines, we can begin to better understand the Hellenistic Babylonian people who made and used them.

REFERENCES

Adams, William & Ernest Adams. <u>Archaeological Typology and Practical Reality: A Dialectical Approach to Artifact Classification and Sorting</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991.

Alcock, Susan. "Surveying the Peripheries of the Hellenistic World," in Bilde, Engberg-Pedersen, Hannestad, Zahle, and Randsborg (eds) <u>Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World</u>, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus, 1993.

Asher-Greve, Julia. "The Essential Body: Mesopotamian Conceptions of the Gendered Body," *Gender & History*, Vol. 9 No. 3, Nov. 1997. pp. 432-461.

Bahrani, Zainab. <u>Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia</u>, Routledge, London, 2000.

Bailey, Douglass. <u>Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic</u>, Routledge, London & New York, 2005.

Barrelet, Marie-Therese. <u>Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique, I. Potiers, Termes de Métier, Procédés de Fabrication et Production</u>, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1968.

Barrett, J. "Towards an Archaeology of Ritual," Garwood, Jennings, Skeates, & Toms (eds): <u>Sacred and Profane</u>, 1991. pp.1-9.

Bhabha, Homi. "Postmodernism/Postcolonialism," in Nelson & Shiff (eds): <u>Critical Terms for Art History, Second Edition</u>, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 2003. pp. 435-451.

Bhabha, Homi. <u>The Location of Culture</u>, Routledge, London, 1994.

Bourdieu, Pierre. <u>Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste</u> (Translated by Richard Nice), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984.

Bowker, Geoffrey & Susan Star. <u>Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences</u>, The MIT Press, Cambridge (MA) & London, 1999.

Butler, Judith. <u>Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"</u>, Routledge, New York & London, 1993.

Conkey, Margaret and Joan Gero. "From Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26, 1997. pp. 411–437.

Conkey, Margaret and Joan Gero. "Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory," in Conkey and Gero (eds): <u>Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory</u>, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford & Cambridge, 1991. pp. 3-30.

Curtis, John & Nigel Tallis (eds): Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 2005.

Dalley, Stephanie. Myths From Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others (A New Translation by Stephanie Dalley), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

de Beauchamp, Abbé. "Mémoire sur les Antiquités babyloniennes qui se trouvent aux environs de Bagdad," *Journal des Scavans*, Dec. 1790.

de Brauw, Michael. "'Listen to the Laws Themselves:' Citations of Laws and Portrayal of Character in Attic Oratory, *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 97, No. 2, Dec, 2001 – Jan. 2002. pp. 161-176

de Certeau, Michel. The practice of everyday life (translated by Steven Rendall), University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984.

de Genouillac, Henri. Fouilles françaises d'El-'Akhymer; Premières Recherches archéologiques à Kich; mission d'Henri de Genouillac 1911-1912, É. Champion, Paris, 1924-25.

De Long, A.J. "Phenomoenological space-time: toward an experiential relativity," *Science*, August 7, 1981. pp.681-682.

Dobres, Marcia-Anne & John Robb. Agency in Archaeology, Routledge, London & New York, 2000.

Dupré, John. The Disorder of Things: Metaphysical Foundations of the Disunity of Science, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1993.

Feldman, Marian. "Beyond Iconography: Meaning-Making in Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean Visual and Material Culture," forthcoming.

Feldman, Marian. "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," in Steadman & Ross (eds): Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward, Equinox, London, 2010. pp. 149-165.

Flax, Jane. "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12(4), 1987. pp. 621-643.

Friedman, J. "Global system, globalization and the parameters of modernization," in Featherstone, Lash & Robertson (eds): Global Modernities, SAGE Publications (Theory, Culture and Society series), London, 1995. pp. 69-90.

Gardner, Andrew. "Introduction: Social Agency, Power, and Being Human," in Gardner (ed): Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human, University College London Press, London, 2004. pp. 1-15.

Gero, Joan. "Honoring Ambiguity/Problematizing Certitude," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 3. pp. 311-327.

Gosden, Chris. Archaeology and Colonialism, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

Gosden, Chris. "Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge," in Hodder (ed): Archaeological Theory Today, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001. pp. 241-261.

Gosden, Chris & Y. Marshall. "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology: The Cultural Biography of Objects*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, 1999. pp.169-178.

Green, Peter. Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1990.

Haraway, Donna. Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature, Routledge, New York, 1991.

Heuzey, Léon. Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre, Librairies-imprimeries reunites, Paris, 1882.

Higgins, Reynold. Tanagra and the Figurines, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986.

Higgins, Reynold. Greek Terracottas, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1967.

Higgins, Reynold. Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London, 1954.

Hill, J.N. and R.K. Evans. "A Model for Classification and Typology," in D.L. Clarke (ed.): Models in Archaeology, Methuen, London, 1972. pp. 231-274.

Hilprecht, Hermann. The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, Department of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1904.

Hingley, Richard. Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: the imperial origins of Roman archaeology, Routledge, London and New York, 2000.

Hodder, Ian & Hutson, Scott. Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003. pp. 6-10.

Invernizzi, Antonio. "La petite sculpture," in André-Salvini (ed): Babylone: À Babylone, d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Musée du Louvre Éditions, Paris, 2008. pp. 264-272.

Invernizzi, Antonio. "Introduzione all'Arte dell'Asia Ellenizzata," Sulla Via Di Alessandro da Seleucia al Gandhara, Silvana Editoriale, Milano, 2007. pp. 129-133.

Invernizzi, Antonio. 'Terracotta Figurines', in Invernizzi, Negro, Mancini, & Valtz (eds): "Seleucia on the Tigris," <u>The Land Between Two Rivers: Twenty Years of Italian Archaeology in the Middle East; The Treasures of Mesopotamia</u>, Il Quadrante Edizioni, Turin, 1985. pp. 97-99.

Invernizzi, Antonio. "Problemi di coroplastica tardo-mesopotamica III," *Mesopotamia*, Vol. 5-6, 1970-1971. pp.325-389.

Jay, N. "Gender and Dichotomy: Male Theories of Power," in Gunew (ed): <u>A Reader in Feminist Knowledge</u>, Routledge, New York, 1991. pp. 89-106.

Jordan, Julius. <u>Uruk-Warka, nach dem ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-gesellschaft</u>, WVDOG 51, J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1928.

Just, Roger. <u>Women in Athenian Law and Life</u>, Routledge, London & New York, 1989.

Karvonen-Kannas, Kerttu. <u>The Seleucid and Parthian Terracotta Figurines from Babylon</u>, Casa Editrice Le Lettere, Firenze, 1995.

Keane, Webb. "On the Materiality of Religion," *Material Religion in Conversation*, Vol. 4, Issue 2, 2008. pp. 230-231

Keane, Webb. "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things," in Miller (ed): <u>Materiality</u>, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2005. pp. 182-205.

Klengel-Brandt, Evelyn. <u>Apotropäische Tonfiguren aus Assur</u>, Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1968.

Klengel-Brandt, Evelyn & Nadja Cholidis. <u>Die Terrakotten von Babylon im Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin, Teil 1: Die Anthropomorphen Figuren</u>, Saarländische Druckerei & Verlag, Saarwellingen, 2006.

Knappett, Carl. "The Neglected Networks of Material Agency: Artefacts, Pictures, and Texts," in Knappett & Malafouris (eds): <u>Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach</u>, Springer, Berlin, 2008. pp. 139-156.

Koerner, Joseph & Lisbet Rausing. "Value," in Nelson & Shiff (eds): <u>Critical Terms for Art History, Second Edition</u>, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 2003. pp. 419-434.

Koldewey, Robert. <u>Das wieder erstehende Babylon; die bisherigen ergebnisse der deutschen ausgrabungen,</u> J.C Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1925.

Kose, A. <u>Uruk Architektur IV: Von der Seleukiden- bis zur Sasanidenzeit</u>, AUWE 17, 1998.

Kuhrt, Amelie. The Ancient Near East, c. 3000-330 BC Volume II, Routledge, London and New York, 1995.

Lacan, J. Ecrits (translated by A. Sheridan), Tavistock, London, 1977.

Landels, John. Music in Ancient Greece and Rome, Routledge, New York & London, 1999.

Langdon, Susan. "Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 105, No. 4, Oct. 2001. pp. 579-606.

Langin-Hooper, Stephanie. "Social Networks and Cross-Cultural Interaction: A New Interpretation of the Female Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylon," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 26, Issue 2, May 2007. pp. 145-165.

Langin-Hooper, Stephanie. "The Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines of Babylonia: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Interpretation," unpublished Masters of Philosophy Thesis in World Archaeology, University of Oxford, 2005.

Langin-Hooper, Stephanie & Laurie Pearce. "Papponymy, Mammonymy, and Cultural Identification: Clues from the Onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk," unpublished paper presented at the 2011 American Oriental Society Annual Meeting, "Ancient Near East II: Law, Economy, and Society" Session, Chicago, March 11, 2011.

Langin-Hooper, Stephanie & Laurie Pearce. "Greek and/or Babylonian? Maternal-Line Names and Multicultural Identities in Hellenistic Uruk," unpublished paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, "Archaeology of Gender" Session, Atlanta, November 18, 2010

Legrain, Leon. Terra-cottas from Nippur (University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. XVI), University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1930.

Loftus, William. Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana : with an account of excavations at Warka, the "Erech" of Nimrod, and Shush, "Shushan the Palace" of Esther, in 1849-52, under the orders of Major-General Sir William of Kars and also of the Assyrian excavation fund in 1853-4, Robert Carter & Brothers, New York, 1857.

Markus, Hazel R. & Shinobu Kitayama. "Models of Agency: Sociocultural Diversity in the Construction of Agency," in Murphy-Berman and Berman (eds): Cross-Cultural Differences in Perspectives on the Self: The 49th Annual Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2004. pp. 1-57.

Markus, Hazel R. & Shinobu Kitayama. "Culture, Self, and the Reality of the Social," *Psychological Inquiry*, Vol. 14, 2003. pp. 277-283.

Mathiesen, Thomas. <u>Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages</u>, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1999.

Mattick, Jr., Paul. "Context," in Nelson & Shiff (eds): <u>Critical Terms for Art History, Second Edition</u>, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 2003. pp. 110-127.

McDowell, R.H. "The Excavations at Seleucia on the Tigris," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* Vol. XVIII, 1932 (1933). pp. 101-119.

Menegazzi, Roberta. "La Coroplastica della Mesopotamia Ellenizzata," <u>Sulla Via Di Alessandro da Seleucia al Gandhara</u>, Silvana Editoriale, Milano, 2007. pp. 129-133.

Meskell, Lynn. <u>Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present</u>, Berg Publishers, Oxford & New York, 2004.

Messina, Vito. "Seleucia al Tigri," <u>Sulla Via Di Alessandro da Seleucia al Gandhara</u>, Silvana Editoriale, Milano, 2007. pp. 107-115.

Miller, Daniel. <u>Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.

Moorey, P.R.S. "Novelty and Tradition in Achaemenid Syria: The Case of the Clay 'Astarte Plaques'," *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. XXXVII, 2002. pp. 203-218.

Morrison, Kathleen. "Coercion, resistance, and hierarchy: local processes and imperial strategies in the Vijayanagara empire," in Alcock, D'Altroy, Morrison, and Sinopoli (eds) <u>Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen*, Vol. 16, Issue 3, 1975.

Needham, R. "Percussion and Transition," *Man*, Vol. 2, 1967. pp.606-614.

Newby, Zahra. <u>Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue</u>, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005.

Nochlin, Linda. <u>Women, Art, and Power : and Other Essays</u>, Harper & Row, New York, 1988.

Olin, Margaret. "Gaze," in Nelson & Shiff (eds): <u>Critical Terms for Art History, Second Edition</u>, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 2003. pp. 318-329.

Osborne, Robin. "Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West," in Fisher & van Weeds (eds): <u>Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence</u>, Duckworth, London, 1998.

Pallis, Svend. <u>The antiquity of Iraq; a handbook of Assyriology</u>, E. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1956.

Parmentier, R.J. "The Pragmatic Semiotics of Cultures," *Semiotica: Journal of the International Association for Semiotic Studies*, Volume 116-1, 1997. pp. 1-114.

Peters, John P. Nippur, or, Explorations and adventures on the Euphrates, the narrative of the University of Pennsylvania expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888-1890, G. P. Putnam's sons, London & New York, 1897.

Pollock, Griselda. "The Visual," in Eagleton (ed): A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory, Blackwell Publishing, Malden (MA), 2003. pp.173-194.

Pollock, Griselda. Vision and Difference: Feminism, femininity, and the histories of art, Routledge, London & New York, 1988.

Price, Simon. "The History of the Hellenistic Period", in Boardman, Griffin, and Murray (eds) The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988.

Pultz, J. Photography and the Body, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1995.

Rostovtzeff, M. Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art, Yale Classical Studies Vol. 5, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1935.

Roth, Martha T. "Age at Marriage and the Household: A Study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Forms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Oct. 1987. pp. 715-747

Said, Edward. Orientalism, Penguin Books Ltd., Middlesex, 1978.

Savan, D. *An Introduction to C.S. Peirce's Full System of Semeiotic*, Toronto Semiotic Circle, Toronto, 1988.

Scott, Joan Wallach. Gender and the Politics of History, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988.

Sherwin-White, Susan. "Seleucid Babylonia: a case-study for the installation and development of Greek rule," in Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (eds): Hellenism in the East, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1987. pp. 1-31.

Shipley, Graham. The Greek World After Alexander: 323 – 30 BC, Routledge, London & New York, 2000.

Smith, R.R.R. "Kings and Philosophers," in Bulloch, Gruen, Long, and Stewart (eds): Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993. pp. 202-211.

Smith, R.R.R. Hellenistic Sculpture, Thames and Hudson Ltd., London, 1991.

Spivak, G. In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics, Routledge, London, 1987.

Star, Susan & James Griesemer. "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations', and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39," *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 19, 1989. pp. 387-420.

Stewart, Andrew. Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.

Stewart, Andrew. Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1993a.

Stewart, Andrew. "Introduction," in Bulloch, Gruen, Long, and Stewart (eds): Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993b. pp. 199-201.

Stol, M. "Women in Mesopotamia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. 38, No. 2, 1995. pp. 123-144 .

----   Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures (The New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text, The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia & Jerusalem, 1985.

Thomas, Nicholas. Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture, Thames and Hudson, London, 1999.

Uhlenbrock, Jaimee. The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World, Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, New Rochelle (NY), 1990.

Valtz, Elisabetta. "Pottery and Exchanges: Imports and Local Production at Seleucia-Tigris," in Invernizzi & Salles (eds): Arabia Antiqua: Hellenistic Centers Around Arabia, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 1993. pp. 167-182.

Valtz, E. "Trench on the East Side of the Archives Square (Seleucia, 14th Season)," Mesopotamia, Vol. 25, 1990. pp. 13-25.

Valtz, E. "Trench on the East Side of the Archives Square (Seleucia, 13th Season)," Mesopotamia, Vol. 23, 1988. pp. 19-29.

Valtz, E. "Trench on the East Side of the Archives Square (Seleucia, 12th Season)," *Mesopotamia*, Vol. 21, 1986. pp. 11-20

Van Buren, E. Douglas. Foundation Figurines and Offerings, H. Schoetz & Co., Berlin, 1931.

Van Buren, E. Douglas. Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.

Van der Spek, R.J. "The Astronomical Diaries as a Source for Achaemenid and Seleucid History," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 50 (1993), 91-101.

Van der Spek, R.J. "The Babylonian City," in Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (eds): Hellenism in the East, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1987. pp. ??

Van Dommelen, Peter. "Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean" in Gosden, C. (ed) *World Archaeology: Cultural Contact and Colonialism*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Feb., 1997.

Van Ingen, Wilhelmina. Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris: Discovered by the Expeditions Conducted by the University of Michigan with the Cooperation of the Toledo Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art 1927-1932, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1939.

Walbank, F.W. The Hellenistic World, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA), 1981.

Watelin, L. & S. Langdon. Excavations at Kish; the Herbert Weld (for the University of Oxford) and Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) expedition to Mesopotamia 1925-1930, vol. IV, P. Geuthner, 1934.

Whitley, James. The Archaeology of Ancient Greece, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001.

Winter, Irene. "Aesthetics in Ancient Mesopotamian Art," in Sasson (ed): Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Volumes III and IV, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody (MA), 1995. pp. 2569-2582.

Woolf, Greg. Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.

Wylie, Alison. "Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record: Why Is There No Archaeology of Gender?" in Conkey and Gero (eds): Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford & Cambridge, 1991. pp. 31-54.

Zanker, Paul. The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity (translated by Alan Shapiro), University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995.

Zanker, Paul. "The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna: Identity and Self-image in the Polis," in Bulloch, Gruen, Long, and Stewart (eds): Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993. pp. 212-231.

Ziegler, Charlotte. Die Terrakotten von Warka (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka Band 6), Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1962.

APPENDIX I: LIST OF ALL FIGURINES MENTIONED AND CONCORDANCE WITH PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Babylon (BA)

AO1493	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 243
AO1495	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 611
AO1496	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 187
AO1496a	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 2
AO1502	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 47
AO1503	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 14
AO24673	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 15
AO24674	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 220
AO24677	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 319
AO24678	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 409
AO24680	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 52
AO24683	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 318
AO24685	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 219
AO24687	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 221
AO24688	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 50
AO24695	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 54
AO24697	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 46
AO24699	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 138
AO24700	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 215
AO24703	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 144
AO24704	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 238
AO24705	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 232
AO24706	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 239
AO24711	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 210
AO24712	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 13
AO24713	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 234
AO24716	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 233
AO24717	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 139
AO24723	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 230
AO24724	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 612
AO24726	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 407
AO24727	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 12
AO25765	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 83
AO25926	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 261
AO25928	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 212
AO25958	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 84
AO26026	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 235
AO26530	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 227
AO2977	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 192
BM91799	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 218
BM91800	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 134
BM91814	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 214

BM91894	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 60
BM48-8-29-4	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 10
BM51-10-9-105=91846	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 61
BM68-6-2-2=120452	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 55
BM68-6-2-3	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 56
BM68-6-2-9	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 82
BM68-6-2-11	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 191
BM76-11-17-2400=92277	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 416
BM76-11-17-2405=91856	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 67
BM78-8-29-7=92216	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 242
BM80-6-17-1695	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 412
BM80-6-17-1696	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 286
BM80-6-17-1697=91794	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 326
BM80-6-17-1701	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 58
BM80-6-17-1702	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 76
BM80-6-17-1703	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 410
BM80-6-17-1705	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 381
BM80-6-17-1708	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 354
BM80-6-17-1709	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 240
BM80-6-17-1712	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 224
BM80-6-17-1713=92215	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 1
BM80-6-17-1937=91849	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 19
BM80-11-12-1905	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 74
BM80-11-12-1906	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 229
BM80-11-12-1907	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 289
BM80-11-12-1908	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 26
BM80-11-12-1911	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 247
BM80-11-12-1918	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 446
BM80-11-12-1920	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 282
BM80-11-12-1922	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 24
BM80-11-12-1924A	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 237
BM80-11-12-1936	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 345
BM80-11-12-1955/1957/ 1958/1994=118426	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 244
BM81-3-24-345	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 392
BM81-3-24-346	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 452
BM81-3-24-349	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 424
BM81-4-28-941	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 398
BM81-4-28-945	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 48
BM81-4-28-946	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 304
BM81-4-28-948	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 3
BM81-4-28-949	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 22
BM81-4-28-950	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 281
BM81-4-28-951	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 413
BM81-4-28-952=118757	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 236
BM81-4-28-953	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 59

BM81-4-28-958	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 331
BM81-7-1-3368=121212	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 53
BM81-11-3-11	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 330
BM81-11-3-13=91788	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 175
BM81-11-3-20	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 223
BM81-11-3-21	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 77
BM81-11-3-25	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 393
BM81-11-3-1876	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 75
BM81-11-3-1880	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 23
BM81-11-3-1885	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 213
BM84-2-11-581	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 197
BM84-2-11-582	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 198
BM84-2-11-583	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 199
BM84-2-11-584	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 200
BM84-2-11-585	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 201
BM84-2-11-586	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 202
BM84-2-11-587	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 203
BM84-2-11-588	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 204
BM84-2-11-589	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 205
BM1901-7-13-1900=94344	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 51
BMRmIV473=91809	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 317
BMRmIV474	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 283
BMSp.III 13+=91797	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 231
BMSp.III 15+=91807	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 329
BMSp.III 16+=91817	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 320
BMSp.III 17+=91798	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 228
BMSp.III 21+=91789	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 255
BMSp.III 23+	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 222
BMSp.III 24+	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 277
BMSp.III 39+=127336	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 284
BMSp.III 40+	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 21
BMSp.III 47+=127337	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 287
IM30385	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 265
IM42125	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 399
IM93093	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 298
IM93192	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 382
IM93196	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 300
IM93197	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 343
IM93201	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 257
IM93211	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 305
IM93213	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 263
IM93223	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 4
IM93231	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 258
IM93238	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 421
IM93239	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 418
IM93245	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 394

IM93248	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 328
IM93254	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 453
IM93261	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 137
IM93287	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 292
IM93289	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 27
IM93303	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 395
IM93309	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 16
IM93349	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 307
IM93362	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 288
IM93369	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 133
IM93370	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 294
IM93405	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 386
IM93421	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 69
IM93439	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 17
IM93442	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 469
IM93445	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 420
IM93457	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 89
IM93463	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 406
IM93469	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 342
IM93476	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 296
IM93481	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 5
IM93491	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 241
IM93498	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 253
IM93499	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 142
IM93500	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 135
IM93510	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 293
IM93633	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 256
IM93897	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 303
IM93958	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 297
IM93960	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 302
IM94057	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 295
IM94278	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 254
IM94682	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 301
IM94880	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 279
IM94896	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 262
IM94897	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 327
IM94902	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 157
IM94904	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 206
IM94905	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 332
IM94908	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 141
IM94919	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 62
IM94921	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 264
IM94922	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 346
IM94929	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 299
IM94942	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 136
IM94946	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 280

IM94951	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 6
IM94969	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 278
IMBab.-23/1980	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 405
IMBab.-277	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 7
IMBab.-497	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 306
Louvre MNB 1840	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 194

Borsippa (BO)

BM80-11-12-BN 1951/ 1952/1953/1954	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 245
BM80-11-12-1934	
BM82-3-23-5099	
BM82-3-23-5186	
BM BN 1	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 248
BM BN 2	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 250
BM BN 3	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 251
BM BN 4	Karvonen-Kannas, 1995: Figure 252

Kish (K)

FM156905	
FM228777	
FM228789	
FM229633	

Nippur (N)

CBS1930	Legrain, 1930: Figure 149
CBS1952	Legrain, 1930: Figure 110
CBS1953	Legrain, 1930: Figure 86
CBS1954	Legrain, 1930: Figure 135
CBS1955	Legrain, 1930: Figure 131
CBS1960	Legrain, 1930: Figure 109
CBS1968	Legrain, 1930: Figure 90
CBS2766	Legrain, 1930: Figure 92
CBS2856	Legrain, 1930: Figure 82
CBS2858	Legrain, 1930: Figure 116
CBS3495	Legrain, 1930: Figure 137
CBS3509	Legrain, 1930: Figure 77
CBS3510	Legrain, 1930: Figure 85
CBS4927	Legrain, 1930: Figure 129
CBS6313	Legrain, 1930: Figure 81
CBS7054	Legrain, 1930: Figure 75
CBS8999	Legrain, 1930: Figure 272
CBS9449	Legrain, 1930: Figure 127
CBS9450	Legrain, 1930: Figure 126

CBS9451	Legrain, 1930: Figure 119
CBS9453	Legrain, 1930: Figure 123
CBS9456	Legrain, 1930: Figure 47
CBS9472	Legrain, 1930: Figure 91
CBS12242	Legrain, 1930: Figure 265
CBS12291	Legrain, 1930: Figure 83
CBS12418	Legrain, 1930: Figure 150
CBS12421	Legrain, 1930: Figure 133
CBS12422	Legrain, 1930: Figure 136
CBS12423	Legrain, 1930: Figure 108
CBS12425	Legrain, 1930: Figure 107
CBS15438	Legrain, 1930: Figure 84
CBS15439	Legrain, 1930: Figure 76
CBS15449	
CBS15452	Legrain, 1930: Figure 111
CBS15457	Legrain, 1930: Figure 124
CBS15459	Legrain, 1930: Figure 132
CBS15480	Legrain, 1930: Figure 264
CBS15486	Legrain, 1930: Figure 263
CBS15487	Legrain, 1930: Figure 267
CBS16671	Legrain, 1930: Figure 115
Photograph No. 361	Legrain, 1930: Figure 120

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (ST)

B3835	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 246
B4004	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 56
B4005	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 200
B4078	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 693
B4119	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 808
B4180	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 392
B4487	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 107
B4491	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 841
B4648	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 37b
B4667	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 383
B4769	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 98
B4825	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 792
B5014	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 539
B5077	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 353
B5444	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 357b
B5445	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 502h
B5469	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 327
B5836	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 842
B5902	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 202
B6018	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 310
B6065	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 387

B6126	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 286
B6212	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 73
B6262	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 388
B6331	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 370a
B6361	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 227
B6446	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 850
B6482	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 381
B6485	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 743
B6674	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 717
B6679	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 600
B6859	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 14
B6861	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 734c
B6921	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 80
B6927	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 458
B7026	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 814
B7122	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 413c
B7127	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 185
B7138	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 736
B7193	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 706a
B7216	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 800a
B16934	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 251
B16974	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 827
B16984	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 42
B17101	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 446
B17033	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 727
B17036	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 312a
B17072	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 773
B17082	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 475
B17378	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 729
B17787	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 726
B27910	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 256
B27912	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 60
B27913	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 856
C32.544	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 538
M14001	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 811
M14005	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 590
M14013	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 505
M14017	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 462
M14038	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 67
M14096	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 713
M14098	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 101
M14105	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 785
M14117	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 405
M14128	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 694
M14129	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 1
M14139	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 311b

M14143	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 44
M14146	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 700a
M14159	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 316a
M14184	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 187d
M14205	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 179
M14210	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 484
M14224	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 365f
M14240	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 273
M14243	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 346
M14266	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 496
M14273	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 355
M14278	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 53
M14298	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 103
M14322	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 407
M14330	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 263
M14341	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 751a
M14343	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 704
M14350	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 741
M14405	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 823
M14416	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 404
M14424-M14432	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 36
M14488	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 303a
M14496	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 493
M14518	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 18c
M14520	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 54
M14521	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 376
M14536	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 592
M14542	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 199
M14578	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 770
M14634	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 400
M14644	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 2
M14667	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 442a
M14690	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 402a
M14866	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 712
M14882	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 372
M14884	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 241a
M14885	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 509
M15000	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 7
M15009	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 15
M15013	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 38b
M15016	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 840
M15018	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 9
M15019	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 82
M15024	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 75
M15031	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 33
M15037	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 24c

M15043	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 74
M15045	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 94a
M15047	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 95
M15051	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 108
M15063	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 86
M15068	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 13d
M15071	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 21a
M15077	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 26b
M15083-15204	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 589
M15118	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 175
M15122	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 201
M15125	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 211
M15132	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 49
M15134	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 51b
M15135	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 45
M15137	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 65
M15155	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 796b
M15160	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 57
M15179	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 584
M15181	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 432c
M15185	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 540a
M15188	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 568
M15196	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 555
M15217	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 503
M15219	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 578
M15226	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 742
M15279	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 855
M15544	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 252c
M15546	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 254
M15568	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 289
M15581-15851	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 812
M15592	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 293
M15594	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 434
M15602	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 330
M15603	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 336
M15609	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 331
M15613	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 305
M15620	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 207
M15627	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 313b
M15642	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 352
M15643	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 306
M15646	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 438a
M15647	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 307b
M15649	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 466e
M15653	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 445
M15653-16106	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 295a

M15654	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 469a
M15656	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 470
M15662	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 430b
M15664	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 399
M15673	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 94e
M15676	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 77c
M15678	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 476
M15679	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 707
M15702	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 401
M15706	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 421
M15710	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 471b
M15711	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 397b
M15721	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 406
M15801	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 506
M15834	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 468
M15848	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 849
M15872	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 836
M15875	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 695
M15890	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 780
M15897	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 691a
M15914	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 384b
M15962	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 429d
M16059	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 32
M16068	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 419a
M16071	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 226
M16075	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 429h
M16091	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 750
M16098	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 853
M16116	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 772
M16116-14053	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 457
M16121	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 692
M16124	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 55
M16126	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 363b
M16133	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 459c
M16136	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 364
M16144	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 839
M16152	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 389
M16157	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 183
M16161	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 825
M16164	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 807
M16165	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 467
M16218	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 43
M16222	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 599b
M16235	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 701
M16237	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 377
M16257	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 437

M16265	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 204
M16267	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 816
M16272A	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 737
M16326	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 820a
M16358	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 158b
M16398	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 59a
M16425	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 631
M16433	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 465
M16444	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 620a
M16451	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 214
M16463	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 844
M16475	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 191c
M16485	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 508c
M16486	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 790
M16492	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 541
M16496	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 517
M16516	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 483
M16548	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 271
M16560	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 838
T29.95	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 266
T29.96	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 426
T29.99	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 312b
T30.147	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 673c
T30.148	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 382
T30.149	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 720
T4281	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 208
T6917	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 375
T8732	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 485
T11972	Van Ingen, 1939: Figure 356b

Uruk (U)

BM51-1-1-89=91812	
BM51-1-1-102	
BM 51-1-1-105	
BM51-1-1-107	
BM51-1-1-108	
BM51-1-1-112	
BM51-1-1-113	
BM51-1-1-114	
BM56-9-3-227	
BM56-9-3-230	
BM91813	
CBS8956	Legrain, 1930: Figure 46
W30	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 817 (Abb. 470)
W80	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 726 (Abb. 399)

W301	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 721 (Abb. 395)
W402	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 642 (Abb. 337)
W549	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 678 (Abb. 359)
W1592	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 755 (Abb. 418a,b)
W1601a	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 651 (Abb. 346)
W1609a	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 834 (Abb. 485)
W2099	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 648 (Abb. 343)
W2787	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 864 (Abb. 497)
W3865	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 666 (Abb. 355)
W4315	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 743 (Abb. 414)
W4677	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 652 (Abb. 347)
W5177	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 775 (Abb. 431)
W5213	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 763 (Abb. 424)
W5652	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 841 (Abb. 486)
W5751	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 645 (Abb. 340)
W6173	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 782 (Abb. 436)
W6411a	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 656 (Abb. 348)
W6411c	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 658 (Abb. 350)
W6412	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 756 (Abb. 419)
W6413	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 766 (Abb. 426)
W6478	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 712 (Abb. 388)
W6497	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 663 (Abb. 353)
W6526	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 710 (Abb. 387)
W6527	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 664 (Abb. 354)
W6529	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 818 (Abb. 471)
W6531	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 661 (Abb. 352)
W6634	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 650 (Abb. 345)
W6688	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 771 (Abb. 429)
W7004	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 779 (Abb. 435)
W7193	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 676 (Abb. 357a,b)
W8145	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 842 (Abb. 487)
W8198	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 848 (Abb. 488)
W8256	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 849 (Abb. 489)
W8810	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 718 (Abb. 393)
W10657	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 692 (Abb. 370)
W12101	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 680 (Abb. 360)
W12664	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 751 (Abb. 416a,b)
W12786	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 814 (Abb. 467)
W12848	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 752 (Abb. 417)
W13193	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 691 (Abb. 369a,b)
W13446	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 695 (Abb. 373)
W13506	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 742 (Abb. 413)
W13692a	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 816 (Abb. 469)
W13764	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 776 (Abb. 432)
W14352a,b	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 759 (Abb. 422)
W14536	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 647 (Abb. 342)

W14773	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 722 (Abb. 396)
W14927	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 784 (Abb. 438)
W15044	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 727 (Abb. 400)
W15106	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 707 (Abb. 385)
W15257	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 741 (Abb. 412a,b)
W15272b	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 677 (Abb. 358)
W15430	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 634 (Abb. 330)
W15599	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 725 (Abb. 398)
W15630	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 713 (Abb. 389)
W15907	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 646 (Abb. 341)
W15918	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 819 (Abb. 472)
W15924f	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 778 (Abb. 434a,b)
W16247a	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 684 (Abb. 364)
W16378	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 777 (Abb. 433)
W16459	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 757 (Abb. 420)
W16533	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 774 (Abb. 430)
W16539	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 633 (Abb. 329 a,b)
W16540	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 765 (Abb. 425)
W16880	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 833 (Abb. 484)
W17414	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 636 (Abb. 332)
W17537	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 657 (Abb. 349)
W17597	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 490 (Abb. 853)
W17836d	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 668 (Abb. 356)
W17876	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 770 (Abb. 428 a,b)
W18084	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 767 (Abb. 427)
W18157	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 682 (Abb. 362)
W18277	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 635 (Abb. 331)
W18292	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 706 (Abb. 384)
W18423	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 681 (Abb. 361)
W18424	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 644 (Abb. 339)
W18658	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 694 (Abb. 372)
WA14	Ziegler, 1962: Figure 815 (Abb. 468)

APPENDIX 2: FIGURES

Babylon Figurines

AO1493

Height: 31.5 cm

Width: 25 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO1496

Height: 10.1 cm

Width: 6.8 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO1496a

Height: 14.8 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24673

Height: 15.3 cm

Width: 4.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24674

Height: 8.4 cm

Width: 5.3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24677

Height: 11.5 cm

Width: 3.9 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24678

Height: 20 cm

Width: 9.6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
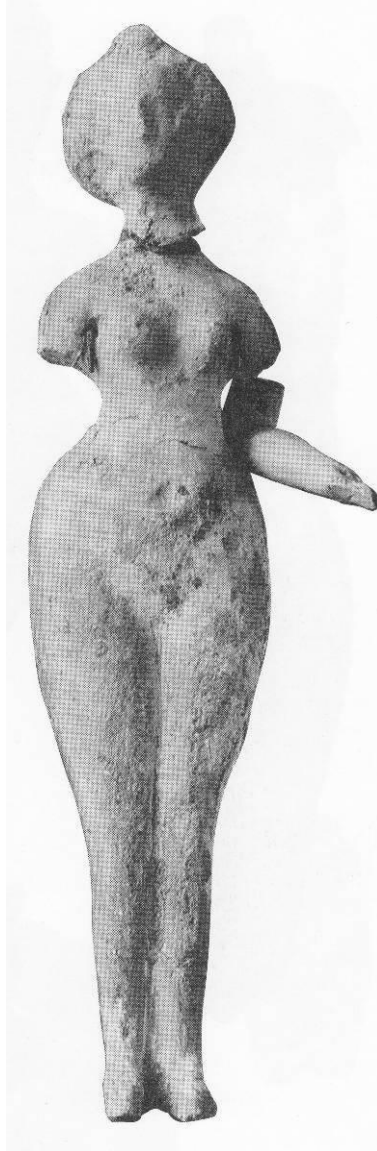
AO24680

Height: 25 cm

Width: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
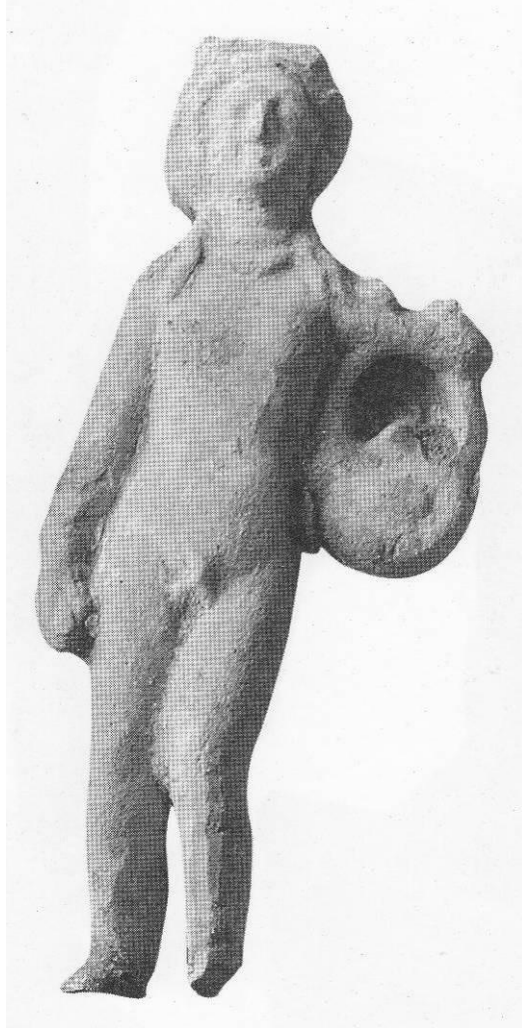
AO24683

Height: 14.5 cm

Width: 6.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
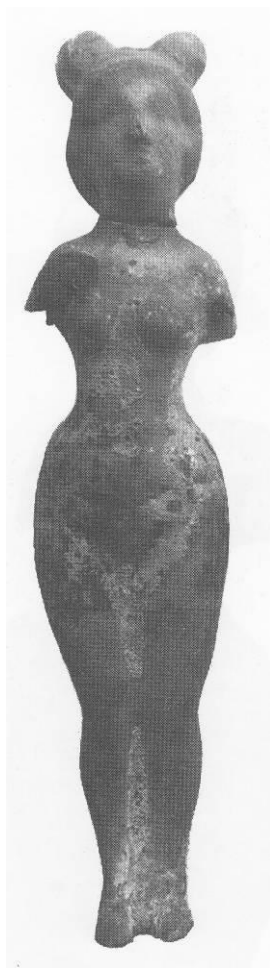
AO24695

Height: 21.5 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
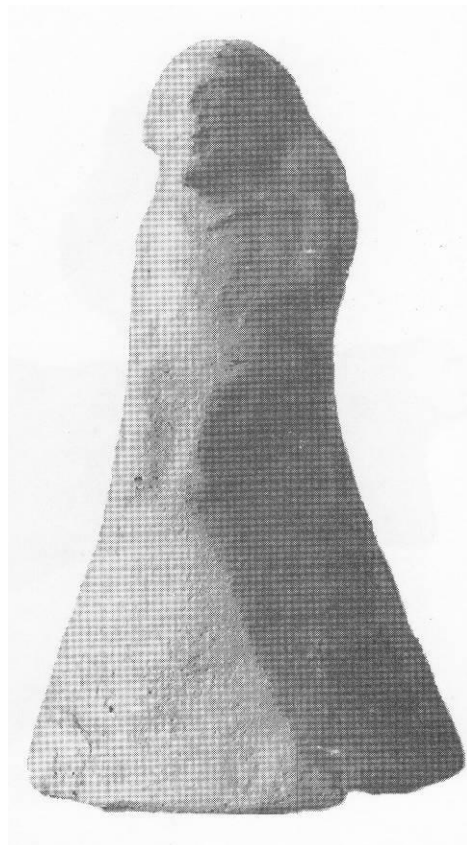
AO24699

Height: 13 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
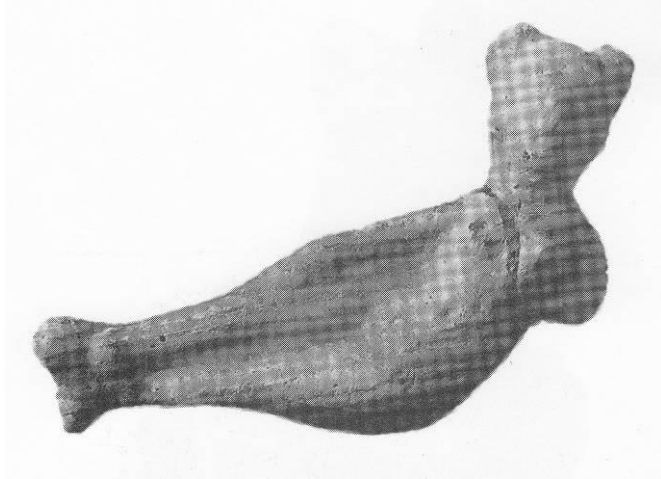
AO24703

Height: 7 cm

Width: 9.6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24706

Height: 12.6 cm

Width: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24711

Height: 15 cm

Width: 5.3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24717

Height: 13 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24726

Height: 12 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO24727

Height: 20.7 cm

Width: 5.3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO25926

Height: 15.5 cm

Width: 6.2 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO25928

Height: 14 cm

Width: 9.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

AO25958

Height: 20.5 cm

Width: 6.7 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM91799

Height: 15 cm

Width: 4.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM91814

Height: 16.5 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM91800

Height: 15.5 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photographs by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM68-6-2-9

Height: 18 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM68-6-2-11

Height: 22 cm

Width: 16 cm

Left photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

Right photo by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM76-11-17-2400=92277

Height: 11 cm

Width: 10.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM76-11-17-2405=91856

Height: 8 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM78-8-29-7=92216

Height: 37.5 cm

Width: 20 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
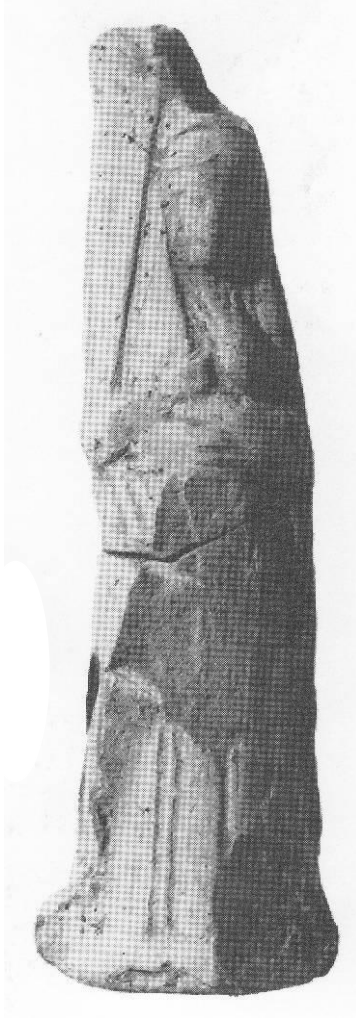
BM80-6-17-1696

Height: 15.5 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1697=91794

Height: 16.5 cm

Width: 9.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1702

Height: 16 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
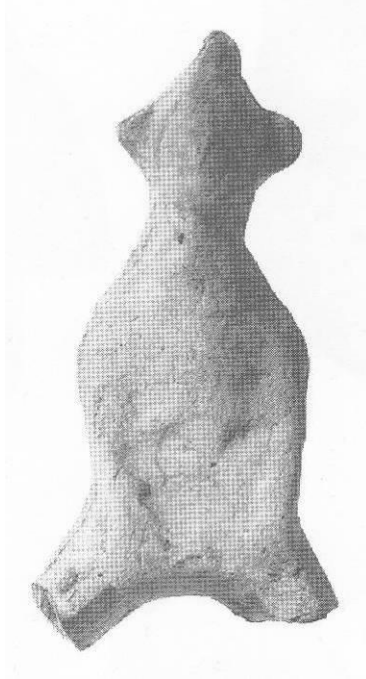
BM80-6-17-1703

Height: 9 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1705

Height: 10.2 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1708

Height: 12.5 cm

Width: 3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1709

Height: 8.5 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM80-6-17-1712

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM80-6-17-1713=92215

Height: 38 cm

Width: 20 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-6-17-1937=91849

Height: 13 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Langin-Hooper, 2007

BM80-11-12-1905

Height: 7 cm

Width: 3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-11-12-1911

Height: 4 cm

Width: 8.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM80-11-12-1918

Height: 8cm

Width: 5cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-11-12-1924A

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 3.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-11-12-1955/1957/1958/1994=118426

Height: 17.4 cm

Width: 10.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM81-3-24-345

Height: 13 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-3-24-346

Height: 5cm

Width: 3.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-3-24-349

Height: 8.5cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-4-28-941

Height: 12 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
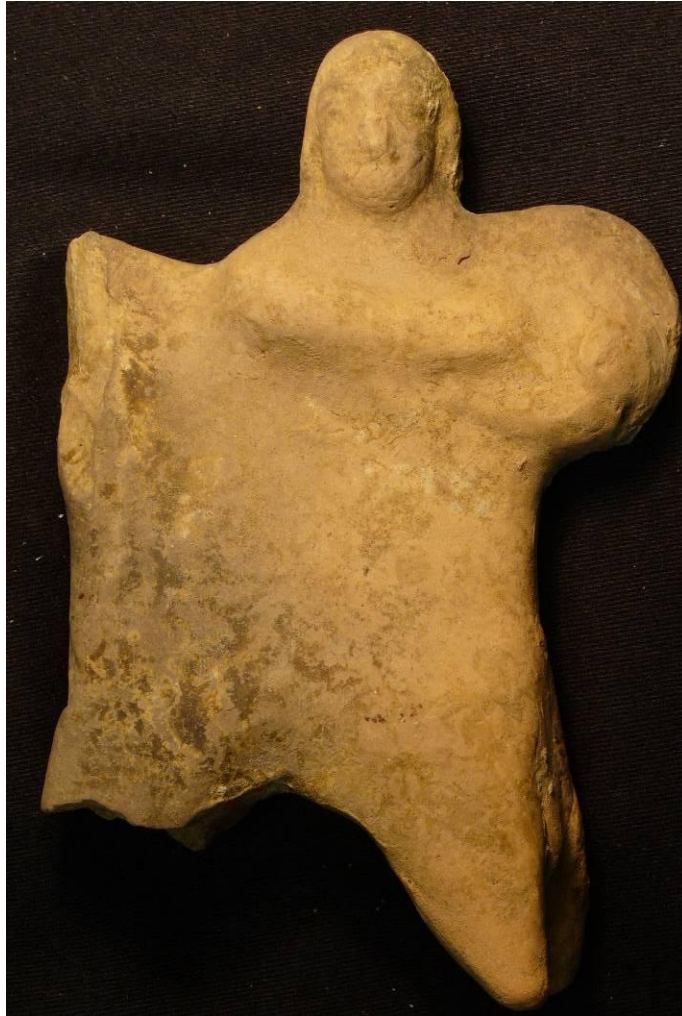
BM81-4-28-946

Height: 13 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM81-4-28-948

Height: 9 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-4-28-951

Height: 8 cm

Width: 5.9 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-4-28-952=118757

Height: 9.5 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
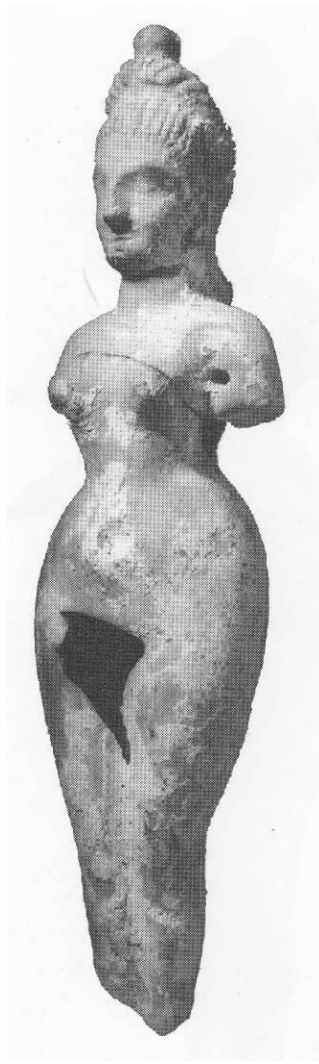
BM81-7-1-3368=121212

Height: 23 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-11-3-13=91788

Height: 11.5 cm

Width: 9.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-11-3-20

Height: 8 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM81-11-3-25

Height: 5.5 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM81-11-3-1876

Height: 14 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Langin-Hooper, 2007

BM81-11-3-1885

Height: 4 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-581

Height: 7.5 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-582

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-583

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-584

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-585

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum
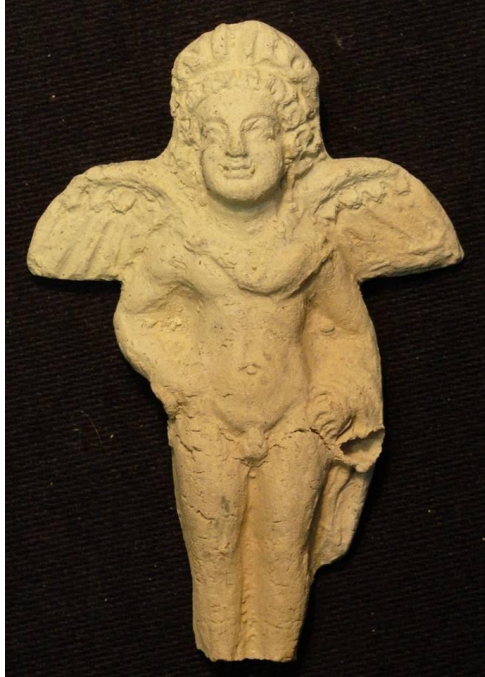
BM84-2-11-586

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-587

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-588

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM84-2-11-589

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMRmIV473=91809

Height: 13 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BMSp.III 13+=91797

Height: 15.6 cm

Width: 6.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 15+=91807

Height: 13 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 16+=91817

Height: 13 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 17+=91798

Height: 12.7 cm

Width: 7.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 21+=91789

Height: 11 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 23+

Height: 8.5 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BMSp.III 24+

Height: 13 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum
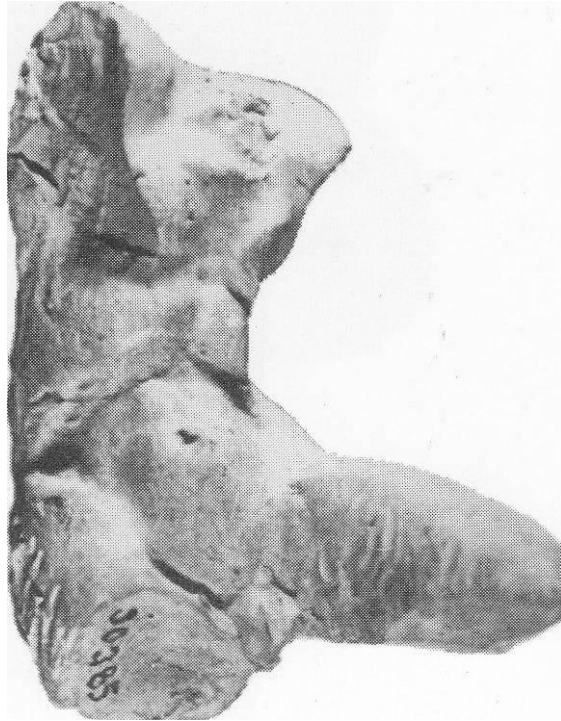
IM30385

Height: 8.2 cm

Width: 6.6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93196

Height: 7 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93213

Height: 6 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
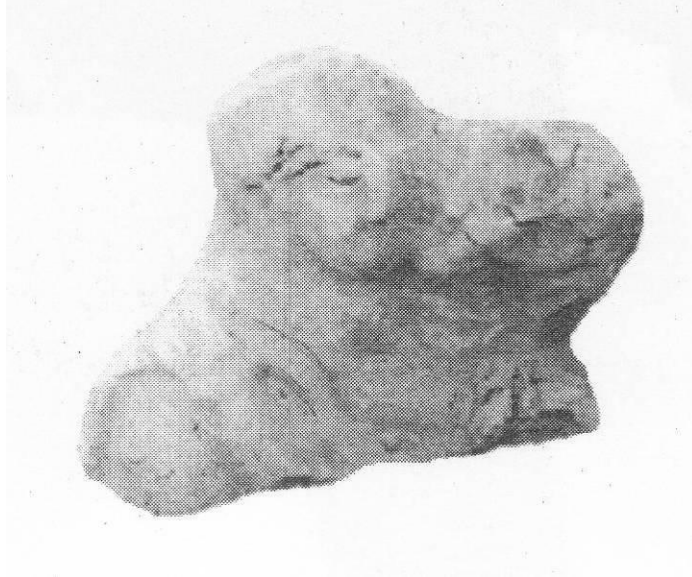
IM93231

Height: 4.1 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93238

Height: 6.1cm

Width: 5.3cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93239

Height: 7.7cm

Width: 5cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93245

Height: 12.5 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
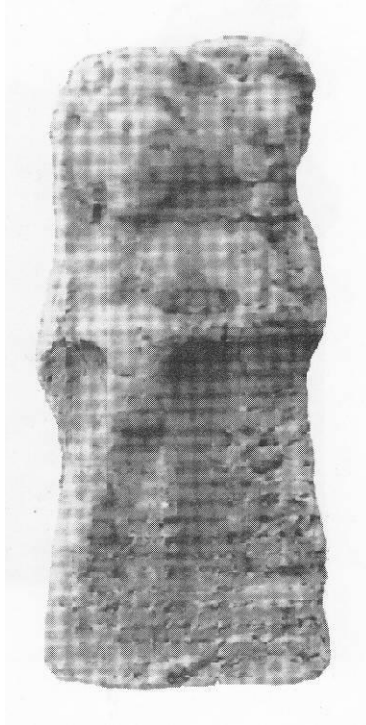
IM93248

Height: 11.5 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93254

Height: 5.1cm

Width: 4.4cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
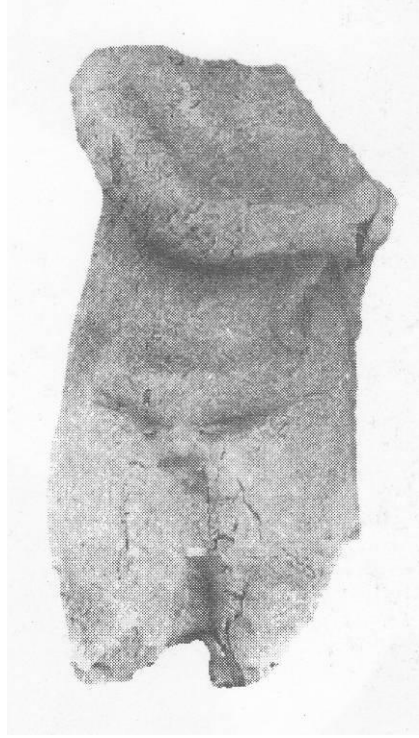
IM93303

Height: 8.4 cm

Width: 4.1 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93442

Height: 9.4 cm

Width: 8.3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93445

Height: 5.2 cm

Width: 4.6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93463

Height: 16.3 cm

Width: 16.2 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
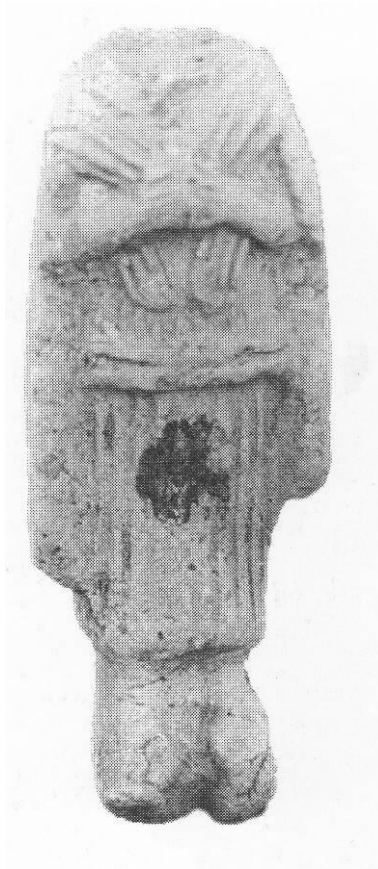
IM93469

Height: 9.7 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93491

Height: 4.9 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93498

Height: 15.7 cm

Width: 7.2 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
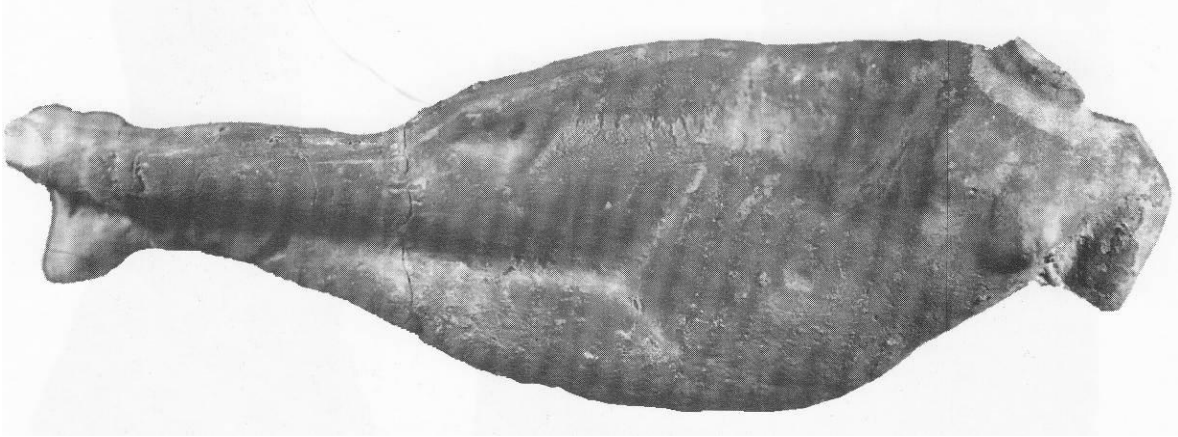
IM93499

Height: 7.4 cm

Width: 21.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93500

Height: 17.5 cm

Width: 5.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
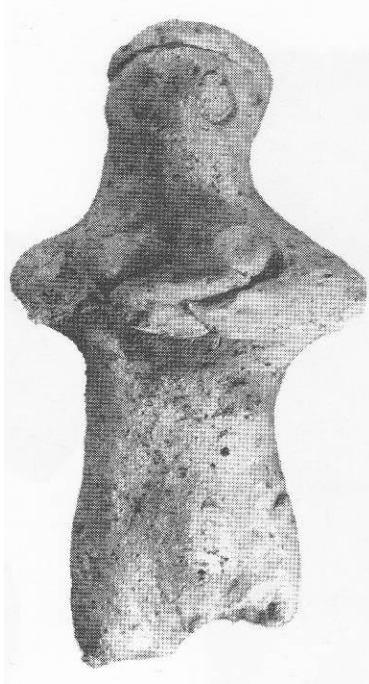
IM93897

Height: 9.1 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM93958

Height: 5.5 cm

Width: 3 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
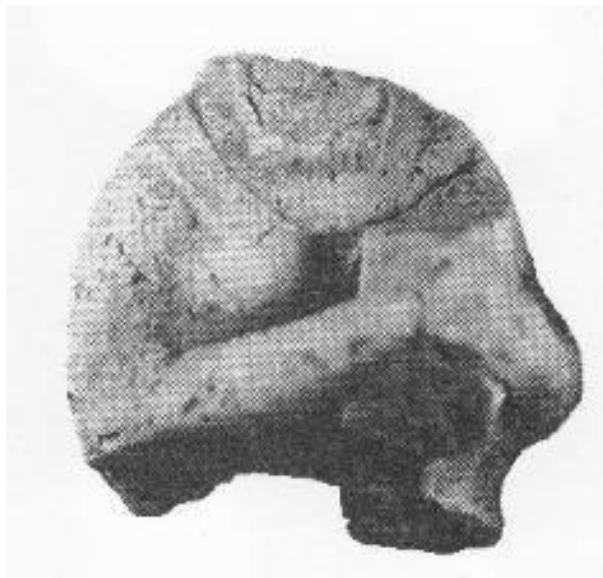
IM94057

Height: 4.2 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
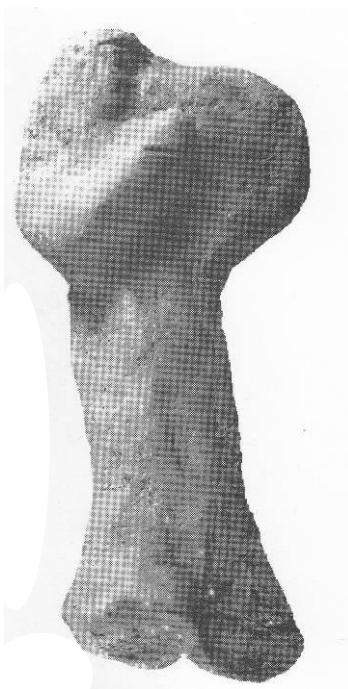
IM94682

Height: 9.5 cm

Width: 5.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94896

Height: 7 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94897

Height: 14 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94902

Height: 15 cm

Width: 11.7 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
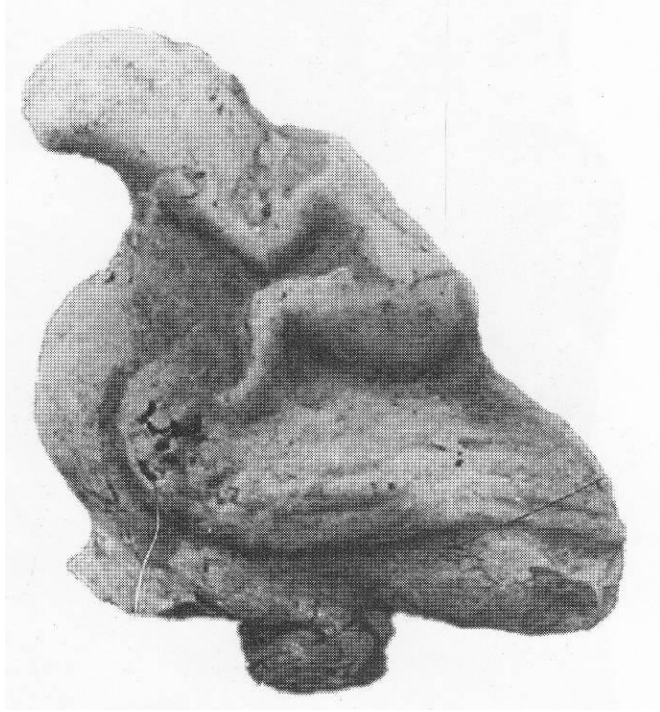
IM94904

Height: 9.3 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94905

Height: 8.8 cm

Width: 6.8 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995
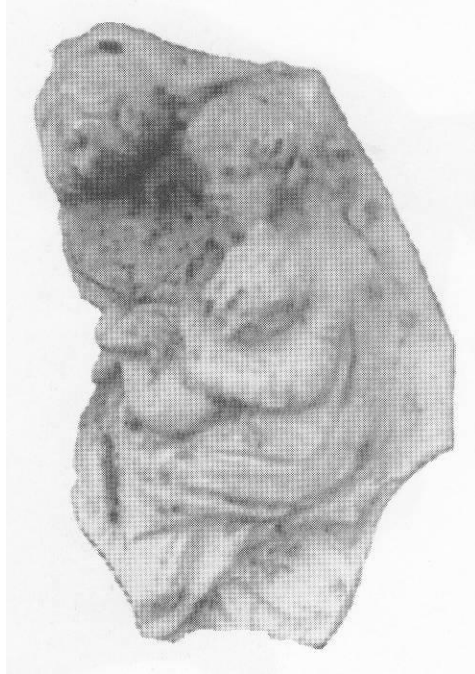
IM94908

Height: 9.5 cm

Width: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94921

Height: 7 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94942

Height: 13 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

IM94946

Height: 5.6 cm

Width: 4.2 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

Louvre MNB 1840

Height: 12 cm

Width: 7.7 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

Borsippa Figurines

BM 80-11-12-BN 1951/1952/1953/1954

Torso Height: 16 cm

Torso Width: 11 cm

Photo adapted from Karvonen-Kannas, 1995

BM80-11-12-1934

Height: 13.3 cm

Width: 3.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM82-3-23-5099

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 4.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM82-3-23-5186

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 4.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

Kish Figurines

FM156905

Height: 6.1 cm

Width: 2.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago

FM228777

Height: 7.1 cm

Width: 3.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago

FM228789

Height: 11.9 cm

Width: 3.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago

FM229633

Height: 5.9 cm

Width: 3.4 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the Field Museum, Chicago

Nippur Figurines

CBS1930

Height: 14.5 cm

Width: 10 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS1952

Height: 19.3 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS1954

(cast from original)

Height: 9.3 cm

Width: 6.2 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS1955

(cast from original)

Height: 10.2 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS1960

(cast from original)

Height: 9.6 cm

Width: 4.3 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS1968

(cast from original)

Height: 7.4 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS2766

(ancient mold and a modern figurine made from it)

Height of mold: 14 cm

Width of mold: 6.9 cm

Height of modern figurine: 12.5 cm

Width of modern figurine: 5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS2858

Height: 11.3 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS3509

Height: 6.8 cm

Width: 5.9 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS3510

Height: 5.6 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS4927

Height: 9.7 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS6313

Height: 8.4 cm

Width: 5.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS7054

Height: 7.2 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS8999

Height: 16.7 cm

Width: 10.5 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS9449

Height: 13.5 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS9450

Height: 9.3 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS9451

Height: 11.8 cm

Width: 7.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS9453

Height: 9 cm

Width: 8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS9456

Height: 10 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS9472

Height: 5.8 cm

Width: 5.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS12418

Height: 16.5 cm

Width: 11.5 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS12421

Height: 9.2 cm

Width: 4.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS12423

Height: 6.8 cm

Width: 2.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS12425

Height: 9 cm

Width: 3.8 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS15449

Height: 9.9 cm

Width: 8.1 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS15452

Height: 6 cm

Width: 3.7 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS15457

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 9.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

CBS 15459

Height: 12 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum
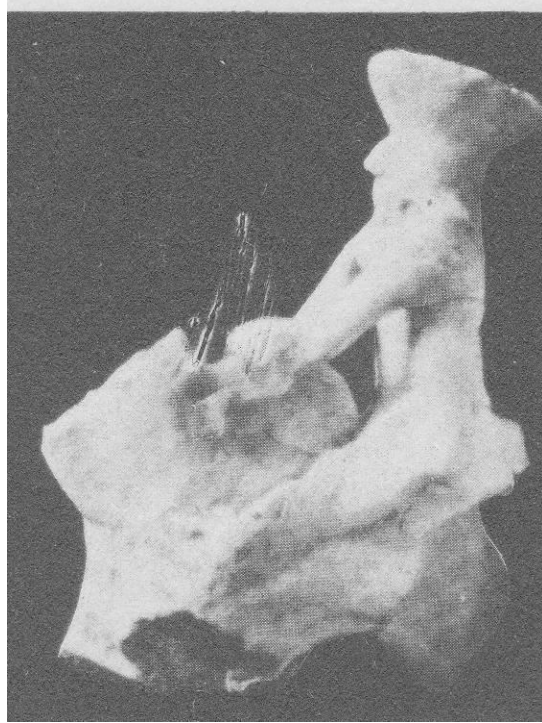
CBS15480

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS15486

Height: 10.8 cm

Width: 10.8 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

CBS16671

Height: 11.7 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

Photograph No. 361

From the Nippur Third Expedition

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

Seleucia-on-the-Tigris Figurines
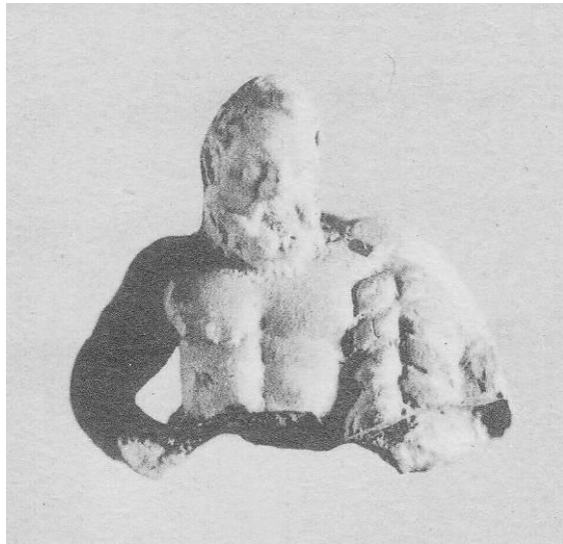
B3835

Height: 3.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
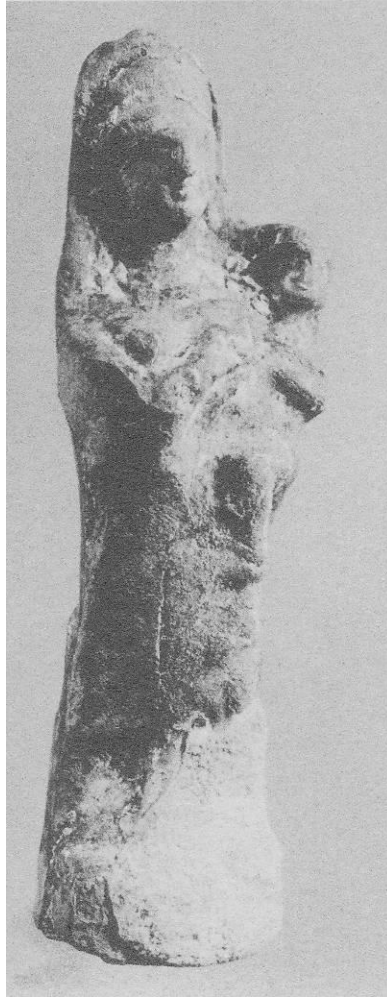
B4004

Height: 12.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
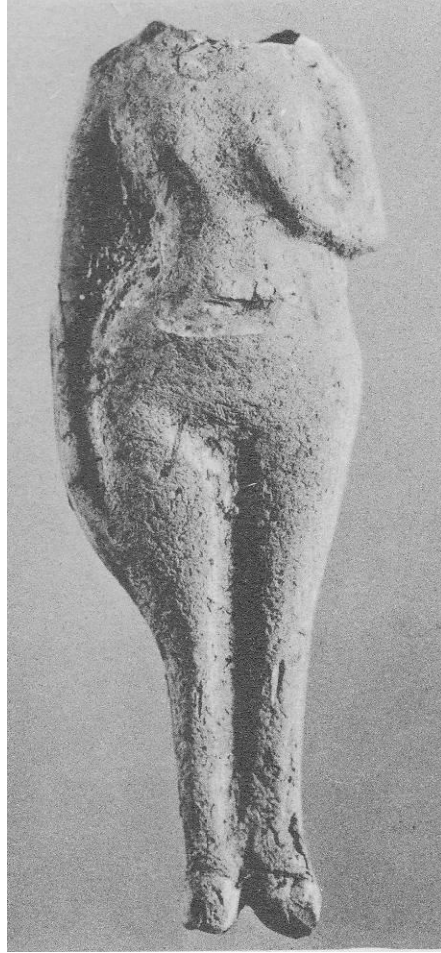
B4648

Height: 11.1 cm

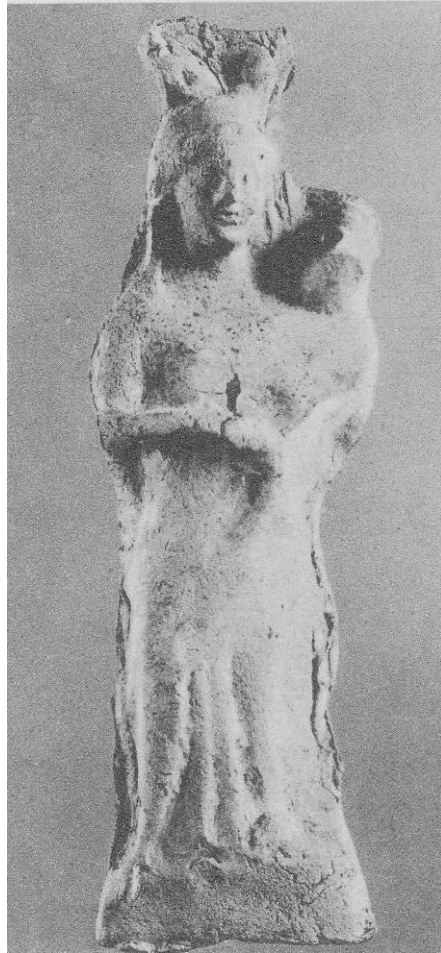Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
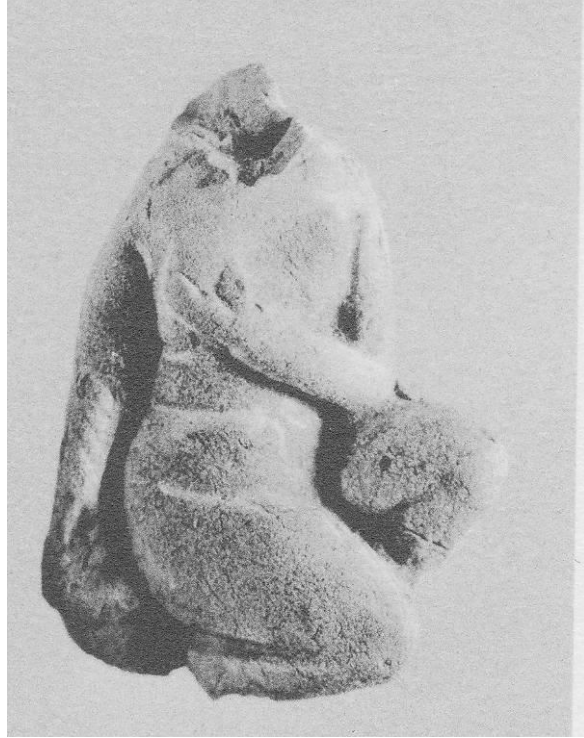
B4769

Height: 6.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
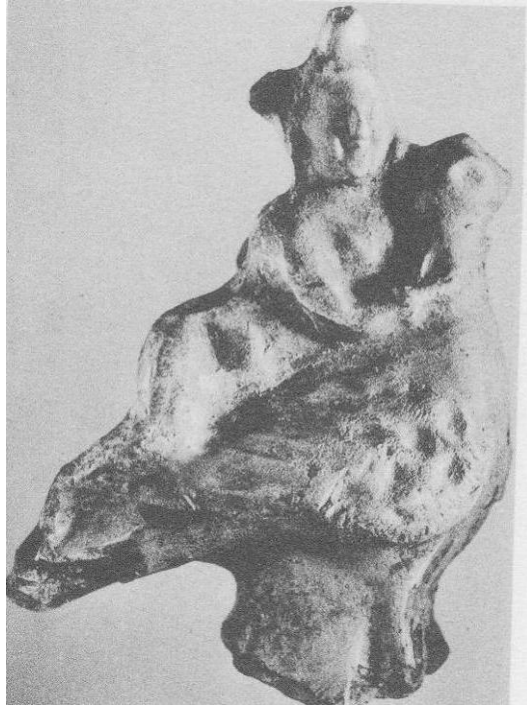
B4825

Height: 9.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B5014

Height: 11.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
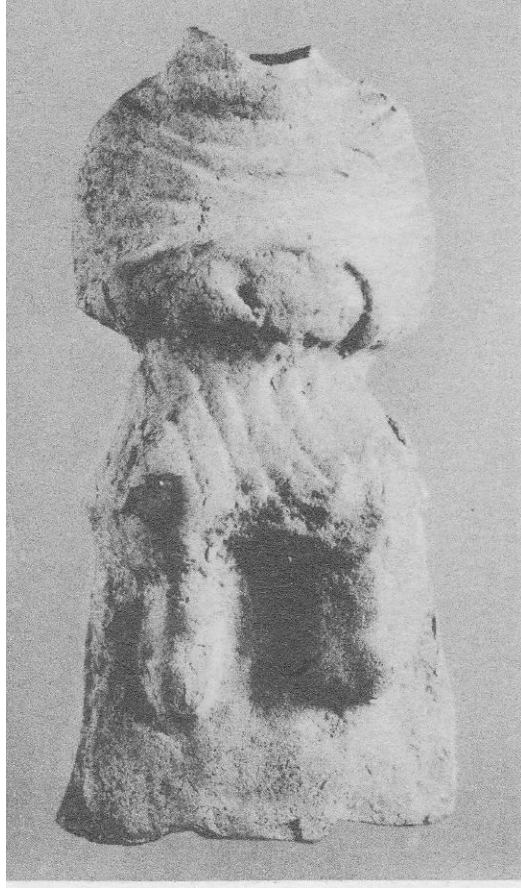
B5077

Height: 8.8 cm

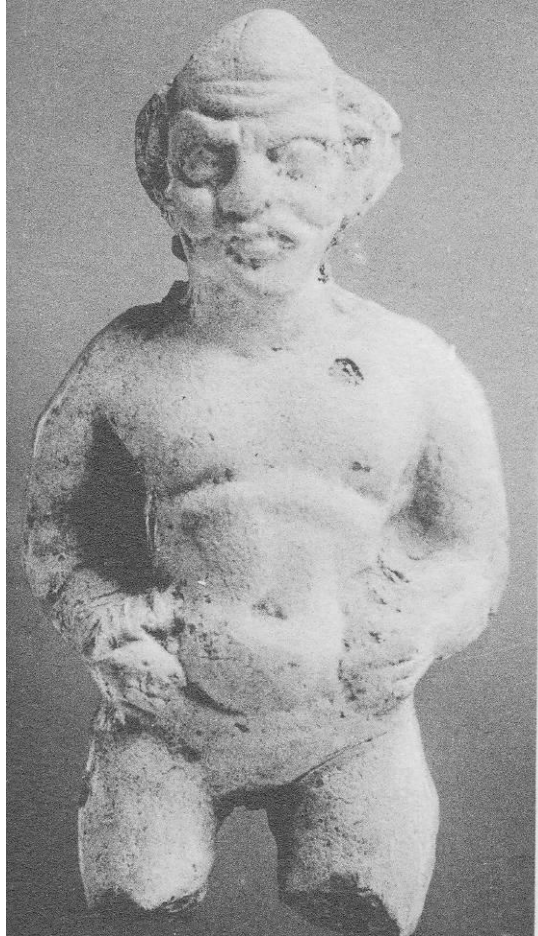Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B5469

Height: 8.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
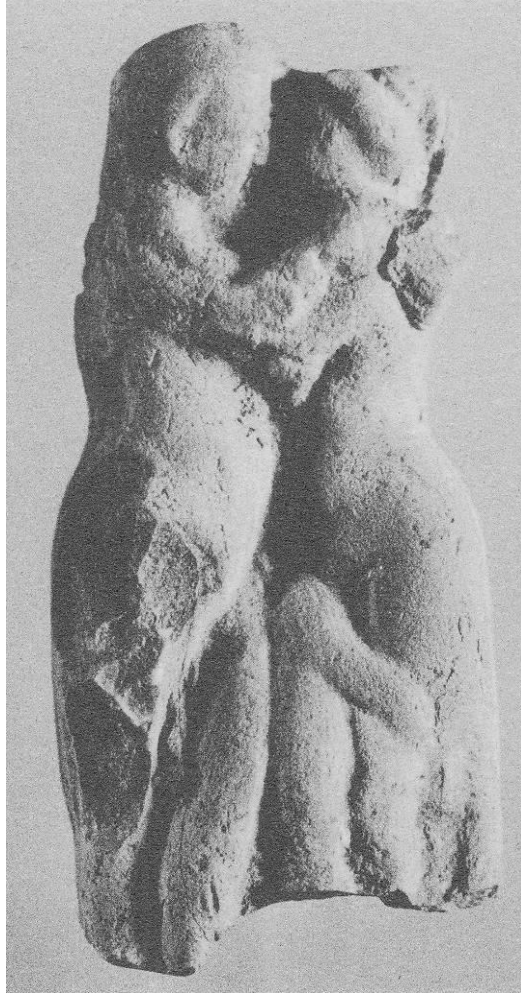
B5836

Height: 9.8 cm
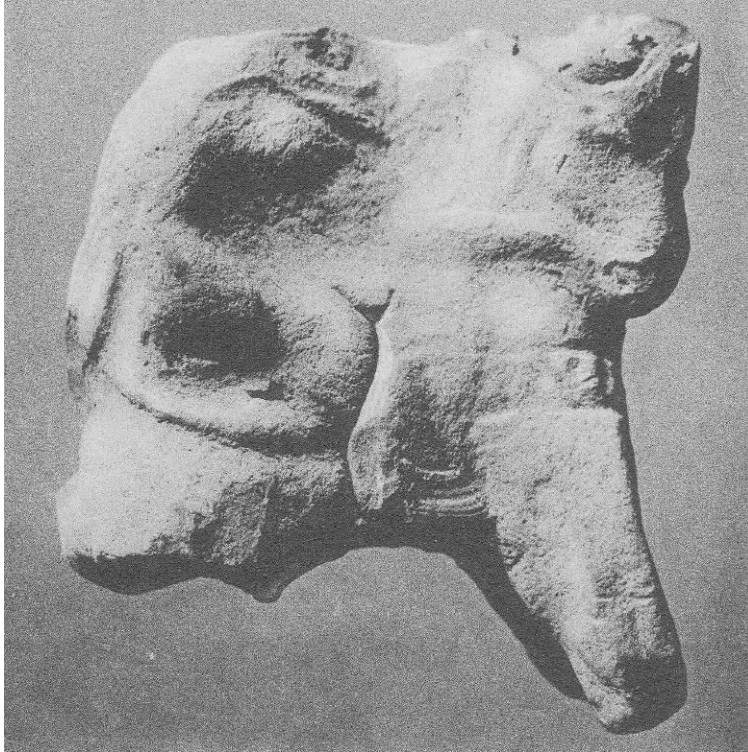
Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B6018

Height: 9.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B6065

Height: 8.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
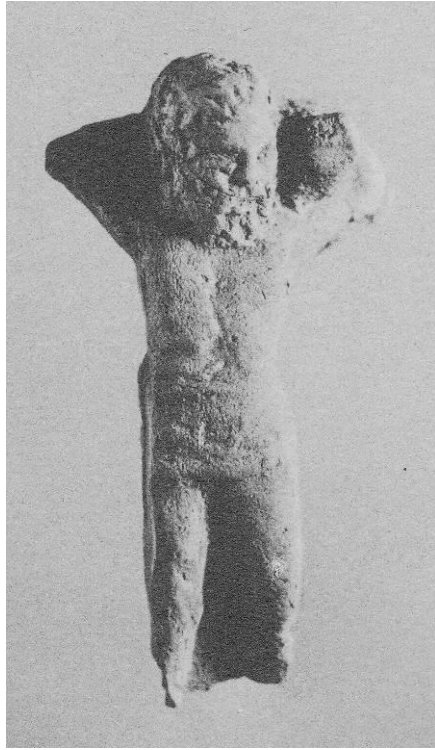
B6126

Height: 7.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
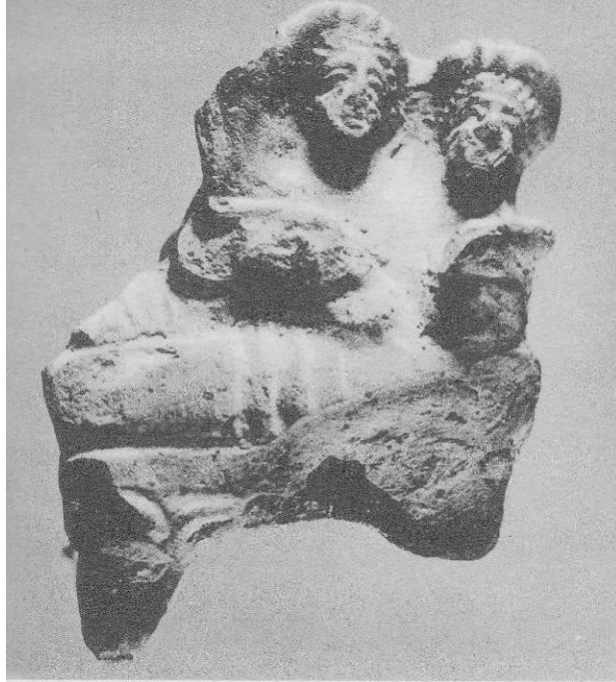
B6446

Height: 7.7 cm
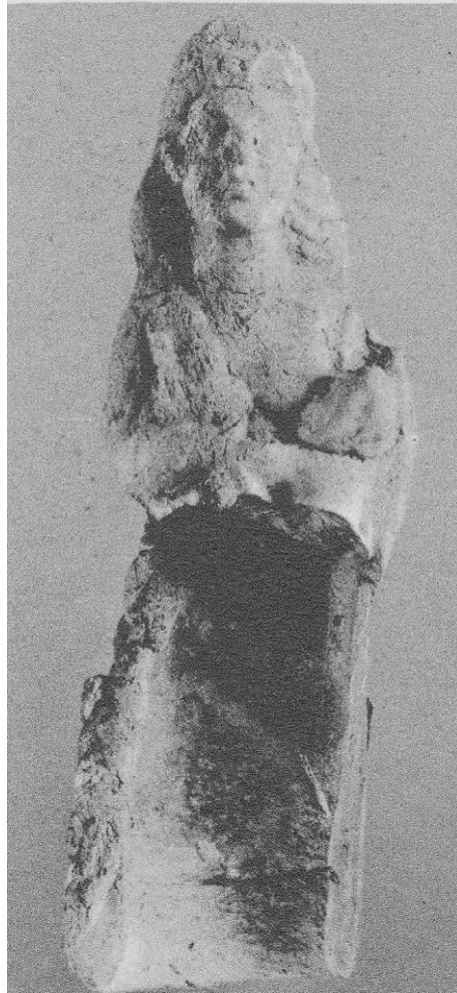
Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B6679

Height: 8.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
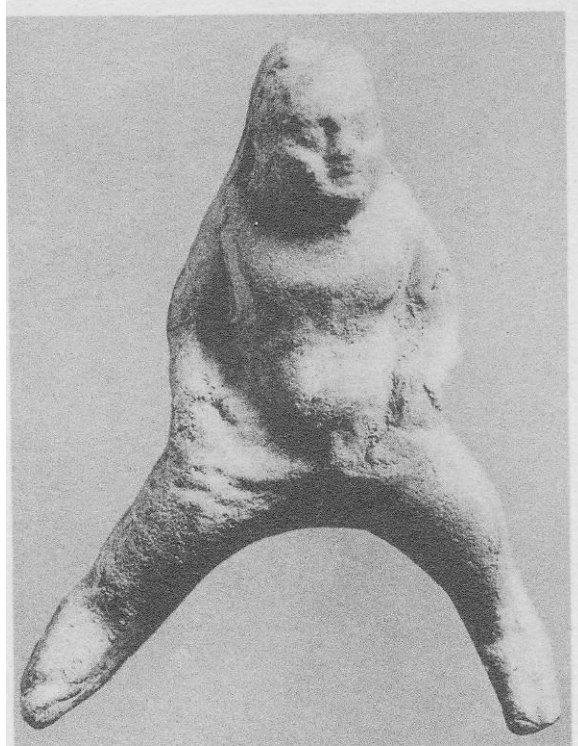
B6927

Height: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
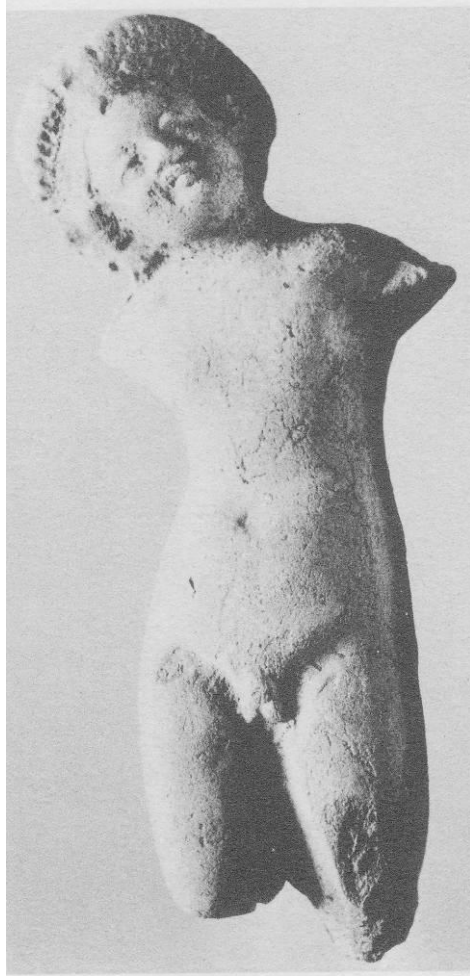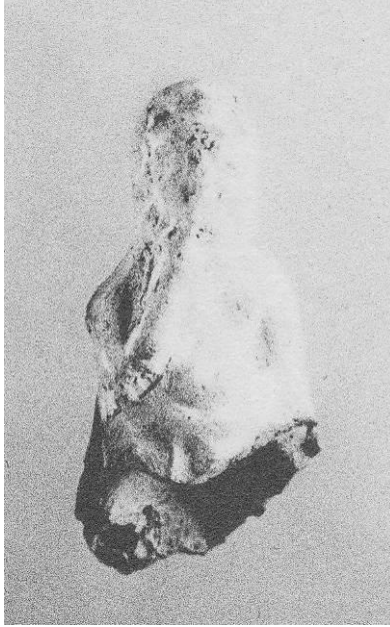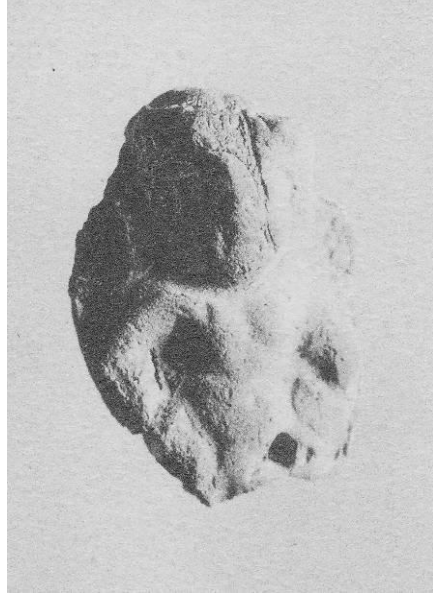
B7026

Height: 11.7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B7122

Height: 13.5 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B7138

Height: 9.7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
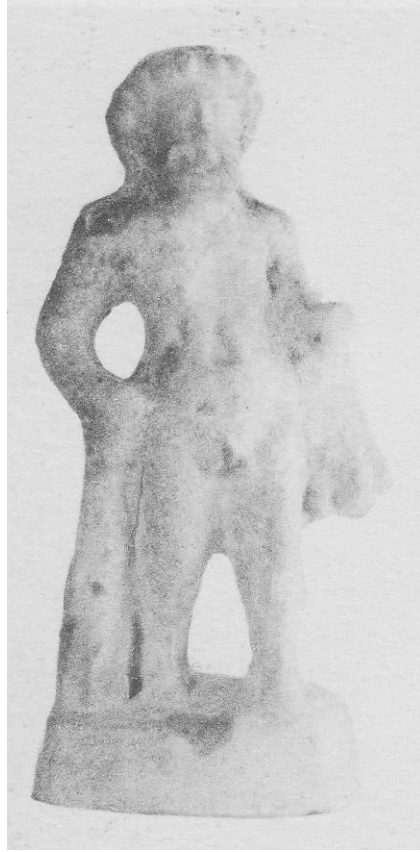
B16934

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B16974

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B16984

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B17033

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B17072

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B17082

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B17101

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B27910

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

B27913

(Measurements not recorded)

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

C32.544

Height: 19 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
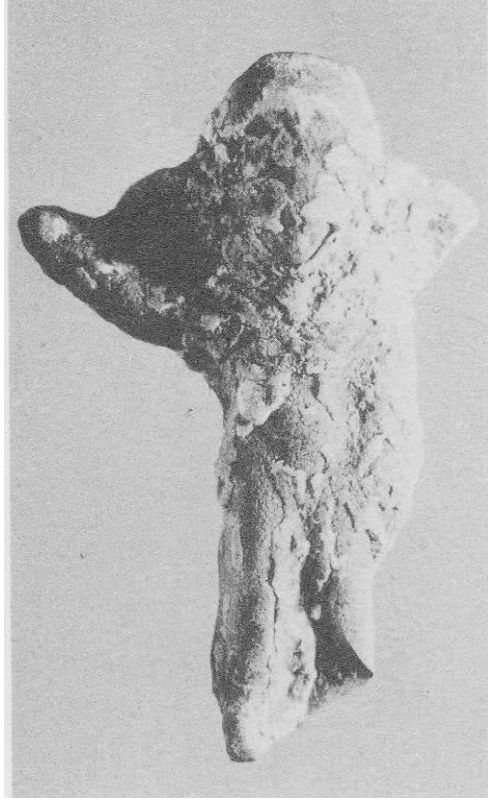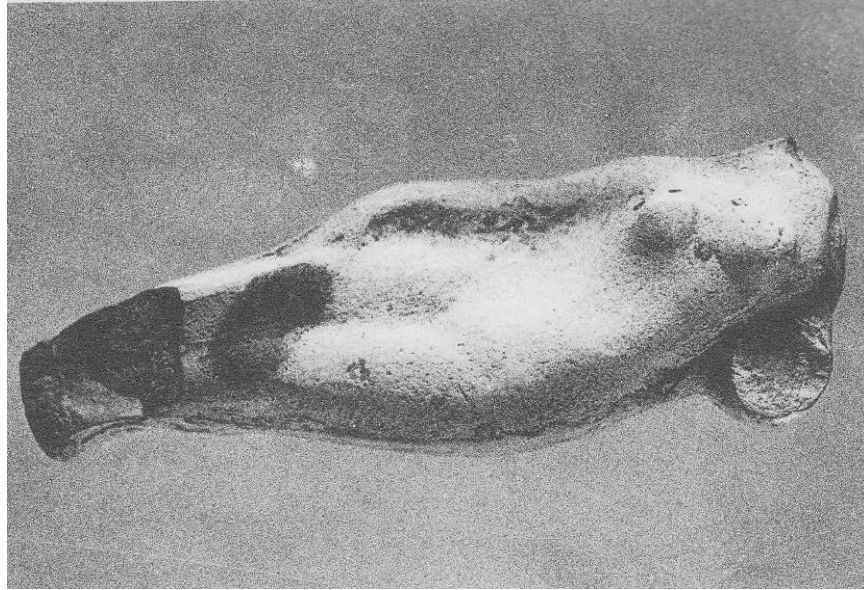
M14013

Height: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
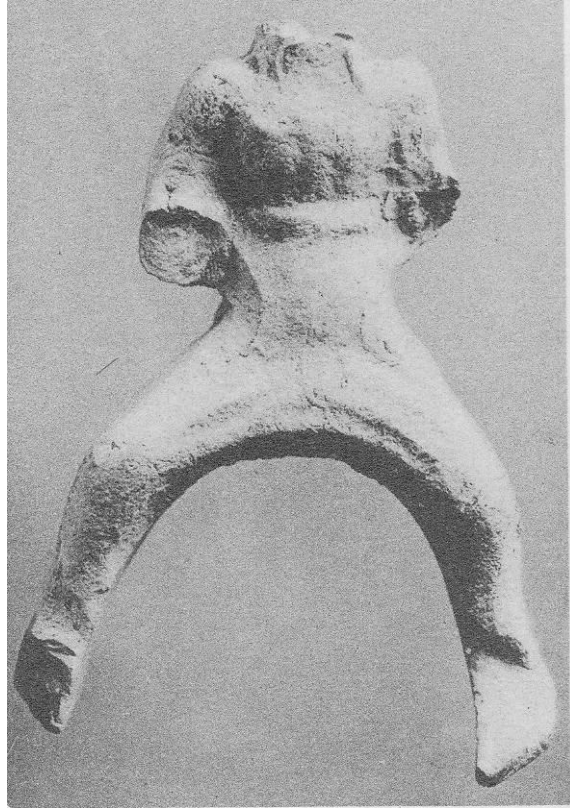
M14017

Height: 7.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
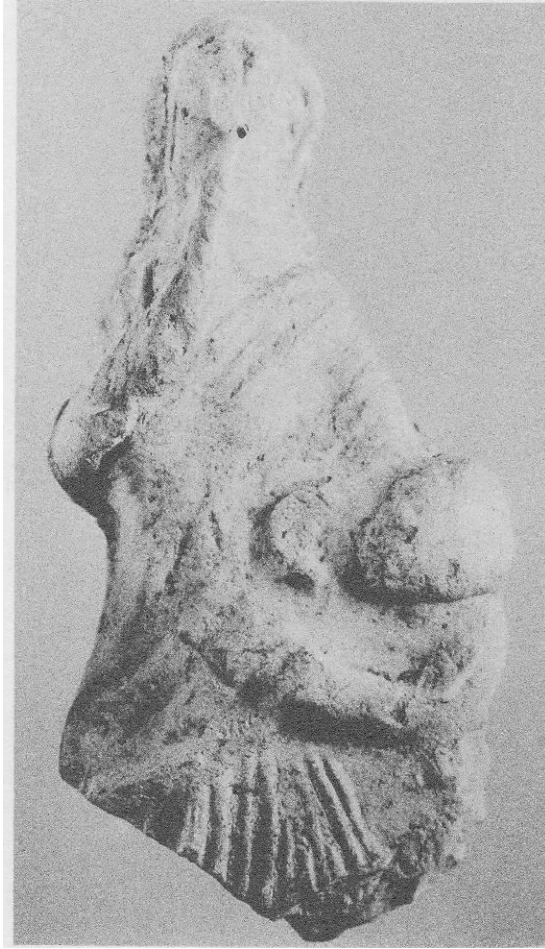
M14038

Height: 11.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14117

Height: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
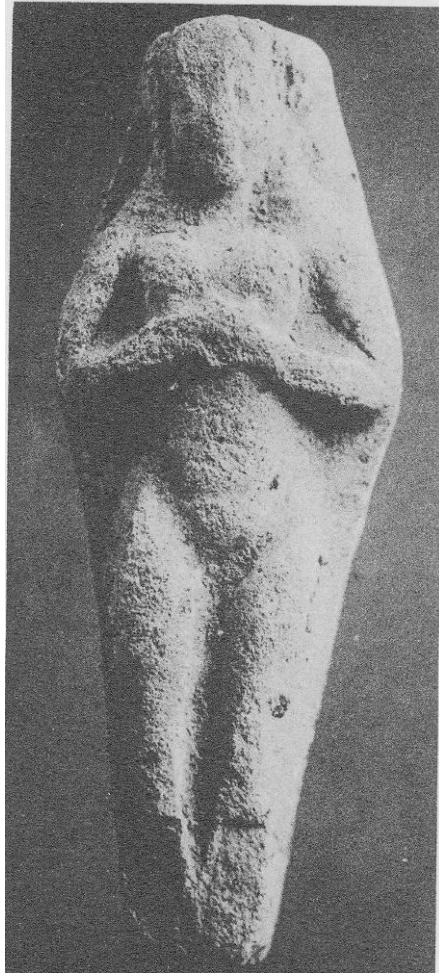
M14129

Height: 10.7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14159

Height: 10.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
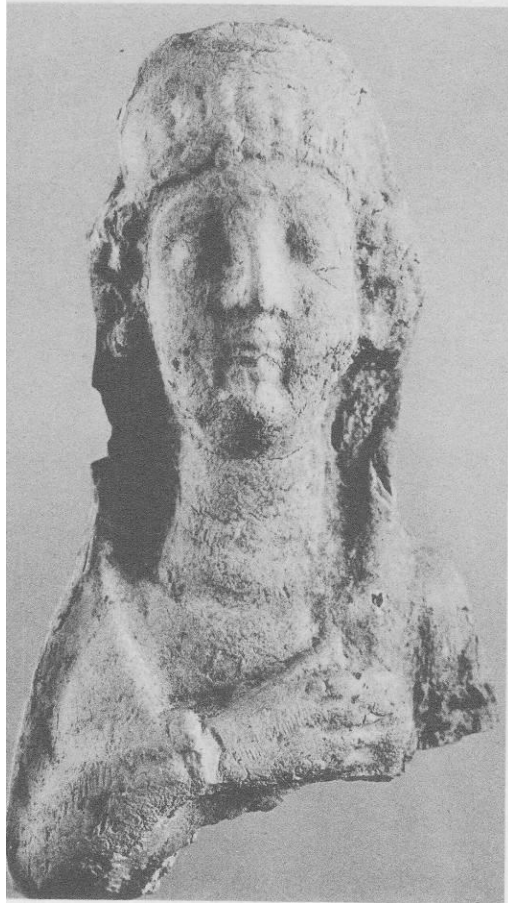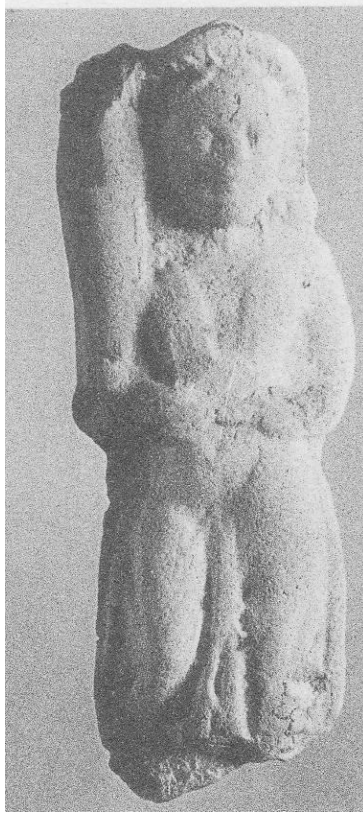
M14205

Height: 11.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
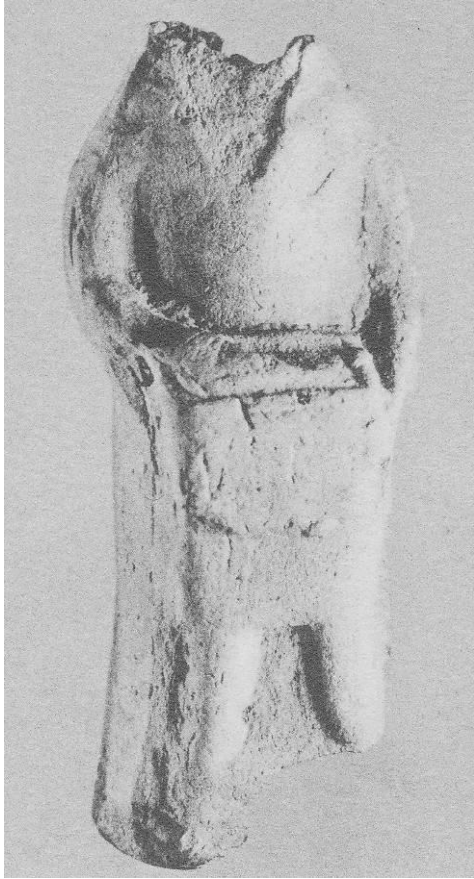
M14273

Height: 8.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
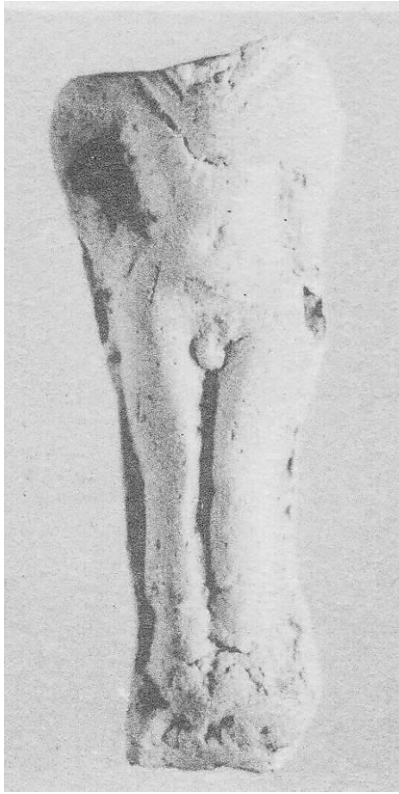
M14330

Height: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14405

Height: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
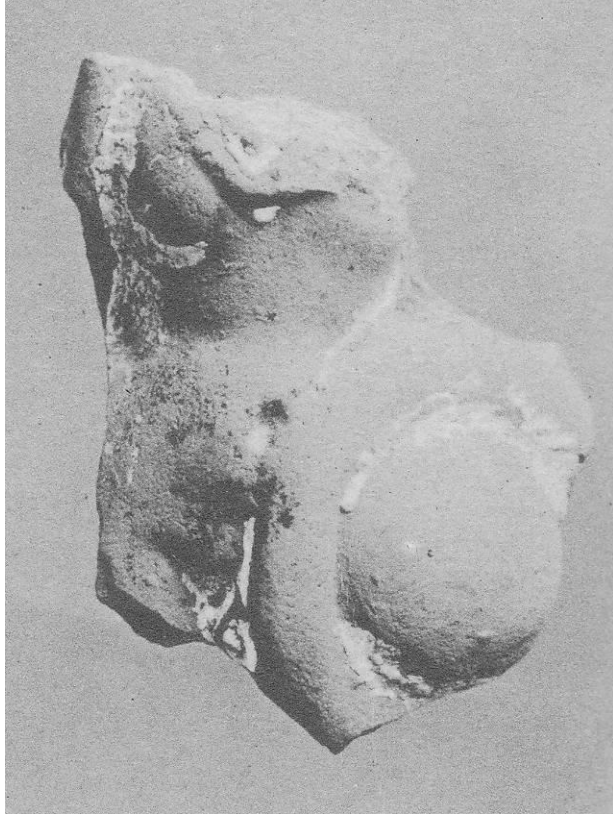
M14416

Height: 5.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
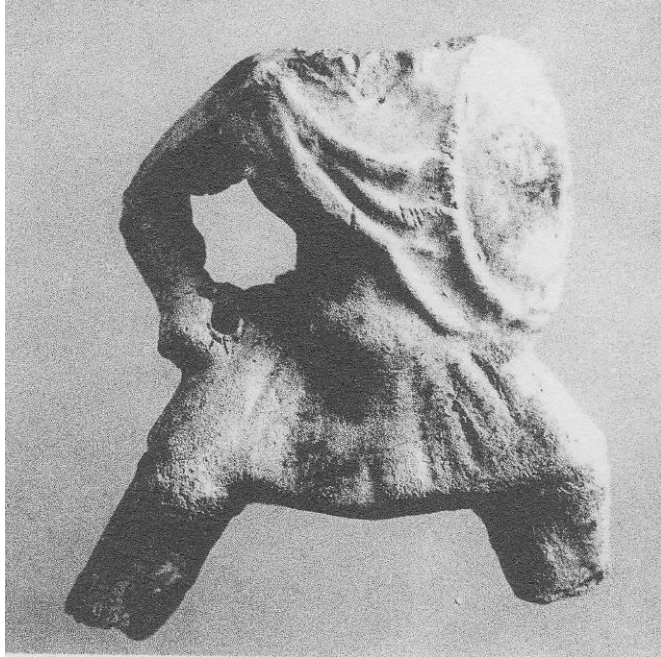
M14496

Height: 6.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14536

Height: 8.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
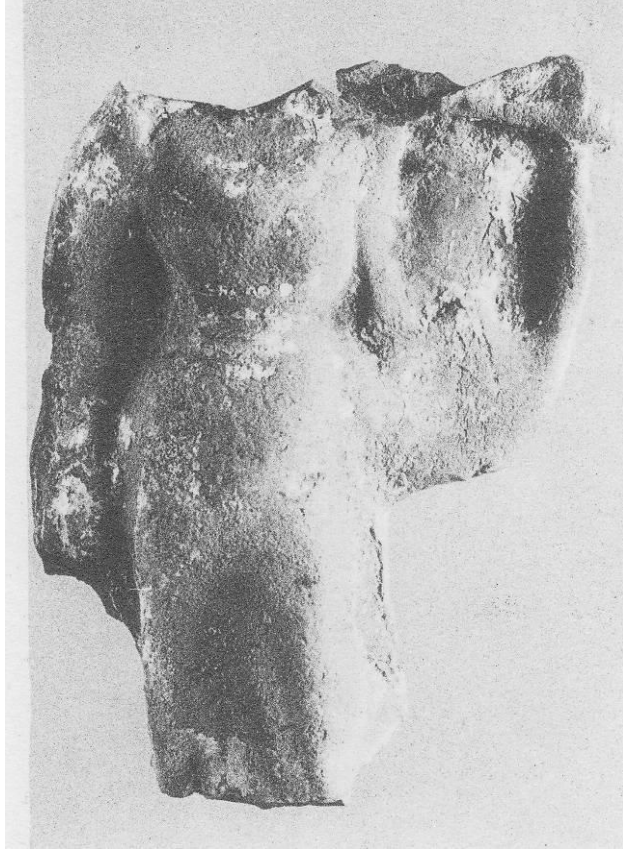
M14578

Height: 13.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14634

Height: 9.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14690

Height: 6.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M14884

Height: 13.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
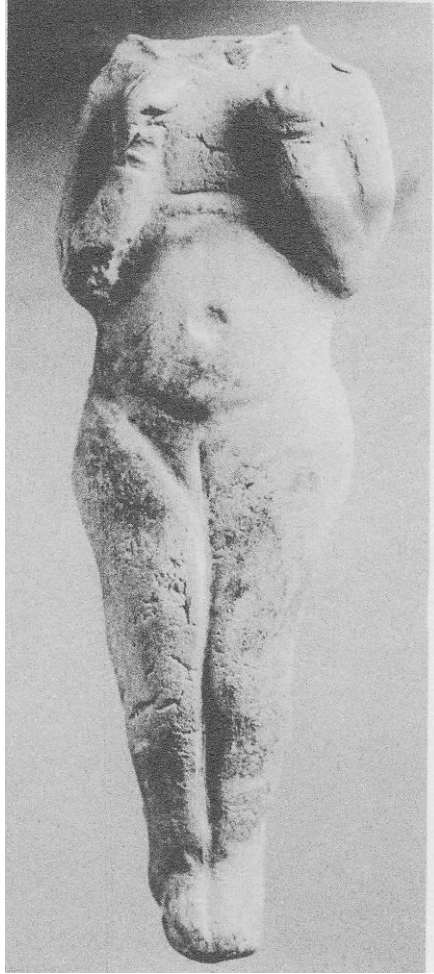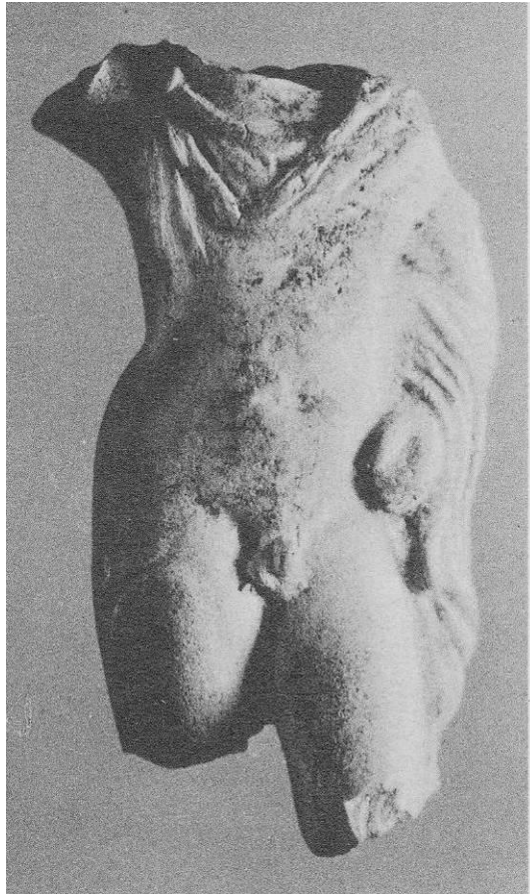
ST M15000

Height: 15.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15018

Height: 9.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
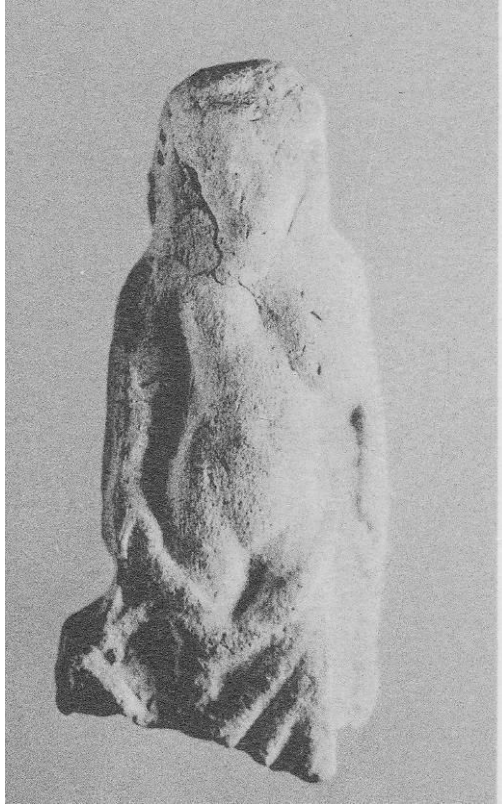
M15043

Height: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
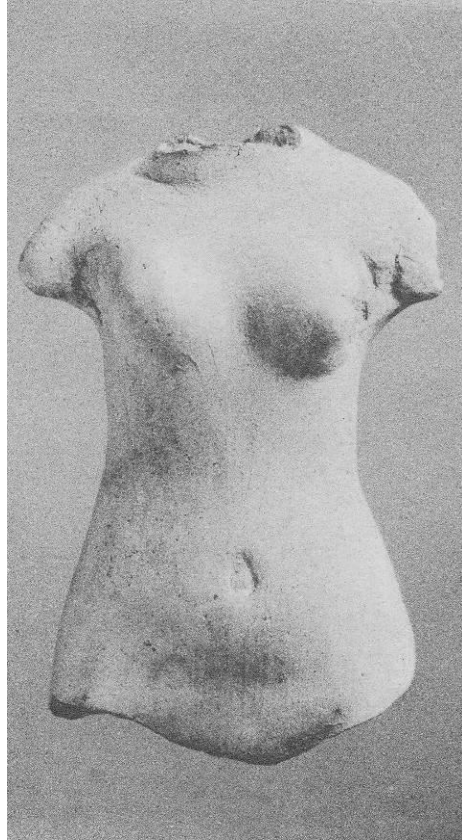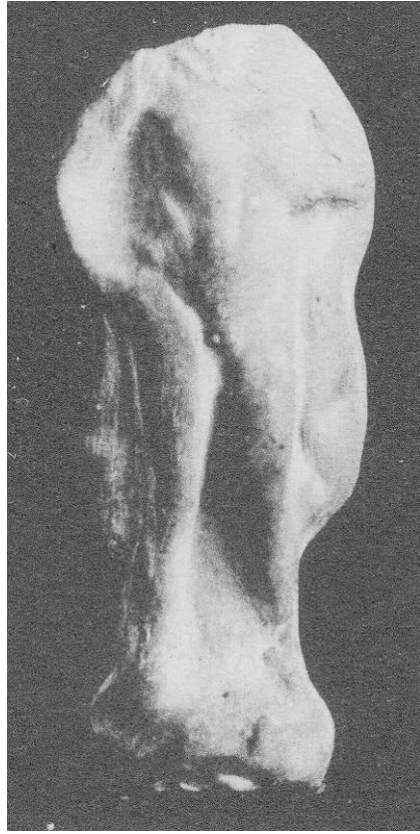
M15045

Height: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15047

Height: 6.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
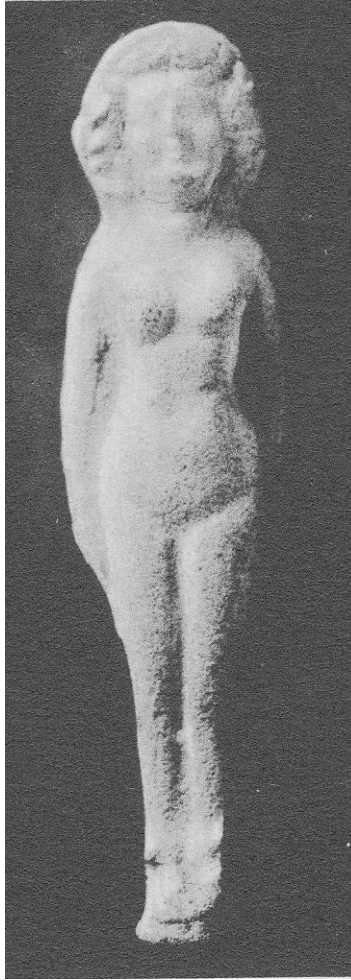
M15077

Height: 8.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15083-15204

Height: 7.5 cm

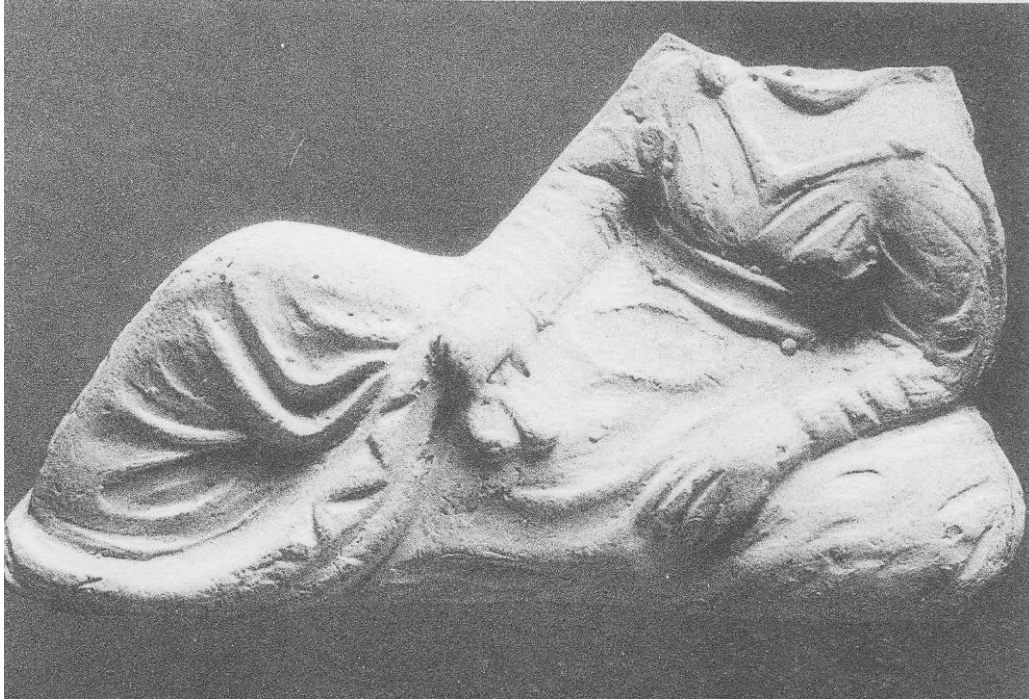Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15118

Height: 13 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15132

Height: 7.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15137

Height: 8.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15160

Height: 11.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15181

Height: 8.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15185

Height: 10.6 cm

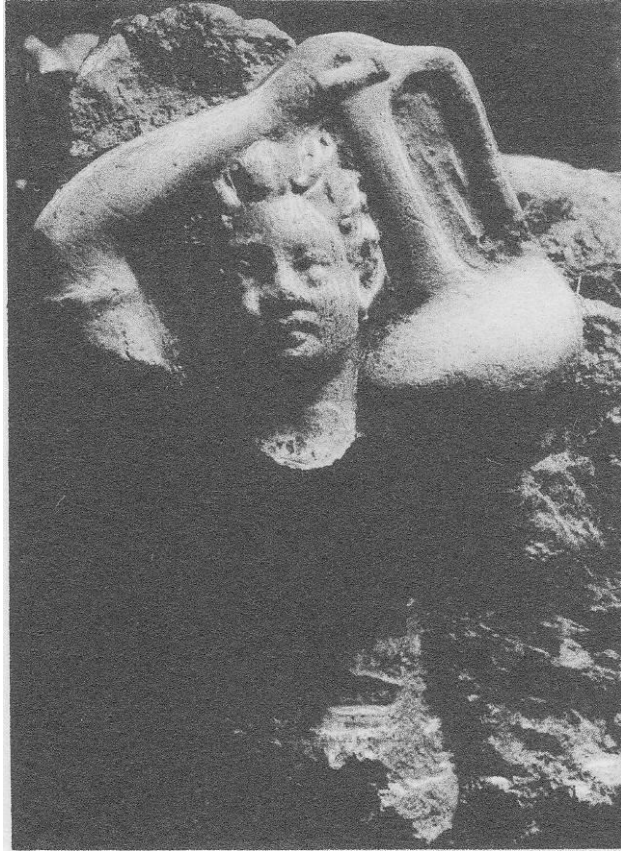Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15188

Height: 8.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15196

Height: 7.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15219

Height: 5.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
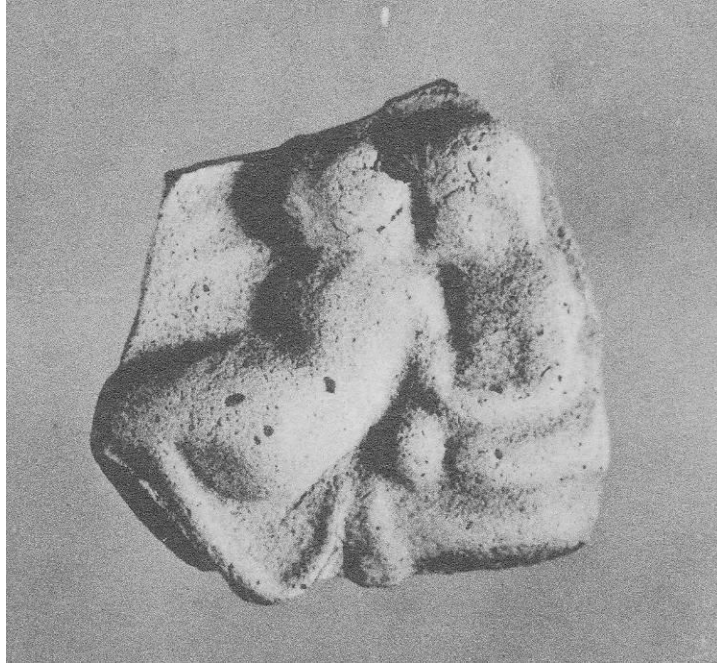
M15279

Height: 3.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
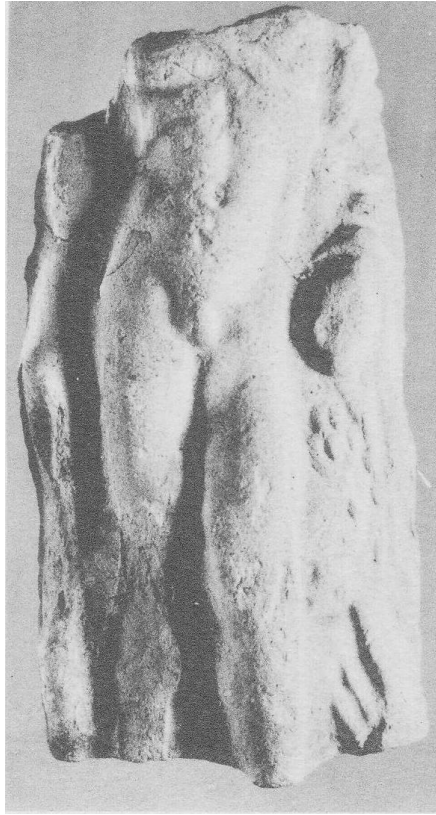
M15544

Height: 9.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15546

Height: 8.3cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15568

Height: 9.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
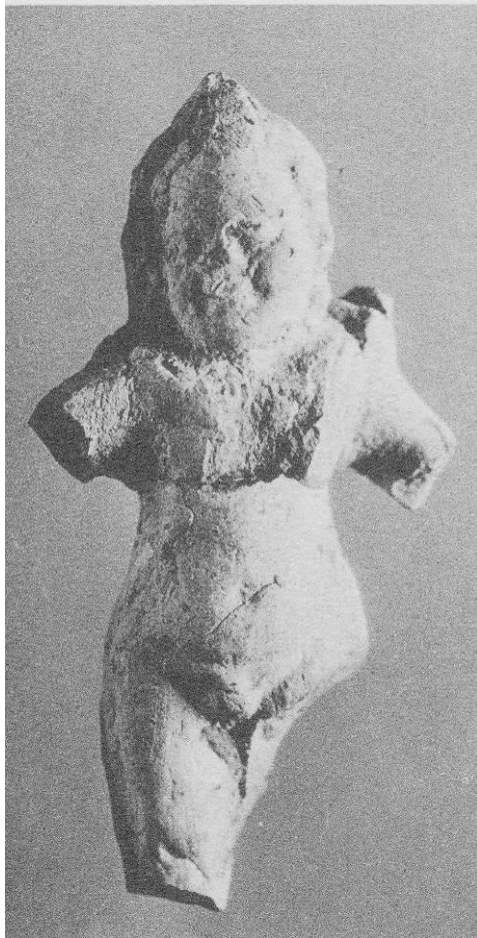
M15581-15851

Height: 8.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
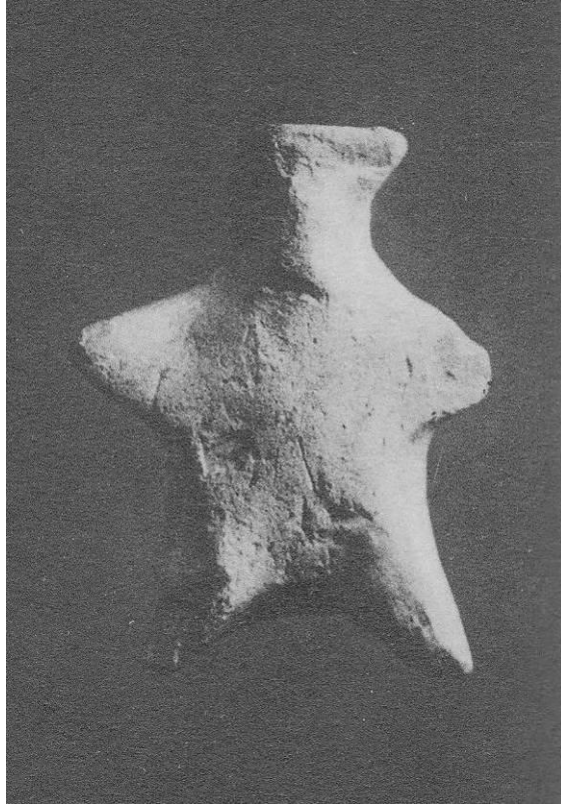
M15594

Height: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15603

Height: 10.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15609

Height: 5.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15646

Height: 10.1cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
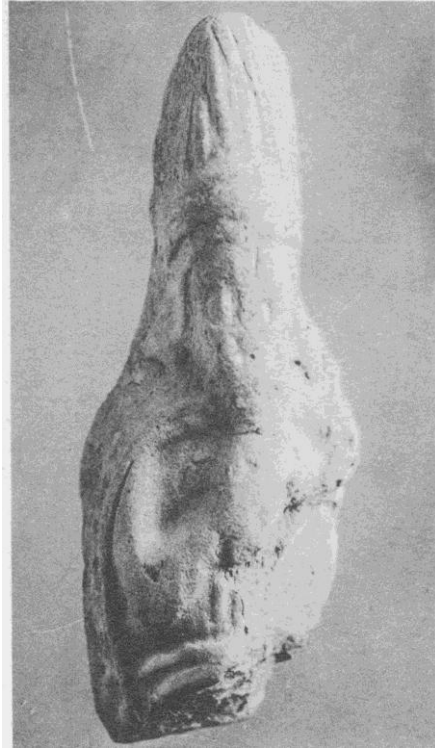
M15647

Height: 9.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
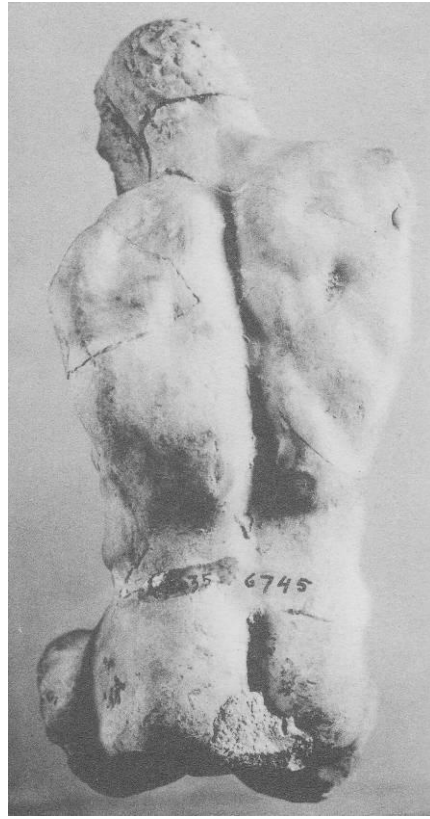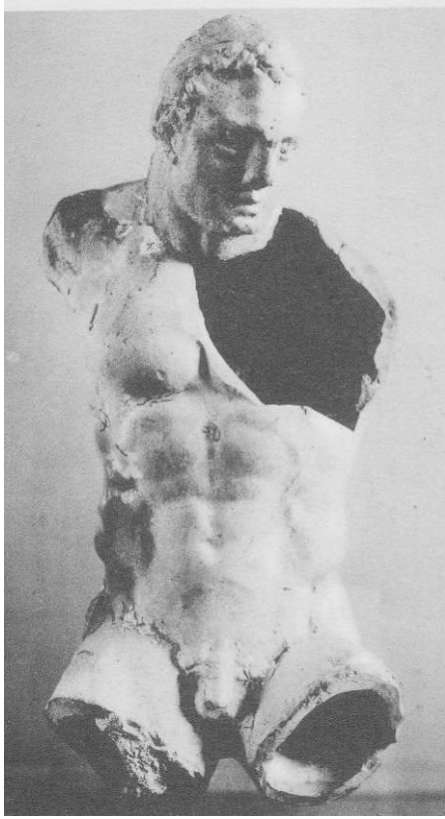
M15653-16106

Height: 20.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
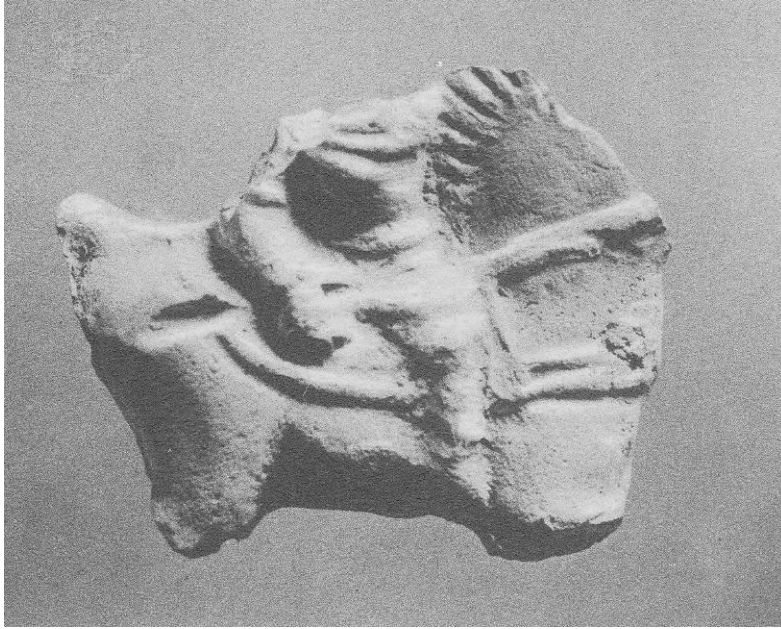
M15656

Height: 5.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
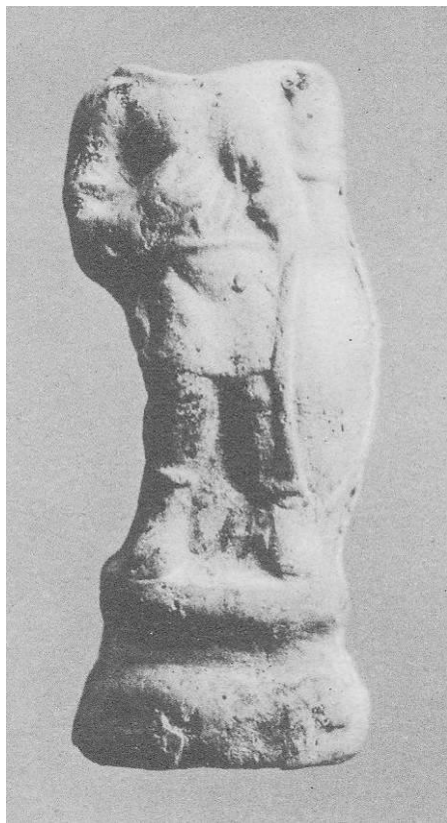
M15664

Height: 6.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
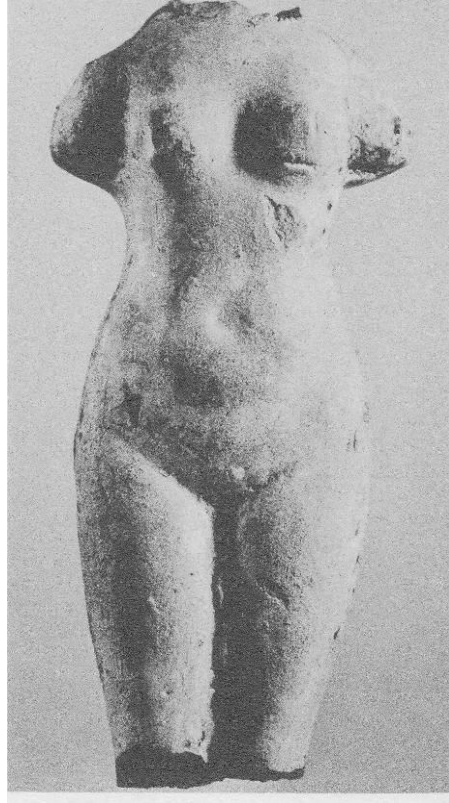
M15673

Height: 10.7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
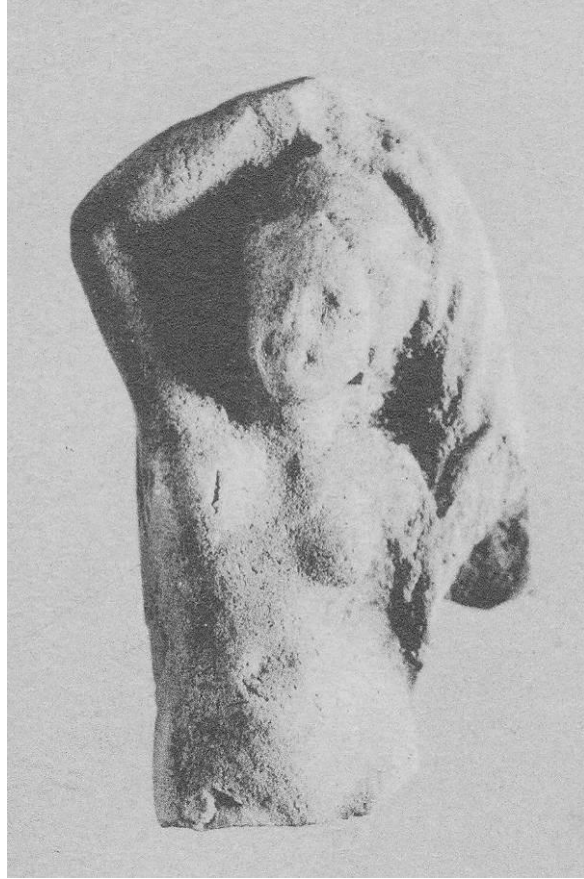
M15676

Height: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15679

Height: 5.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
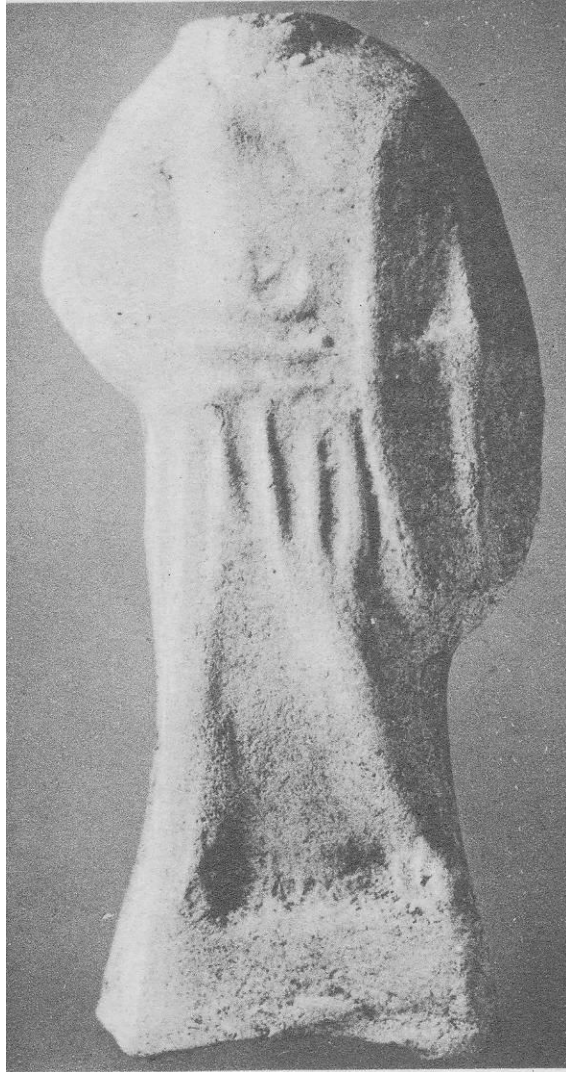
M15702

Height: 10.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
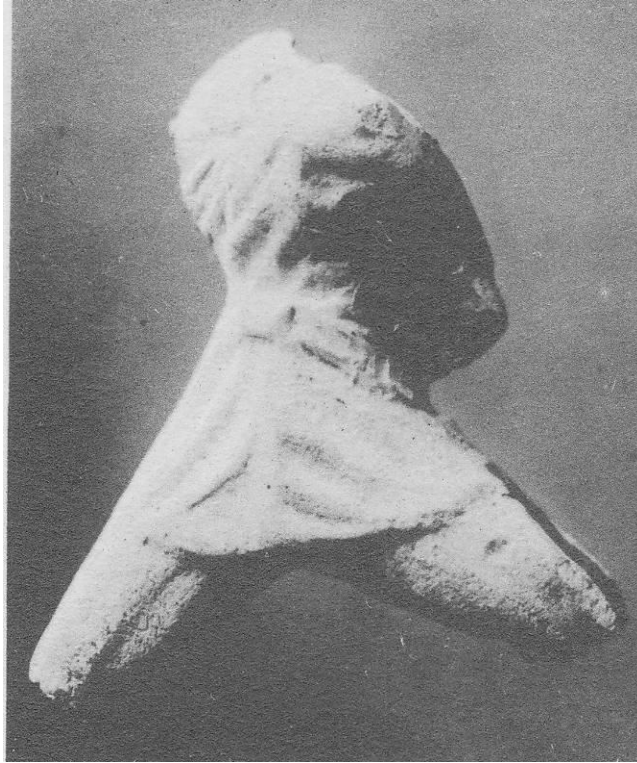
M15706

Height: 7.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15711

Height: 11.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
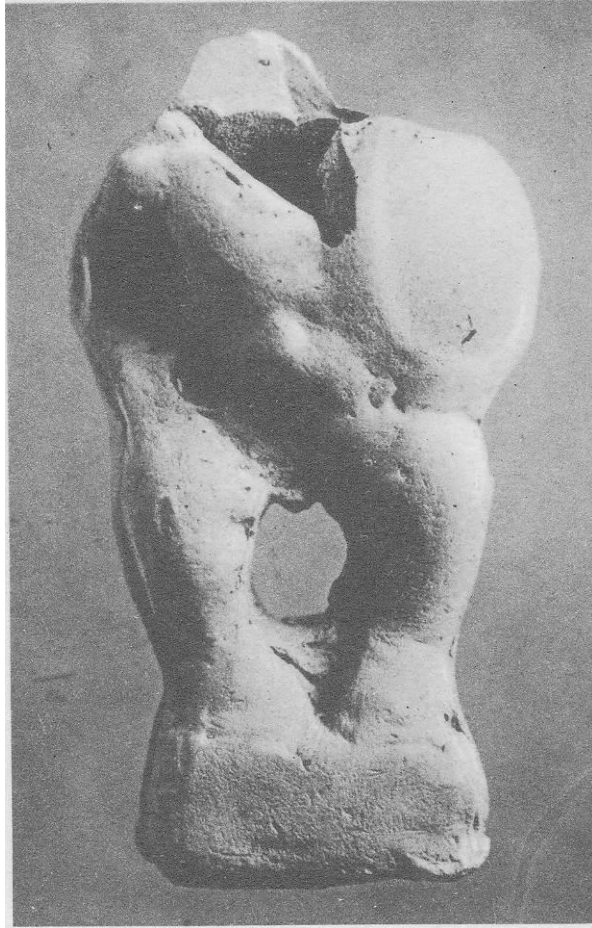
M15721

Height: 7.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15848

Height: 18.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
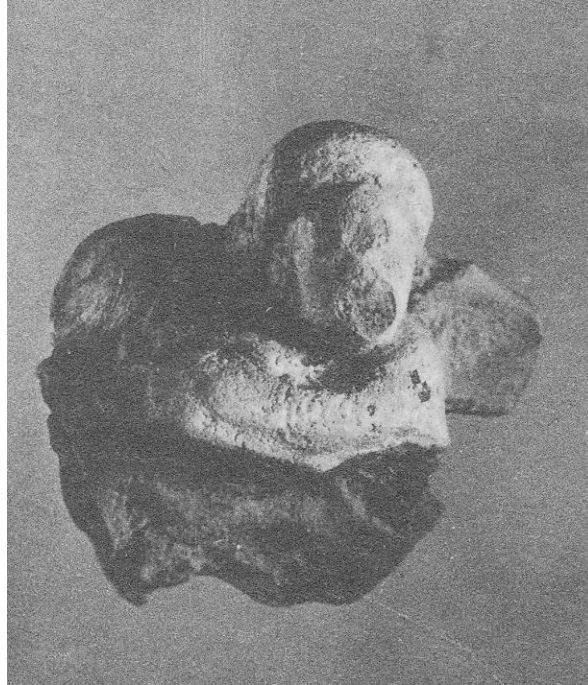
M15872

Height: 4.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M15875

Height: 6.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
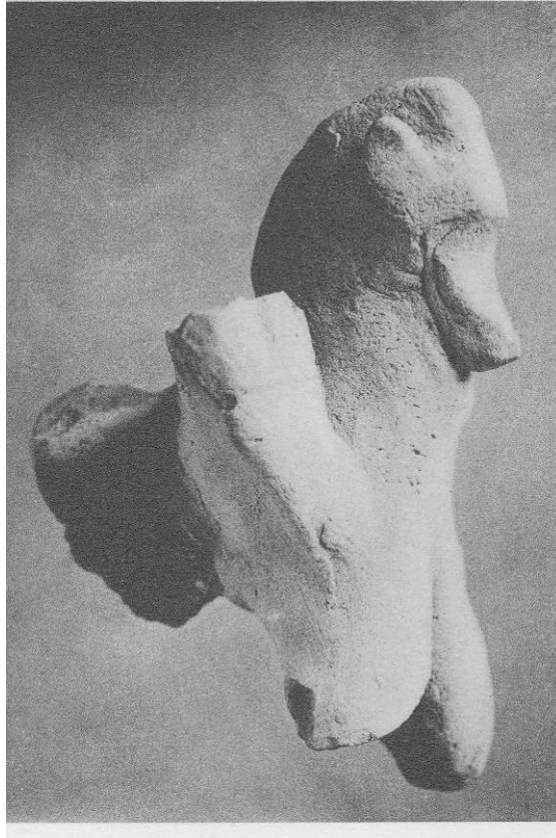
M15962

Height: 9.5 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
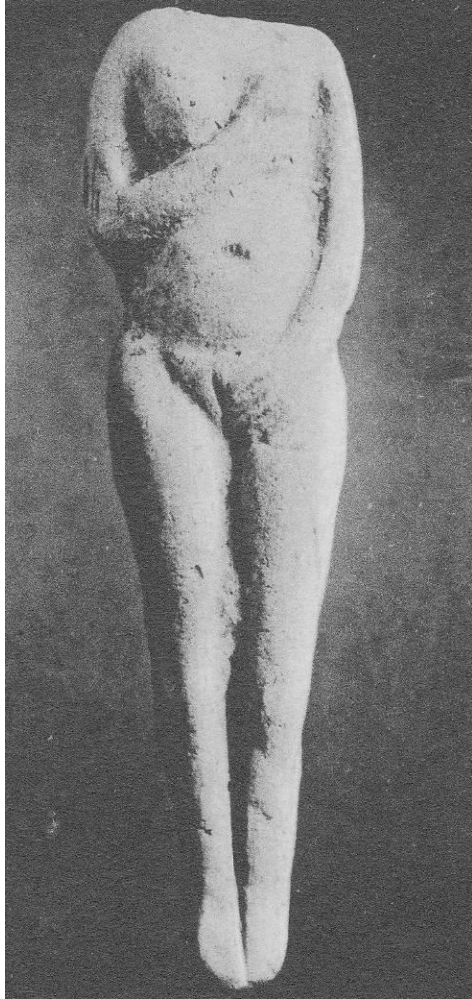
M16059

Height: 11.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
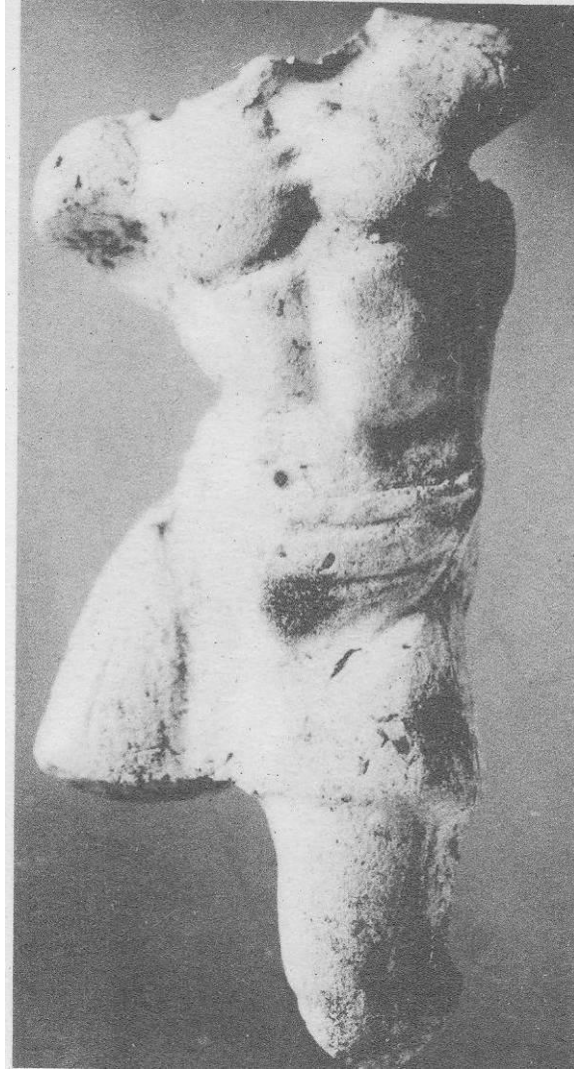
M16068

Height: 12.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16071

Height: 13.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
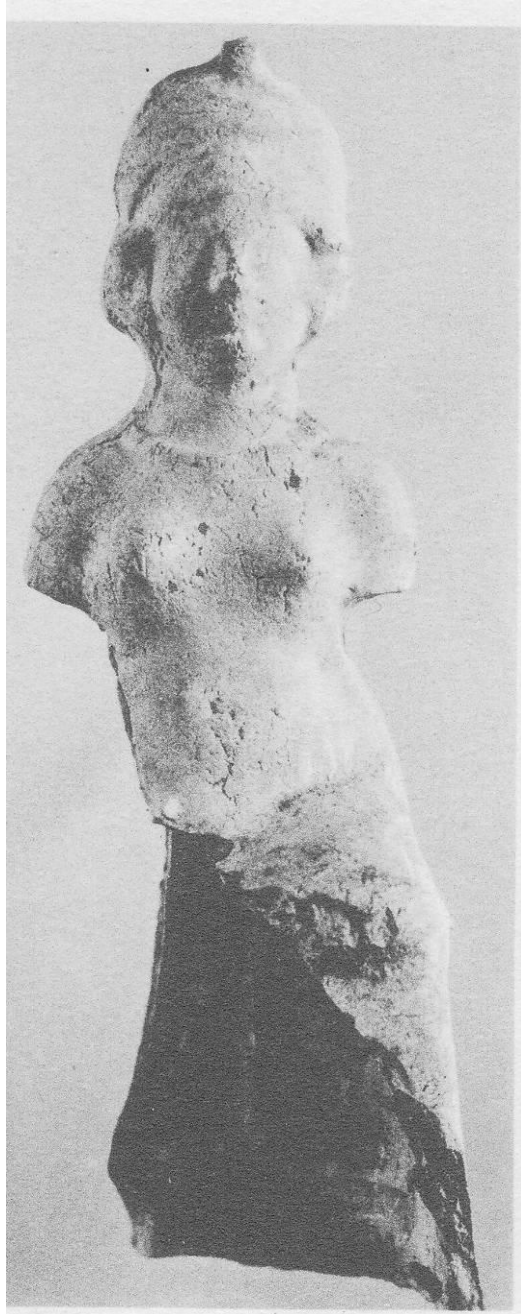
M16091

Height: 22.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16116

Height: 42.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
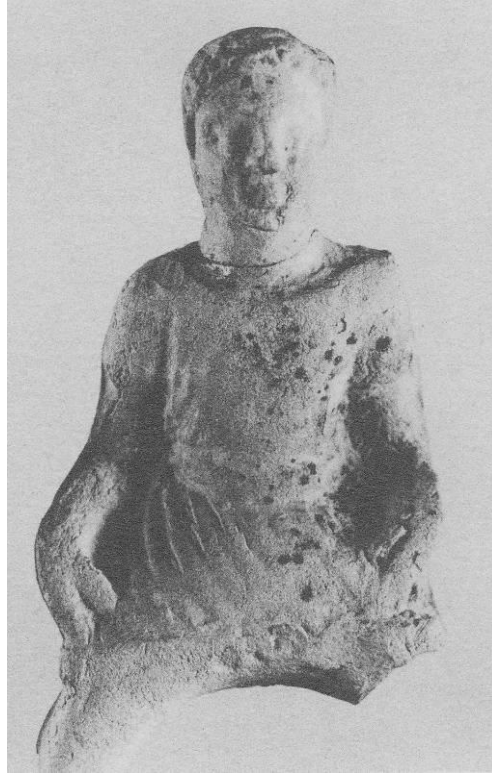
M16116-14053

Height: 11.6 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16121

Height: 8.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16124

Height: 12.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16126

Height: 7.5 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16136

Height: 9.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16161

Height: 6.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16165

Height: 8.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16218

Height: 12 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16235

Height: 5.3 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16257

Height: 6.8cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16265

Height: 12.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16267

Height: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16326

Height: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16425

Height: 7.5 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16444

Height: 3.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16451

Height: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16463

Height: 10.5 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16475

Height: 8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16485

Height: 9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16492

Height: 8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16516

Height: 8.7 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16548

Height: 8.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

M16560

Height: 6.2 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

T29.95

Height: 9.6cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

T29.96

Height: 8.1 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

T30.147

Height: 6.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

T30.149

Height: 4.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

T4281

Height: 36.9 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939
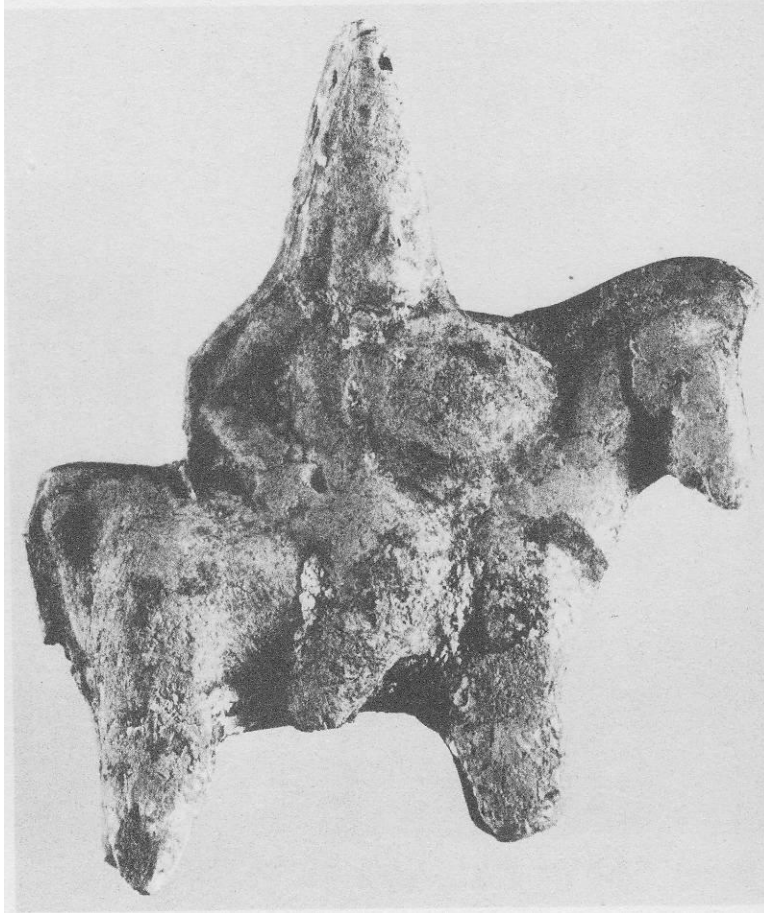
T8732

Height: 10.8 cm

Photo adapted from Van Ingen, 1939

Uruk Figurines

BM 51-1-1-89=91812

(Measurements not recorded)

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM51-1-1-102

Height: 14.9 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM 51-1-1-105

Height: 7.7 cm

Width: 4.3 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM 51-1-1-107

Height: 17.7 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM 51-1-1-108

Height: 17.5 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM51-1-1-112

Height: 18.1 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM51-1-1-113

Height: 16.9 cm

Width: 5.4 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM51-1-1-114

Height: 16.7 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photograph by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM56-9-3-227

(Measurements not recorded)

Photographs by author; courtesy of the British Museum

BM56-9-3-230

Height: 9.7 cm

Width: 3 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

BM91813

Height: 16.4 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photograph by author, courtesy of the British Museum

CBS8956

Height: 10 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photo adapted from Legrain, 1930

W30

Height: 19 cm

Width: 8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
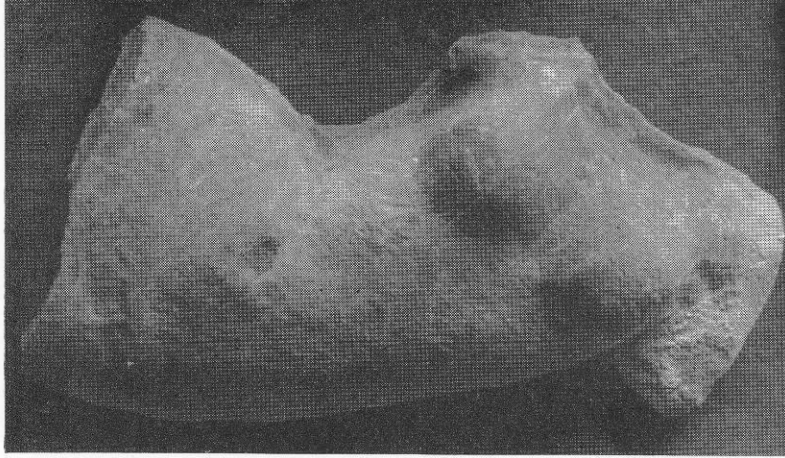
W80

Height: 5.7 cm

Width: 9.8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W301

Height: 11.8 cm

Width: 6.1 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W402

Height: 10 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W549

Height: 11.8 cm

Width: 3.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W1609a

Height 9.1 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
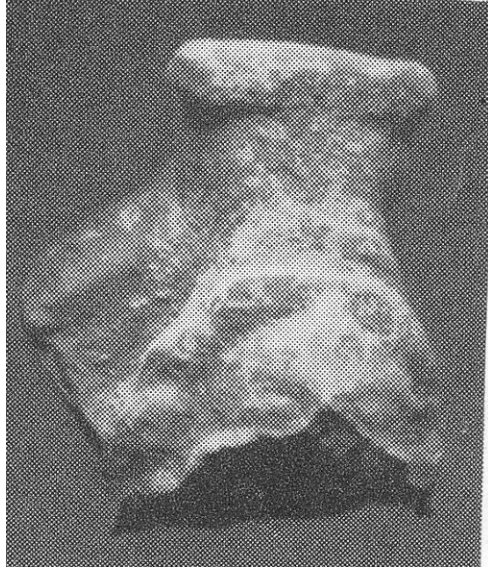
W2099

Height: 4.3 cm

Width: 2.9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
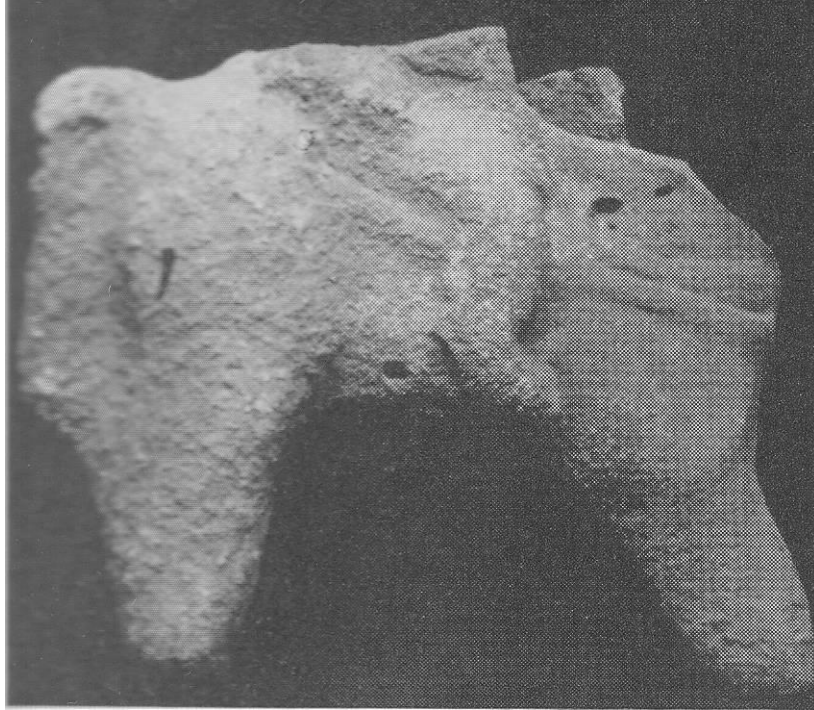
W2787

Height: 5.5 cm

Width: 6.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
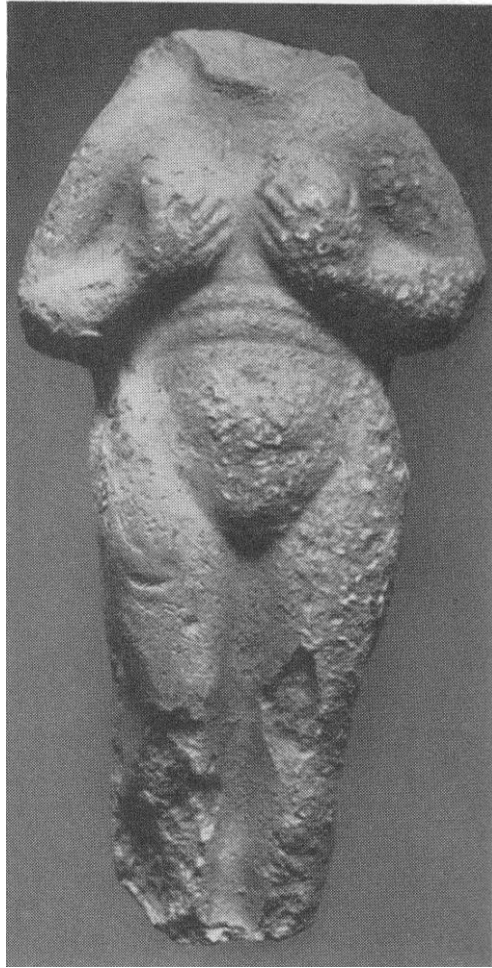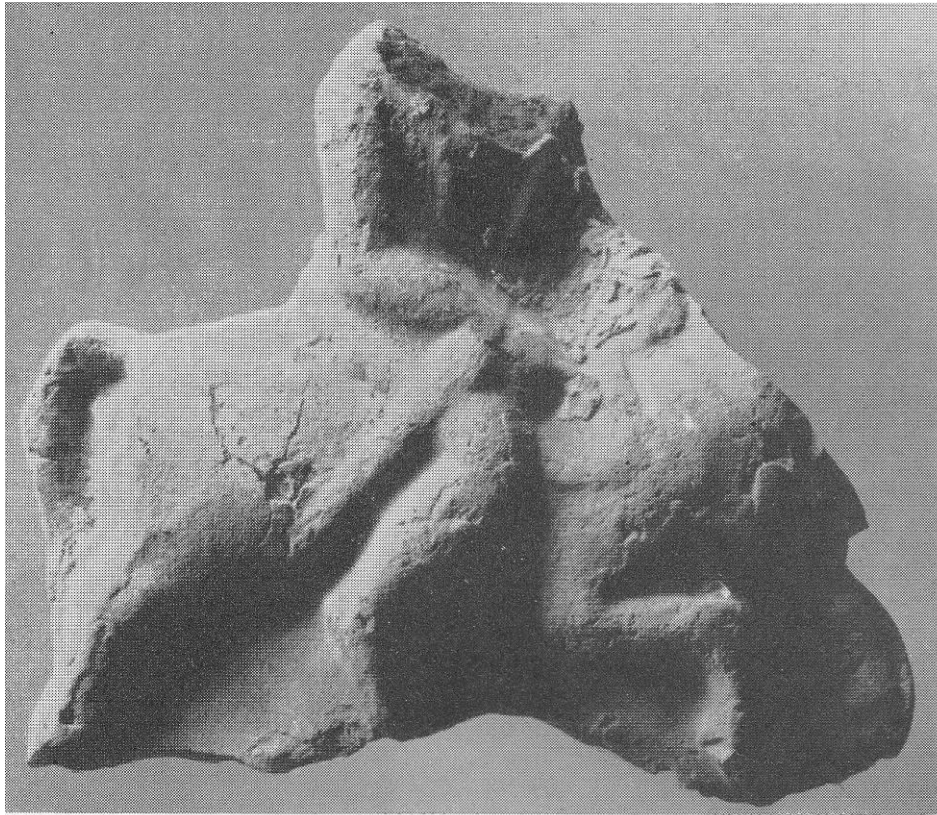
W4315

Height: 10.8 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W4677

Height: 13.3 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
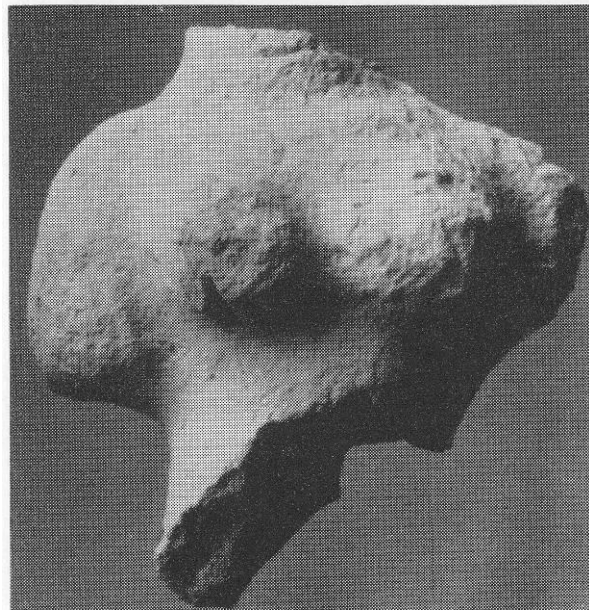
W5177

Height: 5.9 cm

Width: 5.8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
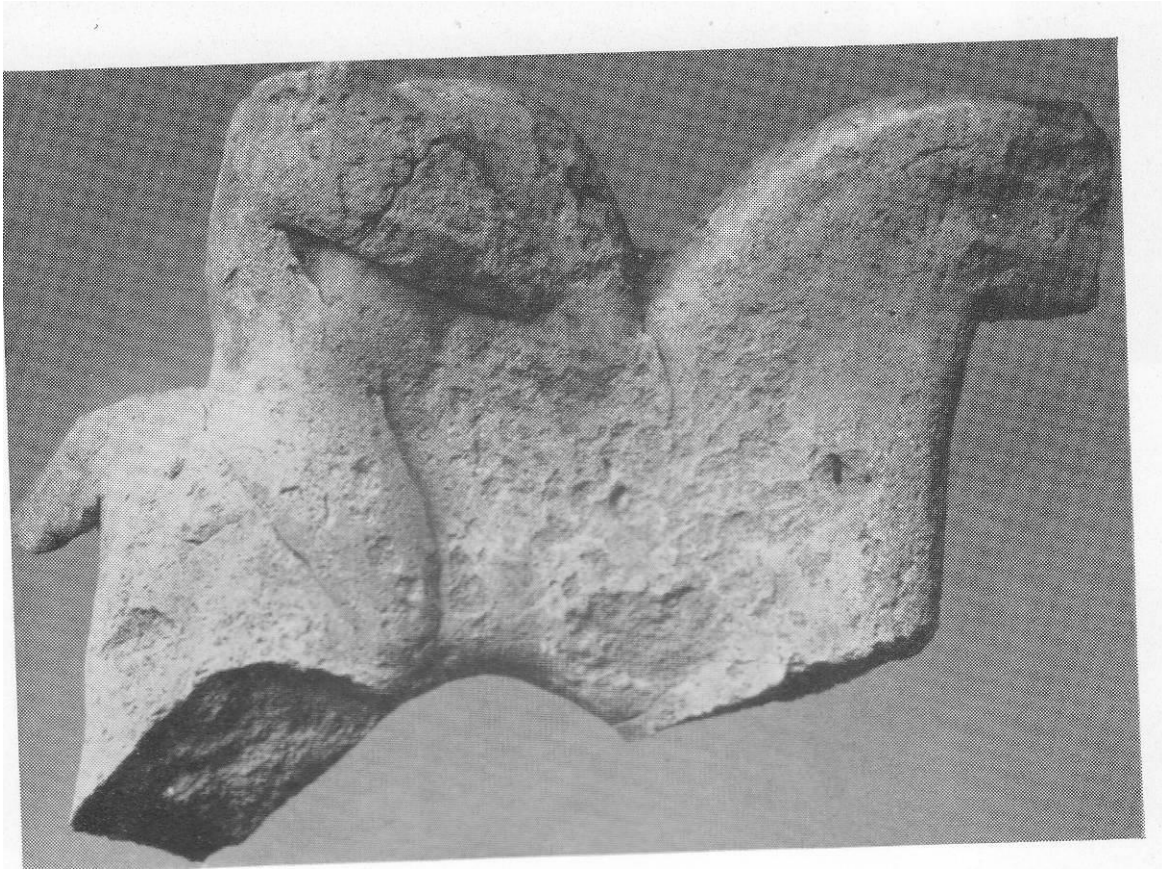
W5652
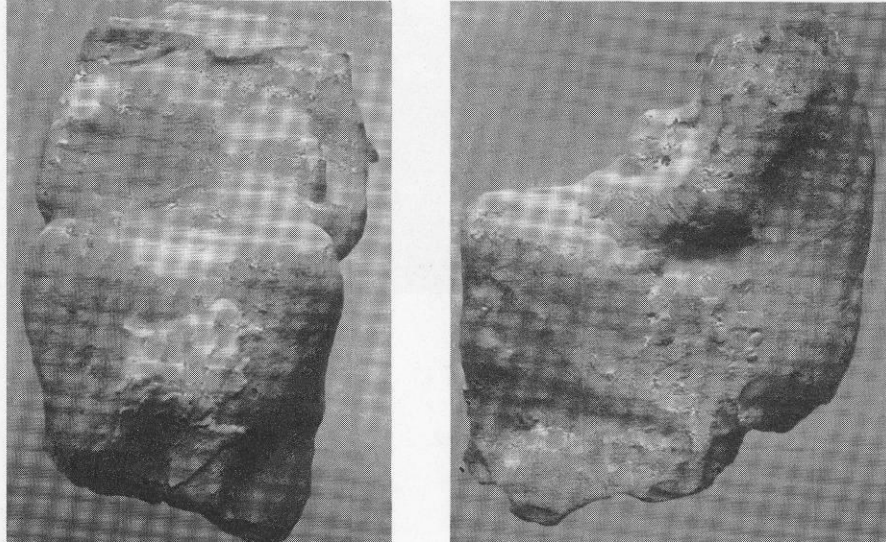
Height: 8.1 cm

Width: 11.3 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
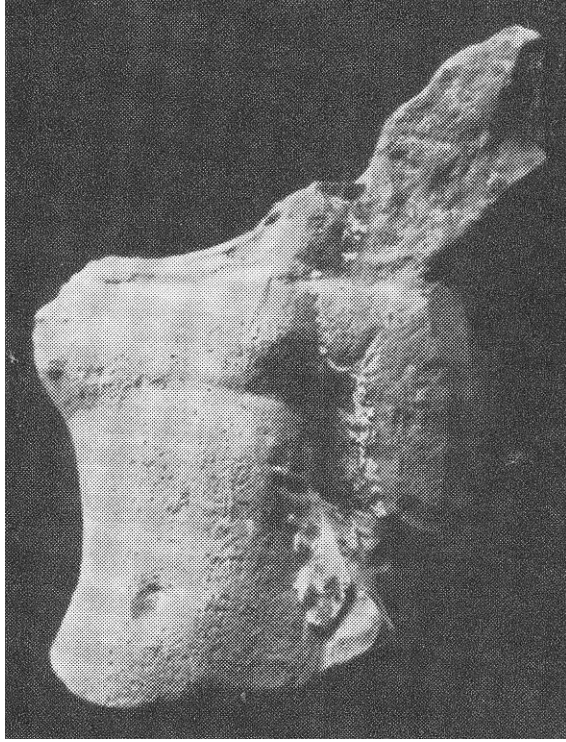
W5751

Height: 6.5 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6173

Height: 11.4 cm

Width: 3.8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6411c

Height: 12 cm

Width: 5.4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
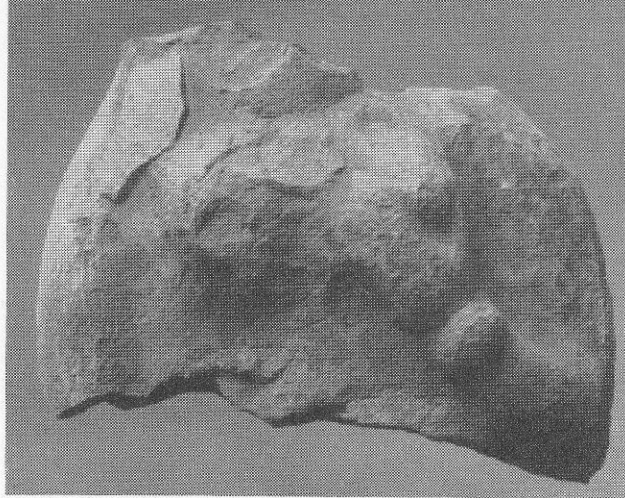
W6412

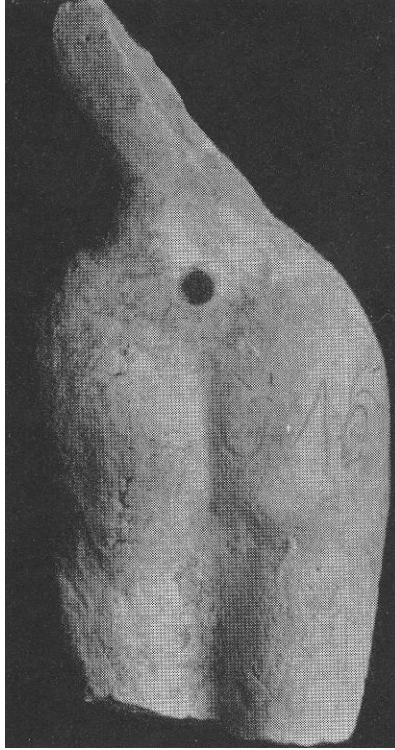Height: 5.6 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6497

Height: 9.5 cm

Width: 4.4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6526

Height: 8.1 cm

Width: 5.7 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6527

Height: 13 cm

Width: 5.8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6529

Height: 11.1 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W6634

Height: 16 cm

Width: 5.9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
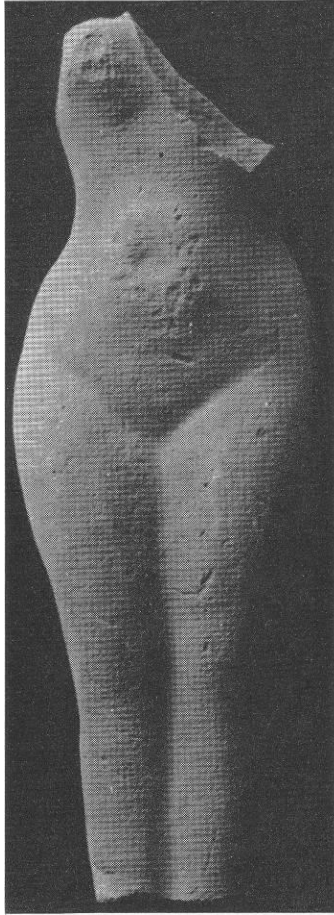
W6688

Height: 12.8 cm

Width: 3.4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W7004

Height: 15.3 cm

Width: 5.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W8198

Height: 11.9 cm

Width: 8.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W8810

Height: 8.3 cm

Width: 3.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962
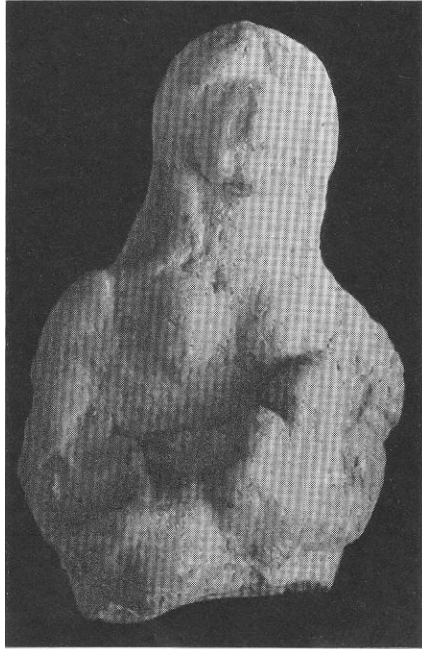
W10657

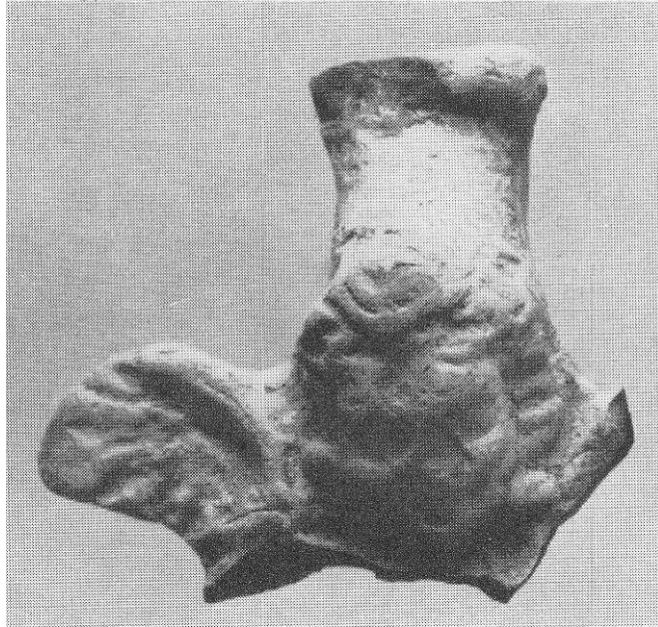Height: 8.6 cm

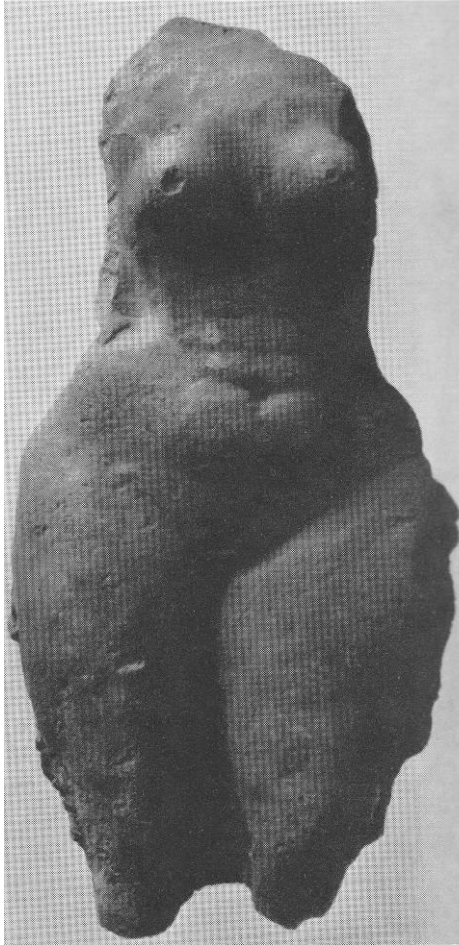Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W12786

Height: 8.7 cm

Width: 10.3 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W13193

Height: 7.5 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W13446

Height: 5.6 cm

Width: 4.9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W13506

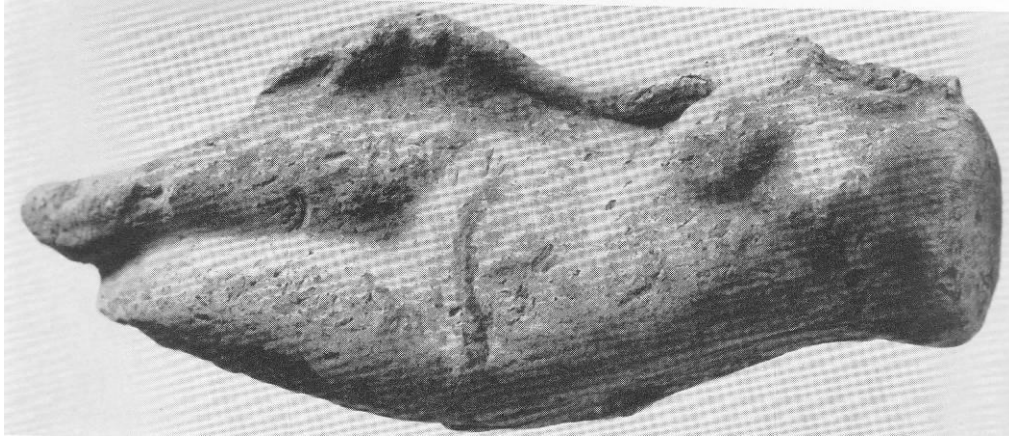Height: 7.4 cm

Width: 5.6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W13764

Height: 9.8 cm

Width: 4.8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W14352a,b

Height: 12 cm

Width: 4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W14536

Height: 6 cm

Width: 6.3 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W14773

Height: 7 cm

Width: 4.9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W14927

Height: 13.3 cm

Width: 6.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15044

Height: 5.4 cm

Width: 13.8 cm
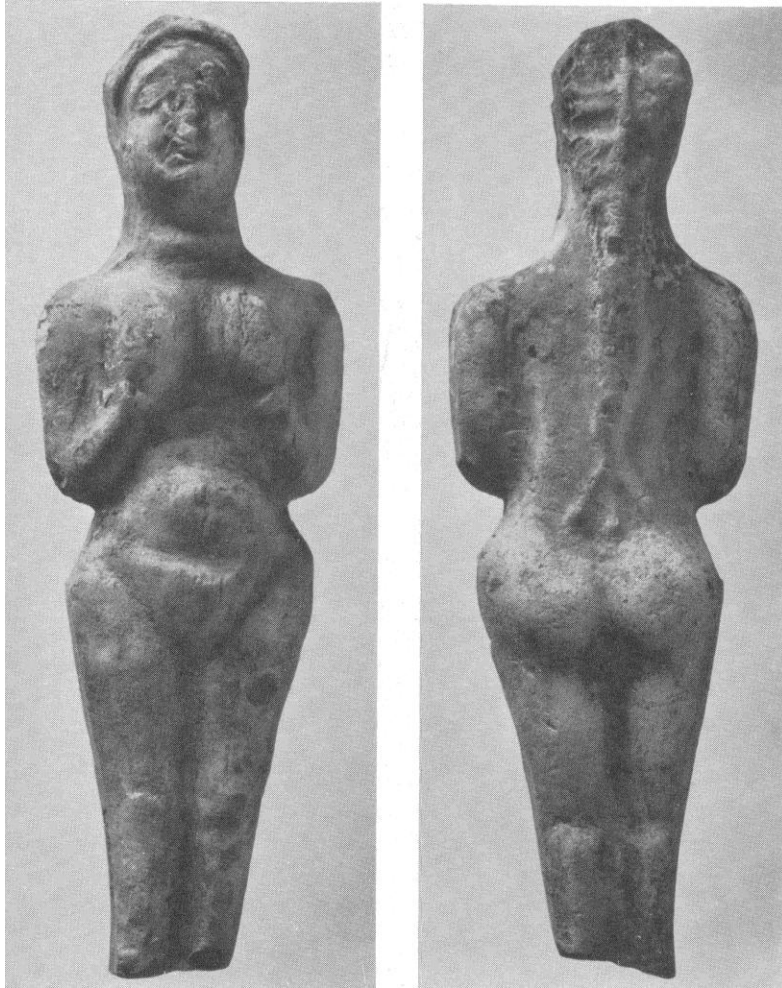
Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15106

Height: 13.9 cm

Width: 4.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15257

Height: 15.5 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15272b

Height: 11.5 cm

Width: 3.9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15430

Height: 13.5 cm

Width: 5.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15599

Height: 12.3 cm

Width: 8.1 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15630

Height: 9 cm

Width: 6 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15907

Height: 6 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15918

Height: 17.8 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W15924f

Height: 5.4 cm

Width: 2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W16247a

Height: 10 cm

Width: 5.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W16378

Height: 9.2 cm

Width: 4.4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W16533

Height: 12 cm

Width: 4.5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W16539

Height: 14.8 cm

Width: 6.1 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W17414

Height: 10.3 cm

Width: 6.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W17537

Height: 11.8 cm

Width: 8 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W17597

Height: 10.7 cm

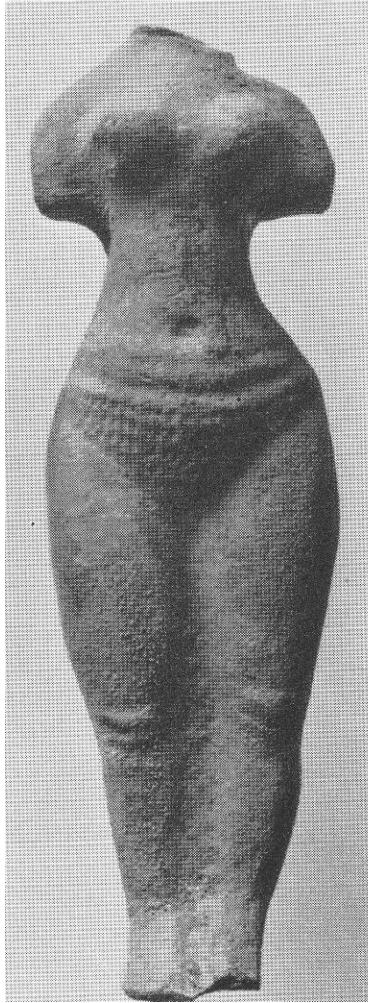Width: 7.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W17836d

Height: 15.2 cm

Width: 4.1 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W17876

Height: 13 cm

Width: 4.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W18157

Height: 11 cm

Width: 5 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W18277

Height: 13 cm

Width: 7 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W18292

Height: 10.4 cm

Width: 6.2 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W18424

Height: 11.5 cm

Width: 9 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

W18658

Height: 6.6 cm

Width: 5.1 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962

WA14

Height: 11.8 cm

Width: 7.4 cm

Photo adapted from Ziegler, 1962